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Fears over McBride's safety

(304A) Sowetan 1/4/98

By Themba Molefe

CONCERN is mounting for the safety of Foreign Affairs senior official Robert McBride whose detention in Mozambique enters its 25th day today.

McBride has been held incommunicado in Ressano Garcia since his arrest for alleged gun-running.

Yesterday his father, Mr Derrick McBride (66), said the family – and South African diplomats in Maputo – had been officially prevented by the Mozambican authorities from visiting his son in jail.

Said McBride: "Obviously, this raises concern about Robert's safety. What makes us even more apprehensive is the fact that the Mozambicans have told us they will only consider our requests from April 1.

"Note that they say they will 'consider' such requests, which may mean anything."

Apart from the concern regarding McBride's personal safety sinister events have also been reported.

One such incident occurred at the Johannesburg International Airport on Sunday when McBride's wife Paula and her father-in-law were tailed by three unknown white men who fled in a bakkie when approached by an South African Broadcasting Corporation television crew.

"What is particularly worrying is that Paula has already spent a lot of money – more than R50 000 in the past two weeks alone – trying to reach her husband and on legal costs, among other expenses," said McBride.

He pointed out that while little financial help was forthcoming even from trusted quarters, Paula McBride was trying to figure out where to obtain about R4 000 a day demanded by the top lawyer she intended engaging.

McBride said his daughter-in-law was however grateful to some senior politicians in the African National Congress, including a Deputy Minister who had warned, "Paula, watch your back, especially against Military Intelligence".

● Meanwhile, the Mozambican authorities have yet to communicate with Pretoria on any progress made in the investigations so far.

In terms of Mozambican law a suspect may be held for up to 49 days before being charged.

Probe finds Meiring report was flawed

BD 2/4/98 (254) (304A)

Pule Molebeledi
and Stephen Laufer

SPECULATION that SA defence force chief Gen Georg Meiring will be sacked grew yesterday after a three-man judicial inquiry found serious flaws in a military intelligence report accusing senior African National Congress officials of plotting a coup.

Meiring handed the report to President Nelson Mandela in February. The judicial commission, set up by Mandela last Friday and consisting of judges Ismael Mohamed, Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, gave Mandela its findings yesterday.

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said Mandela was studying the judges' findings, which were presented to the cabinet during its regular weekly meeting in Pretoria yesterday.

A further announcement would be made in due course. Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the judicial commission found the report flawed and, because of this, it was impossible to take it seriously.

Meriring and various ministers testified before the commission last Saturday and Sunday. Meiring was accused of by-passing relevant authorities when he decided to hand the unverified report derived from a single source to Mandela.

The report named alleged gun smuggler Robert McBride and Lt-Gen Siphiwe Nyanda, who is tipped to replace Meiring as defence chief, among former senior Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres implicated in the alleged plot. Meiring issued a statement this week claiming Defence Minister Joe Modise had prior knowledge of his plan to hand the coup report to Mandela.

Netshitenzhe confirmed government did not think the contents of the report were credible and that it did not warrant any investigation. "The view of government is that it is not possible such a plot existed." He said the president had gone about consulting quietly and had set up a commission only after the military intelligence report was leaked to the media.

Picture: Page 2

Coup report discredited by probe

(304A) (25H) CT 2/4/98

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA: An intelligence report claiming a left-wing plot to destabilise and possibly overthrow the government was without substance and had been discredited, the government has announced.

Speaking at a cabinet briefing here yesterday, government communications head Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said President Mandela and his government believed the report to be bogus and hinted that government believed it was the work of elements bent on sowing disinformation.

"One would surmise that one wouldn't expect the people who prepared the report to be so stupid as not to have maybe one or two facts thrown into it to try to lend credence to the kind of picture they were trying to weave," Netshitenzhe said.

"Therefore various elements of the report will be investigated but government is quite certain the substance of the report is not true."

The report was allegedly based on information received from Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested along with Robert McBride in Mozambique last month. The report was handed to Mandela in February by SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring.

A judicial commission to investigate how it was compiled, why it was not verified and why Meiring bypassed the usual intelligence channels in dealing with the report presented its findings to Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday.

Netshitenzhe said Mandela would first study the report and finding before making a statement perhaps in the next few days.

Earlier a no-show by Mandela at a scheduled briefing at the Office of the President and a no comment on the commission left organisers a bit red-faced and journalists more than a bit flustered.

'Various elements of the report will be investigated but the government is quite certain that the substance of the story is not true.'

It was Netshithenzhe's first cabinet briefing – which he handled most diplomatically. But the same cannot be said for Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, who was invited to discuss the situation of children in prisons. "I think we should also pay attention to what the minister has announced... " said Netshithenzhe when it became clear Fraser-Moleketi was beginning to feel a bit neglected.

"Maybe we should institute a judicial inquiry, then we could get the same attention," she quipped.

But not a question was asked of her. Finally she grabbed her notes and walked off in a huff.

With no real advance on Netshitenzhe's earlier statement, journalists became more direct.

"Can you at least tell us some details of the meeting between the President and the commission, like when and where they met, who was there or what they were wearing so we've got something to write for tomorrow," one asked in frustration.

"They were wearing nice suits," replied presidential spokesperson Mr Parks Mankahlana.

Claim that racism is tearing UDM apart

(304A)

Holomisa lashes out at 'disgruntled' former employee

Star 2/4/98

By Hopewell Radebe and Cecilia Russell

Racial tensions within the United Democratic Movement exist as high up as the new party's national office in Pretoria, a disgruntled former director of policy and research claims.

Joel Mafenya, who was told this week that the party no longer required his services, has accused the UDM of being plagued by racism and controlled by whites who shared out senior positions.

His claim follows a dispute in the Gauteng office which led to the resignation of Gauteng interim co-leader Paulo Andrade and claims that racial tensions lay behind his move.

UDM co-leader Bantu Holomisa yesterday denied the allegations of racism. He said Mafenya was a "disgruntled UDM technocrat who was part of the staff that was laid off because of financial problems".

Holomisa said the party had laid off six whites and five blacks as a result of extreme financial pressure.

"It's very unfortunate that Joel has chosen to play a race card while we have also laid off about six whites from the office," Holomisa said.

Mafenya claimed to have helped Holomisa to build the defunct National Consultative Forum (NCF) and said he was one of its negotiators when they were discussing the merger with Roelf Meyer's New Movement Process (NMP). He subsequently became the only black senior official in the national offices of the UDM.

Mafenya claimed white members of the UDM wanted to use Holomisa to get back to Parliament and to be MPs. They had no interest in the UDM's constituency, which was the poorest of society. The UDM

Both whites and blacks laid off

had sidelined all black office-bearers of Holomisa's defunct NCF, he said.

"All the staff who build the NCF have been laid off despite the agreement during merger negotiations that there will be a 50/50 integration of staff between the NCF and NMP."

Holomisa denied the integration was discriminatory and said the UDM had decided to restructure its office staff because a large chunk of funds raised were going towards paying salaries rather than the development of the organisation.

Referring to Meyer, Mafenya said: "The ideals of the UDM were just ... unfortunately some drivers were leopards that cannot change their spots."

Holomisa said Mafenya and some senior white staff could not be kept on because they were earning salaries of about R15 000 a month.

"We have also laid off hard-working and very important people in the party who are white – he was no exception.

"Only five black and four white staff members will run the office while Roelf and I concentrate on the development of the provinces," he added.

Meanwhile, the administrative secretary of the UDM, who was threatened by several party members who were objecting to the suspension of two of their colleagues, is to take legal action against the party.

Eva Andrejewic and two of her co-workers were apparently threatened on February 16 by party members protesting against the suspension of Richard Pillay and Matotzi Sadiki, who were reinstated.

Andrejewic said yesterday that she had resigned her membership following the incident.

She said although the incident had racial overtones, the problem was one of discipline. Two of the three people threatened were black, she added.

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Coup report dismissed as 'fraudulent'

Sowetan 2/4/98

By Joe Mdhlela

THE REPORT, now popularly known as the Meiring report, which last week alleged a coup by former MK operatives was imminent, was nothing more than a fraudulent piece of work aimed at destabilising the Government, a Government spokesman said yesterday.

Also, the report which hit newspaper headlines at the weekend, was described as the work of certain military generals whose motives were to sow seeds of confusion.

Although at this stage it was difficult to ascertain the list of people who compiled the report, sources close to Government yesterday said it was not inconceivable that right-wing generals played a part in its compilation.

However, Government spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe yesterday told a media briefing at the Union Buildings in Pretoria that "the President is studying the report and will make whatever public announcement may be deemed necessary in due course".

The judicial commission set up by President Nelson Mandela to investigate the Meiring report presented the report to Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday. The commission was headed by Chief Judge Ishmael Mohamed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

Responding to questions from journalists, Netshitenzhe said the report lacked credibility.

The fact that a report of that magnitude could only depend for its authenticity on a one-source intelligence report made it even more suspect, said Netshitenzhe.

He said with the 1999 general elections not far off, it was possible that a disinformation campaign would suit the ends of elements wanting to destabilise the Government.

The claim that South African National Defence Force Chief of Staff General Siphiwe Nyanda could be involved in an attempt to plot the unseating of the present Government was not possible.

Discredited claim

Netshitenzhe said Mandela had discredited a claim by the report that Nyanda and other MK operatives could be involved in a coup.

"This is the work of elements who want to destabilise the Government not only militarily but economically as well. It would be naive to narrow down the destabilisation tactics to Military Intelligence," he said.

Although the chief protagonist in the military coup theory, SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring is expected to retire next year, Netshitenzhe said he could not prejudge what would happen to him in the light of the new developments.

Meiring has claimed that his boss, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise knew about the report.

Roelf Meyer of UDM accused of racism

Sowetan 2/4/98 (304A)

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

A RETRENCHED senior leader of the United Democratic Movement has accused UDM co-leader Mr Roelf Meyer of being part of a "racist Afrikaner mafia" which is driving black executives out of the party.

Mr Joel Mafenya, who until Tuesday was director of research and policy at the party's national office in Pretoria, told *Sowetan* yesterday that he was "fired" because he had complained about the "Afrikaner mafia running the UDM".

Mafenya said he confronted Meyer in February "telling him to his face that he was racist and that he did not treat me as an equal".

He alleged that this angered Meyer who then adopted a position that "either Joel goes or I go". As a result of this Meyer announced on February 17 that he would not contest the presidency of the UDM, he said.

Mafenya also claimed that he was fired "despite having offered my services free to the organisation I helped to build" because he questioned why crucial decisions of the party "were made by a handful of Afrikaners outside the UDM structures".

UDM co-leader General Bantu Holomisa denied yesterday that Mafenya had been fired. He said eight of the head office staff members "were laid off because of financial problems".

Holomisa said the party was spending about R110 000 a month on the salaries of 15 staff members.

He also insisted that decisions of the UDM were not taken by any "Afrikaner mafia" but by all leaders and the council on "an equal footing. I think its unfair for Joel to suggest Roelf is a racist".

Meyer also dismissed the allegations of racism. "That's nonsense. These are blatant lies. This guy is living in his own dreams. Ask anyone in the UDM whether Roelf is a racist..."

Holomisa did not escape Mafenya's attacks. He accused the former African National Congress leader of "just rubber-stamping decisions taken by Roelf and his cabal. He waits for Roelf to suggest something and he nods in agreement".

Meyer said Mafenya's views were "unfortunate".





Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer of the UDM are at the centre of the Mafenya storm.

Pushed around

"I'm not aware that anyone can push Bantu around. I have an excellent working relationship with Bantu. I'm aware that Joel has been telling people that he forced me not to stand for elections. That's rubbish."

Mafenya insisted problems within the UDM "were bound to emerge" because the merging of Holomisa's National Consultative Forum and Meyer's New Movement Process was not based on the right principles.

"We warned that the merger might result in the National Party taking over our organisation," Mafenya said.

He said it was then agreed that with the merger both parties be represented equally at management and political leadership levels. But that did not happen.

Instead five of the six top management positions were occupied by "Roelf's people, and I was the only black person absorbed into management", he said.

At UDM's launch last September, Ms Annelize van Wyk was appointed to three managerial posts – director of marketing, media and management services, while Mr Martz Spaarwater became director of policy development, and Mr Kobus du Plessis was given provincial organisation.

Mafenya occupied the post of director of research.

Holomisa's explanation is that "while it was agreed that other positions were to be created for NCF, we could not find Africans with the right professional qualifications to fill the posts".

He insisted, however, that over months "plans changed" as the party could not afford to pay staff.

Last month eight employees, including Mafenya, were retrenched while Du Plessis resigned, Holomisa said.

However, yesterday Van Wyk issued a statement saying Du Plessis had been re-hired, together with Ms Lulama Mshupela, to co-manage the interim provincial management committee in Gauteng.

This followed tensions and accusations of racism against white leaders in Gauteng.

Holomisa also dismissed Mafenya's allegations that top management was not consulted about the appointment of Mr Danie du Plessis as chief executive officer in January.

Mafenya said he was disappointed with Holomisa. "I have served Bantu, now he is serving the Afrikaner."

Taking stock of Clinton's visit

(304A) Sowetan 2/4/98

By Ido Lekota
Political Reporter

With the roadshow of United States president Bill Clinton now over, it is time for South Africans to reflect on the visit and ask what was in it for them.

For the Capetonians who had to endure the traffic jams caused by the 800-strong delegation that descended on their normally laid-back city, the temptation will probably be to say: "Nothing but a pain in the backside."

Such people, Foreign Affairs officials would argue, forget the mayhem President Nelson Mandela and his entourage caused when he visited the US for the first time after his release from prison.

For the Americans, however, the trip's objective was clear as stated by US transport secretary Rodney Slater, who was part of the delegation to Africa.

Addressing the White House press corps before the visitors left for Africa, Slater said: "Nearly 700 million people live in sub-Sahara Africa, representing one of the largest potential markets.

"Last year 30 African nations posted positive growth rates and foreign trade has doubled in five years. And Africa buys only seven percent of its imports from the US.

"That compares with 12 percent from Asia. So there is clearly room here for growth." He said: "Let there be no doubt – American prosperity is powered by world trade."

However, during his address to Parliament in Cape Town, Clinton was more diplomatic. He said the US did not need only "consumers of our products from this continent, but we need to take products from this continent to our markets".

Yet the message from both US leaders was clear – the US, like Europe, can no longer regard Africa as a continent of underdevelopment and poverty, but one with economic prospects and a contribution to make to the global economy.

The recent passing of the African Growth and Opportunity Act (Agoa) by the US House of Representatives was therefore, in the view of the US, a major step in moving away from a relationship of dependence and isolation to one based on mutually beneficial trade between the US and Africa.

The act opens up opportunities for African countries to sell their products in the American market – on condition such countries apply free-market economic policies, adopt democratic political systems and endorse respect for human rights.

For South Africa, the Clinton visit has implications at various levels. For one, it will be difficult not to acknowledge the benefit for South Africa of a visit from the head of state of a world power such as the US.

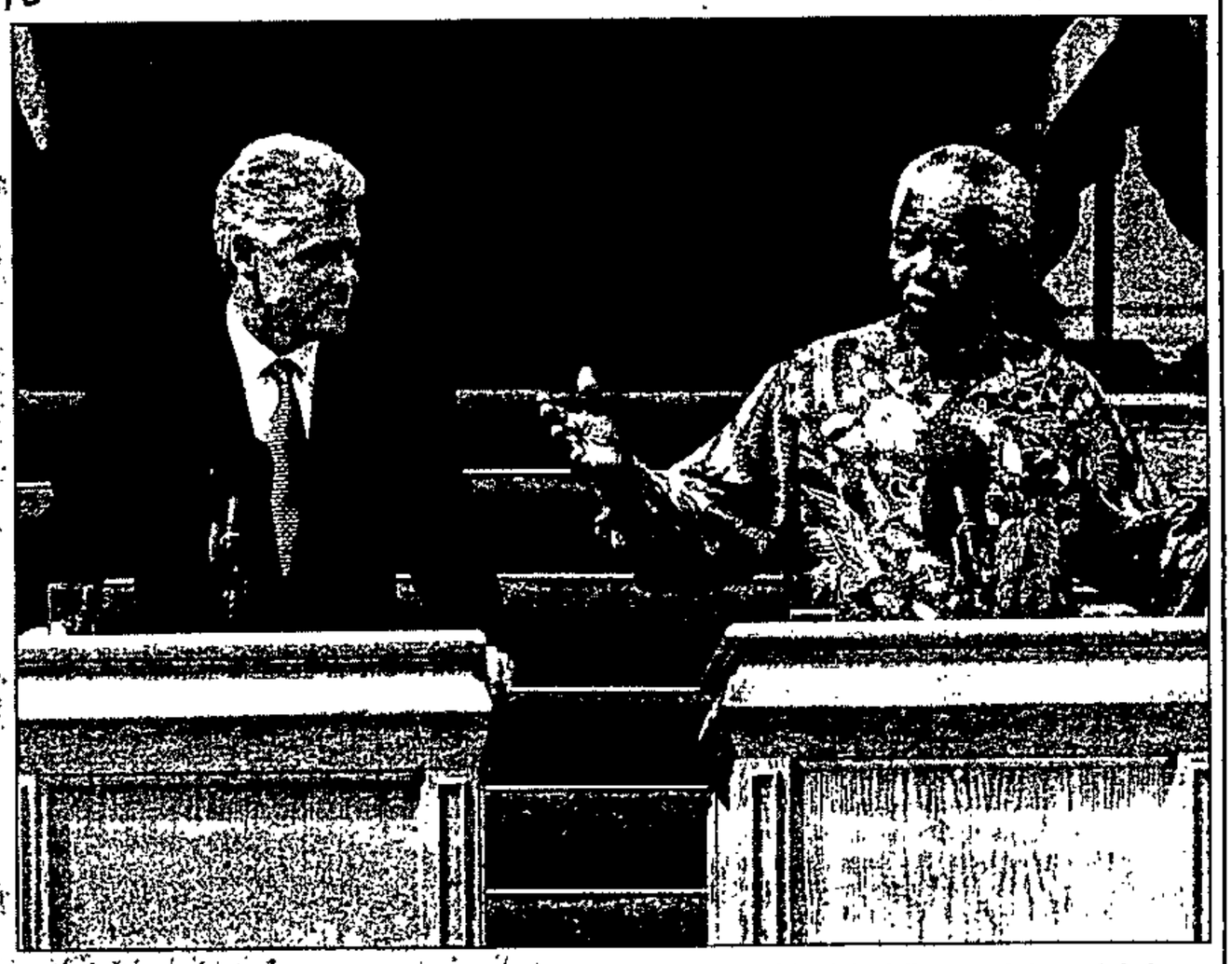
During the Cold War era – under presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush – the US was not friendly to the African National Congress because of the party's socialist leanings.

But, after the 1994 elections, with both Mandela and Clinton then at the helm of their respective countries, beneficial relations started developing.

According to *Business Map*, American companies have already invested more than R2 billion in South Africa since 1994. And the South African Government would certainly like to see more US investment.

In this regard, Clinton's visit can be seen as a further endorsement of the beneficial relations the two countries have been developing and nurturing since 1994.

In addition, only cynics can dismiss the impact of the visit on changing the perceptions on South Africa of potential investors in the US and European countries.



United States president Bill Clinton looks on while President Nelson Mandela delivers a statement during a joint press conference outside Tuynhuys in Cape Town last Friday. PIC: AP

Dictating to Africans

Mandela, however, also expressed South Africa's disquiet about the conditions laid down by the US in Agoa.

During a joint press conference at Tuynhuys, Mandela said South Africa found unacceptable a situation in which the US seemed intent on dictating to Africans how to grow their economies.

This move by the US was generally seen as treading on the sovereignty of African countries. The local labour and civic movement also expressed their concern about the danger of looking for investment "at all costs".

It was also argued that even if US markets were open to Africa, it could offer only limited products competitively to the US. South Africa, for example, could probably only export agricultural products and textiles.

As it is, the country's textile industry has practically been strangled by the influx of cheaper products from the East.

Agoa also raises questions on how South Africa, and Africa, as a whole, would gear itself up in a way that it achieves maximum benefits from the envisaged access to US markets.

This would entail attracting more investment to the manufacturing sector and, in turn, developing a viable export-oriented economy capable of standing its ground against competition globally.

The danger of the Agoa is that it may create nothing but another neo-colonial solution aimed at tethering Africa to foreign economies under the guise of welcoming African countries as equal partners in global trade.

Previous positions

And while it is true US companies have invested R2 billion in South Africa since 1994, most of this was by companies which previously left the country during sanctions and were therefore now merely reclaiming their previous positions.

During his visit, Clinton also brought with him a complement of 150 journalists, who covered every move and statement he made in South Africa.

As one observer put it, the last time some of these foreign correspondents were in South Africa was when black people were killing each other in places such as Thokoza on the East Rand.

Last Saturday Clinton visited Thokoza and met a group of young South Africans, who today have laid down their guns and are rebuilding their own communities side by side with their former enemies.

Hopefully, the foreign correspondents who accompanied Clinton to South Africa will convey that message to their readers, listeners and viewers throughout the world.

Socialist party seeks kindred spirits

(304A) Sowetan 2/4/98

By Joe Mdhlela

THE newly established Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa) says it is all set to establish relations with other socialist parties in South Africa which advance the interests of workers.

However, the party also expects to draw a lot of support from "our socialist friends internationally", according to Lybon Mabasa, who was elected the first Sopa president in Johannesburg last weekend.

Although driven by the Black Consciousness philosophy, "since this is the true liberating ideology for our people", the organisation plans to be all-inclusive in its endeavours to challenge capitalism.

By bringing together like-minded socialists to fight the exploitation of the powerless by powerful capitalists, the new party believes it will help to usher in "a true democratic dispensation" for the working class.

The leftist party says it will be driven by practise rather than theory "as we mobilise workers to take over the reins of the country and turn it into a socialist state".

To achieve these ideals, Sopa's programmes include state ownership of the land which, in turn, will be allocated to all the country's people.

The party also plans to reverse the process of privatisation, returning to the state institutions such as water boards, broadcast corporations and all parastatals "we perceive to be labour intensive".

Some might dismiss this as utopian, but that does not bother Mabasa.

"This might sound utopian to capitalists and those who worry about their positions and care very little about the poverty in our country," he says.

"The disparities between the haves and the have-nots are widening. And those who fight a system that impoverishes millions cannot be the captains of industry.

"It must be the workers themselves. That is the cause Sopa wants to champion. I take my cue from Fidel Castro who once said: 'At a time when apologists of socialism are emerging all over the world, all true socialists must stand on the rooftop and proclaim their loyalty to this noble ideal'."

Too precious

Berating the exploitative nature of capitalism, Mabasa said: "Azania is too precious to be left in the hands of a few capitalists who unashamedly refuse to share the resources of this land with the workers."

He described privatisation, as informed by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) strategy, as "the workers' biggest bugbear" and blamed it for growing unemployment in South Africa.

"Statistics bear witness to the hundreds of thousands of workers who have lost jobs through privatisation. Only workers mobilised under the banner of a socialist party can reverse this trend.

"Our plea to workers is to abandon unions working in cahoots with Government because of the conflict of interests between workers and the Government."



Sopa president Lybon Mabasa PIC:ANTONIO MUCHAVE

In the resolutions it adopted, Sopa expressed concern about the following:

- The investment of workers' money by certain unions in the unstable Johannesburg Stock Exchange;
- The Government's programme to privatise national assets such as roads, health, water and airports;
- The "unholy alliance" between the union movement and Government, which it believes undermines the ability of workers to challenge the power structure;
- The debt amounting to R320 billion entered into by successive apartheid governments, which the new Government is prepared to service; and
- The plunder of the South African economy by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

The new party, together with other socialist formations, is bracing itself to mobilise workers around these issues and plans to conscientise them to aggressively challenge the Government.

Already the new party has established good relations with the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa).

Wosa leader Mr Salim Vally says: "We can be biblical about socialism: it is still alive today and will continue to bring hope to the workers and become home to the homeless."

Like Mabasa, Vally says he is saddened by the empty and deceptive statements made by politicians when justifying economic programmes "that continue to hurt the working class".

He says: "Gear is an international economic programme conceived by the IMF.

"I can't see how it can benefit our people. It can only be beneficial to the capitalist class."

But it remains to be seen whether Sopa and its socialist allies will be able to translate its ideals into a concrete programme that will improve people's lives.

SA-Asian relations head for exciting times

Deputy president Thabo Mbeki's trip to China, South Korea and Japan next week will put Africa on the map in Asia, writes Stephen Laufer

(3044) BD 3/4/98

IF US President Bill Clinton's message of a trade and investment-driven Pax Americana from the Cape to Cairo has made him something of a jet-propelled Cecil Rhodes, then SA's Deputy President Thabo Mbeki could well be our own Marco Polo as he prepares this weekend for his most important trip to Asia.

As with the great scion of the Venetian trading house, Mbeki seeks not only to strengthen existing commercial ties. He has a broader — and in the long term for Africa, perhaps more significant — agenda of bringing the two regions closer together by encouraging mutual understanding of political positions, cultural identities and growth opportunities.

Mbeki's trip to Japan, China and South Korea is, first and foremost, about trade and investment. It is also about overcoming some of the barriers to understanding which inevitably set limits on greater economic involvement in SA and Africa by Asian business.

Like Clinton, who used the media attention focused on his six-country tour of Africa to market the continent to US companies, Mbeki hopes his trip will open Far Eastern eyes to the potential of a region which has hitherto featured peripherally in the boardrooms and economic planning ministries of the three countries.

There is a political-diplomatic dimension to the trip too. It is about consolidating and expanding SA's increasingly important role internationally within multilateral efforts towards stability, particularly in Africa and as the gateway to the continent. The reform of the United Nations (UN) system, with particular emphasis on the security council, is likely to be discussed in all three capitals.

Great significance is being attached to the visit by all sides, judging by Mbeki's draft programme in Tokyo, Beijing and Seoul and the number of SA foreign affairs officers involved in substantive preparations.

Termed "official" by the host governments, the trip nevertheless has many of the trappings normally only accorded to presidents and royalty. In Japan, Mbeki is scheduled to meet Emperor Akihito; in China President Jiang Zemin and in South Korea President Kim Dae Jung.

This, say the ambassadors of the three in Pretoria, is an indication both of the importance attached to the relationship with SA and of their regard for Mbeki personally. Warm and fuzzy fluff some of it may be, but it is the diplomatic fibre from which closer relations are woven.

SA had "good and easy contacts" with the most senior political leaders in much of Europe, the Americas and Africa, allowing him to pick up the phone to them when necessary, Mbeki said.

In the Far East, the quality of the contacts is not the same and one of the key aims of the mission is to build a similar ease of interaction with the senior political leadership in Japan, China and South Korea. "We intend to open the channel and keep it stable."

Mbeki's words contain a clear recognition of the status of both China and Japan as superpowers-in-waiting. They are already very influential internationally and closer relationships have the potential to benefit SA's own emerging role as a regional leader.

In recognition of its enhanced international role, Japan's desire for a permanent UN security council seat had SA's support, Mbeki said. Within the context of a thorough reform of the whole body, of course and in accord with the demands of the Organisation for African Unity and the Non-aligned Movement that it should result in better representation of continents excluded before.

For the Japanese, the trip gains significance because this is Mbeki's first major international foray since his election to the post of African National Congress (ANC) president last December.

Clearly, Tokyo has read the cables and news reports from SA indicating that he will succeed Nelson Mandela at both posts and it wants to get to know him better.

Japan is aware that its connections to Africa are not as strong as China's. Japanese business and politics is looking to SA, with its longstanding commercial relationship with the land of the rising sun, as the gateway to greater involvement in Africa.

Mbeki has been asked to deliver a lecture at the UN university in Tokyo on the African renaissance, SA and the world. The Japanese government was interested in how he might define a role for the Far East in Africa's rebirth, Japanese officials said.

Traditionally cautious, Japanese business looks to its government for assurances on the safety and stability of potential overseas investments. Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto, Foreign Minister Keizo Obuchi and International Trade and Industry Minister Mitsuo Horiuchi are expected to sound out Mbeki's views on economic, social and political issues as a barometer for SA's future.

Mbeki, on the other hand, will be looking to push Japanese investment in SA. There has been a good start recently by Toyota, Nissan and Bridgestone, who have together announced investments totalling R1,1bn, but there is much to be done in the area of raw material benefits.

"We want to encourage the Japanese to invest in the type of operations which would allow them to add value in SA to the raw materials they buy from us," said Mbeki. "Trade is not so much an issue as the need to create an increasingly sophisticated SA economy able to export goods of higher value to Japan."

For China, there is perhaps even greater significance to Mbeki's trip. This is the first substantive visit since the two countries recognised each other diplomatically in January and Beijing is getting SA's deputy president, presumed future president, a future Non-Aligned Movement chairman and the leader of the governing party all at once.

"This is a new relationship," said China's ambassador in Pretoria, Wang Xue Xian, "and our side would like to build a comprehensive political and economic relationship based on friendship and co-operation".

More diplomatic froth? Not at all, if one considers China's long history of involvement in Africa, its growing economic potential and increasing fixed investments in SA — currently at R450m.

For the international strategist Mbeki, the first offers an interesting counterbalance to growing US and European involvement in Africa. The second and third are even more interesting given the similar first world/third world, low tech/high tech nature of both the Chinese and SA economies.

The two economies displayed a high degree of complementarity, said Wang. "You produce what we need and we have both labour and capital-intensive industries which are not only willing, but also able to invest internationally."

So Japan and China are interesting to SA because they both have political and economic clout.

What about South Korea, the tiger turned pussycat by the Asian crisis? Again, both sides see the visit as an opportunity to build bridges with Africa as a whole.

Rather than focusing on the limitations placed on overseas investment by South Korea's crisis, one should see the opportunities presented by their need to radically restructure and grow their economy, argues Mbeki. Now is the time to present SA and Africa as areas with huge growth potential for South Korean corporations seeking salvation in expansion and the economic conquest of commercial *terra incognita*.

That South Korea is only a minnow among foreign direct investors in SA can only help. With just $3m on the board at this stage, the potential for growth is huge as large companies seek new roads out of the crisis.

SA's economic and political standing within the Southern African Development Community was very important to South Korea's approach, ambassador Young Sun Kim said. "If we have good relations with SA, others will follow," he said.

So on the business front, things are looking good, although the ambassadors of all three countries are fond of reminding SA of the stiff international competition for large-scale investment. Incentive programmes, fewer foreign exchange restrictions, investment protection and safety and security are crucial, they say.

Happily, investment is not just a one-way street. SA Breweries has a significant stake in several Chinese beer producers. Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin has this week been in the Far East with a major business delegation. "It is very exciting," said Mbeki.

Key SA economic links in Asia



Note: South Korean imports include SA gold, diamonds and other products bought through third countries

Graphic: KAREN MOOLMAN Source: SA & SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENTS

Forging a new path

Sowetan 3/4/98

Aid to underdeveloped countries needs to take a new shape. Partnerships between donors and African countries have been mooted, reports **Sharon Chetty...**

AS MONETARY AID to Africa is rapidly declining, developed countries are looking at new ways of sponsoring the continent.

One long-established donor nation, Sweden, has already started a debate on the nature of its future role and is mooting the idea of "partnerships" between itself and African countries.

The difficulties of changing from simply being donors to more "proactive" partners was discussed at length by policy analysts, diplomats and academics at a seminar in Johannesburg last week hosted by the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS).

It coincided with United States president Bill Clinton's visit to the continent to promote his African Growth and Opportunity Act and the idea that "trade should replace aid".

While there was acknowledgment that partnerships were by nature unequal, especially those between donors and recipients, acting director-general in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Thutukile Mazibuko suggested that it was possible "to go from aid to having real partnerships for development".

She said there was a need for Africans to "take advantage of the psychological moment of the millennium to put African renaissance on the map".

The continent must also define its own objectives and needsto tailor outside assistance, especially from the Western powers, to meet its needs.

A "continental consensus" was also necessary on how to resolve problems to deal with international bodies like the World Trade Organisation (WTO), whose rules were not always favourable to African countries.

Swedish ambassador to South Africa Bo Heineback said the idea of "partnerships" was now almost a "whole philosophy", but cautioned that they should be meaningful and constructive.

"Giving flourishing speeches with some nostalgic references to past friendship is not enough if you want to formulate policies that should be sustainable in an ever-changing and competitive world," he said.

The intention, he said, was to promote democracy and a human rights culture, help with sustainable economic growth and improve people's lives by working to end poverty.

However, he and other speakers acknowledged that the continent was a diverse place with peculiarities in different countries and regions.

He did point out, though, that cognisance must be taken of the fear that globalisation could result in the marginalisation of some countries. "We do not want to introduce a new economic apartheid into the world."

CPS director and co-author of a paper examining the changed relationship between Sweden and Africa Chris Landsberg pointed out that there was enough evidence to show that concerns about economic growth should not supersede those of democratisation and peace.

(304A)

He also said there needed to be more debate on what aid should be doing and around important areas like market access. As the continent moved from "aid to trade", it was also important to prove that it could be a reliable trading partner, he said.

However, the implications of free trade needed to be understood in greater depth as most WTO rules favoured the developed countries and not Africa, said Dr Garth le Pere of the Foundation for Global Dialogue.

He also emphasised that 33 of the 48 least developed countries in the world were on the continent and suggested that a "strategic approach" was needed to look at fiscal balance, the servicing of the huge debts owed to developed countries and reform of the public service.



US president Bill Clinton and President Nelson Mandela in Cape Town last week. PIC: AP

While much is always made of the need for peace, it was not necessarily the ideal. If there was a "lack of freedom and justice", warned Dr Lawrie Nathan of the Centre for Conflict Resolution, conflicts could still arise.

Therefore, attention must be given to the "structural causes" of violence, he said.

Unrealistic expectation

While a vibrant civil society was also important, there must be systems in place for democracy to be realised, said Nathan, pointing out that it was therefore unrealistic to have expected the Democratic Republic of Congo's Laurent Kabila to hold elections in the former Zaire within a few months of taking power.

The view that Africans needed to "define democracy and democratic practices for ourselves" was reiterated, especially in the light of Africa's ethnic conflicts.

Nathan pointed out that the "winner-takes-all" system of having elections and forming governments should not be the only option since minorities who felt disadvantaged would not see democracy as good.

Dr Balefi Tsie of the University of Botswana also felt that there was a need to question the practice of equating the multiparty system with democracy.

"While there are concerns about good governance, ways have to be found to address the socio-economic injustices afflicting the majority of the people on the continent."

One way of ensuring change was for donor countries to impose "political conditionalities" on recipients. But Tsie warned that while it was a method of perhaps promoting growth, it was not sensitive to the peculiarities of different countries.

Such rules were more often than not ignored by multinationals and transnationals.

In working on aid policy, donors should also note that countries were diverse and had different priorities.

They therefore each had their own definitions of issues like security and prosperity.

Maxi Schoeman of the Rand Afrikaans University also suggested that while countries needed help to build their revenue bases, there had to be a parallel process to build up communities of people with skills.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

Machinations in military ranks

Probe by high-powered commission

In a plot worthy of John le Carré, a military intelligence report meant to alert the ANC-led government to an alleged conspiracy involving former commanders of its guerrilla army has itself become the target of a high-powered inquiry.

Where high-ranking former MK members now serving in the South African National Defence Force, including SANDF Chief of Staff Siphiwe Nyanda, are targeted in the report, their former adversaries in the old South African Defence Force are now under suspicion for compiling it in a bid to disseminate disinformation and generate demoralisation.

One of the suspects in the alleged disinformation plot is SANDF chief Georg Meiring, who gave the contentious report to President Nelson Mandela because of "the serious nature of the allegations in it."

The clearest sign that Mandela and his colleagues view the intelligence report in the gravest light was the decision to appoint a judicial commission to hurriedly investigate it. The commission's members underlined the point: it was headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed, with Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

But, judging from Mandela's comments to CNN after the commission's appointment, government is suspicious of "elements who are bitter that the minority has lost power" rather than fearful of conspirators within its own ranks.

The focus of the judicial inquiry was on the process leading to the report rather than its contents. It was due to report to Mandela on March 31.

The commission attracted much media attention but even before it started its work government signalled its belief that the intelligence report was an attempt to destabilise the post-apartheid State by using disinformation to create despondency.

Safety & Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi's statement on behalf of government to parliament 10 days earlier was pertinent; in it he referred to a leaked military intelligence report to *The Citizen* that warned of a "violent uprising". An alleged conspirator named in the report is Robert McBride, currently detained in Mozambique. One of his unlikely co-conspirators is alleged to be Bantu Holomisa.

Declaring that the intelligence report was leaked to the newspaper by "people working within the state security forces", the government statement says: "(It) has neither been properly processed nor subjected to the due process of verification."

The statement goes on to accuse the report's authors of trying to undermine "peace and stability" and warns them that government "is perfectly familiar with disinformation techniques used to prepare for and to legitimise destabilisation programmes."

Meiring, however, has been uncowed by either the allegations of disinformation or the high-powered commission. Meiring says he and his colleagues would have been in breach of duty had they not acted the way they did. He expressed confidence in the commission, saying: "I and the SANDF will give it our maximum support."

Meiring admits that the intelligence report was based on information from a single source — understood to be Vusi Mabatha, alias Vusi Mabida, who is suspected of spying for the security forces in the old white-ruled SA and who was arrested with McBride in Mozambique. He admits, too, that the information was unverified.

But the SANDF chief states unequivocally that Mandela was told that the report contained untested information and that the decision to hand the report to Mandela was taken with the "prior knowledge of the Minister of Defence."

The report's sensational contents appear to have been received with equanimity by Mandela, until it was leaked to *The Citizen* by unidentified "elements in the security forces" after McBride's arrest. **Patrick Laurence**

Upto75%on Safari

Upper Class That's much more legroom than most other business classes. So comfortable, so spacious, so relaxing. After that, you may find everyor

Parliament had 'no power' to expel De Lille

ARG 4/4/98 (304A)

Cape Town – The National Assembly does not have the power to expel any of its members for something they might have said after the event, the senior counsel for Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille told the Cape High Court yesterday.

Wim Trengove told the court Parliament's power of expulsion was for protective reasons, when a person was disrupting its proceedings. That clearly did not apply in Mrs De Lille's case, he said.

Mrs De Lille has asked the court to set aside an Assembly order expelling her from Parliament for 15 working days after she claimed in a debate that some African National Congress leaders were apartheid-era spies.

Mr Trengove told Deputy Judge President of the Cape Edwin King and Judge John Hlophe that the expulsion was unconstitutional. He added that the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act did not allow for ex post facto expulsion of members.

The expulsion order was passed by the National Assembly late last year, following a recommendation by an ANC-dominated special parliamentary committee. Mrs De Lille was expelled despite the fact that she had withdrawn the allegations at the request of Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala.

Her expulsion is on hold pending the outcome of the court case.

Mr Trengove told the court it was clear that ANC members on the committee had made up their minds beforehand to punish her, and had then enforced their will.

He said all non-ANC committee members had agreed an apology would suffice.

According to his staff, Jan Heunis, the senior counsel for the Speaker, will tell the court on Monday that the committee had given Mrs De Lille ample opportunity to state her case.

Mr Heunis will say the Assembly was clearly not bound by the committee's recommendation and adopted it after considering, debating and amending it.

The power to pass such a resolution, he will argue, is one of the privileges contemplated by the Constitution.

Mr Heunis will also argue that the court does not have the power to review the Assembly's exercise of its privilege. – Sapa



LEON MULLER

Expelled: Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille outside the Cape Town High Court

MI broke law in compiling coup report

ARG 4/4/98

ESTELLE RANDALL

Military Intelligence breached the laws governing intelligence operations in South Africa in the way it gathered information and conveyed it to President Mandela in the bogus "Meiring" report.

The National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994 prohibits MI from covertly collecting domestic military intelligence or foreign non-military intelligence.

A major shake-up of MI and an examination of its role and that of police intelligence within South Africa's intelligence structures are likely outcomes of Mr Mandela's continued consultation on the flawed MI report, which SA National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring handed to him on February 5.

A consequence of publicity around the bogus report is also likely to speed up placement of former non-statutory armed forces members into the command structures of the SANDF and result in greater control over the activities of security force members.

February 5 was not the first of Major-General Meiring's solo meetings with Mr Mandela. He has asked to see Mr Mandela on his own three times this year, his spokesperson said. In other state structures it would be unusual for directors-general to seek or be granted such audiences.

It appears that the latitude which General Meiring was allowed has not been reciprocated. And attempts to keep the army generals happy have not stopped dirty tricks from continuing. At best they have been unable to effectively root out the disinformation activities characteristic of the former era.

The judicial commission of inquiry established by Mr Mandela this week found that the process of compiling the report was so flawed it was impossible to take its allegations seriously.

Mr Mandela was also suspicious of the report from the outset because it implicated trusted members of his Government in an alleged coup based on information from one source – Vusi Madida. Mr Madida, also known as Vusi Mbatha, is a self-confessed informer for the former security forces whose credibility was questioned by Lawyers for Human Rights in 1993 and last year by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

The report named SANDF chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda, military intelligence deputy chief Moreti "Mojo" Motau and Deputy Minister of Defence Ronnie Kasrils as co-conspirators in the coup plot. Mr Nyanda is tipped to replace General Meiring and General Motau is tipped to replace head of military intelligence Dirk Verbeek when both retire by July.

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and high-ranking government official Robert McBride – who is currently being held along with Mr Madida in a Mozambican jail for alleged involvement in gun-running – were also named.

General Meiring handed the report to Mr Mandela without first passing it through the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc) and the Ministry of Defence – the route it ought to have taken.

In a statement sent to SANDF staff, placed on the internet and faxed to journalists, General Meiring said this week that he had breached this procedure because the information was sensitive and could not be treated in the normal way.

General Meiring's statement failed to explain why Nicoc knew nothing about the decision to gather information on Mr McBride and others, which had been taking place since 1995. This contradicts the National Strategic Intelligence Act of 1994.

Until about two months ago, Lieutenant-General Verbeek sat on Nicoc as chief of intelligence of SANDF, and before General Meiring received the information, General Verbeek, as head of military intelligence, would have received it. This was confirmed by General Meiring's spokesperson.

Mr Mandela is continuing consultations with key government ministers on the next course of action.

SA drove hard bargain with US on Clinton tour

(304A) ARGT 4/4/98

PETER FABRICIUS
FOREIGN SERVICE

It was not only in President Mandela's very public lecture to visiting US President Bill Clinton about foreign policy that the Government asserted its independence. On the small but diplomatically important logistical details, SA also dug in its heels.

For instance, the Government battled for two days with the US government to decide whether a South African or an American car should lead the motorcade taking the two presidents to Tuynhuys.

The South Africans eventually won, according to South African sources, dismissing American protests that the lead car was American even when Mr Clinton rode through London with the Queen.

A similarly-protracted battle ensued over the American request to instal 30-odd telephone lines in Tuynhuys and in Parliament to ensure Mr Clinton was independently linked by his own secure communication lines to the outside world.

Again South Africa refused, on the grounds that both Tuynhuys and Parliament were national security points and that no-one but the South African Government could instal communications in them. The British precedent was also invoked, with the Americans saying they had installed telephones in Buckingham Palace. (Apparently Queen Elizabeth later complained that 30 telephone lines were left dangling out of the walls).

Unimpressed, the South Africans dug in their heels – and got their way. The Clinton administration had to instal telephones in a small building outside, and that's where Mr Clinton made his private phone calls. "These may seem like petty matters," a source said. "But they are important in asserting our sovereignty."

SA team will help in McBride grilling

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

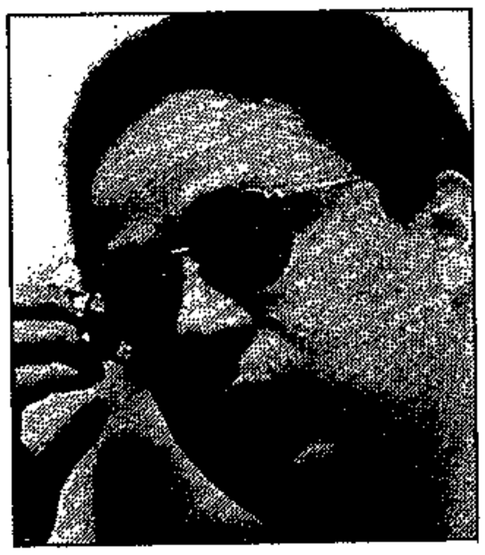
The three-man South African police team working with the Mozambican police has been asked to help in the interrogation of Robert McBride and Vusi Mb'ata, who are under arrest for suspected gun-running.

Informed sources disclosed this yesterday when McBride's wife Paula said she had now appointed a Mozambican lawyer to represent and act as an interpreter for her husband.

The Mozambican authorities have 10 days left before they are required by law to charge the two men. However, Mrs McBride said the police could then apply for a 15-day extension.

"At least we know there is a time limit on it. And I feel the Mozambicans are doing a thorough investigation."

Mrs McBride said she was delighted the commission of inquiry into the controversial Military Intelligence report into a left-wing plot to overthrow the Government had apparently dismissed it as a disinformation attempt. Robert McBride had been mentioned in the report.



TIME LIMIT: Robert McBride must be charged within 10 days

But Democratic Party spokesman on defence, James Selfe, said yesterday he was concerned that his office had not even managed to see the terms of reference for the commission of inquiry. Attempts to obtain a copy of the commission's report had proved unsuccessful.

"It is an extremely serious issue investigated by this commission, which goes to the heart of the lasting relationship which exists between the president and the SA National Defence Force.

"It seems that everybody in the African National Congress, from the president to the office messenger, has seen the contents of the commission's report, but my office was told that I could not even see the terms of reference."

Selfe said the Office of the President should stop commenting on the commission's findings until the report was made public.

However, Parks Mankahlana, spokesman for President Mandela, said yesterday the findings of the commission of inquiry chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed would not be made public.

"It falls within the realm of security. Also, because a number of personalities involved were called as witnesses, it would not be prudent to release the findings. I don't think it is really necessary for the DP to comment," said Mankahlana.

Meanwhile, Mrs McBride declined to comment on the police team selected to help with her husband's interrogation and the investigation into his activities.

The team working with the police in Maputo is being led by Director Errol Seyisi of the Criminal Investigations Department. Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne, who has questions about his own past which have still to be answered, has accompanied Seyisi on this trip.

Mrs McBride has applied to see her husband and she said she expected to see him next week.

Despite being turned away from the prison last week, she believes she will have access shortly with the help of Jose Nascimento, the South African lawyer representing McBride.

Star 4/4/98 (304A)

SA police team in Maputo to grill McBride, Mbatha

Suspect's wife appoints Mozambican lawyer

(304A) ARG 4/4/98

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

The three-man South African police team working with Mozambican police has been asked to help in the interrogation of Robert McBride and Vusi Mbatha, who were arrested for suspected gun-running.

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The Mozambican authorities have ten days left before they are required by law to charge the two men. However, Mrs McBride said the police could then apply for a 15-day extension.

"At least we know there is a time limit on it. And I feel the Mozambicans are doing a thorough investigation," she said.

Mrs McBride said she was delighted the commission of inquiry into the controversial Military Intelligence (MI) report into a supposed left-wing plot to overthrow the Government had apparently dismissed it as a clear attempt at disinformation.

Mr McBride had been mentioned in the discredited report. But the Democratic Party (DP) spokesman for Defence, James Selfe, said yesterday he was concerned his office had not even managed to see the terms of reference for the commission of inquiry. Attempts to obtain a copy of the commission's report had proved unsuccessful.

"It is an extremely serious issue investigated by this commission, which goes to the heart of the lasting relationship which exists between the president and the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

"It seems that everybody in the African National Congress, from the president to the office messenger, has seen the contents of the commission's report, but my office was told that I could not even see the terms of reference of the commission," he said.

The MI report was allegedly based on information provided by Mr Mbatha, an alleged police and military informant who is apparently being used as a witness against Mr McBride, and claimed some former uMkhonto weSizwe generals were disloyal to the Government.

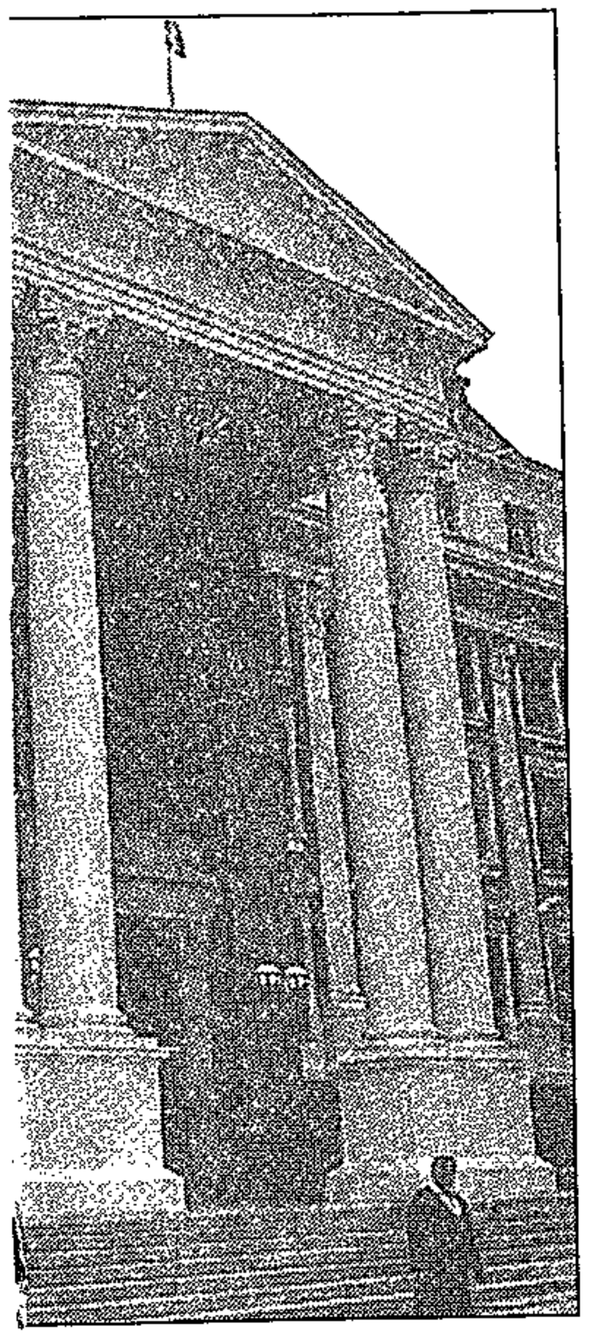
The report alleged Mr McBride and others, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Bantu Holomisa, had conspired to overthrow the Government. It was handed to President Mandela in February by SANDF chief General Georg Meiring.

However, Parks Mankahlana, spokesman for Mr Mandela, said yesterday the findings of the commission of inquiry chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed would not be made public. "It falls within the realm of security. Also because a number of personalities involved were called as witnesses, it would not be prudent to release the findings. I don't think it is really necessary for the DP to comment," said Mr Mankahlana.

Meanwhile, Mrs McBride is hoping to visit her husband in prison next week. She declined to comment on the police team selected to help with his interrogation and investigation into his activities.

The South African police team working with the police in Maputo is being led by Director Errol Seyisi of the Criminal Investigations Department. Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne – who has questions about his own past which have still to be answered – has accompanied Director Seyisi on the trip. Questions about Superintendent Labuschagne's past arose in October 1966 when convicted Vlakplaas murderer Eugene de Kock made allegations about a Warrant Officer Labuschagne of the Middelburg Security Branch.

But Deputy National Commissioner Zolisa Lavisa has said there is no formal investigation into Superintendent Labuschagne's past. The third member of the police team in Maputo is Superintendent Hein Prinsloo of Internal Security.



De Lille defends herself

CP 5/4/98 (304A)

Outcome of court case against the PAC MP to set a precedent

PAC MP Patricia de Lille (left) is contesting her 15-day Parliamentary expulsion for naming alleged ANC spies last year in the Cape Town High Court.

By MAPULA SIBANDA

THE last time PAC MP Patricia de Lille appeared in court was during the 1980s "in the time of my union days". As an activist back then it was on a matter of principle, said De Lille.

After a successful operation to remove a growth from her throat last month, De Lille was once again in court on Friday, defending a principle. She is contesting a Parliamentary decision made late last year to expel her from Parliament for 15 days after she had named ANC leaders who were allegedly spies for the previous government.

De Lille's remarks were received with outrage by the ANC-dominated assembly.

Although she was later made to withdraw her remarks, the suspension was handed down on a recommendation from an ad hoc committee, but it was put on hold pending the outcome of the court case.

The ANC-dominated committee was criticised by opposition parties as being a "kangaroo court" and as taking revenge in disciplining a minority party member who had embarrassed the majority party.

Leading De Lille's legal team this week in the Cape Town High Court, Judge Wim Trengove set out to question whether the National Assembly – whose majority consists of ANC members – should exercise punitive powers such as suspension of speakers from minority parties on issues seen to be challenging the same majority.

Trengove also highlighted several violations of De Lille's rights subsequent to the hearing, such as the freedom of expression and the right to receive a fair hearing.

"It was clear in this case that the applicant's suspension should have been taken by a disciplinary committee which was more representative of the various political parties," he said in his submission.

Trengove explained that punishing a member of Parliament by suspension could be necessary if the assembly was seeking to protect itself against troublemakers who may be a threat during Parliamentary proceedings. But in De Lille's case, he said, the suspension was for past conduct even after she had withdrawn her remarks.

The case has sparked debate in legal circles on whether Parliament should have supreme power over the Constitution.

The outcome will set a precedent for future cases.

De Lille, whose legal fees are being paid by a group of supporters including the Freedom of Expression Intitute's defence fund and other NGOs, said it was unnecessary for the taxpayer to have to pick up the tab for the government's defence.

The case resumes tomorrow.

Two expelled from UDM for allegations of racism

BD 6/4/98 (304A)

Dustin Chick

THE United Democratic Movement (UDM) announced at the weekend it had expelled its former Gauteng leader Paulo Andrade for alleging that the party was racist, and member Joel Mafenya for labelling co-leader Roelf Meyer a racist.

The party's CE Danie du Plessis said yesterday that any allegations of racism, especially those made internally, were harmful. Andrade's and Mafenya's utterances had prompted the party's management committee to take harsh disciplinary action.

When contacted yesterday, Andrade said he was surprised by the expulsion decision, especially because he had heard of his fate through the media and not from the UDM leadership.

However, Andrade said he stood by his allegations and would not back away from what he believed to be true.

He said the party leadership had misinterpreted his remarks, which did not focus around alleged racism, but instead around the fact that he felt "unsafe within the party".

He said the expulsion of two Gauteng leaders earlier for acts of intimidation and leaking party documents to other political parties had escalated beyond control when a group of members stormed the party offices in Johannesburg and forcibly removed staff who later resigned.

He said the allegations were prompted by reports "that people were looking for him" and by a lack of response from the party's national leadership.

Du Plessis said the decision to terminate the two men's membership was taken because of the seriousness of the allegations, and it was doubtful that the two would return to the party ranks even if they apologised within the 10 days allotted for appeal.

He said the event had been an isolated matter and would not effect the support base of the party.

Andrade said he would make a further response after having met with the national leadership.

Meanwhile, the UDM announced that considerable progress had been made at a weekend strategic planning workshop to prepare the party for its national conference in June.

Election foes seek

Opposition parties set up top-level talks

(304A) ARG 6/4/98

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Opposition parties are planning top-level talks on closer co-operation ahead of next year's election, while continuing to snipe at each other publicly.

The Democratic Party federal council chairman, Douglas Gibson, disclosed that the call by DP leader Tony Leon for an "opposition Codesa" had led to meetings across a wide spectrum.

Further meetings were being arranged between "significant leaders who, on the face of it, are far apart".

At the same time, the National Party has said its talks with the Freedom Front are at an advanced stage and further talks are to be held with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Follow-up NP talks with the DP were being considered.

But publicly, the DP, IFP and NP are vying for recognition as the most effective and legitimate opposition in Parliament, with each making increasingly barbed comments about the others.

Relations between the DP and NP are at a low ebb, in part because of a row over an NP proposal for a no-confidence vote which the NP believed could have unseated the African National Congress government in the Northern Cape.

The DP countered that this would have prompted an election which the ANC could have won by devoting its national resources to the campaign and busing in supporters, rendering opposition efforts futile and reducing their numbers in a new legislature.

Those close to preparations for the opposition talks believe that prospects for a merger or close co-operation under one organisational umbrella are slim.

But they suggest the talks could produce loose alliances based on specific issues and election non-aggression pacts.

Because candidates are elected on the basis of proportional representation rather than as representatives of geographically

To page 3

P.T.O

pacts

Upcountry MPs cry foul over 'extra' flying costs

(3041A)

CT 6/4/98

CHRIS BATEMAN.

UPCOUNTRY parliamentarians are in a flap over having pay up to R10 000 more a year in air fare than their Capetonian colleagues to enable them to properly conduct public business.

Last week they labelled as "unequal" the system of 28 free return flights a year for all MPs and National Council of Provinces (NCOP) delegates.

The fur first began to fly early this year when Parliament's accountants made an abortive and short-lived cost-saving bid to withdraw parliamentarians' free voyager air miles.

Far-flung politicians say the system means they have to dig into their own pockets to conduct ordinary parliamentary business while local MPs and delegates can potentially abuse the system, flying wherever they please and building up voyager miles in the process.

With just four return flights at 20% of the full price added to the one-deal-for-all, they say the deal fails to cover them for the full parliamentary year.

If they want their wife or partner to fly with them, this gets deducted from their free/discounted ticket allocation.

According to Gautenger and DP chief whip Mr Douglas Gibson, the "vast majority of members have to fly to Cape Town from a long way away — virtually everybody commutes today, it's not like the old days when you moved down to Cape Town for six months".

Every weekend MPs and delegates were "expected" to attend to political, party or constituency matters back home — not to mention spending time with their families.

Gibson said the net result was that the allocated number of free and discounted flights were "totally inadequate" for upcountry politicians.

"In my own case, I have a bill of R10 100 which I have to pay after my after-tax money in order to fund flights which I take to properly do my job as an MP," he said.

When he complained to a fellow MP, the colleague claimed that his bill had come to R22 000 extra.

"There's a great deal of dissatisfaction," Gibson added.

"If anybody begrudges MPs a couple of pleasure trips with their families out of that allocation then they're being petty," Gibson maintained.

He conceded that the system was open to abuse by MPs living closer to Parliament.

Muizenberg-based Mr James Selfe agreed that the system was "iniquitous" and said a case could be made for "differentiation".

However, he believed the cost of administering a more complicated two-tier system would cancel out any savings made.

Selfe said he doubted whether MPs and permanent delegates living in the broader Cape Town area used more than 30 of their annual free/discounted tickets.

"We also have responsibilities to broader constituencies and attend conferences and presentations further afield," he stressed.

He said a new system could also be open to abuse if parliamentarians gave a second address as their permanent one in order to "score" tickets.

● Cabinet members and the Speaker of Parliament, Dr Frene Ginwala, are allowed unlimited free flights on business class. MPs and permanent delegates must travel economy class.

Most taxpayers, meanwhile, are left with trust, a vote and earthbound travel.

Two expelled from UDM over race claims say they'll hit back

Star 6/4/98 (304A)

By Cecilia Russell and Sapa

Paulo Andrade said yesterday he was shocked by the weekend decision to expel him from the United Democratic Movement, saying he had stood by the party's co-leader Roelf Meyer "through thick and thin".

Andrade and Joel Mafenya, also expelled at the weekend, claimed last week that the UDM was plagued by racism.

Andrade accused his former colleagues of double standards.

He said he would continue exposing the UDM and its weaknesses, as UDM co-leader Bantu Holomisa did with the ANC after it expelled him.

Andrade resigned from his position as Gauteng management committee co-leader when members marched on the offices and forced the provincial administrator, Eva Andrejewic, out of the organisation's Johannesburg CBD offices. The marchers were said to have demanded to speak to "that white man".

Andrade said he could not return because he felt his safety was in jeopardy.

His expulsion surprised him because after a meeting on Tuesday he was "invited to return to the interim management committee".

"It seems the UDM has tried to obtain some sort of racial balance in expelling me alongside Mafenya," Andrade said.

When Mafenya was retrenched from a post with the UDM, he said the party was plagued by racism and controlled by whites.

Mafenya said he had not received official notification of his expulsion.

"Obviously I will seek legal opinion, but I should remind them that the party can expel me but they won't expel my views," Mafenya said.

Danie du Plessis, UDM chief executive officer, said the decision to expel the two was made by the UDM's interim national management council. They have until April 14 to appeal.

Japan-SA ties on Mbeki's agenda

Sowetan 6/4/98 (304A) (RD)

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

THERE was a time when a product that carried a label "Made in Japan" drew scorn from customers. During that time, to drive a Japanese-made car was to attract the kind of remarks that accompany Korean cars today.

But Japan soldiered on, and copied everything the industrialised world produced – and made it smaller and better.

Thus we saw Japan emerge from the worst catastrophe of World War 2 (1939-1945) to produce the Sonys and Toyotas of the world. And today, to drive a Japanese car is to drive the real thing.

That expansion of business has propelled this tiny island nation on the Asian Rim into the world's second largest economy and into constant fights with the United States over trade.

Statistical data on Japan:

Population: 126,1 million.
Land area: 377 727 square kilometres.
Reserves (excluding gold): R1 097 billion.
Gross Domestic Product growth rate: one percent.
Exports for the year ended March 1998: R2 055 billion.
Savings as a percentage of GDP: 31 percent.
Inflation rate: 2,1 percent.
Unemployment rate: 3,3 percent.
Major exports: Motor vehicles and electronics.
Major imports: Minerals and fuel.
Trade with South Africa: R22,3 billion.
Population growth: 0,3 percent.
Literacy rate:100 percent.
Life expectancy: 80 years.
Infant mortality rate: 4 percent.
Fertility: 1,6 percent.
Urban population: 77 percent.
People per doctor: 545.
People per telephone: 1,5.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who will arrive in Japan today for a four-day state visit, intends tapping into some of that trade and skill in rebuilding a shattered economy. It could not have been a less timely moment to visit, though.

Faced with a stagnating economy as capitalism moves into this decade's latest recession, the chairman and chief executive of Sony, Norio Ohga, told a conference in London last Thursday that the Japanese economy was on the brink of collapse.

A number of significant banks have gone under and it is feared that more will follow. Unemployment is rising as downsizing comes in, in direct conflict with the Japanese culture that assures jobs.

It is a phenomenon that is gripping not only Japan but the rest of the Asian economies that were until a few months ago the Tigers of the East, whose growth was the constant refrain of economists pushing pseudo-socialists into capitalism.

Mbeki is not unaware of this and explained at a pre-trip briefing in Pretoria last week that the visit was more a political one than that of economics and trade.

He said: "We have very good contact with lots of political leaders on the African continent and there is tremendous ease of communication with leaders in Africa, Britain, Germany, France, United States, Canada and South America.

"But the quality of our contact with the Far East is not of the same kind. The effect of the visit will be to improve the quality as that relationship. We will see a lot of the senior political leadership and we want to open this channel and leave it stable. That is the major objective of the visit."



Norio Ohga, chief executive of Sony Corporation displays a mini-CD and player that is being produced by his company. Ohga told a Press conference last week that the Japanese economy was on the brink of collapse.

The trip will also see Mbeki visit China, the first high-level visit since the establishment of diplomatic relations on January 1, and South Korea. There will also be a one-day visit to Hong Kong.

Taiwan, the other Asian Rim country with which South Africa has significant trade relations, is being given a wide berth in keeping with the downgrading of relations last December.

De facto head

Mbeki will be received by emperor Akihito and his wife as well as by prime minister Ryutaro Hashimoto. The emperor, by tradition, only receives heads of state and that Mbeki is being seen indicates Japan's acceptance that he is South Africa's *de facto* head of government.

Mbeki said Japan has not had sufficient exposure to the African continent and he would use the trip to drum up support not only for South Africa but for the continent at large.

"While China, for example, had more exposure to Africa, Japan had less. We are keen to improve their knowledge of the African continent so that the world's second largest economy also gets involved in the continent."

But while South Africa plays this ambassadorial role for the continent, the danger exists that this may raise expectations that South Africa will deliver prosperity to Africa as it is used by other countries as a gateway to the rest of the continent.

Mbeki said these expectations had to be dampened. "If there is any danger at all, it is the danger of heightened expectations of South Africa's capacity to deliver.

"And when you don't do that which is expected, you are then seen as a failure. But it would also be wrong not to discharge our duties to the continent."

In other aspects of relations with Japan, South Africa has supported that country's candidacy for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council and they in turn have supported South Africa's case. The matter will come up for discussion during the trip, Mbeki confirmed.

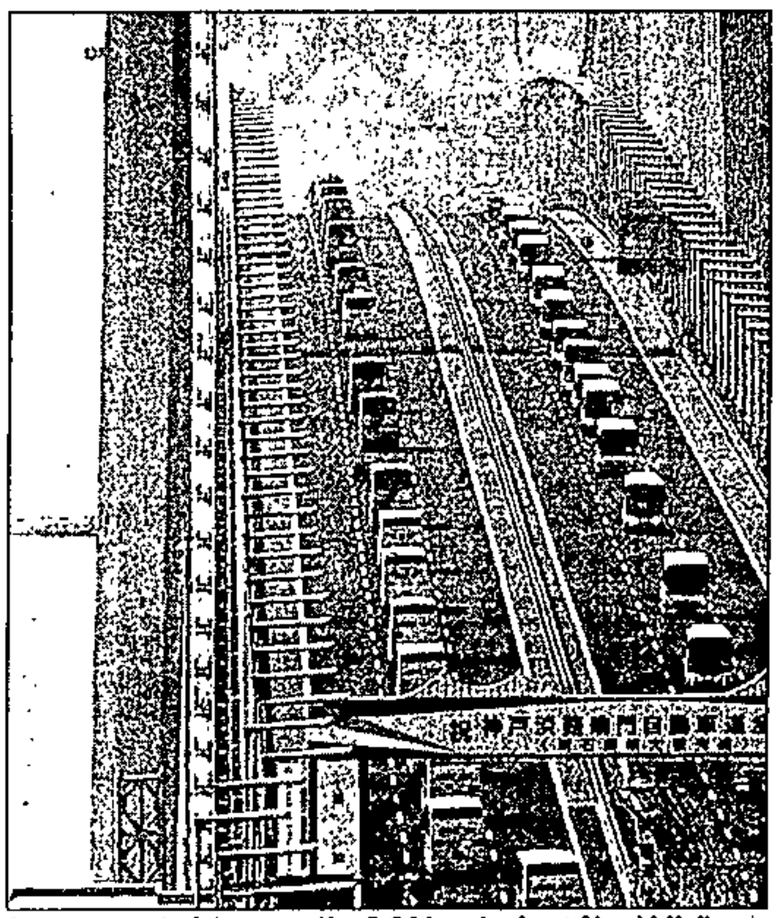
Economic trouble

Despite the economic woes now besetting Japan, a binational commission similar to those with the US, Germany and Britain may be established.

Mbeki also emphasised that while South Africa concentrated on European or North-South links under apartheid, this trip was in line with the new Government's view of strengthening South-South connections.

This new policy would seek to link countries such as Brazil, India and the Asian Rim in an economic unit. But, for now, Japan is the major issue with its growing trade and investment in South Africa. Tomorrow Mbeki will meet the emperor and attend a dinner hosted by foreign minister Keizo Obuchi. He will also meet international trade minister Mitsuo Horiuchi. On Thursday he will sign an Overseas Development Assistance loan to the Development Bank of Southern Africa and attend a luncheon hosted by Hashimoto.

Later in the afternoon he will deliver a lecture at the UN University on "The African Renaissance – South Africa and the World" and hold a press briefing at the *Foreign Press Association*. He will leave for China on Friday morning.



Japanese motorists cross the 3 911-metre-long Akashi Kaikyo bridge, the world's longest suspension bridge, to mark its opening to traffic between Kobe and Awaji Island at the weekend. The bridge cost R60 billion to build. PIC: AFP

Sopa to seek full party status

(304A)

By Mokgadi Pela

Sowetan 6/4/98

THE newly formed Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa) is to register as a political party within a month to comply with legal requirements to enable it to embark on several campaigns, including elections, without any constraints.

Addressing a media briefing in Johannesburg after a two-day national executive committee (NEC) meeting yesterday, Sopa general secretary Mr Patrick Mkhize said: "We will register Sopa so that we are able to conduct voter education campaigns, health awareness campaigns as and when we want to without any legal constraints."

President of Sopa Mr Lybon Mabasa said: "We wish to state that we are not election driven. Sopa is a response to a political logic of the day. Participation or non-participation in any elections will always be the result of a very broad and constructive consultation with members of the party and black workers in particular."

Mabasa, however, said the party would "listen to what's happening on the ground and we will act in accordance with the wishes of our constituencies".

The NEC also resolved to appoint heads of departments of education, health, sports and recreation, land and housing, local government and civics, legal affairs, and foreign affairs.

Mabasa said the NEC further resolved that the party calendar should be "all-inclusive" rather than being exclusively Black Consciousness oriented.

"For example, on May Day this year we will also remember the mine victims in places like Kinross, Coalbrooke and Carletonville.

"These events have been 'forgotten' by sweetheart trade union federations in our country.

"The party will also celebrate the lives of Steve Biko, Chris Hani and Mangaliso Sobukwe," he said.

Israel Hlongwane — had also applied for am- [redacted]

ANC opposes truth body's case

BD 7/4/98

Pearl Sebolao

THE African National Congress (ANC) confirmed yesterday it would oppose a high court application by the truth commission to have amnesties granted to 37 party leaders, including Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, declared void.

The ANC's legal department head Mathews Phosa refused to give reasons yesterday for opposing the commission's application, saying it would all be "spelled out in our court papers, soon".

Phosa said the ANC would dispute the fact that the party leaders had filed blanket applications for amnesty. "All of them had made individual applications and we would dispute that they received a blanket amnesty, as reported in the media."

The ANC would oppose also the application made by the National Party (NP), he said.

Responding to comments by the NP that by opposing the applications the ANC was opposing the principle of equality before the law, Phosa said the NP knew nothing about equality before the law because all they had was a long track record of "inequality before the law".

The truth commission asked the high court to review the amnesties granted to senior ANC officials or, alternately, to direct the amnesty committee to reconsider them afresh earlier this year. The move followed criticism of the amnesty decisions and legal advice that they might not comply with the law governing the commission's work.

Truth commission spokesman Vuyani Green said he was unable to comment on the ANC's intention to oppose their bid to have the amnesties overturned as the notice they were given "was very sketchy and did not outline the basis for their (ANC) opposition".

Sadtu protesters' pay to be docked

BD 7/4/98

Primarashni Pillay

THE KwaZulu-Natal education department is to dock the salaries of teachers belonging to the SA Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu) who participated in a protest march in February.

The march was to protest against the termination of services of temporary teachers whose contracts were to have ended at the end of February. However, the contracts were extended to the end of last month. Last night department superintendent-general Mike Jarvis said some of these teachers would be re-employed.

Meanwhile, letters have been issued to schools stating that the salaries of Sadtu members will be docked unless they provide information that they were away from school on the day of the march due to illness, a source said. Sadtu's provincial secretary Ndaba Gcwabaza said as members other unions had also taken part in the march, docking the salaries of Sadtu members would be unfair.

Courts 'have no jurisdiction over parliamentary decision'

BD 7/4/98 (304A)

Vuyo Mvoko

CAPE TOWN — Propositions were put yesterday as National Assembly speaker Frene Ginwala's counsel concluded his arguments for the day in the case against Pan Africanist Congress whip Patricia De Lille.

De Lille's case, which entered its second day at the Cape Town High Court yesterday, is set to have vast implications for the freedom of speech under parliamentary privilege as well as the separation of powers between the judiciary and the legislature.

She is challenging her 15-day suspension from parliament following an allegation she made in October last year that certain African National Congress (ANC) senior members spied for the apartheid government. She insists her comments were no abuse of parliamentary privilege and that her suspension without pay by an ANC-dominated ad hoc committee that looked into the matter went against her right to free speech. De Lille demands that the decision be set aside.

Advocate Jan Heunis, representing Ginwala, spent yesterday advancing an argument the courts had no jurisdiction over the parliamentary decision.

Heunis contended the decision was immune from a court challenge or any judicial review.

Disobeying the orders and rules of parliament, insults and breaches of privilege, interference with offices of the house in their discharge of their duties — were some of the things parliament did not allow to be violated.

International precedent, Heunis said, suggested the courts could have a say, but in matters that had an effect on people outside of Parliament.

In De Lille's case, Heunis said, the court might reach a point where it might be constrained in its intervention.

De Lille's expulsion 'immune from courts'

Battle over Parliament's power

~~242~~ (304A)

ASHLEY SMITH
COURT REPORTER

ARG 7/4/98

The judiciary did not have the power to overturn the 15-day expulsion from Parliament of Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille, the Cape High Court has heard.

In a marathon argument before Cape Judge-President Edwin King and Me Justice John Hlophe yesterday, Jan Heunis, for Parliament, said the judiciary had no right to intervene.

Ms De Lille has brought an urgent application before the court to set aside a National Assembly order that she be expelled from Parliament for 15 working days.

Mr Heunis, representing the Speaker of Parliament, Frene Ginwala, said parliamentary privilege prohibited the courts from interfering in the internal affairs of Parliament. Quoting extensively from international law, he argued that the decision to suspend Ms De Lille was "immune from scrutiny" by the courts.

The order to expel Ms De Lille was made by the National Assembly in December last year after she had alleged in a debate that senior African National Congress figures had spied for the former apartheid government, and named several of those she acccused.

She later withdrew the allegations at Dr Ginwala's request, but the Assembly nevertheless decided to impose the suspension recommended by an ANC-dominated special parliamentary committee.

Earlier, Wim Trengrove, for Ms De Lille, argued that it was clear that most members of the special committee had made up their minds "before the time" to punish her and then "enforced their will on her".

Mr Trengrove said that Ms De Lille's apology had been acceptable to all committee members except those who were aligned to the ANC.

Mr Heunis said although Ms De Lille had withdrawn the allegations and they had been expunged from the parliamentary record, the media had given them extensive coverage at the time.

"Historically courts have been careful to protect the independence of the legislature, while the legislature in turn respects the independence of the judiciary," he argued.

The hearing continues today.



ROY WIGLEY

High court battle: PAC MP Patricia de Lille outside court

SA intelligence service joins forces with police in Mozambique gun-running investigation

(3044A) ARG

ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The South African National Intelligence Agency (NIA) is working with police investigating the alleged involvement of Robert McBride in gun-running.

Mr McBride, a director for the Department of Foreign Affairs, was arrested in Mozambique on March 9, along with Vusi Madida, a self-confessed former security informer. Mr McBride, who has since been suspended from the Foreign Affairs Department, was also named in the discredited military intelligence report alleging that prominent African National Congress members were plotting to overthrow the South African Government.

At a briefing to announce the establishment of a review commission into the activities of the defence force's intelligence division, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla reiterated Mr McBride had not been on an intelligence mission when he was arrested in Mozambique.

"There are still many questions around McBride that have to be answered," Mr Nhlanhla said.

It is understood that the NIA will share its information on the McBride case with police at the regular meetings of the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee.

Director Errol Seyisi, of the national murder and robbery, illegal firearms and special investigations unit, and Superintendent Hein Prinsloo, of the national illegal firearms unit, returned to South Africa from Mozambique this week. They form part of a South African police team helping the Mozambican authorities with their investigation into the McBride case.

The South African police declined to comment on the investigation, referring all queries to the Mozambican police.

But Mr McBride's wife Paula said she understood the South Africa police team had not seen her husband, only Mr Madida.

She said she expected the investigation to come to a head later this month.

"In terms of Mozambican law the investigation can continue for 34 days, from the date on which a judge authorised it to take place," she said. "The Mozambican judge authorised the investigation on March 12 which means the 34 days ends sometime next week. But the Mozambicans may extend the investigation by another 15 days after that," she said.

11/4/98

Mrs McBride said she would not be returning to Mozambique unless she was granted permission to see her husband again.

She has seen her husband once since his arrest. She said her legal adviser, José Nascimento, would return to South Africa next week.

Mr Nascimento expressed confidence that Mr McBride would be cleared of involvement in gun-running. "The evidence I've seen doesn't link Robert to criminal activity," Mr Nascimento said. "He was not found in possession of weapons. He did not try to run away from the police."

Mr Nascimento's statements contradict reports that Mr Madida told police that he and Mr McBride planned to send arms to Fretilin guerrillas fighting for East Timor's independence from Indonesia.

In Randburg and faraway France, residents battle over place names – for different reasons

Racist stains won't fade away...

(304A) Star 11/4/98

What's in a name? Plenty, if you happen to live in racially and politically sensitive South Africa. ELLIOTT SYLVESTER examines the potential minefield of offensive political and racial place and street names – and what is being done about them

Sticks and stones may break my bones ... but names will never hurt me? Try living in Randburg's Kafferboom Street.

Street names do not just dictate where to go after work or where your mail is going to be delivered.

They also reinforce the wrong impression people may get when you blurt it out to staff in a busy shopping centre or while standing in a bank queue of otherwise silent, glaring customers, as was the experience of Hyla Potgieter.

"I have been living here for nine years and I still get embarrassed when I have to give my address to people," she said.

"I feel that the name is offensive, especially when there are black people around. Sometimes they stare at me and I feel very uncomfortable."

Predicament

Potgieter recalls a phone call she received at 2.30am about six years ago from "a coloured man who did not identify himself".

"He asked me if I was not bothered by the street name and whether I was not interested in changing it."

Potgieter told him about her predicament and explained that she "wouldn't mind if the name was changed but didn't know how to do it".

The mystery caller phoned the other five homeowners in the dead-end street with the same query, but could not drum up any more support.

So Kafferboom Street remained and the anonymous calls stopped. And then the street sign was removed and the painted name on the concrete paving was chipped away.

Potgieter does not know who was responsible, but this was one act of vandalism she didn't mind, because it lessened the embarrassment.

Sab Ledwaba (46), gardener and part-time resident of Kafferboom Street, said he was not troubled by the name.

"They should put back the sign so that people will know where they're going," he said.

As if one wasn't enough, we found a second Kafferboom street, this time a crescent in Birchleigh, Kempton Park.

"Sometimes we don't even have our mail delivered because the postal workers refuse to come down this street," said 20-year-old Yolanda Stander, an employee at a café in the street.

"It's just a name, but it affects the business here in a bad way," she added.

Three doors away, Stander's sentiments were echoed by a businessman who declined to be named. He said the street name Kafferboom Crescent had adversely affected his business.

"I removed the address from all my adverts and only printed a postal address because I can see people's expressions change when I tell them where I am based," he said.

Although he had not experienced any direct hostility, he felt strongly that the name should be changed.

That is not as simple as it sounds, according to M W Pretorius, operations manager of urban development and planning. "Once people realise what an effort it will be to change a street name, they give up."

And the politically incorrect road names don't end at Kafferboom Crescent. There are much longer, much busier highways and byways honouring icons of the bygone era.

D F Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd drives, Barry Hertzog and Louis Botha avenues, Retief and Vorster streets, and even Jan Van Riebeeck Park in Emmarentia still raise eyebrows.

Johannesburg's city centre also glorifies the names of many Boer republic officials, even if it's only at the top of a crooked signpost desperately in need of paint.

Biccard, De Korte, Esselen and Malan roads, as well as Von Brandis Square, all have their roots in racist South Africa.

The local government does not plan to change these names.

Topography

Since 1939, South Africa has had a National Place Names Committee as an advisory body to the minister of arts, culture, science and technology on proposed new names or applications for changes.

"The NPNC has previously had too narrow a mandate to exercise authority over topographical features and the like," says ministerial spokesman Frans Basson. Sometimes names were changed without the NPNC even being consulted.

In February, a report from the Working Forum on Geographical Names proposed the reconstruction of the NPNC by Parliament to give it more clout. The document is being studied to prepare the relevant draft legislation.

Any initiative to change the name of a city or suburban street has to start with the community, Pretorius explains.

Residents have to decide whether the name is offensive enough to warrant change. They also have to agree on an alternative name, which in itself can be time-consuming.

The local authorities then have to be informed, and convinced that the name needs to be changed.

If approved, the matter ends up in the lap of the development and planning department.

"We then look at what it would take to make the physical changes," Pretorius says.

This is the easy part, but it could still take up to a month.

The process soon becomes more elaborate and this is where people lose their interest in the project. What started out as a noble cause becomes a swamp of bureaucratic forms and red tape.

Maps, surveyors' plans, title deeds, bank accounts, employment details and postal addresses all have to be changed, and when people are faced with this time-consuming task, the offensive name suddenly becomes tolerable, Pretorius says.

The last successful street name change in Johannesburg was the renaming of Showground Road to Enoch Sontonga Avenue in September last year to honour the composer of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

This name change was uncomplicated because the road's only residents were all dead. Besides the Braamfontein Cemetery (Sontonga's last resting place), there is little else along the road except a municipal bus depot and the Sturrock Park club.

Pretorius, whose department is kept busy mainly by naming newly established or extended township streets, says: "We advise people to choose themes like plant or tree names for their streets so that controversy can be avoided."

This formula is not foolproof – for example, the kafferboom is a small indigenous tree, which grows 4 to 5m high, with attractive, bright-red flowers.

According to horticulturist David Kinch, the tree itself has already been renamed and is now called the coastal coral.

The similarly named Kafferskuil River had its name changed to the Goukou River last month by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal. He said the renaming symbolised a triumph against inequality and injustice.

If what Asmal says applies to all racially emotive names, then Kafferboom and its offensive family of street names remain a painful reminder of a racist past.

Oddly enough, there are no kafferboom trees in either of the streets named after it ...







BITTER LEGACY: There are still many street signs on prominent roads to remind people of our racist past



INSULTING: Residents of Kafferboom Crescent in Birchleigh, Kempton Park, laugh their unease away over a name that will require an exhausting and costly bureaucratic battle to change

PHOTOGRAPH: CHRIS ADLAM

Mozambican presidential guard's arrest is linked to McBride case

Star 11/4/98 (304A)

Maputo – A senior member of Mozambique's presidential guard is among six people arrested in connection with arms-trafficking allegations against South African official Robert McBride, a government source said yesterday.

An interior ministry official, who requested anonymity, said the officer, Joao Escola, was detained three weeks ago and was being held in the same maximum security prison as McBride.

Authorities at the prison said six people were being held in connection with the case.

Officials at Casa Militar, where the Presidential Guard lives, confirmed that Escola had been detained.

They said he was a senior officer but declined to reveal his rank.

President Joaquim Chissano's press attaché, Antonio Maonse, refused to comment.

McBride has been suspended from his post as director of the Foreign Affairs Department's east Asia desk since his arrest in the Mozambican border town of Ressano Garcia on March 9.

McBride, who was granted amnesty for a Durban bomb attack in which three people died, said at the time of his arrest that he was investigating the smuggling of arms to criminal gangs in South Africa.

Mozambican Prime Minister Pascoal Mocumbi said, however, that his government had been told by the South African authorities that McBride was not on official business.

Media speculation on what McBride was doing in Mozambique has ranged from securing arms for the Irish Republican Army or East Timorese activists, to smuggling weapons on behalf of criminal gangs, to the violent overthrow of President Nelson Mandela's government. – Sapa-AFP

■ See Page 5

The Perfect Office?

When it comes to worries over a coup, SA's leaders can sleep soundly at night

(304A)

Star 11/4/98

In a sensational report handed to President Mandela in February by outgoing SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring, it was claimed that some individuals were planning a military coup. Is SA vulnerable to a military takeover? XOLISA VAPI reports

Do conditions for a coup prevail in South Africa as the discredited Military Intelligence report presented by General Georg Meiring to President Nelson Mandela suggested? If there were to be such a coup, how would the Government handle it?

The South African National Defence Force, according to defence expert Mark Malan, is not highly politicised compared with many African military forces in the post-independence era. He says the army does not seem to be politically well disposed to carry out a coup because there is no vast dissatisfaction on the part of the soldiers. Coups, he says, are often precipitated by declining defence budgets and internal squabbles over ranks.

No common ground

"The SANDF is well paid by African standards, the military is well funded and prospects for promotions are good. Conditions don't prevail now for soldiers to turn against the Government. History tells us that a coup is rarely executed by the army acting as a whole."

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mike Muendane says that only if all the units of the defence force, the army and the air force found a common ground to wage such a takeover would the Government find it difficult to defeat it. But the possibility of joint military action looks unlikely because soldiers from the old guard, former TBVC states, Umkhonto weSizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which together make up the SANDF, still don't trust one another. There is, he says, no long-term working relationship of trust between black and white generals who are like-minded enough to engage in a joint venture.

It would be a mammoth task for coup makers to cajole all the wings – the army, air force, medical services and the navy – into resorting to military action against the state. As Phillip Powell, the Inkatha Freedom Party's representative in the defence portfolio committee, puts it, the tensions between the old guard and the former non-statutory soldiers in the army are a "necessary balance" to prevent one group from becoming dominant.

University of the Witwatersrand academic Professor Tom Lodge believes a coup in SA is highly unlikely because of the composition of the army.

"A coup by one section of the army would be opposed by the other section," he says.

Institute for Security Studies executive director Jakkie Cilliers says: "The bottom line is that the vast majority of SANDF members are loyal to ANC leaders who are in government, and they will act on their instructions."

Institute for Multi-Party Democracy director Professor Mafa Sejanamane says both the old and the new guards are politically well disposed towards the Government, including those former guerrillas who feel that they were co-opted into the army and not fully integrated.

With the SANDF absorbing former MK, Apla and TBVC soldiers, President Mandela allayed the fears of the white military establishment by retaining most of the former SADF's officers.

Political analyst Dr Vincent Maphai does not believe it is material where Mandela's support lies.

"The fact is that the rank-and-file members of the army don't regard the present government as their enemy," he says.



MEIRING: His report on a coup plot has been roundly discredited

Democratic Party spokesman on defence Douglas Gibson sees high levels of patriotism on the part of soldiers, representation of opposition parties in government and a strong democratic system as counter-balancing factors against a coup.

"If they managed to ensure a smooth transition and peaceful inauguration of the president, who would mount a coup now?" asks Gibson.

If disgruntled MK and Apla members were to turn against the Government, their action would most likely be met by a strong right-wing backlash. This, then, would present a golden opportunity for the old guard to demonstrate its loyalty to Mandela.

"The old guard still occupies most of the senior positions in the army. Its coercive action would easily fend off any attempt to topple the Government. However, it remains to be seen how much control the old guard has over the new recruits," says Rhodes University politics lecturer Ivor Sarakinsky.

Those who carry out coups normally target government buildings, a capital city and a broadcasting station, but South Africa has more than one capital, several strategic buildings and a diversity of media ownership. The means of communication are not highly centralised.

Professor Willy Breytenbach of Stellenbosch University says: "Mandela may be removed from his office in the Union Buildings in Pretoria, but what about Parliament in Cape Town, the judiciary in Bloemfontein, and the defence force, whose camps are scattered throughout the country?"

The 92 500-strong SANDF, with 54 961 reservists serving as part-time forces across the country, is too strong a force to be engulfed by a few soldiers. The army would easily fend off a coup and neutralise all plotters within hours, Breytenbach says.

Sarakinsky adds: "If a coup were to emanate from within the circles of former MK and Apla circles, they would need more than AK-47s to replace this Government. You need armoured vehicles, move-in tanks and attack helicopters to seize control of the state in all major centres of the country. The air force would easily put it down."

Unlike in the past, the international community would not stand by if a coup were to take place in SA.

Strong military opposition, high levels of public disenchantment with the Government and a partnership with a political movement espousing legitimate concerns have been overriding factors for military interventions in Africa in the post-independence era.

"A coup in SA would be a nice story for fiction books because no country enjoying more than 70% of support from its citizens can be easily overthrown. You need widespread dissatisfaction and indisputable failure by the government. The people of SA won't allow it to last for more than 24 hours, unless the coup-makers represent strong sentiments," says Maphai.

ANC MP and chairman of the parliamentary defence standing committee, Tony Yengeni, says a coup will not take place now and not in the next 10 to 20 years: "The people who defeated apartheid, including the liberation and trade union movements, will not allow any subjection to a military dictatorship."

Corrupt regime

Former Transkei military dictator General Bantu Holomisa, who led the entire army against the homeland government in 1989, agrees that to topple a corrupt regime, conspirators would need people to back them up.

"Because of corruption in K D Matanzima's and Stella Sigcau's governments, the people of Transkei supported it until I handed over to Nelson Mandela in 1994," Holomisa says.

SA swims against the tide as it scales down representation

BD 14/4/98

Melanie Sergeant-Haape

(304A)

MUNICH — While SA scales down its representation in embassies and consulates, other countries are deploying staff in these offices to capitalise on trade, investment and other business opportunities.

Germany's foreign affairs spokesman, Stephan Steinlein, says that directly or indirectly, about 50% of all German diplomatic staff are dealing with economic, trade, investment and related questions — and their function is growing.

"We employ about 8 000 people in our foreign service, of which about two thirds are abroad.

"In our 150 embassies and 68 consulates-general around the world, we have staff dealing with issues ranging from agriculture to science and other trade-related matters."

He says this is despite the fact that Germany also has other foreign representations in the form of chambers of commerce, and that in many countries German industry is officially represented.

Canada has gone a step further, having merged its foreign affairs and international trade functions.

Canada's Munich office chief Tim Williams, who is consul and senior trade commissioner, says over recent years foreign affairs has decreased staff numbers by about 25%. However, through integrating personnel and better co-ordination of foreign affairs and trade functions, Canada's diplomatic representations are performing a useful function.

"Our Munich office is one of five in Germany, and we tackle a range of aspects, from service to export sectors, while investigating investment opportunities." He says a major role of his office is to educate German industry about Canada, and to build Canada's image.

His office also helps small- and medium-sized businesses which need to find export markets, investors, business partners, or other opportunities.

An SA embassy spokesman in Bonn says that staff are now being called on to be multidisciplinarians, with "diplomats now regarded as generalists". He argues that any attempts to scale down operations are in line with government's aim to cut the size of the public service.

He says there is "excellent co-operation" between foreign affairs staff and the trade and industry department, with many trade and industry staff deployed in embassies.

Tight budget makes high commission's move from Lagos to Abuja difficult

(304A)
BD 14/4/98

Dianna Games

THE Nigerian government has put the cash-strapped SA foreign affairs department into something of a conundrum with its insistence that it move its high commission to the new capital Abuja, about 700km from the commercial capital Lagos where it is situated.

Faced with a budget cut of 7% — about R92m — this year and further cuts over the next two years of the three-year budget cycle, the department is looking at closing at least seven foreign missions and rationalising staff, although none in Africa will be affected, according to recent reports.

The Nigerian government moved the seat of its federal government to Abuja in 1986, partly for political reasons and partly as a solution to the problems of overcrowding, infrastructure breakdown and congestion in Lagos. It has recently stepped up the pressure on missions to move their headquarters there.

Nigerian Foreign Minister Tom Ikimi warned last month that the government did not want to continue diplomatic transactions with foreign missions still in Lagos from the beginning of April as it would conduct business from Abuja from that date.

He said he regretted that repeated calls for missions to move had fallen on deaf ears. Only six countries — Uganda, Britain, the Philippines, Ghana, the US and China — conduct business from Abuja out of an estimated 100 foreign missions in the country.

SA foreign affairs spokesman Marco Boni said the opening of a satellite office in Abuja had been in the planning stages for a while. However plans to move the high commission to Abuja were being hampered by budgetary and manpower constraints.

China gives SA business food for thought

It is hard not to see Beijing as the jewel in the crown of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's trip to the far east, writes **Stephen Laufer**

(304A) BD14/4/98

COMPARED with last year, attendance was well down at the SA food and dance fair held in Beijing over the past two weeks.

Perhaps the increasingly sophisticated middle class found the plaster of Paris springboks at the entrance to the fair less than completely compelling. Perhaps it was the cuisine.

Traditional SA fare might be interesting to Chinese diners once. But, for most, SA cooking seemingly has a hard time competing two years in a row with the likes of Szechuan prawns, Beijing duck, or other Chinese delicacies.

How the food fair went down in Beijing did not matter much anyway. There was a much more important show in town.

Fresh from his latest and most far-reaching exposition to date on the African renaissance, delivered in Tokyo, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was in Beijing at the weekend — and the newly constituted Chinese leadership took notice.

After being received with military honours by Vice-President Hu Jintao in front of the Great Hall of the People as Beijingers flew their kites on Tiananmen Square, Mbeki met Defence Minister Chi Haotian, the capital's powerful mayor Jia Qinglin, and Vice-Premier Qian Qichen.

The meeting with Chi was a late addition. Mbeki said they had discussed reforms expected to reduce Chinese forces by 500 000.

As with the SA National Defence Force, a smaller army needed modern weaponry, and perhaps SA had equipment China might be interested in. This appeared to put the Rooivalk attack helicopter on the agenda of an upcoming visit to SA by Chinese generals.

After a trip to the Great Wall on Sunday, calls on President Jiang Zemin and Premier Zhu Rongji rounded out the heavily political programme yesterday.

It is tempting to portray the Beijing leg of Mbeki's two-week east Asian tour as its highlight. This despite the fact that his reception in Japan was no less comprehensive, and notwithstanding expectations that he will meet similarly significant people in South Korea and Hong Kong in the next four days.

China's size, its international clout, and its very tangible economic prospects make it the giant on his present itinerary.

The Chinese economy has weathered the recent Asian storms, with growth still expected to reach 6% this year, and a massive programme of industrial and infrastructure modernisation signals huge private and state sector capital investment spending for years to come.

Still, size is not everything. In international diplomacy, as with cellphones, it is the quality of the dialogue that counts.

Which is where Mbeki's current theme emerges. His vision of a strengthened Africa able to resolve its conflicts on its own and to assert its interests internationally postulates a more active foreign policy than SA has ever been able to pursue before.

It calls for a greater role for the country and Africa in the multipolar political world of the next century. It implies a will to participate in the international economic order.

It requires a strategy able to expand on President Nelson Mandela's personal standing as an international superstar by stressing the nuts and bolts of international relations, taking SA ties and status beyond the immediate and personal to the long-term and institutional. Hence the country's desire to establish binational commissions or their equivalents with China and Japan.

Building a more important role for SA within a strengthened Africa requires stamina, endurance, and a readiness to work at relationships over years, patiently setting encounter upon encounter like the bricklayers who laid stone upon brick to create the 14 000km of China's Great Wall.

Most of all, it requires recognition that economic globalisation must be accompanied by the globalisation of international politics and diplomacy. For SA, still emerging from decades of international isolation, this is a new yet crucial dimension.

By intensifying his relationships with key Asian politicians, Mbeki is expanding SA's ties in a manner which "seeks to guard against us being identified with one or the other country in a way which prevents us from taking care of our sovereign interests".

For the future, he has perhaps been more successful in Beijing, where he met the newly elected political leadership, than in Tokyo. There, his itinerary read like a who's who of the present establishment, but lacked contacts with politicians expected to succeed the current cabinet in what many see as an overdue reshuffle.



Chines Vice-President Hu Jintao leads the way for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, during a welcoming ceremony in Beijing's Tiananmen Square on Friday. Picture: AFP

The Tokyo visit showed that the translation of foreign policy visions into realities takes more than just a few senior leaders, and that the SA bureaucracy may not yet be well enough equipped for the tasks its future chief is now asking it to perform.

For Mbeki's vision of SA as an active participant in world affairs to become reality, money will have to be found to fuel the country's foreign service with more and better-trained diplomats.

For key countries like Japan, ambassadors will have to be found who are willing to take up their posts at the designated time, however far these foreign capital cities may be from the sporting and other pleasures of a South African summer.

Meanwhile, Mbeki argues convincingly that SA interests are best served by "a complex of international relations which allow us to follow what is good for us".

With the establishment of at least 25 multiparty democracies on the continent, Mbeki argued, the African renaissance had begun. His talks in east Asia with trade and industry ministers and captains of commerce indicate that the task now is to provide Africa's positive political developments with the economic base to ensure they remain sustainable.

"We are determined to end the situation according to which, for many years, Africa recorded the slowest rates of economic growth and, in many instances, actually experienced economic decline."

It was no accident that Mbeki's programmatic speech on the African renaissance came in Japan. China, he has said repeatedly on this trip, has long-standing links on the African continent and knows it well.

Japan, for all of its tremendous postwar economic success, is still a congenitally cautious society, with little real knowledge of African conditions.

Given the potential for greater co-operation presented by the refocusing of Japan's economic strategies in the wake of the Asian crisis, it seemed appropriate for Mbeki to attempt to lead a key Tokyo audience towards greater openness.

Africa's economic revival — without which the renaissance which Mbeki foresees for the continent will founder — requires international business partners who are prepared for the long haul. Japan and China fit the bill for different reasons.

Japan will continue to depend on SA for raw materials, and Mbeki argued forcefully in Tokyo for the creation of the conditions for a major move into beneficiation on the subcontinent.

China, too, has a long-term approach to economic partnerships. Given the latest goals for the Chinese economy — doubling the GDP of the year 2000 by 2010, including modernisation exemplified by plans to invest $54bn in telecommunications in the next three years — China must be sure of continued access to raw materials, components, and specialised skills and technologies.

Small wonder, then, that tears of joy are not far when talk with Mbeki's advisers and the embassy's trade staff turns to the prospects for SA business in China. SA has some of the key skills, technologies, and products which China needs.

"SA business needs to understand that this is no longer the 'Red China' of old," said ambassador Chris Dlamini. With growth rates ranging from 13,5% in 1993 to an estimated 6% this year, despite downward adjustment as a result of the Asian crisis, "there are plenty of opportunities for SA businesses of all sizes," provided prejudices can be overcome and a willingness found to engage with the new China.

Advertising for every known luxury product on the planet signal imports totalling $142bn last year. First-time visitors quickly realise that the communist party's term for its economic reforms — "socialist market economy" — has as much similarity to the ideology once espoused by Mao Zhedong as a giant panda browsing in a bamboo field has with a lifeless but beloved teddy bear.

The official English language newspaper China Daily is full of stories about rationalisation, technical upgrades, joint ventures with overseas partners, new markets and major investment projects. While nobody speaks officially of privatisation, the truth is that the Chinese economy is up for sale as lossmaking state-owned enterprises are told to shape up or close down.

For the rural and urban poor, this has meant hardship as they have been forced to fend for themselves, an analyst said. In order not to exacerbate the resulting legitimacy crisis for the government, the leadership clings to symbols and rituals familiar to people from Mao's day.

The content is changing rapidly. Seven Chinese companies could now make it into the Fortune 500 as rationalisation, mergers, and specialisation create new industrial giants, said SA's economic councillor in Beijing, Yusuf Adam. Ranging from iron and steel producers to computer and pharmaceuticals manufacturers, they and others in mining technology, agriculture, jewellery, and specialist foodstuffs offer SA companies enormous opportunities.

China's approach to the economy is still ahead of its attitude to political dissent and minority rights. Even there, change may be on the way. That may explain why China is not on the agenda at the United Nations human rights session in Geneva this year for the first time since the Tiananmen Square massacre.

Drawn by the promise of business with an increasingly affluent market of 1,2-billion people, all sides appear content to put human rights issues on the back burner for the moment.

The smart young Beijing businessman who imports the Castle Lager and Ceres fruit juice featured at the SA week clearly wants to join the ranks of China's 1-million Yuan-millionaires, each worth at least R600 000. It is not bad for business that he has an uncle in SA. It is even better that the governments in both countries intend making his business and many others a priority of their bilateral relations.

TOP-LEVEL COMMISSION ENVISAGED

Plan to co-ordinate Sino-SA relations

CT 14/4/98 (304A)

BEIJING: Chinese and South African leaders have decided that the extent and depth of envisaged relations between the two countries require continuous high-level interaction.

CHINESE President Jiang Zemin and visiting Deputy President Thabo Mbeki agreed yesterday to establish a joint commission at the "highest level" to co-ordinate relations between China and South Africa.

At a press conference at the end of his four-day visit to Beijing, Mbeki described his visit as "very successful" and said he believed China would emerge as one of South Africa's principal partners.

He also indicated he was willing to reconsider his earlier view that the commission should be chaired by the countries' foreign ministers.

Officials indicated earlier yesterday that China wanted the commission to be headed by Jiang and President Nelson Mandela, or at the very least that it should be similar to the United States-SA Binational Commission, which is chaired by Mbeki and his US counterpart Mr Al Gore.

Mbeki said Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad and his Chinese counterpart would meet soon to flesh out the details of the commission, including its leadership.

"Given the extent and depth of the relations, it was agreed that this process will require continuous high-level interaction."

The announcement followed Mbeki's separate talks with Jiang and Premier Zhu Rongji at a government compound in Beijing yesterday morning.

"Now that we have established diplomatic relations, the sky is the limit in terms of our bilateral co-operation," Pahad said after the meetings.

"Both delegations feel there is no time to talk in generalities about good relations; we've got to identify concretely where our compatibility is and what the real possibilities are."

Another trade delegation comprising public and private sector representatives would pay a follow-up visit to China in a matter of weeks as arranged by Trade Minister Alec Erwin during a recent visit to Beijing, Pahad said.

On whether the economic windfall expected from South Africa's switching of diplomatic relations from Taiwan to China in January this year had materialised, Mbeki said: "Let's bear in mind that we're talking about a relationship that is four months old."

However, there was a commitment to co-operate in areas of trade and investment.

Noting that China's economy largely consisted of state corporations, Mbeki said such a commitment from the Chinese government, meant there would actually be results.

"Give it a few months and you will see a very practical consequence in terms of the growth of economic relations between the two countries."

Mbeki, who avoided raising human rights issues with the Chinese government, said he had not been motivated by concern that China would object or that bilateral relations would be affected.

South African officials defended the decision and said it was in line with international trends where China's human rights records no longer dominated the agenda.

Mbeki begins a two-day visit to South Korea today. — Sapa



WELL MET: Chinese President Jiang Zemin (left) welcomes Deputy President Thabo Mbeki before their t commission should be established at the highest level to maintain good relations between the two cour h

Two Mozambican officers 'arrested' in McBride case

(3049) CT 16/4/98

MAPUTO: The Mozambican daily news sheet *Mediafax* yesterday claimed that authorities have arrested two demobilised officers in connection with the arms trafficking case involving South African Foreign Ministry official Robert McBride.

However, Interior Minister Mr Almerino Manhenje has denied the story.

The paper claimed that the detained men are a demobilised lieutenant-colonel, Sabadito Placido, and a demobilised captain, Rui Greia.

During the war against the Renamo rebels, Placido was head of logistics of the military command in the southern province of Gaza, while Greia was technical head of a motorised infantry brigade, also in Gaza.

These arrests, says *Mediafax*, follow that of Mr Joao Escola, a former member of police intelligence who has been working for the Presidential Guard for the past year.

Interviewed by the paper, the head of police intelligence, Ms Miranda Wane, confirmed that Escola is being questioned by the Criminal Investigation Police, but claimed she knew nothing about either Placido or Greia.

Manhenje denied the claims and queried the veracity of the paper's sources. He would not say anything further about the McBride case other than that "it is still under investigation". Asked to react to the minister's denial, the *Mediafax* reporter is sticking to his story. — Foreign Service

Two demobilised Mozambican officers arrested over McBride case, paper claims

(304A) Star 16/4/98

By Paul Fauvet
Star Foreign Service

Maputo – The Mozambican daily newspaper Mediafax claimed yesterday that authorities have arrested two demobilised officers in connection with the arms trafficking case said to involve South African Foreign Ministry official Robert McBride.

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Interviewed by the paper, the head of police intelligence, Miranda Wane, confirmed that Escola is being questioned by the Criminal Investigation Police, but said she knew nothing about either Placido or Greia.

Asked about the Mediafax claims, Manhenje denied them and queried the veracity of the paper's sources. He would not say anything further about the McBride case other than that it was still under investigation.

Asked to react to the minister's denial, the Mediafax reporter said he is sticking to his story.

MPs need more than their rubber stamp

Government needs to look at giving Parliament's portfolio committees more power over the budgetary process, writes **Warren Krafchik**

(304A) BD 17/4/98

TWO incidents that occurred during the week of the budget raise fundamental questions about Parliament's role as the keeper of the nation's purse.

Two days before the budget, Cosatu said it would boycott the finance portfolio committee hearings, arguing that such interventions were ineffective until the committee had powers of amendment. Second, neither the public service minister nor a delegated official appeared at the finance committee hearings on the effect of the public service on the budget.

Both incidents highlight contradictions between the constitution and current parliamentary practice. They point also to some of the dilemmas inherent in the upcoming debate on money bill amendment powers.

Cosatu has a strong point. The new constitution grants national and provincial committees the right of amendment over money bills. To activate this right requires a separate act of Parliament in the national assembly and in each provincial legislature.

Legislation to this effect has not yet been tabled, which implies that committees are still labouring under the considerably weaker powers of the past.

The presentation of the national budget initiates a three to four-month review process in the national legislatures, a process replicated at provincial level. Committees can invite submissions and call departments to give evidence, but they cannot suggest amendments. In theory, they can recommend that the entire budget (or specific votes) be rejected, which may lead to a no-confidence vote or force government back to the drawing board.

In practice, this is unlikely to happen for several reasons, including the large ANC majority in Parliament, the short time allocated for finance hearings (seven days) and low research capacity.

After the National Assembly process, the bill is referred to the National Council of Provinces for consideration. In theory, the council could reject the entire budget and force the National Assembly to vote again, but this has yet to happen for any bill, let alone a money bill.

The introduction of amendment powers could substantially change Parliament's engagement with the budget from a rubber-stamp exercise to effective oversight. The design of the amendment system, therefore, is critical. Unfortunately, the SA constitution does not prescribe the form and limits of amendment powers.

The debate internationally is framed as a tension between the roles of the executive and the legislature — between technicality and democracy. In virtually all countries it is accepted that the executive has a mandate to prepare the budget and the most comprehensive information on which to base these decisions.

The role of the legislature is to exercise oversight and to authorise the executive to raise revenue and spend money.

The basic dilemma between technicality and democracy has led to a compromise internationally whereby parliament has to restrict its powers over the budget. In return, it is able to maintain its sovereignty by ensuring it is able to keep a closer watch over budget execution, thereby strengthening its capacity to make informed amendments. What would this compromise mean in SA? Three issues should be considered.

Where will powers be located? A first issue to consider is the role of committees relative to the house. General debate in the house restricted to broad criticism will prevail where committee involvement is weak. Where committees have effective amendment powers, it is likely that detailed scrutiny and debate will prevail. At present committees can interrogate the budget but cannot effect changes, leading only to broad political debate in the house.

If it is decided to give committees amendment powers, a further question is the breadth of committee involvement. In most countries the finance committee accepts responsibility for the process, alone or as a co-ordinating body for other committees. The trend seems to be towards broader committee consultation.

There are several approaches operating in SA. The National Assembly and a few provinces allow for finance committee and other specialist portfolio committee hearings. In most provincial legislatures, the finance committee co-ordinates the budget hearings, drawing in other committees.

A related issue is the role of the second house in the legislative budget process. It would seem important, particularly in our current fiscal squeeze, to use all resources to their fullest potential. At a minimum this may include creating synergy between the research and investigation in the NCOP and in the National Assembly. At its maximum, allowing the NCOP to suggest its own amendments would force the assembly into a further voting process.

What form will amendment powers take?

Money bill amendment powers can be grouped into three categories. Unrestricted powers imply the ability to vary expenditure and taxation in either direction. Restricted powers refer to the power to amend within specified limits. Balanced budget powers refer to the ability to raise or lower expenditure and/or revenue while maintaining the budget balance.

In general legislatures in presidential systems have stronger powers of amendment than in parliamentary systems. This is counterbalanced by the fact that often the executive or president has a final veto or other intervention power. Most parliamentary systems allow amendments within the restricted power category. Although there are often restrictions on increasing expenditure, decreases in expenditure can be considered minimum powers of amendment across parliamentary systems. Powers to vary taxation are often, but not always, subject to greater restrictions.

Given our parliamentary system the local debate is likely to concentrate on those options within the restricted powers category. A minimum option may include the measures to decrease the deficit. A maximum option would add the capacity to increase expenditure and decrease tax within a process to secure the consent of the executive.

What makes for effective amendment powers?

The research and information capacity of committees is the third and probably the most critical issue to consider. To use amendment powers effectively, parliamentary committees need access to adequate research capacity. In most models, committees use a mix of independent (own) sources of analysis together with access to the executive and other public agencies. The powerful German finance committee has a secretariat which can draw on an independent scientific service, only available to members, and draw on the expertise of the auditor-general and officials in the relevant ministries.

The current research and information capacity of parliament will seriously hamper the implementation of amendment powers. The national finance committee has access to only one researcher, while public accounts has secured outside funding for two researchers who have yet to arrive. There is no independent parliamentary research service.

Second, committees do not have access to information required to examine the budget. The primary source of information — the estimates of expenditure — does not provide sufficient detail on programme expenditures: supplementary documentation is inadequate, there is no satisfactory provision for department aims and the outputs associated with the proposed expenditures. It is also vital that committees have access to regular reports on the implementation of the previous budget. However, there is no provision at national level for regular, public expenditure reports.

Third, the budgetary process does not allow sufficient time for in-depth examination. The budget took 18 months to prepare, yet the finance committee has only seven days for review.

Thus it is clear that amendment powers can add value to the budget process by ensuring a more detailed, inclusive debate. The appropriate configuration of powers will also have to negotiate the consistency of macroeconomic policy. However, it seems that the most dangerous threat to effective amendment powers is the mismatch between power and committee capacity.

It is important, therefore, that the debate on amendment powers is linked to debate on parliamentary information and analysis capacity.

To facilitate this, we should discuss moving the budget presentation from March to December or January. Demands for fuller information and participation are not new to SA budgetary debates. They form part of a broader programme of budget reform that is currently being driven by the finance department. Amendment powers and associated information requirements should be managed and sequenced as part of this broader reform process.

□ *Krafchick is manager of Idasa's Budget Information Service.*

New turn in McBride arms probe

Maputo task team expected in South Africa today

(3044) ARG 17/4/98

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
SPECIAL WRITER

The arms dealing investigation involving Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride today takes a new turn with the arrival of a Mozambican police team in South Africa.

The three-person team will be based in the Gauteng area, where they will continue the gun-running investigation, according to an informed source.

A spokesman for the South African High Commission in Maputo said yesterday that they were waiting for a police report which would be issued once the police investigation was concluded. At present they were in the dark about the situation and relied for information on newspaper and television reports on the investigation, the spokesman said.

Mr McBride was arrested in Maputo in March on suspicion of arms dealing and was suspended from the Department of Foreign Affairs, where is he is director of Asian affairs. Three Mozambicans – a policeman and two former Military officers – were arrested in connection with the arms dealing case this week.

Mr McBride's wife Paula said yesterday that she had not managed to visit her husband in the past week.

"I have put in a request but I haven't yet obtained permission," she said.

Mrs McBride said the car her husband was driving in Maputo, when he collided with the vehicle being driven by a Durban geologist, belonged to her.

Mr McBride was involved in the crash in a main thoroughfare in Maputo the night before his arrest. Insurance investigator Peter Williams said he was trying to find out who would meet the R18 500 damages claim.

Meanwhile Mr McBride's lawyer, Jose Nascimento, said yesterday his client had been in a parked car, observing a Maputo house at a distance, and had not walked into any police trap.

He denied Mr McBride had fled from Mozambican police after they swooped to arrest alleged South African police informer Vusi Mbatha at the house.

"He went from the house straight to the South African embassy. From there he went to the border," he said.

While police sources claim Mr McBride was chased by police to the border post where he was arrested, Mr Nascimento said this was "nonsense".

Mr Nascimento said no arms or money were found in Mr McBride's car when he was arrested.

Isolated PW hits new low as supporters drift away

But Reinette will stand by her man

(704A) ARG 18/4/98

ROBERT BRAND

While former president P W Botha faced criminal charges in the George Magistrate's Court this week, his fiancee, Reinette Te Water Naude, was entertaining visitors at her Graaff Reinet guest house.

Ms Te Water Naude was conspicuous by her absence from court, where an increasingly isolated Mr Botha defied advice from all quarters to settle with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and avoid the possibility of a criminal conviction.

But Ms Te Water Naude told Saturday Argus she stood by her man, despite rumours in legal circles that their relationship was on the rocks.

Mr Botha is facing a charge of ignoring a TRC subpoena to testify before the commission.

Frantic efforts to secure a deal whereby he would testify in return for the charges being dropped failed on Wednesday.

Speaking from her guest house, Kingfisher Lodge, Ms Te Water Naude said she had stayed at home because of business commitments. "Some of us have to work. I had functions and things here that I had to attend. He [Mr Botha] also preferred me not to go down to George."

She said she agreed with Mr Botha's refusal to appear before the truth commission: "I support him."



REINETTE TE WATER NAUDE

Asked to comment on rumours that her engagement with the former state president was troubled, Ms Te Water Naude said: "Not as far as I know."

Mr Botha's small circle of supporters trickled away this week as his increasingly irrational behaviour first scuppered the possibility of a deal with the truth commission and then ended in frustration as he lashed out at his own legal representatives and the prosecutor.

At the start of the trial, five members of the Conservative Party, including CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, were in court to support Mr Botha. "Only a few of [us] came here because we knew space in the courtroom would be limited," Mr Hartzenberg said.

Mr Hartzenberg was absent on Wednesday; the rest disappeared one by one until, by Thursday afternoon, the only supporter left in the public gallery was Mr Botha's daughter, Elanza Maritz.

Ms Maritz sat with her face in her hands, close to tears, when Mr Botha shouted at the prosecutor, demanding that the trial be allowed to continue, and argued with his lawyers.

There was no sign of the "P W Botha Support Group" which had been granted permission to demonstrate outside the court on Tuesday.

Rightwingers who had threatened armed insurrection in defence of Mr Botha were nowhere to be seen.

Legal sources said Mr Botha was receiving "hundreds" of faxes at his Wilderness home, but the support was not evident in court. More importantly, it had not translated into money.

There are fears that the trial, which, according to legal sources, is costing Mr Botha up to R20 000 a day, could ruin him financially. The state, which had agreed to cover Mr Botha's legal costs should he appear before the truth commission, is not paying for his defence in the criminal trial.

Hoopstad, symbolic and practical testing ground for mammoth task

(304A) Star 18/4/98

Time is the IEC's enemy as it again prepares the way for some 23 million people to cast their votes in a great one-day event requiring loads of effort and planning.
PAUL BELL reports

The Independent Electoral Commission's choice of Hoopstad in the Free State as a test site for the delimitation of the country into 12 000 voting districts contained a poignant irony.

There was no subtle or abstract motivation in the choice. Hoopstad was merely typical, manageable and had data that, in terms of demography and geography, had been processed to a relatively advanced stage. The name was a reminder, all the same, of all that is important about the huge machine that is to be built.

Impossible constraints

Hope has never been in short supply at IEC headquarters. In 1994, under a deluge of problems, it was sustained by the knowledge that the success of those elections, despite their impossible constraints of time and management, was an absolute to which all doubts and dangers were ultimately subordinated. Since then, hope has been kept alive through sheer conviction, despite three years of frustration over time lost through the Government's failure to make an early start for 1999.

Between 1994 and 1997, the IEC had, at most, a staff of 20 – this despite warnings to the Government from IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler from June 1994 that preparations for 1999 should begin as soon as possible.

But an air of embarrassment hung over the IEC. There had been criticism of the breakdowns in its administration, of the fairness of the 1994 outcome, and of the R1-billion it had spent and the equipment that had been stolen from it.

Much of that criticism was unfair. Administration and delivery were bound to suffer, given that the IEC had four months in which to build an organisation of 300 000 people to deliver the biggest peace-time logistical exercise in this country's history. The money spent was necessary, authorised by the Transitional Executive Council, and there was no budget overrun.

But the criticisms seemed to persuade the Government that the IEC's problems were more political than administrative. Thus it moved more slowly than it should have. A wrangle also ensued over whether the IEC should be subjected to ministerial or parliamentary oversight.

Then, in 1995 and 1996, when the Government could have resuscitated the IEC to conduct the local elections, it decided instead to create a new national task group. This group encountered the same problems, but was frustrated by having neither the power nor the responsibility to deliver those elections. And thus a further opportunity to give national impetus to electoral management was missed.



GOTCHA: Surveyor Riaan Pieterse uses a global positioning system instrument to map out an area PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL ALBERTS

Technically speaking, the IEC's task of preparing for 1999 is far more complex than it was for 1994.

A national voters' roll has to be drawn up and voting districts defined. These districts will form the primary electoral management tool, providing information for the location and equipping of 12 000 voting stations, the employment and training of 300 000 electoral officials and the casting and counting of up to 46 million ballots. (An estimated 23 million eligible voters will cast at least two ballots in 1999, for national and provincial legislators.)

While the mechanics of this process rely on information technology of the highest sophistication, nothing about it is merely mechanical.

It is subject to intense political scrutiny and negotiation from the remotest hamlet to the corridors of Parliament. There will be arguments aplenty about electoral rules, boundaries, the eligibility of votes, the impartiality of officials and the responsibilities of the various authorities involved.

Electoral preparations will, however, be burdened by the administrative problems that plague many provinces and local authorities.

In 1994, the impoverishment of the then-northern Transvaal, parts of the eastern Transvaal, rural KwaZulu-Natal and Transkei-Ciskei had a negative effect on the IEC's capacity to organise an efficient service to voters.

It is widely accepted that the administration of future elections must be decentralised, under IEC supervision, to local government. Local government structures need to act as electoral agents of the IEC.

However, the skills capacity of many provinces and local authorities is so underdeveloped that implementation of this important principle will be difficult.

Even with the funds the IEC is prepared to devote to such electoral capacity-building, it will take more than the 15 months left to complete that task.

Already, local government officials are anxious about what is expected of them, given their lack of resources.

When voter registration begins in October, the problems of undercapacity will become more obvious. Thankfully, the gaps likely to occur on election day will be shown up at registration and can be addressed.

Mired in crisis

Thankfully, too, the IEC will be able to rely on the infrastructure and co-operation of provincial and local authorities. This was absent in 1994, when all state organs were mired in a crisis of legitimacy that forced the IEC to refuse all possible help, with the exception of the defence force.

Moreover, the IEC will not have to contend in 1999 with the political violence and instability of 1994.

While the honeymoon is over for electoral managers, and the voters will demand a higher level of service, it is probably safe to say that 1999 will go better than 1994 did.

A general election is the biggest one-day event a nation conducts. A national effort and not merely the responsibility of a single agency. Every voter has to play his or her part, as must every relevant instrument of government, to support the delivery of a proper service to 23 million customers on the day.

Rounding up every S

(3044)

Plot by plot, farm by farm, district by district, each adult is tracked

Armed with digital equipment linked to satellites, thousands of people nationwide are locating each and every voter for 1999, PAUL ALBERTS and PAUL BELL of the magazine *Siyaya* report

A dedicated band of men and women dispersed throughout the country, even to its remotest regions, is at work developing the most important tool of our evolving democratic machinery – the voters' roll.

Plot by plot, farm by farm and district by district, the team is locating the position of every person who might be eligible to vote and literally pinpointing, through the use of sophisticated digital and satellite equipment, the precise geographical position of that person's home. That information is being compiled centrally in a massive register that will form the basis of the country's new national voters' roll.

Each voter will be placed within a small but precisely demarcated set of boundaries that will ultimately be linked to a voting district, confirming for each voter registered within it his or her right to cast a vote on election day next year.

The compilation of a voters' roll can be regarded as the most logistically complex task that confronts electoral managers worldwide. The roll itself is the linchpin of electoral management. It determines who may vote and where and, therefore, plays a critical role in establishing voter eligibility, a balance in the distribution of voters among wards and constituencies, and fairness and transparency in the conduct of elections and their outcomes.

It is also a vital logistical and management tool for electoral administrators in the location, establishment, staffing and provisioning of voting stations.

Before 1994 there were only apartheid rolls. In 1994 there was no roll. People who voted did so simply on the strength of their identity documents and on an electoral official's ability to verify or accept a voter's credentials.

Central pool

People could vote where they lived, which meant that, while all votes cast for the national government went into a single central pool, there was no control over where votes at the provincial level could be exercised. People who lived in one province could vote in another and have their vote counted towards that other province's tally, meaning electoral outcomes could have been skewed.

In 1995/96, in preparation for the local government elections, an all-important beginning was made to the development of voters' rolls. These elections could not have been conducted without rolls, which determined that crucial element of the voter's eligibility that is related to where he/she lives. But the rolls were both frequently inaccurate and incomplete.

The task of compiling a voters' roll that accurately determines the residential portion of a voter's eligibility is made more complex in South Africa by virtue of the fact that about half of the country's eligible voters live on farms or rural villages or in informal settlements, so do not have formal addresses.

This factor cannot affect a voter's right to vote. The state must afford each person equal access to the vote. Such right of access is second only to the right to vote itself.

The Independent Electoral Commission is therefore tackling this enormous job all over again, and virtually from scratch, in order to compile a national voters' roll that can serve as the mechanical platform for elections at all levels of government in 1999 and thereafter.

At its heart is a digital database map for the entire country.

The process involves dividing the country into about 86 000 enumerator areas, each containing between 120 and 150 households, using the most advanced electronic survey equipment available, linked to satellites in order to determine co-ordinates at distance measurements of less than a metre.

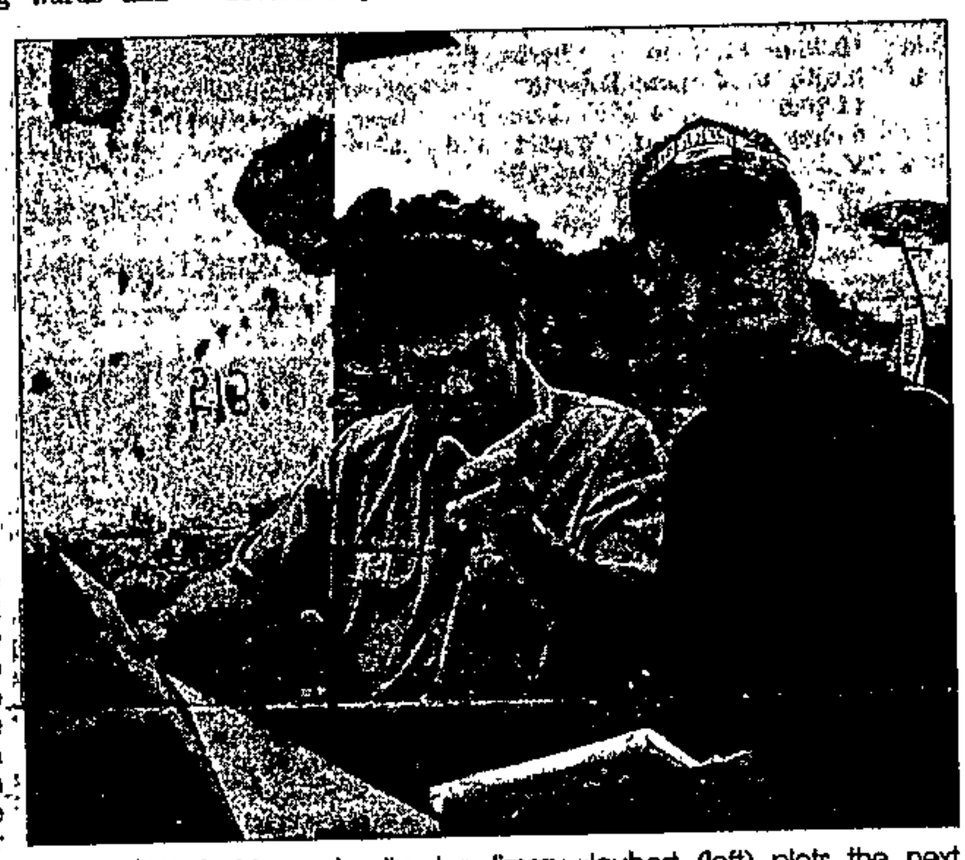
Sweden has mastered this technology with such success that its authorities can accurately determine the country's population at any one time virtually at the push of a button.

Australia, too, has plenty to teach us about voter enumeration. But even Australia, with its very few "informal" enumerator areas, took three years to do its own job.

As usual, South Africa does not have that sort of time. This job must be complete by this month. From there, the electoral authorities will move to actual voter registration, probably in October. And the election itself will follow seven to nine months later.

Several major institutions, and at least 30 lesser ones, are currently involved in this giant process of locating and delimiting the electorate. At state/national level, the Independent Electoral Commission is the agency ultimately responsible, and is, of course, the major end-user of the roll at election time.

The Central Statistical Service, which will use the roll at census time, is responsible for providing information about the boundaries of the 86 000 enumerator areas, which served as the basis of the 1996 census, and related data. And the surveyor-general's department is capturing data in so-called formal enumeration areas.



COORDINATES: Megasub director Jimmy Joubert (left) plots the next boundary point with surveyor Riaan Pieterse **PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL ALBERTS**

Mega-projects

In addition, a host of private contractors have been engaged to tackle the informal enumeration areas.

In essence, the task is to interlock the data from two mega-projects – "Miracle", a project of the chief surveyor-general, and "Merge", a project of the Chief Directorate: Surveys and Mapping.

Along the way, some 20 000 different deadlines have to be met by the many subcontractors involved. The interlocking is to all intents and purposes the function of "Eagle", a third mega-project that is being co-ordinated by a Pretoria project development company on behalf of the Central Statistical Service.

Eagle's product will be a combination of the 1996 census information, in particular its demarcation of enumeration areas, with the digital database that is pinpointing the location of voters. In other words, people's identities will be brought together with the terrestrial co-ordinates that define their places of residence, then transmuted into voters' rolls within demarcated voting wards.

Enumeration areas are classified as either formal or informal, and the work is split up accordingly among the various contractors.

Even the definition of "formal" is unsettled, bringing as it does a range of differences between the Central Statistical Service and the surveyor-general, which leads in turn to overlaps and underlaps in the coverage of areas, and then time-consuming and therefore additionally expensive reallocations among the contractors.

But the big difference between formal and informal areas is the cost of capturing them – an informal area costs 25 times more.

"Miracle" is creating a cadastral database for formal enumeration areas in the urban areas.

(In map-making language, a cadastre is a set of co-ordinates that defines a man-made terrestrial boundary.)

About 6 million stands have to be "captured", which translates into an estimated 41 000 enumeration areas with 150 households apiece.

There are another 41 000 informal enumeration areas – this is arguably the tougher side of the entire initiative, as it includes rural areas. Here, "Merge" is bringing together topographic data with cadastral data.

Contractors surveying these informal enumerator areas with the help of satellite-linked global positioning systems face major problems in keeping track of the continuous movement of squatters and informal settlements.

Logistical support

People and settlements can appear and disappear within weeks, depending on employment, land rights or other such factors.

Moreover, many of the rural areas are extremely isolated, in parts of the country where conditions on site are arduous and create major logistical support challenges. In Sekhukhuneland, Northern Province, for example, one subcontractor, Megasub, has had as many as eight surveyors travelling in 4x4 vehicles and operating in places that are almost inaccessible.

Vehicles frequently break down and the arduous terrain makes it difficult to reach a stranded surveyor. In the mountains, radio and telephonic communications are frequently hindered. Megasub alone is responsible for surveying 26 000 of the 41 000 informal enumerator areas.

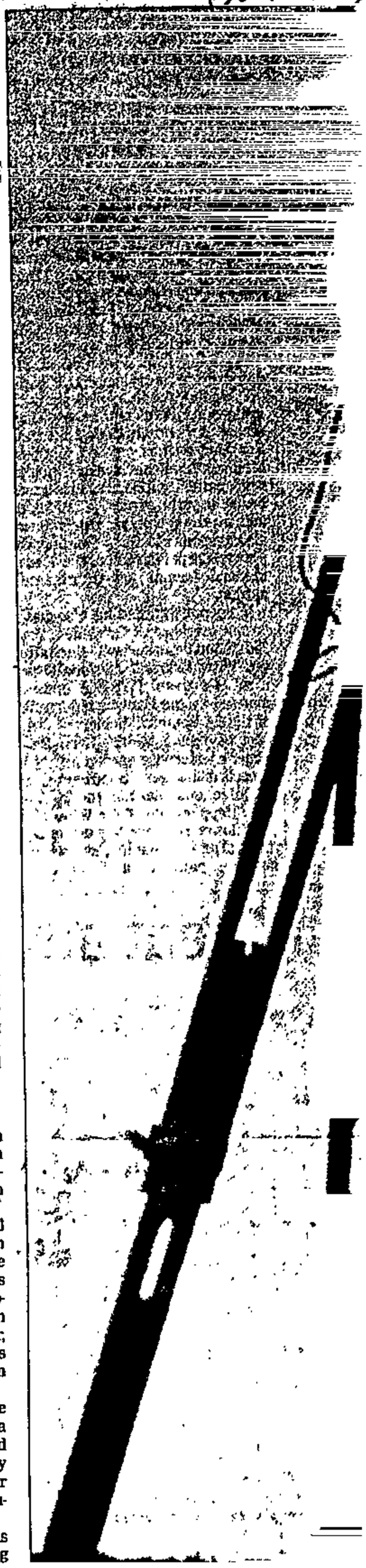
But, says "Eagle" project manager François Stander, the problems induced by looming deadlines will all be made worthwhile by the results that could flow from this project.

Managed properly, says Stander, they could have an extremely positive impact on the lives of South Africans that goes well beyond the voters' roll.

Planning costs for the provision of electricity, water, housing and education could be reduced dramatically.

Future census costs will also be minimised, and strategic public and private investment planning will be enhanced.

■ *Siyaya is an independent political magazine aimed at promoting democratic transformation*



IF YOU'RE OUT THERE, WE'LL FIND YOU: One massive survey can be completed without

every SA voter

(304A) Star 18/4/98

i by

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independent political magazine democratic transformation



IF YOU'RE OUT THERE, WE'LL FIND YOU: One of the team's many surveyors carefully plots co-ordinates so that the massive survey can be completed without leaving out even one house or shack

Bonile Ngqiyaza

Most want SA to help with peacekeeping duties

Sixty-two percent of SA citizens want the country to contribute to peacekeeping duties outside SA, according to the results of a survey published in the latest issue of the African Security Review.

The survey found that Democratic Party and Freedom Front supporters were the least inclined towards the country being involved in peacekeeping elsewhere.

The report said when broken down into racial groups, between two-thirds to 70% of the respondents were for peacekeeping, with blacks at 66%, coloureds 64% and Asians at a "marked high" of 70%.

Whites were the least favourably inclined — with less than half — or 43% of those interviewed, answering in the affirmative.

On the question whether southern Africa should establish its own peacekeeping force provided that the costs were shared by all partaking governments, the survey said almost two-thirds — or 65% — of respondents responded in the affirmative, with only 18% nonaffirmative and 17% undecided.

Broken down into racial groupings, those in favour of SA's involvement were black respondents (67%), coloureds (71%), Asians (71%) and whites (27%).

The report said respondents prepared to participate in a multinational peacekeeping effort on a part time basis, were evenly spread. "Very willing" and "willing" accounted for 15% and 24% respectively, while "very unwilling" and "unwilling" accounted for 17% and 27% of the replies.

The survey concluded that the unwillingness of white respondents to volunteer for peacekeeping and participation in external deployment of the SA National Defence Force could be ascribed to experiences they had with conscription. Also, it said, this might point to a more parochial outlook towards Africa and the world.

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MULTI LIQUIDATION
AUCTION & BANK REPOSSESSED

*TRUCKS*MECH.HORSES*CRANE
*TRAILERS*STEEL*PLOUGHS *FORKLIFTS*

IN THE MATTERS

Kielsen Mint Piling cc - Masters Ref: 12358/97, Ultimate Roadmarking (Pty) Ltd - Masters Ref: R3321/97, S & L Carport Manufacturers cc - Masters Ref: 13853/97

● ALL IN LIQUIDATION ●

Insolvent Estate W S Arnsmeyer - Masters Ref: 12691/97, and per instructions the repossession managers of 3 banks

TRUCKS	RESERVE PRICE
1993 Mercedes Benz 1214 Dropside	R68290
2 X Mercedes Benz 1113 Closed Body	Nil
Isuzu SBR Dropside	R16900
Isuzu JCR Volume Van	Nil
1995 Isuzu 4000D Volume Van	R32000
1995 Mitsubishi Canter Dropside	R19000
Mercedes Benz 2624 Rigid 12T	Nil
1996 AMC 4T Diesel	R34000
2 x Mitsubishi L300	Nil
Isuzu 4000 D Volume Van	Nil
Various Scrap Trucks & LDVs	Nil
MECHANICAL HORSES	
1989 Mercedes Benz 2638 - (Acc Dmge)(no eng,g/b)	R15000
1989 International 9700	Nil
1996 Iveco with hydraulics	Nil
1996 Kenworth K400	R125000
Hino 4x2	Nil
TRAILERS	
1996 Triple Axle Semi	R30000

Call for stricter mine environment policy

Josey Ballenger

A PARLIAMENTARY committee has recommended that enforcement mechanisms be put into place to ensure mines implement their environmental management programmes, and that mines make funds available for site rehabilitation before commencing mining activities.

After a study tour earlier this year of two gold mine dumps in Gauteng and abandoned asbestos sites in the Northern Province, the minerals and energy portfolio committee also said in a draft report last week that communities surrounding mining sites should be consulted by mine management, minerals and energy and other government departments.

John Kilani, Chamber of Mines' environmental adviser, said during the February tour that there were insufficient mechanisms to enforce laws.

Provincial minerals and energy department representatives said, however, they believed that they had enough legal power to ensure implementation of an environmental programme.

Regarding Durban Roodepoort Deep in Meadowlands, Soweto, the committee said a study should be conducted on the health effects (primarily blowing dust) of its slimes dam on nearby schoolchildren. It also recommended the mine "grass" the entire dump — currently 80% is covered — and pave school yards.

The committee also reported the mine has not conducted an assessment of the radiation hazard of its activities, as required by law, and that mine management indicated it would not be able to as long as it was a "marginal" mine.

Durban Deep is in the process, though, of revising its environmental management programme report.

At Grootvlei, near Springs, the closure of several mining operations in the area has caused the mine to pump large amounts of water into the Blesbokspruit, an internationally recognised wetland site and a tributary to the Vaal Barrage, Gauteng's main water source.

The concern is the water contains high levels of iron and salt. Government has paid for an iron-reducing clarification plant and approved a loan for Grootvlei to test desalination technologies.

McBride to be charged

Sowetan 20/4/98 (304A)

By Themba Molefe and Charity Bhengu

THE exact nature of the alleged offence relating to arms smuggling against senior Department of Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique will become clearer when he is formally charged this week.

Today McBride spends his 43rd day in jail after being arrested at the border town of Ressano Garcia on March 7 on suspicion of arms trafficking.

He is being held at a maximum security prison on the outskirts of the capital Maputo.

In terms of Mozambican law a suspect may be held up to 49 days pending investigations or before being charged.

McBride's wife, Mrs Paula McBride, told *Sowetan* yesterday that she had heard about the impending charges from press reports but would find out about them this week.

Mrs McBride told *Sowetan* previously that she believed that the Mozambican authorities wanted to be thorough in their investigations but maintained that her husband was innocent as no arms were found when he was arrested.

McBride has claimed he was in Mozambique on a private mission to investigate gun smuggling routes into South Africa.

Reports quoted his lawyers as saying he would prove in court that he was not guilty.

McBride's arrest has seen diplomatic shuttling between the two countries which resulted in the appointment of a top three-member police team to Maputo.

Speculation about McBride's activities in Mozambique has been rife, the latest being that he was framed in a third-force plot.

Confusion over fate of Robert McBride

ARG 21/4/98

He has been charged, says lawyer

(304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT AND FOREIGN SERVICE

South African Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride's case has been placed before a magistrate for a decision on whether to prosecute.

But 43 days after his arrest in Mozambique there is still no clarification on whether he has been formally charged.

His wife Paula said today that he had not been charged, while his Mozambican lawyer Albano Silva said last night that he had been.

Mr Silva could not give specific charges but said he expected to see documents relating to the case today.

After arriving home from a trip to Maputo to visit her husband, Mrs McBride said: "As I understand it, the police formulate a charge and it then goes to a judge who decides whether to prosecute. There are various follow-up procedures."

Mr McBride, suspended as head of the Asian desk at the Department of Foreign Affairs following his arrest on March 9 in Ressano Garcia near the Lebombo border post, is being held in Machava prison on the outskirts of the Mozambican capital.

Mr Silva said he assumed the charges related to arms trafficking. Mozambican police allege Mr McBride was caught trying to buy arms in Maputo.

Mozambique's attorney-general, Antonio Namburete, has told the Mozambique national assembly that Mr McBride was at most a simple buyer of arms. The sellers and suppliers were Mozambicans and they are under arrest, he said.

This was assumed to be a reference to the recent arrests of several serving or former army officers in connection with the McBride case.

The South African high commissioner to Maputo, Mangisi Zitha, said today: "We have received no communication from the Mozambicans on the matter (the charges)."

He was aware of reports that Mr McBride was to appear in court in Maputo this week. "We have tried to get information on this but none has been forthcoming."

Mrs McBride said her husband had not appeared in court or been formally charged, but said he was "fine".

The next step would be a court appearance at which a magistrate or judge would decide whether the charges against him warranted a trial or if he should be released. This was likely to happen soon.

Mr McBride's supporters say he was on a secret mission to track down gun-runners supplying weaponry for highway robberies in South Africa.

The former Umkhonto weSizwe member was arrested and sentenced to death for the June 1986 bombing of Magoo's Bar in Durban, in which three women were killed.

His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment, but he was released in 1992 as part of an amnesty for political prisoners.

SA denies McBride formally charged

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL (3044A)
SPECIAL WRITER
ARGT 22/4/98

Robert McBride, under investigation by Mozambican police for alleged gun-running, has not been formally charged, according to the South African High Commission in Maputo.

"He hasn't been charged and I know that for a fact. That is a perception created by the media. What is really happening is the police investigation is continuing," a High Commission official said yesterday.

This was confirmed by Errol Seyisi, who headed the South African police team who went to Maputo to work with police on their investigation.

Director Seyisi, of the murder and robbery, illegal firearms and special projects division of the police, told the Cape Argus he had not been informed charges had been laid against the suspended foreign affairs official.

"I have read about it here in the newspapers. I don't know anything about it. The Mozambican police will phone me if they have anything to tell me," he said.



Robert McBride

The High Commission official said they were awaiting a police report which would be issued once the investigation was concluded.

Newspaper reports in Maputo claim Mr McBride's case has been placed before a local magistrate for a decision whether to prosecute.

Mr McBride was arrested in Maputo last month on suspicion of arms dealing, and suspended from the Department of Foreign Affairs, where is he is the director of Asian affairs.

Three Mozambicans – a policeman and two former military officers – were arrested in connection with the arms-dealing case last week.

Mr McBride's wife Paula could not be contacted for comment yesterday.

The High Commission confirmed that she had visited her husband in prison on Monday.

Top policeman in McBride case dropped

(304A) CT 23/4/98

ANDRE KOOPMAN
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

SAFETY and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi has removed a senior detective from the investigative team assisting the Mozambican police on the Robert McBride matter and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission has been asked to investigate "serious allegations" about him.

Mufamadi said yesterday in a statement that a source debriefed by a National Intelligence Agency (NIA) manager had made serious allegations about Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne who is part of the investigative team. The source of the report was prepared to make an affidavit under oath repeating the allegations.

McBride's wife Paula, who has been active in his defence, yesterday said she "welcomed" the news, adding that the minister had "shown wisdom" in his decision.

McBride, a senior foreign affairs official, is being detained in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running. Senior South African police officials involved in the investigation have made strong allegations in the press practically convicting McBride. It has been speculated that McBride was caught in a sting operation by right-wing intelligence sources.

Mufamadi said yesterday that the chief of the TRC Investigation Unit, Mr Dumisa Ntsebenza, had been given a copy of the report and asked to investigate the allegation against Labuschagne.

He said he had discussed the matter with the national Police Commissioner George Fivaz, who had agreed that it it "was in the best interest of Labuschagne, the SAPS and all concerned, that he is removed from the team, while the TRC probes the allegations".

Fivaz said in another statement yesterday that the decision could in no way be construed as reflecting negatively on his professional expertise or standing.

Neither Mufamadi nor Fivaz mentioned the allegations made about Labuschagne, but a weekly newspaper reported recently that he had been implicated in the 1987 assassination of Cassius Maake in Swaziland. Maake was the most senior member of the ANC killed in exile.

Source made serious allegations about Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne

The report also said that his name had come up in hit-squad activities planned at the infamous Vlakplaas.

It mentioned details of what it said was a plot by apartheid security force members to sting McBride.

It also delved into the controversial background of Assistant Police Commissioner Sulker Britz, who had made statements in the press about McBride's guilt but has since been effectively removed from the investigation.

Mrs Paula McBride, who visited her husband on Monday, said she did not know what information Mufamadi had at his disposal.

She said that McBride was in good health and spirits but that the former MK special operative was missing his three small daughters.

His children were also "taking strain" and asked about their father all the time, she said.

Mrs McBride said of her long awaited visit to her husband in a Mozambique prison: "I fell in love with him all over again. It was a big relief to see him. I never doubted he would cope but it was a joy to be in the same room with him and talk and fill him in on developments here."

McBride had been unaware of developments in South Africa and did not even know that chief of the Defence Force Georg Meiring had resigned after the discredited Military Intelligence coup report.

She scotched all rumours that McBride had been charged, saying that for a charge to be finalised he would have to appear in court and that a trial date had not been set.

A police report on the investigation had been prepared and handed to a judge.

Mrs McBride said she would be happy if he were not charged, but if he were she would be relieved because she would be in a position to help mount an effective defence.

Another top cop off McBride case

(304A) Sowetan 23/4/98

By Ido Lekota

ANOTHER member of the security forces assigned to investigate suspended director of Foreign Affairs Mr Robert McBride's alleged involvement in gun-running activities has been removed from the investigation.

Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi yesterday announced that Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne – who was part of the team assisting Mozambican police investigate the McBride case – was removed from the team after serious allegations had been made against him.

According to Mufamadi, the move followed the receipt of a report which was based on a National Intelligence Agency debriefing of a source.

Mufamadi said the matter could best be investigated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's investigative unit, and he had accordingly given a copy of the report to unit head Dumisa Ntsebenza and asked him to investigate.

The first victim of the McBride saga was Assistant Police Commissioner Suiker Britz, who was removed from the investigation after he had made controversial utterances about McBride's guilt.

Mufamadi said he had also discussed the matter with National Police Commissioner George Fivaz



George Fivaz



Sydney Mufamadi



Robert McBride

and they had both agreed that it was in the best interests of Labuschagne, the police and all concerned, for Labuschagne to be removed from the McBride team while the TRC probed the allegations.

Stepped down

Fivaz said in a separate statement yesterday that the decision to remove Labuschagne from the McBride investigation should in no way be construed as reflecting negatively on his professional expertise or standing.

"Indeed, this decision was taken only after a meeting between myself and Superintendent Labuschagne in which he himself proposed that it would be in the best interests of the investigation that he step down voluntarily.

"Superintendent Labuschagne was of the opinion that he could not credibly continue his role in the investigation while certain allegations against him are being probed by the TRC."

Another recent victim of the McBride affair is South African National Defence Force head General Georg Meiring, who retired early following a report falsely linking McBride to a plot to overthrow the Government.

The report was discredited by a commission appointed by President Nelson Mandela, which was headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed.

The apparent marginalisation of Britz, Labuschagne and Meiring comes in the wake of media reports that McBride was set up by old-guard members within the security forces.

McBride, who is being held in a Maputo prison, has recently been officially charged with gun-running and is expected to appear in a Mozambican court soon.

Although Mufamadi did not reveal the allegations against Labuschagne, these are believed to be in connection with his alleged involvement in the assassination of a senior ANC member, Cassius Maake, and former Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) member Paul Dikeledi in Swaziland in 1987.

Alleged assassination

The two were allegedly assassinated near the Swaziland parliament.

In his trial, former Vlakplaas commander Eugene de Kock also implicated Labuschagne in operations in Swaziland in which MK cadres were killed.

In another incident, according to de Kock, Labuschagne – who was then a warrant officer based in Middleburg – and Captain Johan Botha shot at a passing car in Swaziland, killing an MK cadre known only as Viva, as well as three other occupants of the vehicle.

Botha has applied for amnesty in connection with the attacks but Labuschagne has not.

Yesterday Senior Superintendent Sally de Beer of the office of the national police commissioner said Labuschagne was prepared to cooperate fully with the TRC.

Swindler's list – or how

SA lost R9-bn

ARG 24/4/98 (304A)

Known corruption only 'the ears of the hippo'

INSIDE STORY

DR FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT reflects on corruption in South Africa and on how little is being done to prevent it

Judge William Heath, head of the special unit set up to eradicate corruption, delivers an interim report. He says that in 834 instances he can prove corruption amounting to more than R9,17-billion is involved and, according to him, this is "only the ears of the hippo".

There are instances of corruption with housing subsidies, government officials and politicians who buy state farms themselves for R7 500 and sell them for R750 000, district surgeons who lie about the number of kilometres they travel and how many patients they have seen, hundreds of schools that do not receive equipment that has been paid for, and more.

And, the judge says, it all stretches back as far as 1976, so that one cannot just blame it all on the African National Congress. But, since they have come to power, it does not seem as if the pace of corruption has abated.

There are irregularities with state tenders, premiers suspected of fraud; a deputy speaker who lied about a driver's licence; a provincial minister of safety investigated for driving without a licence and for perjury; a pensions scandal in the Eastern Cape; the chairman of the Central Energy Fund investigated for bribery and false pretenses; gang members and robbers who give newspaper interviews without being arrested; crayfish quotas which smell of nepotism; former members of the Independent Broadcasting Commission who steal state funds and, without paying back the money, are again appointed to government posts at fat salaries; widespread corruption among police and prison warders, and so on.

'The average citizen does not give a damn for anything because he feels nobody cares about him any more'

The most important fact that emerges from the ongoing corruption, before and since the ANC came to power, is that it is ideologically neutral.

Whatever the high pretensions might be of the rulers of the day about where they wish to lead the country, those who are corrupt are being encouraged by another agenda: one of

ma is that with greater freedom comes greater responsibility.

It is to the credit of the Government that it has appointed a special task group under Judge Heath to conduct a thorough investigation into corruption, and a Public Protector in the person of Advocate Selby Baqwa to react to specific allegations from the task group. But it is altogether inadequate.

It is not enough just to know about corruption. We must know what to do about it.

Are the guilty punished and the money recovered? What example are those in power themselves setting? Are people dismissed in shame, or are they promoted sideways and lightly rapped on the fingers? If provincial governments apparently spend money they do not have, who is held to account? And how?

What is the use of appointing a Public Protector and then not giving him an adequate budget with which to tackle his task? If R9-billion is lost through corruption, is half a billion rand a year too much to prevent it?

At the moment, Selby Baqwa and 12 officials in Pretoria must investigate all allegations of corruption throughout the country. It is a joke!

It is the responsibility of politicians to spend state funds according to priorities. In this way, they tell society what is important to them and what is not. It is no use appointing a

Independent Broadcasting Commission who steal state funds and, without paying back the money, are again appointed to government posts at fat salaries; widespread corruption among police and prison warders, and so on.

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The most important fact that emerges from the ongoing corruption, before and since the ANC came to power, is that it is ideologically neutral.

Whatever the high pretensions might be of the rulers of the day about where they wish to lead the country, those who are corrupt are being encouraged by another agenda: one of boundless greed, dishonesty and insensitivity to the hardship of others, which results in the shameless plundering of state assets at the cost of the general good.

They symbolise the antithesis of a working nation state that cares about the interests of its citizens and they undermine the development of a sense of national solidarity and duty.

Eventually, they make a communal sense of loyalty towards the state and the legitimacy of its institutions impossible.

In short, the average citizen does not give a damn for anything because he feels that nobody cares about him any more. In this way, the evil ripples of corruption are extended, because in this breeding ground it flourishes.

Corrupt people are literally citizens who do not give a damn about anything but themselves. If there are enough of them in a country, the country undoubtedly will founder.

It doesn't matter what lovely plans those in power have for building a nation, for human rights, affirmative action, equal education, economic growth or a thriving democratic culture. The cancer lies at the core of public administration.

The structural foundation of corruption lies in the extent of the state's interference in the general life of society. The greater the extent of interference, the greater the chances of corruption.

'(We must) expose the official excuses for corruption as the impotent nonsense that they are'

This is particularly so whenever more sectors of society are dependent for their economic activity on the support and co-operation of the state.

And it is here that the most malevolent legacy of the apartheid era lies. The state enthusiastically impinges in every conceivable manner on the private lives of its citizens.

But it helps very little for the government of the day to seek excuses, to say that "it is the apartheid legacy". It may be, but the realisation of the fact does not undo it; it continues.

To say "it was once your turn, now it is ours" may be true, but then corruption is merely extended and strengthened.

To say that "it is only white racism to constantly give attention to corruption under a largely black government" may be true, but if it is the same corruption as there was under a white government, the problem remains the same and corruption continues.

Corruption is corruption is corruption.

To acknowledge the fundamental wrongness of it is not the same as looking for excuses. A government that looks for excuses for corruption prepares its citizens for trouble and itself for irrelevance.

The ANC government began well by giving a strong indication that greater freedom was going to be given back to society. But the dilemma how?

What is the use of appointing a Public Protector and then not giving him an adequate budget with which to tackle his task? If R9-billion is lost through corruption, is half a billion rand a year too much to prevent it?

At the moment, Selby Baqwa and 12 officials in Pretoria must investigate all allegations of corruption throughout the country. It is a joke!

It is the responsibility of politicians to spend state funds according to priorities. In this way, they tell society what is important to them and what is not. It is no use appointing a whole lot of commissions and then allowing them to die from financial drought. It would be better not to create them at all than to create the expectation that they are going to carry out their instructions.

With rampant corruption, it is pointless to expect that commissions for human rights, gender equality, truth and reconciliation and so forth, can effectively carry out their instructions.

Judge Heath says: "There is general apathy among civil servants to work against corruption ... In cases where people do go to jail, they walk out wealthy because the public's money is never returned.

"Syndicates are operating in all government departments in all provinces and are flourishing ...

"If it were not for the limit on funds and the ensuing shortage of personnel, wider irregularities than the R9-billion would be exposed."

Judge Heath says he can identify these corrupt people and document allegations.

Nothing could encourage corruption more than if he said this and nothing was done about it. He has made an open and official invitation to proceed.

But, lest we take satisfaction in the embarrassment of the Government and its representatives, citizens outside the public sector must also take a look at themselves.

Without the enthusiastic co-operation of the private sector, organised crime and the general amoral indifference of the average citizen, who regards bribery and favours as the normal way of advancement, corruption would die from lack of oxygen.

The most elementary ingredient of the moral renewal that President Mandela has pleaded for is the individual citizen's commitment to a moral communal order, the acceptance of the worth of our public institutions, a refusal to stand by idly when they are compromised. There is an intimate and mutual relationship between unpunished official corruption and public indifference.

It is our duty to expose the official excuses for corruption as the impotent nonsense that they are. It doesn't matter whether we are accused of racism, lack of patriotism and anti-revolutionary activity.

Nothing would strengthen the general feeling of loyalty and commitment to a new South Africa more than a government that combated corruption at every level and with every means at its disposal firmly and without compromise, and which made a call on ordinary citizens for help.

■ *This is a translation of the article which appears in the latest edition of* ***Insig***

McBride's silent witness

M+G 24 -29/4/98 (304A)

South African and Mozambican investigators have failed to contact a potentially crucial witness in the McBride affair, writes

Mungo Soggot

A close associate of Robert McBride, who has offered information to counter allegations that the foreign affairs official was smuggling weapons in Mozambique, has still to be contacted by Mozambican and South African authorities.

As McBride entered his sixth week in custody in Maputo this week, it emerged that Aubrey Lekwane, a former official of Lawyers for Human Rights, has not been interviewed by Mozambican police who have been in South Africa preparing a case against McBride with the help of local detectives.

Lekwane has publicly stated he believes McBride was set up, and is prepared to become McBride's star witness. He has also informed Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi and others of his position.

Lekwane says the man with whom McBride was arrested, Vusi Mbatha, has often worked with military intelligence, which has been accused by McBride's supporters of masterminding the set-up which led to his arrest.

Lekwane told the *Mail & Guardian* last month that Mbatha had told McBride and himself, while they were meeting an investigator from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, that Mozambican gun-runners were supplying South African criminal syndicates.

Lekwane said when he heard of McBride's arrest he was almost certain he had been arrested while following up on Mbatha's claims. "I contacted Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa immediately, and informed him that I believed I had information that would be useful in this matter," he said.

The *M&G* has already reported on evidence that McBride was working in an undercover investigative unit probing crime syndicates. The truth commission has confirmed Mbatha's crime-syndicate story.

The failure on the part of the Mozambican police to question Lekwane suggests their South African colleagues have not directed them to evidence which could exonerate McBride and bolster his "set-up" defence.

Safety and security representative Director Joseph Ngobeni said this week the South African police had merely been deployed to assist the Mozambicans, not to direct the investigation in any way.

The Mozambican police have finished their probe and handed the matter to a judge, who has still to decide whether to charge McBride.

If he goes on trial, his legal team could be forced to call witnesses who would confirm under oath his intelligence work. Such disclosures could embarrass the South African government, particularly in light of its failure to inform Mozambique of intelligence activities on its soil.

McBride's legal team is compiling a dossier on his past intelligence work to lend credence to his defence. This includes probing the assassination of African National Congress stalwart Dulcie September, and corruption at South Africa's firearms registry.

The government's reluctance to assist McBride is becoming a growing source of consternation among his supporters — particularly given the composition of the South African police team despatched to investigate the affair.

The team this week lost the services of one of its more controversial members, Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne, who is due to be probed by the truth commission for apartheid-era political assassinations.

Mufamadi said Labuschagne's departure followed a National Intelligence Agency debriefing of an unidentified source who was prepared to repeat his allegations under oath.

Last month, the *M&G* reported claims by police hitman Eugene de Kock that Labuschagne had murded prominent ANC activists in Swaziland in 1987. At the time of the report, Mufamadi effectively defended Labuschagne, saying the allegations were "untested and malicious".

Police Deputy Commissioner Zolisa Lavisa added in a statement earlier this month that the police did not "discriminate against any member only on the basis of previous affiliations, unless we have reliable and proven evidence of past human rights violations".



Paula McBride: The government's reluctance to help her husband is a growing problem among his supporters. PHOTOGRAPH: NEIL SPENCE/THE SUNDAY INDEPENDENT

Ireland

(304A) CT 27/4/98

ANC peace team for Ireland

BRITISH GOVT, SINN FEIN SEEK HELP

JOHANNESBURG: The British government and Sinn Fein have asked four core members of the ANC's Kempton Park negotiating team for help regarding the ceasefire in Northern Ireland, writes **HOPEWELL RADEBE.**

THE African National Congress has agreed to send a high-powered delegation to Northern Ireland to help implement the proposed peace agreement.

The delegation is to include senior ANC members who negotiated South Africa's transition to democracy.

The decision was taken by the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) in response to a request by the British Labour Party and Sinn Fein, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

ANC national chairman Mr Patrick Lekota said the delegation would include former ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, Minister of Constitutional Development Valli Moosa and Minister of Transport Mac Maharaj.

The four were core members of the ANC's negotiating team at the Kempton Park talks that led to the 1994 democratic elections.

Lekota said the delegation would be in Northern Ireland this week and would return on Friday.

Phosa left last night for a crucial business conference in Austria. He is to meet Maharaj in Belfast, Northern Ireland, tomorrow. Ramaphosa and Moosa are to join them on Wednesday.

This will be the second time South Africa has assisted in the Irish peace process. Representatives of most of the Northern Ireland parties attended a conference in the Western Cape last year at which South African political figures shared their experiences in the Kempton Park negotiations.

"This means that South Africa is continuing to make a contribution in supporting peace initiatives internationally because of its experience during the Codesa negotiations at Kempton Park," Phosa said..

"We have also had our share of having to implement difficult resolutions and agreements, involving governance and the question of armed wings of liberation structures, during the transformation of our country."



TO JOIN TEAM: Cyril Ramaphosa



DUE IN BELFAST: Valli Moosa

Phosa said the four were scheduled to meet Sinn Fein's leaders to discuss IRA prisoners. This question would also be discussed with all other Northern Ireland political parties.

"We will visit the political prisoners in their cells to talk about the importance of implementing the peace agreement and advancing the call for the ceasefire."

Phosa said the South African government was continuing to make a positive contribution to advancing world peace.

Lekota said the ANC and the government were being called on increasingly to help with "nurturing the deepening democracy on the continent".

ANC secretary-general Mr Kgalema Motlanthe said the government had been asked by the Democratic Republic of Congo to explain to the developed world the difficulties that President Laurent Kabila's government faced in trying to reconstruct a country that had been ravaged by 32 years of dictatorship and, more recently, civil war.

Kabila's government was being pressured by "powerful countries" to announce immediately a date for elections, although his country had yet to establish an effective administration that could perform at this level, Motlanthe said.

"(The DRC government) wants us to convey the message to the outside world that it is not easy to hold elections under such conditions."

Govt wants to lift the veil off SA's history

Much of SA's legacy has been hidden behind selected monuments, but government has a plan to redress the balance of official memory, writes **Stephen Laufer**

BD 28/4/98 (304A)

ROBERT Baden-Powell held Mafeking for 217 days despite a siege by much bigger enemy forces. Andries Pretorius was victorious at Blood River.

Single-handedly?

Who dug the earthworks for the dusty northwest town's fortifications? Who polished the shoes of the officer who went on to found the boy scouts?

For every figure or event feted by official histories, many more are left unacknowledged. What do we know about the San guards who watched over Pretorius' encampment at the Ncome river on the night of December 15 1838? Or the thousands of Zulu families who for years afterwards mourned those whose blood reddened the river the next day?

More even than in most countries, much of SA's history has remained out of sight — hidden behind monuments to a narrow official view of the past, stored in the recesses of individual and community memory, buried under ideology and wishful thinking.

Now, things might change. The imminent adoption by cabinet of nine key legacy projects appears to open the way for a broader interpretation of SA history commemorating the origins of all of the people of this country.

The proposals debated early this year by a group of historians and last week by the provincial MECs for culture will go a long way to redressing the balance of official memory.

They come in response to a growing sense, particularly in the African National Congress (ANC), and most recently articulated by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, that the full spectrum of the nation's history must be made increasingly visible.

Mbeki is clearly concerned that the nation needs a new context, symbols and heroes from which to draw sustenance and inspiration. He is aware of the invisibility of much about the past that matters most to most South Africans.

The expansion of official history will contribute to healing divisions, restoring dignity and self-confidence to those whose heritage has been denied, and moving SA into the post-colonial era.

Take a trip across the country with an eye for monuments, museums, and designated places of remembrance, and it is obvious that he has a point. Chances are that what is not visible is at least as significant as what until now has been officially acknowledged.

From Cape Town to Beit bridge, the landscape is dotted with the icons of a society founded on conquest and exclusion.

Take the monuments to the Anglo-Boer war concentration camps. They make scant mention of the thousands of black South Africans imprisoned alongside Afrikaner women and children.

None of this selective remembering was an accident. It served a political and ideological purpose.

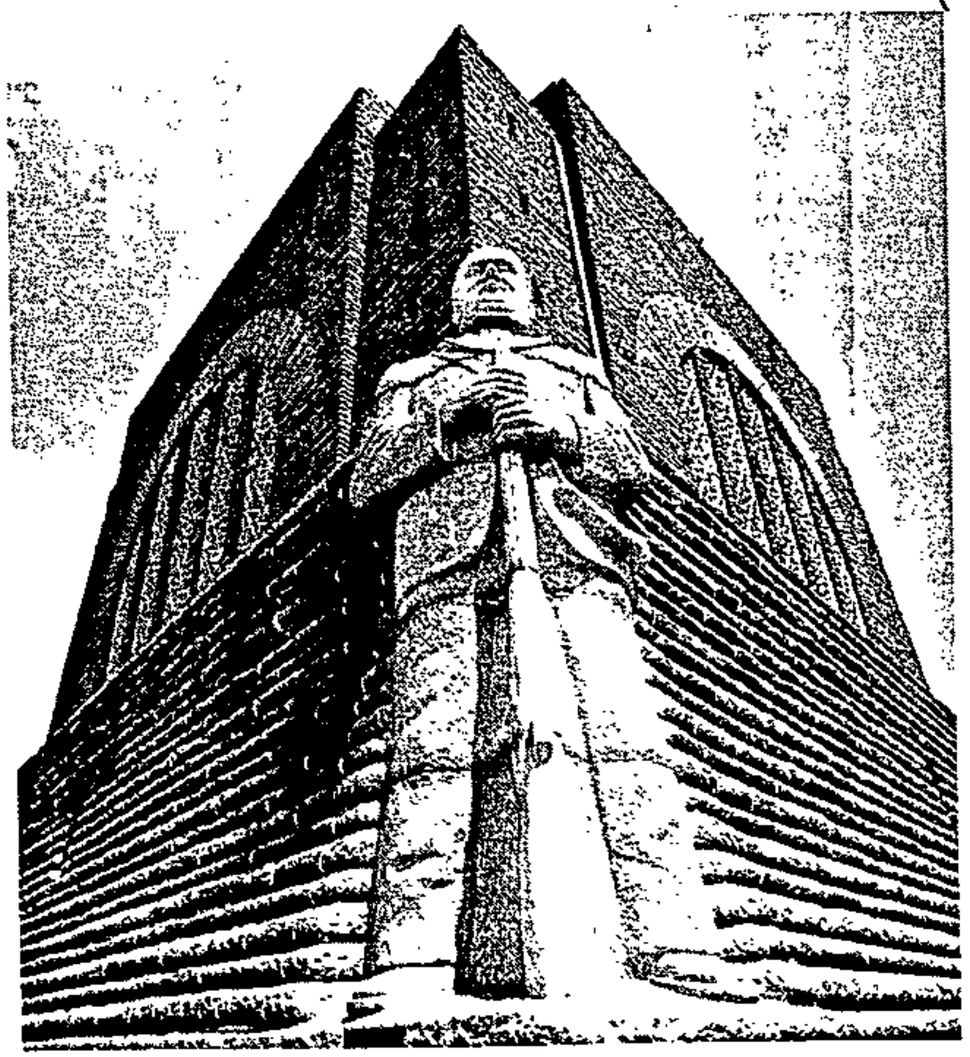
Apartheid, and the colonial systems which preceded it, could only ever make space for one view of the events and people who formed this country because they were determined to keep the country for their heirs alone.

As with the political systems prior to April 1994, history, memory, and commemoration were exclusionary. The view of the past — cast in stone or bronze — was one-sided, jaundiced, predicated on justifying a system which excluded most of the country's people.

For many, history is grey theory, best forgotten after school. They should remember that for many countries, heritage is a highly marketable commodity.

Besides restoring to many communities the dignity of belonging to the greater whole, the legacy projects offer significant economic potential as the focal point of a new type of SA tourism beyond today's sun, sand, and game parks.

Heritage tours to destinations as diverse as Mexico's Inca ruins, US civil war battlefields, the temples of the Nile, or Zimbabwe's ruins generate billions of dollars of annual income internationally.



The Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria

Yet SA's vast historic panorama — from the prehistory of humanity in the Sterkfontein Valley to the struggles for democracy which inspired the world — has not featured significantly in marketing the country as a tourist destination until now.

These sites offer rich pickings to thoughtful tourism entrepreneurs. There are also domestic and international political dimensions to the rediscovery and acknowledgement of SA's historical diversity.

Mbeki's African renaissance, which seeks radically to alter the prevalent world view of the continent as a basket case, is predicated on historical examples illustrating the sophisticated cultural and political heritage from which Africans come.

During his recent East Asian trip, he twice drew extensively on the continent's history of learning, governance, and trade to underline his conviction that Africa can again become a significant and stable contributor to the international community.

Mbeki's argument can be persuasive, particularly when coupled with pointers to the growing number of democracies in Africa, SA's modern infrastructure and increasingly successful efforts at peaceful conflict resolution.

Domestically, the legacy projects may contain slightly more dynamite. They are not without compromises or gaps. They confirm again that history is always also the handmaiden of politics.

The inclusion of the Blood River site in the first nine projects is a case in point. It appears to have as much to do with Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali's high-profile membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and his deep devotion to Zulu tradition as with the relative importance to a new understanding of SA history of a reinterpretation of the battle.

Critics argue that there are more important military and civilian events awaiting commemoration. They argue that other conflicts should have had priority in giving balance to the commemoration next year of the of the Anglo-Boer war.

Those celebrations, likely to include significant international participation, will tip the balance in the direction of colonial history again. Whether Blood River — where the defeat of the Zulu nation will have to be acknowledged whatever corrective interpretations of the context and sacrifice involved — is an adequate response to the Anglo-Boer jamboree, remains to be seen.

Among the alternatives, many feel the battles waged by the volunteers of Umkhonto weSizwe led by people like Chris Hani, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and other groups who confronted the apartheid state are arguably of greater significance to the majority of South Africans. They also point to the victims of forced removals and the migrant labour system.

There have been many requests to the truth commission for a permanent memorial to the sacrifices of individuals on the road to democracy. They are as yet largely unheralded, but they may have to wait because the IFP is an important if prickly coalition partner and a still reluctant bride despite intense courtship by the ANC.

Much hope for an ultimate sense of balance is being pinned on a legacy mega-project whose strength may ultimately also be its greatest weakness. Freedom Park, referred to recently by Mbeki, has loosely been called a "one stop heritage shop".

The plan is for a centrally located agglomeration of memorials, museums, interactive sites, galleries, and learning facilities. Its great strength could be its centrality and its ability to combine a range of experiences linking the past to the present.

It could founder if it is poorly conceived. The greatest danger is a heritage Disneyland on the hill somewhere outside of town.

To overcome this, thought could be given to combining Freedom Park with the expected new parliament building in Gauteng in a setting akin to the Mall in Washington DC. There, the legislative and executive arms of government are joined by a major park around which are grouped museums, memorials, and galleries.

A crucial element to the success of such a constellation will be the park's accessibility to major population centres. It will also need to be home to the national monument to those who fought for democracy in SA.

If the complexity of a nation's display of its history is a measure of its willingness to make space for competing views of the past, then the changes wrought by the legacy projects will provide a barometer of SA's progress towards national unity in diversity. The visible results across the land will say much both about the past and the kind of present we choose.

Cabinet to review projects aimed at correcting SA's skewed history

(304A) BD 28/4/98

Stephen Laufer

THE cabinet is to discuss a portfolio of "legacy projects" designed to redress imbalances in the official recognition of SA's history, including a Freedom Park which would include monuments to the victims of apartheid.

Among the other projects understood to be under consideration by the cabinet are a museum in Umtata documenting the life of President Nelson Mandela, which would house many of the gifts he has received from around the world; a memorial to former Mozambican president Samora Machel at Mbuzini in Mpumalanga, where he was killed in a plane crash; a women's memorial at the Union Buildings, site of the 1956 women's march; a memorial to SA's first Nobel peace prize winner and former African National Congress president Albert Luthuli centred on his home at Kwa Dukuza in KwaZulu-Natal; and additions to the monument at Blood River expanding on the Zulu experience of the battle.

The proposed Freedom Park is a cornerstone of the new approach and potentially its biggest project.

Centred on the themes of democracy, nation-building and the struggle for liberation, it will include monuments and museums to the victims of apartheid; to the liberation struggle; to the children and youth of SA and their decisive role in the move to democracy; and a park, galleries and conference facilities. A site has not yet been chosen.

The proposals were discussed last week by the arts, culture, science and technology department with the responsible provincial MECs. It is understood that a historians' colloquium also achieved broad consensus on the priorities to go before the cabinet.

A founding document establishing principles against which new projects would be judged was adopted by the cabinet last year. It seeks to make the spectrum of SA history visible in a variety of aesthetic forms and to define heritage as an educational tool.

The proposals include a number of significant projects around the country aimed at giving greater visibility to the historical role and experience of individuals and groups previously sidelined by official views of the past.

Two projects under way are included in the portfolio. They are Constitution Hill, the site of the new Constitutional Court at Johannesburg's old Fort, where various political prisoners including Mandela, Boer generals and Mahatma Gandhi were held; and Freedom Square in Kliptown, site of the 1955 people's congress.

Lifting veil on SA history: Page 13

Board 'unlikely to finish demarcation on time'

BD 28/4/98 (304A)

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — A significant step in the preparation for the 1999 general elections was the tabling in Parliament last week of the Municipal Demarcation Bill, which provides for the establishment of an independent municipal demarcation board.

However, Chippy Olver, the provincial affairs and constitutional development department's local government deputy director-general, doubted the board would finish its work in time for the local government elections, provisionally scheduled for most of the country for October 1 1999.

At the end of a week-long public hearing on the local government white paper, Olver said it was anticipated that the bill would be promulgated by early June and the board would be ready to begin demarcation on September 1.

The demarcation process was likely to take seven months. However, to have any effect on the next local government elections it would have to be finalised by the end of February as provinces would have to establish the new municipalities, determine the number of voters and wards, and set up election machinery. The need for public participation could delay the process even further.

"The reality is that we might have the next election on the basis of a large number of apartheid boundaries. If we can live with that so be it. If not, we must look at other alternatives," Olver said.

However, Yunus Carrim, chairman of parliament's portfolio committee on constitutional affairs, was emphatic that the African National Congress would not consider holding the local government elections on the basis of the old apartheid boundaries.

"It is absolutely out of the question. If the foundations are not laid for nonracial elections, then there won't be elections in November next year," he said.

Constitutionally, local government elections for most of the country would have to take place before November 1 1999, by May 29 2000 for the Western Cape and July 1 2000 for KwaZulu-Natal.

Carrim said public hearings on the proposed Municipal Demarcation Bill were planned.

One of the major changes to be introduced by the bill was to shift power over demarcation from MECs to an independent board. In this way the notorious political manipulation of boundaries as practised by the previous regime would be prevented.

In the last elections the old apartheid municipal boundaries were used but under the proposed bill the new boundaries would be fixed to further growth and development goals, Carrim said.

The bill lays down objective criteria and procedures for the determination of municipal boundaries and stresses that the board must be impartial.

In terms of the proposed legislation, the board would consist of between 11 and 15 suitably qualified members as determined by Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa and appointed by the president for a five-year term.

The board would appoint a manager and could establish committees to assist it. It "must be composed in such a manner that it reflects regional diversity and collectively represents a pool of knowledge concerning issues relevant to municipal demarcation in each province", the bill states.

The bill was the first in a tranche dealing with local government transformation, Olver said. There would also be legislation on establishing and categorising municipal structures and on development planning performance management, accountability and administrative reorganisation.

NOW'S THE TIME
INTERNATIONAL QUALITY OFFICE SPACE

SA marks four years of freedom

Star 28/4/98 (304A)

Broadsides and bouquets as Rainbow Nation celebrates its new beginning in multicoloured ways

STAFF REPORTERS, SAPA AND OWN CORRESPONDENTS

Freedom Day was celebrated throughout the country yesterday as politicians made speeches under a hot sun and crowds were treated to volkspele, traditional dancing and nonstop music.

In Cape Town, President Nelson Mandela donned a suit to speak from the balcony of the old city hall – the same spot where he made his first speech on the day of his release from prison in February 1990. He appealed to people to appreciate their differences but to remember that they were one nation.

If there was any sign of dissatisfaction in the crowd, it was a common hatred of crime. T-shirts bearing anti-crime slogans and prints of the white dove of peace far outnumbered threadbare "struggle" T-shirts or bright ANC T-shirts.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki told South Africans who constantly threatened to emigrate, and to take their skills elsewhere, to do just that. He said people who were against affirmative action seemed to have forgotten how their skills were acquired.

In a hard-hitting speech given at the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union congress in Durban, Mbeki said structures set up to protect the old order remained intact and that past forces had regrouped to undermine the Government.

"My only response (to those threatening to leave) is that it is probably better that they leave."

Mbeki said the enemies of change were showing signs of arrogance, and the recent shooting of 6-month-old Angelina Zwane, allegedly by a farmer in Benoni, and the move by rugby authorities to drag Mandela before a court, were proof of this.

"These forces of the past have regrouped, reorganised," he said.

At Kings Park stadium in Durban, where King Goodwill Zwelithini had earlier in the day addressed a jubilant crowd, festivities ended in chaos last night. Thousands of revellers stormed the concert stage and then spilt into Umgeni Road, where some clashed with police and wrecked property.

The live concert was the last item on the celebration programme. Members of the crowd said the audience had grown restless because of the delayed appearance of a popular kwaito band.

Witnesses said that when the musicians finally appeared on stage, at least 2 000 fans surged forward from the stands, breaking down and flattening two barrier fences, and invaded the pitch and stage.

As the crowd was cleared from the grounds, members of the public order policing unit and their vehicles were allegedly stoned.

In Johannesburg, the thousands who turned up for celebrations at the Library Gardens had a very special day. After politicians' brief addresses, those present enjoyed several hours of nonstop music.

Freedom Day was celebrated quietly in Pretoria, except for a festival at the Union Buildings that included volkspele and Zulu dancing. About 800 people enjoyed the day on the lawns.

Generally, opposition parties highlighted the crime issue, saying South Africans could not appreciate the benefits of democracy while the Government failed to curb crime.

"Law-abiding South Africans will only be truly free when the totally unacceptable levels of crime in the country have been brought down to acceptable levels," said National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon told a rally in Brakpan that ineffective opposition and the ANC's intolerance of criticism of any kind were serious threats to the country's democracy.

► Report and picture, Page 3

Public access to all information

Star 30/4/98 (3044)

After a three-year delay, the Cabinet yesterday approved draft legislation aimed at providing the public access to all information in government or private sector hands.

Adoption of the Open Democracy Bill had been delayed because it could be tabled only after the new Constitution and local authorities were in place.

There had been objections to the bill, including from the private sector, said advocate Mojanku Gumbi, legal adviser to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and one of the drafters of the bill.

The bill prevents companies from using information about individuals without their consent.

In the case of banks this meant that a balance had to be found between protecting the privacy of individuals against the ethics of credit-worthiness. – Political Correspondent

They defy change

Third Force elements doing their best to disrupt change. If this trend is not nipped in the bud, we may end up paying dearly, says **Dumisani Makhaye** ...

(304A) Bouetan 30/4/98

THE EVENTS of the past few weeks in South Africa confirm the political adage that the state apparatus of the old system and its symbols cannot be agents of democratic transformation in the new order.

They are not passive-resistance soldiers of the past. They represent an active struggle of the old to survive against the new.

The result of the contest between the old and the new will, to a large extent, depend on what the new does. The ball is therefore in the court of the new order.

However, it must also be understood that the pace, timing and content of all great revolutions are shaped not by the wishes of the revolutionaries alone but also by what the counter-revolutionaries do.

A revolutionary who fails to decipher the signal of counter-revolution and act decisively on it is no revolutionary at all.

Inaction when there must be action is as dangerous as premature action.

The Russian communists at the beginning of the century, for instance, had a programme of revolutionary transformation.

But counter-revolutionaries in the form of the Tsars, capitalists and kulaks began a deliberate programme to sabotage the economy. This expedited the need to implement a revolutionary programme.

Another example is the national democratic revolution in Cuba in 1959. At the beginning the revolution's slogan was *Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!* (Fatherland or Death! We shall Win!)

But after the increase of United States-sponsored counter-revolutionary activities, including the Bay of Pigs invasion, the national revolution in Cuba took a socialist tone.

The slogan was subsequently adapted to *Socialismo o Muerte! Venceremos!* (Socialism or Death! We shall Win!)

Lessons for SA

These experiences have lessons for South Africa. The Georg Meiring report about a left-wing *coup d'etat* against the African National Congress-led government comes to mind.

Robert McBride's arrest in Mozambique seemed to be aimed at authenticating the theory of this left-wing coup plot and was a stark reminder that certain underhand activities are still continuing.

These events confirm the folly of the theory that the representatives of apartheid can be hypnotised until they voluntarily become agents of democratic change.

Today the existence of a Third Force during apartheid has been grudgingly accepted by all and sundry.

But the forces that benefited from apartheid naively believe it all happened in the past. The recent events, however, confirm that the Third Force is still alive and kicking.



Robert McBride, a leading ANC member, was implicated in a now-discredited report of a left-wing coup plot.

Another example is the recent petition of 14 of the 19 white members of the KwaZulu-Natal bench against the appointment of Judge Vuka Tshabalala as a deputy president of the province's bench.

They did not stop there. They threw their full support behind the former Afrikaner Broederbond executive member Judge Willem Booysen, who only resigned his membership after it was exposed in the media.

Some of these judges were responsible for sentencing freedom fighters to death or giving them long prison terms.

They do not even have the guts to apply to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for amnesty, yet the public is expected to regard them as not being tainted with the ideology of the apartheid past.

For this reason most South Africans will be happier if their trials are presided over by a foreign judge rather than local judges of the old order.

Indeed, today the most vulnerable South Africans are those who participated in the struggle against apartheid and the heroes are those who acquiesced with state terrorism.

These few examples of counter-revolution have been widely reported in the media. Unfortunately, they have again been reduced to the level of personalities and the trivial.

These actions nevertheless represent the mounting of a counter-offensive against democratic change by the symbols of the apartheid order just before next year's general elections.

We must expect this counter-offensive to grow unless it is nipped in the bud. We must expect more and more former freedom fighters to be arrested on trumped-up charges and then be inexplicably convicted in courts.

Taking advantage of the ANC's principled belief in the rule of law, counter-revolutionaries are turning institutions such as the judiciary, security forces and various Government offices into nests of counter-revolution.

There is absolutely nothing wrong with institutions like the office of the attorney-general, the office of the auditor-general and the Reserve Bank *per se*.

But there is something wrong with some of the incumbents in these institutions.

Because of counter-revolutionary activities, the need to expedite the democratic transformation of these institutions has become even more urgent and important

Everybody agrees on the principle of the independence of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary.

Shortest route

But surely in a country going through transition and whose judiciary and state organs are still overwhelming composed of those who benefited from apartheid, is it not advisable that more power should reside in those elected organs of the state which reflect the will of South Africans?

This may be the shortest and only route to unshackle public institutions of the legacy of the apartheid past.

From the ruins of the apartheid edifice must emerge truly independent public organs of the new democratic order.

(The writer is an ANC national executive member. He writes in his personal capacity.)



Dodgy connection: Robert McBride (right) is being held in a Maputo prison with Vusi Mbatha, a gun runner with military and police intelligence links. PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD

Monty Python charges

M+G 20/4-7/5/98 (254) (304A.)

An overlap between Robert McBride's outlandish charge sheet and the discredited Meiring report suggests an intelligence set-up, write **Mungo Soggot** *and* **Stefaans Brümmer**

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and Robert McBride conspired with Cuban and American diplomats to overthrow the ANC government: that is among the bizarre claims which have kept McBride in a Mozambique prison cell for more than 50 days.

The *Mail & Guardian* this week gained access to the charge sheet in the McBride case and discovered it was little more than a summary of the Meiring report — a document which has been dismissed as a hoax by President Nelson Mandela and a tribunal of the country's top judges. The discredited intelligence report, warning of a coup, was presented to Mandela in February by defence force chief Georg Meiring.

The Mozambican charges appear to hinge on a statement by a former military intelligence informer, Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with McBride and who is named as the second accused in the case.

Mbatha has also been named as the sole source for the Meiring report.

The overlap between the charge sheet and the discredited Meiring report reinforces suspicions that McBride was framed by rogue elements of South Africa's intelligence community to lend credence to the report after Mandela initially failed to take it seriously. Meiring was forced to tender his resignation after a tribunal of judges, chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, rubbished the report.

The charge sheet, which could easily have been culled from a Monty Python script, puts McBride at the centre of an arms-smuggling ring run by Madikizela-Mandela who — along with Meiring's likely successor Siphiwe Nyanda, General Lambert Moloi, Bantu Holomisa and McBride — stars in the Meiring report.

The charge sheet lists as third co-accused Mozambican arms dealer Alex Mamba (also referred to as 'Uamba'), alleged to have previously supplied arms to Inkatha.

In 1996, Madikizela-Mandela is alleged to have negotiated in Swaziland with a Mozambican general to train soldiers for "her movement" — christened "Fapla" in the Meiring report. McBride and Mbatha both allegedly became involved. McBride is supposed to have secured guarantees of money and uniforms from officials at the American and Cuban embassies.

In October 1996, claims the charge sheet, Mamba began supplying Madikizela-Mandela with AKM-47s, bombs and Makarov pistols. The charge sheet says that in September last year the final transaction involving the former first lady took place: she allegedly paid R100 000 for 30 bombs.

The charge sheet provides scant detail of the actual transaction which led to McBride's arrest on March 9, and relies almost exclusively on Mbatha's testimony.

It says that in January this year McBride and Mbatha met Mamba to discuss an arms transaction, paying $2 500 for a consignment of weapons in February. Mamba was not there and they left the money, returning the following month when they were arrested. There is no mention of the $11 000 McBride is supposed to have been carrying at the time of his arrest.

The *M&G* has also obtained some details of Mbatha's statement to the police. Like the charge sheet, it skirts details of the "arms transaction" and instead regurgitates already discredited features of the Meiring report.

Legal sources in Maputo say Mbatha claims in his statement that McBride was working with a number of co-conspirators — including Madikizela-Mandela, Moloi and Nyanda — to topple the Mandela government.

It is understood Mbatha also claims that Madikizela-Mandela met members of the Mozambican army to discuss the coup, and that McBride was ferrying arms for Fapla cohorts. Mbatha also refers to Cuban, American and Russian accomplices all of whom have so far not been traced by the Mozambican police.

Although the South African government has refused to release the Meiring report, it has revealed its salient points: that an organisation called Fapla, steered by senior members of Umkhonto weSizwe, was plotting a coup.

Mbatha and McBride were arrested a week before *The Citizen* newspaper first published details of the Meiring report.

At a confidential briefing to opposition politicians after Meiring's resignation, Mandela himself floated the possibility that McBride was framed to lend credence to the report.

Meanwhile, it has also emerged that the South African police have been sending their Mozambican colleagues clippings on the McBride story, omitting articles which have raised the likelihood of a set-up.

The South Africans have insisted they have only been assisting the Mozambicans and not in any way steering the investigation. A representative for Police Commissioner George Fivaz this week refused to discuss questions about South African police activities in the McBride case.

The *M&G* also understands that Superintendent Lappies Labuschagne — who was withdrawn from the investigation last week following allegations he was an apartheid assassin — was still working on the McBride case on Friday last week.

Sources close to the investigation in Maputo claim Labuschagne was asking his Mozambican colleagues for details of the $11 000 in cash which McBride was allegedly carrying when he was arrested.

Fivaz's office said Labuschagne was no longer working on the case. "By last Friday he had already resumed his duties in Mpumalanga," a representative said.

McBride's possession of the cash remains one of the most curious aspects of the case — a fact clung to by those who insist he is guilty of trading arms.

Nevertheless, a senior intelligence official involved in the McBride probe said this week he and his colleagues were becoming convinced of McBride's innocence.

He said there remained "perplexing" factors in the case, but it appeared more likely that McBride had been caught in something in which he was not involved. "We are beginning to get some sort of a feeling that McBride may be more innocent than we thought."

Some of the South African policemen involved in the case have already linked the Meiring report and McBride's arrest — but stopped making the connection when the report was scotched by Mandela and Judge Mahomed.

Shortly after news of the Meiring report surfaced in the South African press, the policeman in charge of the McBride investigation in South Africa, Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz, was reported saying he had met a general and two senior military intelligence officials who had given him "a whole pile of information".

In an apparent reference to the Meiring report and its relevance to the McBride investigation, he said: "I can't say whether it is about overthrowing the government. But it is definitely about arms smuggling."

Both McBride and Mbatha are being held in a prison on the outskirts of Maputo. It is understood McBride sustained minor injuries after fighting with the policemen who arrested him. Mozambican prisons are crammed with people who have been awaiting trial for at least a year.

The full charge sheet, PAGE 7

New communications chief right on line

Joel Netshitenzhe aims at running a 'lean, mean talking machine'

(304A) ARG 1/5/98

INSIDE STORY

This new department plans to see that everybody has easy access to government information, reports National Media Editor **JACQUIE GOLDING-DUFFY**

Joel Netshitenzhe has been chief executive of the new Government Communication and Information Service for two months now, and already he has forged ahead with plans to make the new service "leaner and more efficient".

Mr Netshitenzhe spoke this week about GCIS plans to produce pamphlets and booklets for public use, and of talks with the telecommunications department to set up centralised telephonic computer centres in rural and outlying areas in a bid to give the public access to government information at the click of a button.

He explained this was a long-term goal, but that the idea was for the new communication service to enable the Government "to directly communicate with citizens and allow citizens to access information directly via a website".

Clarity then could be provided to the public on a range of issues, and specific information could be accessed by people interested in particular pieces of legislation.

The GCIS was established in line with recommendations by Comtask, the task group established by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki two years ago to investigate, among other things, the relationship between the media and the Government, and ways to improve communication between the two. One of the central recommendations was that the GCIS must be "highly professional and be as lean as possible, with the main task of working out a communications passage for Government as a whole".

An audit of the former propaganda tool – the South African Communications Services (Sacs) – was being conducted in an effort to determine which of the functions would continue under the auspices of the GCIS, and which would be streamlined or outsourced.

"We are assessing the performance of the old Sacs and transformation will take place accordingly," said Mr Netshitenzhe.

Former head of Sacs Sol Kotane was one the candidates for Mr Netshitenzhe's position, or that of his deputy, Yacoob Abba Omar, but "he was unsuccessful".

Mr Netshitenzhe added that Mr Kotane would not play a role in the new GCIS.

No specific budget had been earmarked for retrenchments, as the GCIS was not aimed at laying off personnel, but rather geared at "transforming" the former Sacs.

The Comtask report presented to the Cabinet more than two years ago attacked Sacs and accused it of lacking a "clear mandate".

Sacs was described as "a collection of undirected components", all suffering from low morale and with "no clear basis on which to restructure or reform itself".

So low was its level of interaction with government departments – which should be the core of its work – that two-thirds of ministries, departments and provinces had contact with it only "from time to time", and 17% "not often".

Comtask reported a "lack of enthusiasm for Sacs across the Government and in the media", and "low credibility". GCIS faced the mammoth task of trying to reform government communications as a whole, as government departments, too, were lambasted in the report.

The eight-person committee found that, among other things, the Government applied too few resources to communications, there was a lack of central co-ordination of the Government's message, no co-ordination of messages between government departments and not even co-ordination of messages on one issue within a single department.

The president's office, which "runs an efficient communications system", was an exception.

Mr Netshitenzhe was the former head of communications for the president's office and deputy Mr Omar was Armscor's general manager for corporate communication.

Mr Netshitenzhe said he knew the Government could no longer afford to put out confused messages abroad, adding that the term, "new South Africa", as a marketing strategy was no longer sufficient.

With an inherited budget of R50-million and a staff of about 300, he and Mr Omar had to make the GCIS credible so that the public and press would rely on it as a source of information.

Some of the GCIS's other functions included centralising activities like advertisements on behalf of all government departments, as well as monitoring electronic and print media. The GCIS, Mr Netshitenzhe said, was aimed at developing streamlined communication facilities to be in line internationally.

Comtask convener Mandla Langa earlier commented on the attitude of the press and said "age-old fossilised thinking" was apparent in most reports published in local dailies and weeklies, and had to be addressed.



Budget of R50-million: Joel Netshitenzhe

McBride case might well be dropped, says human rights lawyer

Star 1|5|98 (304A)

Cuban and Mozambican witnesses could hold the key to whether official will face gun-running trial

By Raphael Banda and Peter Fabricius

The case against Robert McBride, arrested in Mozambique eight weeks ago on allegations of gun-running, could be dropped at the preliminary stage by the presiding judge, a leading human rights lawyer said yesterday.

Lawyers for the suspended Foreign Affairs official have indicated that the judge who has the police docket containing the allegations is likely to make a decision next week after interviewing two foreign witnesses, apparently a Cuban and a Mozambican.

"There is a remarkable coincidence between the allegations made by the Meiring Report (military intelligence report) and the charges" which McBride is likely to face, Dr Vinodh Jaichand, director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said yesterday.

"The coincidence echoes almost on a regular basis the so-called findings of the Meiring report," Jaichand said.

That report alleged that McBride was part of a group of mainly former Umkhonto we-Sizwe members who were plotting to overthrow the Government.

The Mail & Guardian newspaper yesterday published what it claimed was the charge sheet containing the allegations against McBride.

The charge sheet narrates how Vusi Mbatha, a South African police operative, procured arms of war allegedly for Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, and the part McBride played.

Jaichand said the alleged charge sheet "probably lends credence to the allegations that Robert McBride was in fact framed".

He added that the Mozambican authorities would have to provide proof of the allegations.

"If proof is not forthcoming, then clearly the result is that McBride's statement must stand as a fair reflection of the events as he alleges."

McBride was arrested in Mozambique nearly two months ago, allegedly while trying to buy arms.

He has been held in solitary confinement at Machava prison near Maputo. He is among six people facing gun-running charges.

In Mozambique an accused is considered guilty until proved otherwise.

Jaichand said identification of prospective witnesses in the case suggested the investigation was at a preliminary stage, and it would be a tough task "just identifying the actual persons".

"From the (alleged) charge sheet the evidence appears sketchy and circumstantial. It is likely that the matter will not proceed beyond the pre-trial hearing," said Jaichand.

McBride's lawyers are expected to formally apply for his release on the grounds that the charges have no substance.

The Mozambique Criminal Investigations Department would not comment on the charges.

McBride expected to be cleared

CT 1/5/98 (304A)

RAPHAEL BANDA AND PETER FABRICIUS

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PLOTTER?: Robert McBride



QUIT: Georg Meiring

The *Mail & Guardian* yesterday published what it claimed was the charge sheet which details how arms were allegedly procured for Winnie Madikizela-Mandela by Vusi Mbatha, a South African police operative, and McBride's alleged role in it.

Jaichand said the alleged charge sheet "probably lends credence to the allegations that McBride was in fact framed".

He added that the Mozambican authorities would have to provide proof of the allegations.

"If proof is not forthcoming, McBride's statement must stand as a fair reflection of the events as he alleges they took place."

McBride is among six people facing the gun-running charges.

According to the purported charge sheet "the co-accused committed jointly the crime of acquisition, ceding, alienation, possession and use of prohibited weapons".

"From the (alleged) charge sheet the evidence appears sketchy and circumstantial. It is likely that the matter will not proceed beyond the pre-trial hearing," said Jaichand.

McBride's lawyers are expected to formally apply for his early release on the grounds that the charges have no substance.

Neither the Mozambique Criminal Investigations Department, the judge, nor McBride's Maputo lawyer would comment on the charges against McBride.

"I just find it outrageous," said McBride's wife Paula, on reading the charge sheet. "I cannot see how a judge can go to trial on that basis."

She added that the charge sheet was based on the "theory of the coup plot" claimed by the MI report which has since been rejected by a judicial inquiry. Defence Force chief Georg Meiring stepped down in its wake.

ANC spokesperson Steyn Speed said despite the nature of the charge sheet the ANC feels the Mozambican justice system will have to run its course.

Family 'going through hell' over sex claims – NP leader

'If this is a dirty trick, then we have sunk to a new low'

WILLEM STEENKAMP
AND PIETER MALAN

National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk and his family are going through a "personal hell" following allegations that Mr Van Schalkwyk paid R20 to have sex with a criminal.

The Mail & Guardian newspaper this week carried allegations by convicted criminal John Hermanus that Mr Van Schalkwyk paid him R20 in March 1996 to have sex with him in a Bloubergstrand house.

Mr Van Schalkwyk has strongly denied the allegations, saying he has never met Hermanus and was not in Bloubergstrand at the time of the alleged incident.

He also denied knowing a Mr Lloyd at whose house the alleged incident was said to have taken place.

In a frank interview with Saturday Argus, Mr Van Schalkwyk spoke vividly about the pain and suffering the allegations had caused him and his family.

"As a politician one does not show your pain, but today I can tell you that I am bleeding, I am bleeding on the inside.

"As a public figure and a politician one expects to be in the firing line, one expects to receive body blows from time to time.

"But this, this is vile, these allegations are cruel, unfair and devoid of all truth. I am just deeply thankful that my three-year-old son is too young to read. At least he has been spared the pain of these cruel allegations.

"My wife is a strong woman and she is standing by me. But we are going through hell," said Mr Van Schalkwyk. He said he had been told that Hermanus spotted him on TV one night and then apparently decided that Mr Van Schalkwyk had had sex with him.

"This just shows what a vulnerable position people like myself find themselves in. I now have to defend myself against the ... allegations of a convicted prisoner who is serving a jail sentence.

"There is no truth to these allegations, but the damage has been done. I am currently speaking to the country's top legal advisers and I am considering both legal action against the Mail & Guardian newspaper and Hermanus.

"What is particularly shocking is that the Mail & Guardian did not believe these allegations themselves and the newspaper said as much in its editorial column.

"Yet they still went ahead and published. They promised that they would come back to me and give me an opportunity to react, but they did not. Is this responsible journalism?"

"I have been aware for some time about these allegations and considered issuing a public statement at one point. However, when I was phoned by Gerald Morkel (premier elect in the Western Cape), who informed me that Hermanus had laid a charge with the police, I decided to allow the police to investigate and not to make a statement.

"I did not want to put pressure on the police. I knew that the allegations were unfounded and wanted to give the police the opportunity to establish this.

"But then the allegations were published in the newspapers."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said there were clear indications that this was a smear campaign against him and the NP.

"Our information is that Steve Carolus, an ANC member, had apparently visited Hermanus in prison and had spoken to him on several occasions before these allegations were made.

"If this is so and if this is indeed a dirty political trick to discredit me, then we have indeed sunk to a new low in politics in this country.

"But people can rest assured. We will not let this pass. We will find out who is behind this. We will call for the visitor's log at the prison where Hermanus is imprisoned. We want to get the phone records.

"We will find out who orchestrated these allegations."

Mr Van Schalkwyk said he would not let the incident get him down. "I am more committed than ever to play my role in this country," he said.

Meanwhile the ANC has confirmed that Mr Carolus, a party worker in the Mowbray constituency office, had visited Mr Hermanus in jail. The ANC's Mowbray office is the responsibility of ANC MP Willie Hofmeyer.

Cameron Dugmore, the party's Western Cape spokesman, however, denied allegations that the party was masterminding an orchestrated attack on the NP leader.

"The fact that Mr Carolus visited Hermanus in jail is really not sinister at all. Our constituency offices receive hundreds of calls and often visit prisoners to listen to their complaints.

"In this case, Mr Carolus also received some reverse charge calls from Hermanus, but told him to stop making these calls."

Yesterday the NP called on the ANC at provincial and national level to investigate immediately the possible involvement of Mr Carolus in the "disgraceful affair".

Mr Dugmore described the incident as a "storm in a tea cup", saying he regarded the allegations against Mr Van Schalkwyk as ludicrous and "a lot of rubbish".

He said attention should focus on the question whether the Mail & Guardian was within its rights to publish the allegations – not whether the ANC was involved in the perceived smear campaign.

Prisoner who made Van Schalkwyk allegations is serving sentence for theft

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

Prisoner John David Hermanus, the man who alleged he was paid for sex by National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk, was jailed in March this year for seven years on two counts of theft.

One of the charges against him was for the theft of a video recorder.

The prisoner alleged this week that he was paid R20 by Mr Van Schalkwyk for sex at a house in Bloubergstrand in 1996.

According to Correctional Services spokesman Eddie Claasen, Nico Lotter, the area manager of Voorberg prison near Malmesbury, where Hermanus is being held, is going through prison records to help the police with their investigation.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said Hermanus telephoned the NP Cape office in March to say someone from the African National Congress had visited him and was trying to convince him to do "certain things".

The NP has also denied allegations that three people claiming to be from the party visited Hermanus in prison to ask him to withdraw the sex claim in exchange for R5 000.

Mr Lotter and Frank Africa, the prison head, are looking through records of Hermanus's visitors, said Mr Claasen.

"Naturally they will need some time to complete their investigation," he said.

Police will only say that their investigation is proceeding.

UNIQUE TOY

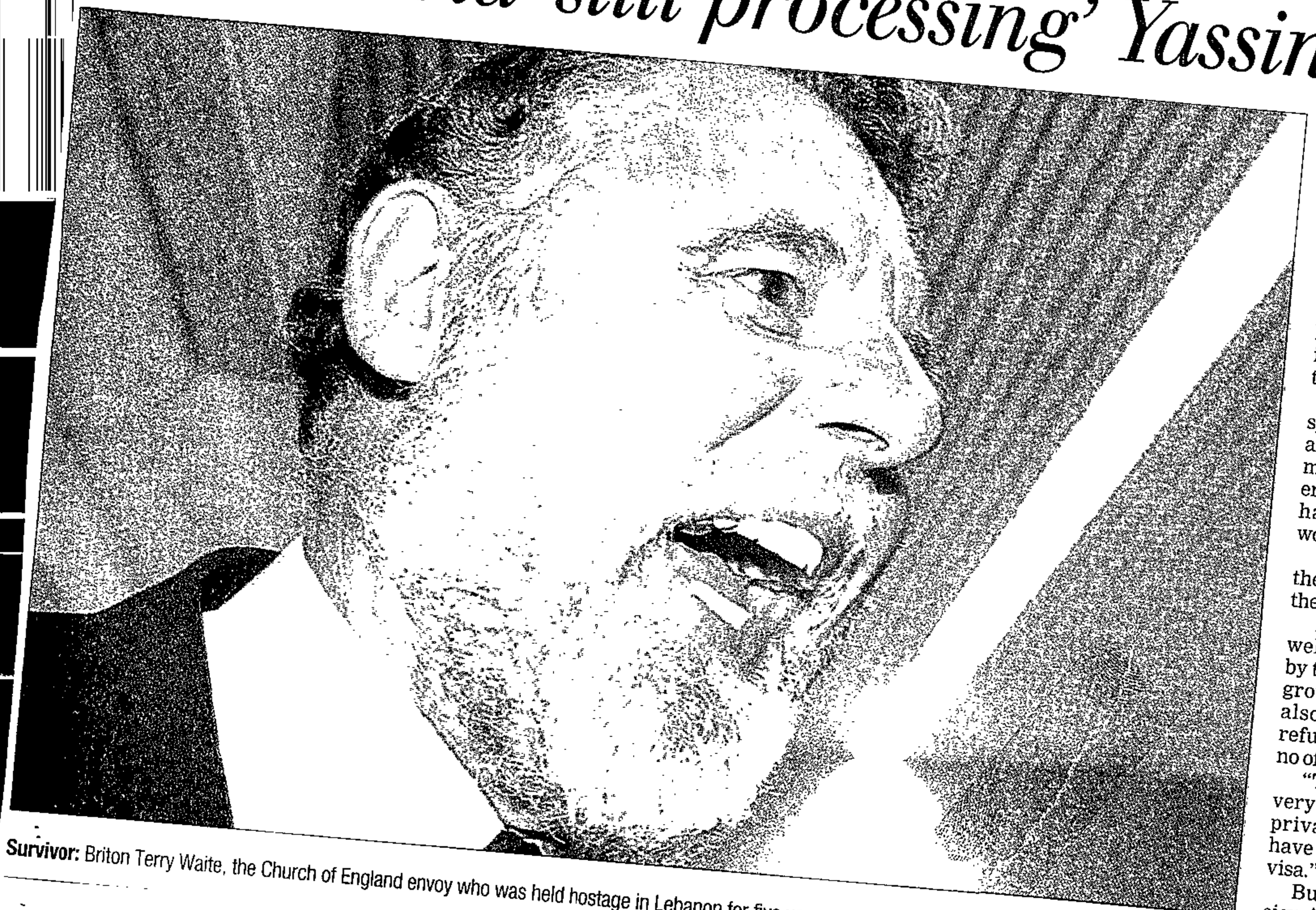
1951
FIAT 600
"Multipla"

Good
running



Hamas leader barred, say Muslims

But Pretoria 'still processing' Yassin visa application



Survivor: Briton Terry Waite, the Church of England envoy who was held hostage in Lebanon for five years, arrives in Cape Town OBED ZILWA

(304A)

SHARKEY ISAACS
STAFF REPORTER

ARG 7/5/98

Local Muslim groups are again claiming Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin has been denied a visa to visit South Africa.

The founder and spiritual leader of the militant Palestinian group was due to arrive tomorrow.

Islamic Unity Convention spokesman Aziz Kader said that although no official announcement had been made by the Government, highly placed sources had indicated Sheikh Yassin would not be let in.

"If he is not granted a visa then he will travel to Malaysia, the next stage of his world tour."

Ahmed Essop, head of the welcoming committee formed by the 11 South African Muslim groups behind the invitation, also said the sheikh had been refused a visa. "But we've had no official confirmation as yet."

"The Muslim community is very angry and upset. This is a private visit and there should have been no problem getting a visa."

But the Department of Foreign Affairs said it was still handling Sheikh Yassin's visa request.

"The application is being processed," said spokesman Marco Boni.

Newspapers have reported that Sheikh Yassin planned to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow and travel to Cape Town on Sunday.

Mr Essop said Sheikh Yassin wanted to meet those in South Africa who had backed the Palestinian cause and was hoping to meet President Mandela.

Mr Mandela's office has said no meeting was planned.

Muslim organisations went ahead until yesterday with plans to welcome Sheikh Yassin.

The welcoming committee had booked the VIP lounge at Cape Town International Airport for Sunday afternoon.

Local Islamic organisations had put aside their differences for the visit.

The welcoming committee includes representatives of the Islamic Unity Convention with 305 affiliate organisations, the Muslim Judicial Council with 100 mosques, and the Islamic Council of South Africa. Representatives of organisations like the Muslim Youth Movement, Call of Islam, Jamiatul Ulama, KwaZulu Natal Jamiatul Ulama and the Sunni Council of South Africa are on the committee.

McBride mystery deepens as witnesses revealed as bogus

(3044) Star 2/5/98

By PETA THORNYCROFT

For the first time in decades, the Cubans and the Americans agree on something: some of the people named as collaborators with Robert McBride don't exist.

McBride was arrested in Mozambique and accused of gun smuggling nearly two months ago. But the Mozambican police have not sought to question Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, seriously implicated in the charge sheet they presented to a judge last week.

The *Saturday Star* has also established that the Department of Foreign Affairs has said it will not pay anything towards McBride's steadily mounting legal fees.

Details of the Mozambican police charges against McBride were published by the *Mail & Guardian* this week. The charges will be presented to a judge in Maputo next week to decide if there is sufficient evidence to justify prosecution.

However, the police may find it tricky producing some of the key collaborators named in their charge sheet. The document names Louis and Coba, identified as American and Cuban diplomats. But neither of them are known to their embassies.

Cuban ambassador to Mozambique, Pedro Goncales, chortled: "It's nonsense, we have nobody of those names here." Nor did he believe the names were aliases. "There is no Cuban here who would have been involved, and you know that."

American diplomats have let McBride's lawyer in Maputo know they too know of no one of either name attached to their embassy.

And veteran journalists in Maputo have not heard of the so-called Mozambican general Massango named in the document.

Joseph Ngobeni, spokesman for police commissioner George Fivaz, said yesterday he was unaware of any Mozambique request to question Madikizela-Mandela.

The *Saturday Star* has established, just days before the matter of any prosecution will be decided, that there has been no request from Mozambique's investigators for any help over the questioning of Madikizela-Mandela, accused of meeting Massango in Swaziland to arrange for him to train 80 men in Mozambique belonging to her "movement".

It is clear from the "charge sheet" that the information has been gleaned from only one source, Vusi Mbatha – an informant in the pay of the former SA government from his early teens who had confessed his role on several occasions to Lawyers for Human Rights, and who had been prepared to give evidence to the TRC.



ROBERT McBRIDE: His case comes before a judge next week

Mbatha was also the only source for the discredited military intelligence document claiming there was a coup plot against the SA Government and which cost SA National Defence Force chief Georg Meiring his job.

McBride's wife Paula said yesterday she was surprised that her husband's employer, the South African Government, was refusing to pay his legal costs. "It is evident that Robert had been set up in a not very creative way. They have paid legal costs for (Eugene) De Kock and Magnus Malan, but not Robert, who was trying to stop illegal gun-running into South Africa. The costs so far are about R50 000. We can't afford that," she said.

"Robert had been working for the National Intelligence Agency on a project connected to the highway heists, but on this matter he went on his own initiative. The $11 500 found on him when he was arrested was our money. Reports saying it was the Government's money were wrong.

"Robert was naive. He knew Mbatha had been an agent. But last year, after he said he would tell the TRC how Mbatha had tried to discredit Winnie, Robert decided to give him a chance. He realised Mbatha had been involved since he was a kid of just 14, and he seemed to have useful information.

"So Robert decided to see if Mbatha could help him find out who was involved in gun-running in both the South African and Mozambican police." Mrs McBride said. "Robert made a well-intentioned mistake."

Jose Nascimento, McBride's lawyer, said yesterday: "When this is over – and it will be soon, because the charges against him are rubbish – there should be a commission of inquiry as this is a very dirty matter.

"Also, why does this Government pay the legal costs of Jessie Duarte, Magnus Malan and not McBride? He was acting beyond the call of duty, in his own time, to try and stop gun-running, which is the source of so much misery. Can anyone explain why?"

Vicky Maharaj a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs, said: "Robert McBride was on leave at the time of his arrest on a private visit without the knowledge of his department, so it cannot be expected of Foreign Affairs to get involved in the legal process."

Two-thirds majority: The ANC wants 'unfettered power'

CAROL PATON and MICHAEL SCHMIDT

ST 3/5/98 (304A)

THE ANC would review the power held by independent watchdogs if it won a two-thirds majority in the coming election, the party's secretary general, Kgalema Motlanthe, said this week.

Motlanthe, who holds the third-most powerful position in the ANC, said a two-thirds majority would enable the ANC to form a government "unfettered by constraints".

Among the institutions the ANC wants to review are the Judicial Service Commission, which advises the President on the appointment of judges, the auditor general, the attorney general and the Reserve Bank.

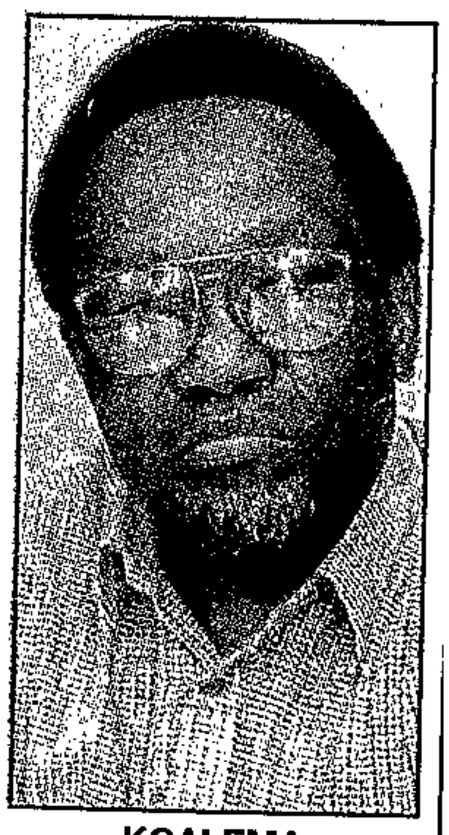
"We're not questioning their integrity but the rationale behind their establishment and composition. Because you need people in these positions who buy into the values of the new nation," said Motlanthe.

Dumisani Makhaye, an ANC national executive member and Kwazulu Natal spokesman, said that, while there was nothing wrong "per se" with these institutions, there was "something wrong" with their incumbents.

"There is growing thinking within the ANC that they would like to maintain the racial status quo," he said.

Motlanthe said the ANC was concerned that many civil servants in strategic positions were not loyal to the government. Some of them — for instance, many judges — had been appointed by the National Party government.

"Right now we have rules determined by old considerations. All we can do is comply with the rules. We would like to have a civil service that is service-orientated and loyal to the policies of the government.



KGALEMA MOTLANTHE

"At the moment, they report somewhere else. They know who their past masters are. We have to look at the whole system — even those bodies that are supposed to be independent," he said.

The call to transform the civil service, an issue discussed at the ANC's national executive meeting last weekend, is the result of growing frustration within the party that, although it is in government, it has been unable to grasp key levers of power.

The statements by Motlanthe also coincide with a stinging attack by Cosatu on "old guard" civil servants.

At a rally in Durban on Friday, Cosatu's national treasurer, Ronald Mofokeng, called for a purge of top "old guard" whites, from judges to generals, and for the axing of the Reserve Bank governor, Chris Stals, in favour of a black successor.

Also on Mofokeng's hit list was Judge Jan Combrink, who on Thursday acquitted Kwazulu Natal strongman Sifiso Nkabinde of 16 charges of murder, a verdict which disappointed the ANC.

Combrink was one of 14 white judges who generated a storm of controversy last month when they petitioned the Judicial Services Commission not to appoint Judge Vuka Tshabalala to the post of Kwazulu Natal deputy judge president.

Motlanthe also criticised Judge Willem de Villiers, who subpoenaed President Nelson Mandela to justify his decision to appoint a commission of inquiry into rugby.

He said it was clear that "judges appointed on the basis that they were part of the old Broederbond cannot and will not serve the new regime".

Rules applying to the civil service might also need to be changed, he said.

"The civil service works according to the rule book. If you want to change it, then you have to change the rule book."

The ANC is to discuss the civil service with Cosatu this week at a meeting with it and the SA Communist Party to prepare for an alliance summit later this month.

Motlanthe said that the ANC wanted to persuade Cosatu to provide its "unqualified support" in an election effort to obtain a two-thirds majority.

Bid to close books on looted homeland millions

Linda Ensor (304A) ~~(302)~~

CAPE TOWN — The books of four former homeland governments, from which hundreds of millions in taxpayers' money was stolen, may finally be closed if the National Council of Provinces agrees.

The council's select committee on public accounts resolved yesterday to seek council endorsement of its decision to probe the three limited audit reviews compiled by the auditor-general's office on the outstanding financial affairs of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana for the year ending March 1995.

The reports directly concerned the Eastern Cape, North West and Northern Province but had not yet been dealt with at national level.

"State funds have been misappropriated, and these people should be brought to book to prevent such things happening again later," committee chairman Piet Gous said. It was unacceptable that nothing had been done to finalise the matter.

Clarence Benjamin of the auditor-general's office, warned that the problem could fall between institutional "stools" and remaining unresolved.

The committee proposed identifying feasible actions to recover funds and bogus salaries and deal with R170m in foreign assets, transfers of funds offshore and tax issues. Another suggestion was "redlining" the books so that the provinces concerned could devote all their attention to record keeping in new structures.

BD 5/5/98

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

DP swaps policy with political machismo

While attacking the ANC for 'reracialising' SA politics, the Democratic Party is itself tainted by racist thinking, argues **Firoz Cachalia** in the second part of a critique of the DP's race policy

BD 6/5/98 (304A)

CAN the Democratic Party itself escape the charge, contained in its recent pamphlet Death of the Rainbow Nation, that the African National Congress is "racialising SA politics"?

Before1994, the DP functioned exclusively as an "opposition" inside the apartheid system. Participation on the terms allowed by the system necessarily limited its capacity to represent individuals on a nonracial basis.

Involvement in racial politics had a direct impact on where the DP set up its branches, recruited members, raised money, canvassed for support, and whose opinions and interests it represented. Political parties represent their voters; they cannot represent nonvoters vicariously.

Nor was the choice to participate in racial politics merely tactical. It was a symbolic justification of the idea that parliamentary politics and representative government were for whites only.

No one would deny that Helen Suzman, Colin Eglin and others played a principled anti-apartheid role or that many voted for the DP because they opposed the system of apartheid. But from within the apartheid system, the party could not and did not represent the voteless majority.

Since 1994, the DP has gained at the expense of the National Party among white voters because the NP has tried to respond — without success — to the new realities of SA's electoral policies.

The DP, by contrast, has appealed to the anxieties of white voters fearful of change, by representing itself as a watchdog and a defender of white interests threatened by the "majoritarian" ANC.

Surely the most important test for political parties seeking to displace an incumbent government in a democracy is their capacity to build an alternative majority based on clear alternative policies. The DP has not even tried to do this, since this would require some accommodation of the African experience. Instead the party prefers to defend narrow interests in the name of high principle.

A recent Idasa report comments that since 1994 the DP has "been unable to shake off its perceived link with white middle-class 'liberal' interests, giving it few points of access to any black voters". Why is this? The DP uses the notion of racial politics as a crutch and blames the ANC for its own failures.

But the correlation between race and political preference is not primarily about "race" — it is about the legacy of racialised socioeconomic inequality. Any party which articulates the interests of newly enfranchised voters can win support. This is precisely what the DP has failed to do.

To cite just one example: when Gauteng passed legislation deracialising access to education in the province, the DP joined the Freedom Front and the NP in a failed challenge to the law's constitutionality. Is this what one expects from a party which is committed to nonracial education and nonracial politics?

The DP pamphleteers accuse the ANC of creating an atmosphere of "political correctness" and "intimidation". This is curious in the light of the present DP leadership's advocacy of "muscular liberalism"— a form of political machismo which substitutes inflammatory rhetoric for the formulation of policy alternatives.

Those who believe affirmative action is necessary to address SA's legacy of racial inequality are stigmatised as a "multiracial coalition of the white older generation, racial bigots, carpetbaggers, ideologues and guilters".



Tony Leon canvassing votes

In November last year, the DP released a so-called plan for "winning the war against crime" in which it recommended "shock incarceration of juveniles in boot camps for a minimum of 180 days at stand-alone facilities. Retired or recently pensioned SA National Defence Force officers must immediately be recruited for the purpose." The violence in the language is visceral, the race prejudice, palpable.

The DP's "muscular liberalism" is also notoriously thin skinned, setting one standard for itself and another for its opponents.

President Nelson Mandela is tolerated as long as he extends a hand of forgiveness to his former oppressors. As soon as he expresses anger and impatience at the pace of change, he is excoriated for "playing the race card" and being "populist", an epithet reserved for black politicians.

DP ideologues accuse the ANC of "playing the race card as an excuse for failure". I concede that in individual cases, allegations of racism have been made unfairly and that the "race card" can be played strategically — not only by blacks but also by whites.

An example of the latter is the increasing liberal use of nonracial proxies for racial terms like "crony capitalism", "culture of entitlement" and "gravy train". These are veiled references to black entrepreneurs, black recipients of state services and black politicians. Often they are directed at upwardly mobile blacks.

The DP denounces the ANC's "Africanism" without any understanding of the term. African nationalism has in general been a benign, democratising and transformative force in SA history because it has consistently adopted a universalist, nontribal, nonracial conception of SA nationhood.

Thabo Mbeki, on the occasion of the adoption of the new constitution, reflected thus: "I am an African ... I owe my being to the Khoi and the San ... I am formed of migrants who left Europe to find a new home in our native land ... In my veins courses the blood of the Malay slaves ... I am the grandchild of the warrior men and women that Hintsha and Sekhukhune led ... "

Past generations of liberals, as Randolph Vigne recently reminded us, recognised the inclusive nature of African nationalism and aligned themselves with it.

The present generation of DP leaders certainly do not share this tradition of liberal political idealism. Instead the party advances "colour blindness" as an alternative to African nationalism. In reality, "colour blindness" represents the enshrinement of one group's culture and experience as the norm.

Nonracial politics, by contrast, seeks to change the material conditions, which as Pallo Jordan observed at the ANC's national conference, are the foundation of racism. "The racialisation of SA politics was rooted in specific historical and material conditions," he wrote.

"There is no reason why radical transformation of those conditions cannot result in an end to racism and provide a solution to the national question."

Nonracial politics does not equate deracialisation of our society with the abolition of legalised discrimination. It does not hesitate to use race-conscious decision making wherever necessary to create a society in which race ceases to be a determinant of an individual's life chances.

In the new SA, I hear a black woman's voice soar in a Puccini opera, I am inspired. I see Josiah Thugwane win the marathon in the Olympic games and I am moved. I see black individuals succeeding in all walks of life and I am proud. I see black schoolchildren in former Model C schools and I am filled with hope. These are small examples of transcendence, all antidotes to racism.

By contrast, the racialised liberalism of the DP, more interested in defence of the status quo than with the expansion of human rights, sees only decay, crime and corruption.

The DP pamphlet is an attempt to substitute the anti-apartheid narrative with one which denies the suffering of the oppressed and the justice of their claims. Its simple rhetoric leads to simple moral blindness and political reaction.

□ *Cachalia is the African National Congress's leader of the house in the Gauteng legislature.*

CAPE ARGUS, **WEDNESDAY**, MAY 6, 1998

NP leader tries to calm gay fury in 'boerseun' row

(GOLA) ARG 6/5/98

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk has attempted to mollify gay activists outraged by his being quoted as saying he finds homosexuality disgusting.

Mr Van Schalkwyk was reported as saying he was a "boerseun" who found homosexuality disgusting.

The reported comments were made during a press conference called to counter allegations in a weekly newspaper that he had paid a gardener, now a convicted criminal, R20 for homosexual sex.

The man has laid a charge against Mr Van Schalkwyk alleging sodomy.

The NP leader's reported statements prompted the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equity to label him homophobic. The NP has said the sodomy allegations are part of a smear campaign.

Mr van Schalkwyk is considering legal action pending the outcome of a police investigation of the sodomy charge.

In a television interview last night, Mr Van Schalkwyk said he was a family man who believed in certain values.

He said had been quoted out of context by the media, and respected people's sexual preferences. "I prefer women and my wife above all others."

But even homosexual men would have been disgusted by allegations they had paid for sex.

Clarifying why he had called himself a "boerseun", Mr Van Schalkwyk said he had meant to convey he was a perfectly ordinary person (doodgewone mens).

He has declined to meet African National Congress MP Willie Hofmeyr to discuss Mr Hofmeyr's rebuttal of NP claims that the ANC was involved in a smear campaign about the sodomy allegations.

Mr Hofmeyr has insisted that the ANC regarded the charges against Mr van Schalkwyk as groundless.

MPs' foreign trips face axe

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

APLT 6/5/98

The wings of parliamentary committees are about to be clipped by severe budget cuts.

Parliament's more than 30 committees last year each had about R200 000 to spend on issues ranging from hearing evidence on legislation to overseas study tours. This year's budget cuts the sum to about R165 000 a committee.

Parliament's budget committee, headed by African National Congress MP Barbara Hogan, will meet the Department of State Expenditure, which proposed the cuts, to request an explanation. Ms Hogan said Finance Minister Trevor Manuel appeared to be open to negotiation on the issue.

Senior parliamentary sources indicated that most committees in the past had not spent all of their budgets.

Ms Hogan said there had been confusion about the procedures to be used by committee chairmen to gain access to their budgets, and this might have led to underspending.

Referring to overseas trips, she said there was a lot to be gained from such excursions, but a policy needed to be decided.

(304A)

ANC appoints young historian to rewrite SA's history

BD 7/15/98 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress (ANC) appointed a young historian yesterday to rewrite SA's past, correcting the slant of four decades of apartheid rule.

Announcing a three-year, R250 000 scholarship for 30-year-old Nhlanhla Ndebele funded by British Aerospace to research the ANC's massive archive, Parliament Speaker Frene Ginwala said it was a historic moment.

"The majority of our country's population was written out of our country's history," she told reporters.

"The ANC has brought its archives back to SA. Part of the project is to build a common understanding of our past.

"The future of SA is a common endeavour," she said.

Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu said the study marked a fresh step in the creation of a new SA.

"The archive cannot be matched in any meaningful way in a country that has not been truly mindful of our people," he said on behalf of ANC president and the country's Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The appointed researcher, a graduate of Wits University, said he hoped his work would be the starting point for further study into SA's bloodstained past.

"The project offers me a way to rewrite history in a very extraordinary way," he said. "This will change the way history is taught in our schools."

The archives, scattered all over the world during the ANC's years in exile, were officially established at Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape in March 1996.

Fort Hare is where President Nelson Mandela, who later spent 27 years in jail before his release in 1990, went to university to study law.

"The project is very close to the president's heart.

"He is deeply involved," said head of the archive Nerissa Ramdhani.

She said although there was some dispute over whether the ANC was created in 1912 or 1925, for sentimental reasons the research was taking the earlier date as the starting point.

Outcry over foreign affairs budget

(304A9 ARG 8/5/98

Opposition MPs have joined their African National Congress counterparts in decrying the Department of Foreign Affairs' budget cuts, which all agreed were threatening the country's national interests.

In a speech read out on his behalf yesterday by Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said the budget cuts had forced 10 more missions to close and resulted in staff reductions.

Boy Geldenhuys (NP) said the amount of R1,183-million allocated to the department was inadequate and did not underpin its policy objectives.

He said if the department was to receive only R1,082-million in 2001, then it would hardly be in a position to fulfil its international obligations, and "might just as well close shop".

To save costs, the department should guard against appointing too many politicians as ambassadors, as they constituted an additional financial burden. Where possible, the Government should buy property abroad for its foreign missions rather than pay exorbitant rentals.

This was supported by the Inkatha Freedom Party's Inka Mars.

Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party said the department had responded commendably to the demands of financial belt tightening.

However, South Africa needed to modernise the structure and style of its diplomatic representation by using modern communications technology, said Mr Eglin. – Sapa

Foreign affairs 'crippled by budget cuts'

BD 8/5/98 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department could not continue effectively to pursue SA's national interests abroad with the funding levels provided in the medium-term expenditure framework, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said yesterday.

In a speech delivered on his behalf by his deputy Aziz Pahad, Nzo — who is ill — said 10 foreign missions were in the process of being closed down and staff cuts were being implemented because of the budget cuts.

He warned that the spending levels for the three years of the framework meant that further closures and cutbacks in staffing were planned.

Nzo said the funding shortage also meant that specifically targeted priority areas in Africa and Asia could not get SA missions. SA was also playing an increasingly important role in international organisations such as the United Nations, putting strain on the department's staffing. The shortage of funds had also effected the department's affirmative action programme.

He said missions abroad were, in concert with the trade and industry department, playing an increasingly important role in attracting foreign investment and warned that "we will not be able to maintain present levels of investment and assistance if we have to decrease the efficiency and capacity of our diplomatic missions".

He said demands on missions by government, the private sector and by the volume of high-level visitors had increased dramatically. "During a ministerial visit to a Latin American country last year, our embassy arranged 310 separate appointments for the 50 business representatives who formed part of the delegation."

The department's actual expenditure for the 1997/98 financial year, including additional appropriation and improvement of conditions of service, was R1,303bn. This had been reduced in the new budget to R1,211bn — a reduction of R92,209m, or about 7%.

With inflation, this meant a real decrease of more than 12%. In the 1999/2000 year it was expected the department's allocation would fall even further to R1,197bn, and to R1,154bn in the third year of the framework.

Highlighting some of the department's achievements internationally, he pointed to the role played in achieving a "peaceful" transfer of power in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; interventions in the conflict in East Timor; and assistance given to the parties in the Northern Ireland peace process when they visited SA last year.

Unions 'do not represent unemployed'

BD 8/5/98

Reneé Grawitzky

ORGANISED labour had no right to talk on behalf of the unemployed, a group representing the jobless in a number of East Rand townships said at the Speak Out on Poverty hearings in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Malamulela Social Movement for the Unemployed criticised trade unions for their opposition to government's growth, employment and redistribution strategy (Gear), saying the unemployed had a right to decide if they wanted to accept low-paying jobs.

The organisations' general secretary, Mohlolo Kgopane, said Gear's call for flexible labour markets, which endorsed a low-wage strategy, could address the growing unemployment problem.

People should have access to jobs as enshrined in the constitution.

Under apartheid, organised labour was supported as it championed the struggle for democracy. However, its role after 1994 was illegitimate as it operated to the detriment of the interests of the unemployed, Kgopane said.

He said he was not attacking organised labour as such, but it could not adequately address the interests of the unemployed which differed to the interests of union members.

Labour federation Cosatu deputy general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi, a commissioner at the hearings, was told: "You will continue to represent the interests of the employed and I will continue representing the interests of the unemployed."

Government officials also came under sharp attack for perceptions of mismanagement and corruption.

Alexandra resident Grace Biyela raised the problems in her community and requested government assistance. New Africa Investment Limited chairman and commissioner at the hearings, Nthato Motlana, asked Biyela if people at local level had given thought as to how they could address some of the problems, as government was poor.

She expressed her confusion over Motlana's statement as "we hear (on television) that people are misusing money at a high level".

De Lille's axing overruled

(304A)

ASHLEY SMITH
COURT REPORTER

ARG 8/10/98

Pan Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille's 15-day expulsion from Parliament was overturned by the Cape High Court today.

Mr Justice John Hlope and the Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice Edward King, ruled Ms De Lille's suspension be set aside and Parliament pay the costs of the legal proceedings.

Judge Hlope said the suspension could never be justified in an open and democratic country based on human dignity, equality and freedom. "The integrity and standing of the (National) Assembly can hardly be threatened by remarks which were immediately withdrawn at the request of the Speaker."

Ms De Lille was suspended last year after saying in a debate that 12 prominent African National Congress members had spied for the previous government. She withdrew the allegations on the order of the Speaker, Frene Ginwala, but the National Assembly still decided to impose the suspension recommended by an ANC-dominated special parliamentary committee.

CAPE TIMES
★ FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1998

FOCUS FALLS ON ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

Triumphs in foreign policy a boost for RDP — Pahad

CT 8/5/98 (304A)

OPPOSITION MPS joined their African National Congress counterparts in decrying the Department of Foreign Affairs' budget cuts, which all agreed were threatening the country's national interests. **ANDRE KOOPMAN** reports.

FOREIGN policy triumphs had contributed significantly to the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme and economic diplomacy was fast becoming the major focus of his department, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad said yesterday.

He cited as an example a 30% increase in trade with Latin America and the Caribbean to R7 billion last year.

Pahad was reading the budget debate speech of Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, who was ill yesterday.

The Department of Trade and Industry had increased their co-operation with the Department of Foreign Affairs to help with the focus on economic diplomacy.

This was already contributing to the effective promotion of SA abroad seen in R32bn in new investment in the country since 1994, Pahad said.

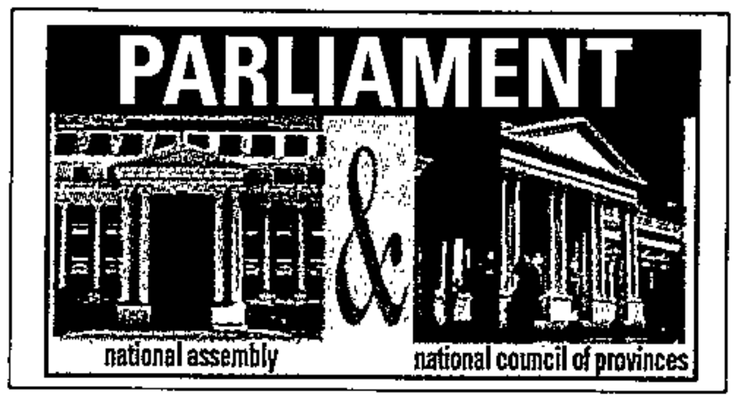
Many parties during the budget debate decried the slashing of the foreign affairs budget, which had forced the closure of 10 foreign missions — with more in the offing. There have been staff cuts in many of the remaining missions. The budget has been cut by 8% this year and will be slashed by 12% next year and 16% the year after that.

Pahad said South Africa would be unable to maintain present levels of foreign investment and assistance, amounting to about R9,6bn, if the efficiency and capacity of diplomatic missions were decreased.

"Diplomatic representation is critical since it facilitates dialogue, promotes understanding and assists in supporting the efforts of other government departments, our private sector and civil society," Pahad said.

While aware of the need for national stringency the department had been unable to open missions in "identified priority areas in Africa and Asia".

The department would have no alternative but to consider the closure of more missions and other cost-cutting measures to deal with further budget cuts in the next few years in the Medium Term Expenditure Framework."I must point out that we simply cannot continue to reduce our operations in the international field so severely and still expect to pursue our national interests so effectively. Overall staff reduction also has serious implications for the implementation of our affirmative action policy," Pahad said.



SA had been very active in efforts to promote peace and resolve disputes not only in Africa, but in the rest of the world, he added.

The NP's Dr Boy Geldenhuys said that the department's budget was "totally inadequate". South Africa could forget about its plans to occupy a permanent seat on the Security Council of the UN since budget allocations over the next three years would not cover the extra financial obligations that would come with occupying such a seat.

ANC MP Ms Fatima Hajaj said budget cuts would make it difficult for SA to discharge its responsibilities in international forums, where it often played a leading role.

The budget for the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, which SA would chair in Durban later this year, was half of what was actually needed. She said SA needed more missions in Africa and Asia, which were still not on a par with Europe.

The DP's Mr Colin Eglin said the department had responded commendably to the demands of financial belt-tightening. He proposed "imaginative new use of technology" in diplomatic representation.

In response, Pahad thanked MPs for refraining from advancing narrow party political interests during the debate.

No mercy for law-breakers on foreign soil

JOVIAL RANTAO

SOUTH AFRICANS who participated in activities on foreign soil that violated the law, the Constitution or United Nations resolutions should expect no mercy from the government, Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad said in Parliament yesterday.

Pahad told a press conference the government's assistance to individuals such as those arrested in Angola for flying supplies to Unita would be limited to humanitarian assistance.

The government has been under pressure from the families of five men detained in Angola to intervene and secure the men's release.

"We've been warning SA companies that if they violate UN resolutions they have to accept that when they're apprehended, either by us, the Angolans or any other government, they will have to face the consequences.

"We hope that our companies are beginning to understand that acts of this kind will result in very serious and severe action by the SA government itself.

"They can't expect, after they have violated UN resolutions and our government's legislation and policies, that we should treat them with sympathy and kid gloves."

Mbeki office passes buck on Hamas visa

Pressure from Arafat to stop Sheikh Yasin's visit

ARG 9/5/98 (3044)

JEAN LE MAY

The South African Muslim community has reacted angrily to the Government's failure to issue a visa to controversial Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmed Yasin.

But a well-placed source in the Department of Foreign Affairs told Saturday Argus that the department was not handling the sheikh's visa application because "the matter is being handled at executive level by Deputy President Mbeki".

However, a spokeswoman for Frank Chikane, the director-general in Mr Mbeki's office, flatly denied that Mr Mbeki had been involved, saying that the deputy president did not interfere with the issuing of visas.

"The visa application was handled in the normal way by the Department of Home Affairs," she said. The visit of Sheikh Yasin fell through after a Cabinet-level decision to stall the issue of a visa.

The Sheikh Yasin Welcoming Committee, made up of 11 leading South African Muslim movements, reacted angrily to the Government's failure to issue a visa.

Sheikh Yasin, spiritual leader of the radical Palestinian group Hamas – regarded in some circles as a terrorist organisation – was due to arrive in South Africa yesterday at the invitation of the Muslim groups. However, it is known that Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's Palestinian National Authority has exerted pressure on the Government to stop the visit.

The proposed visit has been criticised as possibly sending mixed signals about the Oslo peace process between Israel and the Palestinian National Authority, for which South Africa has expressed support. However, there is confusion about who was responsible for the issuing of the visa.

The official version, expressed yesterday morning by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aziz Pahad, is that no decision had been taken yet about a visa for the Hamas leader. A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said the application was being handled by the Department of Foreign Affairs, as it involved the holder of a diplomatic passport. The welcoming committee also appealed unsuccessfully to President Mandela, said their spokesman Sheikh Nazeem.

Sheikh Nazeem said yesterday that "the Muslim community and all democratic forces in the country can only draw one conclusion from the Government's action – its total disregard for the wishes of the citizens of this country and a serious violation of the right of freedom of association."

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, MAY 11, 1998 ★

'SUSPENSION VIOLATED DE LILLE'S RIGHTS'

A victory for democracy

CT 11/5/98 (304A)

THE LAW invoked by the Speaker in trying to halt PAC MP Patricia de Lille's court action is unconstitutional, a Cape judge has found. Justice Writer **RONALD MORRIS** reports.

FIERY Pan-Africanist Congress MP Patricia de Lille has hailed as a victory for democracy the Cape High Court's decision setting aside her 15-working-day suspension from Parliament.

The court also found the law invoked by the Speaker, Dr Frene Ginwala, in trying to halt De Lille's application was unconstitutional.

The judgment has underlined that Parliament is subject to judicial scrutiny and subordinate to the Constitution. It meant all organs of the state were subject to the Constitution, De Lille said after the judgment had been handed down by Mr Justice John Hlophe, with Deputy Judge President Edwin King concurring, on Friday.

De Lille was suspended for alleging in the National Assembly last year that 12 prominent ANC members had been apartheid spies.

She withdrew the allegation at the Speaker's request. However, the National Assembly decided on November 25 to enforce the suspension, which had been recommended by an ANC-dominated ad hoc committee.

The suspension was postponed pending the result of De Lille's application.

The case raised several fundamental questions, including parliamentary privilege, freedom of speech and the Bill of Rights.

The court sat for three days last month and reserved judgment.

Judge Hlophe said he was satisfied in all respects that De Lille's application should succeed.

He found untenable Ginwala's attempt to stop court proceedings by issuing a certificate on the grounds that the steps taken against De Lille concerned the privilege of Parliament.

"To the extent that section 5 of the Powers of Privileges of Parliament Act purports to place issues of parliamentary privilege beyond judicial scrutiny and thus beyond the supremacy of the Constitution, (it) is undoubtedly unconstitutional."

This section also violated section 34 of the Constitution which guaranteed access to the courts, section 38 dealing with the enforcement of the Bill of Rights through the courts and section 167, which says "no person or



ILL-SERVED: Patricia de Lille

organ of state may interfere with the functioning of the courts".

Any certificate issued under section 5 undermined the independence of the courts and interfered with their functioning. It was therefore unconstitutional and invalid, the judge said.

He found that at no stage had De Lille been given a meaningful hearing. She had not been given a fair hearing in the National Assembly and the ad hoc committee hearing had violated the common law rules of natural justice. De Lille had been entitled to be heard by an unbiased committee and to make representations about the proposed sanction against her.

"The ANC was the complainant ... then the prosecutor (through the ad hoc committee) and ultimately the judge (through the National Assembly) in its own case. This violated the rules of natural justice."

The National Assembly was subject to the supremacy of the Constitution.

"It is an organ of state and is therefore bound by the Bill of Rights. Parliament can no longer claim supreme power subject to limitations imposed by the Constitution. It is subject in all respects to the provisions of our Constitution."

A proper interpretation of the power to determine and control the National Assembly's internal arrangements did not embrace the power to suspend a member as punishment for contempt. Such suspension was not consistent with a representative democracy, as it would also penalise the member's party and its electorate.

In making her statements, De Lille had been exercising her right to freedom of speech, an "absolute freedom" protected by the Constitution.

Judge Hlophe said Ginwala should be directed not to give effect to the suspension. He also ordered her to pay costs, including those of two counsel.

POLITICS

Voter discontent in SA widespread, study finds

Star 12/15/98 (304A)

By Rich Mkhondo
Star Foreign Service

Washington – A US researcher says there is widespread discontent with local government among South African voters.

Eve Thompson has spent four years in SA on behalf of the Washington-based Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies.

The centre is the US's biggest black research think-tank on political and economic matters. It was involved in voter-education projects in the run-up to the 1994 elections and had supported anti-apartheid movements for decades.

Thompson and her colleague at the South African office, Lawrence Ntlokoa, conducted the research in Mankweng township outside Pietersburg and Mahwelereng near Potgietersrus to find out if residents know about what their local government and representatives are doing and if they know who their representatives are, as well as to canvass views on service delivery, payment of services and Masakhane.

Responses from their research included: unfulfilled promises, unemployment; "we do not have to pay for the services because the government has not delivered any"; "Masakhane has not helped to improve people's lives"; "councillors do not consult us"; "councillors do not care about us"; "the councillors do not have any leadership qualities"; "the officials do not respect people"; and "we do not know what they are doing or where they can be contacted".

Thompson and Ntlokoa, a former West Rand UDF activist, said the answers and concerns about local government officials were applicable anywhere and in any province in SA.

But despite disillusionment, Thompson said her centre's analysis of the democratic consolidation in SA had reached a positive conclusion: the current state of social service delivery exceeds earlier expectations.

Voortrekkerhoogte falls

(3048) Star 13/5/95

By Mbangwa Xaba

The Voortrekkerhoogte army base, once a bastion of the former apartheid government, is to be renamed Thaba Tshwane on Monday, the SA Army said last night.

Spokesman Brigadier-General Marius van Graan said the renaming would be made at a ceremony at the local municipal hall by Defence Minister Joe Modise.

Van Graan said the decision to rename the army base and defence headquarters, near Pretoria, had been taken by Modise, and formed part of the transformation of the SANDF.

Van Graan said the decision had been made before the resignation of ex-SANDF head Georg Meiring, and was not brought about by his successor, Lieutenant-General Siphiwe Nyanda.

"It is a political decision, just as it was when it was given its current name," he said.

The army, as a disciplined armed force, was loyal to the government of the day and there had been no resistance to the renaming process, he said.

He said the name, which means a hill or mountain, was appropriate for Pretoria, which is known as Tshwane in Setswana, Sesotho and Sepedi.

The National Party said last night it was distressed by the decision which it labelled one-sided, autocratic and not transparent.

Our bumbling Govt ministries

(304A)

Presidential commission found severe shortcomings almost everywhere it probed

14/5/98

By Charles Phahlane and Jovial Rantao
Cape Town

Star 14

Overstaffing and overspending in some key state departments, as well as severe administrative weaknesses have affected the Government's efficiency and ability to deliver on its promises, the Presidential Review Commission has found.

The Education Department came in for the strongest criticism from the commission for its inability to build schools with money allocated to it.

In a report released today, the commission, established by President Mandela to evaluate the workings and efficiency of all state departments, said the education department was particularly slow in its delivery of farm schools.

The Transport Department, however, was highly commended for its performance.

Chaired by Professor Vincent Maphai, the commission's evaluation is the first effort by the ANC-led Government to revise state structures inherited from the previous government.

Cabinet yesterday accepted the PRC's report which has recommended, among other measures, that the Ministry of Public Service and Administration be moved to the presidency and that the Ministry of Sports and the Ministry of Public Enterprises be abolished.

The PRC found there was a mismatch between the Health Department's priorities and tertiary training being offered.

Home Affairs needed to focus more on its delivery to marginal communities. There was also a need to reinforce the department's work in paying pensions and issuing passports.

The PRC said the Home Affairs Department needed to clarify "for itself what its core business was".

And the Department of Justice needed to prioritise its work because "management seems to have addressed too many issues at once".

Other departments strongly criticised include:

- Public Enterprises – "Enormous use of expensive consultants".
- Welfare and Population – "No system to provide impact assessment of work undertaken by department".
- Arts, Culture, Science and Technology – "Lacks coherence".
- South African Police Services – "Needs to understand roles of Commissioner George Fivaz, Meyer Khan, Secretary Azhar Cachalia and also the Independent Claims Commission."

The report also said Government was under threat from both structural and functional defects which had led to departments' lack of delivery.

The PRC said there were too many departments with a narrow focus all headed by "too many" private offices, directors-general and their support staff. This created "major problems of co-ordination".

Functionally, there was a vacuum at the centre of government between the offices of the president and deputy president. It recommended the establishment of a cabinet office which would ensure that policies and issues identified for consideration by the president, deputy president and the Cabinet are thoroughly prepared with all relevant departments.

Thirteen cabinet ministers, headed by Zola Skweyiya (Public Service and Administration) - will evaluate the report.

▶ Commission's findings
... Page 6



Staff Reporters

3 die as taxis an

Three people were killed and 10 seriously injured in an accident involving three minibus taxis and a small school bus on the Soweto highway this morning.

At 6.55am, two minibuses travelling in opposite directions in the bus and taxi lane collided when one driver apparently made an error while overtaking, and another, headed towards Johannesburg, crashed into a barricade.

According to a spokesman from the Johannesburg radio control room the crash occurred near the Pat Mabatha Road intersection, not far from the FNB stadium.

An Eveco bus, loaded with pupils being ferried to schools, crashed into the two minibuses, and a third minibus loaded with children careered into one of the crashed vehicles.

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Public service's systems unable to come up with the goods

BD 15/6/98 (3049) (350)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Current information management, systems and technology in the public service could not come close to meeting requirements in the new SA, the Presidential Review Commission said.

"A huge cost has been borne by the SA public without any appreciable benefit in the form of greater service delivery or a more efficient and effective public service," the commission said in its report.

The problem consisted of "two realities": the huge financial resources already invested in technology and systems and the dire need for the public service to use this investment for transformation. However, the commission found this massive investment "has been made in a highly fragmented manner and economies of scale are not being realised".

In an area of human endeavour demanding that individuals acquire knowledge and skills as an ongoing process, the public service had not benefited appreciably from the billions spent, nor did it have any significant pool of skilled information management resources.

"This problem area is possibly the most critical and demands to be resolved before any real progress at transformation can be made," the commission stated.

Although SA had not advanced very far in technology and systems driven service delivery — the international trend — it was likely to become an option "in the near future".

Despite concerns that further advances in the information society would merely exacerbate existing divisions between SA's advantaged and disadvantaged communities, there was reason to believe that current information systems had greater potential than earlier ones to access the disadvantaged, the commission said.

It called for immediate steps to put in place certain basic "building blocks" to ensure most future information management, systems and technology developments in the public service shared a common set of features.

This would help to overcome skills shortages and service bottlenecks; ensure greater interoperability and integration of different applications; and facilitate continuous improvement in state technology and human resources.

"To spur" adoption of basic building blocks, the commission proposed an immediate short-term procurement moratorium on all large IT systems while a basic framework was agreed.

In the medium term, it advocated the adoption of "business process reengineering techniques" to ensure a correspondence between the business objectives of different functional government agencies and the information management, systems and technology used to meet these objectives.

PRESID

Inquiry finds vacuum at centre of SA government

(304A) BD 15/5/98

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — A vacuum existed at the centre of government and the fault lay with the president's office, the Presidential Review Commission concluded yesterday.

President Nelson Mandela's office was not providing the necessary support required for the head of state or for the effective running of government as a whole. As a result, government lacked consensus on a common, shared vision.

Instead a plethora of visions had been developed by departments and provinces, "often quite different from each other".

The commission called for a "radical reappraisal" of functions, structures, personnel and management of the president's office.

A beefed up president's office should be the core and apex of the whole system of governance in SA.

Somewhere between the offices of president and deputy president and between these and the departments lay a space that was conventionally filled in virtually all systems of government by a central secretariat or cabinet office, the commission said.

Its function was to ensure the identification of issues and policies which required consideration by a president, deputy president and cabinet and that the groundwork for their presentation was prepared thoroughly.

In addition, it had to ensure that there was comprehensive briefing, policies were properly secured and followed by implementation and that progress was effectively monitored. Such a cabinet office "does not exist in SA and there is no doubt that this is one of the most urgent issues requiring remedial attention".

Recommended

The commission recommended restructuring the president's office to include:

- An office of cabinet secretariat to co-ordinate cabinet policy;
- An office of public management, under the oversight of a minister, which would take on the functions of the public service department and incorporate the existing offices on the status of women and persons with disabilities;
- An organisational review agency to be located in the office of public management to carry out continuing evaluation and "reconfiguring" of the structural organs of government;
- An office of the public service commission to replace the present commission while retaining its independence and continuing to carry out the functions laid down by the constitution;
- Transferring the co-ordination and implementation unit in the deputy president's office (the unit could eventually be incorporated into the cabinet secretariat);
- A co-ordinating agency for intergovernmental relations, which would deal with intersectoral and intergovernmental relations but not local government. This body would take over co-ordinating functions now carried out by the constitutional development department; and
- An information management and systems agency, to co-ordinate all public service information management, systems and technology initiatives.

There should be one director-general for the offices of president and deputy president combined, and a smaller office for the deputy president, the commission said.

Machinery should be put into motion to assess whether presidency personnel had been appropriately deployed and where necessary, corrective measures for deployment and redeployment adopted "as a matter of urgency".

Ructions at the epicentre of government

The Zuma-Shisana shout-out mirrors the poor state of relations between many directors-general and their political masters, writes **Stephen Laufer**

(304A) BD 16/5/98

ALL is not well between SA's ministers, premiers and MECs and their directors-general.

Even before the advent of the favourite political parlour game of the moment (will health director-general Olive Shisana walk the plank and who is the baddy if she does?) indications have been growing for some time that the relationship is disturbed across wide sectors of government.

It is not a subject politicians or senior officials care to discuss publicly. Their relationship relies heavily on trust and what is left of it in shaky circumstances can be destroyed by one of the parties openly venting all-too-human frustrations.

Discussions with a number of participants in the equation make one thing clear: the problem is ultimately not one of personalities. It is structural.

The departure of at least five directors-general at national and provincial level and the rumours around the possible departure of another one — Shisana— indicate the problem's magnitude.

At least five of the six have been involved in serious personal clashes with the politicians they work for, accompanied by a period of increasing estrangement.

Rarely have questions of competence been raised, often issues of style.

Still other directors-general report similar clashes, even if matters are not yet so bad that a parting of the ways is on the horizon.

All sides suffer from a lack of conflict-resolution mechanisms capable of putting a professional relationship back on track should they hit a snag.

Leaving aside who may have been right and who wrong in any of the conflicts that led to resignations and disguised firings, the high attrition rate among directors-general — they end up leaving if a conflict is not resolved — robs the country of skills in short supply.

The losses are particularly grievous given the country's expanded interest in good and consistent governance.

That said, there must be room for any government to remove ineffective people at the top of the civil service, and for elected politicians to have the final say in policy matters.

The cost of a severance package is often far outweighed many times by the gain in effectivity resulting from an individual's departure.

Those familiar with the details of the battle between Shisana and Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma say policy differences are at least as significant as the clash of two headstrong personalities in the deterioration of the relationship.

But while the departure of Shisana may resolve those issues, it will provide no certainty that there will not be an irreconcilable blow-up between Zuma and Shisana's successor at some point.

This is not because of any character deficiency of Zuma's. Her shout-out with Shisana mirrors the structural weaknesses at the heart of many of the conflicts.

At issue is not whether a particular minister or premier likes or gets on with a particular director-general. It is the delineation of responsibilities between the two that has emerged as the crux.

Both sides, it seems, have been significantly overreaching their competences in a number of departments. Both sides have grown to resent the encroachment of the other. Both are right — to a point.

The situation as it stands blurs the most important question for the maintenance of good governance: who is responsible for policies, who carries the can on implementation?

The lack of clarity can make for a politically comfortable situation for both sides. It provides the field on which endless rounds of "pass the buck" can be played. The Sarafina II dispute is a case in point.

A private meeting between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and most directors-general late last year, called in response to increasingly acrimonious expressions of discontent among the top bureaucrats, was perhaps the clearest indication yet of how serious the situation has become.

By all accounts, the meeting — which stretched into the evening at Mbeki's residence — was seen by the vast majority of directors-general as inconclusive despite strong words from the deputy president.

Mbeki is reported to have told the gathered departmental heads that their ministers were always right. He did not see, he intimated, the conceptual difficulties the bureaucrats say is at the heart of the problem.

Each case in which directors-general and politicians have fought to the finish has its own peculiarities, of course.

The exact circumstances of the parting of the ways between Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele and Billy Cobbett; Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser Moleketi and Leila Patel; Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau and Sipho Shabalala; Northern Province Premier Ngoako Ramathlodi and John Malatjie; and Gauteng Premier Mathole Motshekga and Vincent Mntambo, differ.

But, with the possible exception of the Sigcau-Shabalala and Ramathlodi-Malatjie partings in which competence seems to have been a central feature, they speak of a battle for primacy set against the backdrop of an institutional dispensation which is anything but clear.

Reports about the imminent departure of Johan de Ridder — seen as a Cobbett loyalist — from the National Housing Finance Corporation and the battle between Land and Agriculture Minister Derek Hanekom over the appointment of an agriculture deputy director-general echo events at the epicentre.

Neither side is always right, neither always at fault. So if Mbeki's doctrine is to hold, it must go hand in hand with that other pillar of democratic governance: accountability, including the readiness to take the consequences of wrong decisions.

There are clearly ministers who meddle. Concerned at the slow pace of change and implementation, they demand the right to review and veto every departmental action, from lowly appointments of drivers and typists to the financial management of individual programmes.

Junior civil servants are dealt with directly, advisers without line authority take on management tasks. In the process the politicians undermine the authority of their directors-general and jeopardise their ability to manage.

Several directors-general, on the other hand, have been all too reluctant to relinquish their grip on policy, tightened in the early days as inexperienced ministers groped in the dark. Many of them come from highly political backgrounds, and for years enjoyed status and positions in their own right as activists.

Many of them have been unable to visualise and stay on their own side of the dividing line between a politician's job and that of a top administrator.

Both sides need to grapple with this delineation. By sticking to their jobs, both sides need to make it more difficult for the other to pass the buck when something goes wrong or comes under fire.

Thinking about institutional alternatives, it is worth recalling where the current system comes from and that it has remained unchanged since 1994.

The SA public service is a hybrid. It mixes British colonial structures with the Broederbond-dominated political-administrative synthesis of the apartheid era. Both relied on the inner coherence of the small sector of the population permitted to participate in government and administration. Neither models were under anywhere near the current pressure to deliver a functioning country to all South Africans.

But experience shows that the Calvinist consensus paired with excessive obsequiousness, which made the old system tick over nicely, cannot function in a democracy with a wide diversity of voices and previous experiences.

Any replacement for the current system has to understand that there will naturally be an element of conflict.

The Commonwealth and several individual countries have worked with the SA administration on defining roles and functions within government. Even with the advent of the Presidential Review Commission's report, there is a way to go before politicians and directors-general settle down to a stable relationship.

Many countries favour a model which strengthens the minister or premier's office with a senior-level chief of staff. A political appointee and often an experienced political activist, this person heads a team capable of formulating policy and making strategic interventions to drive implementation in a direction consistent with the politician's vision.

The existence of the chief of staff sends a strong message: the director-general is the head of administration and not a policy maker, less even a politician.

Advice might be solicited from the top civil servants, and it continues to be their job to spell out what is possible within budgetary constraints. But the director-general is no longer torn between two fundamentally opposing roles — managing a department and caring for its interest on the one hand, and assisting and protecting a minister on the other.

Under this model, ministers do not micro-manage. Their job is to talk to the population, give strategic direction and represent the interest of their portfolio in cabinet and at budget time.

As a minimum, several sources argue, directors-general should be appointed by and be answerable to the head of government alone. This provides them and their ministers with a neutral referee in the case of conflict.

In the most intractable cases, the head of government could shuffle directors-general, thereby resolving clashes without losing good people altogether. This happens regularly elsewhere.

For real change in the way SA's government works, argues one source familiar with the system, the current basic lack of respect for the different roles of politicians and directors-general must end. Ministers must feel less insecure about the public service, and individuals must choose their roles and stop crossing the lines.



In better days — Nkosazana Zuma and Olive Shisana

State departments under fire

Sports ministry should be scrapped, says report

(304A)

AALG 14/5/98

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

Key Government departments have come in for strong criticism from the Presidential Review Commission, which was established by President Mandela to review efficiencies in state departments.

The Education Department came in for strongest criticism from the commission for its inability to spend money allocated for building schools.

In a report issued today, the commission, chaired by Professor Vincent Maphai, said the education department was slow in delivery, particularly of farm schools.

The transport department was highly commended for its performance.

The education, transport and other departments came under review in the first effort by the Government to revise state structures it had inherited from the previous government.

The Cabinet yesterday accepted the commission's report which has recommended, among other things, that the Ministry of Public Service and Administration should be moved to the presidency and that the Ministry of Sports and the Ministry of Public Enterprises should abolished.

The commission has suggested that tasks of the Ministry of Public Enterprises should be assigned to line-function ministries.

The commission found there was a mismatch between the Health Department's priorities and tertiary training being offered.

It said also the Home Affairs Department needed to focus more on its delivery to marginal communities, as in the payment of pensions.

The commission said the Department of Justice needed to prioritise its work because "management seems to have addressed too many issues at once".

Other departments which came in for strong criticism include:

- Welfare and population – "No system to provide impact assessment of work undertaken by department".
- Arts, Culture, Science and Technology – "Lacks coherence".
- South African Police Services – "Needs to understand the roles of George Fivaz, Meyer Kahn, Secretary Azhar Cachalia and the Independent Claims Commission."

Government unlikely to make changes now

Implementation of Presidential Review suggestions may have to wait until next head of state takes office

Star 15/5/98 (3044)

By Jovial Rantao
Political Correspondent

Even if it accepted some of the suggested changes, it is unlikely that the present Government – which will face an election in less than 12 months – would implement the major recommendations contained in the Presidential Review Commission (PRC) released in Parliament yesterday.

Government sources told The Star that, at best, the PRC report, which has proposed a major reshuffle of the Cabinet, would form the basis on which the next head of state could reorganise the Government, if he so wished.

Cabinet has appointed a 13-member ministerial team to evaluate the PRC's report, which has recommended that the Public Service and Administration, Sports and Recreation, Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the Public Enterprises ministries should be abolished.

The commission also recommended that the ministries of Education, Justice and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development should be reconstituted and the Ministry of Public Works restructured.

The PRC has also proposed a "super presidency" which would swallow at least two ministries.

The report, compiled by a team led by Dr Vincent Maphai, recommended:

- A new ministry of higher education and technology.
- A new ministry of education and culture, including sports and recreation as a directorate.
- A new ministry of local government.
- The reconfiguration of the Department of Constitutional Development whereby all its functions other than logovernment would be located in the Office of the President.
- Public management in the Office of the President to take over the many functions currently carried out by the Department of Public Service and Administration.
- A restructured Public Service Commission in the Office of the President.
- New central executive agencies in the Office of the President for inter-governmental relations and information management, systems and technology.

Commission says some ministries must go

The PRC also recommended that some ministries should be reconstituted to form "coherent and viable" combinations:

- Water Affairs and Forestry should merge with Agriculture.
- Land Affairs with Environment.
- Trade and Industry with Tourism.
- Finance and State Expenditure.

"Given the lack of effective co-ordination between the departments of Foreign Affairs and the Trade and Industry, the commission also firmly believes that trade officials in embassies should report to the diplomatic representative and not the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI).

"We recommend that the international trade function of the DTI should be phased into the Department of Foreign Affairs and that the two departments should establish a task team to deal with the details of this transfer, especially in respect of the reporting lines," the PRC said.

It also suggested that the departments of Safety and Security, Justice and Correctional Services and Education should urgently undertake major re-engineering and rationalisation at senior levels.

Voortrekkerhoogte renamed

By Gershwin Chuenyane

VOORTREKKERHOOGTE changed its name for the third time, to Thaba Tshwane, meaning the hill of Pretoria, at a ceremony held at Voortrekker in Pretoria yesterday.

The historic military area, which was officially renamed, was previously named Roberts Heights on June 5 1900 following the occupation of Pretoria during the Anglo-Boer War.

It was named after the then field marshal Lord Roberts, commander-in-chief of the British Forces in South Africa.

It was named Voortrekker-hoogte on May 26 1939, following the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument.

Defence Minister Joe Modise, who unveiled the plaque, said the army was changing in line with democratic values and cultural diversity of the rainbow nation.

He said the symbols and the names chosen were important reflections of respect for each other and should make all members of the South African National Defence Force feel equally at home, irrespective of colour, class or creed.

(304A)

Nats reel after DP hat trick

Third stronghold falls

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 15/5/98

The Democratic Party has made it a hat-trick by winning a third municipal by-election in a week in former National Party strongholds, confirming a trend which the DP hopes could see it replace the flagging NP as official opposition after next year's elections.

Although the NP has tried to put on a brave face in defeat, claiming the losses run counter to trends in other by-elections, party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk conceded: "Our voters are sending us a message and we are taking it very seriously".

A jubilant Tony Leon, leader of the DP, said the victories showed voters wanted an effective opposition.

The DP yesterday won a by-election in Rosettenville, part of the Southern Johannesburg municipality, polling 89% of the votes cast in a 30% poll.

Rees Mann of DP polled 2 536 votes, beating Michelle Dale of the National Party, who got 263 votes in the contest for ward 36 of the Rosettenville area, while African National Congress candidate Bob Gillard polled 62 votes.

Earlier, Sheila Camerer, an NP member of the National Assembly who was MP for Rosettenville before 1994, was quoted as saying it was the safest NP seat in the country.

The DP's win was its second local government by-election victory over the NP in two days. On Tuesday, the party won a decisive victory in Bergvliet, with the United Democratic Movement candidate placing second and the NP third.

It then won control of a seat in Brakpan in another overwhelming victory.

For the DP, the victories in areas with such widely differing income and class profiles means it has broken the mould of being identified as representing purely the interests of big business and the established middle-class, and has made successful sorties into blue-collar territory.

DP Gauteng spokesman Jack Bloom said his party had in recent months won eight local government by-elections in which the seats were previously held by the NP.

Mr Van Schalkwyk said the true picture was that the NP had won 40 wards in recent by-elections, taking 13 from the African National Congress.

But the NP leader, whose own lack of achievement in establishing a strong profile for himself and his party has been cited as contributing to its steady decline, admitted the NP would have to work harder.

He said the DP was using "guerrilla warfare" to give the appearance of making gains by contesting only carefully selected white wards.

Mr Leon said the NP had failed to keep its pre-1994 election promises to secure power-sharing in constitutional negotiations, and had quit the government of national unity.

In contrast, the DP had taken the debate on jobs and employment equity to the ANC.

In a bitter attack in the National Assembly yesterday, Nat MP Frik van Deventer accused the DP of not truly knowing or understanding the blue-collar workers who once had solidly supported the NP.

"Do you understand their fears and expectations or are they just the victims of boastful promises of a powerful opposition?" Mr Van Deventer said.

SA axes its costly foreign missions (304A)

ANDREW TRENCH

FOUR years after South Africa was welcomed back into the international community it is slashing its diplomatic operations almost as fast as they sprouted.

On the eve of the 1994 elections South Africa had 85 foreign missions. In the months after the ANC's victory, this number quickly grew to 95. By March next year South Africa will be back to apartheid levels of representation as 10 embassies shut their doors.

By July, Toronto in Canada, Bucharest in Romania, Sofia in Bulgaria, Walvis Bay in Namibia and Bratislava in the Slovak Republic will be without SA missions. All except Toronto and Walvis Bay were post-election embassies.

Another five will shut by next March, mostly between June and August. The Department of Foreign Affairs is not saying which will be sacrificed as ambassadors are battling to keep them open.

Nevertheless, the cuts are thought to be concentrated in Europe — particularly in Germany, which has five missions — where South African relations are being shaped increasingly by the European Union rather than its member states.

Tom Moir, the department's chief director of finance, calculated that, in real terms, the department's budget this year was down almost 17 percent on last year's. At R1,183-billion, he said, the budget's purchasing power could be compared with 1994's R999-million.

"We cannot afford to be everywhere. With the purchasing power of the budget coming down, some missions will inevitably have to close," he said.

The government's medium-term expenditure framework, unveiled in the last Budget, put the department's 2001 budget at little more than R1-billion — or R100-million less than it is now.

A spokesman, Vicky Maharaj, said that the department had been prevented by budget constraints from opening missions in Vietnam, the Philippines and New Zealand.

A problem looms in Nigeria, whose government insists that embassies move to the capital, Abuja, from its largest city, Lagos, where South Africa has its mission. Moir said Foreign Affairs felt that it should be in Lagos for political and economic reasons but it would have to find the finances to comply with Nigeria's instructions.

He did not know where the money would come from.

In recent months, Foreign Affairs has done some creative cost-cutting. London, where the high commission costs R40-million a year, was the focus of vigorous cuts. Deputy high commissioner Happy Mahlangu said staff had shrunk to 132 from more than 300 in 1994. More cuts were coming. Diplomats' benefits and privileges had been pruned.

Mahlangu said the cuts had had an impact on staff morale after a councillor's, first secretary's and other posts had been scrapped.

The department has cut 80 transfer posts, and asked its ambassadors to look at reducing locally recruited staff.

Foreign Affairs had also reduced foreign allowances to transferred officials by R26-million, and done away with entertainment allowances at foreign missions.

It will take time for major benefits to be realised. Moir said that closing the 10 missions would save R51-million a year, but with costs of R40-million this financial year, the short-term saving would be only about R11-million.

ST 24/5/98

For example, presuming you were a salesman who has spent half your working life in the furniture business and the other half in the steel industry, if you now decide to seek a position and your career need is to remain in the steel industry, you could detail the five positions you had in this particular field, even though they were not consecutive.
Thereafter, you should summarise your time in the furniture industry in such a way that you leave no gaps in your employment history.

ii. It does happen in these days of retrenchment that a man who has spent 25 years with a company and has attained a senior position by rising through the ranks, suddenly finds himself, through no fault of his own, on the job market.
Does this candidate describe all the positions he held with the firm including the job functions which went hand-in-hand with each position? The answer once again, is "No".
He should state under "Post held" his most senior post and thereafter, he should insert an additional heading, such as "My career path with the company". Under this heading he should state the titles of the positions he held plus their dates and this will indicate clearly his rise to seniority within the company.
Thereafter, he must discuss the job functions and achievements in detail with reference to the more senior positions. He should indicate what persuaded the company to offer him his various promotions from one senior position to the next. Finally, he should make it clear that each promotion was an upward step along the management line.

e. Reasons for leaving

Your reason for leaving must be stated as briefly as possible. If the reason for leaving is that the job you are doing is not challenging enough or if the remuneration is not satisfactory, indicate it. Remember that we all work for money and "money" is not a dirty word. There are situations in which it would be preferable not to mention in writing your reasons for wanting to leave and in such a case it is permissible to state that you wish to leave for personal reasons which can be discussed at an interview.
Whether you decide to deal with your reason for leaving or to indicate that you will discuss it at the interview, do not ignore this point.

f. Salary and fringe benefits

You must discuss your present salary and fringe benefits if your CV is being used to apply for another position. This can be done in the CV itself or you can state it in your covering letter. This is important because the prospective employer must know what package he must compete against.
Your package is made up on the one hand of your salary and on the other hand of your fringe benefits which can include your bonus, medical aid, pension, group life insurance, company car and housing loan, to mention just a few. Fringe benefits remain important notwithstanding the fact that they are currently taxed.
Finally, is it advantageous to mention packages which you enjoyed previously? The answer is that as the prospective employer competes only against your present package and not those which you received in the past, it would not assist directly in the present negotiations.
The only justification for listing previous packages is if it does indicate your progress but this is not always possible because inflation and other factors have brought about that your remuneration has not grown steadily along a recognisable curve.
Presuming the employee resigns and leaves a position before he starts negotiating for the next job, will the package which he received in the previous position be relevant to the present negotiations?
This is very difficult to answer without knowing the facts, but the applicant would not be in as strong a position when negotiating as he would have been if he were in a secure job. The longer the break between your last job and present negotiations, the less relevant your last package becomes.

PERSONAL NOTES

'INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN OTHERWISE'

Govt breaks silence on McBride

(304A) CT 22/5/98

THE GOVERNMENT has lifted its veil of silence over the continued detention of foreign affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running. **ANDRÉ KOOPMAN** of the Parliamentary Bureau reports.

THE report by former South African National Defence Force chief Georg Meiring used as the basis for some of the charges against Robert McBride is discredited, South Africa has informed Mozambique.

The chief executive officer of the Government Communication and Information System, Joel Netshitenze, said the Mozambican police, investigating McBride for allegedly running arms in a coup plot, had been informed that the Meiring report had been found by the government to be "inherently fantastic".



HELD: Robert McBride

The Mozambican charge sheet docket against McBride contains many elements of the Meiring report which claimed that McBride, the then defence force deputy chief Siphiwe Nyanda and ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela had been involved in a coup plot. Meiring has since stepped down as head of the SANDF and has been succeeded by Nyanda.

Yesterday protesters outside Parliament — among them ANC MP Rob Davies — and at Mozambican missions in Durban and Johannesburg called on Mozambican authorities to charge or release McBride, who has been held in solitary confinement for almost 70 days in a Maputo prison.

The government has until now been reticent over the plight of one of its top foreign affairs officials.

Netshitenze, a senior government official who has cabinet access, has voiced the first official comment on developments in the McBride matter.

The attention of the Mozambican police had been drawn to the findings of the Mahomed Commission, which had investigated the Meiring coup report and had found it, according to President Nelson Mandela, to be "inherently fantastic".

Responding in a statement to questions about charges being prepared against McBride and indicating the government's stance on the issue, Netshitenze said: "Through the South African Police Service, and at the invitation of the Mozambican authorities, our law-enforcement agencies have been assisting in the investigation. In this process, we have drawn their attention to the relevant information at our disposal, including statements that have been made regarding the so-called Meiring report and with respect to the findings of the Mohamed Commission."

While emphasising the independence of the Mozambican investigation, he said, the government believed that the Meiring report "constitutes a part of the pool of information that the Mozambican judicial authorities will take into account in coming to a determination on their own future course of action".

Netshitenze skirted around the question of whether South Africa was satisfied with progress in the McBride investigation, saying: "The Mozambican authorities are conducting the investigation in accordance with their own laws.

"We are hopeful that the case will come to a resolution soon — based on their own independent findings.

"As a matter of principle, the South African government maintains that McBride, like anyone else, should be presumed innocent until proven otherwise."

Several people named by the Mozambican police in their charge sheet against McBride have been found to be non-existent.

Intelligence watchers have remarked on the coincidence between McBride's arrest and the release of the Meiring Report.

There has been speculation and mounting evidence that he was set up by right-wing intelligence operatives.

● See Picture Page 9

State sends warning on corruption

ARG 22/5/98 (304A)

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

Salie Manie, head of the National Assembly public service committee, says the anti-corruption summit planned for this year will aim at drawing various initiatives into a common national strategy.

It was aimed at developing a clear programme of action for administrations and the general public, Mr Manie told the Assembly during Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya's budget vote.

The Government's total opposition to corruption was demonstrated by the range of initiatives it had launched.

In spite of these efforts, opposition parties had seized on corruption as an issue to attack the African National Congress.

"They do not realise the areas where we are losing tens of millions of rands are because of the inadequate controls and outdated systems of the past."

Mr Manie said stealing money from the state was tantamount to stealing from the poor.

"We, as the ANC, want to send out a clear warning to all those who are guilty of corruption that when they are caught we will chuck them in jail."

He urged public servants and the public in general to expose corruption where they saw it.

On affirmative action, Mr Manie said his committee would use all means at its disposal to ensure compliance with the policy.

Departments would be called on to submit reports to account for progress in implementing the white paper on affirmative action in the public service.

. . .n the coming election, Cosatu is likely to back its old ally, the ANC . . . but there is a price tag. Karl von Holdt reports

The gearbox of the ANC will grind to the tune of Cosatu's organ

In South Africa's first democratic elections, the Congress of South African Trade Unions made a significant contribution to the ANC's victory. Union activists mobilised members, ran voter education programmes in factories and townships, and provided the organisational backbone for the ANC election campaign in many areas. Shop stewards were released from work to assist. Union offices and facilities were made available for ANC use. Workers' forums were convened where members could question ANC candidates.

The trade unions did not only contribute their organisational experience and capacity. The ANC's election programme, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, also originated with Cosatu. The labour federation hoped, through the RDP, to secure the ANC's commitment to a vision of transformation and development that would meet the needs of both its own membership and the broader masses of those impoverished and oppressed by apartheid. Cosatu also released large numbers of its most skilled and experienced leadership to ANC election lists for national and provincial legislatures.

How likely is a similar scenario in 1999? Will the open conflict between Cosatu and the ANC Government over the latter's adoption of conservative macro-economic policies in the form of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) weaken union support for the ANC's election campaign?

The role of Cosatu in 1999 will depend on two things – the federation's own organisational strength and vitality, and political relations within the tripartite alliance.

In many respects the labour federation is a formidable force. From the middle of the Eighties, when it was launched, to 1990, Cosatu more than doubled in size. It has since grown by a further 50%, to its current size of almost 1,8 million members. Such consistent growth, during a period of history generally regarded as inimical to unionism, is unique internationally. Cosatu has a powerful presence in thousands of workplaces and in virtually all industrial sectors, including the public sector.

The federation does have weaknesses though. The September Commission, established by Cosatu to evaluate its policies and structures, identified a wide range of organisational problems. These include the ongoing loss of experienced and skilled worker leaders and officials, demoralisation among staff, poor service of membership, weak organisational management and administration systems, and a reactive rather than strategic approach to the transformation of South African society.

Under the heading "Transforming ourselves to transform society", the September Commission made numerous recommendations for overcoming the organisational weaknesses it identified. Most of these were adopted at Cosatu's recent national congress. These included: measures to strengthen local, regional and national structures; increasing the number of full-time national office-bearers from two to six; beefing up head office capacity and launching a national campaign for organisational renewal in the federation and its affiliates.

It is safe to predict that the tripartite alliance will not break before the 1999 elections. The ties of loyalty and a shared history of struggle against apartheid run deep. For Cosatu, there is no other political party with policies remotely as progressive as the ANC's – or with any prospect of winning political power. For the ANC, the tasks of governing would be made even more difficult, if not impossible, by a hostile and oppositional labour movement. Moreover, Cosatu not only provides organisational strength and experience that many ANC branches lack, but it is present within the ANC in the form of branch leadership and activists. The third leg of the alliance, the South African Communist Party (SACP), currently has no alternative but to remain in the alliance.

But the alliance can take different forms. It could develop a common perspective and programme on the tasks of transformation, as the basis for a tight alliance between three alliance partners. It could continue in its current form, as a relatively loose alliance characterised by agreement and co-operation over some policies, and conflict and opposition over others. Or it could mutate into an empty alliance, with a formal existence but no substance.

Cosatu's role in the 1999 elections will depend on the form of the alliance. A tight alliance would put forward a comprehensive shared election platform, on the basis of which Cosatu could throw its organisational muscle – and candidates – into the electoral fray with the enthusiasm of 1994.

A loose alliance would negotiate a platform of specific and achievable items, and Cosatu support for the election campaign could be somewhat more muted than in 1994. An empty alliance would find it impossible to develop a joint platform and Cosatu would, apart from mouthing public support for the ANC, be a largely passive observer in the elections.

Either of the second two scenarios could mean fewer votes for the ANC.

How likely is a tight alliance, as described above? This is the option that Cosatu is pressing for, and the Alliance Summit in September 1997 held some hope that it could be achieved. The ANC conceded that Gear is not "cast in stone", and that major policies need to be discussed within the Alliance. A joint working group was established to develop a strategy for transformation of the public sector, a key concern of Cosatu. Against this show of flexibility must be set the apparent resolve of the ANC Government to keep its flag fixed to the mast of Gear.

On the other hand, Gear is not working. Neither Government spending, investment, growth nor job creation indices are living up to Gear predictions. Even worse, if Government is to wrestle spending into line with Gear targets, it will have to retrench tens of thousands of public servants and radically cut back social services. This would not only further knock employment figures, but could generate widespread labour and community resistance.

The likely outcome in the short term – that is, by 1999 – is that the tripartite alliance will continue to take the form of a loose alliance.

Among the election planks Cosatu is likely to push for are: specific policies for job creation; prescribed assets for pension funds; a pay-as-you-go public service pension fund to reduce state debt; a more progressive taxation system to redistribute wealth; extension of health, education and housing service; a promise to implement a combination of constituency and proportional representation for national and provincial legislatures and concrete measures to crack down on crime and corruption.

The South African transition is characterised by a fluidity and contestation within all institutions and spheres. The policies and balance of forces within the ANC and the alliance are no exception.

■ *Karl von Holdt co-ordinated Cosatu's September Commission on the future of unions. He is a senior researcher at Naledi and a board member of the SA Labour Bulletin.*

(304A) ARG 23/5/98



ON THE MARCH: Cosatu's role in the 1999 elections will depend on two things: the federation's organisational strength and vitality, and political relations within the tripartite alliance

The official view is ...

Sowetan 18/5/98

(S60)(304A)

Government's new communications structure has set itself a mammoth task, from media liaison to deciding state policy on media diversity, explains **Ido Lekota**

TODAY's launch of the newly formed Government Communications and Information System (GCIS) is a major step towards improving government communication with the public and enhancing the process of transformation.

According to its mission statement, one of its priorities is "to empower vulnerable groups such as those in rural areas, the unemployed and women, thereby ensuring that they know their rights and take full advantage of socio-economic opportunities".

Headed by Joel Netshitenzhe, former communications director in the President's office, it was formed after recommendations by a communications task team (Comtask) appointed by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

As the GCIS's chief executive officer, Netshitenzhe said the body derives its mandate from the Constitution, which guarantees citizens freedom of speech.

"The corrolary of this is their right not only to receive information about government activity, but also to communicate their (citizens) views and activities," he said.

"It is recognised in the Reconstruction and Development Programme that an informed public is better able to take an active part in changing its life. This lies at the foundation of people-centred and people-driven transformation."

According to Netzhitenzhe, central to the decision to appoint Comtask was a recognition that the South African Communication Service (SACS) was not serving these needs.

He said the period of transition created uncertainty within SACS which, for example, resulted in a massive loss of staff that left the structure with only a third of the total complement it was supposed to have.

"The problems of personnel, lack of vision and uncertainty caused by the transition all conspired to undermine government communications, particularly at the centre," he said.

"Understaffed and unmotivated, the organisation has in the main been through the motions of the most basic work required."

Located in the presidency, the GCIS will deal mainly with improving the Government's communication with the public and vice versa.

It will also integrate and coordinate the work of all communications structures in the Government, including the training of the various media liaison personnel.

This move will be welcomed by those who have been on the receiving end of the service provided by some of the Government's media liaison officials.

The GCIS also has the responsibility – through its media liaison structures – of strengthening working relations between the media and Government.



The newly launched Government Communications and Information System will develop policy on how to assist community-based media initiatives such as community radio stations.

According to its mandate, the body must also ensure an accurate and unbiased reflection of the Government's work and views – a tall order indeed, given that "accuracy" is an elastic term.

"Our vision of the relationship with the media is that we are in principle partners in communications – both of us with the responsibility and obligation to keep the public informed of relevant developments," said Netshitenzhe.

In liaison with relevant departments, the GCIS will also work out strategies and mechanisms to promote South Africa abroad.

In addition, the body will have a research and policy unit with the task of conducting research into public opinion and processing the results for use by various government departments.

The GCIS will develop a media policy for the Government as well, including on such issues as diversity in media ownership.

On the need for such a policy, Netshitenzhe argued that one of the weaknesses in South African media was the lack of diversity – from ownership to printing and distribution.

"This shortcoming is recognised by at least some of the media houses and the South African National Editors' Forum. The GCIS therefore considers the achievement of a diversity of voices, with people's capacity to be heard, as a critical element of its vision."

In line with this, Netshitenzhe said there was need for legislation that would guard against monopolies in the media industry. The current situation, in which one media company depended on another for distribution, also needed to be regulated.

For example, there could be legislation that ensured that the distribution company treated the client company equally in providing the service, even though their publications might be in competition.

All these possibilities would be negotiated with the various media companies, said Netshitenzhe. In this regard the GCIS will have a directorate on media policy. Its priority will be to draft legislation on diversity of ownership, including in distribution channels and printing.

This will also encompass policy on how to assist community-based media initiatives such as community radio stations and community newspapers.

Already there is a proposal for a media development agency to assist the development of community-based media initiatives. Such an agency, it is proposed, could be funded by both government and private media owners.

The GCIS will have a staff of 350 people. Three chief directorates will take responsibility for media liaison, research and policy, and provincial and local liaison respectively.

To fulfil its mandate, the GCIS believes it needs R46 million for the 1998/99 financial year.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
May 22 to 28 1998

McBride: Anger over delays

M+G 22-28/5/98 (304A)

Wally Mbhele

Mounting frustration over the continued incarceration of Robert McBride, who has been languishing in a Mozambican jail without trial for almost two-and-a-half months, has prompted calls for the South African government to become more active in securing the freedom of its foreign affairs official.

After the Mozambican authorities failed this week either to release or to charge McBride, a pressure group was launched which aims to target all Mozambican consulates in South Africa for protest action.

The initiative, described as "long overdue" by the mainly African National Congress activists involved, could pose a dilemma for the South African government, perceived to be too passive in the face of what appears to be a conspiracy orchestrated by third force elements against McBride.

Although it is unclear whether the ANC will throw its weight behind the initiative, the government insisted again this week that it was not going to interfere in Mozambican legal processes.

The government's chief communications director, Joel Netshitenze, said McBride's family is "in touch" with the Ministry of Safety and Security. He did not divulge any further details.

The Free McBride Campaign was launched as the diplomat's legal costs incurred since his arrest ran beyond R100 000 and a Mozambican judge presiding over the matter shattered hopes for his release.

McBride was arrested on March 9 on suspicions of gun-running while in the company of an apartheid-era military intelligence agent, Vusi Mbatha, whose evidence the Mozambicans are heavily relying upon to corroborate their allegations against him.

It is understood Mbatha has made three conflicting statements since McBride's arrest in Mozambique. Despite the statement by police Assistant Commissioner "Suiker" Britz, that there was enough evidence to prosecute McBride, it appears that the Mozambicans do not have any evidence they can rely on to bring about a successful prosecution.

In terms of Mozambican law, a judge has 40 days in which to study all evidence against a suspect before deciding whether to charge or release the person. A suspect is presumed guilty until found innocent by a judge.

The charges McBride is facing appear to reproduce the discredited Meiring report. He is accused of plotting to overthrow the South African government with the assistance of officials at the American and Cuban embassies, named as Louis and Coba.

Judge Carlos Caetano, who is presiding over the McBride case, spent last week seeking to interview Louis, Coba and a General Massango named in the police charge sheet.

Even after the defence team — led by respected Mozambican lawyer Albano Silva — handed in letters from the South African, Cuban and American embassies stating that the three do not exist, Judge Caetano still failed to reach a decision.

Judge Caetano told McBride's legal team last Friday that he would make his decision on Monday. He failed to do so.

He appeared to be irritated by the presence of a few representatives of the South African press, including the *Mail & Guardian*, outside the court building. He personally confiscated an SABC television videotape after ordering a policeman to confiscate the camera. The reason, he fumed, was because the crew took footage of the court building.

McBride's supporters said it was difficult to understand why the judge was unable to reach a decision, considering all the documentation presented to him.

"We are now inclined to engage in a proactive activity. We hope our actions will mobilise more people and spark massive protests around the country until they feel the pressure," said Aubrey Lekwane, co-ordinator of the McBride campaign.

They are threatening to occupy government buildings if McBride is not released soon.



Robert McBride: Languishing in a Mozambican jail. PHOTO: THEMBA HADEBE

Public works special unit to tackle state fraud

CT (BR) 21/5/98

(304A)

LYNDA LOXTON

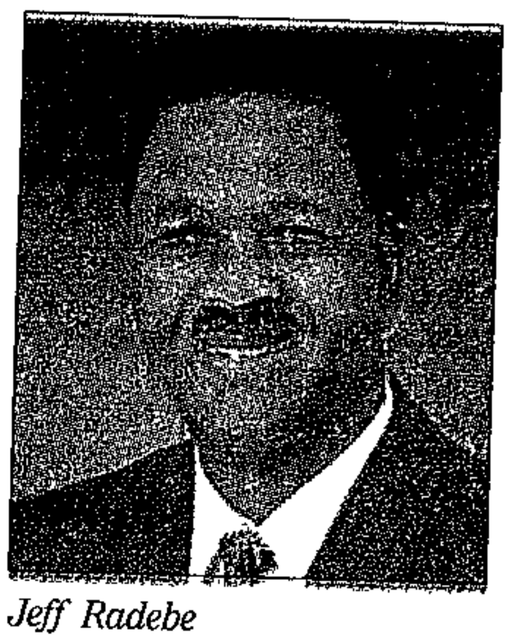
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Jeff Radebe, the public works minister, sent out a strong warning yesterday that he would act against public and private sector officials who were bent on creating anarchy in the multi-billion-rand business of managing state land and property.

Speaking during the debate on his budget vote in the national council of provinces, Radebe said he was establishing a specialised unit to combat fraud and corruption and ensure the proper management of state assets.

He said steps had already been taken to review the government's leasing policy to eliminate uneconomical leases and reduce unnecessary losses.

"The message we wish to send out is a simple one: government will no longer be exploited in the area of lease agreement," he said.



Jeff Radebe

"We are not going to be a money-making market for unscrupulous landlords and corrupt officials who end up smearing the name of the property sector and the public service."

He said he had been concerned by the behaviour of some provinces that appeared to think they should have "unfettered discretion" in dealing with fixed assets under their control.

It was vital, he said, that state assets were not subject to "knee-jerk policies aimed at the short-sighted alleviation of so-called provincial budget shortfalls, to upset the property market unexpectedly and to create uncertainty within government circles in all spheres about our relative roles and functions".

Radebe said steps had been taken to co-ordinate the management of state assets between national and provincial governments. But his department had become sceptical about whether some provinces would co-operate on a purely voluntary basis.

If this continued to be the case, he said he might have to resort to the powers given him by the constitution.

Radebe said his special projects unit had been looking at alternative ways to dispose of state land rather than simply selling it to the highest bidder.

He said he had received numerous proposals from the public. One method that seemed generally popular was to dispose of assets by inviting development proposals.

This model took advantage of developers' knowledge of market forces and encouraged creative input from the private sector. He said five sites had already been identified to form a pilot project for this model.

On his department's affirmative action procurement programme, Radebe said that despite forecasts this could result in black firms undertaking work at a premium of 15 percent or more, the premium so far had been limited to 0,8 percent.

He said his department would start 17 new construction projects in 1998 costing more than R10 million each. Another 11 projects worth R283 million would be undertaken through joint ventures with black contractors.

Morkel renews fight for Parliament

ARG 19/5/98

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU (304A)

Premier Gerald Morkel has vowed to raise the issue of the future location of Parliament with President Mandela.

Mr Morkel told a meeting of Western Cape mayors and civic leaders that he had decided to retain his leadership of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, the lobby group campaigning to keep Parliament in the Cape.

"We will continue the battle for retaining Parliament on all fronts and especially in the National Council of Provinces, both formally in sessions as well as in my discussions with other premiers," Mr Morkel said.

He had raised the issue with Mr Mandela in the past and would do so again at the earliest opportunity.

The location of Parliament in the Western Cape was the link between the Cape's very different communities and the South African mainstream, anchoring the province to the rest of the country.

"Take away this anchor and the Cape could drift away, or even worse, could become a province hostile to the rest of South Africa."

He repeated a call to the African National Congress in the province to make its position on the issue clear, lest it become a political football in next year's election.

Redesign mooted for prisoner privilege system

CT 21/5/98 (215)

VUYO MNTUYEDWA
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

A DRAFT proposal for the redesign of the privilege system for prisoners was presented to the Portfolio Committee on Correctional Services yesterday, aimed at ensuring a safe and disciplined environment for prisoners and warders.

Prison service director Frikkie Venter said a uniform privilege system had to be established to deal with overcrowding, the various privileges, categories of prisoners, abuse and misinterpretation of the current system and security risks.

The privileges deal with visits to inmates, purchases at tuckshops, making telephone calls, the number of letters written or received, toiletries, stationary, money, private television, books and clothing.

He said the main aims of the proposed privilege system were to minimise the possibility of corruption, the inflow of unauthorised articles into prisons and to establish an effective privilege system.

"Depending on behaviour, an inmate may be promoted or demoted according to a set of criteria" to various privilege groups.

He said the proposals were sent to provincial commissioners, area managers, prison chiefs, trade unions and the Human Rights Commission for their contributions.

Govt firm on lease exploitation

(3049) CT 21/5/98

ANDRE KOOPMAN
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER Jeff Radebe warned yesterday that he would come down hard on private and public officials who exploit the government in lease agreements.

Speaking in the NCOP during his budget debate he said: "We are not going to be a money-making market for unscrupulous landlords and corrupt officials who end up smearing the name of the property sector and public service.

"The message we wish to send out is a simple one — the government will no longer be exploited in the area of lease agreements."

A specialised unit to combat fraud and corruption would be established in his department, Radebe said.

The unit would work with improved internal audit structures aimed at reducing waste, duplication, poor accounting and delayed payment procedures.

The initiative followed successful programmes introduced over the last two years which had led to revamping the department's leasing policy. An audit had revealed "enormous problems" with the leasing system.

New measures and controls at national level had resulted in significant improvements and savings to the state, Radebe said.

State land should be managed as a state asset in a way that allowed the government to identify and dispose of superfluous property that had become a liability. Sale of public land should be determined within the framework of the reconstruction and development of the country, Radebe said.

The impetus behind disposal of land should not be short-term financial gain for the state, nor should it be speculative and irresponsible. "We will not act as a glorified estate agent with an eye on the commission we can make."

A number of steps had been taken to ensure that a major portfolio such as state property does not become subject to "knee-jerk policies aimed at the short-sighted alleviation of so-called provincial budget shortfalls". Provincial legislatures should be in no doubt that revenue from the sale of superfluous state assets should flow back to the central revenue fund according to normal procedures.

"Regardless of their physical location, state assets remain state assets, and any benefit that accrues from their sale or otherwise shall be determined by the state itself according to constitutional requirements."

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Freedom of City for 'Vaalie' Tutu

He was at epicentre of struggle for rights – mayor

ARG 20/5/98 (3044)

JERMAINE CRAIG
City Reporter

Cape Town's favourite adopted son, Desmond Tutu, today became the seventh person to be granted the Freedom of the City.

The Nobel Peace Prize laureate and head of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission received the honour at midday from Mayor Theresa Solomon at a special ceremony at the Civic Centre.

A "March for the Arch" from the Grand Parade to commemorate the Archbishop Tutu-led peace march to Parliament of 1989, the first of its kind during the 1980s state of emergency, preceded the ceremony.

The archbishop, who coined the term Rainbow Nation, unveiled a plaque at the entrance to the Civic Centre in memory of those who lost their lives in the struggle for democracy.

At the freedom ceremony, Mrs Solomon said Archbishop Tutu had "stood at the epicentre of the struggle for human rights in our country".

She added: "We, the people of Cape Town, are proud to bestow upon him this our highest civic honour, the Freedom of the City, as a token of his great value to Cape Town. Archbishop Tutu, your legacy will live on for generations to come.

"You will always be remembered and respected for the role you played in transforming our society. This award is our humble recognition of all that you are and all that you have done. We thank you."

The mayor also paid tribute to Archbishop Tutu's wife, Leah.

Archbishop Tutu says he is a "Vaalie" who has been adopted by Cape Town and has fallen in love with the city and its people. He is dedicating the award to "all those who marched with us in the '80s" during the fight against apartheid.

It is believed that Archbishop Tutu intends keeping his Cape Town home when his TRC duties end.



HANNES THIART

Supporters: Mayor Theresa Solomons, clergy and city personalities – including singer Jonathan Butler, left – joined today's march

Morkel to fight to keep Parliament in Cape

(304A) Star 19/5/98

By Clive Sawyer

The new premier of the Western Cape, Gerald Morkel, has vowed to raise the issue of the future location of Parliament with President Nelson Mandela.

Morkel told a meeting of Western Cape mayors and civic leaders that he had decided to retain his leadership of the Citizens Alliance for Parliament, the lobby group campaigning to keep Parliament in the Western Cape.

This was the importance he attached to the issue, he said.

"We will continue the battle for retaining Parliament on all fronts and especially in the National Council of Provinces, both formally in sessions as well as in my discussions with other premiers," Morkel said.

He added he had raised the issue personally with Mandela in the past and would do so again at the earliest opportunity.

The location of Parliament in the Western Cape was the link between the Cape's very different communities and the South African mainstream, anchoring the province to the rest of the country.

"Take away this anchor and the Cape could drift away – or, even worse, could become a province hostile to the rest of South Africa," Morkel said.

He repeated his call to the African National Congress in the province to clarify its position on the issue, lest it become a political football in next year's general election.

He would do everything in his power to prevent it becoming such a football, Morkel said.

The Government Communications and Information System (GCIS) is being launched in Cape Town today. The Star's political editor Patrick Bulger reports

(304A) Star 18/5/98

"I'm only hearing bad news out of Africa," a popular song of a few years ago lamented. And with good reason. For a generation of foreign correspondents raised in the relative ease of the sophisticated West, Africa offered itself as a stark contrast to what they were brought up with.

And with South African reportage of the African experience tending to emulate this outlook, a head-on collision between Africa's newest democratic government, in the form of the ANC, and the media was always on the cards.

In a world of inexorable progress, the African continent offered the bleakest side of the human experience: war, genocide, famine and corruption. These were easy pickings for correspondents whose chilling tales of life and death in Africa were lapped up by readers at home for whom Africa was the Dark Continent.

Within this bleak picture of a continent untouched by the current of progress washing the rest of the world toward the next millennium, South Africa itself provided rich pickings for the prophets of doom. Moreover it was a simple story of black versus white, a theme that the Americans in particular were able to identify with. Little wonder, then, that South Africa's transition to democracy should have attracted some of the big names in the media firmament.

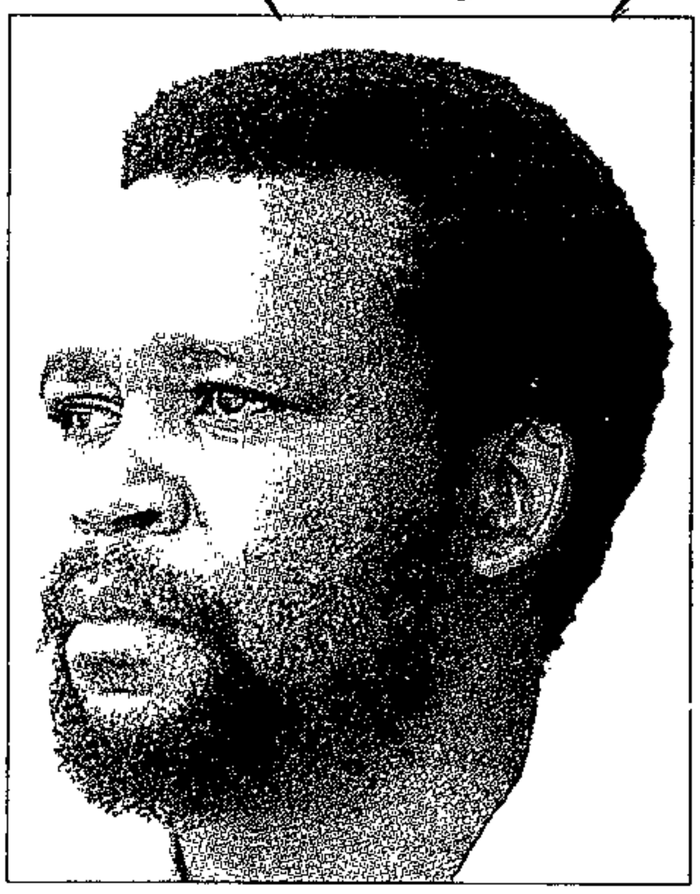
But when the predicted conflagration failed to materialise, South Africa dropped spectacularly from the media agenda. Sure, President Mandela remained a big story but the undercurrents and changes here were not the stuff of the "Big Story". RDP was a far remove from civil war.

And the local media, on a high with new-found freedoms and accustomed to working within the context of a big breaking story, soon ran into problems with the new ANC Government. At one point an exasperated Deputy President Thabo Mbeki remarked that the South African print media appeared so accustomed to the habit of opposition, that it had become second nature in newsrooms around the country to oppose the government of the day.

Several reasons were offered for this tendency, among them the structure of ownership in the print media, the predominance of white males in the decision-making positions, a mindset of opposition and the failure of the Government to communicate to the public just what it was about and what it wanted to achieve.

Under the direction of Mbeki, a media study group was set up. Called Comtask, the eight-person group gathered evidence for eight months in 1996. When it reported its findings in October of that year there were few surprises. Among its findings were that Government was devoting too few resources to communicating, that its message was not being co-ordinated and communication generally enjoyed a low priority among cabinet ministers.

Its most biting criticism was reserved for the South African Communications Service (SACS), the successor to the ill-



Steering the venture ... Joel Netshitenzhe wants a relationship with the media

fated Bureau of Information which was notorious in the latter years of the apartheid era as a mouthpiece of the then-ruling National Party. Comtask recommended that the communication service be closed down, that what remained of it be restructured and that ministries be given a greater say over their own communication.

Joel Netshitenzhe, chief executive officer of the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), told Parliament last week: "Though there had been some changes to personnel in SACS, ministries and departments in all spheres of government, the democratic government has not really had a communications structure, vision, ethos and programme that meet the demands of the current age.

"The problems of personnel, lack of vision and uncertainty of the transition all conspired to undermine government communications particularly at the centre. Understaffed and unmotivated, the organisation has in the main been going through the motions of the most basic work required. Pockets of excellence do exist and most of the remaining members of staff are working their hearts out; but as Cabinet decided, the organisation has to be fundamentally transformed."

Nor did the media emerge unscathed from the Comtask report. It found local media reporting to be "superficial, incomplete and distorted". In particular Comtask took issue with the structure of ownership in the print media, saying: "It raises the likelihood that opinion and information may be controlled by one sector of society to the disadvantage of others. We believe a greater diversity of media in South Africa would improve the quality and range of information flow and facilitate effective Government communication."

Then in February last year, the Government appointed a committee under the leadership of Deputy Minister Essop Pahad to take the Comtask recommendations forward. The result was a decision in Cabinet late last year to launch GCIS.

Led by Netshitenzhe, the GCIS is intended to give effect to the constitution's injunction that there shall be freedom of expression. He works from the understanding the public is entitled to know what government is doing and that this information does not necessarily have to be filtered through the existing mass media.

Netshitenzhe mentions as an example of what he has in mind the telecentre established under the aegis of the the Department of Posts and Telecommunications in Northern Province. He emphasises that Government communications must have a strong developmental orientation and that it provide information to the marginalised and rural people. He is especially intent on developing a service that will encourage two-way communication between the Government and the public, and vice versa.

Will the GCIS, as its critics charge, become the mouthpiece of the ruling party?

"We will speak on behalf of government and not a political party," Netshitenzhe answers. On the other hand, however, he does not hide the fact that the GCIS will be guided by policies of the Government of the day.

"Our vision of the relationship with the media is that they are in principal partners in communications – both of us with the responsibility and obligation to keep the public informed of relevant developments. The relationship needs improvement: on the one hand with GCIS ensuring better all-round servicing of the media, and on the other with the media transforming itself to meet the challenges of the new democracy.

"What the executive decides is policy is what the GCIS will communicate," he says.

Under the new structure, the GCIS will have three divisions: one dealing with media liaison, a second dealing with research and policy and a third to handle provincial and local liaison.

Within the GCIS there will also be a directorate that will tackle the thorny issue of media diversity. Here it is envisaged that legislation and regulations will be introduced to address the issue of perceived concentration of ownership: on another level distribution networks and industry and Government support for emerging media will be targeted.

Given that Netshitenzhe is a former editor of the ANC publication Mayibuye, there will be critics who argue that the GCIS will become an extension of the ruling party. But Netshitenzhe and his staff are adamant that they are no party lackeys and their efforts will help move communications in South Africa to a new and more sophisticated level.

And in doing so, the Government hopes to harness the potential offered by the telecommunications revolution.

There are not looking to turn the tables and have only good news coming out of Africa. But, they insist, the continent and South Africa deserves a fairer crack at the media whip.

CAPE TIMES
FRIDAY, MAY 15, 1998 ★

In his briefing yesterday Buthelezi said that it was Lock- In one of the tendering companies arose after he he had

New housing board will advise minister

VUYO MNTUYEDWA
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

A SOUTH African Housing Development Board is to be established to advise Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele on housing development and monitoring how the national housing policy is carried out.

Speaking in the National Assembly yesterday during her budget vote, Mthembi-Mahanyele said developers building houses using the government's capital subsidy would be monitored through strictly enforced norms and standards.

She said this would ensure that quality structures were built.

The subsidies of the previous dispensation, she said, would be phased out with the new national housing programme.

Mthembi-Mahanyele said a national housing code would be published that would contain a synopsis of national housing policy.

Parliamentary committees would make recommendations to her on the appointment of the members of the South African Housing Development Board.

Mthembi-Mahanyele said 499 318 houses had been completed or were being built countrywide.

Major changes in cabinet proposed, but govt not keen

JOVIAL RANTAO
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

EVEN if it accepted some of them, it was unlikely that the government — with an election in less than 12 months — would implement the major recommendations in the Presidential Review Commission (PRC) that was released in Parliament yesterday.

Government sources said that at best the PRC report, which has proposed a major reshuffle of the cabinet, would form the basis on which the next head of state — expected to be Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — would want to reconstitute the government if he so wished.

The cabinet has appointed a 13-member ministerial team to evaluate the PRC's report, which has recommended that the Public Service and Administration, the Sports and Recreation, the Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the Public Enterprises ministries should be abolished.

The commission also recommended that the ministries of Education, Justice, and Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development should be reconstituted. The Ministry of Public Works should be restructured. The PRC has also proposed a "super presidency" that would swallow at least two ministries.

The report, compiled by a team led by Dr Vincent Maphai, recommended:

● A new ministry of higher education and technology.

● A new ministry of education and culture in which sports and recreation would be a directorate.

● A new ministry of local government.

● The reconfiguration of the Department of Constitutional Development in which all its current functions other than local government would be in the Office of the President.

● The establishment of the office of public management in the Office of the President to take over the many functions now carried out by the Department of Public Service and Administration.

● The location of a restructured Public Service Commission, an independent commission of three people, in the Office of the President.

● The establishment of a number of new central executive agencies in the Office of the President, in particular for inter-governmental relations and information management.

The PRC also recommended that some ministries should be reconstituted to form "coherent and viable" combinations. It suggested that Water Affairs and Forestry should merge with Agriculture; Land Affairs with Environment; Trade and Industry with Tourism; Finance with State Expenditure.

Public Service and Administration Minister Dr Zola Skweyiya said: "It is a good report. We accept it, but we are not necessarily bound by what it recommends."

Nat leader framed, says AG



CLEARED: Marthinus van Schalkwyk

CHENÉ BLIGNAUT

Western Cape Attorney-General Frank Kahn has cleared National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk's name by finding "not a tittle" of substance to sex claims against the politician.

In a blistering attack, Mr Kahn accused the Mail & Guardian newspaper of "irresponsible journalism" for publishing claims by convicted criminal John Hermanus that the NP leader had paid him R20 to perform sodomy and oral sex on him in a Bloubergstrand house in March 1996.

Mr Kahn said he would ask police to investigate possible counter charges of perjury, defeating the ends of justice and fraud against Mr Hermanus.

"I have studied the allegations against Mr Van Schalkwyk and not only are they contradictory, but they lack any substance," said Mr Kahn.

"As far as I am concerned, Mr Van Schalkwyk has been done a grave injustice by all the public attention this case has received ... I don't think anyone can argue that Mr Van Schalkwyk has not been tainted indirectly by these allegations."

Mr Kahn said he found it "frightening" that a public figure could be "so easily slurred" by "irresponsible journalism".

"We have reached a low ebb in journalism," he said.

"I don't see how the Mail & Guardian could have served the public interest in publishing the story. It was a complete abuse of press freedom."

If it were not for Mr Van Schalkwyk's high political profile, the docket would have been

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(304A) ARG 16/5/98

Attorney-General slams newspaper for Van Schalkwyk sex claims

(304A) ARG 16/5/98

From page 1

closed almost immediately.

Mr Kahn said he had not considered any charges against the Mail & Guardian and that he would wait for Mr van Schalkwyk to press charges.

"For now I think this case has received more than enough public attention."

In his first reaction to Mr Kahn's accusations, Mail & Guardian editor Phillip van Niekerk hit back at the attorney-general, accusing him of being "a hypocrite".

Mr van Niekerk said the Mail & Guardian had approached Mr Kahn for comment before publishing the original story and "never at any stage did he tell us not to go ahead".

He attributed Mr Kahn's change of heart to "grandstanding" and "playing to the public gallery".

Mr van Niekerk said the Mail & Guardian had only reported the allegations against Mr van Schalkwyk once they formed part of a "high-level" police investigation and, therefore, became "of public interest".

The original Mail & Guardian story clearly stated that the newspaper did not believe the claims and thought it to be part of a smear campaign, said Mr van Niekerk.

However, in a subsequent conversation, Mr van Niekerk tried to withdraw his comments about Mr Kahn after speaking to the reporter who wrote the story. Although the Mail & Guardian reporter did ask Mr Kahn for comment, said Mr Van Niekerk, the reporter did not tell the advocate that the claims involved the NP leader.

Mr van Schalkwyk, who was on a NP roadshow in the Southern Cape yesterday, was informed of Mr Kahn's decision by telephone.

A spokesman for the NP leader said he was "overjoyed", especially about the fact that Mr Kahn had come out so strongly against the Mail & Guardian for publishing the allegations. Mr van Schalkwyk's legal adviser, Willie Fourie, described Mr Kahn's decision as "a victory for justice".

The NP said it would be seeking further legal advice before taking a final decision about action against the Mail & Guardian.

Meanwhile, the man at the centre of the storm is sticking to his guns. Hermanus phoned the Saturday Argus from Voorberg prison in Porterville shortly after Mr Kahn's announcement to express his dismay.

"I am very unhappy that this case has been dropped and I will stick to my story."

He vowed to "take up the matter again" when he came out of jail. He is serving a sentence for theft.

ST 17/5/98

Committees set to rule SA

RAY HARTLEY (304A)

SOUTH Africa's next president will be the country's most powerful executive ruler since former president P W Botha built up his security empire in the 80s, if recommendations by the Presidential Review Commission are accepted.

But the new ruler — most likely to be Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — will not use military force so much as a barrage of committees to rule the country.

Among the "executive agencies" that the commission has recommended should fall under presidential control are:

- The office of the cabinet secretariat, a body responsible for checking that government ministers and departments implement cabinet decisions;
- The office of public management, which would take over from the Department of Public Service and Administration;
- The office of the public service commission, which would be charged with hiring and firing in the civil service;
- A new co-ordination and implementation unit, which would encourage ministries in related fields to work together;
- A co-ordinating agency for "intergovernmental relations", to make sure that national and provincial ministers work together to avoid duplication;
- An organisation review agency, which would "evaluate and reconfigure" government to make it more effective; and
- An information management and systems agency, which would "interact with the government and the private sector".

In addition, the report recommended the establishment of a policy committee and a technology forum to improve government's management systems.

It also recommended that the commissions on the status of women and the status of disabled persons be transferred to the presidency.

● See page 20

Cheque fraud, lax controls 'a pattern in govt'

VUYO MNTUYEDWA
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

A PATTERN of corruption, in which officials apply for cheques without filling in the register, has emerged in national and provincial governments, Mr Justice William Heath, head of the Independent Special Investigations Unit, has told the National Assembly's justice committee.

In some instances, officials had stolen a number of cheques sent from central government.

"The cheques are just lying around (and) not even kept in safes," Judge Heath told the committee on Friday.

"We have held discussions with departments and the banks. We have advised departments and director-generals to enforce controls as they will be held liable."

Judge Heath said it was only individuals in departments, not all members of the government service, that were corrupt.

"A lot of people are trying to run their departments correctly."

Some bank and government employees colluded, often working with syndicates in cashing cheques over the counter.

The absence of proper controls, Judge Heath said, made it easy for officials to commit cheque fraud in every national and provincial government department.

"It is abundantly clear from the investigations to date that there is a substantial lack of administrative financial control by heads of departments.

"There are probably many reasons for this, but there are two obvious reasons — they are sometimes ignorant of and inexperienced in administrative and financial control and there is a serious lack of communication down the ranks in their departments."

The Independent Special Investigations Unit, appointed in 1996 to uncover corruption and recover assets and funds lost by the state, is investigating 92 600 cases involving more than R6,2 billion.

Judge Heath said four of these cases involved national departments and more than R4,6bn. To date, about R640 million had been or was being recovered.

Citing examples, he said that in the Eastern Cape cheques had been stolen from the office of the premier, taken to KwaZulu-Natal and cashed for R70m.

"The improved awareness among the provinces, national departments and other state institutions of the activities of the unit is already an enormous step in the right direction.

"At the same time, the unit wishes to rely again — and even more so — on the concerted action of all role-players in the public and private sector to curb maladministration and corruption."

McBride judge given ultimatum on charges

(304A) CT 25/5/98

RAPHAEL BANDA

JOHANNESBURG: The Mozambican judge handling the case of Robert McBride, the foreign affairs official arrested there on gun-running allegations, has been given an ultimatum to take a decision by the end of business today.

Albano Silva, the detained official's Mozambican lawyer, gave the ultimatum last week, according to McBride's wife Paula. She added that the attorney would take the case to the country's supreme court for a decision if Justice Carlos Caetano failed to decide on whether he would press charges.

Several deadlines have passed for the judge to make the decision, the most recent being last Monday.

"He has had reasonable time in which to decide. That reasonable time has expired. If no decision is taken the lawyer will appeal directly to the supreme court," Paula McBride said. McBride's South African lawyer, Jose Nascimento, was not available for comment.



LANGUISHING: Robert McBride

As the former uMkhonto weSizwe soldier began his 11th week in a Maputo prison, activists campaigning for his release said yesterday they would be stepping up pressure on the Mozambican government and approaching key figures in the South African government and the ANC to highlight McBride's plight.

"We will begin to look at a range of protest activities. We have to look at more concerted action," said Aubrey Lekwane, an official of the Free McBride Committee.

Last week members of the committee staged picket demonstrations in major cities in the country, handing over a petition calling for the release of McBride.

McBride's attorneys have presented to the judge written submission citing technical reasons for the case against their client to be dropped. The objections include the allegation that McBride was arrested without a warrant and that his arrest was legalised by a judge five days later.

Political observers and human rights lawyers have dismissed the charge sheet, apparently drawn up on the testimony of a former apartheid military intelligence operative who was arrested with McBride. They said the case might be dropped at the preliminary stage.

The South African government has consistently maintained that it will not interfere in the case.

McBride concern mounts

(304A) Sowetan 27/5/98

SA Press Association and Sowetan Reporter

MR Derrick McBride, the father of detained South African foreign affairs official Robert McBride, has launched a scathing attack on the Government for throwing his son "to the wolves".

McBride snr who was also imprisoned during the apartheid years for Umkhonto we Sizwe operations, pointed an accusing finger at top African National Congress leaders who had "turned their backs on their own comrade".

He criticised the Government for what he said was apparent reluctance to assist in securing the release of his son from Mozambique.

McBride jnr was arrested in Mozambique on March 10 in connection with allegations of gun-running. He has been incarcerated in a Maputo jail and has still not been charged – more than 75 days after his arrest.

Speaking by telephone from his home in the south of Durban, McBride's father said: "They are throwing Robert to the wolves by doing this. We are also disgusted by the attitudes of some of the (ANC) ministers."

He claimed that Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi had fobbed off concerned people, including Robert's former colleague Mr Aubrey Lekwane, who allegedly contacted the minister a day after McBride's arrest.

The South African Government has stated that it cannot interfere with Mozambique's judicial system, saying the law there will have to take its course.

McBride's father said it was common knowledge that the justice system in Mozambique was rotten, and that in some instances inmates were known to be incarcerated for several years before being tried.

He said when he last saw his son about four weeks ago, Robert was concerned but optimistic that he would be released soon.

He said campaigns to lobby for his release would continue and would be intensified.

He further claimed that Robert was being held in solitary confinement. Permission for him to exercise for half-an-hour a day was obtained only after his Mozambican lawyer, Mr Albano Silva, demanded the same privileges afforded to other prisoners.

McBride's father claimed his son was held incommunicado and denied contact with anyone for the first month of his incarceration.

There have been a number of apparent deadlines in the Mozambican criminal justice system whereby Robert should have been charged or released but these have come and gone without any action being taken.

Last week a number of protests were held outside Mozambican missions in South Africa demanding Robert McBride's release.

Yesterday the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights, led by Golden Miles Bhudu, staged a protest in Johannesburg to demand McBride's release.

More protests are expected to be held within the next few days.

McBride's father disgusted at 'reluctant' government

DURBAN — Derrick McBride, father of detained SA foreign affairs official Robert McBride, criticised the government yesterday for what he said was apparent reluctance to assist in securing the release of his son from Mozambique.

McBride was arrested in Mozambique on March 10 in connection with allegations of gun-running. He has since been in a Maputo jail and, more than 75 days after his arrest, he has still not been charged.

The SA government said in recent weeks it could not interfere with Mozambique's judicial system and the law there would have to take its course.

Speaking by telephone from his home south of Durban, McBride's father said: "They are throwing Robert to the wolves by doing this. We are disgusted also by the attitude of some of the (African National Congress) ministers." B04A

Derrick McBride claimed Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi had fobbed off concerned people, including Robert's former colleague Aubrey Lekwane, who is said to have contacted Mufamadi a day after McBride's arrest.

McBride's father said that in some instances inmates were incarcerated in Mozambique prisons for several years before being tried. When he last saw his son about four weeks ago, Robert was concerned but optimistic that he would be released soon. — Sapa.

BD 27/5/98

Govt aims to keep masses informed

Star 28/5/98

(204A)

By Estelle Randall
Political Correspondent

The soft, yellow light makes the room a refuge from the grey, threatening rain as Joel Netshitenzhe, head of the government's new communications structure, taps at his computer.

He's putting the final touches to the documents which capture Government's new approach to communications, the launch of its Government Communications and Information System (GCIS).

There is relevance yet in that cliche that information is power.

"Without information there will not be a people-centred process of transformation," says Netshitenzhe. "We need an informed people to make the changes, to take control of their lives."

"People appreciate that the Government is doing as much as it can at the moment," he says, "but they want to be better informed about why some things aren't working as well as they should. Government doesn't explain enough to us, people complain."

Meeting people's need to know will not be easy. Nor will reshaping how the Government approaches communication with the public.

GCIS's predecessor, the South African Communications Service (SACS), failed on both counts, despite its staff and budget.

In the 1996/1997 financial year SACS had a budget of R50,896-million. But an eight-month investigation of government communications by a task group appointed by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki . in 1996 found SACS had low credibility, even within the Government, its core client.The result was costly duplication of services and minimal reach to communities that lacked access to information. An absence of clear communication structures and policies within government departments and ministries also produced costly communications and made it difficult for an agency like SACS to function efficiently. The GCIS has identified six priorities to begin to change this situation.

- Coherent government communications.
- To restructure current government communication structures to make them cost effective.
- Development communications which involves taking on the challenges of illiteracy, the particular needs of disabled people, women and youth and collaborating with non-governmental organisations and local government structures.
- Effective use of information technology; to identify community information needs and meet as much of those as possible.
- Better servicing of the press.
- Training to improve competence of government communicators.
- Media diversity which will involve a Directorate on Policy focusing on diversity in media ownership, distribution and printing.

It is this last priority that has generated heat from the opposition.

The Democratic Party's Dene Smuts registered her party's "alarm" at what she perceived to be the GCIS's intention to draft policy on media diversity.

"We are in favour of more media and look forward to discussing ways of stimulating conditions for their creation. But the Government should play a strictly hands-off role," she said.

Netshitenzhe's response is freedom of speech guaranteed in the constitution means the right to information and the right to be heard.

To make themselves heard, people need the resources to do so. It is generally acknowledged that South Africa's media mostly cater for the minority. The Independent Broadcasting Authority is already dealing with media diversity in radio and television. It has also been proposed that diversity in the ownership of print media should be dealt with through normal competitions policy, regulating all sectors, which the Department of Trade and Industry released this week.

> **We need an informed people**

The GCIS has taken this further by suggesting that distribution and printing ownership also needs attention. It proposes, too, that assistance be given to small and community media establishments through an independent Media Development Agency, to which both government and commercial media enterprises should contribute.

The Media Training and Development Trust's Chris Gutuza wants this to happen soon.

"We want government to provide seed capital for a period. There's already this kind of support in electronic media. We need the same for print," he says.

But underlying the DP's concern is the fear that the GCIS and other government initiatives, especially those from Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Jay Naidoo, signal attempts to resuscitate apartheid's state-controlled propaganda machines.

Others in the media are more cautious in judgment. Hugh Lewin, director of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism, acknowledges he has worries about a Zimbabwe-type situation developing here.

"No one believes the media there because they see them as government mouthpieces. That's unlikely to happen here because we've got a vibrant civil society, but it's nevertheless a salutory example of what could happen," he says. "The mainstream media needs to work out better ways of supporting development. We're all new at that and we'll need guidance and support from a government about how to get this right. The GCIS will have to be sure it really listens and consults with civil society and draws on the long experience of organisations."

Laura Pollecutt, executive director of the Freedom of Expression Institute, says: "Opposition parties may fear looming government interference in communication but we have to wait and see."

The Open Democracy Bill, due for finalisation this year, will advance the public's right to information, she notes. Netshitenzhe is aware of the complexities ahead.

"We can't run away from the fact that the Government's policies are ANC policies. Our job is to communicate what government is doing, what its policies are, to put Government in a good light. But we also want to make sure government acknowledges problems of implementation, that in some areas not enough is being done fast enough and why this is so."

The GCIS, he says, will be sensitive not to create the impression it is promoting the interests of a particular political party but the devilish detail of how this happens will unfold in practice. For the rest, he says, it would be a mistake to promise the world to everybody.

"It'll be a long, drawn out process to shift a colossus like this within six months or even a year. You also can't expect to shift the perceptions of journalists in the mainstream media overnight.

"Our great success," he says, "will be reflected not so much in what we, as a structure, deliver but in how we help government shift to better servicing, consistency of message, co-ordination of programmes and cost-saving."

R40m blown on probes

M+G 29/5 — 4/6/98 (250)(304A)

Andy Duffy

Special state investigations swallowed more than R40-million of taxpayers' money in just 12 months, the government's finance watchdog has found.

The figures, buried in the report the auditor general released to Parliament earlier this week, point to a sudden acceleration, in the 12 months to March 1997, in the government's drive to call in experts to deal with problems judged beyond the bounds of its officials.

The expenditure, drawn from various departments' budgets, stood at R23,5-million at the start of the financial year. It totalled R64,3-million by April 1997 — and was still rising.

The commissions and committees of inquiry are labelled temporary, though several predate the 1994 election. Many are still running.

Auditor General Henri Kluever makes no comment in the report about the expenditure. He notes only that the figures are based on information from various government departments, and "show the identifiable expenditure, including salaries of officials on commissions and special departmental committees, other than those of a more permanent nature".

The Department of Transport accounted for the single largest slice — R13,2-million in the financial year — with most of that going on transport minister Mac Maharaj's national taxi task team inquiry. That initiative ran for nearly two years, ending in March 1997 with nearly R16,3-million spent.

The Department of Education also figured strongly. Its bill alone totalled more than R10-million for the 1996/97 financial year, including a R3,4-million tally for the 10-month probe into unrest at the University of Durban-Westville.

The White commission, which is probing illegal promotions among public servants before and after the 1994 elections, cost R2,36-million for the year, putting the total since it was set up in April 1995 at R4,7-million. The commission is expected to finish over the next two months.

Expenditure on the Masterbond commission ran to R742 000, bringing its total cost since its inception in May 1992 to R7,3-million. The report notes that the commission should complete its work by December this year.

Other big-ticket probes include the Ministry of Justice's R1,5-million spent on a commission into the rationalisation of the provincial and local divisions of the high court. The cost brought total expenditure on the commission, which started in April 1995, to R2,4-million. It is still running.

The task group on government communications ordered by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki cost R1,8-million for its 10 months' work.

The government has previously come under fire for expenditure on formalised, permanent commissions, such as the gender commission and the youth commission. The Democratic Party last year estimated that about R286-million had been spent on such institutions in three years, with no obvious returns.

Many of the special probes listed in Kluever's report look easily justifiable. Few, for example, could quibble with the R2,75-million the Department of Minerals and Energy spent on the investigation into the Vaal Reefs mining disaster.

Other cases, however, are less obviously urgent. The Department of Minerals and Energy also spent close to R200 000 examining "the existence of the diamond industry in South Africa". That probe started in April 1996, and has no obvious cut-off date.

The Department of Agriculture decided to enter the notoriously labyrinthine wine and distillation industry in January 1997. It emerged just 10 days later, nearly R46 000 poorer.

Kluever's report notes that the government's unauthorised expenditure had risen to R183-million by the end of March 1997, from a previous R152-million — excluding the secret services' budget of R831-million.

He rounded up the usual suspects: departments' failure to comply with tender procedures, inadequate management and the perpetual headache from the legacy of the former homelands and independent states.

Generally scathing in tone, Kluever singles out the police for special mention. His report notes that the police's unauthorised expenditure was close to R117-million — triggered by, among other elements, mass promotions.

Another R76,2-million set aside for Reconstruction and Development Programme projects had been spent on other causes. Beyond the unauthorised police expenditure, Kluever's officials also found that police management had provided "free services" to its staff in canteens and messes worth R33,6-million.

Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi says the lack of financial skills among police management prompted his appointment of businessman Meyer Kahn as police chief executive officer 12 months ago.

Mufamadi adds that most of the unauthorised expenditure is technicality-based. He says the R135-million cost of promoting 11 000 officers, in a redress scheme approved by Cabinet, was ruled unauthorised only because the Ministry of Finance had failed to approve the plan in time.

Angry words over demise of Afrikaans Hansard

ST 31/5/98 (304A)

HENRY LUDSKI

A ROW has erupted over a decision by Parliament's management to scrap the Afrikaans-only edition of its historical record of proceedings, which has been published since 1910.

Secretary to Parliament Sindiso Mfenyana said this week only one edition of Hansard — in English — would be published until a new language policy for Parliament had been formulated.

Speeches and comments in other languages would be published, but accompanied by an English translation.

The interim arrangement made by Parliament's management committee, on which political parties are not represented, has provoked an outcry from opposition parties. It has also led to the ANC questioning the right of Parliament's management to take what is essentially a "political decision".

Lewis Rabkin, of ANC Chief Whip Max Sisulu's office, said the ANC had not been informed of the decision. "As far as the ANC's concerned, the status quo remains as it is a political decision which the rules committee must make."

Hansard has been published in both English and Afrikaans since 1910. But in February, Speaker Frene Ginwala and National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick Lekota decided the time had come to promote all the official languages, in line with the Constitution.

The prohibitive cost of producing Hansard in all 11 languages prompted Parliament to propose that only English be used on a permanent basis, with the other official languages being used on a rotational basis each month.

Political parties agreed a change in the language policy was necessary, but consensus could not be reached on how best this could be achieved.

The divergent opinions led to the joint rules committee, jointly chaired by Ginwala and Lekota, and on which all political parties are represented, having to make a final decision. But when it met last week the issue was postponed.

This left the administration of Parliament with no new policy and several editions of Hansards to produce. Mfenyana said Hansard documents had been piling up since November.

Freedom Front Chief Whip Joseph Chiole said the decision was "in line with ANC planning to downgrade Afrikaans".

While Anna van Wyk, the National Party's spokesman for arts, language and culture, said it reflected a lack of will on the government's part to develop indigenous languages.

The Democratic Party's Dene Smuts said the move was "sensible", but would have to be viewed against a new language-policy "package".

Selebi is highly regarded for his robust, confident style

SA's new foreign affairs director-general is respected by his colleagues for his competent and fair handling of difficult meetings writes **Stephen Laufer**

BD 1/6/98 (304A)

TRY as one may, it is virtually impossible to find anyone, anywhere, who will be really critical of Jackie Selebi, SA's newly appointed director-general of foreign affairs.

It is not just that diplomats like to be diplomatic about each other. Even if one is able to read their double-speak, searching for his critics in Geneva, where he has represented SA at the United Nations (UN) for the past three years, is a fruitless exercise.

A strong rumour has it that Selebi is so highly regarded there that he was offered the position of director-general of the World Trade Organisation, but chose to serve SA instead.

The rough edges some say he displayed in exile years have been rounded in Geneva, making way for what people say is a "robust" and confident style. He has made such an impact internationally that even those who found their global goals blocked by his massive frame and intellect are noticeably friendly about him.

This from a US official whose government has reason to talk about him in monosyllables: "He has handled himself very well. He is energetic, competent and a professional with common sense."

Quite a mouthful from a country which, under Selebi's chairing, has seen itself thwarted on land mines and Cuban human rights issues.



SELEBI

NEWS MAKER

The conference which has led 130 countries to sign a treaty that bans anti-personnel land mines first made Selebi's name internationally. In SA politics, he is a known quantity, having led the African National Congress youth and served on the party's national executive in exile.

It is at home where the few critical words there are can be heard. Some say he did not do as well as he should have as Shell House's welfare administrator before the 1994 elections. It was virtually a one-man show, says one director-general. "In the civil service, there are people to deal with detail. His role will be to give direction and focus, which he does superbly."

That he will bring new verve to the foreign affairs operation is a view borne out by reports of Selebi's time at the UN. On his chairing of the land mines conference, one western diplomat said that "nobody believed we would make the progress we did. He played a magnificent role, assisting the process enormously."

Yet it is his greatest strength, the same diplomat said, that he does not just use process to bring meetings to a timely close— a practice which has notoriously limited the UN's effectiveness. "He cares deeply about the substance of issues. I have enormous respect for his principled positions. They are not always popular, but agree or disagree, you respect him."

Selebi's handling of the Cuban human rights vote is an indication of where he may be headed as director-general. It was by all reports less a kowtow to Havana than skilled assistance for an expression of independence from Washington by developing countries, particularly Latin America, which led the US motion to fail.

Taking a fresh look at Cuba in the light of Pope John Paul II's visit, and noting the US decision not to pursue China on human rights this year, Latin American countries decided not to support the US in condemning Havana.

When US diplomats realised they would lose the vote, they started a filibuster in an attempt to get to the lunch break, during which they would try to cajole the Latin Americans into submission. Chairing "with an even hand as one should", as one western diplomat reported, Selebi took the matter to a vote before lunch.

His confident and independent chairing dovetails neatly with an emerging SA foreign policy theme. As all roads lead to Washington, SA needs to fashion a relationship with the US close enough to serve SA's interests and sufficiently independent to ensure Pretoria does not simply become a state department proxy in Africa.

SA's relationship with Washington, a European diplomat in SA observed recently, is already a finely tuned and well-balanced success story. It spans the arc between Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's warm relationship with his US counterpart Al Gore and President Nelson Mandela's words of wisdom for President Bill Clinton in Cape Town.

Selebi can be expected to build on it, expanding the ability of his department to assess international developments and formulate SA strategies, rather than simply working reactively, as it often does now. "He will inspire a dispirited department," says one SA minister. "He is good at getting a vision across."

Key issues will be expanding the department's ability to promote SA trade and investment, and to position SA as a confident but modest leader in Africa and the rest of the developing world.

An early test will be his handling of the Nonaligned Movement summit in Durban in September. To succeed, Selebi, with his ministers and staff, will have to nudge a disparate group towards common and even critical positions on such matters as relations with the G-8 and — more difficult — south Asia's nuclear capacity status.

In attempting to reinvigorate operational foreign policy, Selebi must build capacity, professionalising the foreign service.

Many there make a real effort, often successfully.

But they need direction; the kind of confidence in them Selebi reportedly displayed when, in Geneva, he called in a third secretary and asked him to explain the issues around land mines.

Govt 'indifferent to McBride's plight'

(304A) & CT 2/6/98

PRETORIA: Winnie Madikizela-Mandela yesterday joined a protest against the detention of foreign affairs official Robert McBride in Maputo, and accused the government of indifference to his plight.

The government owed it to the people of South Africa to push for McBride's release, President Nelson Mandela's former wife said at a demonstration outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

"Everyone of us in Parliament is sitting there because of Robert's sacrifices. It is tragic that we have to be standing here trying to defend a comrade."

About 50 people took part in the protest that ended in Madikizela-Mandela and McBride's wife Paula presenting a memorandum to a senior foreign affairs official.

The document expressed outrage at the way in which Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo and his deputy Aziz Pahad were handling McBride's detention.

It demanded a public explanation from them on what they were doing to resolve the matter. The Department of Foreign Affairs should intervene to expose what the memorandum described as the infringement of McBride's rights.

McBride was arrested in Mozambique about three months ago for allegedly being involved in gun-running. No charges have been laid against him. The Mozambican judiciary said at the weekend that espionage claims were now being investigated against him.

Since McBride's arrest the South African government has been saying it cannot interfere in the Mozambican legal process.

Madikizela-Mandela said the so-called third force was behind what she called fabricated allegations against McBride. Yet, the government did nothing to secure his release.

The memorandum demanded an inquiry into the actions of some officials in the SA consulate in Maputo. It also said that the South African police investigation of McBride should be probed. — Sapa

This is no way to treat a comrade

CP 7/6/98

(304A)

Why has McBride been abandoned?

Dr GOMOLEMO MOKAE, who wrote this article, is a member of the Free Robert McBride Committee and the Black Consciousness organisation Socialist Party of Azania. A novelist and scriptwriter, he is working on a film and biography on Robert McBride.

ANDRE Koopman, parliamentary correspondent of the *Cape Times*, grew up with Robert McBride, the suspended Foreign Affairs official who has been detained without trial in a Mozambican jail for over 14 weeks. The two were close friends in the Durban coloured township of Wentworth.

"I think Robert is a great human being," Koopman said in an interview with me for a biography and film on McBride. "Even as a child, I identified his qualities. He is very courageous. He is fiercely loyal. What really attracted me to him was his compassion. Wentworth was a very dangerous place. Robert would take a stand to look out for the younger set, even against big odds."

Koopman said McBride got these qualities from his father Derrick, a former teacher whose political activism had steered him into self-employment, running his welding factory and tuck-shop in the gangster-infested township. He said the two McBrides had countless battles with the gangsters in Wentworth as Derrick strove to keep his only son away from their influence.

"Even for his time, Derrick was a very strong, very independent character," recalled Koopman. "He impressed upon us that we could not allow ourselves to be oppressed by other men."

Koopman said he was not surprised when he learnt that Derrick McBride, then 56, had joined his 20-year-old son Robert in carrying out what the ANC told the Truth and Reconciliation Committee was "probably one of the most daring missions ever carried out by units of Umkhonto We Sizwe".

The McBrides were not the type to turn their backs on their comrades when they were in trouble, said Koopman. This is what led to a mission to free Gordon Webster, Robert's MK commander and friend, from Edendale hospital, where he was under police guard. On May 5 1986, the day after the Hollywood-style rescue, newspapers like the *Natal Witness* and *Daily News* reported how nurses, patients and other hospital staff members chanted ANC slogans and sang freedom songs as Webster's rescuers wheeled him to freedom on a hospital trolley.

Robert and Gordon had met while students at the Bechet Teachers Training College. Their passion for reggae music and their political outlook strengthened their friendship.

On June 14 1986, acting on the instructions of his superiors in MK's Special Operations unit, Robert McBride detonated a car-bomb outside two popular bars on Durban's beach-front, "Why Not" and "Magoo".

That was the end of his anonymity in South African political history. The white media initiated a hostile campaign to demonise him, primarily because three white women had died when the car-bomb went off.

Robert ended up on Death Row in Pretoria's Maximum Security Prison, Derrick on Robben Island, serving a 12-year prison sentence.

While fighting for his life on Death Row, Robert McBride often pointed out the double standards of the white media, which had renamed him "the Magoo Bomber".

Two MK cadres whose car-bomb had also led to three fatalities, Ronnie Maboa and Stephen Vilakazi, each received an 18-year prison sentence, but the media did not re-name them "the Witbank bombers", let alone argue that, like Robert, the two should have been sentenced to death.

Robert McBride and his wife Paula – who fell in love with him on Death Row – insisted that this was so because Maboa and Vilakazi's victims were black.

Thanks chiefly to Paula McBride's relentless campaign to save him, Robert's death sentence was commuted to life. On September 28 1992, he was released from prison to start a new life with Paula.

Ever loyal to his movement, rather than stay away from "trouble" as soon as he was released Robert opted to join the ANC's peace desk, working in the violence-ridden townships of Thokoza, Duduza and Katlehong on the East Rand.

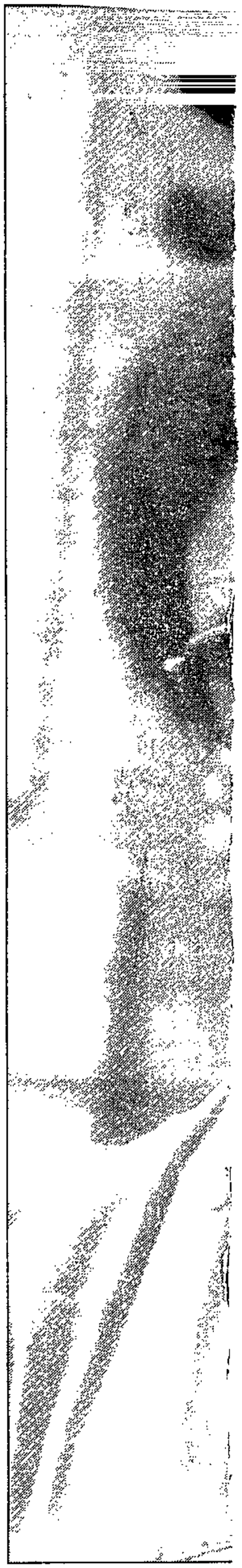
On January 9, 1994, as freelance photographer Abdul Sharriff took a bullet and died on the East Rand, the whole world saw this former Death Row inmate literally throw himself in front of ANC leaders Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo to save them from bullets.

When McBride was detained in Mozambique more than 14 weeks ago, the unforgiving white media went into a frenzy. McBride was negotiating to purchase guns for criminals who stage bank heists. He was a gun-runner for the IRA. He was buying guns for Fretlin, the East Timor guerrilla movement fighting the occupation of their land by Indonesia.

The silence from his erstwhile comrades was deafening. Indeed, his organisation was quick to distance itself from him and the government he worked for was content to "let (Mozambican) justice to take its course".

The Mozambicans have detained McBride for more than 14 weeks on ridiculous allegations which have been thrown out by respected South African judges. The said allegations have even cost former SADNF head Georg Meiring his job.

Why have Robert McBrides comrades turned their backs on him?



FALLEN HERO . . . *Robe abandoned by his ANC*

'Nats, farmers in vote deal'

ANC man claims workers are intimidated

BLACKMAN NGORO
STAFF REPORTER

White farmers have entered into a sinister pact with the National Party over next year's elections, claims an African National Congress member of the Western Cape provincial legislature.

Garth Strachan, who attended last week's Speak Out On Poverty hearings in Ceres, told the Cape Argus that, in exchange for backing the farmers, the NP expected white farmers to deliver the farm worker vote.

Providing places to live and jobs gave farmers a hold over their workers. He said white farmers held the threat of firing and eviction over workers who thought or behaved independently.

Mr Strachan directed much of his ire at former national agriculture minister Lampie Fick, now the Western Cape provincial Finance and Agriculture Minister.

"The Extension of Security of Tenure Act is not being implemented on white farms because the NP is subverting it with other measures. Conditions for farm workers are terrible. Evictions are taking place daily. We have no access to farms because the farmers don't want the farm workers to think independently," he said.

"The farmers have huge power over farm workers and are holding them hostage. Farmers intimidate workers as to who they should vote for. Essentially what is happening is that the National Party will support farmers all the way and farmers promise to deliver the workers to the National Party.

"The NP is blocking development of coloured and African workers through the Development Planning Bill. The Labour Relations Act is blocked. Land restitution and support for farmers is also blocked," claimed Mr Strachan.

Mr Fick denied the allegations. "I'm a straight-dealing man. I'm not trying to subvert the national legislation at all," he said.

Mr Fick's last provincial portfolio included development planning from whence originated the formulation of farm housing policies.

"There are no guidelines in terms of the implementation of national legislation. The Extension of Security of Tenure Act affected the farmers negatively. We are trying to give confidence to the farming sector."

The Extension of Security of Tenure Act provides for workers who have lived on farms for a certain period to be allowed to retire there with their own piece of land.

Mr Fick said his department had come up with four models of accommodation for farm workers, including on-farm and off-farm accommodation in "agro-villages" still to be established. He will present the models to the provincial legislature this week.

He said that last year the province had lost 10 000 jobs alone, mostly in the farming sector as a result of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act.

Frik Bosman, spokesman for Western Cape Agriculture, the farmers' association, said there had not been enough consultation on the formulation of policies about to be put before the provincial legislature.

Only farmers had been involved at the 16 workshops in the 16 regions of Western Cape Agriculture.

But Mr Fick said: "If there was not enough consultation, so be it. We set out to put together the policies so that there could be public debate. The fact that one person says there wasn't enough consultation doesn't invalidate the effort."

An organiser for the South African Agricultural and Plantation Workers Union, Rivin Shuma, said his organisation had not been consulted on the impending policy.

"There was no consultation with this union. How can the provincial government come up with policies binding on workers yet not consult with workers representatives?"

Parliament 'falls short on financial controls'

No fines for slack MPs – report

(304A) ARG 9/6/98

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A report by the Auditor-General has found shortcomings in Parliament's controls of its finances, and it says that there has been poor control of a total R15,3-million paid to provincial legislatures for constituency allowances.

The findings are in a report, tabled yesterday, on Parliament's accounts for 1996/97.

But parliamentary finance division head Lionel Klassen said steps had been taken to solve the problems raised in the report.

The Auditor-General found that in spite of a rule that MPs who did not attend 30 or more committee meetings should be fined, no fines had been imposed or collected.

The poor control of constituency allowances totalling R15,3-million paid during the year to the various provincial legislatures for the benefit of political parties, had been brought to the attention of Parliament's accounting officer in a letter from the Auditor-General's office.

The Auditor-General also highlighted the failure to secure formal approval for the deposit into a separate bank account of R200 000 for the establishment of a parliamentary shop. "Procedures relating to the operation of the shop, or the conditions on which the amount was approved on the budget, could not be submitted during the audit."

Audit queries "once again" had pointed to deficiencies in the internal checking and control measures, ranging over a broad spectrum of Parliament's activities.

The Auditor-General said Parliament's appropriation account and accompanying returns were received 11 days late and were handed back for correction on several occasions.

Mr Klassen, responding to the Auditor-General's comment on lack of financial directives, said a financial code for Parliament had been drafted and would be presented to the joint rules committee for adoption.

All outstanding monies for 1996/97 had been collected, except for a few cases which had been handed over to the State Attorney for collection.

A proper system for fining MPs who did not attend meetings had been implemented.

In future, constituency allowances for members of provincial legislatures would be transferred directly from the Department of State Expenditure to the provincial legislatures.

TRADITIONAL LEADERS

DEMOCRACY'S CHIEF PROBLEM

Seeking to balance heritage with modernity

(304A)
FM 12/6/98

The ANC is in danger of alienating traditional leaders as the first verbal salvoes in the campaign for next year's election echo across the political landscape. The enmity of these leaders, still powerful in the rural areas, could deprive the party of the two-thirds majority its leadership covets.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) — which seeks to secure the future of the hereditary leaders in post-apartheid democratic SA — acknowledges that President Nelson Mandela is committed to "proper treatment" of the institution of chieftainship. But it warns that "various arms" of the ANC-led government are negating his declared respect for traditional leaders.

In a detailed memorandum presented to Mandela, Contralesa says the Department of Justice refuses to confer authority on newly installed chiefs to try "relevant criminal and civil cases", thereby depriving them of a right enshrined in customary law.

An equally serious conflict is looming between traditional leaders and the ANC in the Eastern Cape, where ANC political hegemony is challenged by the newly founded United Democratic Movement, one of whose leaders, Bantu Holomisa, is the son of a chief.

In its memorandum, Contralesa accuses the Eastern Cape government of ignoring a court ruling declaring a controversial clause of the Local Government Transition Act invalid The relevant clause restricts the right of traditional leaders to representation on rural councils to a tenth of the chiefs in the area under the council's jurisdiction

The memorandum elaborates: "The great majority of traditional leaders .. decided to ignore and withhold co-operation from these rural councils. The result has been tension, divisions and a general lack of service delivery in the rural areas."

The conflict, which has resulted in hostile questioning of Mandela's Cabinet Ministers by traditional leaders at meetings in the Transkei, is aggravated by a provincial law in the Eastern Cape depriving chiefs of their power to allocate and oversee the utilisation of land, Contralesa says. The chiefs warn of "violent conflict" if the provincial authorities attempt to implement the law.

The organisation's president, Patekile Holomisa, blames the SA National CivicS Organisation (Sanco) for the tension. He believes Sanco — whose members campaigned under the ANC's banner in the 1994 elections — is motivated by hostility towards traditional leaders which it justifies in the name of democracy.

Conflict between Contralesa and the Eastern Cape government of Premier Makhenkesi Stofile is music to the ears of the UDM. It can only help the fledgling opposition party, whose Eastern Cape leader is Chief Dumasani Gwadifo.

There is a parallel between the emerging situation in the Eastern Cape and that in KwaZulu-Natal, where Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has forged a symbiosis between his party and most of the 300-plus chiefs and headmen. Inkatha protects their status and power from the forces of modernity, including the ANC and its allies, in return for their allegiance.

The connection has served Inkatha well, enabling it to emerge — against the prediction of most political analysts — as the majority party in the province in the 1994 election and to resist an ANC onslaught in the 1996 local government elections in the province.

Mandela and the ANC leadership are acutely conscious of the need to reconcile respect for African hereditary leaders with commitment to democracy.

In his address to the ANC's 50th national



IN DEFENCE OF ANCESTRAL TURF

Name: Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa
President: Patekile Holomisa
National Organiser: Mwelo Nonkonyana
Founded: 1989 to align traditional leaders with struggle to end minority rule
Objectives:
- **To restate the pride and dignity of traditional leaders.**
- **To re-establish their position as leaders in rural areas**
- **To secure full constitutional recognition for traditional leaders and clarity over their role and function in South Africa today**

Membership: About 1 200 chiefs and headmen throughout South Africa but with a particularly strong presence in the Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State and Mpumalanga

Vision statement
>> to become a unified, progressive, powerful organisation of traditional leaders which is politically non-aligned <<

Task team set to probe funding for state bodies

(3049) (2552)

CLIVE SAWYER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARG 12/6/98

A Cabinet task team is to report within two months on the future funding of the wide range of commissions set up by the constitution.

Bodies set up by the constitution include the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, the Gender Commission, the Auditor-General, the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

This week, Sheila Camerer of the National Party asked the Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, whether the task team had decided on a request by the Public Protector for R22,3-million to set up nine regional offices.

Mr Omar said the task team was to advise on the allocation of resources to commissions.

This was to enable them to carry out their constitutional obligations in an affordable way.

The team had met already for preliminary discussions, and would continue after submitting a report to the Cabinet.

The commissions, including the Protector, would be consulted during this process.

It was expected that the task team would report to the Government's treasury committee by the end of August.

Politicians defy cabinet's 'freebie' directive

(3044A) ST 14/6/98

PREGA GOVENDER

AT LEAST four provinces have defied a central government call not to accept business-sponsored trips to the World Cup in France, and have sent either MECs, their wives or ANC officials.

A cabinet directive two weeks ago called on national ministers and their deputies not to accept "freebies" to the World Cup.

Presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said that while the directive applied to national ministers, "the intention of the directive was to send a signal to the provinces".

He said only Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and the Minister of Sport, Steve Tshwete, were sanctioned to go.

But at least one other deputy minister, Essop Pahad, also travelled to the event. Netshitenzhe said that Pahad had gone to France because he was based in Mbeki's office.

Despite the call to the provinces, Vincent Zulu, Kwazulu Natal's MEC for education, extracted himself from the teacher crisis this week and went to France where he was joined by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Queen Thandi.

Their trips were sponsored by beer giant South African Breweries.

A breweries spokesman said premiers and senior cabinet ministers had been invited to join the company in "celebrating" the World Cup in France.

Another SAB spokesman said Kwazulu Natal's premier, Ben Ngubane, had nominated Zulu to represent him on the R30 000 trip. "It was merely a goodwill gesture. We did not expect anything in return from the politicians," he said.

Zulu's trip sparked outrage from politicians and teacher unions, who this week called on him to return home immediately.

Ngubane said yesterday that he had telephoned Zulu, asking him to reconsider his attendance at the contest.

But Zwelithini intervened, asking him to allow Zulu to stay on.

"King Goodwill told me Zulu was the only Kwazulu Natal cabinet minister with him in France and I should allow him to stay," Ngubane said.

Mpumalanga's sport minister, Lassy Chiwayo, accepted the invitation on behalf of his premier, Mathews Phosa, while Gauteng premier Mathole Motshekga said his workload prevented him from travelling to France. He had passed his invitation on to the ANC, which had given it to provincial secretary Obed Bapela. Motshekga said his private secretary, Makhosi Nkosi, had joined Bapela on the trip.

A spokesman for North West premier Popo Molefe said Molefe's wife had accepted an offer to go to the World Cup "in the interests of building our nation".

'Hands off Parliament for decade'

ANC group urges delay

ARG 17/6/98 (304A)

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

POLITICAL STAFF

Debate on the location of Parliament should be postponed for at least a decade, says the African National Congress national working committee.

The recommendation will now go to the ANC's national executive, which is not, however, bound by the advice and which could reopen the discussion at any time.

The Cabinet, which has been conducting its own investigation into the siting of Parliament, is likewise not bound by the working committee recommendation.

But the Cabinet and the national executive are said to be riven by the same divisions that led the working committee to abandon attempts to take a firm and final decision on the matter.

ANC sources say the working committee concluded that whatever the merits for and against keeping Parliament in Cape Town might be, the country could not afford the luxury of moving it for at least 10 years.

But there was also said to be strong resistance from Western Cape ANC members to any move and a plea from them not to take a decision that could be used against the ANC in next year's elections.

And there was disagreement among those who wanted Parliament moved. While many favoured Pretoria as a location, some felt Midrand would provide a better site.

Aside from financial implications of a move, some in the ANC point out it would also reinforce the divisive belief that the Western Cape was different from the rest of the country. The region's only real sense of being part of the new South Africa was the presence of Parliament here, some argued.

Cape Town's reprieve has probably irritated many in the ANC leadership who want an urgent final decision.

National Assembly Speaker Frene

To page 3

Parliament may be safe for now

(304A)

From page 1

ARG 17/6/98

Ginwala had called for a final decision on the matter before the end of last year.

But there was so much disagreement that a tacit deal was reached not to take a decision until after next year's election at the earliest.

Premier Gerald Morkel has urged the ANC to clarify its intentions about the issue, warning that otherwise the future location of Parliament would become a political football in next year's elections.

Kallie Hanekom, spokesman for pro-Cape Town lobby group Citizens Alliance for Parliament, welcomed the recommendation.

McBride spy charge spot-on, says Maputo

ARG 19/6/98 (30419)

FOREIGN SERVICE

Maputo – Mozambique Attorney-General Antonio Namburete has broken his silence on the case of detained South African official Robert McBride and has defended the charge of espionage made by the prosecution.



Robert McBride

Mr Namburete said that, in the course of the investigations, "facts were detected, which, in the view of the public prosecutor, constituted the crime of espionage. Hence the prosecution is charging him with this".

He said that "McBride intended to supply the South African Government with certain information on activities linking to arms trafficking from Mozambique to other member countries of SADC, without the knowledge of the Mozambican authorities".

Mr Namburete regarded this activity as "espionage" – even although he admitted Mr McBride was acting on his own and was not under instructions from any higher ranking South African official.

Mr McBride, he said, had confirmed "that he came here on a private mission".

"His behaviour in Mozambique has absolutely nothing to do with the work of South African Intelligence, and much less did the intelligence service order him to carry out this activity".

His superiors, added Mr Namburete, knew nothing of his visit to Mozambique "or of the reasons that brought him here".

Mr McBride's crime, according to the attorney-general, was that he had not gone through the right channels.

"There is a co-operation agreement, which was signed in 1995, between Mozambique and South Africa on fighting crime," he said.

"There are defence and security commissions that deal with all security matters between the two countries."

Court bid to release McBride

CP 2116/98 (304A)

By JIMMY SEEPE

LAWYERS representing the suspended director of Foreign Affairs, Robert McBride, turned to the Mozambican Supreme Court with an urgent application on Friday to challenge and protest the procedure being used in the investigations against their client.

And tommorow, the lawyers plan to present another application to the same court seeking his immediate release from detention on the basis that the Mozambican authorities can no longer justify his continued imprisonment.

A full 100 days have passed since McBride was arrested by the Mozambican police on charges of gunrunning.

The charges against him were allegedly found to be based on the discredited Meiring Report compiled from interviews with former apartheid spy, Vusi Mbatha.

The application at the Supreme Court came as the Mozambican acting Attorney General Antonio Namburete announced that McBride faced a new charge of espionage.

McBride, his wife, Paula and his attorney had apparently invited the espionage charge with their explanations, according to a report by the Mozambique News Agency, AIM.

Namburete said McBride was guilty of espionage because he intended to share the results of his investigation with members of the regional organisation, the Southern African Development Community, without the knowledge or consent of Mozambican authorities or the South African government.

Paula McBride said she found it odd that the Mozambique AG had announced his interpretation of the case to the media before the charges had been finalised.

She said it was strange that the new charges of espionage were based on McBride's response to Mozambican investigators' questions of what he had been doing in that country at the time of his arrest.

She said McBride had gone to Mozambique to try to verify information that he had received about allegations of gunrunning involving several people.

She asked whether it was not standard practice for anyone to verify the information that had been collected before presenting it to government.

The Mozambique AG said McBride had violated a standing agreement on security and defense issues between the two countries by operating on his own outside a special commission set up in 1995 for this purpose.

The espionage charge was formulated earlier this month, after a judge requested more defined charges.

Mozambican law provides for a maximum sentence of 20 years in prison for espionage and 12 years for gunrunning.

Embassy cost-cutting kicks in

Stephen Laufer BD 22/6/98 (30yA)

FOREIGN Minister Alfred Nzo has announced the appointment of five new ambassadors, among them a former high-profile politician and three who are moving as a result of embassy closures under a cost-cutting programme.

Battling with a reduced budgetary allocation and rising overseas costs related to the fall of the rand, the foreign affairs department is closing or amalgamating a number of foreign missions.

Many of them were opened in the flurry of diplomatic activity that followed the release of President Nelson Mandela in 1990 and the end of the Cold War, but have reportedly not proved particularly productive for SA in political or economic terms.

Former KwaZulu-Natal premier Frank Mdlalose becomes SA's emissary to Egypt.

Having been out of active politics since he was succeeded in Maritzburg by Ben Ngubane, Mdlalose takes up his post as SA moves to strengthen relations with countries in North Africa in an effort to overcome the continent's Saharan divide.

The current head of the SA mission to the European Union (EU), Elias Links, takes on the added responsibility of ambassador to Belgium.

In line with the practice of many countries, SA is combining the missions and saving one ambassadorship with its related costs.

Outgoing ambassador to Belgium, Anette De Kok-Joubert, has reportedly threatened to sue the foreign affairs department for curtailing her posting prematurely.

SA was the only African country to maintain two independent missions in Brussels until now.

The current ambassador to Romania, Thanduyise Chiliza, is to move to Hungary as the mission in Bucharest is wound down.

A former African National Congress (ANC) activist, Chiliza served as the organisation's representative in Swaziland, Mozambique, and Tanzania. He received diplomatic training in Potsdam, Germany, and in the Netherlands.

Timothy Maseko, currently ambassador to Bulgaria, is to move to Accra as high commissioner to Ghana when the mission in Sofia is closed.

Another former exile, Maseko was the ANC's chief representative in Denmark and was trained in the diplomatic arts in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Norway.

The SA ambassador to Italy will in future also be accredited in Romania. Bulgaria will be served from the mission in Athens.

Peru is the new posting for Johan Killian, a career foreign service officer who formerly served in Angola, Brazil, Israel and Argentina, where he was ambassador from 1991 to 1995.

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McBride charged with espionage, gun-running and conspiracy

Taryn Lamberti (304A) DO 25/6/98

SUSPENDED foreign affairs director Robert McBride, who has been detained in a high-security Mozambican prison for more than three months, has been officially charged by a Maputo judge with espionage, gun-running and conspiring with wrongdoers.

McBride would be served with the charges tomorrow morning because today was a public holiday in Mozambique, McBride's Johannesburg attorney, Jose Nascimento, said yesterday.

Nascimento said McBride would appeal Judge Carlos Caetano's decision to charge him in the supreme court in Maputo. An appeal could take up to three months to be heard.

If McBride's appeal was unsuccessful he would stand trial with six co-accused, including alleged gun-runner Alex Uamba and alleged police informer Vusi Mbatha, Nascimento said.

McBride cannot apply for bail because if convicted he will receive a sentence of more than eight years. If convicted of espionage he could be sentenced to up to 20 years and to a further 12 years if found guilty on the gun-running charges.

McBride was arrested on March 9 in Ressano Garcia near the Lebombo border post after allegedly trying to buy arms from a gun-runner. In a statement to Mozambican police McBride said he had been in the country to investigate Uamba. He said he would have given any information to the SA and Mozambican authorities, and to a Southern African Development Community security conference.

Mbatha has claimed that McBride was part of a plot to overthrow the African National Congress-led SA government. The plot was detailed in a report handed to President Nelson Mandela by former defence force chief Georg Meiring and was later discredited by a commission of inquiry led by chief justice Ismail Mahomed.

A tearful Paula McBride said last night that the charges against her husband were "outrageous".

"Its crazy. They are charging him with espionage on the basis of his own statement and he is being charged with conspiring with wrongdoers and with gun-running on the basis of Mbatha's statement," she said, claiming that the two charges were contradictory.

Three of McBride's co-accused, Jonasse Faide Tamene, Inverno Verissimo and Joao Escola, are members of the Mozambican military. The seventh is a Mozambican civilian, Jose Joao Vilanqulos. All are charged with conspiring with wrongdoers and of gun-running but only McBride, Mbatha and Uamba are charged with espionage.

Afrikaners give the ANC a wake-up call

The Freedom Front has not given up on its dream of an Afrikaner volkstaat, as it made clear in Parliament recently. It is taking it more seriously than ever, says political correspondent **Wyndham Hartley**

BD 25/6/98 (3044)

THE latest Freedom Front proposals for a volkstaat are not based on the simplistic "we do not want to live near blacks" principle, as their critics would have us believe. Nor are they the brutal "we want the old Boer republics" demands of the hard-line far right.

In front MP Corne Mulder's speech in the National Assembly during Thabo Mbeki's budget vote, he reminded the deputy president that he had signed the deal which brought the front and its supporters into the 1994 election on a volkstaat ticket. Mbeki said the speech was "dangerous" and sounded like a "call to arms".

Mulder's brother, Pieter, said at a later news briefing that the speech was a "wake-up call" to the African National Congress (ANC). It served notice that if the moderates who opted for the constitutional process to achieve a volkstaat were not taken seriously, the ANC would in time have to deal with far more radical Afrikaner leaders. This prompted Mbeki hastily to convene a meeting with the front at which new proposals were presented.

An enormous amount of research into ethnic separatism and self-determination around the world underpins the latest proposals presented to Mbeki. These are worth looking at simply to understand how the front is thinking.

Starting from the assumption that the ANC faces no realistic electoral challenge, the front starts its analysis with Estonia. A former Soviet republic, Estonia has a population of just more than 1,6-million. About 30% are Russian. These Russians, who are free to settle anywhere in the country, are recognised as a cultural minority and have the right of cultural self-determination through a council set up for this purpose. This is one of the simplest forms of self-determination, where no geographical area is defined.

Belgium, the front points out, went one step further in halting language clashes between its Flemish, French and German-speaking populations. For each there is a defined territorial area where matters of culture and language are determined by the groups themselves in a sort of internal self-determination.

In Canada the front points to the province of Quebec where 90% of French Canadians live. There the right to self-government has been added to the principle of self-determination in a specified geographical area. This is the highest form of withdrawal without actually forming a separate state.

Examples of external self-determination, or complete independence from the parent country, are divided into those achieved peacefully and those through violence. Singapore and its peaceful separation from the Malaysian federation is an example of the first, and the creation of an Eritrean state separate from Ethiopia after a 30-year war an example of the second.

These examples have led the front to develop a pyramid of forms of self-determination. At its base is nonrecognition of group rights and the protection of individual rights through a constitution. The next level is where language and cultural rights are also protected, followed on the third level by recognition of religious, cultural and language "groups".

All these levels are possible under the SA constitution through the provisions of section 31, which says cultural, religious and linguistic communities shall have the right to "enjoy their culture, practise their religion and use their language" and to form associations for those purposes. This holds as long as individual rights such as freedom of movement and association, are not violated.

The fourth level provides for complete cultural self-determination through the creation of government institutions such as Afrikaner councils. This, the front believes, is covered by the constitution, which provides for the creation of a commission for the promotion and protection of linguistic communities' rights.

The varying degrees of geographically defined self-determination, such as regional autonomy, regional government and self-rule, is the fifth level, with the pinnacle of the pyramid being a separate, independent state. The constitution says that the self-determination of SA as an entity should "not preclude ... recognition of the notion of the right of self-determination of any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, within a territorial entity in the republic".

The front says this allows for self-determination to be granted almost all the way to the top of the pyramid — self-rule in a geographical area, as in Quebec. However, the fears of those who wrote the constitution, particularly the ANC, are clear from the use of the word "notion". They did not really wish to entertain a Volkstaat, but were forced to include the clause to bring the moderate front into the formal political dispensation.

Their hope that the self-determination debate would simply go away has not been borne out.

The big question is: where would Afrikaner separatists settle? Some of the original suggestions from the Volkstaat Council looked at parts of SA's heartland, including Pretoria. The hardline, old boer-republic position was cloud cuckoo land. It did not take long for the realists in the party to conclude that hard-line demands for the restoration of the Boer republics would never be accepted by an ANC government.

An alternative proposal has been thrashed out over two years in party structures, apparently with much difficulty.

The new proposal takes a wedge out of the Northern and Western Cape. Starting on the west coast at Vredenburg, the southern boundary goes roughly northeast to the village of Orania (the original volkstaat centre). The northern boundary starts at Hondeklip Bay and goes through Kenhardt and Prieska before dipping south to Orania.

The theory is that, with access to the sea in the west and to the Orange River in the east, two development nodes can be created to make a barren territory economically viable.

The Northern Cape has only 1,8% of the SA population. It also has the lowest population density, at two people per square kilometre. The vast majority of the people living there speak Afrikaans as a first language. This 146 000km² area also has a very small number of black people.

The proposal raises many questions. Even if it wished to, does the ANC have the political capacity to sell the idea of a white homeland to its constituency? A negotiated independent state seems impossible. But could the ANC leaders, for example, create a tenth province for the Volkstaat and get majority support for the idea?

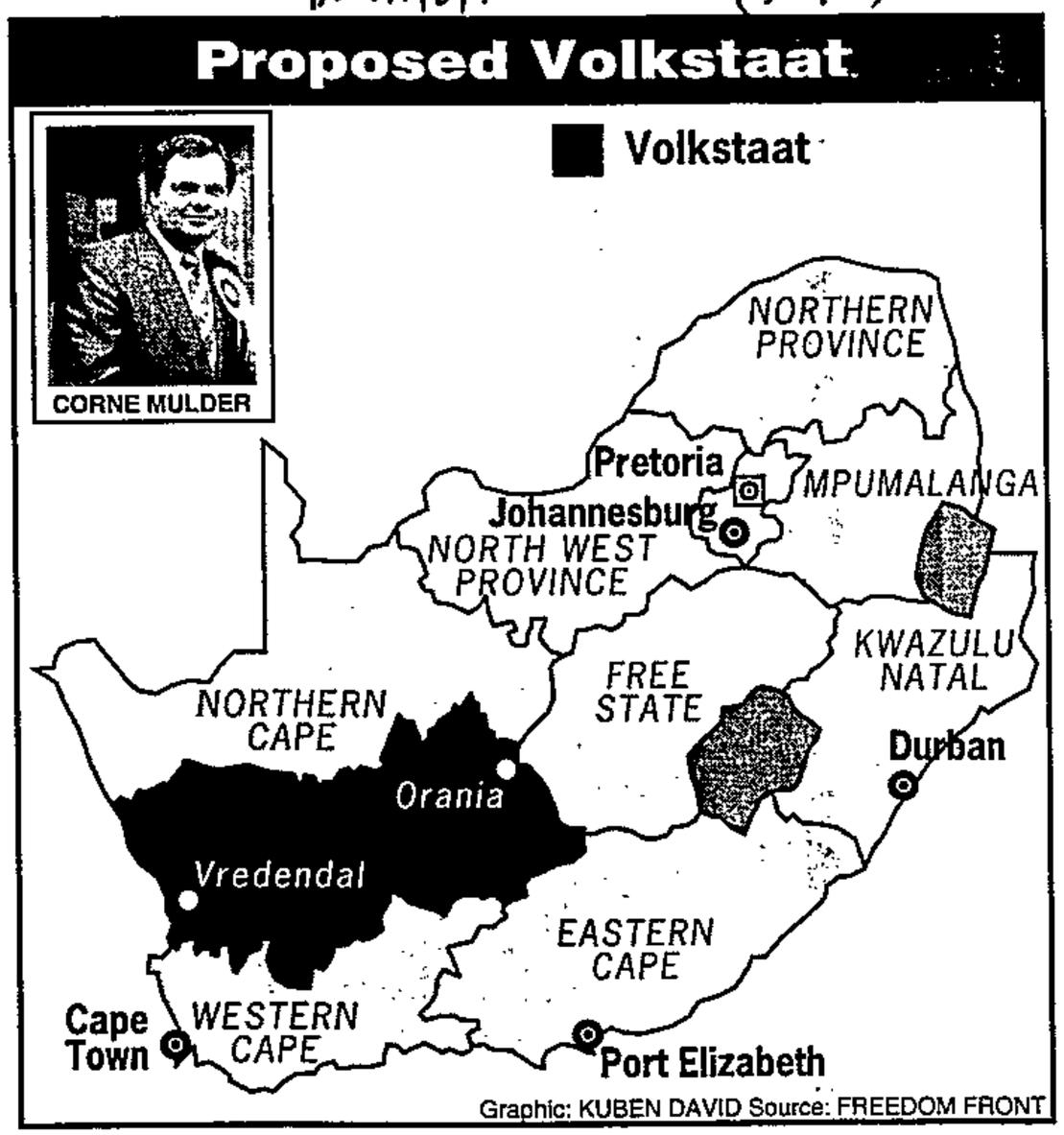
This would not be first prize for the front, but such an entity would be subject to the constitution with guaranteed rights of association and movement. However, many observers believe it would be very difficult to win approval for such a move from the ANC's national executive committee.

The excision of the proposed volkstaat would probably be the death knell for the Northern Cape as a viable province. However, many would argue that it is not viable now.

Could a right-wing threat, or growing discontent among Afrikaners, increase pressure for a volkstaat? Gen Georg Meiring was appointed to head the new SA National Defence Force because the transition was fragile and the loyalty of the security forces unpredictable. His recent removal indicates that the ANC feels more secure. However, that was before the weapons theft from a Bloemfontein defence force base, apparently by right-wingers.

There appears to be a growing feeling among Afrikaners that language, education, cultural and even sporting rights are under threat. This cannot be quantified, but opinion polls show that the 34% of Afrikaans speakers who voted for the front and a volkstaat in 1994 would still do so today.

Mbeki's reaction shows that there is still unease within the ANC about the potential for right-wing resistance. Whether he and his colleagues will agree with Mulder when he says that Afrikaner self-determination can only be delayed, not stopped, time will tell.



ROBERT McBRIDE

(304A)

PLOTTER, SPY, DETECTIVE — OR VICTIM OF SET-UP?

pm 26/6/98

The tangled web should go to court without further delay

The saga of former ANC guerrilla Robert McBride since his arrest in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running more than three months ago is one of labyrinthine twists and turns. It has left most South Africans bewildered, even those who abhor or admire him and who thus have a special interest in the case.

A member of the Department of Foreign Affairs when he was taken into custody, McBride has a high profile because of his role in the Durban beachfront explosion more than a decade ago that left three young women dead.

Since his arrest in the small Mozambican border town of Ressano Garcia on March 9, McBride has spent more than 100 days in solitary confinement in Machava maximum security prison. Two sets of charges have been formulated against him but not presented in court: the first implicates him in a purported conspiracy to overthrow President Nelson Mandela's government and the second broadens the indictment to include espionage, presumably on behalf of the same government that he allegedly sought to topple.

His SA lawyer Jose Nascimento exclaims incredulously during an interview with the *FM*: "First he was trying to overthrow the Mandela government. Now he is spying for Mandela."

The overlap between the original gun-running charges and the controversial and discredited Meiring report — which identified a pseudo-conspiracy by leftwing revolutionaries against the ANC-led government — complicates matters further.

There are a number of overlapping connections. Two stand out: the man arrested with McBride in Mozambique, a suspected informer for SA's previous minority government, Vusi Mbatha, is cited as the sole source for the Meiring report, which, like the original charges against McBride, link him to the purported conspiracy.

The ANC, after being uncharacteristically mute on the McBride affair, now declares: "It (is) obvious that he was set up." ANC secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe says: "Allegations in the Meiring report show that the compiler intended to discredit McBride and get (him) arrested for gun-running."

Explaining its quiescence on the incarceration of a fighter who narrowly escaped execution for a bomb attack ordered by his commanders, the ANC states that McBride was not on an official mission to Mozambique at the time of his arrest. Another reason for ANC passivity on the reluctance of the Mozambican authorities to charge or release McBride is its inability to ascertain what he was doing there. Motlanthe is quoted as saying that not even McBride's wife, Paula, has been able to clarify the purpose of his visit.

But in interviews with the *FM*, McBride's wife has consistently cited a single reason for his visit: his quest to discover whether reputed Mozambican gun-runner Alex Uamba was funnelling arms to the robbers responsible for cash heists in SA.

She says his intention was to present his finding at a Southern African Development Community (SADC) conference later in March.

McBride himself has offered the same explanation to Mozambican investigators. But it has not won him freedom. Instead he has been charged with espionage for planning to provide the information gleaned by his investigation to the SADC without Mozambique's knowledge.

The rejection of the Meiring report by a high-powered SA judicial commission of inquiry has been communicated to the Mozambican authorities, according to a statement by SA's Government Communications & Information System (GCIS). But it seems to have little effect on McBride's fate, except to induce a modification of the gun-running charge and the addition of two more charges for espionage and consorting with "wrongdoers".

His lawyers are now trying to bring matters to a head through two court applications: one for the matter to be referred to the Supreme Court after the failure of the local magistrate to charge or release the suspended Foreign Affairs official and another for McBride to be charged or released under the time-honoured notion of *habeas corpus*. **Patrick Laurence**

KEY DATES



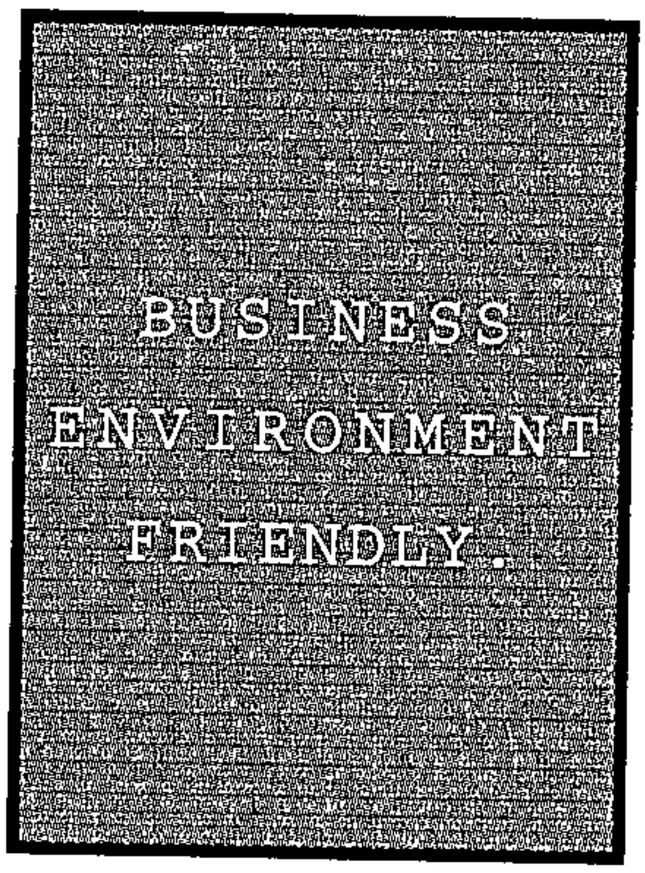
MARCH 9:
McBride arrested on suspicion of gun running and taken into police custody while on a private visit to Mozambique.

MARCH 18:
McBride suspended on full pay by Department of Foreign Affairs, where he was serving as director of the Southeast Asia Desk.

APRIL 20:
Charges of gun running formulated after lapse of the 40-day investigation period allowed under Mozambican law.

JUNE 9:
Original charge replaced by new three-pronged indictment of gun running, espionage and consorting with "wrongdoers".

JUNE 22:
After McBride's 104 days in solitary confinement, his lawyers apply to Supreme Court for *habeas corpus*, contending their client's rights have been contravened.



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Equal pay for traditional leaders

(304A) BD 26/6/98

Pule Molebeledi

CABINET endorsed a decision on Wednesday allowing traditional leaders of the same ranks to receive equal remuneration in all the nine provinces, Pathekile Holomisa, president of the Congress of Traditional leaders of SA, said yesterday.

After meeting a government delegation led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in Pretoria, Holomisa said kings would be paid R300 000 annually, while SA's 800 chiefs would get R72 000.

Eastern Cape has six kings, Free State two, KwaZulu-Natal one and Mpumalanga two, while there is an ongoing dispute over the authenticity of the three Northern Province kings. The same applies to the Northern Cape, where the Griquas have not yet been recognised.

The question of headmen was not resolved as it was complex because some provinces paid them and others did not, Holomisa said.

He said the "equalisation" payment would be "very expensive" but that was the price civil society had to pay for peace and stability.

Stating that it was the responsibility of the provincial and national government to remunerate traditional leaders, Holomisa said eight provinces, with the exception of KwaZulu-Natal, would approach national government to ask it to assume this responsibility. " I don't know from which department the funds will come, but I would imagine that they would come from the Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development."

Holomisa said the meeting with Mbeki also agreed in principle that traditional leaders would become ex-officio members of local government councils. They would participate in all council matters but would not be allowed to vote.

However, this arrangement would only be accepted provided all traditional authority was represented in all elected councils.

Holomisa said Mbeki would also intervene in a dispute with the Eastern Cape government over mooted legislation taking away land responsibilities from traditional leaders.

Axe hangs over 2 000 medical jobs

Linda Ensor BD 26/6/98

CAPE TOWN — A total of 2 148 medical personnel will lose their jobs in terms of the final rationalisation plan for the Western Cape health system adopted by the provincial cabinet this week.

Services at some hospitals would also be cut back, finance MEC Lampie Fick announced.

Academic hospitals would bear the brunt of the staff reductions, losing 1 600 employees, while the Somerset Hospital would lose 146 and other institutions 402. Fick said he realised these cuts would place an "enormous strain" on primary and secondary health care facilities that had seen an increase in patient numbers because of the free health service.

"But in view of fiscal realities, there is no other choice," he emphasised.

Other elements of the plan include the closure of the north block of Somerset Hospital and the rationalisation of the Valkenberg Hospital, whose psychiatric services would be scaled down.

The specialist orthopaedic and rheumatology services provided by Princess Alice Hospital would be moved to Groote Schuur.

This would involve a move of 60 beds and 98 staff. The services provided at DP Marais Hospital (260 beds) would be transferred to Princess Alice Hospital while those at Westlake Hospital (180 beds) would be moved to Conradie Hospital.

Fick said provided the rationalisation was successful, provision had been made for filling 721 key posts this year as well as for the commissioning of the Delft and Kraaifontein community health centres and a new ward at the Ceres hospital.

DP 'becomes right-wing'

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — The Democratic Party's (DP) 11th consecutive local government by-election victory shows it has replaced the National Party (NP) as the party on the right of the political spectrum, the African National Congress (ANC) says.

The ANC was commenting after the DP won another ward, A13 in Maritzburg's city centre, from the NP in a by-election on Wednesday.

The DP's Radley Keys won 59% of the vote, the NP's Willem van den Berg 25%, and the ANC's

...cBride has been sacrificed to realpolitik

(304A) BD 26/6/98

Robert McBride's continued travails in a Mozambican prison have more to do with SA's foreign policy imperatives than any fanciful conspiracy theories, writes Stephen Laufer



Robert McBride faces charges of espionage, gun-running and conspiring with wrongdoers

SCRATCH a South African and you find an intelligence expert. At least if the latest chapter in the Robert McBride story is anything to go by.

The saga of the former guerrilla turned diplomat who now faces trial in a Mozambican court on charges of espionage, gun-running, and conspiring with wrongdoers has the makings of a first-rate novel by John LeCarre. Especially given that his Irish Republican Army grandfather was hanged by the British.

The story has certainly made for entertaining and sometimes emotionally charged dinner table conversation since his arrest. McBride is a controversial figure, and South Africans across the political spectrum love to expound on the firm and often diametrically opposing views they hold on him.

Unfortunately for aficionados of the national sport — conspiracy watching — and its chroniclers, reality is more mundane than fiction.

Whatever the hall of mirrors in which he has spent at least part of his life, McBride's current situation is not primarily a reflection of Machiavellian machinations on either side of the Mozambican border.

It is much more the result of a collision between a politically naive if often brave man and the hard facts of SA's new-found realpolitik in the southern African region.

He is not the first romantic and naive South African to engage in underground activities, nor is he likely to be the last. However, the world has changed, and SA with it, since he joined Umkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Former activists have become senior politicians and officials forced to worry about an entirely different context for their actions.

The fraternal and comradely relations which once bound southern Africa's liberation movements together have metamorphosed into interaction at the state level, with all of the jealousies and diplomatic sensitivities and niceties that implies.

SA in particular is at once an object of desire and resentment in a region which it has long dominated economically, and its political leaders are better known and more influential internationally than any leaders from neighbouring countries.

The Southern African Development Community's (SADC) inability to get the key organ on security up and running is at least in part a reflection of suspicions that SA is on the road to regional domination.

There may be conspiracies in the latest McBride chapter too, and they may have contributed to luring him into a trap, as the African National Congress (ANC) national executive noted at the weekend.

The executive was told of the latest developments by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, who has taken charge of the case for the government. Reports say that an often heated and partisan debate ensued, mirroring the diverging views McBride generates.

The mood of the meeting was perhaps reflected in an official statement which gives room to apparently opposing views of the case.

It was obvious that McBride had been set up, the statement said. "However, because he was acting in his individual capacity, it is unclear how this became possible."

It added that the executive was happy with the government's efforts on McBride's behalf.

In other words: we accept at least one of the conspiracy theories, but we do not quite know why we are doing so. And we will leave it to government to take care of the fallout.

Whatever the conspiracies, McBride is in jail not because he was about to blow the lid on some cross-border nastiness involving senior figures on both sides. Nor because he was involved in a plot to overthrow the government he almost gave his life bringing to power.

He is suffering the consequences of a sober assessment of the diplomatic price which would have to be paid for any attempt by the SA government to turn up the pressure on the Mozambicans to release him.

That is the essence of the long letter Deputy President Thabo Mbeki wrote to McBride's wife Paula and which was read out to ANC MPs at their last caucus meeting. That is why although there have been several government-to-government contacts at the highest level, Pretoria is prepared to let matters take their course in Maputo.

A golden rule of state intelligence is never to own up publicly to your agents if they are caught behind opposition lines. In wartime, it could cost them their necks, in peacetime, many added years behind bars.

However, between friendly nations, what often follows is a quiet apology and a nod and a wink from service to service before the silent expulsion of the agent whose greatest offence was getting caught.

This was the case between SA and its western allies many times during the apartheid years, and it could have been the quietest method for solving the McBride case too. If he had been acting on behalf of any of the official SA security agencies, that is. Consensus has it he was not.

Nevertheless, the SA government does appear to have had the odd quiet word on his behalf. Mufamadi has been active, as apparently has Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad. President Nelson Mandela has met his Mozambican counterpart Joaquim Chissano at least twice since McBride's arrest, once at the Organisation of African Unity summit, and once at the opening of the Maputo toll road.

So what about that other Le Carré-esque notion about the parallel intelligence structure? Frustration in government and among former ANC intelligence operatives now in state agencies at the failure to smash the cash-in-transit gangs, so the theory goes, may have led them to quietly create a unit independent of government agencies.

However, if this were true, why send the single most known MK face on a clandestine mission? This theory also runs counter to McBride's assertion that he was acting alone, hoping to gather information hard enough to be passed on to official intelligence structures.

Whatever his links, he was not expelled quietly. Despite the protestations of Mozambique's ambassador to SA, Armando Panguene, that the McBride case was "a small incident with no impact on bilateral relations", reality looks different.

With a long history of SA security forces treating Mozambique as their own backyard, there is great sensitivity in Maputo to SA officials freelancing in the security sector on their territory, often corrupting Mozambican officials in the process.

Angola, too, is in a precarious situation. The threat of renewed war is exacerbated by rumours that French President Jacques Chirac is trying to woo it away from the SADC in the direction of the west African francophone community.

Add to this the longstanding resentment at SA dominance in the region magnified by Pretoria's privileged relationship with the US and the European Union, its impending election to the chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement, persistent whispers about a permanent security council seat at the United Nations, and mounting pressure for the newly modernised defence force to become active in peace missions on the continent.

With the blockade of the SADC's security organ illustrating how resentment can halt progress towards the regional unity so essential to growth, the realpolitiker in Mbeki has reason to try to shift th McBride case off the front burner in favour of an approach which is visibly respectful of Mozambique's sovereignty, whatever his sentiment in the case.



Paula McBride... campaigning fiercely

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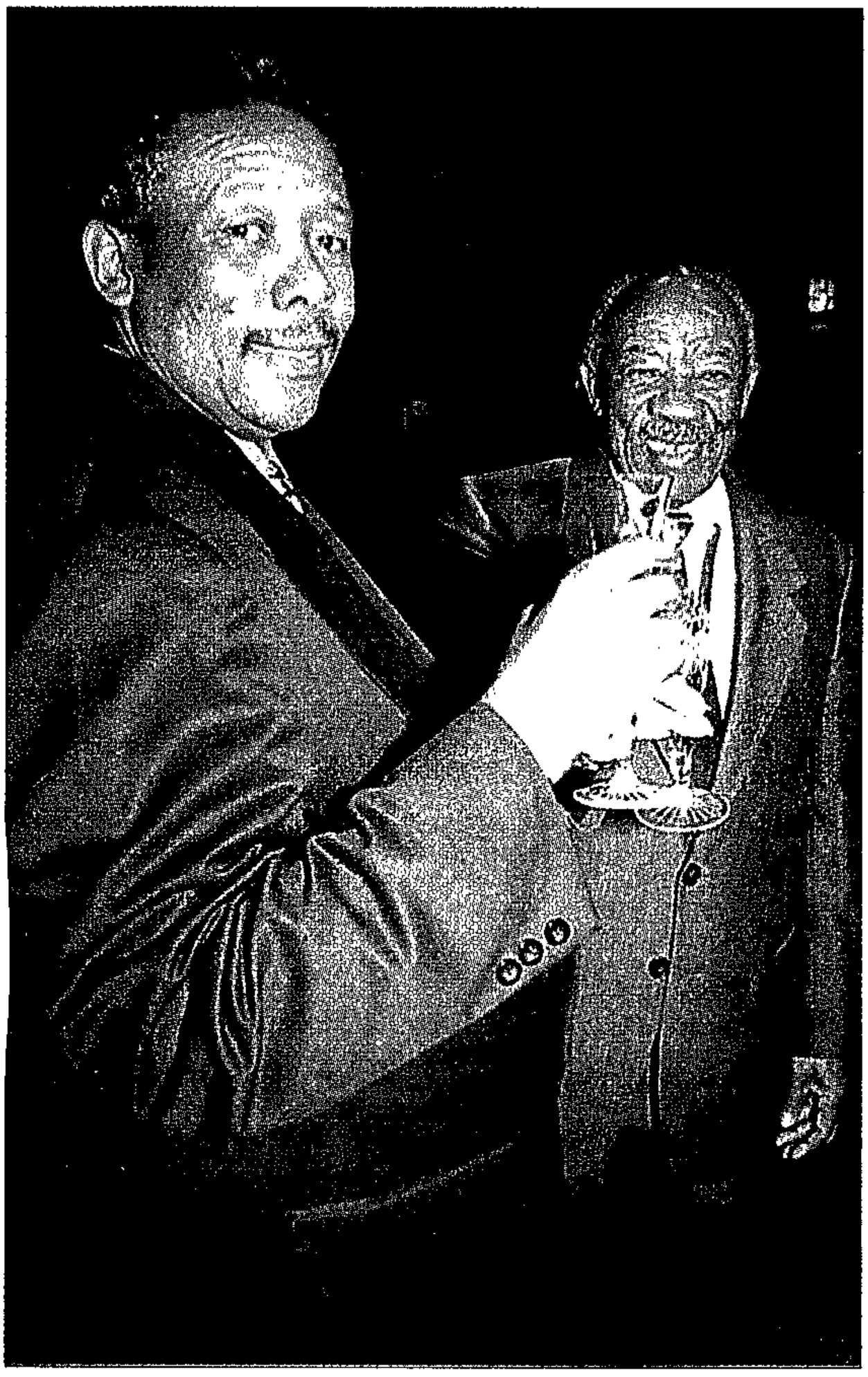
Expect a big overhaul, new foreign affairs boss says

(2044A)
ARG 30/6/98

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT



New blood: Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo greets his new Director-General Jackie Selebi

Pretoria - New Foreign Affairs Director-General Jackie Selebi is set to transform the department and foreign policy.

In a brief welcome speech to diplomats and senior members of the department at a reception to mark his first day in office here yesterday, Mr Selebi said transformation was high on his departmental agenda.

On foreign policy, he promised to lead South Africa into a new era of international leadership, where "she will occupy a place she deserves", and said he planned to make the country's policies "very predictable"

"It will not be very low key. We must be up with the others.

"We will try to punch above our weight category because we are trying to make up for lost time."

Mr Selebi, the former ambassador to the UN in Geneva, chaired the United Nations Human Rights Commission session this year. and presided over the Anti-Personnel Landmine Conference in Oslo last year.

On the upcoming Non-Aligned Movement summit in Durban during which South Africa is to take over chairmanship of the 113-member body, he said South Africa was drawing up a new draft that would take the movement into the next millennium.



Robert Tshabalala

***Mohammed Madhi** . . . essential services in jeopardy*

(304A)(~~302~~)

WANTED NOW: MILLENNIUM BUG BUSTERS

Gauteng local authorities lag

Communications Minister Jay Naidoo has declared August 19 National Y2K Awareness Day to draw attention to the millennium computer bug — 500 days before the millennium change.

New antidumping measures aimed at banning the importation of noncompliant equipment and software will also be introduced, Naidoo says.

At government level, 68 mission-critical systems have been identified — systems that government cannot afford to have fail. These include the infrastructure of the Welfare, Education, Housing and Transport Departments and the SA Revenue Service. Other systems of concern include the national population register and the drought disaster system.

"A six-phase action plan to ensure total readiness by the year 2000 has been drawn up for each of these mission-critical systems," Naidoo says.

But in SA's economic heartland, Gauteng, the preparedness of local authorities leaves much to be desired.

The CEO of government's National Y2K Decision Support Centre, Mohammed Madhi, says only four of the more than 100 local authorities in Gauteng have "meaningfully" addressed the problem so far. Others are issuing tenders to conduct impact assessments and to determine the scope of the problem.

But they have not yet gone as far as testing, he adds.

Noncompliant IT systems and embedded chips could damage electricity, water, sewerage, security and production systems.

Madhi is still cautiously optimistic. "The situation is serious, but we still have time to address it. But pleading poverty now is just not good enough. Solving the problem is top priority for anyone operating an IT budget — even if they have to divert funds."

He says the ability of local authorities to provide essential services is a worrying grey area.

"They will just have to knuckle down and do the work. We will give them two months to get their acts together.

"Meanwhile, the centre has identified a 30% domestic IT skills gap and is now supporting a nationally accredited programme to train at least 2 000 'bug busters' by the third and fourth quarters of the year, in conjunction with the private sector."

As an emergency measure, the Department of Communications has reached agreements with Indonesia, Malaysia and India to "share their spare IT skills, to help if there is a domestic skills shortage that cannot be met locally.

"We are looking all over the world for such spare capacity," adds Madhi.

The National Y2K Decision Support Centre has a R42m budget for the three years to 2001, and a core staff of about 35 people.

Arnold van Huyssteen

Government chaos looms

- 40% of government departments and 53% of local authorities have inadequately skilled projects teams compared to 20% of large organisations;
- 36% of government departments and 40% of local authorities have inadequate action plans compared to 24% of large organisations;
- 42% of government departments and 39% of local authorities have disaster recovery processes in place compared to 78% of large organisations;
- 42% of government departments and 37% of local authorities have contingency plans compared to 60% of large organisations.

SOURCE: MINISTER OF POST & TELECOMMUNICATION

Govt criticised for plan to sell 'crown jewels'

BD 7/7/98(304A)

Mzwandile Jacks

THE plan to sell 834 government residences has drawn criticism from an executive of a property company, who says the land and property could be used to generate recurring income.

The executive, who did not want to be identified, said some of the properties the government planned to sell were prime assets and should therefore be retained.

He identified Waterkloof Heights as a "crown jewel", saying if the government retained its property in the area, it could generate income to cross-subsidise other projects.

In this case, it is believed, the government could have operated like Intersite Property Management Services — property management arm of the SA Rail Commuter Corporation. Intersite believes that state-owned property must be made to "work for the nation".

The company develops land on a leasehold basis wherever possible to resist short-term profits by means of quick sales.

The company seeks ways existing land and structures can generate long-term income.

ANALYSIS

The Afrikaner and the volkstaat quest

PD 9/7/98 (3049)

Events of the past few years have led many Afrikaners to become increasingly restless. One manifestation of this is the increased pressure for a volkstaat, writes Tim du Plessis



Where to now? The statue of former president HF Verwoerd is removed from its long-time resting place in Pretoria

"AFRIKANERS give the ANC a wake-up call", read the headline to Wyndham Hartley's recent article in Business Day on the Freedom Front's latest volkstaat proposals. It was almost as if someone told Deputy President Thabo Mbeki: the natives (read Afrikaners) are getting restless.

What can Afrikaners expect from the African National Congress (ANC) after this wake-up call? More repression, similar to their colonial predecessors' response when the not-so white natives got restless? Or will there be more understanding?

While I do recognise the new urgency in the front's latest demand for a volkstaat, their so-called wake-up call to government must not be construed as a unified Afrikaner response.

The initial round of talks Mbeki had with Afrikaners, following the initiative he announced in Mafikeng last year, also alerted government to much of the murmuring in the "laager".

When trying to analyse this, one point is extremely important to keep in mind: Afrikaners are not monolithic. There is not a single politician, cultural or religious leader, newspaper editor or political commentator who can say without fear of contradiction that he or she speaks on behalf of the majority of Afrikaners.

Gen Constand Viljoen is respected, perhaps even admired, by many Afrikaners. But every time he protests on behalf of his Afrikaner volk, he irritates many Afrikaans-speaking people. Since its inception, the Afrikaans community has been characterised by stark internal divisions and the absence of a simple definition of what an Afrikaner is.

Perhaps this is not a bad thing. Between 1948 and 1989, when Afrikaners experienced the highest degree of political and cultural unity, they also made the gravest mistakes in their history.

The extent to which Afrikaners as individuals and as a grouping were traumatised by the loss of political power can only now, four years into the new political order, be thoroughly appreciated. Since 1948, at least two generations were almost genetically programmed to believe Afrikaners would rule for ever, and that never in a thousand years would they be subjected to the "horror" of one man, one vote in a unitary state.

Then it all happened in just over four years, between February 2 1990 and April 27 1994. This was almost too much for human nature to endure, and Afrikaner voters were not sufficiently prepared. FW de Klerk promised them checks and balances and the National Party (NP) shied away from spelling out the full consequences of the "yes" vote it called for in the March 1992 referendum.

This could still be explained as politics being the art of the possible. Where the NP and the other two pillars of the old Afrikaner establishment, the Afrikaans churches and "cultural" organisations such as the Broederbond and the FAK did fail their people was in the area of after-care.

De Klerk made the single most important mistake of his political career when he caved in to the demands of Afrikaner hard-liners for withdrawal from the government of national unity.

That set the tone for a confrontational approach by Afrikaners in their dealings with the new elite. It is an approach at which establishment Afrikaners were totally inept, as proved by the Democratic Party outperforming the NP in parliament despite inferior numbers.

This hard line against the ANC government and the new order by the erstwhile oppressors further discredited traditional Afrikaner institutions in the eyes of black South Africans.

In the eyes of the new rulers, it was the same old crowd who had maintained and benefited from apartheid who were now taking up the cudgels for Afrikaners for mother tongue education and the preservation of one or two traditionally Afrikaans universities.

The ANC establishment made a mistake in responding to this in a political way. It should have made a distinction between the NP and the Afrikaners. The downgrading of Afrikaans on SABC television when the majority of television licence payers were Afrikaans-speaking is a case in point. This sparked a new language nationalism among many Afrikaners, including some progressive ones who were positively inclined towards the new order.

Regarding mother tongue education, the ANC should have shown the same commitment to the principle in the early stages of the new dispensation that it is showing now. It must, however, be admitted that legitimate claims by Afrikaner parents to mother tongue education were besmirched by racists attempting to keep schools white by keeping them Afrikaans.

Affirmative action was another area where the ANC lost the perception war in the Afrikaans community. Whether or not this is borne out by the official figures, many Afrikaners feel Afrikaner males in their 40s and 50s were the ideological targets of affirmative action. If this was not the case, government could have been smarter in pointing it out.

Finally, there is the truth commission. Opponents of the process, notably the NP and Afrikaners incapable of breaking out of the old mould, have successfully labelled the commission a witch-hunt against Afrikaners. The fact that the majority of amnesty-seekers had traditional Afrikaner surnames and that many victims of human rights abuses switched to Afrikaans when they related how they had been insulted and sworn at apparently escaped them.

Not all Afrikaners suffer from truth commission phobia, but it cannot be denied that the truth commission process has added significantly to the present restlessness of Afrikaner "natives".

In trying to analyse the response of the Afrikaans-speaking community to their changing situation, one will have to generalise and make certain assumptions.

The front's new hard-line approach in demanding a volkstaat is part of the response. Based on its analysis of the 1994 elections result, it claims that 30% of all Afrikaners support the volkstaat idea. The question then is: why are Afrikaners voting against this option by not undertaking the second Great Trek to Orania?

Pieter and Corne Mulder, the front's two most important ideologues, make a logical case, if only on paper, for the volkstaat. But many ordinary middle-class Afrikaners, especially in cities and towns, feel that this is something that will not work.

Orania may develop into an SA version of the Amish village in Pennsylvania in the US, but not into what the state of Israel is for Jewish people round the world, as the Mulders want us to believe.

Apart from this, there is no unanimity in the front on its latest volkstaat proposals. I cannot see how Afrikaner farmers, who form the mainstay of the party's support, will leave the farms they have built up over generations to settle in arid Orania.

Government has challenged the front to throw the question of a volkstaat open to a referendum among Afrikaners — a referendum government is convinced the party will not win. It also needs to prove majority support for the volkstaat in the broader SA community, especially if it is to claim such a large chunk of the country, as shown in its latest proposal.

What about the rights of non-Afrikaners in the proposed area? Does the front really think an ANC government will sit idly by while the volkstaters disenfranchise thousands of non-Afrikaners from Orania to Vredendal?

Renewing demands for a volkstaat is not the only manifestation of the latest spate of Afrikaner restlessness. Emigration, previously unheard of among so-called patriotic Afrikaners, is increasing, especially among those with money and qualifications. Many are homesick and write home endlessly, not only for news from home, but also to justify their decision to leave.

If you look at their letters to Beeld's on-line newspaper, you will sense their need to "praat saam" (participate) despite being away. And they want to do it in Afrikaans — living proof of Afrikaner ubuntu, that you are an Afrikaner only through other Afrikaners.

Afrikaners in the northern provinces who cannot afford to leave "semigrate". They move to the Western Cape where they think things are better because you can still speak Afrikaans and there is an NP provincial government in power.

Many Afrikaners these days also indulge in something white English-speaking South Africans did during the years of NP rule: inward emigration.

They tell you they feel like strangers in their own fatherland. Barricaded behind electric fences and high security walls, they live as if the rest of SA does not exist. They read no newspapers, and when they watch television news, it is CNN or Sky. Some are making a lot of money and say it is to help their children to leave and make a start in another country.

Finally, there is the response by some Afrikaners, probably a minority at this stage, who have decided their salvation lies in embracing the new order and in offering their effort and skills in helping it succeed. They are adjusting to a new role for Afrikaners, that of being on the main stage but not having the lead role.

Fellow Afrikaners, especially ones with their thinking still anchored in the area of Afrikaner hegemony, accuse these new "Voortrekkers" as "sell-outs" and "ANC gatkruipers" who are prepared to put the future existence of the "Afrikaner volk" at risk in order to save their skins.

It is hard to predict the outcome of Afrikaner restlessness.

Renewed militancy is a possibility. Some say the recent theft of weapons from an SA National Defence Force armoury in Bloemfontein points in that direction.

Others say the dismal failure of the right-wing invasion of Bophutatswana in March 1994 is still too fresh in the memory of Afrikaners for armed militancy to become an option. The image of three hapless Afrikaner Weerstands Beweging (AWB) members perching against the used Mercedes in Mmabatho before they were mercilessly executed by a black policeman is deeply ingrained in the collective psyche of Afrikaners.

There are also the pathetic pleas for amnesty from the AWB cadres involved in the right-wing bombing spree before the 1994 elections. Their endless refrain at the truth commission has been: we were responding to the call to arms from our leader.

Many potential "soldiers" may think twice before responding again to the inciting rhetoric of politicians, noticing how they left the foot soldiers in the lurch when push came to shove before the truth commission.

☐ *Du Plessis is deputy editor of Beeld newspaper.*

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MAIL & GUARDIAN
July 10 to 16 1998

Robert McBride: What I

It is four months since Robert McBride was arrested in Mozambique. Since then, many thousands of words have been spoken and written about it. This interview, conducted by his wife **Paula McBride**, *represents the first time the voice of McBride himself has been heard since his arrest*

During the past few weeks I have been approached by a number of people who have asked me, with a "we'll keep it confidential" look on their faces: "Now tell me Paula, what exactly was Robert doing in Mozambique?"

My inclination, when asked this question, is to respond by saying: "Well, as long as you promise to keep very quiet about this (make sure you don't tell Lapples or Sulker) I will tell you.

"You see, he drove up to Maputo in my car (I suggested he should take my car because it is large enough to carry rocket-propelled grenades as well as a considerable number of AK-47s) in order to buy weapons to bring back into our country.

"My advice to him was to make sure the weapons were not sticking out of the windows as this may look a little suspicious. Those that could not fit in the back of the Sani should be thrown out, and those inside should be covered up well with a couple of old blankets.

"His intention in going to Mozambique to buy this vast quantity of weapons was to supply various armed groupings within South Africa as well as farther afield — Fapla, Amakapla, Revolutionary Watchdogs, Young Lions, Tamil Tigers, Irish Republican Army [IRA], Fretilin, cash heist gangs and possibly the Boere Republican Army.

"The only problem was that with the amount of weapons he was able to buy, each organisation would only have received one — but it is quality rather than quantity one is looking for here."

I do not answer the question in this way but grit my teeth and repeat what I have said since his arrest.

The African National Congress national executive committee released a statement last month in which they acknowledged that he had been set up by agents of apartheid. This I regard as an important development.

They also noted that they did not know what Robert was doing in Mozambique and that I had not been able to shed any light on this.

There are a few conclusions I can draw from this: first is that those in the national executive committee that I have briefed (both in written memos and in meetings) do not believe me; second is that I do not express myself clearly enough; and third is that there remains an unspoken belief that as a woman and a wife I am unreliable.

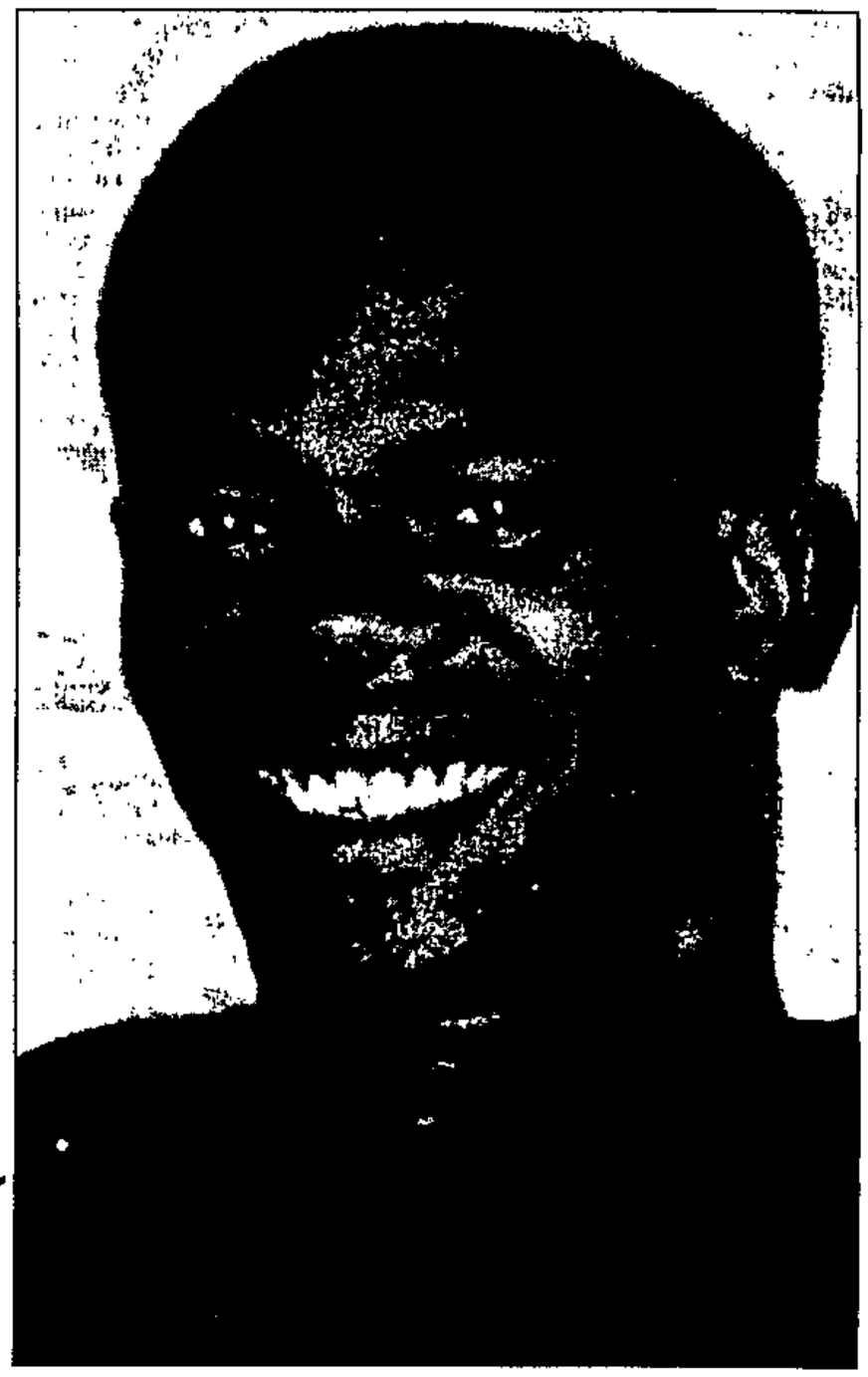
The solution to all of these would be for those people who want to know what Robert was doing in Mozambique to go and ask him themselves. He has been there for more than four months already and this has not happened.

Failing this, I decided to conduct an interview with Robert so that he himself could answer (in his own words) the questions that I imagine people have for him.

It was admittedly quite a strange experience sitting in a visiting room in Machava prison asking Robert formal questions — but I decided to do it in the hope that it would clear up any confusion people out there may have.

Robert and I chose to do this through the *Mail & Guardian* as it was the only newspaper that did not indulge in the wild and woolly speculation that followed his arrest. I realise that the speculation was fed by people whose glee at Robert's arrest was apparent, but I do feel that the printing of such speculation was irresponsible at the time.

However, since the initial hysteria I have found the press reporting responsible and consistent and I appreciate that. Anyway, enough of an introduction. What follows is a transcript of the interview I conducted with Robert on my last visit to him.



Man in the middle: Vusi Mbatha 'changed his story after his interrogation by the SAPS team'

Robert, what was your purpose in going to Mozambique?

Well, it's a long story which I will try to keep brief. I had been given information by Vusi Mbatha in December last year. Aubrey Lekwane and I had traced Vusi because I wanted Vusi to go to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to testify that he had been paid by the police to discredit Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and other ANC leaders during the early Nineties.

While we were discussing this issue, Vusi volunteered to us that he had information that Alex Huambo (known to us in 1993 as a supplier of weapons to the Inkatha Freedom Party) was continuing to do business in Maputo despite the fact that he was a known gun-runner.

Knowing Vusi's ability to spin wild and wonderful tales I decided that it would be a good idea to verify this information (particularly if Huambo was supplying weapons to the cash heist gangs) and then pass it on to the relevant authorities in both countries. I did not wish to pass on what could turn out to be completely false information.

Why were you particularly concerned about the cash heist gangs?

I had been working with people within the National Intelligence Agency [NIA] who were and are looking into the cash heist gangs. I had provided them with information relevant to their investigation.

Did you come to Mozambique on behalf of the NIA, South African Security Services [Sass] or any other parallel intelligence agency?

No I did not. As I have stated I came here on my own initiative to make sure that when I handed over the information it was factual and verified.

I have however worked in the past at an operational level with both Sass and the NIA on a number of issues. For reasons that are obvious, I have had no direct dealings with military intelligence [MI], although they seem to feel the need to deal with me.

I am also a member of NIEB [National Intelligence Estimates Board, part of the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee] as the foreign affairs representative. I presume I was appointed to this board because of my experience and knowledge of security-related and intelligence issues.

Incidentally, my experience within NIEB gave me a good indication of the type of misinformation that is being channelled through the intelligence agencies. When I first got news of the Meiring report it did not surprise me. I have seen worse presented to NIEB.

What were the circumstances of your arrest in Mozambique?

I had arranged with Vusi to set up a transaction with Huambo so that we could verify the fact that he was still operating. I sent Vusi upstairs to Huambo's flat while I waited some distance away from the scene.

I remained at a distance, despite Vusi trying to get me to go into the flat with him. A little while later I heard a commotion. I understand that inside the flat Vusi was manhandled and his watch and money were taken.

He told those who did this to him (all of whom were in plain clothes) that they had better return his things because there was a South African diplomat outside who would report them.

I then saw a number of them come downstairs with Vusi and a couple of them started assaulting a taxi driver who was outside and who Vusi identified. Not one of the people accompanying Vusi made any move towards me — in fact they stood around like farts in a trance making no move to do anything, least of all arrest me. I presumed that they were Huambo's hired thugs and I left the scene. I did not wait to get beaten up myself.

'There is no doubt in my mind that there were (and are) remnants of the old order working hard to undermine our government. And unfortunately many of them remain within the security and intelligence agencies'

Approximately three hours later I was stopped at the border post near Ressano Garcia by police who said they wanted to ask me some questions. Initially I thought they wanted to question me about an accident I had had the previous day in Maputo.

That evening they placed me in a hotel in Ressano Garcia and I was left free to walk around. In fact, at any stage I could have left the country — I felt no need to as I had committed no crime in the country and there was therefore no need to leave.

The car was searched both at the border and the next day in Maputo. Contrary to speculation there were no weapons found in the car, on the roof, in the petrol tank or on my person.

On March 10 I was transferred to police headquarters in Maputo. I made no effort to bribe my way out of the situation (despite being advised to do this by one of the policemen) as I was innocent and had no need or desire to bribe.

I asked during this period whether or not I was under arrest and the answer was: "No, we just want to ask you some questions." I also asked whether or not I was free to go to which the reply was also "no", so I requested them to contact the high commissioner and inform him of my whereabouts.

The high commission despatched the South African Police Service [SAPS] attaché to the police headquarters to identify me, his name was De Nysschen. He arrived there but never spoke to me. After being shown my passport he said that he knew who I was and stated the following: "Ja, this is a very dangerous man who planted bombs all over South Africa and then got a very fast promotion in foreign affairs." After this identification, I found a distinct change in attitude and I was brought here (to Machava prison) after a few hours.

What do you think of the speculation around your being set up by agents of the old order?

There is no doubt in my mind that there were (and are) remnants of the old order working hard to undermine our government. And unfortunately many of them remain within the security and intelligence agencies.

I think that what happened to me was a set-up within a set-up within a set-up. It is confusing, so bear with me.

Once Vusi had got me interested in following up the leads around Huambo and the gun-running to the heist gangs, I have no doubt that he reported this to his various paymasters in MI and in the SAPS. This presented those in MI with a golden opportunity to verify their report of a left-wing plot to overthrow President Nelson Mandela's government.

I should never have allowed them to be presented with such an opportunity but in a number of ways I am not sorry that they were. It forced their hand and forced the early release of the Meiring report which

was doing in Maputo

(30419) M+G 10-16/7/98

has had extremely favourable results, such as the appointment of Siphiwe Nyanda to lead the South African National Defence Force into a cleaner and more democratic future.

However, within this set-up sits Huambo. He had informed friends (and relatives) of his in the Mozambican police that there was to be an arms transaction taking place and that this presented an opportunity for profit. The intention, when Vusi arrived to purchase the weapons, was to beat him up, take the money and run. This they attempted to do but this also went wrong as I had left the scene and there was no way of knowing how much I had seen.

The third aspect (and possibly the most worrying) of the set-up is the role played by the SAPS component of the joint investigation team. I believe that they deliberately misled their Mozambican counterparts in this investigation and that they manufactured evidence (through Vusi) to ensure that I was charged. Vusi has changed his statement so many times since his arrest that I no longer know what to think.

'Once Vusi had got me interested in following up the leads around Alex Huambo and the gun-running to the heist gangs, I have no doubt that he reported this to his various paymasters in MI and in the SAPS'

The most significant changes he made however were after his interrogation by the SAPS team. It was then that the stories of Fapla, Madikizela-Mandela, Nyanda and Lambert Moloi started to emerge. Vusi's latest statement, in which he says he was threatened by SAPS members to implicate me in gun-running, may be true or may be false. At the very least it should cast serious doubt on his credibility as a witness. The bulk of the "evidence" against me is the word of Vusi — this is worrying.

There were various claims in the press after your arrest that you were gun-running for the East Timorese Resistance Movement and for the IRA. What is your response to this?

Codswallop. I am however quite surprised that the speculation stopped there. Some of my best friends are Tamil speaking and we all know of a very fierce resistance movement in that region of the world. Seriously though, it is ironic that it was these two regions singled out for attention. I have been very publicly involved with the search for peaceful solutions to the conflict in Ireland and to the conflict between East Timor and Indonesia.

The first meeting between Mandela and Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein was set up by me. I also assisted in putting together workshops and meetings for delegations from Ireland to assist them in their search for a negotiated settlement. I have spoken at meetings in Ireland (both North and South) on negotiations and peace.

I also helped set up a meeting between Nobel Peace Prize laureate José Ramos-Hortas and Mandela, and I sat in on this meeting. It pleases me that I have played however small a part in helping both regions on the road to peace.

Do you have any comment on the way in which you have been treated in Mozambique and on the Mozambican judicial system?

I have no fight with Mozambique, with their judiciary or with their people. Mozambique is an ally of ours and was an ally under extremely difficult circumstances. The destruction of many parts of their country and many lives was in a major part due to the apartheid government. I feel saddened that some of these elements of the old order have returned to this country and continue their destabilisation.

For me the Mozambican people are a brave people who I admire. I believe they need to be given as much developmental assistance as is possible to enable them to win their war against poverty and corruption.

In saying this I am not saying there are no problems here. There are the inevitable problems of corruption and maladministration, but this is not a reflection of the Mozambican people as a whole. There has been, in my view, a breakdown of respect for law and order which accompanies war and conflict. Institutions need rebuilding, but this is happening and I believe that the Mozambican recovery will surprise us all.

As for the treatment I have received here, I have been in solitary confinement since my arrest and no one who has experienced this, in any prison, would regard it as a fun experience. I am however spending more time now outside my cell and have been able to exercise and play soccer.

Paula is not restricted in her visits to me any more and that is good. I have made friends with many of the warders and my Portuguese is improving rapidly. I would of course rather be home but my treatment has certainly been without the cruelty that I came to know in Pretoria maximum security prison.

I sense no glee or satisfaction in those whose job it is to keep me in prison.

The judicial system is different to ours. The procedures are different and the laws are different. This does not mean that they are better or worse than our own. I know of people in South African jails who have spent far longer than four months awaiting trial.

I am pleased that my case has now gone to the supreme court as I know their reputation is extremely good. It has been a long time, but I feel that the case is now in good hands and that there will be a resolution at some stage soon.

What is it you miss most about being away?

Silly question. I miss Paula and our children and all I want is to be home with them.

A lot of people have expressed their support for you in South Africa. Is there anything you want to say to them?

Just to say I will be back soon, though not soon enough, and I look forward to facing those involved in plotting against me. I also want to thank those people (friends and comrades) who have helped during this time. Too many people to thank so I will not do this by name. Those who have been around to help my family and who have shown in very real ways their belief in me know who they are.

To those people, especially colleagues within the department (both at head office and at missions around the world), who have contributed towards paying my legal fees, I also thank you.

Do you want to comment on the manner in which your government has handled your arrest and detention?

At this stage I have no comment on this. Paula is liaising with Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufumadi on the issue and she has expressed her appreciation with the manner in which he is dealing with this.

I have not personally spoken to people within the government since my arrest, apart from high commissioner Mangisi Zitha. He has been helpful towards me and to Paula.



Robert McBride: 'Knowing Vusi's ability to spin wild and wonderful tales I decided that it would be a good idea to verify this information (particularly if Huambo was supplying weapons to the cash heist gangs).' PHOTOGRAPH: HENNER FRANKENFELD/PICTURENET

Paula McBride tells of husband's gun-running

(704A)

STAFF REPORTER

Paula McBride, wife of suspended foreign affairs official Robert McBride, has given new details of her husband's explanation for his mysterious trip.

Mr McBride was arrested in Mozambique four months ago. He now faces charges of gun-running, espionage and membership of a criminal association.

Mr McBride told his wife at the Maputo jail where he is being held that his Mozambique trip came after he had traced Vusi Mbatha, who is also under arrest, to get him to testify before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission about police allegedly paying him for discrediting African National Congress leaders in the early '90s.

He said that in his discussion with Mr Mbatha, he received information about Alex Huambo, an alleged gun supplier to the Inkatha Freedom Party in 1993, who was still running guns from Maputo. Mr McBride said he wanted to check the information himself, especially to establish whether Mr Huambo was linked to the cash-van heist gangs operating in Gauteng.

Mr McBride told his wife he was already involved in supplying the National Intelligence Agency with information about the cash heists.

He added that he had gone to Mozambique on his own initiative. In Mozambique he set up a transaction between Mr Mbatha and Mr Huambo to prove that Mr Huambo was still operating.

Mr McBride said the operation turned sour, Mr Mbatha was roughed up and robbed, so he (Mr McBride) fled.

He said he was later arrested in a "setup within a setup" after being dropped by Mr Mbatha.

The most worrying factor for Mr McBride was the role the South African police played in the joint investigation, "misleading" the authorities in Mozambique.

Mr McBride could go on trial in the very near future, according to Mozambican attorney-general Antonio Namburete.

Other, anonymous, sources in the attorney-general's office said the trial would begin within the next ten days. – Independent Foreign Service

ARG 11/7/98

investigation that went sour

Crackdown on corruption

Bill spells out strict ministerial ethics code

(34) (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

In a big step against government corruption, a bill has been tabled in Parliament providing for a strict code of ethics for the president, premiers and national and provincial ministers.

The Executive Members Ethics Bill, tabled by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal and due for debate during Parliament's final term this year, provides for the president to publish a code of ethics applicable to these office-bearers.

While the code has yet to be finalised, the bill says it must require all members of executives to "at all times act in good faith and in the best interest of the government, and to meet all obligations imposed on them by law".

It will ban Cabinet members, deputy ministers and provincial ministers from undertaking any other paid work.

They will also be prohibited from:

- Acting in a way inconsistent with their office.
- Exposing themselves to any situation involving the risk of conflict between official responsibilities and private interests.
- Using their position or any information entrusted to them to enrich themselves or improperly benefit any other person.
- Acting in a way that may compromise the credibility or integrity of government.

The bill says that the code "may" require Cabinet ministers and deputy ministers to disclose to an official, designated for the purpose, all their financial interests when assuming office and any financial interests acquired after assuming office, including gifts and hospitality received by them, their families or other close associates.

The bill sets strict limits on who may complain about an alleged breach of the code. It says that the Public Protector will investigate complaints, and must report within 30 days of receiving a complaint.

If the investigation is not finished in 30 days, another report must be submitted when it is.

The president must within a "reasonable time" of no more than 14 days after receiving a report, table it in the National Assembly.

The same rule applies to premiers, who will have to table reports in their provincial legislatures.

The Public Protector will investigate an alleged breach by a Cabinet member only if the complaint is made by the president, a member of the National Assembly or a permanent delegate to the National Council of Provinces.

Alleged breaches by provincial ministers will be investigated only if the complaint comes from a premier or member of the provincial legislature.

The code of ethics will not affect the president's power to appoint or dismiss members of the Cabinet, even during the course of an investigation. It will also not be used to prevent or delay the prosecution in court of executive members.

An explanatory memorandum on the bill said those consulted in its drafting included Cabinet ministers and members of the judiciary, civil service and parliament in Britain, the United States and Ireland.

Also consulted were President Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Mr Asmal and Public Protector Selby Baqwa.

Government tables democracy bill to protect consitutional rights

ARG 11/7/98 (BOGA)

ESTELLE RANDALL
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Open Democracy Bill, which gives ordinary citizens access to information to exercise or protect their constitutional rights, was tabled in Parliament this week.

The bill aims to promote transparency and accountability by all state bodies by providing the public with timely, accessible and accurate information and enabling citizens to examine and participate in Government decisions affecting them.

The Government has to pass the legislation before February 4 2000 to give effect to Section 32 of the Constitution. The section gives all citizens the right to access to information held by the state or another person, if the information is needed to exercise or protect constitutional rights.

The bill details specific provisions about:

■ Public access to state information.

■ A citizen's access to information that private bodies have about them.

It overrides confidentiality clauses applicable to Government officials if the information they divulge is disclosed to either a parliamentary committee or a provincial legislature, the Public Protector, the Human Rights Commission, the Auditor-General or the Attorney-General.

The National Council of Provinces will debate the bill at the end of August before it goes to the National Assembly.

This would enable its speedier passage through the parliamentary system, said Kallie Pauw, the head of legislation in Parliament.

Mohseen Valli, the chairman of the national council of province's select committee on safety and security, said the committee would discuss procedures for steering the bill through Parliament when they returned from the parliamentary recess.

Commentators believe the bill will increase public involvement in policy-making and help to ensure Government accountability and efficiency.

But a key objection to the draft bill published last year that the tabled bill has not addressed was that public access to all Government meetings and decision-making guidelines was not automatic.

An example of closed meetings are those of Parliament's joint standing committee on intelligence.

According to state law adviser Empie Krull, who was involved in drafting the bill, most of the amendments to the draft were technical. An exception was a new provision that exempts state enterprises from having to publish a manual detailing how they operate and the kind of information they keep.

New Open Democracy Bill faces tough scrutiny in Parliament

13/7/98

(304A)

BD

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — After more than three years in the making, the Open Democracy Bill faces tough scrutiny in Parliament.

The bill, tabled on Friday, aims to secure the freedom of information provisions of the constitution. However it has exemptions which will allow government to refuse to give information to members of the public for national security reasons.

It was first suggested by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office. While much of the work was done in Mbeki's office, it will be piloted through Parliament by Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

The bill seeks to allow citizens access to any information held about them by government. It also encourages members of the public service to "blow the whistle" on colleagues guilty of corruption or malpractice.

If the legislation is accepted in its current form, it will compel private institutions to make information held on individuals available to them. This includes employee files and bank records.

Early suggestions that the bill should go so far as to make all meetings of government, including the cabinet, official and open appear to have been excluded from the final draft. An earlier provision which allowed for the creation of special information courts has also been deleted.

A whole chapter is devoted to the conditions under which government information officials, to be created under this legislation in every department, will be able to refuse applications for information.

One is if releasing the information would be an invasion of privacy for a third party; another if the information would give away trade secrets to a commercial competitor; or if the prevention, detection or investigation of a crime would be compromised.

Refusal of access to information, or even the refusal to confirm or deny whether the information exists, is provided for in cases where it would harm the defence or security of the country.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said the exemptions would be scrutinised to ensure that only legitimate reasons were given for a refusal.

Mbeki's new parliamentary advisor, Willie Hofmeyr, said the bill tried to balance competing interests in the constitution. He said the bill went further than most freedom of information acts in democracies across the world.

The provisions that any refusal of access to information be reported to the Human Rights Commission and to Parliament were safeguards against government officials abusing the exemptions. He said there were legitimate constraints on the provision of information in any democracy.

He defended the clause that allowed the justice minister to make regulations on what constituted a classified document. Determining what constitutes a classified document will have to be discussed with the Human Rights Commission and must have the approval of Parliament.

Leon said that sweeping discretionary powers in legislation had become a characteristic of the new government. Powers of this nature risked turning the bill into "legal fiction", he said.

The Star ... Thursday July 16 1998

Bill to tackle corruption in Government tabled

(304A) (27A)

By Clive Sawyer
Political Correspondent

Ryan 16/7/1998

Cape Town – In a step against government corruption, a bill has been tabled in Parliament providing for a strict code of ethics for the president, premiers, ministers and MECs.

The Executive Members Ethics Bill, tabled by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal and due for debate during Parliament's final term this year, provides for the president to publish a code of ethics applicable to these office-bearers.

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Ministers to disclose all financial interests to official

It will ban cabinet members, deputy ministers and provincial MECs from undertaking any other paid work. They will also be prohibited from:

- Acting in a way inconsistent with their office.
- Exposing themselves to any situation involving the risk of a conflict between their official responsibilities and their private interests.
- Using their position or any information entrusted to them to enrich themselves or improperly benefit any other person.
- Acting in a way that may compromise the credibility or integrity of the Government.

The bill says the code "may" require cabinet ministers and deputy ministers to disclose, to an official designated for the purpose, all their financial interests when assuming office and any financial interests acquired after assuming office, including gifts and hospitality received by them, their families or other close associates.

The bill sets strict limits on who may complain about an alleged breach of the code.

The public protector would investigate complaints, and the protector must report within 30 days of receiving a complaint. If the investigation is not finished in 30 days, another report must be submitted when it is.

The president must, within a "reasonable time" of no more than 14 days after receiving a report, table it in the National Assembly. The same applies to premiers who have to table reports in their provincial legislatures.

The public protector will investigate an alleged breach by a cabinet member if the complaint is made by the president, a member of the National Assembly or a permanent delegate to the National Council of Provinces. Alleged breaches by MECs will be investigated if the complaint comes from a premier or member of the provincial legislature.

The code of ethics will not affect the president's power to appoint or dismiss members of the Cabinet, even during the course of an investigation. It will also not be used to prevent or delay the prosecution in court of executive members.

A memorandum to the bill says those consulted in its drafting included ministers and members of the judiciary, civil service and parliament in the UK, US and Ireland.

Also consulted were President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, Asmal and Public Protector Selby Baqwa.

Cabinet found short on ethics

Linda Ensor BD 17/7/98 (304A)

CABINET ministers had already breached clauses of proposed legislation providing for adherence by members of the national and provincial government to a code of ethics, the Democratic Party (DP) claimed yesterday.

The party supported the Executive Members' Ethics Bill tabled in Parliament this week but said there was a "very large gap between the intentions announced in the bill and the practice of the government so far".

One of the bill's clauses, for example, prohibited office bearers from "acting in a way that may compromise the credibility or integrity of the government". A number of ministers were already in breach of this clause, said DP spokesman Ryan Coetzee.

He cited the following breaches:

☐ Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna claimed falsely that auditor-general Henri Kluever had concealed the disappearance of R170m from the Strategic Fuel Fund and had not yet apologised;

☐ Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau contravened the law by selecting a bidder for Aventura before a parliamentary debate on the sale;

☐ Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma misled Parliament's portfolio committee on health on the Sarafina 2 scandal; and

☐ Justice Minister Dullah Omar compromised his integrity with his public support of fraud and theft accused Allan Boesak.

In terms of the bill, President Nelson Mandela would have to publish a code of ethics prescribing standards and rules aimed at promoting open, democratic and accountable government. Cabinet members, deputy ministers and MECs would have to comply with this code.

The proposed code of ethics would prohibit the officials from undertaking any other paid work, acting in a way inconsistent with their office, exposing themselves to conflicts of interest and abusing their position to improperly enrich themselves or others.

The public protector would investigate complaints concerning the code that in the case of ministers or deputies would have to come from the president, MPs or National Council of Provinces members, and in the case of MECs from the premier or provincial MPs.

Open Democracy Bill cautiously welcomed

(304A)

Bulelwa Boqwana BD 17/7/98

BUSINESS cautiously welcomed the release of the Open Democracy Bill earlier this week, but some organisations were concerned about its implications.

The bill aims to secure the freedom of information provisions of the constitution, but allows government to refuse requests, for reasons of national security.

A spokesman for the SA Chamber of Business said that the organisation welcomed the move, as the proposed legislation would protect businesses as well as individuals.

However, many companies had not seen the bill, while banks and other institutions with large resources of customer information declined to comment.

One exception was Reader's Digest, which has a vast database of readers and individuals falling within its target market. Legal director Christiane du Val said her company was familiar with the proposed law and had followed all the changes in the build-up to its publication.

"The bill is in the interests of transparency, and I don't think it will have an adverse effect on businesses as they are protected," she said.

Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman said the issue was "delicate" for private organisations and some might not be happy.

Dren Nupen, the director of the Electoral Institute of SA, said: "This is an extraordinary bill, but conflicts regarding its interpretation might arise. While the constitution provides limitations on disclosure, some of its aspects need clarity and discussion."

Transparency International SA's Mpho Nawa reiterated the institute's concern about clarity, saying the extent of protection provided to "whistle blowers" — providers of information whose jobs or lives might be endangered — was crucial.

The bill has been referred to the parliamentary committee on security and justice for further investigation.

Parliament will consider written representations on the proposed legislation received before August 10.

SA to beef up foreign service, says Selebi

(304A)

Stephen Laufer BD 20/7/98

SA's diplomatic efforts internationally had to be more closely co-ordinated with the trade and industry department to attract investment and new business, the new director-general of foreign affairs, Jackie Selebi, said last week.

There was a need to reprioritise the work of foreign affairs, with greater emphasis on relations with Africa, the developing world and multilateral organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the Organisation of African Unity. SA was working with Mali on an international programme aimed at stopping the traffic in small arms.

The shift should not mean downgrading relations with Europe and developed countries. It was clear the world was unipolar, with all roads leading to Washington, and SA acknowledged that fact.

The challenge was to build alliances with nations of a similar economic and political size and importance "so that we can work together to defend our interests". This was the significance of SA agreeing to host September's Nonaligned Movement summit, and to chair the group for the next three years.

Human rights were an important aspect of SA's foreign policy, but could not be the only determining factor for relationships with other countries. Recognition would also be given in an effort to gain leverage with countries SA was seeking to persuade to return to internationally acceptable behaviour.

A case in point was SA's assistance towards Nigeria's efforts at a transition to democracy.

Foreign service training would have to be beefed up to give SA diplomats a stronger background for their work, Selebi said. Besides teaching the correct form of greeting and other etiquette, it would have to offer substantive courses in future.

SA handed the chance to build bridges

The Nonaligned Movement is to be chaired by SA following its conference in Durban later this year. **Francis Kornegay** and **Chris Landsberg** look at the issues it will face

BD 28/7/98 (30yA)

SA's role as chair of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) for the next three years presents a major opportunity to map out a pro-south independent foreign policy posture. Pretoria can also once and for all clear the air on what exactly it is that SA stands for in global politics. One of the most strategic interventions SA could make on the NAM is to chart a bridge-building role between north and south.

What is the nature of the body that Pretoria is inheriting? The movement we know today is hardly the anti-imperialist cartel once driven by the likes of Tito, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser and Sukarno. Crystallising an updated identity continues to elude it. Pretoria is bequeathed the major job of reorientating it to meet the challenges of multipolarity and globalisation. The tit-for-tat nuclear testing by Pakistan and India, complicated by the wider Asian crisis, heightens the stakes for Pretoria.

There is an overburdened African agenda: Laurent Kabila's Congo, continuing instability in the great lakes, and tensions in the Nile between Uganda and Sudan, and Ethiopia and Eritrea.

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) is not without its own problems: the speculation of an Indonesian scenario in Zimbabwe and the movement towards renewed civil war in Angola.

This is indeed a daunting agenda, but a successful chairing of the NAM could go a long way towards consolidating SA's status as a major international actor. To be sure, the stakes are also raised by challenges looming on the home front. With the coming elections, contradictions within the tripartite alliance over macroeconomic policy, jobs and poverty alleviation have flared.

These domestic dilemmas, in turn, are influenced by the Asian-induced global economic crisis facing emerging markets. SA and other SADC members have not been able to escape this epidemic. The volatile hegemony of finance hypercapitalism could well become a critical fault line in post-Cold War north-south relations.

This is caused by capital markets increasingly holding hostage the economic prospects and reconstruction and development agendas of the NAM's tricontinental constituency. This threat calls into question stable governance, heightening inter- and intrastate nationalist tensions that take us back to quarrels like India-Pakistan and Ethiopia-Eritrea.

How will Pretoria cope with these challenges? The appointment of Jackie Selebi as the new foreign affairs director-general shows a sense of urgency in getting the department's bureaucratic house in order while NAM preparations gain momentum. The outstanding question is whether Pretoria has a NAM vision and strategy for meeting the challenges facing the south.

Pretoria could opt for a strategy of forging alliances with key partners from the south to tackle various issues. The issues of nuclear nonproliferation and Asian security have become top international agenda items. This has recently been reinforced by China's signalling that it may renew nuclear testing as well. The Sino-Indian-Pakistan nuclear triangle foreshadows an unsettling of the regional balance in Asia with global implications.

There is also the southeast Asian threat of an unstable Indonesia. An NAM-sponsored series of Asian security summits, led by SA, should focus on options for reducing tension, avoiding an escalation of regional arms races and the promotion of economic and environmental security. Here Pretoria could enlist the co-operation of fellow SADC member Mauritius. As a predominantly south Asian-derived Indian Ocean nation, it could play a crucial strategic role in helping mediate tensions in south Asia.

The nuclear stakes between India, Pakistan and China backwash into Middle Eastern tensions as well. This stand-off is already exerting greater conventional and nonconventional weapons pressures while raising the temperature of the region's endemic antagonisms. The alleged nuclear links between Israel and India are indicative of the mutually reinforcing complexities between Asian and Middle Eastern security issues. Thus, while coordinating with Mauritius in south Asian-Indian Ocean geopolitics, Pretoria could find a useful partner in Egypt as the strategic pivot in navigating NAM diplomacy in the Middle East and northeast Africa. It may be the only likely candidate to help contain and perhaps eventually resolve African security issues in a subregion of conflict and confrontation persisting in the Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Somalia.

A joint Pretoria-Cairo African security summit under the aegis of the NAM and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) could reinforce existing regional negotiations to institutionalise a long-term process of accommodation that is increasingly vital to Egypt's interest in exploiting the waters of the Nile. Nile Basin hydropolitics, in turn, overlap via the Sudanese civil war with the ongoing security issues plaguing the great lakes.

This pivotal subregion, with overlapping ethnic conflicts, requires something more comprehensive in the way of a stabilisation strategy than fragmented initiatives separately targeting Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. An OAU commission on the Great Lakes involving the SADC and the East Africa Co-operation Council could provide the other pillar of a NAM-based strategy involving Egypt as Pretoria's co-sponsor in stabilising eastern and southern Africa as well as in navigating volatile Middle Eastern politics.

Latin America and the Caribbean pose no pressing security issues save for the economic insecurity all NAM countries face from global capital markets..

Thus, SA's strategy should build south-south co-operation within the NAM while engaging the north on the urgency of finding ways of stabilising the international system of finance capital and its impact on developing economies. In this regard, the NAM offers an ideal umbrella for encouraging consultation between tricontinental subregional groupings such as Mercosur, SADC and Asean on developing common strategies in the global economy while increasing cross-regional trade, aid and investment links. Such consultations could also include exploring prospects for increased security co-operation and joint efforts at conflict resolution and preventive diplomacy to forestall the threats of escalating tensions within and between NAM member states.

One of the NAM's weaknesses, as with many intergovernmental structures in the south, is the exclusion of civil society. SA may be well suited to opening it up to greater transparency and participation by nongovernment organisations or civil society actors as an interactive complement to deliberations between governments.

A tricontinental forum building on Nigerian leader Olusegun Obasanjo's Helsinki-like Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa could serve as a possible model. Through such a mechanism, the drawing in of eminent current and former heads of state and civil society leaders from Africa, Asia and Latin America could greatly enhance the NAM's problem-solving capacity within the south while promoting constructive north-south dialogue and relations.

Creatively managing the NAM over the next three years will require a beefing up of Pretoria's institutional and human resources complement underpinning its foreign relations. Appointing a special envoy to the NAM for strategic co-ordination at the highest levels of government and between Pretoria and key NAM capitals, regional organisations and the UN, could fortify SA's capacity to creatively manage the NAM. Furthermore, restructuring the executive following the 1999 elections could include a policy planning unit, and a national security advisory component incorporating civil society which would go a long way to boost capacity in the foreign affairs department.

Chairing the NAM at this critical juncture in international politics could serve as the incentive needed to motivate such changes. It would also go a long way to assert an SA jealous of its independence and respected by both the south and the north.

□ *Kornegay is co-ordinator of the National Policy Institute of SA and Landsman is deputy director of the Centre for Policy Studies. The article is written in their personal capacities.*

PARLIAMENT (304A)

SHADOWED BY RE-DEPLOYMENT

FM 24/7/98

Benches becoming emptier

The minifurore that has broken out in opposition circles at the appointment of Bulelani Ngcuka as SA's first national director of prosecutions has its origins in the constitutional negotiations, when the Nationalists, especially, saw the creation of such a post as politicising the judiciary. What they failed to say was the judiciary was already politicised — in favour of the apartheid State.

However, coming in the wake of the "re-deployment" of former Labour Minister Tito Mboweni as governor-elect of the Reserve Bank, the opposition cites this event as part of a trend. The ANC, it says, is seizing the commanding heights of power. No matter that the new men insist they will be impartial, the fact that they come from a pro-labour, struggle background is enough to damn them as prospective authoritarians.

The obverse of this interpretation is talent is being drained from the ANC, and that parliament, in particular, will suffer. An analogy is drawn with the 1994 election to parliament of Cosatu leaders who qualified for seats because of the proportional representation system of lists. Since then the labour movement has become a shadow of its former self.

Of course, some appointments — such as Terror Lekota's controversial relocation to the National Council of Provinces — do not dilute parliamentary ranks. Similarly, diplomatic postings for Carl Niehaus and Cheryl Carolus can be seen as diluting the intellectual component of the party as a whole rather than parliament.

Outward appointments have a knock-on effect. Thus, Mboweni's replacement by Shepherd Mdladlana leaves the Parliamentary Education Committee deprived of the new Minister's talents; in addition to which, chairman Blade Nzimande, might also leave and devote more time to organising the SA Communist Party.

>> The obverse of this interpretation is that talent is being drained from the ANC, and parliament, in particular, will suffer<<

The early appointment of Saki Macozoma as MD of Transnet, and Cyril Ramaphosa's exit to the private sector, have deprived both the ANC and parliament of able and disciplined minds. Whether they will stage a return will depend on the direction taken by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki — after the 1999 election.

Opposition rhetoric aside, it was to be expected that the victorious party would look within its own ranks for those executive postings — either ministerial or public corporations — that would enable it to transform society. That black role models should be seen to be performing throughout society — and be judged by their success, or failure, as measured by stated policy — is part of transformation.

Within parliament, the all-party committees remain the cutting edge of the legislative process. Assembly and Council debates do not reflect the complexity of the process; and it should be recalled that at least some parliamentarians have grown weary with the bureaucratic tardiness of parliament itself.

Peter Wilhelm

:NT

Drawing the fine line between MP and DG

ET 5/8/98 (304A)

MARCO GRANELLI
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

CABINET has approved an agreement, which clearly outlines the different functions of ministers and their department heads, to curb directors-general who overstep their boundaries and delve into policy formulation.

As part of the agreement approved by cabinet last week, a forum comprising all heads of departments and provincial DGs will meet for the first time in Pretoria later this month, Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya announced yesterday.

At a media briefing, Skweyiya said the forum would also improve co-ordination and co-operation between departments. "The agreement states that the minister is responsible for policy and the role of the DG is to implement that policy. It divides the scope and work between the minister and the DG."

He said "numerous problems" had arisen after senior public servants involved themselves in political issues. This had been highlighted by the Ncholo report and was hinted at in the Presidential Review Commission. He said while ministers would be given more power to appoint advisers, DGs were central to policy formulation they as they knew their departments.

Public Service Director-General Paseka Ncholo said the formation of the DGs forum, which hopes to meet at least once a month, would help co-ordinate government activities. Another aspect of the forum would be a link between national and provincial administration.

MPs salary increases set to drop

MPs gearing for a 7,6% salary increase this year are in for a rude shock if Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya gets his way.

Skweyiya revealed yesterday that he was consulting with the Office of the President to have the salary increase almost halved in line with a drop in the Consumer Price Index (CPI).

Skweyiya said a substantial drop in the CPI — on which the salaries of MPs and office bearers were based — had resulted in an across-the-board reduction.

"It is not a secret that the MPs had agreed their increases would be the CPI minus one percent and I'm told the CPI is now about 5,3%."

"We are now talking to the Office of the President to reflect the present realities. That will mean that the increase will only be about 4,3%." — Parliamentary Bureau



expectations of South Africa's chairmanship of Non-Aligned Movement.
PIC: SHARON CHETTY

SA expected to play new role

(304A) Sowetan 6/8/98

By Sharon Chetty

FOR most of its existence, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) had South Africa on its agenda as a pariah state that had to be isolated.

Now, as its newest member and soon-to-be-chair, South Africa is expected to chart the movement into the next century as an effective voice for the developing world.

But South Africa would have to be supported by its friends to accomplish this, says the Cuban ambassador to Pretoria, Angel Dalmau.

As a founding member of NAM and a consistent and active opponent of the former government, the Cubans now expect that South Africa's leadership will make the NAM's stance more prominent on the world stage.

When Cuba first joined the NAM, it was a force to be reckoned with and the country assisted several African countries in their various struggles for independence.

In Southern Africa, Cubans helped to fight the army of the former government in Angola and provided vital support to the liberation movements.

Proud to be the first ambassador to both an independent Namibia and post-apartheid South Africa, Dalmau says that while every country has had to adapt quickly to the post-Cold War era, the pressures of globalisation make it imperative that the developing world work together more closely.

His country has had to deal with a severe economic crisis since the collapse of its main backer, the Soviet Union.

The United States government embargo against the small island state is still maintained and NAM members are again expected to call for its lifting when they meet at the end of August in Durban.

But Dalmau says:"There is light at the end of the tunnel for us on the economic front. There is no more the diagnosis that we are going to collapse, but rather that we will survive."

Like with all South Africa's relations, trade is the primary focus with the Cubans, although it remains low at only around R400 million a year.

The Cubans import diesel engines and chemicals from here, and their doctors and lecturers are sent to work in South Africa. A small quantity of cigars and rum are sold here too.

There is still no regular tourism exchange between the two.

Dalmau believes that in the context of world trade and the advantages enjoyed by the developed countries, NAM – as it represents the "poorest of the poor" – needs to ensure that its members do not continue to remain at a disadvantage.

"The world faces the situation where a minority of countries and a few big transnationals can dictate the pace. They do not necessarily care about the social ills, like starvation and wars."

Since NAM represents billions who suffered from these ills, there had to be a stronger agenda to address these problems, he suggests.

"We have to ask ourselves against whom or what we are non-aligned ... maybe it is better that we ask what we are aligning ourselves for," he says, citing poverty, social injustice, lack of medical care, unemployment and "so many difficulties".

While South Africa plays a vital role in defending Cuba and its other allies at forums like the United Nations, there has to be a greater push for that body to be more democratised so that the smaller countries, who are in the majority, are not vetoed by the bigger states on the Security Council, says Dalmau.

NAM countries should lobby for all regions to have permanent members who have the same rights, he says.

And while there is only one superpower, the US, increased dialogue between the North and South was now more vital, even as the South increased economic and developmental cooperation among its own members, he suggests.

Economic issues are expected to predominate at the summit, and again the problem of Third World debt and promises by the G8 to write some of this off, is likely to be discussed.

Dalmau says that there are high expectations of South Africa's chairmanship of NAM at the turn of the century.

"There is a big responsibility on South African shoulders ... but you are not alone," he reassures.

Stay mum about move, Cabinet told

Madiba threatens to discipline ministers who take sides in the relocation debate

(304A) ARG 8/8/98 Parliament

ADRIAN HADLAND
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

President Nelson Mandela issued a stern warning to Cabinet ministers yesterday not to get involved in the debate over whether Parliament should be moved from Cape Town.

The "strongest disciplinary action" would be taken against ministers who defied the Government's position to stay neutral until the matter could be discussed after the 1999 election, Mr Mandela said in his state of the nation address to the National Council of Provinces.

"I'm a Capetonian – I lived there for 27 years – but still I suppress my opinion," he joked.

He said he had been amazed to see the names of African National Congress ministers on a petition to keep Parliament in Cape Town. The ministers had told him they had signed because the names of National Party provincial ministers were on the petition and that they didn't want to lose ground in local elections, Mr Mandela said. The NP ministers had used the same excuse, he said.

Relocation would be discussed by Parliament, provincial legislatures and by the public before a decision was made, he said.

In a speech covering a wide range of topics, from school text books and crime to nation-building and jobs, Mr Mandela said considerable gains had been made in cracking down on corruption and ghost workers in the public service.

As a result of head-counts, re-registration and cross-checking records, "a quarter of a million people have been identified who are deceased, who are not entitled to grants claimed or who are simply duplicated in the system".

He said the Heath Commission's investigative unit was currently looking at over 90 000 individual cases of fraud, maladministration or corruption involving R7-billion.

"Many more investigations are in the pipeline," he added. Provincial premiers were also working to uncover criminal activities.

"I myself will leave no opportunity unused to root out of Government those who betray the calling of the public service by treating it as a chance to enrich themselves at the expense of our efforts to create a better life for all."

Mr Mandela paid tribute to South Africa's major private corporations for their role in nation-building efforts. The corporations had joined hands with communities and helped meet some of their most urgent needs by building or upgrading schools and clinics, he said.

Reconciliation and the building of national unity was a complex process involving many different aspects, from the establishment of a commission to protect minority rights to improved safety and security measures, particularly in KwaZulu Natal and the Western Cape.

The president reiterated his position that if the Afrikaners wanted a Volkstaat they would have to define what an Afrikaner is ("Is it a white man who speaks Afrikaans or is it white and black men who speak Afrikaans?") and submit the proposal to Afrikaners in a referendum.

"If these conditions are fulfilled, I will go to my organisation and say, 'Here, this is what the Afrikaners have voted for, they have voted for a Volkstaat. Let us consider it'."

Mr Mandela bemoaned the culture of entitlement gaining momentum among young black people. This was demonstrated by an unwillingness to pay for education and by a reluctance to take on jobs that didn't pay enough.

"Our young people have become absolutely spoilt. The culture of entitlement has become out of hand and must stop."

[redacted]

METI

Victory as Griquas g

UN decision fuels a forgotten people's hopes

(304A) ST (CM) 9/8/9

AYESHA ISMAIL

THE Griquas have been accorded first nation status by the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

Their application follows the failure of similar requests to the South African government, which has told them it accepts the Griquas as an indigenous group but not as a first nation.

The San were the first South African group to be granted first nation status by the UN.

The decision to grant the Griquas this status was taken by the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations at its 16th session in Geneva last week.

This could pave the way for the establishment of a First Nation Representative Council in South Africa, Cecil Le Fleur, the representative of the Griqua National Conference of South Africa, said on his return from Geneva this week.

"We are in negotiations with the government about setting up this council," he said from the Griqua headquarters in Vredendal.

The council should be statutory and have the power to "address and rectify the wrongs that have been done to the Khoisan".

This would include land restitution, education and programmes for the preservation of his people's language and culture.

Le Fleur is the grandson of Andrew Abraham Stokenstrom, who succeeded Adam Kok III in 1896 as leader of the Griquas.

In his address to the United Nations, Le Fleur said: "Considering the deceit, humiliation, genocide, diaspora, dispossession and economic disempowerment suffered at the hands of Great Britain and the apartheid regime, we would like to appeal to the world community to assist us in requesting the South African government to recognise traditional Khoisan territories, where indigenous, first nation languages could be taught and developed in schools."

Le Fleur also called for an acceptable history of the Khoisan to be reintroduced in syllabuses and for bursaries and other programmes to empower the Khoisan through education.

He was especially worried about the virtual extinction of the Khoisan languages.

Although Section 31 of the Bill of Rights recognised cultural and linguistic communities, "no meaningful effort has been made to save and restore the dying Khoisan languages".

The language should be protected and efforts made to salvage what was left after decades of "violation", Le Fleur said.

Although the Constitution provided for the protection of minority groups, he added, the Griquas differed from other minority groups in that they were indigenous.

Their fight for self-determination did not include a "volkstaat".

"We do not want to live separately from the rest of South Africa," Le Fleur said.

"All we are saying is that we want our land returned to us and that we want to decide on matters affecting indigenous people."

This week a delegation representing Khoisan indigenous groups is to meet members of the Western Cape l legislature to discuss the return of the remains of Saartjie Baartman, which are exhibited in the Musée de l'Homme and Musée d'Orsay in France.

According to Le Fleur, Baartman was born in the Eastern Cape in 1789.

Dubbed the "Hottentot Venus", she was taken to England at a young age.

She was displayed in circuses as a freak because of her "unusual anatomy".

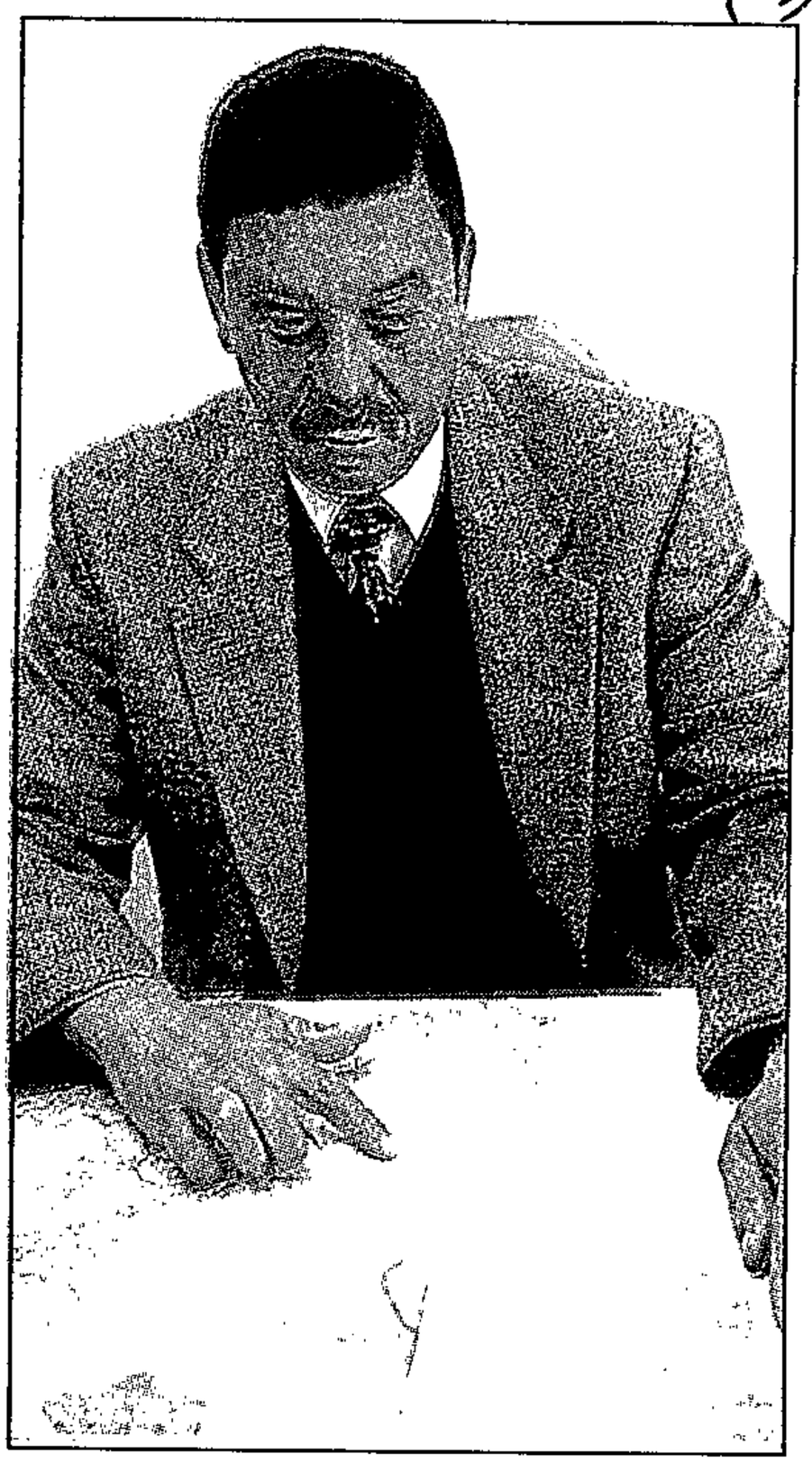
Le Fleur said she was later taken to France where she was also "abused".

She died there under "mysterious circumstances ".

Last year, the legislature gave Le Fleur's group R100 000 towards the costs of recovering her remains.

"We have written to the French government several times over the years, but it is refusing to co-operate with us," Le Fleur said.

His group would lobby worldwide for Baartman's return so she could be given a "decent burial by her people".



MAPPING THE FUTURE: Cecil Le Fleur, representative of the Griquas, hopes to persuade the government to set up a First Nation Representative Council **Picture: AMBROSE PETERS**

[redacted]

NAM summit to cost taxpayers R65 million

(304A) ET 14/8/98

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit — the politically important conference which will bring over 80 heads of states to SA in the next two weeks — will cost taxpayers R65 million, according to estimates presented in Parliament by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

The summit will be held in Durban from August 29 to September 4.

In a reply to a question from the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin, Nzo revealed that the bulk of the budget would go towards accommodation of the heads of state, security, information technology, interpretation and language services and hiring of support personnel.

Other anticipated expenses include printing costs, vehicle rentals, medical services, flags and banners, meals, hotel extras, communication links, office equipment and training of military liaison officers.

Nzo said that by hosting the NAM summit SA, which is expected to take over the chair of the organisation, would benefit politically and financially. He said apart from enhancing SA's reputation internationally, the NAM chairmanship also offered an opportunity for SA to enhance the profile of Africa and give further impetus to the African renaissance initiative.

"The multilateral act of non-aligned countries, namely the declarations and resolutions adopted at their various meetings and accepted by the heads of states, assume significant meaning in international politics.

"As chair of the movement it will be SA's responsibility to stimulate closer consultation among non-aligned countries at the UN.

"It will also be necessary to enhance the co-operation between developed and developing countries to achieve these objectives," Nzo said.

He said by hosting the summit, South Africa would gain revenue from visiting delegations.

There would be business spin-offs such as the cost of airfares — with South African Airways as the preferred airline — and accommodation for at least 3 000 delegates, security personnel, journalists and guests.

"Durban will become the 'world's who's who' during the NAM meetings, and it will provide an excellent opportunity to showcase SA.

"More than 130 foreign ministries will participate. Delegations from 112 member countries, 24 observer countries and organisations as well as more than 80 guest countries and organisations are expected to participate.

"Over 1 500 foreign media representatives, over and above South African and South Africa-based journalists, are expected to visit Durban to cover summit events," Nzo said.

The summit would also provide a boost to the tourist industry and open up opportunities for training and employment of people such as bus drivers, conference officers, translators, assistants to delegations and waiters.

Survey shows different hopes for different folks

CT 14/8/98 (304A)

CHRIS BATEMAN

MOST adult South Africans believe job opportunities and crime have worsened since 1994 — yet over a third of rural and urban black people believe health care has improved.

This emerged from a survey carried out two months ago in an attempt to gauge attitudes towards current issues and released this week by Research Surveys.

The most dramatic finding was the growing link between unemployment and crime, with 79% of respondents believing that employment opportunities had "got worse" while 76% said crime had worsened.

While 95% of urban whites and 83% of urban blacks believed crime had increased, only 67% of rural blacks agreed.

A significant skew was evident among the provinces.

In the Western Cape, 87% felt that crime had worsened while this figure in Gauteng stood at 80% and 73% in the Eastern Cape .

Those most satisfied on all major issues (including health, education and housing) were rural blacks from the poorer socio-economic group.

The black urban respondents held a less positive outlook than the black rural respondents, but a more positive outlook than the white urban respondents.

A spokesperson said that it was clear that of the three different socio-economic groups, whites, being the most affluent, displayed the lowest levels of satisfaction.

Significant skews were noted between the white and black respondents in terms of education, health and housing.

Of rural blacks, 36% felt that education had improved, compared to 25% of urban blacks and only 2% of urban whites. A significant 42% of rural blacks said that health care had improved while 34% of urban blacks and only 4% of urban whites held this opinion.

Yet on a global scale there is hope. While the rest of the world is generally unhappy with its lot, South Africa and several of the Asian countries are looking forward to the third millennium.

An international poll of 29 countries showed that in "Hope Index" ratings, South Africa lies 12th with Israel, ahead of countries like Australia and most of Europe.

Surprisingly, Asian countries like Malaysia, South Korea, Thailand, China and Taiwan — which have all suffered serious monetary setbacks in the past few months — all finished in the top 10, along with the US and United Kingdom.

In SA 500 urban residents were targeted for their opinions of: The quality of their lives, whether they thought the economic situation would improve, were they better off now than 10 years ago and did they think their children would be better off than they were.

South Africans scored 33% for satisfaction with their quality of life, a drop of 11% on the same questions last year, while their belief in a bright future for themselves and their children dropped from 44% last year to 42%.

Taxpayers to fork out R65-million for Non-Aligned summit

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
Political Correspondent

Cape Town – The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, which will bring more than 80 heads of state to South Africa in the next two weeks – will cost the country's taxpayers R65-million, according to estimates presented in Parliament by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo.

In a reply to a question from the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin, Nzo revealed that the bulk of the budget would go towards accommodation of the heads of state, security, information technology, interpretation and language services and hiring support personnel:

The summit is scheduled to be held in Durban from August 29 to September 4.

Some of the items included in the budget tabled by Nzo include:

- Hotel and accommodation – R13-million.
- Hotel extras – VIPs R2,4-million.
- Meals and catering for functions – R4,7-million.
- Printing costs R1,8-million.
- Accreditation – R1,7-million.
- Media liaison – R2,7-million.
- Training of military liaison officers – R542 000.
- Rental of vehicles – R3-million.
- Medical services R1,2-million.
- Security – R3,7-million.
- Information technology – R6,8-million.
- Interpretation and language services – R5-million.
- Office equipment – R640-million.
- Airport terminal – R2,3-million.
- Flags and banners – R770 000.
- Support personnel – R3,3-million.
- TV/radio, video and microwave links – R1,2-million.

Nzo told the National Assembly that by hosting the NAM summit, South Africa, which is expected to take over the chair of the organisation, would benefit politically and financially.

Nzo said apart from enhancing South Africa's profile and reputation internationally, the NAM chairmanship also offered an opportunity for South Africa, as an African chair, to enhance the profile of Africa and give further impetus to the African Renaissance initiative.

"The multilateral act of non-aligned countries, namely, the declarations and resolutions adopted at their various meetings and accepted by the heads of states or their assigned representatives, assume significant meaning in international politics.

"As chairperson of the movement it will be South Africa's responsibility to stimulate closer consultation among non-aligned countries at the United Nations and concerted action for the achievement of our objectives and the achievement of programmes of action. It will also be necessary to enhance the co-operation between developed and developing countries to achieve these objectives," Nzo said.

He said by hosting the summit, South Africa would gain valuable revenue from the visiting delegations.

There would be business spin-offs such as the cost of airfares – with South African Airways as the preferred airline – accommodation (with at least 3 000 delegates, security personnel, journalists and guests).

"Durban will become the 'world's who's who' during the NAM meetings and it will provide an excellent opportunity to showcase South Africa. Between 70 and 80 heads of state are expected to attend the summit.

"More than 130 foreign ministers will participate.

"Delegations from 112 NAM member countries, 24 observer countries and organisations as well as more than 80 guest countries and organisations are expected to participate.

"More than 1 500 foreign media representatives over and above South African and South African-based journalists are expected to visit Durban to cover summit events," Nzo said.

The summit would also provide a massive boost to South Africa's tourist industry and open up opportunities for training and the employment of people as bus drivers, conference officers, translators, assistants to delegations and waiters.

(304A) Star 17/8/98

Broke Public Works all but grinds to a halt

(173) (259) (304A) ST(BT) 23|8|98

GOVERNMENT SPENDING

By CAROL PATON

THE massive backlog of maintenance and repairs to property owned by the Department of Public Works, which at the last count stood at R7.8-billion, looks set to spiral even further with the suspension of all operations in some provinces owing to budget cuts.

The largest regional office of the department, which covers Gauteng, Mpumalanga, the Northern Province and the North West, has suspended all maintenance contracts and will carry out repairs only if these are "ultra-life threatening", regional manager Bongani Khonjwayo said this week.

Repairs or renovations that do not constitute such a threat will be delayed until the next budget year.

Owing to the suspension of maintenance contracts, government departments which used to call on contractors to do repairs will no longer be allowed to do so. Requests will have to be made to Public Works, which will determine their priority and urgency.

In a memorandum to staff, Khonjwayo said there was no guarantee that repairs, even those with an "immediate health and safety implication", would receive approval.

Worst affected by the budget crisis will be the army, police, prisons and courts, which are the major clients of the Department of Public Works, and which rely on it for repairs and renovations.

According to the Departments of Justice and Correctional Services, many buildings are already in a neglected and dilapidated state.

For instance, 459 prisons are in need of repair — 336 need urgent attention.

The suspension of repair work would pose "a security and health risk to inmates and staff", said Correctional Services spokesman Chris Olckers.

Gerrie du Preez, deputy director general of finance in the Department of Public Works, said the department had been granted a budget of R529-million for repairs during 1998/9 although it had requested R1-billion.

To overcome the R7.8-billion backlog, which was estimated in 1996, R1-billion a year for the next 10 years was needed, officials said.

However, it is hoped that the compilation of a national register of assets and the disposal of redundant state property will provide resources to address the backlog.

SOWETAN Monday August 24 1998

ANC-led govt 'not a kleptocracy'

(304A) (24)

By Ido Lekota

HEAD of the Heath Special Investigation Unit Judge Willem Heath has debunked the myth that the present Government is more corrupt than the previous apartheid regime.

Speaking at the Cape Press Club last Friday on the topic "Has our democracy become a kleptocracy?" (a Government of those driven by greed), Judge Heath said: "No. It was probably as bad with the previous Government or even worse, but it was never so transparent as it is now."

The judge also explained how the present Government, through its commitment to addressing corruption, had passed legislation that made it possible to establish his unit.

The law also allowed for the creation of a special tribunal through which the State can lodge civil claims to recover property and public monies.

"South Africa has lost substantial assets over the years through corruption and it is a continuing process.

"It is with this in mind that Parliament passed the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunal Act No 74 of 1996. The Heath Special Investigation Unit was appointed in terms of this Act."

Since its establishment in 1996, the unit has had major successes in tracing or recovering state properties and public monies, said Judge Heath.

"Up to November 1997 we recovered up to R10-billion in state properties and public monies. At this stage we are busy with cases to the value of R7-billion."

He listed a number of examples of success of the unit since March 1997 including the recovery of 80 farms in the former Transkei to the value of R20-million. Another R30-million is expected to be recovered in this case.

Judge Heath ascribed the high incidence of corruption to lack of administrative and financial controls within the management strata of various levels of government.

Political parties decry unilateral drafting of ethics bill

(304A) BD 25/8/98

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — MPs from all parties yesterday criticised draft legislation providing for a code of ethics for members of the executive at national and provincial levels.

The parties complained that the draft bill failed to include Parliament in the drafting of the code.

The Executive Members' Ethics Bill empowers the president to publish a code of ethics for cabinet members, their deputies, MECs, and the president and premiers, as required by the constitution.

Such a code already exists for MPs and National Council of Provinces' (NCOP) delegates.

The bill was discussed by a special parliamentary committee for the first time yesterday.

The bill proposes that the Public Protector be responsible for investigating any alleged breach of the envisaged code of ethics, and submit a report to the president or premier "within 30 days of receipt of the complaint".

The president or premier must within 14 days of receiving such a report submit a copy and any comments, "together with a report on any action taken or to be taken in regard thereto", to the National Assembly or provincial legislature.

Only the president, an MP or permanent member of the NCOP may lodge a complaint against a cabinet member or deputy minister. If the complaint is against an MEC, only a premier or member of the provincial legislature may lodge a complaint.

Democratic Party (DP) MP Douglas Gibson said the bill should be amended to oblige public servants to report transgressions of the code.

Presidential legal adviser Fink Haysom, who drafted the bill on behalf of Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, told the committee that the legislation would make SA only the third country in the world to have an executive code of ethics. Only Ireland and the US had such a code. The UK had a voluntary code of ethics for the executive.

African National Congress MP David Dalling said because both the president and cabinet were accountable to Parliament, it was important that Parliament played "some role" in the drafting process. Dalling proposed an amendment that the president could only publish the code "after consultation" with Parliament.

However, National Party MP Piet Matthee was in favour of a stricter clause — inserting "in consultation with" instead of after consultation with Parliament.

Other issues of concern to the DP, NP and Freedom Front included the need for greater clarity on the reporting responsibilities of the president and premiers, and whether the code should be extended to apply to municipal government.

Thursday, August 27 1998

Kasrils clarifies SA's potential role in conflict

(304A)

By Peter Fabricius

Star 27/8/98

South Africa has the capacity to deploy peacekeeping forces in the war-torn Democratic Republic of Congo within 24 hours, but is not about to do so, Deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils explained yesterday.

He was clarifying remarks he made at a briefing on Tuesday when he said SA was ready to deploy peacekeeping forces in the Congo if the Southern African Development Community took such a decision at the highest level.

Kasrils said yesterday that his remarks had been taken out of context and misinterpreted in some reports to suggest that SA had changed its policy about not intervening militarily in the Congo.

That was not so, he said.

"I was talking completely hypothetically. I said we have been working on improving our peacekeeping capacity for the past four years and that we are now very well trained and have the capacity to send a peacekeeping force into the Congo. I also said we were capable of doing so within 24 hours because we have a rapid-response force," Kasrils said.

He added this would happen only if President Mandela and the SA Government gave the order, and the peacekeeping mission was approved at the highest level by the SADC.

He said SA did not consider the Zimbabwe meeting of some SADC defence ministers, which approved military intervention two weeks ago, as a high enough decision-making body.

Kasrils also explained that SA was in any case unlikely to get involved in the Congo as it was now, with a war going on.

"We would be very careful about going in for peace enforcement. We are not in favour of that," he said, adding that SA did not want to repeat the mistakes made in other interventions, such as in Somalia, which had tried to enforce peace. – Star Foreign Service

Heath probing govt corruption cases involving R7bn

BD 28/8/98 (3A) (3049)

PRETORIA — Government corruption involving R7bn is being investigated by the Heath special commission set up to probe the embezzlement of public funds.

Judge Willem Heath, who heads the unit, said on Wednesday 90 000 cases of fraud, corruption and maladministration at different government levels had been reported so far.

"State money and assets have been identified as easy targets for elements both within and outside the public sector," Heath said in a speech prepared for delivery to the Local Authority Security Association of SA.

"Corruption, fraud and maladministration are eating away at your budget on a local government level, at the provincial budget as a whole, and at the very economy of our country. It must be stopped, and it must be stopped soon."

Heath said that millions of rands of taxpayers' money was lost by local councils, rendering them unable to deliver essential services.

He said these losses were not necessarily caused by a lack of control measures, but rather a failure to comply with existing ones.

"The fields of corruption lie fallow in front of the eager eyes of unscrupulous people who are able to spot these opportunities to steal and rob," he said.

Heath said some local councils failed to keep proper financial and accounting records, and followed illegal procedures to conclude contracts.

Other problems included unauthorised purchases, illegal payments of allowances to local councillors and a failure to collect rates and taxes.

Heath said the management of local councils appeared indifferent to these problems, adding there was no desire to serve the public.

"The lack of funds and the potential of bankruptcy at local government level are a stark reality," he said. "You cannot afford to lose a cent through corruption — it would have ramifications throughout the community, the region and the province."

Heath said that a culture of honesty and integrity needed to be fostered in local councils.

This could be done by teaching officials to identify irregularities, conduct regular checks and audits, and set up open communications networks that enabled employees to report fraud without fear of reprisal or intimidation, he said. — Sapa.

It's a club of malcontents — critics

(304A) CT 31/8/98

PETER FABRICIUS
INDEPENDENT FOREIGN SERVICE

DURBAN: At a recent seminar on the Non-Aligned Movement summit, a senior Foreign Affairs official was asked a blunt question by a trade unionist: What are the real concrete benefits of South Africa not only joining, but also chairing, the NAM for three years starting this week?

The official was flummoxed and couldn't come up with a single reason.

That is the problem of the NAM — one can explain its benefits in the abstract language of international diplomacy. But what are the benefits for the taxpayer, who is forking out R64 million to bring together delegations from almost 113 member states this week?

No South African official can provide an easy answer to that question.

Many of them privately express misgivings about the real value and relevance of this organisation, which in its almost four decades of existence has gained a reputation in the developed world of being a club of malcontents, which produces nothing but hostile and radical rhetoric directed at countries which have made a success of their economies.

The relevance of NAM has especially come under scrutiny since the end of the Cold War, since it was the Cold War's dispute between west and east that gave the organisation it's original *raison d'etre* and indeed its very name.

The sceptics now ask "Non-aligned against what?" But the proponents of NAM argue that critics should not be distracted by the anachronisms of the organisation's name and that its principles are more relevant than ever — especially the economic ones.

Abdul Minty, South Africa's chief of multilateral affairs and assistant chief of the NAM, says that the Cold War actually distracted the NAM from pursuing its real objectives: Overcoming poverty in the developing world by, among other things, equalising the balance of power in the world economic order which favours the rich industrialised countries.

By seizing the reins of the NAM, SA is hoping to give new direction and impetus particularly to these economic aims, rather than allowing it to continue sprouting the same hostile but unproductive rhetoric at the west.

If it succeeds — and this is a big if, given the great inert weight of custom and tradition in this organisation and the powerful western economic forces arrayed against it — it could effect changes which would make a difference in the pocket of the person in the street.

Getting rid of the thorn

Sowetan 31/8/96

Is race-based policy formulation justified in South Africa? **Dumisani Hlophe** discusses a contentious subject currently being debated by the Government.

(304A)

Is race-based policy formulation justifiable in a post-apartheid South Africa? My learned grandfather, without any Western education, would have responded: If you get pricked by a thorn, get another to remove it.

This seems to be the intellectual background behind the Employment Equity Bill and other affirmative action-related policies currently being debated by the Government.

Race-based legislation in the new South Africa is very contentious. Understandably, it should not happen in a democracy. But South Africa's democracy, like its colonialism, is one of a "special type".

South Africa's past racism has not been purely a matter of attitudes and beliefs about white superiority and black inferiority. It has also been intrinsically linked to the acquisition of economic resources.

In fact, aspects of racial formalisation can be identified in the early development of the mining industry. It is this umbilical cord that connects racism and the economy that still confronts South Africa today and threatens its democratic consolidation.

Secondly, a majority of the minority that commands the bulk of South Africa's economy lacks patriotism and allegiance to this country.

The negotiations that ushered in South Africa's new democracy lacked one crucial requirement – a meeting of minds. The two major negotiating race groups, blacks and whites, were not of the same mind on what democracy should mean.

In retrospect, the anti-apartheid struggle and the quest for democracy, among black people, was never narrowly contextualised in terms of the formal institutionalisation of political and other civil liberties.

Rather it was more centred on access to socio-economic opportunities – a position adopted and advanced by the African National Congress (ANC) and other black political organisations.

Meanwhile, the conduct of white opposition parties and their constituency clearly indicate that, for many whites, democracy meant the institutionalisation of formal liberties.

At a lower level, this meant a retention of well-equipped white schools (under the guise of cultural and language rights) and keeping white suburbs white (under the guise of self-determination).

At a higher level, it meant the retention of arable land and strengthening the grip on South Africa's economy – a central theme advanced by white opposition political parties.

South Africa's domestic politics are therefore primarily a matter of "race and resources". On the one hand, there is a governing party with a large measure of poor black supporters.

> **"The fiction advanced by the DP and NP is that SA's ills will be cured by an unregulated free market economy"**

On the other hand, there is an opposition supported by a white and resourced constituency. Hence all major social upliftment-oriented policies are likely to be opposed by white opposition parties.

Consider where the opposition to the Employment Equity Bill comes from – naturally from white big business, their cause championed politically by the Democratic Party (DP).

The National Party (NP) also opposes the Bill and other affirmative action policies, and argues that race considerations are a reversal of apartheid.

The NP goes further to insinuate that race classification today is tantamount to an older generation imposing its ills on the young. But the next three generations will still suffer from the side-effects of apartheid.

The fiction advanced by the DP and the NP is that South Africa's ills will be cured by an unregulated free market economy. The ANC's government role is to be a watchman, especially of the business sector.

There is a perception that since the white opposition parties made no promises in the 1994 elections, it will be difficult to hold them accountable and responsible in the 1999 elections.

This should not provide a problem. These parties must be measured in terms of social upliftment legislation that they have opposed.

These would include opposition to the equity bill and other affirmative action-related policies, the water bill, the institution of the land commission and the schools bill. The link between race and economic inequality is one of the most threatening factors to South Africa's democracy.

Democracy succeeds in societies where citizens, parties and organs of civil society develop attitudes and behaviour that reflect the acceptance of democracy as the best form of both governance and life.

South Africa's case is rather intricate. Firstly, the black-led ANC Government advances the perception that this democracy must ultimately serve to uplift the social and economic conditions of disadvantaged black people.

This is a very noble cause indeed. However, there is a latent danger of clustering together alternative opinions as anti-democratic.

The objections of white opposition parties to almost all social upliftment legislation has been central in creating the new discourse of "enemies of change".

The problem here is that it is becoming difficult to distinguish genuine government criticism from a counter-transformation discourse.

How do citizens draw a line between genuine criticism of incompetence and maladministration levelled at government by white opposition and the perception that this could be racism along the lines that black people cannot govern?

Secondly, the present political discourse blurs the line between democracy and government performance.

If social and economic prosperity for black people fails to be realised in the near future, will that necessary imply that democracy has failed? Or rather that the governing party has failed to perform?

Whatever mass perception emanates here, it will not be good for democracy.

Economic growth is one factor that can advance democratic consolidation. But for this to happen, South Africans must do like the Japanese and work 16 hours a day.

However, this will be impossible as long as the black worker does not believe that he is working for his country but rather for the white man.

Lastly, the key reason why the state needs to be democratised is that it holds power. And institutions that hold power can abuse it. Or act unjustly.

Similarly, the business sector wields too much power. Why not also subject the exercise of this power to an accountable and responsible process? And who is better positioned to do this than a democratically elected government?

Drawing from the well of African wisdom, we are enlightened that in the attempt to remove a thorn from some part of the body, through the use of another, we are likely to cause discomfort in surrounding areas.

However, ultimately this is a healing process for the whole body.

(The writer is a political science lecturer at the University of Durban-Westville.)

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Protests plague summit

By Joe Mdhlela

THE 12th Non-Aligned Movement summit under way in Durban has so far been plagued by protests, especially those alleging violation of human rights by governments against citizens.

Leading the chorus is the Pan Africanist Congress, which has claimed that about 600 political prisoners are still in jail. These included members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Azanian People's Liberation Army and Azanian National Liberation Army, whom the PAC said were being refused a general amnesty.

PAC spokesman Mr Pasika Nontshiza said it was "farcical to host a summit of this magnitude while, by refusing to release the 600 political prisoners, the Government of President Nelson Mandela was perpetrating human rights violations".

He said PAC president Dr Stanley Mogoba would lead a protest march to the International Convention Centre.

Also, a local chapter of the Tamil Eelan Support Movement (TESM) protested against the presence of Sri Lanka at the summit, claiming the Sri Lankan authorities were responsible for the genocide that has claimed the lives of more than 50 000 Tamils in Sri Lanka.

Its chairman, Dr Panchi Lingham, said it was ironic that Sri Lanka, a country that continues to be involved in "gross human rights violations", was a participant in a summit that sought to resolve, among other things, human rights violation issues.

Also, Lingham said, it was unacceptable that Sri Lanka had been welcomed to the summit without being roundly condemned by other member states for its "gross human rights abuse" record.

Lingham accused the Sri Lankan government of discriminating against the minorities and persecuting those who practised Hinduism.

Sowetan (SOWA) [redacted] 31/7/98

ANALYSIS

SA obliged to steer NAM towards global relevance

(304A) BD 1/9/98

Greg Mills looks at the challenges facing the Nonaligned Movement, now meeting in Durban

SA IS staging the 12th triennial summit of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) in Durban this week. On the cusp of the new millennium, this has raised critical questions for both the host nation and the NAM, including whether this drifting movement can be revitalised and, if so, around what themes and by what means.

The NAM's origins lie in the meeting of 29 Afro-Asian states in the Indonesian city of Bandung in April 1955. Then, potential members were principally concerned with staying out of the Cold War. Their periodic attempts to bring an end to the Soviet-US conflict led to the creation of a doctrine of "positive neutrality".

Formally launched at a summit attended by 25 newly independent countries in Belgrade in 1961, it was designed to resist superpower advances to incorporate developing countries into alliances out of fears that this would compromise their independence from colonialism. Yet the movement has been characterised by a failure to achieve consensus on issues of substance, with a frequent reversion to polemical rhetoric on economic neo-colonialism and anti-imperialism.

SA's responsibility during its chairmanship from 1998-2001 will inevitably include providing some coherence and focus to an organisation which is seen by many (particularly in the west) to be anachronistic and irrelevant since the end of the Cold War.

The NAM's greatest strength is also its greatest weakness. The diversity of its membership automatically detracts from its focus. Can such a grouping take forward a common agenda? Following the demise of the communist bloc, the 113 nation-strong NAM's leitmotif has been to function as a United Nations (UN) lobby — especially on the issue of UN reform — and a powerful voting bloc.

Yet there is a widening gulf between the more and the less successful states within the movement. This highlights the role of those states that have adapted with greater success to today's global economy. The NAM also has constantly run the risk of being hijacked by issues of concern only to a small clique within the body. For example, the disarmament concerns of India, which has long regarded the NAM as a private vehicle for its global interests, might well become a lower priority in the movement given New Delhi's new nuclear status.

India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, outlined the five principles of non-alignment as:

- ☐ Respect for territorial integrity;
- ☐ Mutual non-aggression;
- ☐ Sovereign equality;
- ☐ Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and
- ☐ Peaceful co-existence.

It is uncertain how many of these central tenets are applicable in the continuum from the industrial to the information age. In a world that is networked and connected, the free flow of ideas, information, services and goods will be unstoppable. Politics can no longer be viewed as only a local concern. While environmental pressures along with tribal differences and fundamentalist tendencies may threaten the emergence of a global culture, countries will increasingly stand judged by international best practice rather than national, regional or developing world standards.

Here, too, increasing universal concern for human rights poses questions about the traditional rule of non-intervention on the territory of a sovereign state. Even if this previously fundamental thesis of international relations is re-examined, further difficult questions arise as to how non-compliant regimes might be pressured into accepting international practice.

But it is poverty that remains the critical challenge for much of the developing world and has been the forefront of the NAM's agenda since the 1992 summit. Today 800-million people in south Asia and sub-Saharan Africa have insufficient supplies of food.

A 1997 United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) study showed that the differences in income per capita between the seven richest and seven poorest countries worldwide have nearly doubled between 1965 and 1995, from 20 to 39 times.

The NAM foreign ministers have prepared a four-point agenda for the summit:

- ☐ Reform of the UN;
- ☐ Enhancing the strength and the role of the movement;
- ☐ Nuclear and conventional disarmament; and
- ☐ Members' economic and social development.

However, if the NAM is to become shorthand for addressing the problems of developing nations, three principal challenges need to be addressed in implementing this agenda:

- ☐ To identify clearly defined areas of common functional interest and co-operation. These could include the issues of market access, global strategies to combat poverty, sustainable development, debt relief, international terrorism and crime, drug smuggling, and common problems relating to, for example, pollution, transport and communications;
- ☐ To take care to maintain a wide membership perspective to the benefit of south-south co-operation, and not degenerate into a lobby for Afro-Asian partnership to the exclusion of Latin American and Caribbean partners; and
- ☐ To move away from summitry as the sole means of addressing problems in the developing world, towards functional meetings designed to co-ordinate implementation of the NAM's agenda.

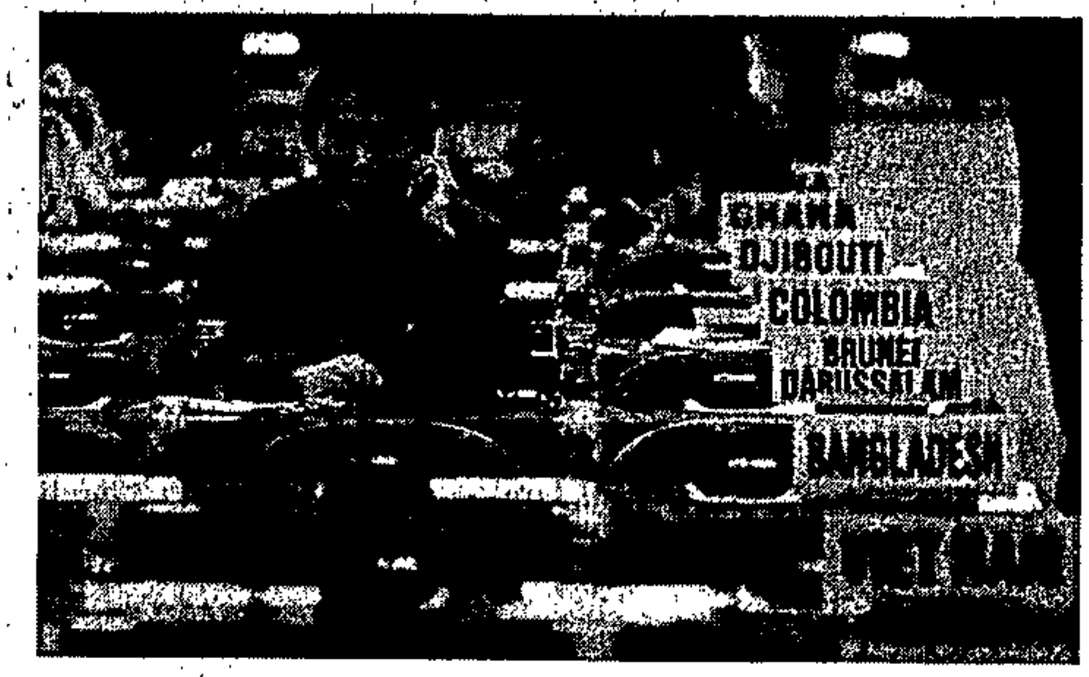
A new, pragmatic programme will require a degree of patience and perseverance.

SA will thus have to use the next three years to cut through the fog and relaunch the NAM towards a new global relevance.

Global solidarity helped to hasten apartheid's demise. Nelson Mandela's government has reflected this obligation in the manner in which SA's ruling African National Congress has responded sensitively to the needs and insecurities of its old allies, particularly in the southern African region.

However, as the NAM steers away from the divisive old radical chestnuts which have made it unworkable, the setting of a common agenda might contain political costs for SA from those who preferred a less functional and more polemical context, shattering the illusion of post-apartheid solidarity.

☐ *Mills is national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.*



A lone delegate from Brunei talks on his cellphone while waiting for delegates to arrive at the Nonaligned Movement summit in Durban. Picture: AFP

Lazy MPs slide the ANC into a disorganised morass

(304A) Star 2/9/98

By Charlene Smith

The African National Congress was founded in Bloemfontein in 1912, and in the same way that political trends in the Cape became the barometer of the National Party's soul, the flat, dry Free State is carrying the measure of the challenges facing the ANC.

It became the first province to oust its premier – after Terror Lekota took the unpopular decision to weed out corruption.

But despite Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki often talking about the need for a moral summit in SA, the ANC's failure to deal with the corrupt in its ranks is stymieing it. Last weekend many of those who had been ousted in the Free State triumphed. Lekota who is now ANC chairman, and Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri who is Free State premier failed to be voted onto the ANC's regional executive committee.

And for those who wonder why the ANC leadership wishes to give the decision to appoint premiers to the president of the country, they need look no further than the Free State for their answer.

In a recent interview Lekota mused: "Before we came to government we had only our organisation to service, now we have government too. We took a lot of our most experienced people and put them in government. We should have left some people to continue running the organisation.

"We were swallowed by government work and disappeared into the corridors of government buildings. There has been a failure by government to act decisively on issues that impact on the rank and file."

The challenge facing the ANC at cabinet and NEC level now is not that it is undemocratic. It is. But it has no idea of what its membership wants – or even who they are.

In October 1990, the ANC had more than 155 834 members in all branches, according to its organising committee. It had 545 branches with more than 100 members each. If it can show 54 such branches today, it would be a miracle.

The Western Cape had the highest number of these super branches with 80 followed by the then PWV with 54. The Western Cape had the second biggest membership – 24 171 in 1990 – but four years later the NP won that province.

In 1995, ANC membership was at an all-time high. In Gauteng alone it was 120 000, according to safety and security MEC, Paul Mashatile. But by the time ANC branches voted on the premiership race last year, membership had dropped to 65 000 in Gauteng.

There are other factors that impact on ANC membership now. ANC parliamentarians are lazy. Few bother to report back to constituencies during long parliamentary breaks. The ANC has too long been arrogant about its support – and that will cost it votes during next year's election (even though it will win).

Many serious political activists have joined the SA Communist Party where real debate and political activism is compulsory.

Because the ANC relied on mass sign-ups in the early days after its unbanning, and failed on the issue that gave it some of its finest cadres – that of *Mrabulo*, or political education – it has a new broad grassroots constituency that has no real knowledge of the ethics and history of the ANC. It is a constituency that responds to slogans, not hard political and economic issues.

There are two types of ANC member now – the long-time member who subscribed to the Freedom Charter, understands the need for non-racialism and social and economic justice; and the sloganeering *waBenzi* wannabes who wouldn't know the Freedom Charter if their pap and vleis was wrapped in it.

And although the socialist merits of the charter have been defeated by globalisation, its principles of a land built on justice for all are essential.

The ANC should be enriched by debate coming from the rank and file at branches.

In a way this stasis in its branches makes the ANC more like the other political parties of SA – but those are the norms those parties followed under autocracy. The ANC, and the organisations that nurtured it, were ironically acutely democratic under autocracy, and now battle to get a quorum under democracy.

A report of the ANC organising committee of October 16 1990 noted problems in the interim regional committees included a tendency to factionalism and "political arrogance by reason of long service and imprisonment, a reluctance to receive those associated with puppet structures in the past (and) uneasiness with individuals who are professional". Eight years later nothing has changed.

The ANC national executive committee report, a few days later, of October 19 and 20 1990 noted: "We have the support, but it has not been converted into structures and membership."

The NEC said: "We want a quality membership which understands the line of march, rather than a mass of millions who do not know what the ANC stands for." It has not got that. Instead, the parliamentarians who formed its core of activists have become disinterested in political mobilisation. Or they have gone to work in big business – often spurred by ANC factionalism.

The leaders who brought South Africa to democracy have become tired by the cares of government, their buttocks have become flabby on the comfortable leather seats of Parliament.

The greatest living historian of the South African rural poor, Govan Mbeki learnt – from Transkeian peasants – how to create incendiary bombs from cow dung in the early days of Umkhonto weSizwe. Rivonia trialist, Wilton Mkwayi, in his 70s, won votes across large tracts of remote Transkeian villages in the last election by walking into rural areas that cars could not access and speaking to the people.

Their need at that time was an all-out war against fierce bushpigs that were trampling crops and even killing people. Mkwayi ensured Bantu Holomisa sent in the Transkei army in helicopters to kill the bushpigs. These were men who respected the most humble of their constituents.

Now cynical villagers, like Amond Habe of Qunu, Mandela's home say: "The ANC makes us promises but we see nothing, the United Democratic Movement is also making promises but they will also ignore us if they get power."

It's not quite true that they have nothing. There are new electricity powerlines and call boxes everywhere – but no one has the money to use them. There are no jobs and water is a long, long walk away.

Twenty years before the founding of the Native National Congress (now the ANC) the Reverend John L Dube wrote: "Oh! How I long for that day when darkness and gloom shall have passed away because the Sun of Righteousness has risen with healing in his hand. This shall be the dawning of a brighter day for the people of Africa."

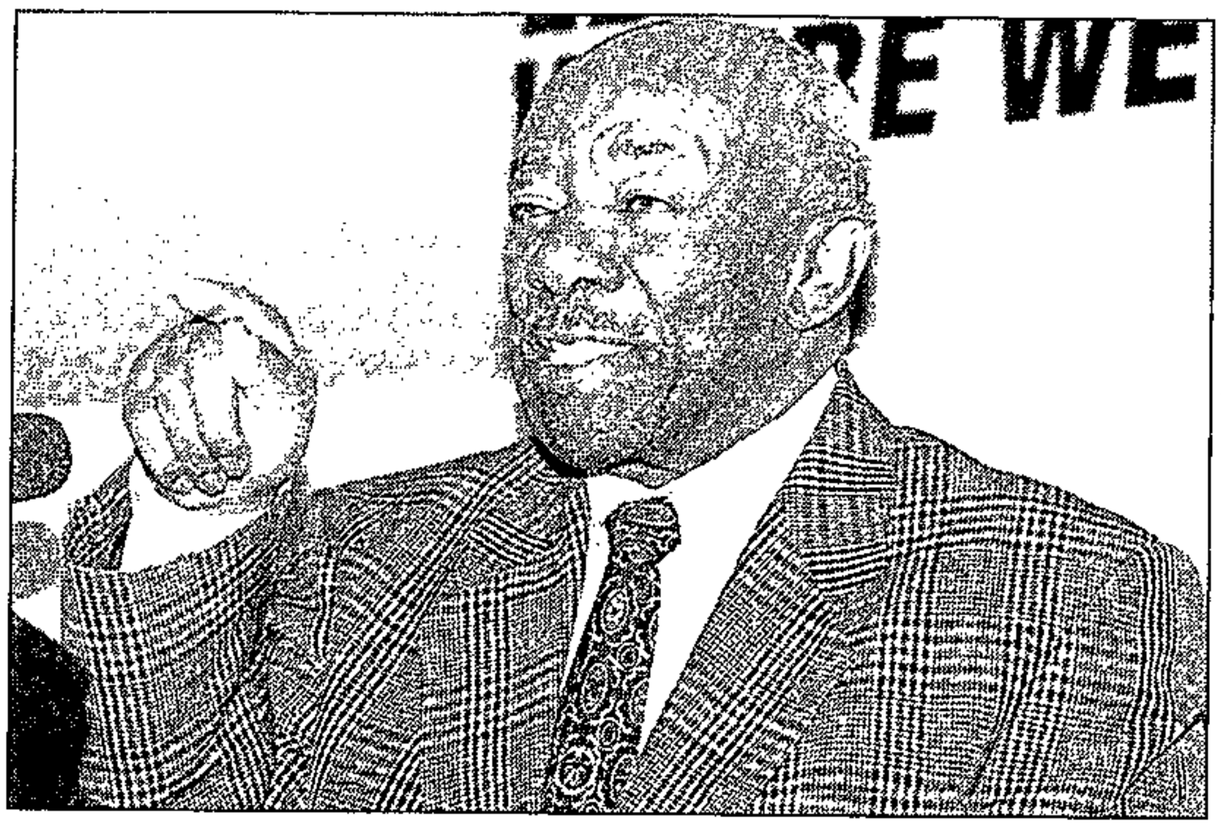
And 80 years before Thabo Mbeki made his "I am an African" speech, Pixley ka Isaka Seme, wrote on April 5 1906 of the "regeneration of Africa", and an end to "the demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basutos and every other native, must be buried and forgotten: it has shed among us sufficient blood. We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today."

The ANC's challenge is to go back to their people, listen to them, instruct them, build a single party, and a unified nation. Regenerate Africa by beginning at home.

NAM seeks direction

Sowetan 2/9/98

The Non-Aligned Movement will become a dominant force in world politics if it continues to uphold the rights of the weak and oppressed, writes **Joe Mdhlela**.



Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo says the NAM must continue to be the champion of the weak and powerless.

(304A)

THE 12th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit taking place in Durban this week is set to take far-reaching decisions, and to position the movement to become a dominant role player in world affairs.

In his opening remarks to delegates, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said on Monday: "We must continue to become the conscience and the champion of the many voices of the weak and the powerless in defiance of the dominant hegemony of the strong and powerful."

From the outset, it was clear that the summit was determined to resolve the conflict threatening to destabilise the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), not through a military option but through political means.

Government communication services head Joel Netshitenzhe said on Monday that a political committee had been set up to conclude a deal to ensure a peaceful resolution to the problems in the DRC.

"Officials on this committee are working out a mechanism to look critically at the DRC issue. It is a matter to be negotiated, and one always hopes the conflict will be resolved," he said.

The summit will also deal with a claim by Rwandan foreign minister Gasana Anastase that DRC president Laurent Kabila was hellbent on hunting down and killing Tutsis living in the DRC.

Addressing the media, Anastase claimed that Kabila had armed more than 10 000 Rwandan renegades to attack "our people". He said the same renegades were responsible for the genocide that exterminated close to a million Rwandans in 1994.

"The international community has a duty to intervene in this carnage. Kabila is a dictator who is hellbent on decimating the Tutsis," Anastase said.

About the military assistance which Kabila was receiving from Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, he said: "This is a Congolese conflict, and must be resolved by the people of the DRC."

But he felt that the people of the DRC must be allowed "space" to find a lasting solution to their conflict. "We believe they should be helped to find that solution," he said.

He added that Rwanda preferred a political solution which involved the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the United Nations (UN).

Kabila will not attend the summit and, by yesterday, it was not clear whether Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe would attend either.

Although Mugabe prefers a military solution to the DRC conflict, his presence will allow NAM member states to "interrogate him on his preferred option".

President Nelson Mandela's proposals for a political solution to the DRC conflict enjoys widespread acclaim but appears not to go down too well with Mugabe.

Despite these clearly differing positions, Nzo believes NAM has to find a mechanism to assist the DRC in dealing with its problems.

"The environment in which our movement now finds itself is very different from that which existed during the Cold War," he told the summit.

"The primary challenges which we now face, and which our peoples require us to address, include globalisation and the liberalisation of the world economy, sustainable development, poverty, eradication and peaceful resolution of disputes."

The speech by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki on Monday – in which he urged NAM member states to work hard "to eliminate poverty in our countries" – indicates that the movement was serious about developing an agenda for its own development.

In his speech Mbeki suggested that NAM member states pull themselves up by their bootstraps to achieve their economic liberation.

"What we speak of is not the expansion of a system of charity and aid, important though these are, but resource transfers which would ensure that those who are on the margins of the economy themselves arrive at the point where they can achieve their own sustainable development," he said.

Mbeki challenged developing countries to themselves determine the price of commodities they export to developed countries. Current trends suggest that they receive a small return for the commodities they export to developed countries.

He also urged that the workings of multilateral institutions such as the International Monetory Fund (IMF) and World Bank should come under the scrutiny of NAM member states, "if only to ensure that the continuing debt burden of the developing countries becomes a thing of the past".

The fact that South Africa invited the United States (US), Britain and France to the summit should be seen as a strategy to enable "these affluent First World countries to have a better insight into the economic problems afflicting the developing countries".

In his address to the summit today, President Nelson Mandela was expected to plead with the the IMF and World Bank to ease the debt burden of poor countries.

Mandela was also expected to plead with Pakistan and India to end hostilities between the two countries. NAM was concerned that "these tensions" did not augur well for the unity of the movement.

NAM was also expected to devote time to discussing the veto power enjoyed by the traditional superpowers like the US, Britain and France in the UN Security Council.

"That is discriminatory and anomalous," said one source.

"We want a restructured UN Security Council that treats all member states with equality," he said.

Mbeki's ire froze McBride out

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was greatly angered when he discovered details of Robert McBride's activities in Mozambique, writes **Wally Mbhele**



Out in the cold: Robert McBride is still receiving no public support from the ANC. PHOTOGRAPH: ZOE SELSKY

(304A) MHG 18 for 24/9/98

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki was so much in the dark about Robert McBride's undercover spying activities on behalf of government intelligence agencies that a special team of intelligence officials was dispatched to interview the diplomat while he was in prison and report back to the deputy president on the veracity of the claims.

McBride was released this week from a Maputo jail after his period of detention, in terms of Mozambican law, expired without a case being brought against him. He was being held on suspicion of dealing in arms.

A contention by Mbeki — made in a letter to McBride's wife, Paula — that Robert McBride had "no mandate from any of the legal organs of government" has caused heated debate within the African National Congress and was at the root of a dispute this week between Robert McBride and the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), which is still publicly denying that the released diplomat performed any spying work for it.

But the *Mail & Guardian* spoke to a number of intelligence operatives this week who confirmed that McBride worked with them for the NIA. Some even said that McBride had recruited them for the NIA.

He was also appointed to the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc) by Thutukile Mazibuko, acting director general of the Department of Foreign Affairs, who subsequently denied any knowledge of McBride's investigation into arms smuggling.

Because of Mbeki's position, many ANC officials fear being openly associated with McBride. He spent six months in jail without a single senior government or ANC official visiting him. They were again conspicuous by their absence when he returned home this week. Those who expressed support for him did so by phoning him, while he held a meeting on Wednesday with ANC Women's League president, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

And with the NIA again publicly disowning McBride, the credibility of the country's spying agency was being questioned as various government intelligence operatives threw their weight behind McBride.

McBride indicated that he is to seek a meeting with Deputy Minister of Intelligence Services Joe Nhlanhla to explain exactly what his links were with intelligence agencies and exactly what he was doing in Maputo before his arrest on alleged gun-running charges. He has repeatedly said he was investigating gun smuggling to the heist gangs.

Despite the support for McBride among intelligence operatives, a senior NIA official who confirmed McBride's intelligence work in a sworn affidavit presented to the Mozambique Supreme Court was hauled before a disciplinary committee before being subjected to a lie-detector test. The polygraph test found the official was not lying about his co-operation with McBride's investigations into arms smuggling and highway heists.

Another official of the South African Security Service (Sass) also supported the theory that McBride provided them with counter-espionage information.

It is understood that senior intelligence officials — dispatched by Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa on behalf of Mbeki — twice visited McBride in his Mozambican cell where they interviewed him about his NIA activities. There was evidence corroborating his version, even though it was found that his operations were not officially sanctioned at the highest levels.

McBride's catalogue of his intelligence work and the list of NIA officials he worked with is understood to have made Mbeki extremely angry.

It is this discovery that underlay Mbeki's angry outburst at a high-level ANC national executive committee (NEC) meeting, following differences over a stinging letter Mbeki produced during the meeting. The deputy president condemned McBride for running "foul of the law in Mozambique" and suggested he "be dealt with according to the law of the country where he has voluntarily placed himself".

In the letter, sent to Paula McBride, Mbeki stated: "All of us need to bear in mind the fact that whatever your husband sought to do in Mozambique, and however praiseworthy his intentions, it was done without any mandate from any legal organs of the South African government and without any effort on Robert [McBride's] part to inform our government and any of its agencies of his intended actions."

According to sources, Mbeki produced this letter for discussion as a motion was tabled calling for the "McBride affair" to form part of the NEC deliberations.

While other NEC members objected to the tone of the letter, pointing out that McBride had been set up by old-guard military intelligence operatives, Mbeki was outraged when he discovered the extent of McBride's intelligence work, which sometimes stretched as far afield as Paris, where he investigated apartheid-era assassins of ANC officials.

McBride, according to *M&G* sources, was responsible for uncovering details of the assassination in Mozambique of ANC activist Ruth First. He also investigated the assassination in Paris of ANC official Dulcie September. According to intelligence sources, McBride personally debriefed apartheid spy Craig Williamson on his missions abroad before handing on that information to a current member of Cabinet.

Various NIA functionaries approached by the *M&G* this week described how they were recruited into joining certain sensitive NIA structures following the NIA's request to McBride for assistance. They revealed details of how they infiltrated certain international mafias operating in South Africa which the NIA could not break into.

Some spoke about their roles as agents who specialised in counter-espionage. They revealed the name of a high-ranking NIA official to whom they reported and who, according to these agents, praised McBride's sterling contribution in recruiting them.

The reason why Mbeki launched a tirade against McBride's alleged intelligence activities, according to sources, is because they were not officially sanctioned although they were undertaken with the full knowledge of certain key intelligence officials.

In the letter to Paula McBride, Mbeki wrote: "If what is reported is correct, that he sought to act against the illegal trade in weapons, it was possible for the relevant South African organs of state to act on this matter on the basis of agreements that exist between the governments of Mozambique and South Africa."

'Nobody in our government needs to be educated about the role Robert [McBride] played in the struggle'

Accordingly, said Mbeki, "if Robert [McBride] had information which led him to act in the way he did, there was nothing stopping him from approaching Minister [of Safety and Security Sydney] Mufamadi, or indeed his own ministers at foreign affairs, to communicate this information.

"He would then have had the possibility to propose ways and means by which, in his view, the culprits could be apprehended and brought to book, according to the laws of both South Africa and Mozambique, in keeping with international agreements which our government, of which he is part, has entered into."

Mbeki argued that he was certain that had McBride followed the necessary procedures with the appropriate law enforcement agencies of both Mozambique and South Africa, they would have worked with him to catch any law-breakers without any complications.

However, said Mbeki in a letter filled with frustration and anger, "Robert [McBride], an official in our Department of Foreign Affairs, one of the repositories of our international instruments, ignored all this and decided to embark on a private enterprise which has led to an unfortunate outcome for himself, our government and yourselves as a family.

"Among other things, this behaviour has created serious doubts in many parts of the world about the respect that officials of our government have for agreements which the very government they serve enters into, and which they are supposed to implement," Mbeki wrote.

"We will not condone such behaviour with regard to the particular matter of the actions of your husband. Neither would we expect any other rational person to do so. The public agitation that has taken place and is continuing in our country seeks to suggest that our government has the power and the responsibility, virtually to dictate to the Mozambican government how it should handle the 'McBride affair'. I would like to state this clearly that your husband was arrested in Mozambique, he having taken himself to Mozambique of his own volition," Mbeki added.

Of the pressure group that campaigned for McBride's release, Mbeki said his government would not succumb to any pressure, regardless of its origins and the manner of its expression, which suggested that Mozambique is not an independent state, "but some territorial entity to which South Africa can dictate specific courses of action with regard to matters arising out of the arrest of your husband.

"We will not act in any manner, which, in any way whatsoever, suggests that Mozambique is no more than a bantustan of democratic South Africa. The public agitation within our own country also seeks to convey a message that we believe Mozambique has the possibility to compromise the independence of its own judiciary by compelling it to abide by decisions which would have been taken by our government and then imposed on the Mozambican 'client state'.

"Further, nobody in our government needs to be educated about the role Robert [McBride] played in the struggle to liberate our country and people. Similarly, none of the members of this government engages in propaganda campaigns to educate the public about what he or she also contributed to the struggle."

On Thursday, the NIA insisted that McBride needs to provide the names of people who either recruited him or worked with him. As far as they are aware, there are no people who worked with McBride in the intelligence community.

JONALIGNED MOVEMENT

NAM outlines its view on international strife

BD 3/9/98 (304A)

DURBAN — The Nonaligned Movement (NAM) has made its position clear on issues pertaining to countries involved in internal strife, external aggression or violations of territorial boundaries, according to a copy of a document circulated yesterday at the end of ministerial deliberations.

Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola, Ethopia, Eritrea, Somalia and the western Sahara are among the countries facing issues over which the movement makes its positions known in the document.

On the issue of Angola, the movement condemned rebel leader Jonas Savimbi and his Unita movement. The NAM "held the leadership of Unita and specifically Mr Jonas Savimbi personally accountable for the resumption of hostilities and deteriorating security situation in Angola", according to the document.

Concerning border disputes between Eritrea and Ethiopia, the movement "expressed profound concern at the situation" between the two countries.

The movement's position, its first on this issue, follows attempts on the part of Eritrea to amend the original communiqué to include a condemnation of its Ethiopian neighbour for attacks last year that it claimed triggered the present conflict between the two countries.

The conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo remained a point of contention that has caused division among leaders of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) during the movement's meeting.

Initiatives by SA, which currently holds the NAM chair, and President Nelson Mandela, who chairs the SADC, have failed to reach their objectives in bringing about a peaceful end to the conflict in the Congo.

Delegates representing governments from developing countries, especially the countries most closely affected by the war, had speculated earlier over the priority the issue of the Congo crisis would be allotted at this year's summit.

"Acknowledge and condemn the aggressors, namely Rwanda and Uganda," the Congo demanded in a statement to the summit delegates.

The Congo remained adamant on Tuesday that troops from the two countries had invaded its territory in an attempt to overthrow Kabila's government.

The movement recognises only legitimate governments and liberation movements. However, the Congo alleged there had been a departure from this principle.

Congo Justice Minister Mwenze Kongolo on Tuesday raised the question of Kabila's safety following an unofficial conference at the summit by a group calling itself the Transitional Council for the Federal Democratic Republic of Congo, which claimed to have plans to restore peace there.

United Nations chief Kofi Annan was expected to arrive at the summit venue in Durban later yesterday evening for a mini summit of SADC members on the issue.

NAM heads of state and government, more than 60 of whom have already arrived in Durban, were yesterday preparing to adopt the draft final document that would plot the future of developing countries over the next three years. — Sapa-DPA.

Mixed reactions to SA's 29 proposals

(304A) BD 3/9/98

DURBAN — SA has submitted 29 proposals on how to strengthen and advance the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), especially to meet the socioeconomic and political challenges of the next millennium.

Seven of these proposals had apparently been rejected, a source at the movement's summit in Durban said yesterday.

The rejected proposals included one dealing with sustainable development. While SA argued that NAM member countries should adopt economic policies that encouraged sustainable development, opponents of the strategy maintained that "economic growth was more important than development".

Developments on the Lockerbie aeroplane bombing, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Middle East peace process have also been discussed.

□ Dignitaries who attended yesterday night's official NAM summit banquet, hosted by President Nelson Mandela, were unlikely to have gone hungry.

A feast fit for kings, of which there were several present, was prepared for them.

The starter consisted of Cape salmon coated with chilled herbs and sesame, served with cucumber relish and red pepper cream.

This was followed by roast baby chicken with lemon oil, rosemary and sun-dried chile gravy, served with vegetables. Dessert consisted of a wild berry mousse and caramalised nut bavaroise, a rainbow of fruit nectar and candied delicacies.

The world-class fare was matched by a world-class entertainment line-up, with some of the country's top acts per-forming. They included Sibongile Khumalo, Miriam Makeba, the Soweto String Quartet and the KwaZulu-Natal philharmonic orchestra.

About 160 delegates were due to attend the banquet at Durban's International Convention Centre.

ANC, NP overrule smaller parties on state funding for politicians

(204A)

ANDRE KOOPMAN CT 4/9/98

NINETY percent of the R53 million state fund for political parties should be allocated according to the number of seats obtained and 10% according to the size of provincial legislatures.

This was the recommendation of a joint subcommittee to the Joint Rules of Parliament Committee. Money is allocated to any party represented in national and provincial legislatures and is used "for any purpose compatible with its functioning as a political party".

The Inkatha Freedom Party, Democratic Party, Pan Africanist Congress and African Christian Democratic Party proposed that the fund be split on a 70% proportional and 30% equity basis, while the Freedom Front proposed a 50-50 split. The two largest parties, the African National Congress and the National Party, outvoted the proposals of the smaller parties.

Peter Hendrickse of the ANC said it was estimated that his own party, with 63% representation, would end up with 58% of funds. Smaller parties with lesser representation in legislatures would receive a proportion of funds larger than their representation would suggest.

It was estimated that the NP, with 19,9% representation, would get 20,2 % of funds; the IFP, with 10,5% representation, would get 10,1%; the FF, with 2,8% representation, would get 4,2%; the DP, with 2,3% representation, would get 3.3%; the PAC, with 1% representation, would get 1,8%; and the ACDP, with 0,6% representation, would get 1,3%.

The Minority Front of Amichand Rajbansi, with 0,1% representation — in the KwaZulu-Natal legislature only — would get 0,4% of funds, amounting to about R200 000.

Responding to the proposal by the DP's Colin Eglin of a 70%-30% split, Hendrickse said this would mean that the ANC, with 63% representation, would end up with 38% of funds. "By no stretch of the imagination is this fair," he said.

Responding, Eglin said the Constitution stated that funds should be disbursed on an equitable and proportional basis to enhance multiparty democracy. Legal advice to the DP was that the proposed formula for the allocation of funds "would not pass the constitutional test".

The PAC's Mike Muduena also questioned the constitutionality of the recommended formula. — Parliamentary Bureau

Foreign policy? What foreign policy?

M+G 4-10/9/98

Anthony Holiday

OVER A BARREL

(ZOLA)

The secret malaise is no longer concealable. Its symptoms are manifest everywhere from conclaves in Cape Town to the conflict in the Congo.

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs — and hence also Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and President Nelson Mandela himself — are taking decisions and engaging in the most delicate and dangerous of negotiations blindfolded.

Their initiatives, when they are forced by circumstance to take them, are uninformed by anything but the crudest and most basic data, and their deliberations are unshaped by any of the geopolitical concepts which might have given form and purpose to what they are pleased to call their "foreign policy".

This is why South Africa is unable to broker peace pacts in Angola or in the "Democratic" Republic of Congo. This is the reason our country has no voice that is truly its own to make heard concerning the global terror war, conducted by Islamic fundamentalist fanatics, on the one hand, and equally fanatical fundamentalists in the Pentagon, on the other.



And this ignorance is what lies behind the unaffordable split in the Southern African Development Community and the accusations in the Organisation of African Unity that the land of the rainbow people is just another pawn in a United States game plan.

It is an open secret that South Africa no longer possesses anything approaching what a developed nation would regard as a genuine intelligence capacity and certainly nothing like the flow of confidential information which PW Botha could command in the high days of the "total strategy".

There are indeed intelligence-gathering organisations, like the National Intelligence Agency. But they are leaky, ramshackle contraptions, crippled by inefficiency and Byzantine office intrigues, as a new breed of African National Congress analysts and operatives struggle to wrest control from apartheid-era survivors.

In consequence (and doubtless also because of the friendly disposition Pretoria has evinced towards the likes of Cuba's Fidel Castro, Palestine's Yasser Arafat and Libya's Moammar Gadaffi), foreign intelligence agencies, like the CIA and MI6, no longer supply us with "feed" from their spy satellites — something they readily did before apartheid died.

Nobody ought to need telling that the daily flow of pictures these satellites provide has become the staple diet of spies in the developed world.

They can spot a truck moving on a jungle track, detect a store of detonators and pick out the tiniest of military training camps. Properly analysed, these pictures can render foreign-policy decision processes razor sharp. Without them, a modern spy or political adviser is like grandma without her bifocals.

Arguably more serious than this lack of access to the information yield from space technology is the dearth of properly trained and talented personnel which afflicts both the Department of Foreign Affairs and the intelligence services.

We simply do not have enough spies and diplomatic data gatherers on the ground in Africa and elsewhere to enable us to cope with, let alone manage, the current cycle of interlocking foreign relations crises.

Where (to take a case very much in point) are our advisers on Congolese politics? Is there a single South African civil servant, steeped in the languages, culture and power relations of that region and additionally armed with an adequate university education in the social sciences, to help Mbeki and Mandela prevent a sub-Saharan conflagration? Of course not.

But more dire than all these defects, it strikes me, is the circumstance that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has failed to generate ideas which might have served as the founding principles of a coherent foreign policy.

Short of these ideas — concepts to help our diplomats grapple with a dispensation in which the most basic terms of reference governing their craft have either changed or lost their meaning — even the richest supply of intelligence would be almost useless. Nobody would know what to do with it, how to make sense of it, how to employ it as a guide to action.

Let the worthies, who are now top dogs in our foreign affairs establishment, ask themselves how deeply they understand such concepts as "social contract", "political community" and even the very notion of what used confidently to be called a "nation" in the context of today's global sea change. If they answer honestly, their answers ought to frighten them. For, as far as I can see, they understand these matters not at all.

If this accusation is not unfair, then it must be said that they have only themselves to blame, although a large share of that blame rests squarely with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Aziz Pahad, who is, in practice, the man who runs the shop, while propping up dear, dozy old Alf Nzo, who is nominally the responsible minister.

It was Pahad who insisted on retaining, until his recent retirement, the services as director general of Rusty Evans, that trusty lieutenant of Pik Botha during times when apartheid foreign policy was synonymous with the destabilisation of our neighbours by warfare and terror.

It was Pahad who alienated at least one top foreign relations theorist — an academic, engaged in precisely the type of conceptual research which addresses our need for a new kind of foreign policy — with false accusations of "leaks" and a thinly veiled contempt for intellectual work.

And it has been Pahad who, instead of transforming the structure and management style of his outfit, has continued to try to live with an uneasy amalgam of the way foreign relations were managed by the ANC in the years when it was exiled and illegal and the style of work which characterised the department in Pik and PW's day.

The upshot has been that, instead of a foreign policy, we have a hopeless mix of so-called "pragmatism", so-called "realism" and general ad hocery that prevents us from making our own initiatives and leaves us little choice but to take Uncle Sam's advice.

Is it too late, I wonder, for our government to learn that, in today's world, if you fly your foreign affairs craft blind, somebody else is more than likely to fly it for you?

Dr Anthony Holiday teaches philosophy at the University of the Western Cape's school of government. Howard Barrell is away. He will be writing again next week

NP support falls below psychological barrier of 10% — survey

(304A) BD 4/9/98

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The National Party (NP) put a brave face on the latest poll results, which found that its support had fallen below 10% for the first time, while all other parties claimed the Markinor results showed their support had improved.

Markinor, in its own comment on the results of a poll of almost 3 500 people in July, said the shifts in political support were not large, but said the NP had broken through the "psychological barrier of 10%" and become a "single-digit party".

The poll placed NP support at 9%.

It said the results, which had a very low margin of error of less than 2%, showed that the second largest area of political opinion was made up of "undecided" voters, who accounted for 13% of the electorate in July.

Juli Killian, NP media director, said the Markinor poll clearly showed that the NP was still the only party that could be a threat to the African National Congress's (ANC's) 57% support. She said the results showed that the Democratic Party (DP) had peaked and was now shedding some of the support it had gained. This was based on the 10% support a Markdata study had found for the DP and the 6% Markinor found yesterday. Both studies were, however, done in July.

The DP said the Markinor results confirmed what the party suspected from the earlier poll and that was that the "undecideds" were starting to shift to the DP. The party said there was a small discrepancy between the two studies and this "accords with our belief that July marked the turning point at which undecided voters began to shift their support to the DP" and this would continue as the election came nearer.

The ANC said the 13% size of those saying they would not vote, or the undecided voters, was disturbing because it represented about 3-million people. It said 87% had indicated that they would vote and this was very high by international standards. The major changes were shown in the smaller parties which were competing for a small pool of support, the ANC said.

The United Democratic Movement (UDM) of Bantu Holomisa remained at 5%, despite the election of the controversial Sifiso Nkabinde as its secretary-general.

The UDM said "the fact that many South Africans perceived the UDM as a party gaining ground was very positive". It said it would specifically target those undecided. The increase in support for the ANC was a warning to all who believed in multiparty democracy to spend more effort and money on taking votes away from the ANC.

Support for Inkatha remained static at 5%, while the Freedom Front and the PAC each lost support.

Coherent approach can beat graft

(304A) (~~304~~) Star 7/9/98

Monitoring index places South Africa an embarrassing 33rd of world's 52 most corrupt countries

By Cecilia Russell
Political Staff

An international anti-corruption agency has criticised South Africa's attempts to fight graft as "fragmented and ad hoc" and says it will be difficult to deal with the problem without a coherent approach.

Transparency International-South Africa (TI-SA) chief executive, Steen van der Merwe, said last week that the different agencies dealing with corruption here were doing so in isolation.

Van der Merwe was speaking at a media conference where TI-SA unveiled its "Profile on corruption and good governance," a document aimed at setting the groundwork for a national strategy to deal with corruption. He said, however, that he hoped the Government-organised anti-corruption summit would be a step towards a coherent approach.

Van der Merwe said neither of the two previous attempts had assessed the nature and extent of corruption.

The National Party's Corruption Barometer was inadequate as it focused only on government corruption, and was not "contextualised within the legacies from the past" while TI-SA's own Corruption Perception Index reflected "mere perceptions".

TI's index puts South Africa 33rd of the 52 "most corrupt" countries in the world.

Presenting a media profile on corruption, Florencia Belvedere from the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case), found that of the 510 separate cases reported in newspapers and analysed by the researchers:

- More than half focused on corruption in the public sector, 16% focused on the private sector, 15% affected the public and private sectors combined, while only 4% of the corruption coverage targets civil society.
- Of government corruption, nearly half (43%) of the cases involved corruption at national level.
- The Safety and Security Department was implicated in 19% of all public corruption cases, followed by the Housing Department (10%), Transport Department (8%), Health Department (7%) and Education Department (7%).
- Among cases implicating government agencies, the SAPS were involved in 30%, followed by development corporations in different provinces (8%) and the South African Tourism Board (6%).
- In 84% of reported corruption cases, some form of anti-corruption action was taken.
- Mpumalanga and Gauteng combined accounted for half of the total incidents of provincial corruption reported in newspapers throughout 1997, while Northern Province accounted for only 1%.

Belvedere said this did not mean that Gauteng and Mpumalanga were the two "most corrupt provinces" rather that the media's attention was focused on them.

How corrupt are we?

A new non-governmental organisation aims to stimulate debate on the question and extent of corruption in South Africa. **Sharon Chetty** reports.

Sowetan 7/9/98

CURRENT perceptions of corruption – that it is only prevalent in the public service and that it has increased under the new Government – are being challenged by a body that aims to quantify and understand the full extent of the problem.

Transparency International-South Africa (TI-SA), the local branch of a global non-governmental organisation that deals with such issues, has started by compiling a corruption and good governance profile of the country.

Released last week, the document aims to stimulate informed debate about corruption.

It raises several questions and says that focusing on corruption "is only one side of the coin", and attempts to detail good governance as well.

While TI-SA acknowledges that there is growing awareness of the issue of corruption, it points out that no one as yet knows the extent of the problem, or if this country is now more corrupt than before.

With the motto, "combat corruption collectively", TI-SA says it hopes to be part of a broad range of groups that will work together to find some of the answers.

Emphasising that there is as yet no coherent plan to address corruption, TI-SA says it aims to address corruption from the side of civil society.

Early next year an international summit on corruption will be held in South Africa. Before that, the Ministry of Justice is expected to host a conference that will examine the local situation.

In the meantime, the debate rages and in the run-up to next year's election, accusations and counter-accusations of corruption are likely to be part of all the parties' agendas.

TI-SA cautions that the term corruption is either used "too broadly" to refer to anything that has gone wrong or anything that is ethically unacceptable.

At the same time, it may be used only to refer to misdemeanours in the public sector, ignoring that fact that "white collar crime" and corruption may be rife in the private sector too.

While corruption is a global phenomenon and South Africa is by no means alone in its problems, there are questions that are unique to this country.

The most obvious is why there wasn't an anti-corruption drive in the years of apartheid, and should that brutal and racist system not be deemed to be systemic corruption?

TI-SA, which is five years old, says that "the taboo on corruption has only recently been lifted, both locally and internationally".

It, like other international organisations set up branches here because it believes that South Africa can make a contribution to the international debate on corruption.

> **"Why wasn't there an anti-corruption drive in the years of apartheid, and should that system not be deemed systemic corruption?"**

At the same time, there's the eternal question: Is South Africa now more corrupt than before?

"The perceived increase in corruption has to do with the fact that a lot of corruption is being reported due to the democratic changes in the country, the actions of a number of institutions and an independent vociferous press," says the TI-SA document.

It suggests that an "integrity system" be put into place as the core of an anti-corruption drive.

Frameworks

Regulatory frameworks, institutional or statutory mechanisms, and informal or non-statutory bodies and networks in civil society are some of the ways proposed to deal with the issue of corruption.

"The rationale of this approach is that corruption is a very complex and broad ranging, cross cutting, systemic and societal problem," it says.

Therefore there's a need for a comprehensive and coherent strategy, which includes all role players (both in the public and private sector) to work together to fight it.

While there is much to be done locally to understand and deal with the issue fully, the international dimensions also have a bearing on this country.

The North-South divide, with the developed countries perceiving all or most of the developing countries to be corrupt, is the first hurdle to be overcome.

They tend to confine the problem to the public sector without examining the role played by outsiders, such as international companies (based in the North), which often sanction bribery and then fudge the payments and even get tax write-offs on them.

Thus anti-corruption efforts led from countries in the North are viewed with suspicion in the South.

The understanding of corruption has to be broadened, says TI-SA, and consensus should be sought on the definition of the problem.

It emphasises the pressures of globalisation and the international market place and poses crucial questions, such as:

"To whom are big international and multinational companies and international financial institutions accountable, while demanding stable and democratic governments?

"How democratic and accountable is the free market economic system as championed by many economically powerful countries? Why is there no drive to democratise the global economy as well?

"Are the inequitable global economic situation and dynamics not in themselves epitomising grand corruption and systemic corruption, on a scale never seen and experienced in the history of the world before? Is this not global economic apartheid?" asks TI-SA.

It suggests that the current understanding and debates around corruption do not deal with such questions and should in future do so.

Another contentious exercise is the annual Corruption Perception Index compiled by Transparency International.

South Africa, in the three years it has featured in the index, has had a low ranking (21 out of 41; 23 out of 54 and 33 out of 52) and appears to have become more corrupt in the view of the business people surveyed.

However, Transparency International admits that the surveys are subjective and that several factors (for example, whether the people surveyed are influenced by press reports or personal experience) are not made clear.

But, TI-SA says that perceptions on corruption, subjective as they are, should still be taken seriously, and Government must show a willingness to address them.

Concern over crime and jobs among all races

Star 9/9/98 (304A)

New Idasa poll shows high degree of consensus among South Africans

By Andre Koopman
Parliamentary Bureau

South Africans of all race groups and all levels of income identify jobs, crime, housing and education as top priorities for government action in a surprising indication of national consensus on these issues, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa has found in a national survey.

While concerns about political violence and discrimination had decreased since 1994, concerns about criminal violence had increased sharply from 6% in 1994 to 58% in 1997.

The results of the survey were released during a press briefing yesterday by Robert Mattes, a survey co-ordinator.

Idasa has so far conducted three surveys: in 1994, 1995 and 1997.

Its national survey last year of 3 500 people, titled "Public Demands on Government: The People's Agenda", indicated that there had only been two major shifts in public priorities since 1994.

The first was concern about discrimination, inequality and rights, listed by 19% of the public in 1994 and only 3% in 1997 as being of pressing concern.

Concern about political violence had dropped from 56% in 1994 to 9% in 1997.

Significantly, the Government's greatest success stories in terms of delivery had not been prioritised by respondents.

Both urban and rural South Africans list the same four issues as problematic: jobs, crime, housing and education.

Sixty-eight percent of South Africans marked unemployment as one of their top three concerns, followed by criminal violence (58%), housing (44%) and education (20%).

"There are few differences between the priorities of the employed versus unemployed, between middle class, working class, farmers or the informal sector; and absolutely no differences in the priorities of men and women," Mattes said.

There was significant provincial variation in the ordering of priorities. But even here there was more agreement than disagreement.

Since the first Idasa national survey in 1994, job creation has consistently ranked as the public's number one choice for the most important problem that the Government ought to address.

ET 9/9/98

Code of (3049) conduct for govt officials approved

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

PARLIAMENT has unanimously approved legislation that will lead to the establishment of a code of conduct for the president, the deputy president, premiers, cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and MECs.

According to the bill, which was approved yesterday and has now been referred to the National Council of Provinces, the president, his deputy, cabinet ministers, deputy ministers and MECs will be prohibited from:

- Undertaking any other paid work.
- Acting in a way that would be inconsistent with their office.
- Exposing themselves to any situation involving risk of a conflict between their official responsibilities and their private interests.
- Using their positions or any information entrusted to them to enrich themselves or improperly benefit any other person.
- Acting in a way that might compromise the credibility or integrity of their office or of the government.

According to the draft legislation, Public Protector Selby Baqwa would be designated to investigate any complaints against the president, his deputy, cabinet ministers, deputies, premiers and MECs.

The executive, deputy ministers and MECs would also be required to disclose their financial interests when assuming office.

Introducing the bill in the National Assembly, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, said complaints against members of the executive would be investigated by the public protector, who would report to Parliament.

"This bill will introduce a framework on the content of the code of conduct. It introduces a consultation and debate mechanism of monitoring of its observance, and it guarantees, through its provisions, parliamentary scrutiny and debate when provisions of the code are found to have been violated.

"We're taking these steps because we know it is the right thing to do. The public entrust their representatives with much power, and it is necessary to ensure that this trust is not betrayed," Asmal said.

Jobs, crime are main concerns — survey

BD 9/9/98 (B04A)

Dustin Chick

JOB creation, crime, housing and education have consistently remained high on the public's agenda since 1994 the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) announced yesterday at the release in Cape Town of its survey Public Demands on Government: The People's Agenda.

Idasa political researcher Helen Taylor said while people continually found the four to be important, very few people cited issues that activists, the media and politicians considered to be "burning issues" as being important. These included issues like land, water, the economy and health care.

She said since the institute's first national survey in 1994, job creation had consistently ranked as the most important problem for government to address — with 67% citing the problem in 1994, 74% in 1995 and 68% last year.

Concern about crime as a major problem saw "a meteoric rise" from 6% in 1994 to 58% last year. On housing it was 46% in 1994 and 44% last year.

'I WAS WORKING FOR NATIONAL INTELLIGENCE'

McBride: I know who set me up

ET 16/9/98 (304A)

ROBERT McBRIDE flew into the country last night, ending a six-month ordeal in a Mozambican jail and claiming he 'knew who had set him up'. **PHALANE MOTALE** and Sapa report.

THE senior Foreign Affairs official, jailed in Mozambique earlier this year on allegations of gun-running, vowed immediately after his release yesterday to prove he was set up by apartheid-era security agents.

He claimed he was operating as a member of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) in Mozambique when he was falsely implicated on charges of gun-running.

McBride said he joined the NIA in December and had been investigating arms trafficking in Mozambique when he was arrested there.

He was suspended by the Foreign Affairs Department when he was arrested. He said yesterday: "As far as I know, I haven't been fired."

McBride said there was definitely a Mozambican link to the cash-in-transit heists in South Africa.

He said it was strange the case against him in Mozambique had been based on the discredited Meiring report on plans to overthrow the South African government.

Asked if he could explain the government's apparent reluctance to support him, McBride said that question should be put to the government. He said he would remain an ANC member.

He said he was not physically tortured, but hinted there were other methods of torture.

Asked if he was working alone in Mozambique, McBride said: "I have never worked as a lone ranger. But I can get into places other people can't — because I'm a nice guy," he said to laughter.

McBride was released by a Mozambican Supreme Court judge on condition that he return to the country if he was needed to help police in their investigations.

Justice Joao Carlos Trindade said McBride's time limit for preventive detention had expired.

Foreign Affairs spokesperson Marco Boni said McBride would remain suspended from his job pending the outcome of the case.

Asked what role the South African government played in the release, Boni said: "I'm not in a position to tell you. I've been told not to comment."

McBride was arrested in the Mozambican border town of Ressano Garcia on March 9 as he was allegedly about to accept a large consignment of AK-47 assault rifles and Makarov pistols.

He was charged in June with espionage, gun-running and "association with wrongdoers".

Asked how he felt shortly after the court decision, McBride said: "Obviously, I am very happy."

His wife Paula said she was happy to be reunited with him.

McBride's father, Derrick, said his family was ecstatic at the release.

He claimed the government did little to secure his son's release, and criticised ANC officials for apparently failing to lodge a complaint with the Mozambican government over the treatment of his son.

Aubrey Lekwane, from the Free Robert McBride Campaign, said the campaign "was not impressed" by the lack of intervention by the South African government during his detention. "Our concern is that the government did very little to save him from his ordeal."

The ANC welcomed McBride's release, reiterated its respect for the sovereignty of the Republic of Mozambique and thanked McBride for co-operating with the Mozambican authorities, adding they trusted that he would continue to co-operate until the judicial process was completed.



FIELDING QUESTIONS: Robert McBride (left), shortly after his arrival at Johannesburg International Airport, and lawyer José Nascimento. *PICTURE: THE STAR*

Finger pointed at 'real gun-runner'

PAUL FAUVET

MAPUTO: Robert McBride, speaking for the first time after six months in detention, said yesterday that he was no gun-runner, and that his mission in Mozambique was to investigate gun-running.

Standing outside Mozambique's Supreme Court here, which ordered his release, and that of six others detained in connection with the same case, McBride accused one of his fellow detainees, Alexandre Uamba, of being the real gun-runner. "We knew Uamba was running 15 to 20 AK47s a week into South Africa at least until 1996."

So when McBride learnt, from a South African Military Intelligence (MI) agent, Vusi Mbatha, that Uamba's arms trafficking business was still a going concern, he decided to investigate, took Mbatha into Mozambique with him, and set up contact with Uamba.

He said he never spoke to Uamba — Mbatha was the go-between. He learnt from Mbatha that Uamba was acquiring guns from "senior people" in the Mozambican security forces. McBride had intended to reach these "senior people", and Uamba was to have arranged the meeting.

Instead, when McBride went to Uamba's house, the police were waiting for him. He drove back to the border where he was arrested.

McBride says that Mbatha and Uamba were not arrested with him. He claims that the Mozambican police took them in a week later, thanks to information that he supplied.

Asked whether his mission to Mozambique really was private and freelance, McBride declined to reply.

Uamba, however, insisted that he was innocent, and that the real villains were Mbatha and McBride.

He said he was collaborating with the police to catch the South Africans.

Mbatha claimed his superior in MI, who he named as a Colonel Ougus, knew he was going into Mozambique with McBride to probe gun-running.

He complained that MI had made no attempt to contact him, let alone free him.

McBride says he was probing arms dealers

Star 15/9/98 (304A)

Fellow detainee Alexandre Uamba "is the real gun-runner"

By Paul Fauvet
Maputo

Robert McBride, speaking for the first time after six months in detention, told reporters yesterday that he is no gun-runner, and that his mission in Mozambique was to investigate gun-running.

Standing outside Mozambique's Supreme Court, which ordered his release, and that of six others detained in connection with the same case, McBride, a South African Foreign Affairs official, released from a Maputo jail yesterday, accused one of his fellow detainees, Alexandre Uamba, of being the real gun-runner. "We knew Uamba was running 15 to 20 AK47s a week into South Africa at least until 1996."

So when McBride learnt, from a South African Military Intelligence agent, Vusi Mbatha, that Uamba's arms trafficking business was still a going concern, he decided to investigate, took Mbatha into Mozambique with him, and set up a contact with Uamba.

He said he never spoke personally with Uamba – Mbatha was the go-between. He learnt, from Mbatha, that Uamba was acquiring guns from "senior people" in the Mozambican security forces. McBride had intended to reach these "senior people", and Uamba was to have arranged the meeting.

Instead, when McBride went to Uamba's house, the police were waiting for him. He drove back to the border where he was arrested.

McBride says that Mbatha and Uamba were not arrested with him. He claims that the Mozambican police took them in a week later, thanks to information that he supplied.

Asked whether his mission to Mozambique really was exclusively private and freelance, McBride declined to reply.

Uamba, however, insisted that he is entirely innocent, and that the real villains of the piece are Mbatha and McBride.

He told reporters that he was collaborating with the police to catch the two South Africans.

He admitted that, on the night of McBride's arrest, there were indeed guns in his house: but said the police had put them there as "bait" to trap Mbatha and McBride. The two, he claimed, had paid him about R10 000 in advance for the guns, but he had promptly turned the money over to the police. Uamba freely admits that he was a gun-runner in the early 1990s. But he was arrested in a joint operation between the South African, Mozambican and Swazi police in 1996, and thrown into a Swazi jail.

There the Mozambican police approached him and suggested he work as an informer for them, which he accepted. A family link may have been important here. Uamba is the brother-in-law of the director of counter-intelligence in the Mozambican police, Jose Nhatave.

But if Uamba was working with the police to arrest gun-runners, why did he too spend the past six months in jail? Uamba claimed the police told him they were arresting him "for my own protection".

Mbatha claimed that his superior in Military Intelligence, whom he named as a Colonel Ougus, knew that he was going into Mozambique with McBride to investigate gun-running.

He complained that Military Intelligence had made no attempt even to contact him, let alone free him.

"They said they would protect me, until I found myself in prison." He was not sure what to do with his freedom. "I have nowhere to go in South Africa," he said.

Mbatha was also afraid that nameless foes might wish to eliminate him. Such fears made him reluctant to speak of his role in the Meiring report.

This report, with its allegations of a coup plot involving key ANC figures, including Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Siphiwe Nyanda and McBride himself, was denounced as a fabrication by President Nelson Mandela and led to the early retirement of General Georg Meiring as head of the SANDF.

Mbatha admitted he was the source of the report but added cryptically "It's a long story. They added things". He would say no more. "I must have protection", he insisted. "I won't testify until I have protection".

Also released were four other Mozambicans, Joao Escola, Jose Vilanculos, Inverno Verissimo and Jonasse Ntamene. Escola is an intelligence officer in the presidential guard, but the other three are unknown and had never before been mentioned in press coverage of the case.

McBride and Mbatha both said they knew nothing about these four men. The Supreme Court ruling ordering the releases pointed out that the time limits for preventive detention had been exceeded. In McBride's case, the time limit expired on 10 July.

The Court is now considering an appeal lodged by McBride's lawyer, Albano Silva, against the decision by Maputo city judge Carlos Caetano that the case should go to trial.

Silva argues that no evidence has been produced tying his client to gun-running, and that the more serious charge of espionage, thrown at McBride as an afterthought, is simply "ridiculous".

The Supreme Court judge dealing with the appeal, Joao Carlos Trindade, saw no reason to keep the seven in jail any longer, particularly since it would take him some time to study all the papers in the case.

The only condition attached to the release was that the seven all had to give the Supreme Court details of their identification and addresses, so that they could be called back if necessary.

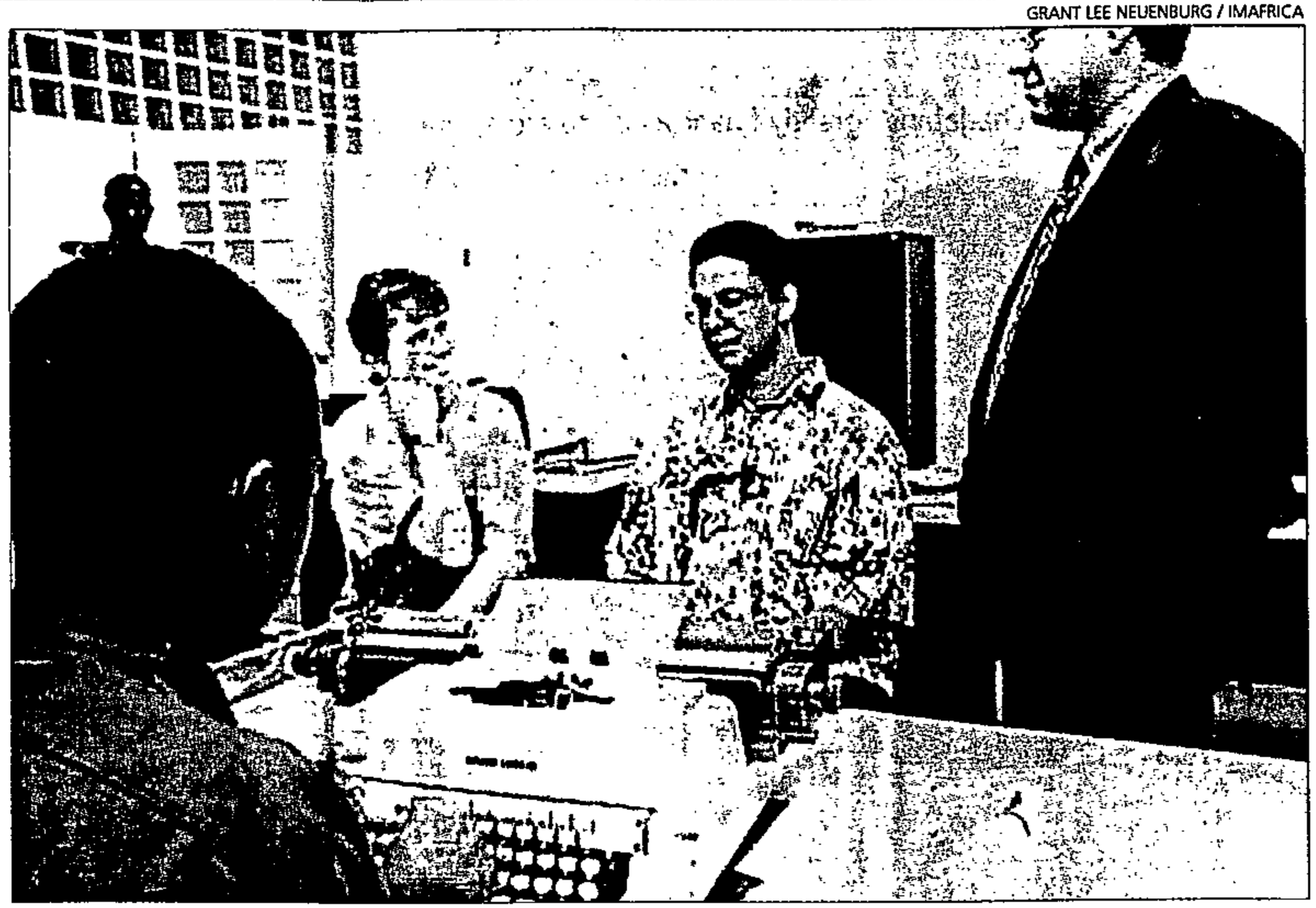
Asked if he would return, should the Supreme Court decide he has a case to answer, McBride said: "I will go back. I like Mozambique."

A legal source, who requested anonymity, said that the South African High Commission has given guarantees that McBride will indeed return, if the court so requests.

McBride did not know whether he would still have a job in the Foreign Ministry. He pointed out that he has only been suspended, not sacked.

"I don't mind being suspended a bit longer. I need a holiday," he added. – Star Foreign Service

GRANT LEE NEUENBURG / IMAFRICA



Relieved ... Paula McBride gives her husband an affectionate glance as his release papers are processed inside the Supreme Court building in Maputo. To his left is his South African lawyer, Jose Nascimento.

ANC pushes ahead with plans for accountability legislation

(304A)

David Greybe

BD 15/9/98

CAPE TOWN — The public service department and the African National Congress (ANC) pushed ahead with draft legislation in Parliament yesterday to bring provinces into line with national accountability measures, despite the threat of legal action from the Western Cape government.

Public service director-general Paseka Ncholo and Salie Manie, chairman of the public service portfolio committee, said they had taken legal opinion — including from state law advisers — and were satisfied that the proposed legislation was not unconstitutional, as had been alleged by the Western Cape government.

The Public Service Laws Amendment Bill transfers responsibility for administrative and financial accountability from provincial directors-general to relevant heads of departments. However, the Western Cape government has threatened to challenge the proposal in the Constitutional Court if it is passed into law.

The National Party (NP) said in the committee yesterday it would provide the other parties with proposed amendments to the bill before the committee meets tomorrow to vote on it.

The department wants the bill to be enacted during the current parliamentary session.

According to some ANC MPs, the Western Cape government's opposition must be political because, they argue, it makes sense to hold each head of a department, at national and provincial level, accountable for the running of their department.

The ANC MPs believed the protest from the Western Cape government had more to do with the fact that the amendment would considerably reduce the influence of the powerful provincial director-general, Niel Barnard.

Barnard argued before the portfolio committee last month that the present system served the Western Cape well and there was no reason for the province to be penalised because of the system's failure in other provinces.

He said if the bill was adopted, provinces would cease to be single administrative entities and would end up as an "agglomeration of statutory defined provincial departments", and premiers would lose their powers as executive authorities. It was therefore unconstitutional.

Representatives of the public service department and Western Cape government met later to try to resolve their differences, but failed.

Barnard said in a letter to Manie last week that his provincial government was still of the opinion that the bill was unconstitutional.



Paula and Robert McBride at the airport last night. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Senior govt officials framed me — McBride

BD 15/9/98 (304A)

Pule Molebeledi

SUSPENDED foreign affairs director Robert McBride returned to Johannesburg last night after being freed from a Mozambican jail and claimed he was framed by senior SA government and military intelligence officials.

McBride said he would remain an African National Congress member despite criticism, including from his father, that the party had not done enough to secure his release. No senior ANC officials met McBride at Johannesburg International Airport.

He maintained that at the time of his arrest six months ago he was in Mozambique to investigate the link between arms trafficking and cash-in-transit heists in SA. The results of his investigations had already led to the closure of one "network".

He declined to elaborate, saying the authorities should come to him if they wanted information. "The onus no longer lies with me."

He said he continued his investigations in prison and met an important informer shortly after his release yesterday. He was given "scary information" linking senior SA government officials to criminal activity.

McBride, who was charged two months ago with espionage, gunrunning and conspiring with wrongdoers, said SA officials had made false statements to Mozambican authorities.

He was granted a provisional release because the time limit for preventative custody had expired. He gave the authorities guarantees that he would return to Mozambique if needed as investigations were continuing.

SABC TV news reported that government sources said McBride would remain suspended from the foreign affairs department until all legal proceedings against him were completed.

McBride claim that he is an agent disputed

Star 16/9/98

(704A)

National Intelligence Agency again denies he was working for it in any capacity

STAFF REPORTERS

Robert McBride remained insistent yesterday that he was part of a National Intelligence Agency investigation into gun-running when he was arrested in Mozambique six months ago, despite the NIA's denial of this claim.

McBride said in a statement last night that he was following up information relating to arms supply routes, used by cash-in-transit heist syndicates, among others, when he was arrested.

He denied being sent to Mozambique by either the NIA or the National Intelligence Evaluations Board (NIEB), to which he was appointed in December.

"I received information relating to arms supply routes, used by the people responsible for the cash heists and for much of the crime currently destroying people's lives in our country. I followed up this information as I wished to verify it before handing it over to the appropriate agencies."

But NIA spokesperson Hellmuth Schlenter said McBride had never played an active role in NIA field operations. He said he had merely been the Department of Foreign Affairs' representative on the NIEB, an interdepartmental intelligence subcommittee responsible for coordinating intelligence-gathering from various bodies.

This was contradicted by McBride: "I have been involved a number of times at an operational level with both SASS (South African Secret Service) and the NIA. If they wish to deny this, so be it. I have submitted affidavits to this effect to the Supreme Court in Mozambique"

McBride said he was appointed to the NIEB because he had built up a good working relationship with agents within both SASS and the NIA.

"I was nominated to this position by the then acting director-general, who had been informed by agents in the field of my experience in intelligence work," he said.

His work for the SASS and the NIA was "apart from and different to my work at NIEB".

McBride said he was approached to assist cash-heist investigations that were being headed by the NIA. Among the issues being looked at was the issue of arms supply routes.

He denied having claimed that senior SA government officials were involved in arms smuggling: "What in fact I said ... was that ... I was given names and details of senior members of the Mozambican security forces who are involved in arms trafficking. This is a fact well known to persons entrusted with the investigation of this."

■ National Party MP Andries Beyers told the National Assembly yesterday he intended calling on Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla to ascertain whether McBride's claims were true. "The Government earlier stated that McBride had no ties with the intelligence services. The question is, who lied? McBride or the Government?"

Beyers called for the joint standing committee on intelligence to probe what steps, if any, had been taken to find out if McBride was involved in arms deals or other irregularities.

More questions than answers to McBride saga

(304A) Sowetan 16/9/98

By Themba Molefe

NOW THAT Robert McBride is back home from captivity in Mozambique, as the saying goes, the whole truth must out.

Was he on a genuine intelligence mission, as he claimed when he was arrested on suspicion of gun-running in Mozambique on March 9?

Why does he insist he was attached to a branch of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) – the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (Nicoc) – when the NIA says he was not?

Nicoc has not refuted the fact it cited McBride for his contribution towards stamping out corruption in the issuing of firearm licences, among other major irregularities linked to gun control in South Africa.

The suspended Department of Foreign Affairs East Asia desk head did not mince his words on his release from the maximum security section of Machava Prison outside Maputo after six months.

He told journalists at Johannesburg International Airport on Monday evening: "I am prepared to reveal the names of the conspirators to the relevant people. Action must be taken against the people who framed me."

This is in fact a crucial part in the Robert McBride saga. Who wants to see the former Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrilla down and out?

Without revealing much at this stage, McBride accused certain unnamed senior South African government and military intelligence officials of the conspiracy.



Robert McBride and his South African lawyer Advocate Jose Nascimento at Johannesburg International Airport on Monday.

PIC: PAT SEBOKO

He hinted, however, that his alleged detractors may have been those functionaries of the old apartheid order, who, as he put it it, "were allowed to take office in the democratic South Africa".

Another important aspect in the saga is the nature of the investigation against McBride, both within South Africa and in Mozambique.

McBride was initially charged with six Mozambicans, including notorious self-confessed gun-runner Alex Uambo and a former spy for the apartheid government Vusi Mbata. Charges included espionage, gun-running and conspiracy.

The six Mozambicans have also been freed.

Initially, and according to agreement between South African and Mozambican authorities, the investigation in this case was to be Maputo's responsibility. South Africa would be informed of the process or asked to contribute expertise where necessary.

The Government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said at the time that it would not intervene on McBride's behalf. Also, it refused to contribute towards his legal fees.

Simply put, McBride was on his own in a foreign country, with his only hope being his wife Paula McBride, his South African lawyer Advocate Jose Nascimento and Nascimento's Mozambican counterpart Albano Silva.

Now that he is back home and trying to piece together his life again, it is important to briefly focus on what to expect in the McBride case. Again, there are more questions than there are answers, at this stage at least.

Why did a senior police officer Suiker Britz say there was enough evidence to convict McBride barely a day after his arrest was made known to the public?

The Ministry of Safety and Security removed Britz from the case and Police Commissioner George Fivaz, instructed by Minister Sydney Mufamadi, launched an investigation into his remarks. The findings have yet to be made public.

On his arrival on Monday night McBride was emphatic that at no stage did any member of the South African Police Service speak to him while in Mozambique.

What did Britz know? Is he one of those on McBride's "list"?

Indeed it was a low-key arrival for a man whose name has been synonymous with controversy since his release after serving a sentence following his conviction related to his MK activities.

Only a handful of supporters plus one placard which read "Welcome home Robert" and a horde of journalists were waiting for McBride at the international arrivals hall.

One could not help overhearing a white man who responded to a question about the ruckus from one of his four female companions: "Oh, they are waiting for that terrorist Robert McBride."

Yet, despite the fact that the ANC has been cautious in its public stance on McBride, he surprised many when he said he was still a dedicated member of the organisation.

Love or hate him, McBride is back on his home turf and things have been happening. A branch of the ANC has nominated McBride for seats in both the Gauteng legislature and Parliament.

The Mozambican incident is another chapter that has just closed in the life of Robert McBride.

Silent McBride called unpatriotic

Star 18/9/98 (304A)

STAFF REPORTER

The row engulfing suspended foreign affairs official Robert McBride grew yesterday as the Government denied his claims that he was investigating gun-running in Mozambique and police labelled him "unpatriotic" for refusing to share information he claims to have.

Intelligence Deputy Minister Joe Nhlanhla has requested a meeting with McBride to clarify his claims that he was working for the National Intelligence Agency when he was arrested in Mozambique earlier this year on gun-running allegations.

Nhlanhla has issued a statement denying McBride was an agent of the NIA at the time of his arrest.

"For the record, McBride is an employee of the Department of Foreign Affairs, where he is a deputy director of the south-east Asian desk," Nhlanhla said.

McBride had attended meetings of the National Intelligence Estimates Board as an employee of the Department of Foreign Affairs, he added.

The NIEB was "a staff organ" of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc), a co-ordinating body tasked with the national interpretation of intelligence and information. Neither Nicoc nor the NIEB were involved in conducting intelligence-gathering or intelligence operations, Nhlanhla said.

Gun-running claims denied

The ministry would have preferred not to comment at this stage because the case against McBride was still sub judice, Nhlanhla added.

"However, this would have created the impression that we have something to hide or are insensitive to the public," he said.

Assistant Police Commissioner Suiker Britz and Director Bushie Engelbrecht, head of special investigations, criticised McBride for refusing to furnish police with information about an alleged link between gun-smuggling from Mozambique and cash-in-transit heists in South Africa.

McBride has claimed that he knows the names of high-ranking Mozambican officials with links to criminal gangs involved in gun-running and multimillion-rand armed robberies.

Engelbrecht said he had contacted McBride's attorney, Jose Nascimento, to obtain clarity about McBride's claims.

Engelbrecht said Nascimento had told him it was not in McBride's interest to divulge any information at this stage, and that his client would not meet police until his case in Mozambique had been finalised.

Engelbrecht said: "It is very sad to see that McBride is not confiding in the police. It is unpatriotic for him to withhold information that could be of help to his country."

New revelations in McBride affair

CT 18/9/98 (304A)

ANDRE KOOPMAN

IN startling new developments in the Robert McBride matter, the *Cape Times* has discovered that elements of the police were aware that McBride was investigating gun-running, as he has claimed, and that Military Intelligence had also been aware of this.

Meanwhile McBride — freed after six months in a Mozambican prison on suspicion of espionage and gun-running — said yesterday he would release the names of those involved in gun-running to Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa in the next few days.

He declined to release the information to police.

McBride, a senior foreign affairs official, was suspended from his post after his arrest.

The *Cape Times* has also learnt, in a month-long investigation, that intelligence agents recruited by McBride have been keen to go public with the knowledge that he had indeed worked for intelligence services.

McBride told the *Cape Times* that a National Intelligence Agency (NIA) agent whom he had recruited would make public the fact that McBride had been investigating gun-running, probably this morning.

According to McBride, the agent informed Suiker Britz, a commissioner involved in the McBride affair, about this. The agent underwent a polygraph test, which he passed. Britz could not be reached for comment.

McBride maintains that he was arrested in a sting by apartheid era agents.

Britz, who proclaimed McBride guilty shortly after he was arrested, was removed from the investigation after failing to heed warnings about making statements to the press.

Another key figure in the investigation, Lappies Labuschagne, was also removed from the investigation after he applied to the TRC for amnesty for involvement in the torture and murder of senior ANC members.

Returning from his ordeal, and despite complaints about lack of government support, McBride said he remained "a loyal and dedicated member of the ANC".

● See Pages 3 and 19

NIA denies McBride is agent

ET 18/9/98 (3044)

JOHANNESBURG: Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride was neither a member nor an agent of the National Intelligence Agency, Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla said yesterday.

Nhlanhla was responding to media reports this week quoting McBride claiming he was a member or operative of the NIA when arrested in Mozambique on gun-running and espionage charges.

McBride addressed the media on Monday on his release after six months in a Maputo prison.

He said he was operating as an NIA member in Mozambique when he was held on charges of gun-running. He said he joined a branch of the NIA in December, a week before his first trip to Mozambique, and had been investigating arms trafficking when he was arrested on his second trip in March.

Nhlanhla said McBride's statements had "triggered a number of questions in the media, and the tabling of a motion in the National Assembly for me to declare whether these claims are true or false".



DENIAL: Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla

Nhlanhla said: "For the record, McBride is not a member, nor is he an agent of the NIA. He is an employee of the Department of Foreign Affairs."

McBride, as a Foreign Affairs employee, had attended meetings of the National Intelligence Estimates Board. The NIEB, said Nhlanhla, was a staff organ of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (NICOC).

"The NICOC is a co-ordinating body tasked with the national interpretation of intelligence and information. It is not, and neither is the NIEB, involved in the conduct of intelligence or in intelligence operations.

"In addition, the NIA has the responsibility for counter intelligence, and its mandate is restricted to domestic matters. It has no authority or mandate to engage in operations outside the borders of South Africa," said Nhanhla.

McBride is due to return to Maputo on December 3 for an appeal hearing. — Sapa

● See Page 19

McBride is trying desperately to come in from the cold

Six months after his arrest his country is still wondering what Robert McBride was doing in Mozambique, writes political correspondent Wyndham Hartley

BD 18/9/98 (304A)

IT WAS like a schoolboy squabble. No he doesn't, yes he does, and so on. I am referring, of course, to the claim made by Robert McBride on his return to SA on Monday that he was working for the National Intelligence Agency when he was arrested in Maputo in March on gunrunning charges. The immediate response from the NIA was that McBride did not work for it and never had. At least it was consistent and did not deviate from its previously stated position.

The frustration people are feeling about what McBride was doing and who he was doing it for boiled over into the National Assembly, with two MPs tabling motions asking that the matter be cleared up. National Party member Andries Beyers called on Deputy Minister for Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla to clarify the matter so the nation would know who was lying — McBride or the NIA.

He asked Nhlanhla also to report to Parliament's intelligence committee on what steps had been taken to verify the charges that McBride was allegedly involved in gunrunning activities.

Freedom Front MP Joseph Chiole went further. He called on the National Assembly to note that McBride insisted there was a connection between in-transit heists of millions of rands and gunrunning; that a former member of Umkhonto weSizwe had been arrested for the murder of a farmer; and that another MK member, Colin Chauke, was the prime suspect in these heists. He then asked President Nelson Mandela to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into the role played by former members of MK in these crimes. Rough stuff.

It is instructive that McBride insists he was working for the NIA at the time of his arrest. He was, he has again claimed, investigating the issue of gunrunning into SA and its connection with the heists. He says, further, that he has been framed by the SA Police Service and set up by the old security forces.

Now the NIA says there was confusion because McBride was the foreign affairs representative on the national intelligence evaluation board. This did not mean he worked for the NIA itself. McBride says no. He was working for the national intelligence evaluation board in Mozambique, but not on a mission related to his being the foreign affairs representative. He says that he has been involved operationally with both the SA secret service and the NIA, and he does not know why they are denying this.

However, he says also he was evaluating information before passing it on to the appropriate agencies. Now what does that mean? Was it a private investigation? Did he go freelance? Or is he covering up for what was a top secret government project?

One of the theories, of course, is that the SA government did not trust the Mozambicans and suspected that some senior people in its intelligence network and police force were not to be trusted in the matter of gunrunning.

McBride's mission cannot be acknowledged by anyone because it would be deeply embarrassing to government. That is all very well, but why, if this is true, does McBride so vehemently claim to have been working with the NIA? Surely the true patriot who was prepared to die for the African National Congress would simply say it was sub judice, and keep his mouth shut.



McBRIDE

The other possibility is that in addition to not trusting the Mozambicans, the SA government does not trust its own intelligence structures, and a sort of parallel intelligence and secret service agency has been set up. An admission of this would again be deeply embarrassing to government.

McBride has insisted that the police set him up with false information provided to their counterparts in Mozambique. He says he has referred a complaint about the conduct of the SA police to the independent complaints directorate, but has not made public his reasons for attacking the police. These reasons are contained in the statement he gave to the directorate. He talks openly about a matter which, strictly speaking, is still before the courts in Mozambique, but he will not talk openly in SA about what the police did to create the trap. It is most odd, and not a bit clear.

A commission of inquiry would be a good idea, but don't hold your breath waiting for Mandela to appoint one, or for the ANC to allow the two motions to be debated in Parliament. There has been a notable coolness in government's response to McBride's arrest and now his release. The powers that be want the whole thing to go away and not be exposed by an official inquiry. It seems clear that one will not be appointed.

But in all this confusion and speculation, what really is clear is that if McBride is indeed a spy, he is not very good at it and should go back to working for foreign affairs before he gets into more trouble.

Police chief says he wasn't told of McBride's investigation

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

Police commissioner Suiker Britz has vehemently denied claims by Robert McBride that he was informed of Mr McBride's investigation into gun-running activities in Mozambique.

The suspended foreign affairs official claimed in a newspaper interview that a National Intelligence Agency agent he recruited had discussed his gun-running investigation with Commissioner Britz.

But Commissioner Britz, who was taken off the team investigating Mr McBride's activities after he told the media the Mozambican authorities had sufficient evidence against him, laughed off the claims yesterday.

"I have not met any people from the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) in connection with Robert McBride. I don't know anything about his involvement with the NIA, as he claims. Maybe there is another Suiker Britz in South Africa," said Commissioner Britz.

Mystery continues to shroud the case of Mr McBride, who was released this week after spending six months imprisoned in Maputo, where he was arrested on suspicion of gun-running activities.

His wife, Paula McBride, said yesterday that her husband had never said he was working for the NIA in Mozambique.

"What people have not got clear is that Robert has never said he was sent by the NIA to Mozambique. What he did say, in writing, after his release, was that he had worked at an operational level with different agents," she said.

Mr McBride would not get involved in "backwards and forwards denials" but would speak to the relevant people, she said.

He had agreed to meet Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla, who has issued a statement denying Mr McBride was an agent of the NIA at the time of his arrest. A date for the meeting had not yet been set, she said.

"My husband will liaise with people at that level. There can be no purpose served in working through the media," said Mrs McBride.

Mr McBride has declined to give a statement to the police.

"Mr McBride won't talk to the police and a meeting with him had been requested by some of my colleagues in the Serious Violent Crimes Unit, but he did not want to make a statement," said Commissioner Britz.

Mr McBride is due back in court in Maputo on December 3 to face charges of arms trafficking, conspiring with wrongdoers and espionage.

Mr McBride has been quoted saying that an NIA agent he had recruited would make public the fact he had been investigating gun-running. It was this agent who had discussed his gun-running activities with Commissioner Britz, he said.

(3044

Mr McBride has been left out in the cold by the Government which refused to foot his mounting legal bills in Mozambique.

Mrs McBride is trying to raise more than R300 000 for his legal costs. She said she had no choice but to try to raise the money herself as the Government would not pay for her husband's legal costs because he was in Mozambique on official leave.

The South African Government official spent most of his time in prison in Maputo in harrowing conditions in solitary confinement, said Mrs McBride.

) ARG 19/9/98

The legal bills for Mr McBride's defence have so far mounted to about R80 000.

A former member of Umkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the African National Congress, Mr McBride was arrested and received the death sentence for the June 1986 bombing of Magoo's Bar in Durban, in which three women were killed.

His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment, but he was released in 1992 by former president FW de Klerk as part of an amnesty deal for political prisoners.

COMMENT & ANALYSIS

SA lays down policy in political minefield

SA's foreign policy has finally come of age in the face of conflicts it is surrounded by and involved in, argues **Steven Friedman**

YOU cannot make an omelette without breaking some eggs. To put it another way, getting involved in African conflicts is a messy business, but an essential one. The apparent failure of peace attempts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and conflict in Lesotho over the delayed release of the Langa report have prompted a new round of derision aimed at SA's foreign policy.

Criticism has ranged from the usual charges of ineptitude to suggestions that SA is imposing itself on Lesotho, treating the mountain kingdom as a province.

Knocking SA's foreign policy has become a popular post-1994 sport. But on many issues there is an interesting contrast with other policy areas. The criticism comes not from the white-led opposition parties and their supporters — who seem concerned only about not damaging SA's image in Europe and in the US — but from commentators largely sympathetic to government.

Indeed, it has become trendy since 1994 to paint SA foreign policy as ineffectual, incoherent and obsessed with self-interest.

For several years after democracy arrived, the criticism was broadly accurate. Now it is not: at least not where the rest of Africa is at issue.

Since 1995, SA's position has been that internal conflicts in African states can be resolved only by inclusive political settlements.

This position is both a novelty for the continent and an accurate reading of reality. On the first score, the traditional reaction by African governments to conflicts in other states on the continent is nonintervention, which amounts to a blank cheque for whoever happens to be in power — or a military invasion. SA's position rejects both options.

On the second, for all the continent's economic troubles, it has not been poverty that has posed the greatest threat to Africans' well-being. It has been political conflict, which has cost hundreds of thousands of lives and choked off prospects of progress.

Now, as some African states show signs of economic growth — albeit off a low base — it is again politics, not economics, that is the greatest obstacle to advance.

The reasons for continued political failure are complicated. However, one common theme has been the inability of antagonists to find ways of living with each other. To insist that there is no alternative to warring parties finding a way to co-exist points the way to, if not the much-vaunted African renaissance, then at least to a slow climb out of despair.

Until recently that policy lacked credibility because it was seen as an excuse for indifference. SA did — or seemed to do — little in support of political settlements. Its suggestion that others should avoid political bloodletting in the same way we did in the 1990s seemed merely a pious way of keeping our hands clean, the better to pursue relations with states who had more lucrative economic links to offer.

Now, there does seem to be a willingness to become involved. Inevitably that opens the possibility for failures and, therefore, more derision.

This is just about inevitable. If negotiating an end to conflicts was a deep-rooted habit on the continent, there would be nothing new about urging it: as Congo's conflict shows, parties are not simply going to settle with each other because our government thinks they should.

Backing peaceful settlements is, therefore, a long haul approach. Settlements are more likely to last if the parties in conflict really want them and this cannot be forced.

If our government is determined to work for them — as it should be — the most it can do is consistently to show their benefit and to be available to help if the parties want them.

In any conflict, brokering is fraught with pitfalls and the broker runs a constant risk of embarrassment. Mistakes are likely; more importantly, it is often difficult to tell the difference between a blunder and a well thought-out strategy that comes unstuck.

Take Lesotho last week. The Langa report's delay caused conflict, but what if quick release had inflamed tension?

Helping to settle conflict requires judgments that may well turn out to be wrong.

While the risks are real, that cannot be an argument against government's stated course. It should, by now, be trite to insist our progress is, in important ways, bound up with Africa's. Since inclusive settlements are essential, our government has to work actively towards them. Setbacks are an inevitable price to pay for trying to break the debilitating patterns of the past.

There is another apparent trend in our regional policy which is both new and important: our leaders are increasingly insisting that Africa needs to take a hard look at itself and acknowledge that much of its negative image is its own doing.

President Nelson Mandela began this theme a while ago when he warned against southern African retreats from democracy.

Now Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has warmed to the task, using the "renaissance" rubric to warn against coups and conflicts and to suggest the need for a democratic revival.

Mbeki's role is particularly significant, suggesting that this commitment is not simply the preference of the president. Many of the deputy president's critics tended to assume that he would lean towards the traditional pattern of backing those in power; he seems to be contradicting them.

This approach is as — if not more — risky as the insistence on settling conflicts. Authoritarian leaders who dislike it can complain of SA bullying or, as a Nigerian diplomat did a while ago, claim that SA's post-1994 black-led government is a puppet of unnamed white masters.

However, again the risks are outweighed by the reality that an African revival is essential to our interests, and that it is impossible unless the continent's politicians no longer rely on force to remain in power.

To be sure, our apparent new path is uneven. The insistence on settlements is inconsistent, reserved for conflicts which cannot be ignored. The call for a renaissance can still be used to tell Robert McBride's supporters not to criticise the Mozambican legal system as well as to point to a new path.

For all that, there has been enough evidence over the past few months to suggest that something important, and worth supporting, is afoot.

That judgment is also key to the way in which commentators, political parties and citizens should approach our unfolding policy in Africa.

Criticism of inconsistencies and of the methods used to pursue our proclaimed goals is both an essential democratic right and an important way of keeping the policy on course.

However, just as criticism is important to democracy, so is consensus. The values which underpin foreign policy are a frequent consensus issue in most western democracies.

Our Africa policy seems to be a prime candidate for consensus. Commitment to a new start, based on compromise rather than force, should override party and other differences. Consensus on the new policy would also, of course, help to strengthen it.

Right now, amid much division, we could all do with a new source of common pride. What better source of pride than a willingness to help chart a new, humane and more productive path for Africa?



Lesotho King Letsie III

Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.

economists were confident that the core rate would remain in single digits, household consumables showed month-on-month declines in prices. headline inflation down sharply, possibly to below 4%.

SA gets poor marks in corruption probe

(304A) (BD)

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON — International businessmen and political analysts consider SA government officials only middling honest but less prone to corruption than their counterparts in eastern Europe, according to Transparency International's latest annual corruption perception index.

On a scale of one to 10, with 10 representing a completely clean bill of health, SA gets a 5,2 this year, placing it 32nd out of 85 countries rated.

Denmark tops the chart with 10, while Honduras (1,7), Paraguay (1,5) and Cameroon (1,4) occupy the cellar.

The scores are compiled from surveys by the World Bank, Gallup International, the World Economic Forum, Political Risk Services, the Economist Intelligence Unit and others. SA's figure was generated from 10 surveys.

The perceived propensity of government officials to demand bribes and kickbacks and embezzle public finds is what is being measured, rather than private sector corruption. But there are strong correlations between the two, according to Transparency.

SA received a 4,9 rating last year, down from 5,7 in 1996. Transparency said this year's figures were not entirely comparable with the previous year's because a larger number of surveys had been used.

Botswana is felt to be the least corrupt African state, with a score of 6,1, but this is based on only three surveys. Namibia, again on the basis of three surveys, comes in second (5,3), putting it on par with Malaysia.

All eastern European countries in the index ranked behind SA, with scores ranging from 4,8 for the Czech Republic to 2,4 for Russia. SA officials are also considered more honest than Italian ones (4,6). Of SA's major trading partners, the UK scored 8,7, Germany 7,9, the US 7,5 and Japan 5,8.

Dustin Chick reports Transparency International SA greeted the report with a degree of scepticism.

Transparency International SA CE Stiaan van der Merwe said the organ-

Continued on Page 2

BD 23/9/98

Corruption

(304A) (BD)

Continued from Page 1

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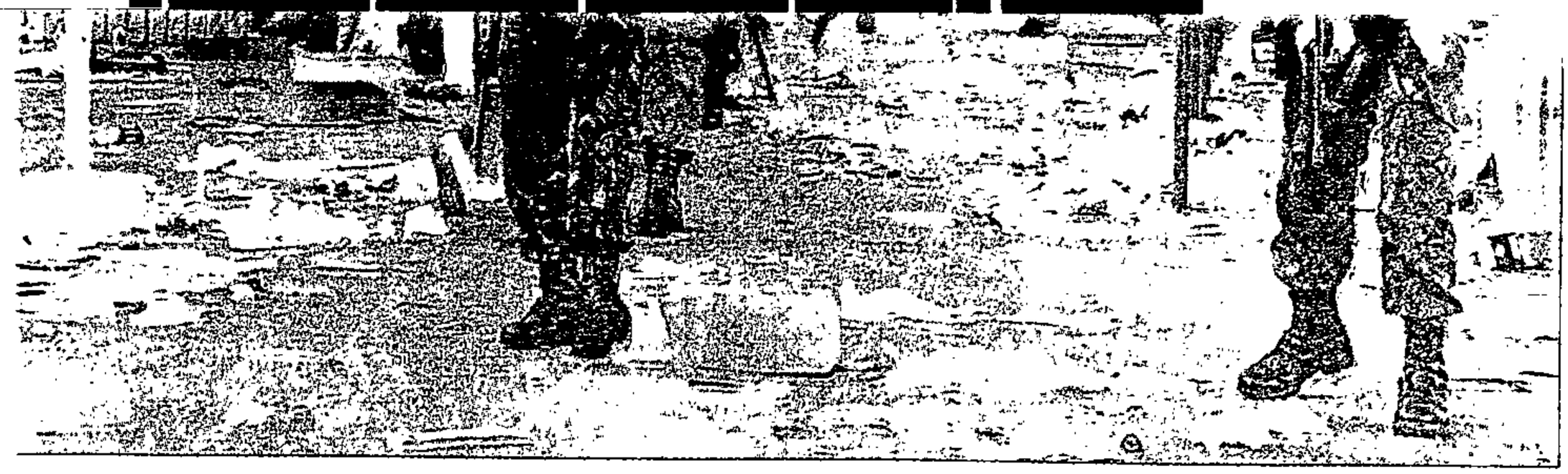
isation acknowledged the role the index played in raising awareness by provoking public discussion. However, the organisation was worried about the credibility of the report's findings because of inherent deficiencies.

These deficiencies included a limited definition of corruption; vast differences in the numbers of surveys used per country which, in turn, affected rankings; a yearly change in the profile of respondents; and the fact that indices could not be compared on a year-to-year basis.

Van der Merwe said much more needed to be done to limit the report's bias against the developing world.





Get it while you can: SADC soldiers (above) frogmarch past shops left empty by bands of looters. Ex-patriots are leaving Lesotho in droves (left) after angry youths started assaulting all foreigners in Maseru

outh Africa's foreign disasters

M+G 25/9-1/10/98 (304A)

: **Duval Smith**

e smouldering remains of Lesotho, a king-
om raped of its constitutional integrity
South Africa's heavy-handed military
vention, lie as visible proof of the post-
theid government's disastrous foreign
y.

olitical analysts believe that it is chiefly
Africa's failure, since elections in 1994,
vent a credible role for itself in Africa
has led to a series of foreign policy about-
and blunders that have impacted on
and its neighbours, as well as Nigeria,
cco, Algeria and Libya.

e Lesotho intervention — which many
ts refer to as an invasion because it was
pproved by King Letsie III — came as a
t of a plea from the country's prime
ter to quash military opposition to his
nment.

resulted in the devastation of Lesotho's
al, Maseru, and in anarchy — partly
se the intervention was ill-conceived but
because, apartheid-era style, it ran
shod over the Constitution of a neigh-
ng, if tiny and landlocked, country.

olapo Qhobela, leader of the Basotho
ess Party, said: "We had our problems.
hen South Africa says we were 'hours
from a military coup', it is lying like a
clock. It was looking for an excuse to
s military muscle and to say, 'I am the
st in the region.'

"The invasion is sickening when you think of those of us who died in support of the liberation struggle in South Africa," said Qhobela, whose party is among the main five opposition groups in Lesotho.

The botched intervention in Lesotho comes only weeks after President Nelson Mandela lost the whip hand in the negotiations over the Democratic Republic of Congo conflict to Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Zimbabwe, along with Angola and Namibia, sent military backing to fight the rebellion against President Laurent Kabila. Mandela argued for a negotiated settlement, a stance closer to the United States's position and seen by some as tantamount to letting the rebels do their work.

South Africa's lack of subtlety and knowledge has impacted throughout Africa. In 1994, Mandela briefly said South Africa would recognise the Saharawi of western Sahara, until Morocco, the occupying power, objected.

The following year, it attempted to take a brokering role in the Algerian civil war, but was politely told to back down.

■ **Iden Wetherell reports from Zimbabwe** that there was insufficient time to call a meeting of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Organ on Defence and Security to discuss the Lesotho situation. But the intervention is clearly sanctioned under SADC inter-state security agreements, in particular Article 5 of the protocol on politics, defence and security agreed on at the Gaborone summit in 1996.

This provides for intervention where there is large-scale violence between sections of the population, or between armed or paramilitary forces and sections of the population; if there is a threat to the legitimate authority of the government; or if there is any crisis that could threaten the peace and security of other member states.

While Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe will almost certainly have been consulted, both as chair of the organ and as a member of the presidential troika of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe which in 1994 sought to resolve a previous crisis in Lesotho, his forces are otherwise fully engaged in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where some 3 000 Zimbabwean combat troops are propping up Laurent Kabila's regime.

Mugabe's office said on Wednesday Zimbabwe fully supports the intervention in Lesotho, but will not be sending in troops.

"Any military attack to undermine a sovereign government is viewed by all of us in the SADC and the OAU [Organisation of African Unity] as rebellious and therefore as a matter of great concern requiring immediate redress wherever it occurs.

"We continue to pledge full support to the government of [Lesotho] Prime Minister [Pakalitha] Mosisili, and therefore to our joint SADC force which is currently helping to secure the tenure of that legitimate government," the president's office said.

The Congo war has excited controversy in Harare, with members of Parliament demanding to know how much it will all cost and why they weren't consulted first.

Difficult role for SA in NAM

Star 30/9/98 (304A)

By Gumisai Mutume
Sapa-IPS

The furore that accompanied the 12th Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit, held in Durban early in September, has now subsided and the new chair, South Africa, is bracing itself for major challenges.

In its new role, South Africa heads an organisation that stands for the cause of 113 developing nations that continue to be marginalised by the dominant forces of the industrialised nations.

At the summit, President Nelson Mandela assured that "during its tenure, South Africa will seek further to strengthen the Movement and contribute to its renewal, so it can discharge its mandate into the next century."

Born in the depths of the Cold War, in 1961, to unite countries that did not wish to be allied either with the US-led Western bloc or the Soviet-dominated Eastern bloc, NAM has now shifted its energy to fighting poverty in developing countries.

Since its inception, NAM has failed to ensure an international conference on debt. And the debt crisis is deepening.

Non-governmental organisations, which lobbied the Durban summit, say the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative is inadequate. HIPC countries are defined by the wealthy nations of the North and the programme will at most bring relief to only six countries by 2000.

South African civil society has been campaigning for debt forgiveness, especially of the debt run up by the apartheid regime, and which those who suffered under the system, now have to pay.

"But for South Africa the temptation, given its multiracial population, to extrapolate from the past and thus to straddle the two worlds of Africa and the North," is strong," says Adebayo Adedeji, former secretary-general of the Addis Ababa-based Economic Commission for Africa.

According to him, the majority of white South Africans, who constitute some 15% of the population, "look to the North for material, financial and political support".

Their black compatriots, however, look to independent African states for support.

The disparity is compounded by the fact that white South Africans, who make up the majority of the 5% who own 88% of the country's wealth, still dominate the civil service.

It is from such a background that South Africa has cautiously engaged in a hesitant foreign policy towards the continent.

"You will discover that South Africans are cautious about the idea of external involvement on the continent," South Africa's Water Minister, Kader Asmal, wrote in a recent edition of the African Centre for Development and Strategic Studies journal.

"We firmly hold that the integrity of all states is inviolable and every action of our Government will aim at ensuring this. As a result, there will no longer be any aggression from South Africa's soil," he says.

(This written before the Lesotho incursion).

South Africa had traditionally been Africa's regional aggressor, before the end of apartheid in 1994, mounting military strikes across its borders.

South Africa also has the moral high ground to pursue nuclear disarmament – one of the highest priorities of NAM – having destroyed its six nuclear weapons before 1994.

NAM is pushing the Conference on Disarmament to establish a committee to negotiate a phased programme for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

The Movement is also calling for a universal and legally binding multilateral agreement committing all states to the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Religious and political leaders will meet to sign code of morality

Star 3/10/98 (304A)

BY PETA KROST

In a world first, South African religious leaders – from African traditionalists and Baha'i Faith to Christianity, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam – have gathered to find ways to combat the country's moral decay.

They are preparing for a Moral Summit on October 22 where religious and political leaders, including President Nelson Mandela, will discuss and sign a code of conduct on how to stem the violence, corruption and other moral crimes.

Then they will launch the Ubuntu Pledge – an agreement targeting private individuals from all religions and belief systems to sign and agree to accept and maintain certain moral standards.

Both initiatives stem from Mandela' s call in June 1997 to religious leaders to work with political leaders to transform the country. Religious leaders formed the National Religious Leaders Forum working committee to find a way to heal society.

So, Muslims and Jews, Protestants and Catholics, Buddhists and African traditionalists have put their differences aside while they try to find solutions to SA's problems.

The Moral Summit was initiated by Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley to get political leaders to pledge a code of conduct that the religious leaders will police.

The pledge was initiated in the hope that South Africans would commit to being honest, pay taxes, treat people decently and care for the environment.

"We hope to flood the market with these pledges, and if only 1 000 people sign them, there are 1 000 more people who are working towards a better country," says Frans Auerbach, the forum's working committee chairperson.

"Initially there might have been friction between some of them on interfaith issues, but this was soon put aside for the greater goal," says Auerbach. "Contentious issues like abortion and euthanasia were not broached – leaving the groups to discuss common topics like crime and corruption."

The issue of moral decay is not solely related to violent crime and the lack of respect for life. People who would otherwise be law-abiding citizens don't even notice when they go over speed limits, go through red robots at night, or lie and cheat on their taxes and insurance claims. Many don't consider these to be "real crimes".

Some people who commit fraud are lauded as folk heroes, and people who kill are praised if the person they killed was a criminal. South African opposition party politicians are holding talks with opposition Lesotho leaders while SA is fighting against them.

"Whether or not all political leaders sign the summit agreement, can we be assured that the electioneering for the 1999 elections will be above the moral standards?" asks Auerbach.

Baha'i Faith representative Shohreh Rawhani says: "When we consulted on the issues, we all agreed there was a general feeling of lawlessness and lack of respect for lives and possessions."

Most religious groups are represented at the forum, with few exceptions.

African traditionalists are represented by Kgalushi Koka of the African Study Programme. He is excited by the prospect that religious people across the board are coming together with one goal and the same values, despite their different ways of practising their beliefs.

"The whole idea is transformation, from a country that is filled with moral decay to one we can all be proud of," says Koka. "People have been taking things for granted, and just like apartheid went unchallenged, the same could happen with the problems facing us now unless we do something."

SA's crippling arrogance

The makers of South Africa's foreign policy need a long, hard think, suggests **William Boot**

The king of Lesotho is seldom permitted to make public utterances. But sometimes his private observations are passed on by friends and advisers — like what he said when he returned from the recent Southern African Development Community (SADC) summit in Mauritius.

Lesotho, he said, had been sacrificed to the SADC, and more specifically to the imperative of better relations between two of the organisation's key players, South Africa's President Nelson Mandela and Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe.

Behind King Letsie III's gnomic observation lies a sequence of events that starts on September 9, with South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki about to make public the report of the Langa commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities in Lesotho's May 23 elections.

In the event, Mbeki did not hand over the report to interest groupings. Instead, at the insistence of his partners from Botswana and Zimbabwe in the SADC-appointed troika of nations charged with guaranteeing democracy in the mountain kingdom, he pulled back at the last moment, saying the report would be referred to the SADC summit in Mauritius on September 13 and 14. It was deemed too explosive to release there and then.

By this stage Letsie had already been privy to the interim report of the Langa commission — which found "gross irregularities" in the elections and is believed to have called for the annulment of the election result which returned the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) to power with only one seat conceded to the opposition.

However, the report was not discussed in the official proceedings of the summit. Mandela, as chair, announced (after Mbeki's protestations of its explosiveness) at the end that there had not been time to put it on the agenda. Odd. But not so odd when you consider that, as head of state, Letsie would have to have been present in plenaries on the subject.

However, sources close to the summit have confirmed that the report was indeed discussed — at the troika level and especially between the Zimbabwean and South African delegations.

In the end it was the Zimbabwean perspective and the Zimbabwean solution to the problem of Lesotho which won the day, and which shaped the next, horrific chapters of Lesotho's tragic history.

What was agreed was that the initial report of the Langa commission — which sources at the time confirmed merely fleshed out the contents of the interim report — would have to be rewritten. Those sections which questioned the legitimacy of the LCD government and called for re-elections under an interim government of national unity would have to be excised.

Senior South African intelligence sources confirmed that there was substantial rewriting of the report in the days which followed, and the doctored report was made public nearly a week later. The name of the actual rewriter is known to the *Mail & Guardian*.

It is worth mentioning that on September 8, in the midst of a military insurrection which effectively rendered his government powerless, and with the release of the initial Langa commission report expected at any moment, Lesotho's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tom Thabane took time off to slip out of the country to "seek advice" from his close friend Mugabe. The next day the report was withheld, largely at Zimbabwean insistence.

The point in rehashing this history is not merely to identify the bad guys. The questions raised are questions about South Africa's foreign policy in the context of regional relations.

Much has already been made of the about-turn in South Africa's approach to conflict resolution in the Lesotho instance: from a blanket insistence on negotiated settlements to a military intervention (cloaked though it might have been in the SADC blanket), complete with murder, rape and pillage.

It has also been noted often enough that the turnaround came just after a stand-off with Zimbabwe over that country's military adventures (supposedly on behalf of the SADC) in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

But this is not really the point. The real about-face in South African foreign policy came in this regard: where the interim report had at least questioned the legitimacy of the LCD on the basis of election irregularities, the reworked version could not find that the will of the people had not been served in the elections.

By the same token, when South African and Botswanan troops were sent into Lesotho, their stated aim was to reinstate the supposedly legitimate and elected LCD government. The intervention was avowedly made at the request of the head of government, Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili — without reference to the head of state, the king.

In short, it was an embarrassingly familiar kind of African intervention, and one which South Africa has been vocal in criticising in the past; the kind of intervention which seeks, regardless of the moral right of a government to be in power, to prop it up in the face of the resistance of its own citizenry. The fact of holding power is used as its own justification in the face of the usually legitimate opposition of the people.

One only has to look at the way the Organisation of African Unity functions to keep the corrupt and the brutal in power — from Mobutu Sese Seko in the former Zaire, to Laurent Kabila in the Congo to Sassou Nguesso in Congo (Brazzaville) — by systematically confusing power with legitimacy, lest their own credentials be examined too closely.

Of course, South Africa's role in Lesotho has been nothing if not ambivalent. The initial intervention was made, sources say, on the basis of reports by Mosisili's government of large-scale weapons transfers to rebel soldiers inside the kingdom — and, although these justifications were *post facto*, on the unsubstantiated basis that a coup had been effected (which, until the moment of the intervention, the South Africans had denied). It was, as this newspaper tellingly dubbed it, the Rambo nation approach.

It is still uncertain whether the military order was given with the informed knowledge or blessing of Mandela or Mbeki. Intelligence sources have said that the order was given on the basis of a supposedly imminent (and possibly manufactured) military threat from the Lesotho insurgents.

On the other hand, where Mandela and Mbeki have actually been involved — in brokering talks and forcing agreements for re-elections within 15 to 18 months — the approach has been markedly different.

Perhaps the most telling moment came last week when, in a televised address to the nation on the subject of an interim government for Lesotho, Mbeki said it had been agreed that a structure would be put in place representing all parties equally until the elections.

The significance of this is twofold: it betrays another about-turn on the part of the South Africans, a return to the interpretation which deems the elections irregular and therefore the government too; and it highlights the crippling arrogance of a South African foreign policy which assumes that because this is the agreement it had drafted, this would be put into place.

While Lesotho's LCD Parliament finds reasons to refuse to pass proposed re-elections into law, and while the LCD government refuses to buy into an interim government structure, citing earlier endorsements of its legitimacy in justification, the South African policymakers might do well to use this time to do some pondering.

'Exercise Blue Crane' postponed

Howard Barrell

South Africa is on the verge of postponing its biggest-ever joint military and police exercise with other countries in the region, scheduled for next month, because of problems caused by the incursion into Lesotho.

The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) has told other interested government departments it doubts it can afford the exercise, code-named "Blue Crane", because the Lesotho operation is a serious drain on its already squeezed budget.

The SANDF has also said that its command structures, currently taken up with dealing with Lesotho, may not be able to cope with the exercise.

The resources of a number of other countries due to participate in the exercise, planned under the auspices of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), are more seriously stretched than South Africa's: Angola's because of the war on its territory and its troop commitments in the Democratic Republic of Congo; Botswana's because it has a contingent operating alongside South African forces in Lesotho; Zimbabwe's because of its economic crisis and intervention in the Congo.

And the defence forces of Lesotho and the Congo, also SADC members, are in no condition to participate in the exercise.

A Ministry of Defence representative confirmed that South Africa was discussing the postponement or cancellation of Blue Crane with individual SADC countries "in an attempt to reach consensus" before a decision was announced.

He would not comment on the reasons for the reconsideration of the exercise.



Changing policy: Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi (right) faces up to Lesotho Prime Minister Pakalitha Mosisili (left). PHOTOGRAPH: NADINE HUTTON

Ironically, Blue Crane — designed to develop SADC member states' capacity for peacekeeping — is under threat because of SADC countries' existing heavy commitments to peacekeeping and peace-enforcing operations in the region.

On Wednesday, the South African defence ministry disclosed that the costs of the Lesotho operation over the nine days from September 22 to September 30 was R8,1-million.

Together with hidden costs, such as wear and tear and combat damage to helicopters and vehicles, this brings the cost of South Africa's involvement in Lesotho to nearly R1-million a day in the opening days of the operation.

Military observers were suggesting this week that Blue Crane might be held in May next year, rather than be scrapped altogether.

Foreign diplomats based in South Africa confirmed this week that there was now confusion over when the exercise would be held, if at all.

Diplomatic sources said that a number of West European and North American countries — including France, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States — had agreed some time ago to donate about R10-million to the costs of the operation.

As the SADC's largest economy and as the host of the exercise, South Africa was due to bankroll most of the remainder.

"Postponement looks increasingly like the rational option," said one Western diplomat.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has been among those pressing the SANDF not to scrap Blue Crane altogether or to postpone it beyond May.

Foreign affairs fears damage to South Africa's reputation among donors and SADC states.

The defence ministry representative said South Africa wanted to take the donor community along with any decision reached by SADC countries.

Blue Crane is designed to develop the capacity of the SADC's 14 member states to mount joint peacekeeping operations in the region.

It provides for the involvement of about 4 000 military personnel from SADC armies, navies and air forces, plus a civilian policing component, in keeping the peace in an imaginary trouble spot. Most of the personnel and hardware is due to come from South Africa.

Blue Crane is a follow-up to a smaller peacekeeping exercise involving about 1 000 personnel from SADC countries, code-named "Blue Hungwe", held in Zimbabwe last year.

Blue Crane envisages more than 2 000 army troops in three or four battalion, most with mixed SADC memberships, performing at the SANDF's battle school at Lohatla in the Northern Cape; air force transports and helicopters practising moving personnel, equipment and supplies around at Lohatla; naval transport craft and warships mounting mock landings and blockades off South Africa's east coast; and a civilian policing component.

The civilian policing component appears to be the only element that is definitely going ahead as scheduled.

"We will be putting 30 policemen from various SADC countries through a United Nations-approved course as planned — whatever happens to the other components of the exercise," said Mark Malan of the Institute of Security Studies, which is running the course.

Leaders sign moral code

CT 23/10/98 (3044A)

JOHANNESBURG: South Africa was set on a "moral renaissance" yesterday at a summit of religious and political leaders where President Nelson Mandela declared the tide had turned against corruption.

"Government has given the highest priority to combating these evils," Mandela said.

He added that South Africa's first "moral summit" defined the renewal of the nation and would help different groupings seek out common ground for national action.

The gathering was a result of a meeting last year between Mandela and leaders of major religious communities at which he requested them to help repair "a national morality grieviously damaged by apartheid".

At yesterday's gathering, politicians and religious leaders signed a code of conduct for people in positions of responsibility, committing themselves to principles such as incorruptibility, integrity, openness and respect.

An Ubuntu (humanity) pledge, produced by the National Religious Leaders' Forum, was also distributed, calling on citizens to "do good and be good".

Corruption within government departments was mentioned by many speakers as a cornerstone of the country's ills.

Committing his party to the code of conduct, National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said: "We have become a nation that values human life by mercenary self-interest."

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa said South Africa needed a transformation that was not characterised by "greed and monopoly".

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki called for a change in the social consciousness of South Africans.

"Selfish, self-centred attitudes are leading people to act not according to what is right but what is good for them."

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said: "Without the honest implementation of this code of conduct, we will fail as leaders, taking the whole country down with us."

The Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson said: "We are all fallible, but we are signing here to say we will strive for the highest standards in our leadership and also in our personal lives."

Details of the Ubuntu pledge and code of conduct will be circulated through communities by religious groups and community organisations. — Own Correspondents

THESE ARE THE MORAL PLEDGES ALL SOUTH AFRICANS ARE ASKED TO MAKE

For everyone

I shall strive to:
- be good and do good;
- live honestly and positively;
- be considerate and kind;
- care for my sisters and brothers within the human family;
- respect all people's rights to their beliefs and cultures;
- care for and improve our common environment;
- promote peace, harmony and non-violence;
- promote the welfare of my country as a patriotic citizen.

For leaders in all walks of life

A code of conduct for persons in positions of responsibility:

INTEGRITY – I will conduct myself in such a way that my speech and acts are honest and trustworthy, able to nurture a culture of truth and reliability.

INCORRUPTIBILITY – I will not accept any financial or other obligation to individuals or organisations which could lead me to act unethically in my duties and responsibilities.

GOOD FAITH – Recognising that there can be conflicts of interest, I accept the obligation to declare any personal interests which may affect the interests of those I serve.

IMPARTIALITY – In carrying out my duties, including making appointments, awarding contracts, grants, or recommending individuals for benefits, I will make fair choices which do not unduly or unjustly favour those with whom I have other ties.

OPENNESS – I will be transparent in my decisions and actions, and will not withhold information which is in the public interest.

ACCOUNTABILITY – I recognise that I am accountable for my decisions and actions, and will submit to whatever scrutiny is appropriate.

Justice – I will act justly, and promote the culture of respect for the law.

RESPECT – I will act in a way that promotes respect for all people regardless of their beliefs.

GENEROSITY – In speech, attitudes and behaviour, I will seek to be generous and hospitable towards others.

LEADERSHIP – I shall promote and support these principles, seeking to recommend by personal example and service the fundamental moral principles on which a successful community can be built and maintained.

Let's all show our human face

(304A) Star 23/10/98

Nation's political and religious leaders call on all citizens to 'be good, do good'

REUTERS

By Jacqui Reeves

Political, religious and community leaders have committed themselves to promote the principles of *ubuntu* among all South Africans following yesterday's first Moral Summit in Johannesburg.

A campaign to get individuals to commit themselves to ubuntu – which means to be human, to value the good of the community above self-interest, to strive to help other people in the spirit of service, to show respect to others and to be honest and trustworthy – was launched at the gathering, which was addressed by President Nelson Mandela.

Although this pledge will not be signed by individuals, it will be promoted within the community by, among others, essay competitions at schools and ubuntu days.

Speaking at the summit attended by political and religious leaders, Mandela said the gathering represented the moral renewal of the nation's code of conduct, the National Party's leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said moral improvement must be demanded from both the public and private sectors.

"We have witnessed the breakdown of every moral institution," he said.

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa said South Africa needed a transformation that was not characterised by "greed and monopoly" and that multiparty democracy would help achieve this.

Deploring selfishness, ANC president Thabo Mbeki called for a change in the social consciousness of South Africans: "This selfish and self-centred attitude is leading people to act not according to what is right, but what is good for them."

Speaking after his prepared speech, Mandela said new generations of South Africans did not understand the importance of religious leaders. He said his generation remembered when the government of the day had no interest in educating black

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Speaking at the summit attended by political and religious leaders, Mandela said the gathering represented the moral renewal of the nation and would help different groupings seek common ground for national action.

The summit came as a result of a meeting held in June last year between Mandela and leaders of major religious communities.

"The society we are seeking to create is not one in which we are all whistle-blowers and crime-busters fighting the symptoms of a moral crisis. Rather it is one in which such a crisis does not exist," Mandela said.

At yesterday's gathering, politicians and religious leaders signed a code of conduct for people in positions of responsibility, committing themselves to principles such as incorruptibility, integrity, openness and respect.

A second vow, the "Ubuntu Pledge", produced by the National Religious Leaders' Forum, was also distributed, calling for citizens to "do good and be good".

Corruption within government departments was mentioned by many speakers as a cornerstone of South African society's ills. Mandela said although progress had been made in stamping out corruption, it was still continuing at "unacceptable levels".

Committing his party to the code of conduct, the National Party's leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said moral improvement must be demanded from both the public and private sectors.

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Speaking after his prepared speech, Mandela said new generations of South Africans did not understand the importance of religious leaders. He said his generation remembered when the government of the day had no interest in educating black children and how they had to rely on churches to be taught.

"The churches produced this generation of people who are now old guard leaders. We are what we are today thanks to our religious education," he said.

He said the transformation of South Africa over the past five years had been through a collective effort of diverse sectors which had co-operated to "make us a miracle".

Mandela added that recognising the talents of leaders in all spheres of life would help create a unified South Africa.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said South Africa needed leaders who were legitimate and committed to the importance of their task. "Without the honest implementation of this code of conduct, we will fail as leaders, taking the whole country down with us."

The Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson said his party signed the code not in a spirit of self-righteousness or hypocrisy, but to try to set good examples.

"We are all fallible, we all sin and will sin again, but we are signing here to say we will strive for the highest standards in our leadership, and also in our personal lives."

Details of the pledges will be widely circulated.

Moral Summit reflects impressive diversity

"One of the hazards of having the president sitting at your side is that he will correct each mistake you make," said the slightly embarrassed Bishop Mvume Dandala, chairperson of yesterday's Moral Summit.

Madiba had pointed out that Dandala was wrong to introduce Marthinus van Schalkwyk as the leader of the "Nationalist Party", the correct term being the "National Party".

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, known never to miss an opportunity for a witty comment, was next up to speak and had a jocular reply – much to the delight of the audience.

"We will say 'National Party' if the honourable member says 'Mpumalanga' and not 'Mapumalanga'," referring to an earlier mispronunciation by Van Schalkwyk.

At yesterday's gathering, prayers were chanted, recited, sung and intoned, reflecting the huge diversity of religions and cultures in the country. Traditional dress sat alongside three-piece suits and another of the inimitable presidential shirts.

According to the Moral Summit's leaders, this country can find strength in its diversity – a diversity that was truly reflected in yesterday's impressive gathering.

A visiting French journalist looked wide-eyed at the large variety of religions represented and the relaxed atmosphere of the proceedings. "Singing in a meeting with such important people – this would never happen in Europe," she marvelled.

– Staff Reporter

Clutch of commissions cost SA taxpayers millions of rands

(304A)

The eye runs to the bottom line to count the cost, and inevitably the result is depressing.

Since 1994, South Africa has spent more than R36-million on a range of special commissions of inquiry.

These commissions have been set up separately to the bodies called into being by the Constitution, of which the Truth Commission is only one.

Multiparty talks and the 1996 Constitution have spawned, among others, the Gender Commission, the Council of Traditional Leaders, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the National Youth Commission, the Human Rights Commission and the Volkstaat Council.

It hardly bears repeating that these bodies have, without exception, complained of under-funding.

And in several cases some of the commissions have had their very existence called into question by opposition parties who see no need for them.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon is among those who has queried the need for bodies like the Youth Commission, with its highly-paid office bearers.

Others have become dogged by controversy, like the Human Rights Commission, which has lost commissioners and staff amid allegations of internal strife and frustration over the body being too ill-resourced to carry out its mandate.

At the same time there are bodies which have become celebrated in the minds of many for the unflinching way in which they have honoured their independence: the Public Protector, the Auditor-General and the Office for Serious Economic Offences (Oseo).

CLIVE SAWYER



POLITICAL REPORTER

SOUTH AFRICA THIS WEEK AWAITS REVELATIONS OF ITS PAST BY THE TRC, ONLY ONE OF MANY COMMISSIONS WHICH HAVE OPENED A WINDOW ON THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY

ARG 28/10/98

The Public Protector and Oseo in turn have joined the chorus of those bodies complaining of too little money to do all that is expected of them.

And it has become a matter of inevitability in the lifespan of any South African political controversy involving public money and public office that sooner or later an opposition politician will start drafting a letter to the Public Protector or one of the other watchdog bodies.

Now, in Parliament, President Mandela has disclosed the cost in the past four years of the commissions of inquiry appointed into a range of topics.

The list, tabled in response to questions by Louis Green of the African Christian Democratic Party, is a melancholy mirror of the traumas through which the country has passed.

With few exceptions, these traumas had their roots in the inequity and corruption which were the bitter produce of apartheid.

In 1994, commissions were appointed into mine health and safety, into unrest in prisons, aspects of the tax structure, alleged smuggling of ivory and rhinoceros horn and into alleged arms transactions between Armscor and Eli Wazan.

The bill for that year was more than R4-million, of which the Armscor-Wazan probe cost R1,1-million.

The new Government in its second year appointed inquiries into the provision of rural financial services (R1,5-million), pre-1994 irregular public service promotions (R6,4-million), Thor Chemicals (R181 743), rationalising the provincial and local divisions of the Supreme Court (R3-million), and the boundaries between Kwazulu Natal and the Eastern Cape (R974 951).

Other commissions that year were into labour market policy (R1,5-million), alleged irregularities in the transfer of certain state land (R886 208), the protein energy malnutrition scheme (R4,5-million), the Vaal Reef mining accident (R2,7-million) and the "red mercury" controversy (R208 353).

In 1996, the Presidential Review Commission into transformation of the public service cost R2,9-million.

Another legacy-of-apartheid probe was the commission into the March 1994 violence during the downfall of Bophuthatswana, which cost R1,1-million.

Also running into millions was the bill for the probe into the affairs of the University of Durban-Westville – R3,4-million.

Other 1996 probes were those into the SA Football Association and the National Football League (R624 000), the buying of computers by the defunct House of Representatives administration (R35 107), the Taung-Kuruman border dispute (R277 973), mine violence at East Driefontein (R44 875), the sulphur fire at Somerset West (R860 994) and the diamond industry (R360 201).

Last year saw the first tailing off in the appointment of commissions, and then one of two was abortive: the ill-fated commission of inquiry into the SA Rugby Football Union, for which President Mandela said there was a bill of R695 843.

The other commission, into allegations against Truth Commission investigator Dumisa Ntsebenza, has yet to report its expenditure because this was included in the Truth Commission budget.

The only commission so far this year was also spawned in misinformation and political controversy: the probe ordered by Mr Mandela into the defence force report on an alleged plot to overthrow the Government, which cost R7 816.

Perhaps it is an encouraging sign that the reflex of appointing presidential probes is being exercised less often, particularly given the cost and the platoons of investigating bodies summoned into being by the constitution.

The Truth Commission is close to having run its course, and its cost and benefits will be weighed in more than just the tax rands it has used.

Its companion constitutional and statutory bodies will live on for the meantime, but there can be no doubt that given their cost, number and some duplication, the continued viability of at least some will be queried in the new millennium.

The men whose names spelt division

Van Riebeeck, Hertzog and Pirow set to go

INSIDE STORY



Vigorous debate is likely over moves to find new names for some city streets and squares. Special Writer MICHAEL MORRIS looks at three of the key figures in South Africa's history who may succumb to the tide of transformation of today

ARG 5/11/98 (304A)



Tainted tokens: among the symbols [illegible] memorial

In their time, Jan van Riebeeck, James Barry Munnik Hertzog and, to a lesser extent, Oswald Pirow, were men of moment whose public lives helped shape modern South Africa.

But just as their stature, then, earned them the acknowledgement of having city squares and streets named after them, so today – wisely or unwisely – Van Riebeeck, Hertzog and Pirow are names tied up with the infamy of division and exploitation of the past and stand to be expunged from public places. Who were these men?

Remarkably, Jan van Riebeeck spent only 10 years at the Cape – but, as the founding coloniser, his brief spell was enough to seal an enduring reputation as the man whose victualling station was the precursor of more than 300 years of European – and, latterly, white – domination.

Hertzog and Pirow came later, and were more clearly the agents of separatism, and the administrative ordering that underpinned the refinement of apartheid as national policy, and a way of life.

Hertzog, especially, envisioned – and laid the foundations of – the apartheid state years before it was realised. Born near Wellington in 1866, Hertzog studied law at Stellenbosch and Amsterdam, Holland. He was an advocate in Pretoria for two years and became a Free State judge in 1895.

At the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War, he was initially a legal adviser to the Free State command, then a field commander.

Serving with distinction, he took the war deep into the British-occupied Cape: by 1901 he had reached Lamberts Bay on the West Coast, though he was forced to withdraw.

Intriguingly, he drew on Thomas Carlyle's famous biography of Frederick the Great for his own tactical inspiration.

He played a significant part in the Treaty of Vereeniging, which ended hostilities, and campaigned for reconstruction, and the rights and dignity of Afrikaners.

His appeal for equality among whites in the national convention negotiations – which led to Union in 1910 – was coupled with a warning of the "dangers" of a "native franchise".

By this time, he was a respected political figure, and General Louis Botha, the new Union prime minister, could not ignore his claims to a cabinet post.

So it was that, as early as 1911, Hertzog introduced a bill which had as its main principle the idea of racial segregation.

It was the progenitor of apartheid, but it was to be years in gestation. Hertzog broke with Botha in 1913 and formed the National Party early the next year, bent on creating a "new" South Africa free of British imperialist interference.

The 1913 Land Act was not his, but when his Nationalists won the 1924 election, Hertzog made the portfolio of "native affairs" his own responsibility, and spent the next decade refining and husbanding legislation to give effect to segregation.

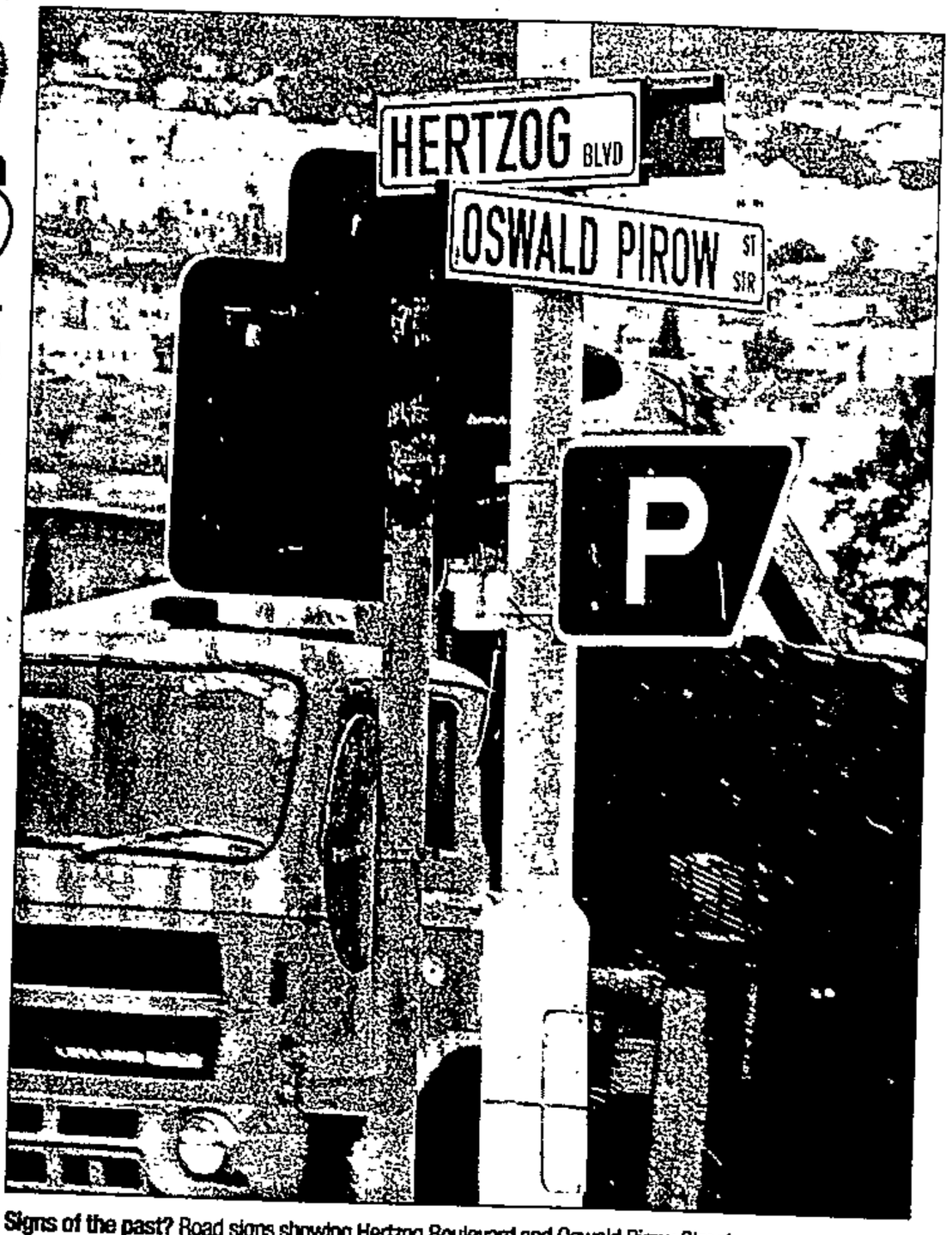
One account describes his difficulties in getting the laws through as a "vicious and lonely struggle", an ironic conception of the process which led to the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, and the Representation of Natives Act.

In his 15-year prime ministership, he strengthened other elements of the "colour bar", entrenched Afrikaans as an official language and created space for scores of young Afrikaners in the civil service.

But his troubles mounted in the late 1930s. Economic problems had forced him into "fusion" with Jan Smuts (another esteemed Boer War comrade) in 1934, but events overseas ruptured this a few years later: Hitler's aggression and Britain's declaration of war against Germany brought matters to a head.

Deputy Prime Minister Smuts favoured joining Britain in war, but Hertzog was unwilling to fight a Nazi regime he had publicly expressed sympathy for. Smuts defeated the Prime Minister's neutrality motion by 13 votes, and Hertzog resigned.

There was much public sympathy for him [illegible]



Signs of the past? Road signs showing Hertzog Boulevard and Oswald Pirow Street

He was also an accomplished violinist, a keen hunter – and was widely read.

His law career soon gave way to political zeal, and he got into Parliament in 1924, the year Hertzog took power.

A sense of adventure urged him to challenge General Smuts in Standerton in 1929, and he lost by a mere 173 votes. He was kept in Parliament as a senator and, later the same year, was made Minister of Justice.

One commentator notes that the climax of Pirow's career in this portfolio was the passing of the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act of 1930, "which can be seen as the first anti-communist legislation in South Africa" and was intended to prevent the stir-

leader". Three years later he caused a sensation by saying all Germany's former African possessions, including South West Africa, should be returned.

He saw Hitler a second time before the war, in 1938 ... but, intriguingly, at Smuts's suggestion, with the blessing of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

They wanted Pirow to try to persuade the Nazi dictator to curb his aggression. Well, the rest, as they say, is history.

Not surprisingly, at the start of the war, reactionary elements in South Africa, including supporters in the Defence Force, hoped Pirow would mount a coup d'état a[illegible]

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... Amsterdam, Holland. He
...ce in Pretoria for two years
...ree State judge in 1895.
...eak of the Anglo-Boer War,
...y a legal adviser to the Free
..., then a field commander.
... distinction, he took the war
...itish-occupied Cape: by 1901
... Lamberts Bay on the West
...ne was forced to withdraw.
...y, he drew on Thomas Car-
...biography of Frederick the
... tactical inspiration.
...significant part in the Treaty

own responsibility, and spent the next decade refining and husbanding legislation to give effect to segregation.

One account describes his difficulties in getting the laws through as a "vicious and lonely struggle", an ironic conception of the process which led to the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, and the Representation of Natives Act.

In his 15-year prime ministership, he strengthened other elements of the "colour bar", entrenched Afrikaans as an official language and created space for scores of young Afrikaners in the civil service.

But his troubles mounted in the late 1930s. Economic problems had forced him into "fusion" with Jan Smuts (another esteemed Boer War comrade) in 1934, but events overseas ruptured this a few years later: Hitler's aggression and Britain's declaration of war against Germany brought matters to a head.

Deputy Prime Minister Smuts favoured joining Britain in war, but Hertzog was unwilling to fight a Nazi regime he had publicly expressed sympathy for. Smuts defeated the Prime Minister's neutrality motion by 13 votes, and Hertzog resigned.

There was much public sympathy for him initially, but in the end he was too moderate for angry Afrikaners, and his pro-German stance alienated English-speaking supporters. He left Parliament in 1940, retiring to his farm near Witbank, where he died in November 1942.

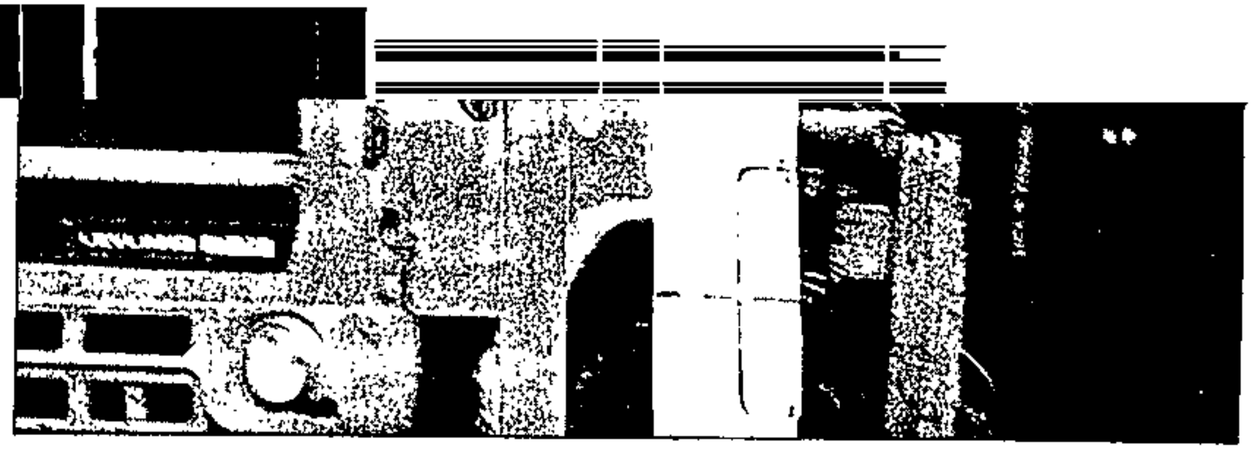
History damns him, but he was no political lightweight, nor was he preternaturally evil. Clever, modest, courteous and honest, by all accounts, he hated nepotism, and detested cringing and scheming.

What he was most of all, probably, was a quintessential man of action of his time, determined, and duty-bound – as he saw it – to act on the impulses of the society and culture which bore him.

What of Oswald Pirow?

Pirow – who, incidentally, listed among his extensive literary output a biography of JBM Hertzog – was also a lawyer by training, having studied in Germany and Britain, where he won the Inner Temple scholarship for jurisprudence.

A brilliant, feisty lawyer, he was also an exceptional sportsman, excelling in disciplines as diverse as boxing, swimming and wrestling, archery, riding and tenniquoits, in which his proficiency is said to have been of international standard.



Signs of the past? Road signs showing Hertzog Boulevard and Oswald Pirow Street

He was also an accomplished violinist, a... keen hunter – and was widely read.

His law career soon gave way to political zeal, and he got into Parliament in 1924, the year Hertzog took power.

A sense of adventure urged him to challenge General Smuts in Standerton in 1929, and he lost by a mere 173 votes. He was kept in Parliament as a senator and, later the same year, was made Minister of Justice.

One commentator notes that the climax of Pirow's career in this portfolio was the passing of the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act of 1930, "which can be seen as the first anti-communist legislation in South Africa" and was intended to prevent the stirring up of anti-white sentiment among blacks.

Hertzog envisioned – and laid the foundations of – the apartheid state, years before it was realised

He later headed the ministries of Railways and Harbours, and Defence – where, in the run-up to World War 2, he earned ridicule for introducing ox-wagons as part of his defence plan along the Mozambique border. In fact, his general reorganisation of the army stood Smuts in good stead at the outbreak of war.

The war against Germany, though, was a crisis for Pirow, arguably more than it was for Hertzog. Pirow was not merely mildly sympathetic to German interests: in 1933 he had actually paid Adolf Hitler a visit in his Alpine lair at Berchtesgaden and had been "overwhelmed by the charm of the German leader". Three years later he caused a sensation by saying all Germany's former African possessions, including South West Africa, should be returned.

He saw Hitler a second time before the war, in 1938 ... but, intriguingly, at Smuts's suggestion, with the blessing of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

They wanted Pirow to try to persuade the Nazi dictator to curb his aggression. Well, the rest, as they say, is history.

Not surprisingly, at the start of the war, reactionary elements in South Africa, including supporters in the Defence Force, hoped Pirow would mount a coup d'état against Smuts. That did not happen.

But Pirow followed his own inclinations when, in September 1940, he founded the New Order, a movement aimed at creating a national socialist system, rejecting "British-Jewish imperialism and capitalism," as well as democratic principles.

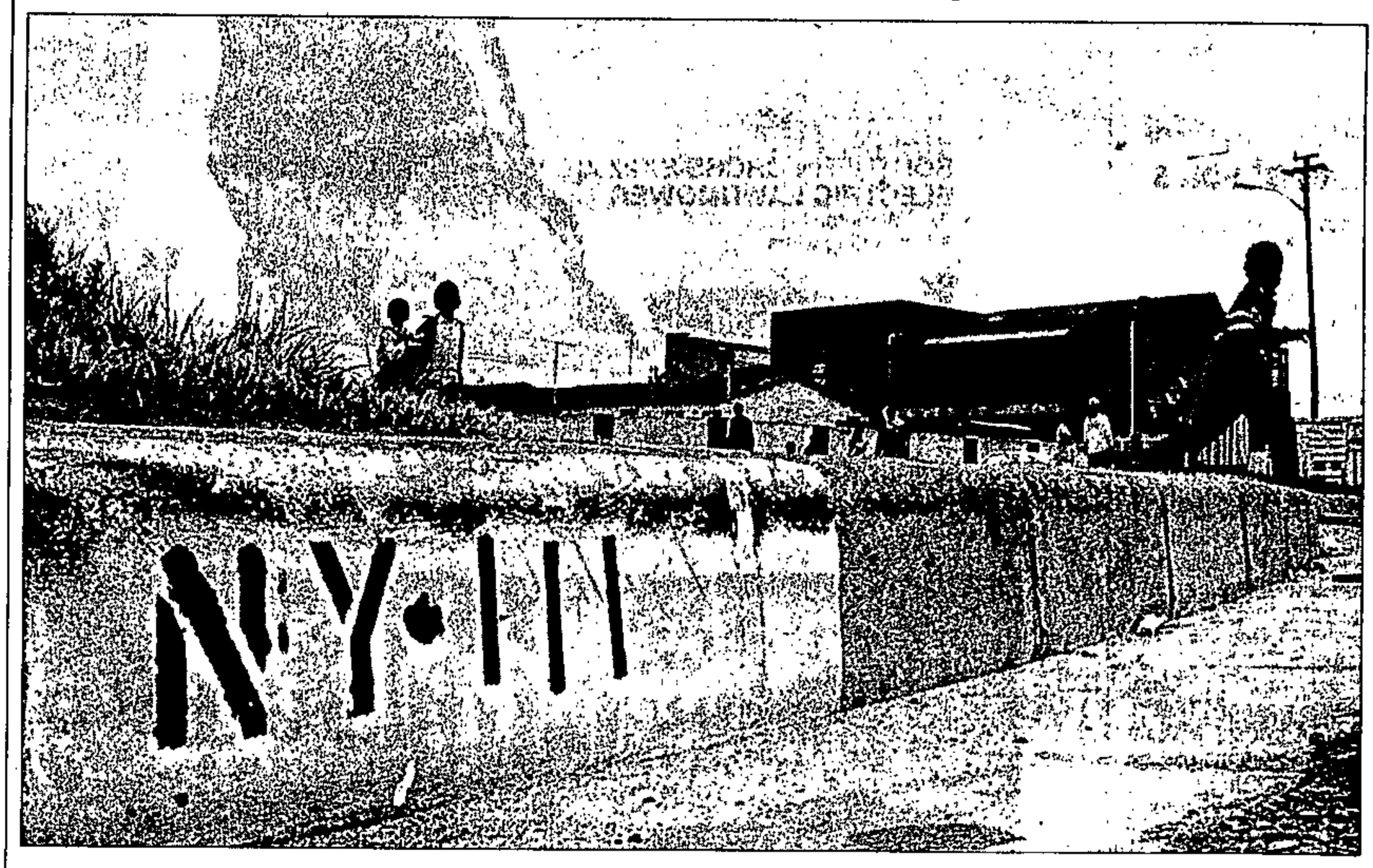
The ideal was a "white Christian National Socialist republic based on the principles of government authority".

Nothing came of the New Order ... though, not many years later, apartheid would seem a chilling mirror of it.

Pirow became increasingly contemptuous of parliamentary politics, and withdrew in 1943, to concentrate on law. He died in 1959, during a treason trial in which the government had asked him to lead a team of state advocates.

His legacy includes several books – *Sjangani*, *Sikororo* and *Ashambeni* among them – which, ironically, deal with African cultural themes of which he claimed a deep knowledge.

It has been said the political ideology pursued by the somewhat enigmatic Pirow in the 1940s destroyed his political career. Yet, like much of Hertzog's contribution, it seems now an almost obvious feature of apartheid's bedrock.



Up for change: NY (or Native Yard) 111 painted on the edge of a pavement

CAPE ARGUS, **FRIDAY**, NOVEMBER 6, 1998

Place names law gets nod from all parties

No willy-nilly changes

ARG 6/11/98 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

New legislation on place name changes will not mean indiscriminate changes, Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali has told Parliament.

Those who wanted place name changes would have to motivate them and bear the cost of applications.

He was speaking at the end of debate on the South African Geographical Places Names Bill.

Supported by all parties, the bill sets up a new place names commission which will regulate renaming of places, notably to provide standardisation and uniformity.

"Standardisation can prevent unnecessary conflict and misunderstanding, especially in a multicultural and multilingual country such as South Africa, where different groups traditionally use different names for a place."

The ideal would be for each geographical feature to have only one name, with a uniform spelling and written form, he said.

This standardisation would be be done only after an extensive, transparent and consultative process.

Standardisation would enable improvement of official maps.

Among benefits of this would be that tourists would be able to find out the origin and meaning of the names of places they visited, Mr Mtshali said.

While supporting the bill, the Freedom Front asked that name changes take place only where place names were derogatory or offensive, rather than for change's sake.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
November 13 to 19 1998

Wake-up call on corruption

MHG 13-19/11/98 (~~354~~) (304A)

Very few concrete proposals flowed from this week's corruption conference, writes **Chiara Carter**

Creating an "inner policeman" was how Minister of Justice Dullah Omar described the moral code South Africans needed to develop if corruption was to be weeded out.

Given the extent of the rot in the justice system as well as other government departments, Omar's metaphor was less than apt, but delegates to this week's government conference on corruption concurred that a new moral order was needed for public servants, as well as the public. And they managed to inch their way beyond citing lofty ideals, blaming the past and placing all their hopes on re-education.

That the conference struggled so hard to be more than the usual talking shop was an indication of how large a headache corruption is for the state. So was the attendance register, which was a who's who of Cabinet ministers, department heads and key figures from the police, justice, intelligence agencies, correctional services, inland revenue and specialised units, as well as the public protector's office. They said there was "a long way to go to establish clean, accountable and transparent government".

Delegates in six commissions and two panel discussions cited examples and case studies of greed, crookedness and the culture of entitlement outlined by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who opened the conference.

The myriad problems officials listed about the justice system were the stuff of general knowledge — dockets disappearing, missing witnesses and vanished evidence, escapes and leaked information.

So bad was the situation, said South African Police Service anti-corruption unit head Stefan Grobler, that South Africa should consider emulating countries like Hong Kong and Malaysia where corruption investigations were handled by a single unit and there was presumption of guilt rather than innocence.

Also mentioned were pay-out frauds, including more than 31 000 invalid identity numbers remaining on the computer system and 426 fraudulent cheques worth R24-million found by the Department of State Expenditure last year. There were corrupt tax officials and syndicates working with members of the Department of Home Affairs.

There were serious concerns about the potential for fraud in the R36-billion procurement by national and provincial departments, as well as procurement of goods and services by local governments and parastatals. Also of concern was the sale of state land by auction and the processes of rental accommodation. Nepotism, ethnicity and cronyism when hiring civil servants laid the basis for greater corruption.

Citing poor management as the main factor behind corruption, Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa — himself no stranger to grappling with corruption in the public sector — spoke with conviction. Problems he identified included school feeding schemes, government fleet petrol cards, cheque thefts, civil servants with conflicts of interest, bribery, ghosts, fraud in capital projects, secret accounts, payments made to non-existent entities and unauthorised promissory notes.

Some delegates argued wasting time and flinging litter were examples of corruption, but Deputy Minister of Finance Gill Marcus said that delegates needed to compile an action plan, not a wish list

At the other end of the spectrum, some delegates argued wasting time and flinging litter were examples of corruption, but Deputy Minister of Finance Gill Marcus cried halt, arguing persuasively that delegates needed to prioritise and compile an action plan, not a wish list.

Speaker Frene Ginwala helped concentrate minds by pointing out that only half the government departments surveyed earlier this year had an internal audit function. She said corruption flourished where there was no accountability for public servants, government officials and institutions. About 648 entities should be held accountable for public funds, but only 34 reported to Parliament and 200 were audited by the auditor general.

Ginwala warned against "complicated opaque systems" where public officials were "gatekeepers".

National crime prevention strategy deputy director general Bernie Fanaroff provided the nub of the strategy. Fanaroff said there were three issues: law enforcement, encouraging compliance and prevention.

The conference ended with a lengthy statement intended to draw together the major strands of the discussions and serve as a basis for a broad conference on corruption scheduled to take place next February.

Transparency, public information and protection for whistle-blowers — measures until now not commonplace in the state system — were all highlighted as critical to getting the message across that the government intended to be tough on corruption.

Ginwala wryly observed that discussion prior to the conference about keeping its deliberations behind closed doors was contrary to the public scrutiny needed.

That was not the only moment of irony. Judge Willem Heath pointed out that the steady rate of attrition at the conference was an indictment of delegates who had been mandated to attend but by lunchtime of the second day had vanished from the hall.

Those who remained came up with a working plan. Although there had been talk of rationalising the numerous agencies and units involved in anti-corruption work, delegates opted for the approach outlined by Judge Heath: that the best short-term move was to work with what existed and enable these agencies by providing additional money and skilled staff.

The conference agreed legislation needed to be tightened or changed and rules governing treasury regulations, tender procedures and management clarified and constantly revised.

Short-term measures identified included making sure that internal audit and anti-corruption units functioned, blacklisting companies and individuals with unsavoury practices, and disciplinary measures for public servants tightened and enforced.

Managers from the rank of deputy director upward are to be required to disclose their assets, as are councillors. Senior managers might have to sign performance agreements and will be held accountable for misspent or misappropriated public money.

Departments in the justice system have been asked to bring concrete proposals to the February summit, which will also look at longer-term moves.

Anticorruption strategy beginning to take shape

BD 13/11/98

Options range from tough stance to new code, writes **David Greybe**

BEHIND the resolutions, the speeches and the manoeuvres at this week's anticorruption conference in Cape Town were the beginnings of a national public sector strategy.

Dubbed the five-pronged approach, it is based on five different anticorruption "options", existing independently but complementing each other as part of a national strategy. The five options are known as the so-called hard option, unitary option, auditorial option, managerial option and the soft option.

The hard option is where the long arm of the law cracks down heavily on corrupt officials.

Daryl Balia, chief director of ethics at the Public Service Commission, says with the hard option "the focus shifts from an obsession with 'rights' to seeking more stringent procedures to punish offenders".

New laws should be enacted to facilitate prosecution, including a broadening of current legislation that limits corruption to inducement, said Balia, who helped organise the conference. And state institutions with anticorruption mandates should be bolstered to make them more effective.

The Prevention of Organised Crime Bill, to be enacted before the year-end, will be used in part to get a few "big fish". Government has agreed to give greater protection to whistleblowers.

The second option, or unitary option, consists of the establishment of a single, independent anticorruption agency with sweeping powers to track down and bring to book any citizen guilty of complicity.

The conference mandated government to undertake a thorough investigation, under the direction of Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

There is a lot of support within the African National Congress (ANC) for SA to go at least some way down this route. Critics warn, though, that it is not a good idea to mix criminal and civil anticorruption agencies, and there is the danger of political interference.

Omar seemed to sum up the latest thinking in the ANC when, at the close of the conference, he stressed that government would not allow political interference in the work of agencies such as the Heath unit and the public protector. Omar's public recognition of the independence of the two agencies was significant, coming so soon after his public spat with Judge Willem Heath, after Omar suggested creating a single anticorruption agency reporting to a special cabinet committee.

The so-called auditorial option concerned the quest for transparency and accountability, Balia said. For backers of the auditorial option, "only a proper financial management system can indicate whether a country suffers from corruption".

The department of state expenditure, the auditor-general's office and accounting institutes have developed the so-called perspective of generally recognised accounting practice project to address fiscal loopholes that give rise to abuse.

The conference resolved that "national and provincial departments and municipalities must develop internal audit systems and bring in better financial management skills at a high level". Every public servant who handles public money must have "adequate training and control systems in place".

The managerial option is located between the auditorial and ethical dimensions, putting emphasis on reducing opportunities for public officials to engage in corrupt practices.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki proposed to the conference, as part of a 10-point ethics management framework for the public sector, that steps be taken "to reward exemplary conduct".

Lastly, the soft option: recognition that the public sector is plagued by an ethical deficit is primary in this view and any corrective steps to root out corruption must begin with a discussion of ethics.

This is where a code of ethics fits in. Government negotiators and the unions are expected to finalise agreement on a code this year.

'WE CAN'T CATER FOR EVERYBODY'

A million 'struck off' roll

CT 25/11/98

MORE than a million people who voted in South Africa's first democratic election in 1994 will not be able to vote next year because of new election rules. **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

(304A)

THERE is dissatisfaction among the huge number of potential voters in next year's general election who feel they have been disenfranchised by the tough attitude of the Electoral Act towards "special" voters.

They include South Africans living abroad, non-South Africans who are permanent residents here and South Africans who will be out of the country on holiday or business trips.

And if you are planning to visit your granny in the Karoo, go hiking in the Drakensberg or represent your organisation at a conference outside your home town at election time, you too will lose you chance to vote, because you have to register and vote in the same place.

This is a safety mechanism for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and a way of ensuring that people do not vote more than once. Only people who change their address between registration and voting will be given a chance to re-register.

The only people who will be allowed to vote if they are not in the country during next year's election are those who are on official government business. That includes all the people who work in embassies and high commissions around the world.

Not even sports people, business people, Satour or South African Airways representatives are likely to be granted a special chance to vote.

"I was so upset when I found out I won't be able to vote," said one city resident, who will be travelling in Europe next year. "I had become quite wrapped up in the notion of racing off to South Africa House in London to experience that feeling of camaraderie that we saw in pictures from the last election."

An estimated 220 000 South Africans are out of the country during May each year.

Another city resident who has lived in South Africa for 25 years and is a permanent resident also feels aggrieved that the right to vote was snatched from him by a clause that states only South African citizens are eligible to go to the polls.

"I own property here, I pay large taxes every month, my children are here and I care about the future. In 1994 I went off and voted with great joy and enthusiasm, and I was shocked to hear I won't be able to vote this time," he said.

According to Statistics SA, there are around 455 000 citizens of other countries living in South Africa.

Then there are those South Africans living and working abroad who will not be able to cast their votes unless they fly home. It is estimated that there are around 200 000 South African in the UK alone, some 45 000 of whom live in London. Stats SA does not have statistics on how many South Africans are living in other countries.

"South Africans over here are cut off from the whole process; they don't feel part of South Africa," said Andries Keun of Build South Africa, which has launched a campaign in London to persuade the Independent Electoral Commission to reinstate special votes and allow South Africans abroad to take part in the poll.

"I am fed up with people being negative about South Africa. I am going back; I see my future there — that is why I am passionate about voting," Keun said.

Many South Africans abroad are suspicious of the decision to scrap voting abroad, reports Patrick Conroy in the *SA Times* in London, because they believe it could be a political move favouring certain political parties.

A large number of expatriates are white and unlikely to vote for an ANC government, and they feel they have been deliberately sidelined.

"Oh please," said Dren Nupen, director of the Electoral Institute in Johannesburg. "We have to go beyond this now. There is no conspiracy here, it is simply logistics."

The 1994 election, in which provision was made for voting at South African missions across the world, cost South Africa more than R900 million. This time the IEC has only R500m.

"If we had an unlimited kitty we would do it and allow votes overseas," said IEC spokesperson Victor Dlamini. "But we just don't have the money. We are doing what is reasonable. Around 24,5m voters will be able to go to the polls freely and fairly.

"I had an irate call from someone who did not want voter registration days on the weekend that his team played football. We just can't cater for everybody."

The good news for those South Africans who are expecting to move around the country between the time they register and the time they vote is that they will be allowed to change their registration details later.

For example, a matriculant from Lansdowne who is planning to study in Pretoria next year can change registration details once at the new residential address. The same goes for members of the security forces who are posted around the country.

● Reports that May 19 was a likely date for the nation to go to the polls next year were pure speculation, President Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Contrary to repeated confirmation by the IEC until late Monday that voter registration would go ahead this weekend as planned, Mandela also announced yesterday that voter registration would be postponed in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, the Free State and the Eastern Cape for one week.

This was welcomed by some, while others derided the government.

Western Cape Premier Gerald Morkel welcomed the new registration time-frame, which he said brought "a degree of clarity to what was developing into a chaotic situation".

Sapa reports that National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the postponement confirmed the government's incompetence, and that he would be surprised if it were possible for registration to go ahead a week later in the four provinces.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said insufficient state funding of the IEC was partly to blame for the postponement, and that another reason was the government's decision to offer the free services of public servants without consulting them first.

The Democratic Party welcomed the postponement, saying there was no shame in admitting an inability to provide an efficient registration service.

The United Democratic Movement said the postponement showed the government's inability to deal with issues proactively. It said the announcement should have been made at least a month ago.

The Conservative Party said clumsiness and inefficiency were behind the postponement, and that the whole registration process should be put on hold.

The ANC said it accepted the reasons for the decision.

● From today, the IEC will be running an extensive national awareness campaign on how to register.

This will include door-to-door distribution of pamphlets on

INSIDE:

● THOUSANDS OF BALLOTS HINGE ON CHOICE OF DATE

● LOAN SHARKS COULD KEEP VOTERS FROM THE POLLS

PAGE 5

Grogan's view



SA losing credibility?

(304A) Sowetan 3/12/98

South Africa's involvement in Democratic Republic of Congo has raised important questions about our agenda for the continent, writes **Mosibudi Mangena**

THERE is no doubt the military conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo is the biggest crisis to fall into the lap of the Southern African Development Community in the post-apartheid era.

The war also raises intriguing questions that beg answers.

Why did Uganda and Rwanda, the two countries that helped to put Laurent Kabila in power, invaded his country within months with the aim of overthrowing him?

Are we once more witnessing the phenomenon of victims turning into villains, just as the Jews did in Israel and the Afrikaners in our country?

Why is it that the SADC agreed on the military invasion of Lesotho, but disagrees sharply on a similar path for the Congo? Is it because Lesotho is small and poor in comparison to huge, mineral-rich Congo?

How come the long-lasting solidarity among the ruling parties of Angola, Namibia and South Africa is being strained by the Congo problem?

It appears the Congo is a messy cauldron of economic and security interests, and diplomatic intrigue.

For decades a deeply fractured opposition fought to overthrow Mobutu Sese Seko's corrupt dictatorship.

Somehow Uganda and Rwanda seemed to unite the armed factions under Kabila for the onslaught that finally brought Mobutu to his knees.

Elements from their own armies fought alongside Kabila's forces until the end, and stayed on to prop up the new regime in Kinshasa. But they soon changed sides and supported an armed insurrection against Kabila, claiming that the latter was guilty of genocide against the Tutsis.

Could it be that Uganda and its proxy in Kigali have acquired an appetite for king-making in the Great Lakes area?

Zimbabwe, Namibia and Angola, on the other hand, sent thousands of troops into Congo to support a sister SADC state.

The most powerful country in the region, South Africa, which chairs the SADC, has denounced military intervention in the Congo and called for a negotiated settlement.

But, while summits and diplomatic shuttles take place, the war goes on.

The lack of impact on the Congolese situation by South Africa, given its power and so-called moral authority, has highlighted some of our blemishes – some tangible, others at the level of perception.

Our image among fellow Africans influences the effectiveness of our interactions with them.

Firstly, we are not seen as genuinely African. Our attitude towards other Africans and towards ourselves makes us something of European outpost on the continent.



DRC president Laurent Kabila during a news conference in Brussels, Belgium, last week. PIC: REUTERS

In particular, we are perceived to have a bloated image of ourselves and to look down on other Africans.

The fact that our President has never stayed long at Organisation of African Unity summits and that he always stops over at such meetings to address them on his way to Europe or North America, has not helped matters.

It means he never listens to or interacts with them, but talks at them.

Accordingly, we are seen as lacking in grasp and understanding of African issues and diplomacy.

That is why we could go out on a limb advocating the isolation of Nigeria, while the majority of African states simply looked on.

Secondly, we are seen as the blue-eyed boys of the United States, in particular, and the Western countries in general.

As perceived stooges of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, our diplomatic and other initiatives in Africa are seen as the bidding of our Western masters.

Our attempts to broker a deal that would bring about a government of national unity in the Congo (which would have involved the Kabila and Mobutu elements) was seen as an American agenda to save Mobutu.

Thirdly, the fact that Pretoria sold tons of arms to Rwanda, which was understood to be the main muscle in the military uprising against Kabila, has reduced our credibility.

Our call for a non-military intervention in the DRC was therefore viewed as dishonest and deceitful.

Kabila and his military alliance partners, on the other hand, maintained from the very beginning that Uganda and Rwanda had invaded the sovereign and independent state of the DRC.

They also assumed Pretoria knew that its weapons were being used by Rwanda and others in their war against the Congo.

To make matters worse, some in the leadership of the anti-Kabila coalition were rumoured to have visited South Africa secretly for consultations before they launched their offensive.

The fact that some rebels spokesmen are based here and in Rwanda suggests an unfortunate Pretoria-Kigali axis.

And the DRC being as rich as it is, many powerful countries and their companies, including South Africa and Zimbabwe, have existing and potential economic interests in that country.

It could be that the manoeuvrings of the different players in the Congo are influenced in part by these economic considerations.

Then, of course, there are the complex security considerations of countries bordering the DRC.

Both the Angolan government and Unita contest a position of advantage in Congolese territory. And Uganda and Rwanda, with their own insurgency problems, have serious concerns about the border they share with the Congo.

The scale and intensity of Zimbabwean military involvement in the DRC is puzzling. It is out of all proportion to its size, economic strength or interests.

But whatever the interests and rivalries, the DRC conflict is still a shameful waste of lives and resources.

SADC in particular, and Africa in general, cannot afford the DRC conflict.

In fact, if the war goes on much longer, SADC might not survive it.

(The writer is president of the Azanian People's Organisation.)

Crossroads conflict rooted in past

Old warlords, new democrats battle for control

(304A) ARG 11/12/98

The deadly political harvest being reaped today in Crossroads has its roots in a deep-seated conflict between the patronage of the old warlords and the new order of elected council representatives.

Ten people have died and more than 40 homes have been razed this year as a result of simmering political conflict.

A three-month sit-in by the Crossroads Women's Power Group this year is what sparked an independent inquiry commissioned by the City of Cape Town, but the roots of the current conflict reach back to the 1970s.

The commission, chaired by acting judge Essa Moosa, outlines a long history of conflict in which those with power could reap the most financial rewards from people desperate for housing and security of tenure.

The report notes: "This pattern of conflict repeats itself from 1986 to the present time. It is based on the control of people, the allocation of sites and the financial returns to those in control. Government concessions granted to those who assumed leadership positions within informal settlement areas created a conflict of interests for those who must have much to lose with the present objectives of structured housing, where rates, taxes and rent are payable to the local authority, and not to community leaders."

The commission drew from the earlier Goldstone Commission Report, set up by former president F W de Klerk, for some of its analysis.

The Goldstone findings were that many people settled in Crossroads as a result of increased urbanisation in the Western Cape after the independence of the Transkei in the mid-1970s.

Immigrants deemed to have broken influx control laws were frequently harassed and their shacks demolished. Then former minister of co-operation and development Piet Koornhof concluded an agreement with the Crossroads Committee, dominated by Johnson Ngxobongwana, that people living at Crossroads would be enumerated and granted temporary rights.

The effect of the Koornhof Agreement was to make Crossroads a desirable place to live for those in the region "illegally", and this special dispensation resulted in a rapid rise in the population of the area.

ANDREA WEISS



POLITICAL REPORTER

At this stage, Mr Ngxobongwana, who was in charge of three out of four sections in the area, realised he had something to sell and began charging people to have their names on the list.

Later the government decided that people should "voluntarily" relocate to Khayelitsha after only phase one of the redevelopment of Crossroads had taken place. Those who gained access to the new Crossroads development were predominantly members of Mr Ngxobongwana's group, while another leader in the area, a Mr Memani, moved his people to KTC. Others moved to Khayelitsha under the leadership of Mali Hosa.

The inquiry noted that it was widely believed that, during a term in Pollsmoor Prison in the mid-1980s, Mr Ngxobongwana, formerly considered a progressive activist, was "turned" by the then government.

"What followed in 1986 was a well-documented war between the state-supported 'witdoeke' and the anti-apartheid 'comrades'."

In 1988, Mr Ngxobongwana was elected mayor of Crossroads, retaining an informal system of headmen. But the election tension between Mr Ngxobongwana and his rival, Jeffrey Nongwe, one of his former headmen, led to open warfare leaving many people dead and wounded.

Eventually Mr Ngxobongwana moved to Driftsands near Khayelitsha with about 2 000 followers, and Mr Nongwe assumed the leadership in 1990, being the chairman of the local ANC branch.

Depoutch Elese, an MK-trained activist, returned to the Western Cape where he set up an ANC branch in the Unathi section.



Agreement: former minister Piet Koornhof



List to sell: Johnson Ngxobongwana



Rival: Jeffrey Nongwe

The report says that in 1992, the youth began rejecting the "traditional and patriarchal style of leadership, such as allegedly exhibited by Mr Nongwe, turning more towards the democratised activism allegedly espoused by Mr Elese through the SACP/ANC alliance".

In the 1991/92 taxi war, members of the "Big Eight" gang allegedly connected to Mr Nongwe were involved in the killing of three people at Mr Elese's house.

While violence continued to simmer in the area, no new development took place until after the local elections in 1996, when Mr Elese won the election for ward 18 in the area.

The Crossroads Women's Power Group, which staged the sit-in in January this year, was found to have links with Mr Ngxobongwana and Mr Nongwe, as well as parties disenchanted by and alienated from the ANC, such as the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Party and the United Democratic Movement.

The latest conflict resulted from conflict between two groupings that could "loosely be termed pro-development and anti-development".

"Although beneath the outward disagreement on the progress of housing development in the area, seems to lie political aspirations and old rivalries, in fact virtually the full spectrum of political parties seem to now be involved in the conflict."

The build-up of tension in Crossroads began in January, when the women's group rose to prominence and occupied the municipal offices, ostensibly in protest against the size of houses being built.

Another issue in the area was that the nearest police station was without a commissioner and lacked leadership. The police thus kept out of the rising tension for fear of being accused of partisanship.

The pattern of conflict in Crossroads was founded on battles for territory and power. While some of the grievances of the women's group were genuine, others were not.

"Overwhelmingly, given the history of Crossroads, the primary cause of violence in the Crossroads area would seem to have been, and is, a fight for power and dominance based on territorial leadership driven by personal needs for financial income and power," the report noted.

"On another level, this same fight could be viewed as one between the political 'winners', that being those who gained leadership through the democratic elections process of 1996, and the political 'losers', those who did not gain support during the election, but who had stood for election based on their previous leadership roles in the community."

Councillors, however, did not come away from the inquiry lightly. They, too, were jointly and severally accused of being involved in attacks against members of the community, and also of not taking community grievances seriously enough.

Councillors were also accused of deliberately obstructing meetings of people they perceived to be political opponents.

Councillors for the area should have been more vigilant and circumspect in what they did and said.

Among the report's chief recommendations is that all political parties ensure they have a code of conduct, and that they teach members the basic rules of democracy.

"The primary cause of violence was found by the commission to be party rivalry between political parties, civic bodies, their leaders and members. The commission feels strongly that the organisations should take political responsibility for the conduct and actions of their members," the report concluded.

304A

Ministers set to be super-mayors

The ANC wants a balanced spread of cadres at all levels of government, writes JUSTICE MALALA

THE ANC is considering deploying at least two Cabinet ministers and several other high-profile leaders to local government structures in order to improve its performance in the lowest tier of government.

The redeployed ministers and leaders may take powerful positions in the four new megacities that will be established in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. These positions could create New York-style mayors with executive powers to head the cities.

Among those eyed as possible candidates for the Pretoria job are Deputy Education Minister Smangaliso Mkhatshwa and Parliament's health portfolio committee chairman, Dr Abe Nkomo, who are both from the area. Titus Mafole, former parliamentary housing committee chairman and now adviser to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, is also a possible candidate.

In Johannesburg there is a strong possibility that Gauteng Premier Mathole Motshekga may be redeployed to the Johannesburg metro. Others who have been mentioned are former Gauteng health MEC Amos Masondo, now head of the ANC election desk, and Murphy Morobe, head of the Fiscal and Finance Commission.

Although Justice Minister Dullah Omar is expected to continue with his duties, it is speculated that he may be redeployed to the Cape Town metro. Another candidate mentioned as being in the running for the post is Dr Allan Boesak, the former cleric and United Democratic Front leader who is fighting fraud charges. It is not clear who may be earmarked for Durban.

The ANC's national executive committee this week endorsed a document, "Cadre Policy and Our Development Strategy", in which reasons for the deployment of high-profile leaders to positions which would otherwise be considered embarrassing demotions are set out.

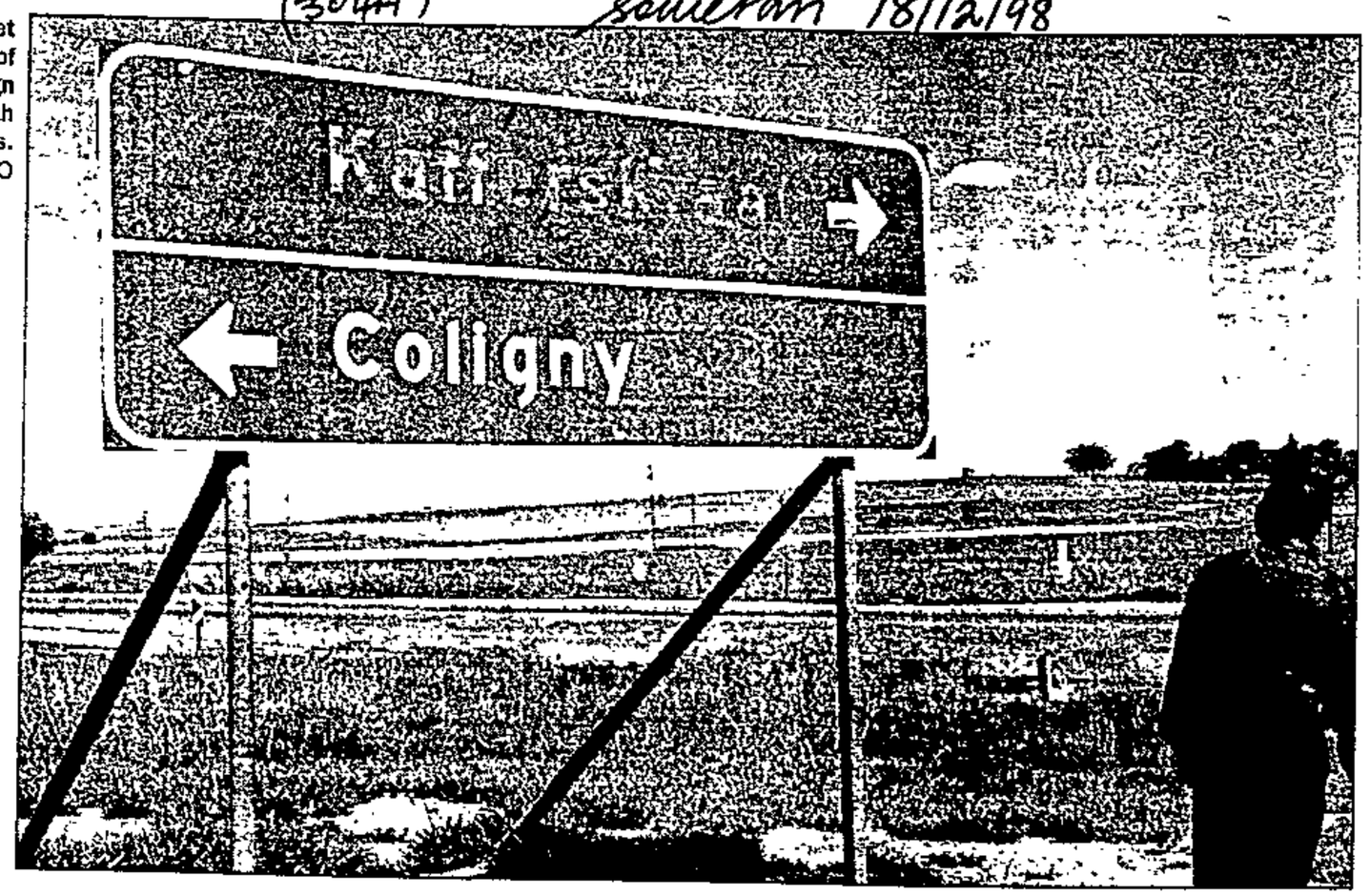
It is expected that the ministers identified will be "advised" of their new positions by the deployment committee led by ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma and Deputy Finance Minister Gill Marcus. Other members of the committee are Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and ANC deputy secretary-general Thenjiwe Mthintso.

"One aspect of [the national democratic revolution] is balanced deployment of cadres for effective intervention on all fronts, including the governmental, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, with proper co-ordination amongst all levels to ensure that we act as one movement," the document says.

ANC sources said this week that the endorsement of the document cleared the way to ensuring that the party's skills were spread to all tiers of government and to breaking the trend of sending the party's most talented leaders to Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

SA must rid itself of colonial names

(304A) Sowetan 18/12/98



Change as not yet reached every part of SA, as this road sign to Kaffirskraal in North West illustrates. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

By Motsoko Pheko

INDIGENOUS African names and identity are the key to genuine African nationhood, and the restoration and revitalisation of Africa based on Pan-Africanism. A people's name is a powerful force.

When a supposedly free African nation answers to a name that is colonial, it cannot completely overthrow colonialism. The proper name of a people must relate to the land, history and culture of a people and not to geography.

There can be no restoration of Africa's past glory and power, and future prosperity and greatness, without Africans knowing who they are – defining themselves and getting rid of foreign names and upholding their own values.

Abnormal situation

When colonialists colonised Africa, including what is today called South Africa, they created a very abnormal situation for the people of Africa.

In Europe, Europeans use their own indigenous names for their countries, town streets and airports. For instance, in Germany there are no towns bearing Xhosa or Zulu names.

In Britain there are no towns with Sesotho or Venda names. It is the same in Portugal, France, Belgium, Italy, Sweden, Spain, India and so on.

Yet in South Africa there are names such as Westminster, East London, Port Elizabeth, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Harrismith and Pinetown.

Some of these names belong to those such as Jan Bloem, Harry Smith and Benjamin Pine, who committed genocide and war crimes here.

Smith was a colonel in the British colonial army. He commanded colonial troops which invaded African land in today's Eastern Cape.

This is where he treacherously killed King Hintsa, pretending he was going to "negotiate" peace with him.

Today there is a town called "Harrismith" in honour of this savage and another called "Ladysmith" after his wife.

Pine, a British colonial governor in the former Natal, ordered African land to be seized by colonialists. African women and children were slaughtered.

African houses were burnt down. Their property was taken from them or destroyed. Their land was seized and distributed among white farmers.

In December 1873 Pine "tried" Nkosi Langalibalele for leading an uprising against the colonial dispossession of the African people. Langalibalele was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

Yet there is a town in this country today called Pinetown in honour of this war criminal.

In the Free State, the capital city Bloemfontein is named after Jan Bloem. Who was Bloem?

In 1910 the Reverend DE Ellenberger of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society and JC MacGregor described him in their book *History of the Basuto ancient and modern* as "an evil doer" and a "rascal".

"With the aid of his gun, (he) had ... enriched himself by seizing the cattle of his neighbours," they wrote.

In Africa, colonialists changed indigenous names and distorted the history of African countries. South Africa has been the African country worst-hit by this practice.

The country's name and its towns, streets and airports are European. The country itself was colonially named South Africa on September 20 1909.

The constitutional lawyers Gilbert Dold and CP Joubert explained why South Africa was formed against the Africans: "Long before Union (of the four British colonies) was brought about, many recognised that the colour question in all its aspects had to be dealt with, not piecemeal by separate (colonial) governments, but as one complex whole.

"The Cape had one native policy and Natal another entirely different, the Transvaal a third, the Orange River Colony a fourth. Different remedies were being applied to the same disease. Soon the gulf might be too wide to bridge.

"Apart from this there was always the danger of a native rising (against colonialism and racism). The white population if united under one (colonial) government, would be strong enough to deal with the danger of that kind, but under four governments not one of them ... was safe from danger."

The country was therefore de-Africanised and its history colonised, distorted and mutilated. The colonial aggressors replaced indigenous African names with their own foreign colonial names. This was a bid to steal African countries permanently.

After overthrowing colonial rule, however, many African countries did away with colonial names: Ghana did away with the British colonial name Gold Coast; Zimbabwe did away with Rhodesia; Botswana did away with Bechuanaland; and Namibia did away with South West Africa.

Many other African countries did away with the colonial names of their towns, streets and airports. Yet President Nelson Mandela's South Africa has remained colonially intact.

South Africa has indigenous names and heroes and heroines such as Sekhukhuni, Bambatha, Hintsa, Makwanyane, Sobukwe, Shaka, Pokela, Biko, Tiro, Lembede, Langalibalele Leballo, Mothopeng, Mda, Tabata, Honono, Makoti, Ntantala, David Sibeko, Madzunya, Mmanthatise, Mkhabayi, Boniswa Ngcukana, Mmaposhodi, Lillian Ngoyi and Joyce Sedibe.

Lasting contribution

In addition to these, the names of Africans in the diaspora who have made a lasting contribution to Pan-Africanism must find honour on the African soil.

It is the soil of their forefathers. Africa is the land of their ancestors. The fact that they were kidnapped from Africa and made slaves abroad does not diminish the fact that this is their land.

Pan-African giants such as Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, WEB DuBois, Franz Fanon, Malcolm X and Sylvester Williams never forgot Africa even when they lived outside the continent as a result of their enslavement by Europeans.

They contributed to the ideology of Pan Africanism, which is aimed at the security, survival and rapid reconstruction of the destroyed walls of Africa and its pre-slave and pre-colonial prosperity.

It is not their fault that they bear slave names.

They must be recognised and honoured for their contribution to Africa and Pan-African thought.

In South Africa, indigenous names should be used to name the towns, airports and streets of this country.

Instead, colonial names have been replaced with other colonial names.

For instance, Louis Botha Airport has been renamed Durban Airport. (Benjamin D'urban was a colonel in colonial wars of aggression which robbed Africans of their land and mineral wealth.)

True patriots of this country must work hard to put into power a government which will restore dignity to the African people by renaming this country, its towns, streets, rivers and airports with indigenous names.

Let the children of Africa be reminded: "Slaves and dogs are named by their masters. But free men and women name themselves."

(Dr Pheko is deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress.)

RANKS OF UNDECIDED ARE GROWING

Majority of voters continue to support ANC — survey

CT 21/12/98

(304A)

MORE SOUTH AFRICANS seem disenchanted with political parties, unsure of who they will vote for in the coming elections and open to persuasion, according to a recent survey. **ANDRE KOOPMAN** reports.

FIFTY-FOUR percent of the electorate intends to vote for the African National Congress next year, while support for the New National Party dropped from 10 to nine percent and support for the Democratic Party dropped two percentage points from seven to five since September this year.

This is according to the results of an October/November survey conducted by the Institute for Democratic Alternatives in SA (Idasa) and Markinor.

In disturbing news for political parties, nearly a fifth of the electorate did not know who they wanted to vote for. The survey also indicated that voter identification with political parties was at its lowest since 1994.

The survey, which was done in collaboration with the SA Broadcasting Corporation, found that Inkatha Freedom Party support increased by one point to five percent, and that of the United Democratic Movement from two to three percent.

Pan Africanist Congress backing dropped from two to one percent, and support for the Freedom Front remained constant at one percent.

The Azanian People's Organisation and the Conservative Party could each count on less than one percent of the vote.

Bob Mattes, Idasa's public opinion services manager, said that support for the ANC was three percent up from September, but significantly lower than ANC support levels measured since 1994 to mid-1997.

In September/October 1994, 61% of the electorate said they supported the ANC. Support dropped to the lowest level yet — 51% — in September this year.

"The increase in ANC support in October and November is accompanied by a marked improvement since September in public opinion about the overall direction of the country, the state of the economy and government performance," Mattes said.

The survey, dubbed Opinion '99, was conducted among 3 500 adults between October 5 and November 11 this year, and claims to represent "a mirror image of the South Africa population". The margin of error was put at about 1,65%.

Mattes said nearly a fifth of the electorate did not know who they wanted to vote for, adding: "Voter identification with political parties is at the lowest level that we have seen in the new South Africa."

He said there had been a steady increase in the percentage of undecided voters, and a constant drop in ANC backing, while opposition party support had remained exactly the same over the last four years.

"This means that people dissatisfied with the ANC don't move to the opposition, but to the 'don't know' column."

Of the 19% undecided voters, 59% were black, 24% white, 13% coloured and four percent Indian.

The survey also measured trends in "party identification", which indicates a voter's longstanding allegiance to a political party, but differs from actual voting choice.

It found that slightly over one-third of voters identified with the ANC.

Forty-three percent of the electorate identified with a specific party, compared to 88% in September/October 1994.

"Increasingly large proportions of South Africans seem to evidence an anti-party sentiment," a research document says.

Fifty percent of blacks did not identify with any party, compared to 80% of whites, 75% of coloureds and 89% of Indians.

"People are moving away from political parties and not moving between them," Mattes said.

Mattes said the increase in the number of voters who did not identify with a party meant that more people would be open to persuasion based on party performance and campaigns. However, this group would also be harder to convince to register and vote.

The survey also found that at the start of last month, up to 4,8 million eligible voters did not yet have the green, bar-coded identity document required to register for next year's election. The Home Affairs Department, however, said only about 2,5 million voters still had to be issued with the bar-coded ID book.

Companies say they will pay up for 1999 election

(304A) BD 22/12/98

Alan Fine and Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — Corporate SA will dig deep to help fund political parties in next year's general election, with many companies planning to fund a range of them rather than support a single party.

The parties themselves expect at least 50%, and as much as 80%, of their war chests to come from business and individual business executives.

If 1994 is anything to go by, the African National Congress (ANC) will spend more than R100m on its campaign, while the Democratic Party has indicated it will need at least R28m to be competitive. The New National Party estimates its election campaign will cost about R30m, with at least 80% coming from business.

A mini survey of major companies found a small proportion willing to confirm they would — or probably would — make donations to parties. However, each of the firms willing to make this disclosure said it would fund a range of parties "for the purpose of assisting the cause of democracy". These included Sanlam, Absa, Johnnic, SA Breweries and Sappi.

Anglo American and AngloGold refused to disclose their party funding intentions, saying that until the law required disclosure for all, they did not intend to supply information.

A number of firms said they would not be donating. These included Sasol, Rembrandt, Billiton, Standard Bank, Old Mutual, Liberty Life, Anglovaal Mining and McCarthy Retail. Billiton provided a form of support to the ANC through its funding of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's recently published book, Africa — The Time Has Come. A spokesman denied this represented a party political donation.

Sanlam said it had contributed just more than R1m to a range of mainstream political parties this year and would probably increase this amount during the 1999 election year. It showed no political preferences in its financial support. Its goal was to nurture the democratic process.

"The amount allocated to a party is not directly related to the size of the party, with the result that, in relative terms, smaller parties receive more than larger ones," a spokesman said.

Absa executive director Frans du Toit said the bank's policy was to make donations to the more prominent registered political parties.

"We have not made a decision yet about the 1999 elections, but we will definitely give something. However, we will not simply support one or other party."

Sappi financial director Bill Hewitt said no decision had yet been made about next year. A similar stance was taken by SA Breweries (SAB). Corporate affairs group executive Dunbar Bucknall said the brewer had traditionally refrained from supporting political parties financially, in keeping with its code of conduct which required it to act in a nonparty political fashion. An exception had been made in the 1994 elections when SAB supported the main contending parties. No firm decision had been made about next year.

Vaughn Bray, CEO of black-owned Johnnic, said although the corporation had no clear policy on the issue, he was sure "that when parties come knocking at the door donations will be made".

Anglo's Michael Spicer said the issue was "too difficult" to discuss. Anglogold took the same stance, saying that while it did not have a donations policy, requests would be dealt with by the company's executive committee. "There are no legal requirements for disclosure. Until there are, we will not disclose," a spokesman said.

Tongaat-Hulett group executive director Johannes Magwaza said the group's executive committee had discussed the question of funding political parties, but no decision had been taken.

(304A) 24/12/98 - 7/1/99

How the Cabinet fared in





The A-team: Nelson Mandela, Mac Maharaj and Alec Erwin were the only Cabinet members to score top honours in 1998.
PHOTOGRAPHS: SIDDIQUE DAVIDS, RAJESH JANTILAL AND RUTH MOTAU

NELSON MANDELA
President
Grade: A

Few people in recorded history have been the subject of such high expectations; still fewer have matched them; Mandela has exceeded them. We knew of his fortitude before he left jail; we have since experienced his extraordinary reserves of goodwill, his sense of fun and the depth of his maturity. As others' prisoner, he very nearly decided the date of his own release; as president, he has wisely chosen the moment of his going. Any other nation would consider itself privileged to have his equal as its leader. His last full year in power provides us with an occasion again to consider his achievement in bringing and holding our fractious land together. A few ill-considered comments, such as his jibe about "Mickey Mouse" opposition parties, do not detract substantially from his record.

Prognosis: A long and happy eventide with Graça, his children and grandchildren, spent mainly in Qunu and Mozambique, and the enduring love of a grateful people.

THABO MBEKI
Deputy President
Grade: B

Doing the top job without being the top person can't be easy, even if the boss is as supportive as Mandela has been. Yet the government, administration and African National Congress have evinced ever more of Mbeki's imprimatur over the year. He has moved placemen into key positions: Tito Mboweni to the Reserve Bank, Bulelani Ngcuka to top national prosecutor and Jacob Zuma and other Friends of Thabo (FOTs) into a committee to help him (rather than the ANC's unco-operative conference) control which other ANC leader gets what job.

He has faced down the infantile tendency in the South African Communist Party with help from Mandela; absorbed criticism of his growth, employment and redistribution strategy with the help of Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel; and kept the SACP and unions on board for the election campaign through Minister of Trade and Industry Alec Erwin's skills at the presidential Jobs Summit.

He has held a steady course in difficult circumstances. There have, however, been some unnecessary bumps along the way. He, Mandela and Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo managed to be out of the country when our forces intervened in Lesotho — our first post-apartheid cross-border adventure. A week later, he looked stupid when he prematurely announced a peace agreement between Lesotho's warring factions. And there have been a number of strange judgment calls, such as his office's attacks on the head of the Institute for the Advancement of Democracy in South Africa, Wilmot James, and the Heath special investigative unit for its pursuit of Minister of Health Nkosazana Zuma.

Prognosis: What sort of president he makes is likely to depend on whether or not he develops an inner confidence he has hitherto lacked.

KADER ASMAL
Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry
Grade: B

A hard worker, he is prepared to take unpopular decisions, like telling 30 000 squatters in the Dukuduku forest in KwaZulu-Natal to get out. His department's Working for Water programme is on track, although it is criticised for providing short-term, not enduring, solutions. The worst thing he has done this year is to give up his 60-a-day cigarette habit. It may be a good idea in the long term, but it has made him ratty.

Prognosis: Available to continue next year, but he has cancer. Otherwise we would have no hesitation in recommending him for, say, foreign affairs. Nonetheless, he may enjoy the challenge of a bigger department — a number of which could do with him.

SIBUSISO BENGU
Minister of Education
Grade: F

Poor old Bengu. Almost every new policy departure has seemed to flounder. Voluntary severance packages, besides costing a fortune, merely lost our education system many of our best teachers. A cash shortage stymied the introduction of Curriculum 2005. Formerly disadvantaged schools remain significantly disadvantaged. And what schoolgoer can any longer be expected to believe a promise that textbooks are on their way?

Prognosis: Why was it left to him to announce his retirement? And so late? We are pleased to relaunch last year's "Draft Mamphela Ramphele" campaign. This vital ministry needs a vital person like the University of Cape Town's vice-chancellor.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
Minister of Home Affairs
Grade: D

Buthelezi has seemed happiest not as a minister but as acting president ordering foreign invasions while Mandela and Mbeki are away. He has not coped better with his more mundane ministerial tasks than he did on Lesotho. His department's handling of bar-coded identity documents has been abysmal; his attention to the needs of the Independent Electoral Commission (which falls under his vote) has been inadequate; and South Africa still lacks an immigration strategy that would stabilise immigrant populations and reduce xenophobia.

Prognosis: Promotion is probable, but this will owe everything to the need the ANC identifies to keep the Inkatha Freedom Party sweet. There is mention of the deputy presidency for Buthelezi after the election — in which case expect emigration to climb.

NKOSAZANA DLAMINI-ZUMA
Minister of Health
Grade: C

She has done what any fair-minded person would have done: spent more on basic health care for those most deprived of it. But because her budget is limited she has spent (relatively) less where services are already satisfactory. This has exposed her to sometimes justified but vicious criticism. She has, however, responded defiantly, always trying to add to the number and power of her enemies. She has dared pharmaceutical and tobacco companies, and medical aids, to oppose her, and they have obliged with legal actions. But on her own and South Africa's biggest challenge, the rate of HIV/Aids infection, she has yet to show that she can muster the urgency and resources to make a difference.

Prognosis: Could spend a lot of time in court in the new year. A close FOT, she has also been mooted as a possible deputy president. She says, however, that she wants to see her health reforms through.

ALEC ERWIN
Minister of Trade and Industry
Grade: A

Erwin has excelled. Using his legendary negotiating skills, he gave Mbeki what he wanted from the Jobs Summit: apparent unity of purpose between business, labour and the government on headline-catching job-creation plans which did not disturb macro-economic policy. He has also pushed through legislation with profound effects on competitions and trade policy. Spatial development initiatives like the Maputo corridor have attracted big-bucks investors and could dent unemployment. The year ended without a trade deal with the European Union, but this was because of European protectionism, rather than South African shortcomings.

Prognosis: His star should rise. Kingmakers abroad have also noted his talents and there has been talk of an international posting to the World Trade Organisation in Geneva. Let us hope Mbeki keeps him where his talents are most needed.

GERALDINE FRASER-MOLEKETI
Minister of Welfare and Population Development
Grade: C

She has got her policies and her legislation right, but her department's on-the-ground implementation is woeful. Her ministry blames the provinces for this; the provinces blame the national government; and many of our most vulnerable people suffer as a result, particularly in the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. Thousands of people are removed from benefit lists annually without reason or explanation. Those who deal with Fraser-Moleketi regularly say she has difficulty listening, particularly when others are saying what she would rather not hear. This may explain why, in three years at welfare, she has been through three director generals. In fairness to her, however, she inherited a disaster of a department from her National Party predecessor.

Prognosis: She must show she can make welfare work before she is moved to bigger things.

DEREK HANEKOM
Minister of Land Affairs and Agriculture
Grade: B

He deserves credit for hard work in one of the trickiest portfolios. On the one hand are conservative, relatively wealthy white farmers; on the other, millions of land-hungry peasants. Progress in land reform is far short of the ANC's 1994 promises. He needs to be judged on the three major thrusts: redistribution, restitution and tenure reform. The pace of redistribution picked up this year. A bold review of restitution identified big obstacles, but this brought him into conflict with former chief land claims commissioner Joe Seremane. And promises of tenure reform for millions living in former trust lands have yet to materialise. A master of the media moment, he is happiest with his sleeves rolled up getting to grips with community issues.

Prognosis: The fact that he is pigmentally challenged and is said by some to be too sympathetic to white farmers may count against him in Mbeki's Cabinet.

PALLO JORDAN
Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
Grade: D

Jordan is often invisible when controversy arises. And what

Keeping score
What the marks mean

A — Brilliant. On top of the job. Innovative. Delivering. Take a salary increase.
B — Very good. Could do better.
C — Average. Needs a lot of brushing up.
D — Mediocre. Not up to scratch.
E — Lousy. One last chance or you're fired/closed down.
F — Pathetic. A fail. Jump before you are pushed.

1998: The report card

(304A) M+G 24/12/98 — 7/1/99

stances he takes are often so obscure that they don't take matters further. Some important measures were generated by his department this year — including the environmental management Bill and the Green Paper on coastal management. His deputy, Peter Mokaba, is usually the one who must get his hands dirty. Mokaba will chair the new Tourism Forum, a government/business initiative to market and fund tourism development; and when the Tuli elephant debacle threatened our tourist image, Mokaba had to check the premises of the animal dealer involved.

Prognosis: Unlikely to remain in Cabinet after the election. Jordan is best suited to an environment where he can do the maximum amount of thought with the minimum amount of effort and absolutely no exertion.

PENUELL MADUNA
Minister of Minerals and Energy
Grade: E

Apart from a few well-meaning policy drafts, Maduna has had little impact. He has not built up a credible department, nor has he found himself knowledgeable advisers. Instead, he has become embroiled in a series of embarrassments, most connected with the Central Energy Fund (CEF). Top of the list was his strange fight with Auditor General Henri Kluever. His suggestion that Kluever was party to the theft of R170-million of oil prompted a probe by the public protector, which is still ongoing even though Maduna retracted shortly after the inquiry began. He also made a pig's ear of sacking state oil chief Kobus van Zyl, and botched the Emanuel Shaw II saga, ignoring an inquiry he himself ordered into a R3-million contract awarded to the former Liberian finance minister. The inquiry said he should axe Shaw, who has since decamped to Liberia, and Don Mkhwanazi, the former head of the CEF who later quit.

Prognosis: Would do well as official starter of the annual three-legged camel derby in Oman.

MAC MAHARAJ
Minister of Transport
Grade: A

He has been our best Cabinet member. He developed a strong team at transport, initially around Director General Khetso Gordhan. It set realisable objectives and met them. Even the sourest of species, traffic cops, have a good word for him — as do many users of the transport network. An unimportant breakfast briefing by Maharaj will draw a throng of senior journalists nursing hangovers for the rare sight of a Cabinet minister wholly on top of his brief. He has hived off or privatised systems where this has promised advantages to the fiscus or consumers. And we now think about our transport infrastructure — as we should — within a regional context.

Prognosis: He says he will retire from the Cabinet after the election. Can the offer of a substantial portfolio or special task tempt him back?

TREVOR MANUEL
Minister of Finance
Grade: B

Manuel exemplifies the argument that you don't need to be a good economist to be a good minister of finance. You must be willing to take advice from experts, make difficult decisions, stick by them and mobilise political support for them. He has done all of these. If the state of the economy were the only criterion, Manuel would score an F. Recession looms, jobs are being shed and rates are high. But he has maintained intelligent equanimity amid serious international turbulence. South Africa has been less affected by it than most other emerging markets as a result.

Prognosis: Every national leader needs a finance minister with balls — if only so that the hapless fellow can take the rap for what goes wrong with the economy rather than passing the blame upwards. Manuel plays that role well for Mbeki.

MEMBATHISI MDLADLANA
Minister of Labour
Grade: C

Nobody knows how Mdladlana succeeded Mboweni when the latter went to the Reserve Bank. Among the more credible theories is that his regular fulminations against the unions — despite his union background — impressed Mbeki. Supported by a strong team around Director General Sipho Pityana — a team built by Mboweni — Mdladlana had an easier time steering through employment equity legislation than he would otherwise have had. Although many in business criticise labour market rigidities, like the unions they generally speak highly of the Department of Labour.

Prognosis: Mdladlana is likely to be shepherded after the election to make way at labour for Mbhazima (formerly Sam) Shilowa, an FOT who is swopping the Congress of South African Trade Unions's hammer and anvil for politics' greasy poll.

JOE MODISE
Minister of Defence
Grade: C

Modise has been more fortunate than Minister off Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi. The military retained a bedrock discipline and professionalism which the police had lost by 1994. He has also had a very good deputy in Ronnie Kasrils. These factors have helped ensure that successive annual defence budget cutbacks; and incidents like the resignation of General Georg Meiring, have not caused the South African National Defence Force to unravel. Morale is now improving as the forces await expensive new toys. With a more effective parliamentary opposition, Modise might have had to resign over operational failures in Lesotho. He has now announced he is not available after the election.

Prognosis: Retirement, in which he should write a book on how *not* to run a guerrilla war — a field in which he is expert.

VALLI MOOSA
Minister of Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs
Grade: B

Also known as the minister of natty suits. Many in the government regard the degree of autonomy given the provinces and some other levels of local government as a huge waste of money — even before account is taken of maladministration and corruption. Moosa has tried, largely successfully, to disguise this. He has made real progress in restructuring local government — despite strong objections from opposition parties this year — and in developing desperately needed skills and administrative capacity there.

Prognosis: A real talent for the future.

SANKI MTHEMBI-MAHANYELE
Minister of Housing
Grade: F

Why is she still in Cabinet? She has shown she cannot deliver in one of our key delivery ministries. Her award of a massive housing contract to a close friend and her sacking of her former director general, Billy Cobbett, continue to haunt the public perception of her.

Prognosis: A coupé on the gravy train would do nicely, thank you very much.

LIONEL MTSHALI
Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology
Grade: E

Mtshali emerged briefly this year from otherwise welcome obscurity to have a public row with his departing director general Roger Jardine. Insiders speak of a deterioration in relations in the department since Mtshali took over from his IFP colleague, Ben Ngubane, now premier of KwaZulu-Natal, and suggest an exodus of ANC-aligned officials. Jardine's departure also deprived the department of an innovative science policy-maker. Cultural activity is the third fastest growing economic sector internationally and could be a big employer. Mtshali is not the person to develop that potential.

Prognosis: Whether or not he keeps this portfolio will depend on what patronage Mbeki has to pass Buthelezi's way to keep the IFP sweet. Otherwise, we nominate Mtshali as ambassador to Belarus.

SIDNEY MUFAMADI
Minister of Safety and Security
Grade: F

Mufamadi has overseen the collapse of the criminal justice system and our arrival as one of the world's most dangerous destinations. A police force member is three times more likely to commit an offence than the rest of us. Mufamadi inherited one of the world's most dishonest and brutal police forces, but he has shown he can't instil duty and propriety in our police. He is held in low esteem by legal professionals specialising in criminal matters. It has often been said this portfolio needed someone of Maharaj's calibre.

Prognosis: Word is that Mufamadi, an FOT, will be promoted to minister of foreign affairs. This would have the advantage of visiting the consequences of his ineptitude on foreigners rather than us. Please don't let Mbeki make him deputy president.

JAY NAIDOO
Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting
Grade: C

Also known as the minister of funny suits. Naidoo doesn't score well on broadcasting because of ill-conceived legislation to privatise the SABC partially and because he has presided over the disappointing denuding of the Independent Broadcasting Authority. He has run a more interventionist ministry than his predecessor, the sedentary Jordan. New legislation will make Naidoo the sole shareholder of what remains of the SABC. It will also change the broadcaster's shape — the implications of which have not been thought through. But Naidoo scores well for huge improvements in the postal service.

Prognosis: His biggest task next year will be overseeing the granting of two new cellular telephone licences. After the election, there is talk of a diplomatic posting, probably to Canada, his wife's home.

ALFRED NZO
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Grade: F

If anyone has squandered our post-1994 moral capital, it's Nzo. While protesting support for human rights, we have honoured tyrants like former Indonesian president Suharto. Our justifications have been as dubious the old friends of apartheid's. Our foreign policy has been incoherent, one week saying we will abide strictly by international law, the next intervening in Lesotho without legal justification or clear purpose. While seeking a negotiated settlement in Angola, we joined our Southern African Development Community partners in outlawing dialogue with Unita leader Jonas Savimbi. Foreign policy professionals despair, and the rest of us thank heavens for the little lustre given our foreign policy by Mandela and Mbeki.

Prognosis: Nzo has been threatening to leave politics since the 1980s — he used to warn fellow exiles he might buy himself a plot of land, get a three-legged pot and stare into the middle distance. May he hold neither them nor us in suspense any longer.

DULLAH OMAR
Minister of Justice
Grade: C

Omar has failed to transform and revitalise South Africa's courts, although his heart is in the right place. He has been handicapped by a weak department, some members of which may have frustrated his plans. But some of his new appointments have been questionable — including a number from his former law practice.

To PAGE 8



The F-team: Sibusiso Bengu, Sankie Mthembu-Mahanyele, Sydney Mufamadi, Alfred Nzo and Stella Sigcau should jump before they are pushed

The cabinet's report card

(304A)

M+G 24/12/98 – 7/1/99

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Legal professionals fear administration of the courts, suffering an exodus of experienced staff, is going down the tubes. He has discouraged systematic mentoring of new appointees to the Bench, claiming "mentoring can be very patronising". In the past four years, Omar has not shied away from controversy, including generous support for Allan Boesak and an attack on Judge Willem Heath for gunning for Zuma over the *Sarafina II* scandal.

Prognosis: Could be encouraged back to private practice if he can't deliver on good intentions.

JEFF RADEBE
Minister of Public Works
Grade: B

A quiet trooper in the Cabinet, who just gets on with his job as a sort of maintenance manager for every godforsaken government property around the country. He has tried to make his department a source of contracts for emerging businesses and jobs for the unemployed. He is in charge of carrying forward the employment creation projects decided on at the presidential Jobs Summit. He also plays a Mr Fixit role for Mbeki in ANC/SACP relations.

Prognosis: Why not give him one of the bigger delivery ministries?

STELLA SIGCAU
Minister of State Enterprise
Grade: F

Another person of whom one asks: why is she in Cabinet? If her royal Xhosa lineage is the only explanation, a spot of republican fundamentalism may be in order. Many opportunities for successful privatisation — her brief — have been squandered over the past five years. Privatisation could, among other things, already have markedly reduced our accumulated national debt and, by reducing it, led to a fall in the cost of borrowing (interest rates) for the rest of us. What privatisation has occurred has done so despite, not because of, her.

Prognosis: Unlikely to survive Mbeki's knife, nor should she.

BEN SKOSANA
Minister of Correctional Services
Grade: D

Skosana has one major advantage over his predecessor, Sipo Mzimela: he does not, as far as we know, want to bury prisoners in mine shafts or truss them up in skyscrapers. He has been in his post for less than six months — too short a time to make any impact, although there is no indication he has tried to. There is no shortage of challenges. Correctional policy is a mess, and our prisons are brutal, corrupt and corrupting places. Given that so many of our leaders have spent time "inside", one would expect more care to be taken in correcting our correctional services.

Prognosis: His position depends on the terms of an Mbeki/Buthelezi deal after the election.

ZOLA SKWEYIYA
Minister of Public Service and Administration
Grade: C

Skweyiya ended the year on a disappointing note when he side-stepped the issue of retrenchments in our still bloated civil service — perhaps on the orders of his political masters six months before an election. Thousands of supernumeries will now be "redeployed" within the service rather than being sent off to earn a living. When will he grasp this nettle? Ever? Is this government capable of doing so? Skweyiya has, however, helped oversee often successful transformation in the civil service. He has also been direct in dealing with shortcomings in provincial government and has placed a code of conduct before civil servants.

Prognosis: This portfolio needs someone with fire in his or her belly willing to blow it up other people's backsides. Skweyiya is not that person. He should be floated into less demanding Cabinet waters.

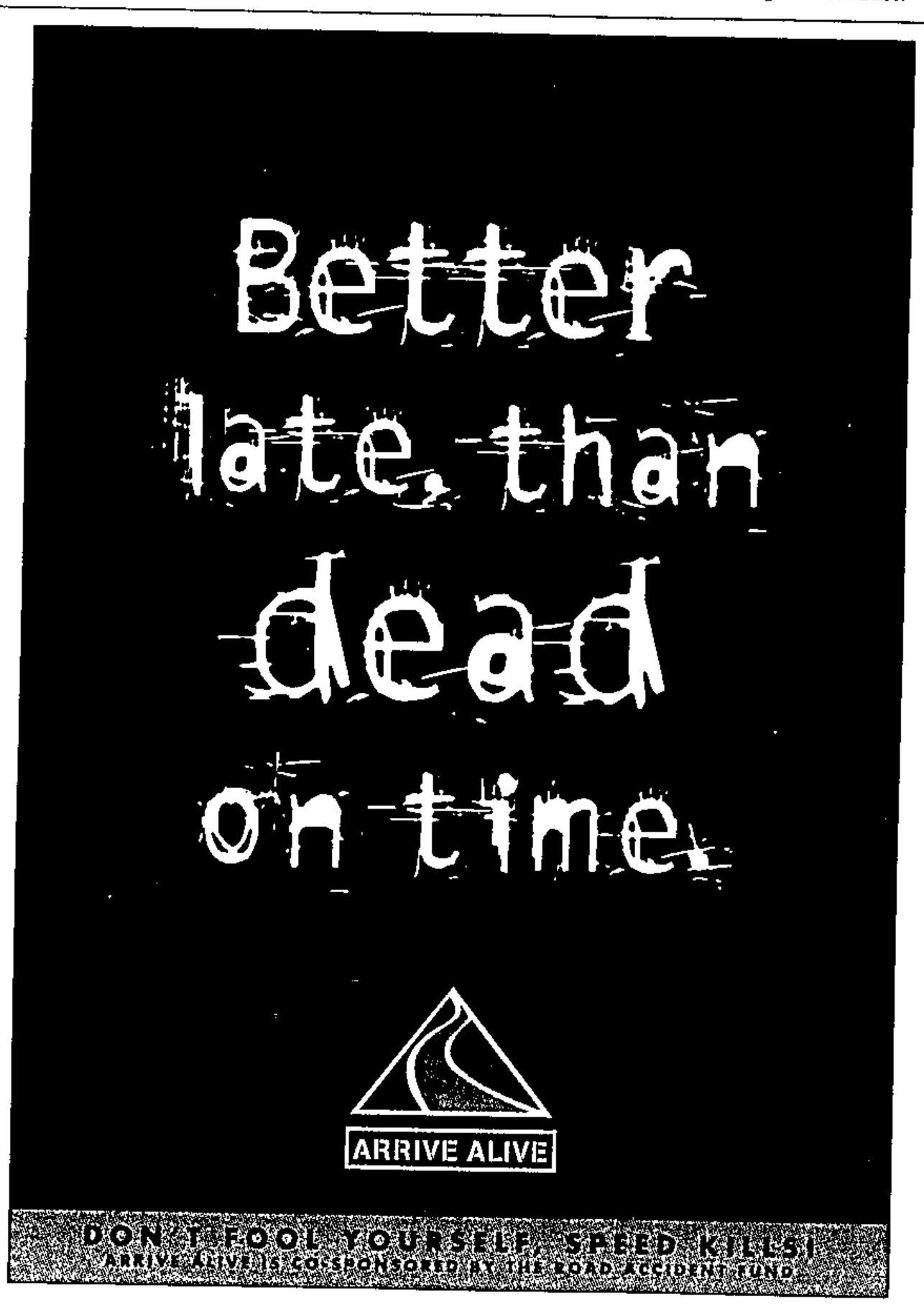


No hero: Steve Tshwete is arguably South African sport's worst enemy

STEVE TSHWETE
Minister of Sport and Recreation
Grade: E (but only because Bafana Bafana beat Egypt)

Tshwete is arguably South African sport's worst enemy. Rather than galvanising the sporting disciplines or seeking to reconcile opposing bodies, he has caused yet more chaos. The understandable urge to have more representative South African sports teams has been crudely expressed in legislation which comes close to allowing the government to select teams and imprison administrators who don't comply.

Prognosis: The sports ministry, among the most inept in the government, should be scrapped — as suggested by the Presidential Review Commission. Tshwete could accompany Maduna to the Oman camel derby.



And among the commissions

GENDER COMMISSION
Grade: B

This commission did not have an easy birth: first it wasn't given a budget, and then it lost its talented chair, Thenjiwe Mtintso, who became African National Congress deputy secretary general in 1997. With a R10-million budget, it has arguably done a considerably better job putting itself on the map than either the Human Rights Commission or the Youth Commission.

It owes much of its success to its CEO, Colleen Lowe-Morna, a journalist and gender activist. It is an effective watchdog and advocacy body. In addition to lobbying the media, it was party to a successful defence of the Termination of Pregnancy Act in the Constitutional Court and an offensive against a community radio station which kept women broadcasters off air. It has a gender hotline, and produces a women's directory and a women's handbook.

HEATH COMMISSION
Grade: A

Since being set up in 1995 to investigate graft in the Eastern Cape, Judge Willem Heath's team has grown to become South Africa's most fearless anti-corruption squad. It has already recovered billions of rands. With a budget of R16-million, the same as that accorded the Human Rights Commission, it gives the taxpayer good value for money. Heath recently took on Minister of Health Nkosazana Zuma over *Sarafina II*, launching a civil suit against her for the money wasted on the fiasco. Heath has also started sinking his teeth into Mpumalanga.

Some eyebrows have been raised about Heath's search, seizure, and subpoena powers. Heath's unit was set up under the Special Unit and Tribunals Act. Minister of Justice Dullah Omar has indicated that other similar units could be set up under this Act.

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION
Grade: D

It appears to have had little impact on human rights in South Africa.

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(304A)

Among the commissions

M+G 24/12/98 —

From PAGE 8

The main perpetrators of human rights abuses — the police — continue to batter suspects. Prison conditions remain shocking. All of which probably explains why it chose to launch its absurd investigation into the media — a probe which will neatly coincide with the run-up to the 1999 elections. But it has provided the commission with its first sustained publicity. Chair Barney Pityana now gets R13-million a year — R6-million more than the public protector. The commission has conducted investigations into, among others, prison conditions, unfair labour practices, evictions and brutality on farms. Its main problem is that its empowering Act is so vague that, says the Democratic Party's Dene Smuts, "the commission can regard the entire panoply of rights as its playpen". Which is why the rudderless commission can lawfully embark on its media witch-hunt, instead of devoting its resources to monitoring police cells.

INDEPENDENT BROADCASTING AUTHORITY

Grade: B

The authority has never recovered from the financial scandal that felled most of its councillors and triggered the departure of its CEO, Harris Gxaweni. It also lives under threat of being merged with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority. But apart from perfecting the art of credit card abuse, the authority has contributed rather a lot. It organised the new South Africa's first privatisation - the sale of some SABC radio stations - and licensed private and community radio stations and a new television channel. It fostered the development of local talent by restricting foreign ownership of stations and by encouraging local programming and historically disadvantaged ownership.

INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Grade: D

It is developing a reputation as an inefficient body grounded in hopeless optimism. If the poor start to the registration campaign and the commission's subsequent spin doctoring are anything to go by, that reputation is deserved. But it is not all the commission's fault. The government has failed to give it sufficient money or attention — despite the fact that it started issuing warnings about the 1999 election shortly after the 1994 poll. The commission has developed a habit of skirting responsibility for some of the messes over which it presided.

7/1/99

NATIONAL YOUTH COMMISSION

Grade: F

On its website, the commission lists as its achievements: "organising the National Youth Summit; developing and presenting the National Youth Policy; establishing the Interdepartmental Committee on Youth Affairs; conceptually developing the high-tech Youth-Line Information Services Project", and so on and so on. The commission has spent its short life justifying the alleged R350 000 salary of its 28-year-old chair Mahlengi Bhengu, and the generous packages of her 18 commissioners.

PUBLIC PROTECTOR

Grade: C

This watchdog has not made much of an impact. It has one good excuse: a budget of only R7-million, providing only a handful of investigators in Pretoria and no provincial offices.

Incumbent Selby Baqwa has repeatedly called for more money. His pleas were finally answered at the Anti-Corruption Summit, where the government said it would beef up his staff to 150. Anecdotal evidence suggests his office has grown increasingly efficient.

But Baqwa has yet to deliver a decisive report on government corruption. His office says it has a backlog of 2 500 cases.

One of its biggest problems is that its founding Act, too, is vague. This year, Baqwa has been distracted by a bizarre probe into financial impropriety at the state oil company.

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S.A. GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

1999

SA pays R250m for memberships

BD 5/1/99 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The SA government's membership of more than 60 international organisations and agencies costs the taxpayer more than R250m a year, papers before Parliament have shown.

The latest membership list from Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo also includes the one-off payment of R65m which went towards the hosting of last year's summit of the Non-Aligned Movement in Durban.

The most expensive of the organisations is the United Nations (UN) which, with its myriad committees and commissions, carries a price tag of more than R50m.

SA's contribution to the UN peacekeeping budget and the regular budget alone account for about R48m. Accommodation for the UN Development Programme, chaired by SA, is R2,8m.

Involvement with the UN Economic Commission costs R2,4m, while the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) costs R7,5m. The UN Environmental Programme costs R2,4m.

The UN High Commission for Refugees and other voluntary donations to the refugees programmes cost a further R6m, with about R2,4m of this going to programmes for Angolan refugees.

The UN Commission on Human Rights costs SA about R700 000.

Membership of the Organisation of African Unity costs SA about R12m, with a further R1,2m paid to the peace fund for the Comores and to fund medical supplies for a cholera epidemic in Zanzibar. Membership fees for the World Health Organisation are R15m.

Commonwealth membership fees, as well as contributions to its science council, youth programme and the fund for technical co-operation amount to R12m, while membership of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission costs a further R5,72m.

The African, Caribbean and Pacific countries organisation costs R1,2m.

Nzo's list also shows that membership of the International Committee of the Red Cross costs R2m, while the International Atomic Energy Agency costs a little more than R4m.

Other associations of interest are the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (Cites) (R80 000); the Convention on the Law of the Sea (R180 000); the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (R120 000); the Food and Agriculture Organisation (R30m); the International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas (R140 000); the International Labour Organisation (R4m); the International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (R800 000); the Southern African Development Community (R2,4m); the Universal Postal Union (R2,4m), the World Tourism Organisation (R400 000) and the World Trade Organisation (R2,5m).

Five protesters held at US embassy clash

CT 8/1/99 (304A)

RHODA DAVIDS

POLICE and pro-Iraq demonstrators clashed yesterday outside the US embassy on the Foreshore, leading to police firing stun grenades at the crowd and arresting five people.

About 300 demonstrators, spurred into action by British Prime Minister Tony Blair's visit to South Africa, gathered at the Muir Street Mosque in District Six yesterday morning. But they were informed by a large, heavily-armed police contingent that they had not been granted permission by the City of Cape Town for the protest march, and that their gathering was illegal.

The protesters claimed that they had applied for permission to march, but that the city council did not respond to the request.

However, city council spokesperson Leonora de Souza denied yesterday afternoon that permission had been sought for the march.

"We consider all applications for marches seriously and we always respond to applications," she said.

The angry demonstrators were left standing in the heat for about two hours while their leaders and police met with the city council to apply to march to the embassy and the British consulate.

Eventually, the group was informed they would have to return later that afternoon for more discussions with the city council and police.

However, they proceeded in convoy into the city centre and displayed placards, some reading "Blairy killer, go home" and "United Kingdom, United States, United Terrorists".

Their first stop was the embassy, where at least five armoured police vehicles were parked. Traffic in the area was brought to an abrupt halt as police cordoned off Hertzog Boulevard, which runs past the embassy.

A fracas erupted when the US flag was set alight, and a police Casspir forced its way into the chanting crowd, which started beating the Casspir with sticks and other blunt objects. Police also claimed shots were fired at them.

Police responded by firing three stun grenades, prompting the protesters to scatter across the Foreshore lawns.

Police arrested five men, who were later identified by the organisers as Rashaad Toefy, Yaqoob Jacobs, Gasant Safodien, Abduragmaan Khan and Muain Achmat.

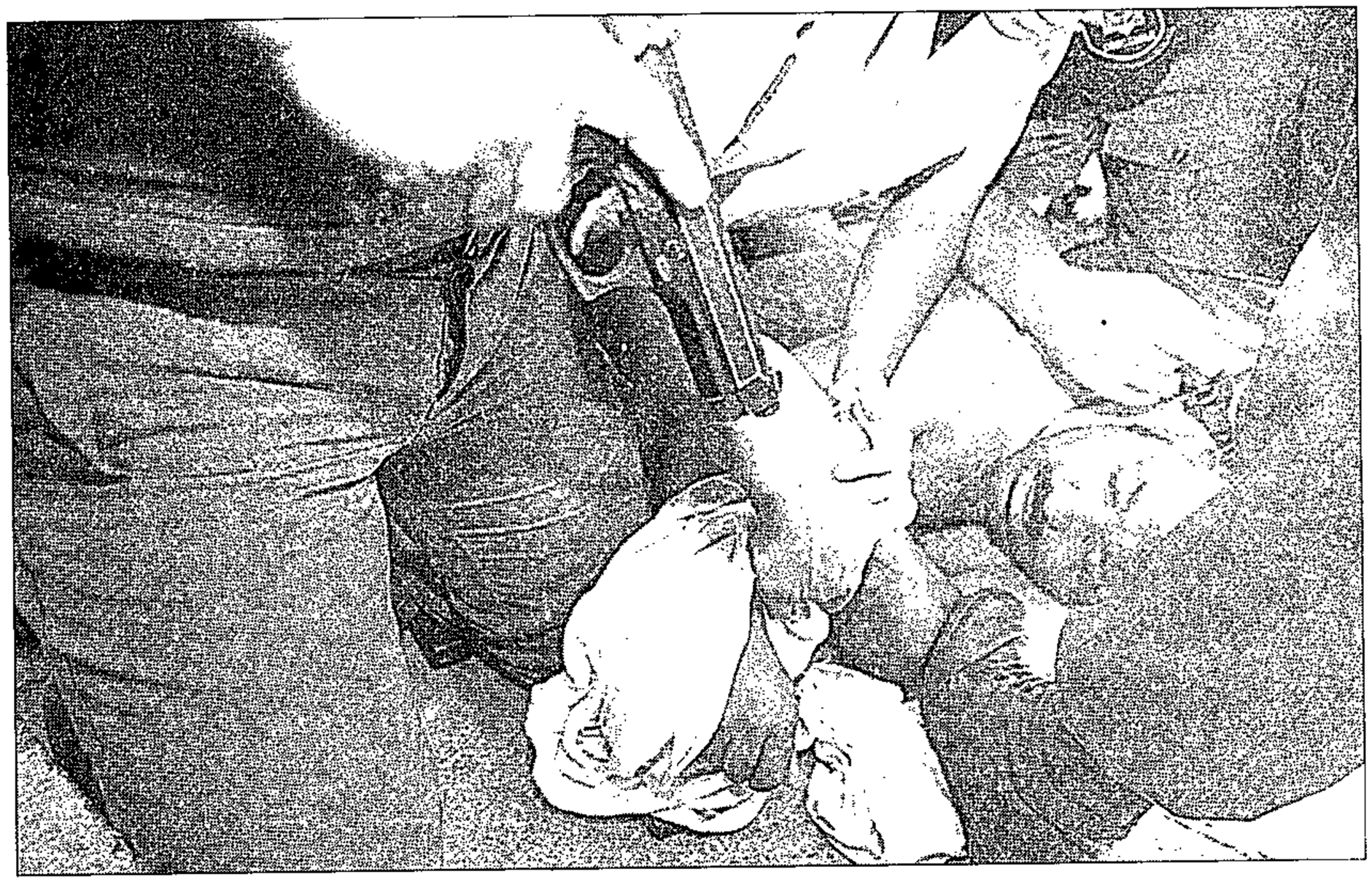
According to police spokesperson Ian Pretorius, the five were charged with attempted murder for allegedly firing shots at a police vehicle, as well as with gathering illegally and public violence. They are being held at the Sea Point police station.

From the Foreshore the protesters moved to Parliament, which is close to the consulate.

A speaker addressing the crowd questioned the government's criteria for inviting international parliamentarians to visit South Africa.

The group demanded that the government distance itself from "these international oppressors" and openly condemn the recent US and British air strikes on Iraq.

● See Page 17



UNDER ARREST: Protester Muain Achmat is pinned to the ground by police during a scuffle outside the US embassy yesterday. Achmat was arrested with four others. *PICTURE: MUJAHID SAFODIEN*



CRITICALLY WOUNDED: Pagad member Yusuf Jacobs is pulled away by policemen after he was wounded in the head when the organisation's illegal demonstration against British Prime Minister Tony Blair outside the Castle turned violent on Friday.

PICTURE: FANIE JASON

Peaceful protest delivers a deadly threat

CT 11/11/99

(304A)

GASANT ABARDER and RHODA DAVIDS

ABOUT 70 police and eight Casspirs were deployed to the V&A Waterfront in a show of force after protesters staged an illegal placard demonstration yesterday afternoon.

The picket along Buitengracht Street, which links up to the Waterfront's main entrance, ended peacefully after police were deployed on stairways, parking lots and other strategic points.

Roadblocks at all the entrances to the Waterfront caused major traffic congestion, but did not stop the flow of Sunday shoppers. Police spokesperson Wicus Holtzhausen said police had not allowed any "organisations" into the Waterfront, and searches of people and cars at entry points had been done on a random basis.

Sapa-AFP reports that at the protest, Pagad threatened to "go to war" with the authorities if a member, Yusuf Jacobs, 22, injured last week by police — and the catalyst for yesterday's demonstration — died.

"If anything happens to that brother, we swear to Allah, this country will become ungovernable," said Pagad security head Salie Abader.

Pagad chief co-ordinator Abdoes-Salaam Ebrahim said: "We don't think he's going to make it and if he does not, all of this is going to take a very different turn."

In a harshly worded response to anti-ANC posters carried by the protesters, the ANC has promised to put an end to "Pagad's intimidation and thuggery" if the party wins control of the Western Cape in the next election.

The protest yesterday was organised after an illegal demonstration against British Prime Minister Tony Blair outside the Castle on Friday turned ugly, when police opened fire with rubber bullets and birdshot at protesters after they ignored two warnings to disperse.

Five people, including Jacobs, were wounded in the confrontation. Jacobs, who was struck on the head by a rubber bullet and admitted to Groote Schuur Hospital, was last night described as being in a critical condition.

A hospital spokesperson said Jacobs was in a coma in the intensive care unit, and was being ventilated.

"We have staged this picket to let people in the Western Cape and the broader South Africa know that all is not well in this country," Pagad spokesperson Cassiem Parker said at the Waterfront yesterday. "Police brutality and fascism are taking place to the extreme that one of our members, Yusuf Jacobs, is fighting for his life in Groote Schuur. He is being denied access to his personal doctor.

"Furthermore, our chief of security, Salie Abader, went with raised arms to attend to him and was shot with rubber bullets. We are asking: Should rubber bullets be used in crowd control? Police were armed with live ammunition — did they try to kill people? Injured people were being thrown into the back of Casspirs," Parker said.



UNDER CONTROL: Pagad's chief co-ordinator Abdoes-Salaam Ebrahim (left) confers with a policeman during yesterday's demonstration.

PICTURE: A K ADAMS

He said that should Jacobs die, there would be strong recommendations by the organisation that the policemen involved on Friday be removed from the service.

Holtzhausen said allegations that police had targeted Jacobs were false. He said Jacobs was injured when police took action after the crowd would not disperse.

He said police had given the protesters at Friday's gathering two separate warnings, in both English and Afrikaans, and reacted only 10 minutes after the warning.

"How difficult can it be for 70 people to disperse? It is nice and convenient from their side to blame police. If they dispersed, nothing would have happened. They are asking us to turn a blind eye (to what they are doing)," he said.

Holtzhausen also denied that Jacobs' doctor was being denied access to his patient. Jacobs is under police guard and will be charged with attending an illegal gathering.

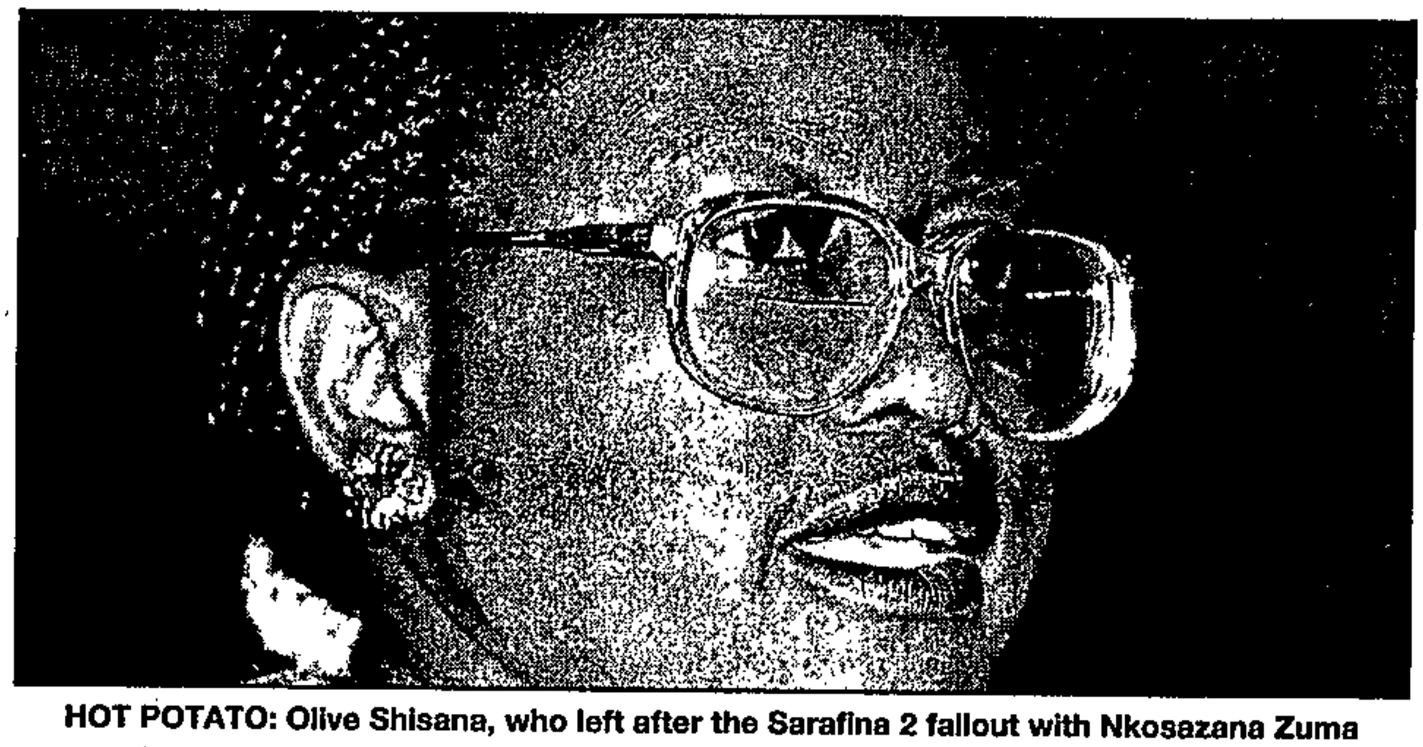
Muslims Against Illegitimate Leaders (Mail) spokesperson Abdurahman Khan, whose organisation arranged Friday's protest along with Pagad and Muslims Against Global Oppression (Mago), last night issued a statement echoing Pagad's threat of war should Jacobs die.

"If that youngster dies, then we are prepared to take up arms against the regime," Khan said.

● 'City cannot be held to ransom', Page 17

304A 24/1/99

South Africa's post-1994 directors-general, the powerful bureaucr
for the implementation of government policy, have been leaving the
JUSTICE MALALA examines the implications



HOT POTATO: Olive Shisana, who left after the Sarafina 2 fallout with Nkosazana Zuma



NO FLASH IN THE PAN: Roger Jardine's term was extended

Too many depart
spoil the ANC's t

TO COOK a chicken curry you braise onions in oil and add cinnamon, cloves, peppercorns and cardamom seeds. When they are browned, add the chicken, masala, tomatoes, salt, potatoes, curry leaves and dhania. *Voila!* You have your dish.

But what if you had all the ingredients, and the cook had just thrown down his apron and quit? If the government were a restaurant proprietor it would be holding its head in its hands as one top chef after another left for greener pastures or because of clashes with it.

When the ANC swept to power in 1994 it had its blueprint for change. What it needed were highly qualified directors-general who not only had the technical skills to turn its policies into legislation, its plans into structures, but who also shared its views on change.

Because ANC ministers could not fire the apartheid-era directors-general the party inherited from the National Party, they offered them large severance packages to get them to leave.

In their places they brought in like-minded individuals who wanted to solidify the new mood of change. There was a clear understanding that those NP-era directors-general who stayed would implement the policies of their new political bosses. But many of the new-era directors-general are now joining the old guard and leaving.

At the end of this month, public works director-general Sipho Shezi leaves the job he has held for just three years to go to the private sector. Last week, Mpumalanga provincial director-general Frank Mbatha resigned, while the relationship between Communications Minister Jay Naidoo and his director-general, Andile Ngcaba, has become so tense staffers speculate that Ngcaba may leave.

Of the old-era directors-general, the Justice Department's Jasper Noeth leaves after 10 years at the helm as his contract comes to an end.

In all, 27 directors-general have left the service since 1994. One has resigned, eight have had their contracts "re-determined" (a public service euphemism for fired or retrenched), five have requested severance packages, 10 have not had their contracts renewed, one has reached retirement age and two have left after their departments were reorganised.

Mbatha was the fifth of the nine post-1994 provincial directors-general to resign.

Political analyst Dr Vincent Maphai believes that "at that crucial level of management, the lack of stability and quick turnover of staff can only be detrimental to the performance of the state".

But the man who negotiated the hiring and firing of most of the directors-general, public service and administration director-general Paseka Ncholo, believes that, given the circumstances of the past four years, things have not gone badly.

"The fact that we have not had a collapse in administration, and instead have seen an increase in efficiency in most cases, shows the impact has not been as bad as all that."

Although some directors-general may have left for better pay elsewhere, money is not really at issue. Provincial government and departmental directors-general earn between R303 591 and R332 205 a year. This excludes benefits like the employer's contribution to the pension fund, medical aid scheme, motor finance scheme and perks, which bring their packages to more than R500 000.

The departures which have hurt the government most are those of directors-general who have a struggle background.

These include health director-general Dr Olive Shisana, who left after falling out with minister Nkosazana Zuma over the *Sarafina 2* AIDS-play funding scandal. Another sore point is the loss of Billy Cobbett, the former housing director-general, who was appointed by late Housing Minister and SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo.

Cobbett, who had worked for the ANC before being appointed to the position that had to drive delivery of a million houses within five years, left after serious differences with the new Minister of Housing, Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele, over the Motheo housing scandal.

Their departures were seen as a great loss of necessary skills in a country where every bit of expertise is needed.

Both now work for international organisations.

Usually both the minister and the director-general — because of their struggle histories — are similarly powerful and have the same sense of what needs to be done. Problems arise when both want to be hands-on, whereas the law calls for a clear separation between administrative and political functions.

Maphai believes the problems that arise are a result of the blurring of the lines between the political and the administrative wings of the state.

"In most cases you found that both the minister and the DG were new and there was a blurring of functions, and this caused tensions. In other cases a hands-on minister inherited an old-era DG, and the two just could not get on."

Ncholo agrees: "Most of the problems arise from the fact that most ministers and DGs were both starting from a policy void and, in many cases, neither knew where their tasks began or ended." The new Public Service Laws Amendment Act, passed by Parliament last year, clearly defines the lines between the politicians and the administrators, he says. "This will minimise tensions in the future."

His department is also working on legislation aimed at ensuring that directors-general do not leave because of disagreements with their ministers, who, until the new law is implemented, have sole discretion to hire and fire them.

"Things were not right when we came in. The system allowed, through an Act of 1984, ministers to solely appoint their DGs and to fire them. The new Act will try to have a collective of DGs appointed by the presidency with approval by Cabinet. The termination of their services will also be approved by Cabinet," says Ncholo.

The Act will make provision for directors-general to be transferred to other departments in cases where there is conflict with ministers.

In the case of the old-era directors-general who were inherited by ANC ministers, conflicts revolved around political wills and outlook.

The most high-profile example is that of the present Western Cape provincial director-general, Niel Barnard, who had been in the public service for 22 years, with 12 of those as head of the National Intelligence Service. When the NP walked out of the Government of National Unity in 1996, Barnard was director-general of constitutional development and local government. Four days after the ANC's Valli Moosa took office, Barnard resigned, allegedly after being given the option to do so or be fired. It is believed Moosa detested the former spymaster. Publicly, the two claimed it was a mutually agreed decision.

A new-era case full of complications is that of arts, culture, science and technology director-general Roger Jardine.

Jardine, a long-time anti-apartheid activist, had worked well with IFP minister Ben Ngubane. But after Ngubane was appointed KwaZulu-Natal Premier and replaced by Lionel Mtshali, things fell apart.

Mtshali, described as a staunch traditionalist, could not work with Jardine, and last year the two asked Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya to "re-determine" Jardine's contract.

Skweyiya has balked (after all, the IFP is in the government by the mercy of the ANC), and Jardine's contract was extended to May 31 this year.

In other cases, there was a "honeymoon" period before things soured. The man Shezi replaced in Public Works, Theo van Robbroeck, initially had a healthy relationship with minister Jeff Radebe, but it deteriorated until allegations were flying thick and fast between the two. Van Robbroeck refused to approve the hiring of two matriculants as advisers to the minister, while Radebe accused him of trying to block transformation. Van Robbroeck left.

However, in many other departments the old gave way to the new in an amicable way.

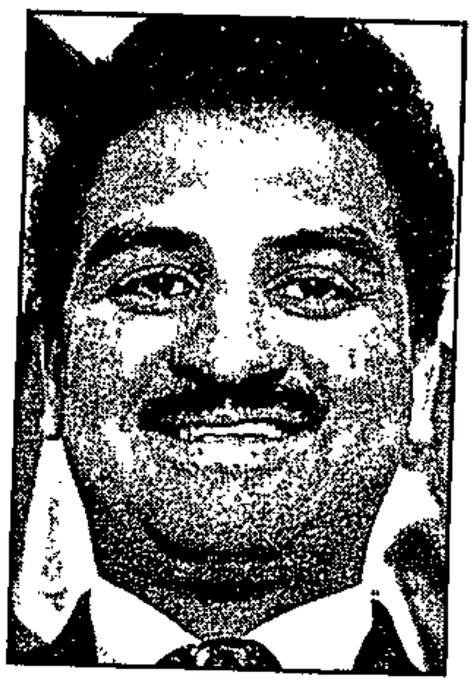
Finance director-general Es-

...rs-general, the powerful bureaucrats responsible ...ent policy, have been leaving the service in droves. ALA examines the implications

...y departures ANC's broth



... with Nkosazana Zuma



NO FLASH IN THE PAN: Roger Jardine's term was extended



OIL AND WATER: Billy Cobbett left after a clash



LEAVING A BAD TASTE? Niel Barnard, whom Valli Moosa is believed to have detested
Picture: AMBROSE PETERS

(304A) ST 24/1/99

...abinet," says Ncholo.
...e Act will make provision ... directors-general to be ...ferred to other depart... in cases where there is ... with ministers.
... the case of the old-era ...tors-general who were ...ited by ANC ministers, ... is revolved around polit...ics and outlook.
... most high-profile exam... that of the present West-Cape provincial director-..., Niel Barnard, who had in the public service for 22 ..., with 12 of those as head ...e National Intelligence ... When the NP walked ... of the Government of ... Unity in 1996, Barnard ...irector-general of consti... development and local ...ment. Four days after the ... Valli Moosa took office, ... resigned, allegedly being given the option to ... or be fired. It is believed ... detested the former spy-... Publicly, the two ... it was a mutually ... decision.
...-era case full of com... is that of arts, cul... science and technology

Minister Zola Skweyiya to "re-determine" Jardine's contract.

Skweyiya has balked (after all, the IFP is in the government by the mercy of the ANC), and Jardine's contract was extended to May 31 this year.

In other cases, there was a "honeymoon" period before things soured. The man Shezi replaced in Public Works, Theo van Robbroeck, initially had a healthy relationship with minister Jeff Radebe, but it deteriorated until allegations were flying thick and fast between the two. Van Robbroeck refused to approve the hiring of two matriculants as advisers to the minister, while Radebe accused him of trying to block transformation. Van Robbroeck left.

However, in many other departments the old gave way to the new in an amicable way.

Finance director-general Estian Calitz left in 1996 after being offered a professorship at the University of South Africa. He had been in the public service for 19 years. It is worth noting, however, that he left with the arrival of South Africa's first black Finance Minister, Trevor Manuel, and this could not but have dented investor confidence. His replacement, Maria Ramos, is acknowledged by experts as having done a more than sterling job.

That these problems did not appear in the past, says Ncholo, is because of the essentially undemocratic nature of apartheid. "The DGs of the past shared an apartheid perspective with their ministers, and in that situation no clear delineation was necessary. But in a democratic environment ... you need those lines to be drawn."

The cost of firing a director-general is high. Ncholo refuses to say how much was paid out to each director-general who has left, but a figure of R4-million was mentioned in Barnard's case. Other reports said it was much less, about R1-million. Cobbett, who had been in the service for only three years, received R396 555.

There are other factors which affect governance when a director-general leaves.

When foreign affairs director-general Rusty Evans's contract expired in December 1997 it took six months before Jackie Selebi was appointed, meaning six months of a virtual vacuum in a portfolio that has been one of the worst performers since 1994. Other departments have taken as long, if not longer, to find replacements.

Then there is the time it takes for a new director-general to learn the ropes. Ncholo points out that many emerging democracies are experiencing the same problems South Africa is with its civil service. He believes that when the next crop of directors-general is appointed most of the teething problems of the past four and half years will have been resolved.

This may be optimistic. The legislation his department is working on will be competing with more than 85 other pieces which have to go through Parliament in this next two-month session. It may be held over to Parliament's next session later this year or worse, still be gathering dust in the new millennium. By then another director-general may have left.

And as more leave, the proprietor might end up having to do the cooking. This would surely make for a vile stew.

Kriegler 'quits' as head of IEC

(304A)
ARG 26/11/99

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Independent Electoral Commission head Judge Johann Kriegler was expected to announce his resignation today.

A spokesperson for President Mandela would not confirm that the resignation had been handed in, but said Mr Mandela would address a news conference on the issue later.



Quit: Johann Kriegler

Judge Kriegler most recently made waves by taking a determinedly neutral stance in the forthcoming high court action by minority parties against Electoral Act provisions limiting registration and voting to those with barcoded identity documents.

Early in the home affairs committee debate on which identity documents should be admissable, Judge Kriegler was a staunch advocate of allowing all legal identity books, rather than solely barcoded ones.

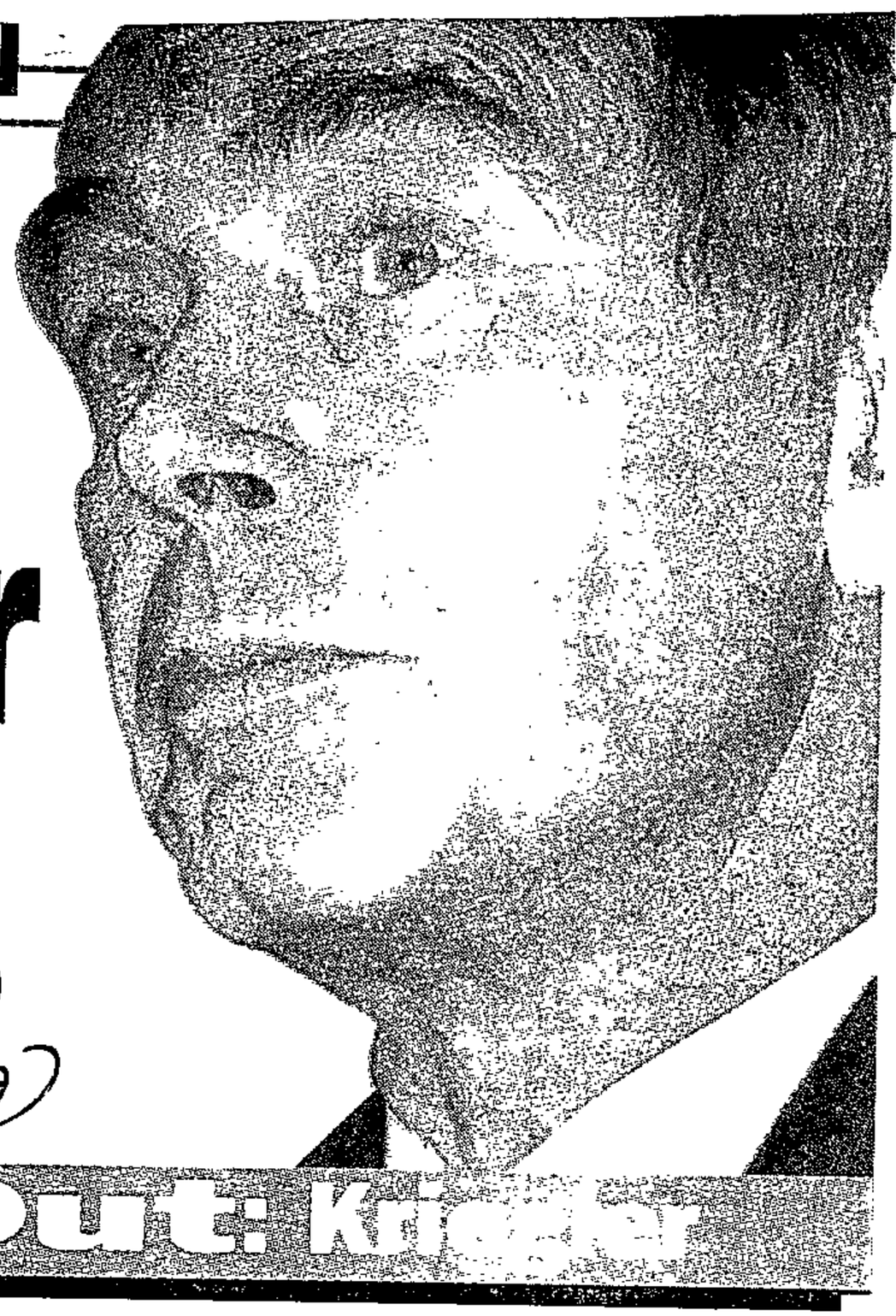
IEC geared for registration weekend, page 8

IEC's Kriegler resigns

Sowetan 27/1/99

(304A)





By Jimmy Seepe

CHAIRMAN of the Independent Electoral Commission Judge Johann Kriegler has resigned. He leaves his post at the beginning of next month.

Kriegler's resignation was announced by President Nelson Mandela yesterday at his Houghton home in Johannesburg after consulting Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Minister of Home Affairs Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi.

The resignation comes a few weeks after the outspoken IEC chairman warned that it would be impossible to conduct this year's general elections on the IEC's budget of R550 million.

Mandela told a media briefing that IEC vice-chairwoman Ms Brigalia Bam would in the meantime act in Kriegler's place until a replacement was appointed.

Asked whether this was a crisis for the Government, Mandela said: "I don't think so. I have spoken to all political party leaders and they agree with my view that we must not make this a political issue, but look at it from the interests of the country."

Mandela said he had reached the decision after meeting with Kriegler at 11am yesterday and consulted with Mbeki and Buthelezi. He also informed the political parties about his decision.

Mandela reiterated the Government's commitment to the independence of the IEC and said their relationship was in accordance with the best practice in the democratic world.

He denied that Kriegler's resignation was in any way related to the apparent fallout with the IEC chairman over identity documents and the commission's budget.

Mandela said this weekend's voter registration was still on course. He said the process of appointing Kriegler's replacement would begin immediately.

"I have spoken to Judge Arthur Chaskalson (Constitutional Court president) to deal with the process of electing a new person."

Earlier this month, Kriegler warned of "the ominous spectre of tens of thousands of black youths arriving at voting stations on election day – but having to be turned away", as a result of the Government's insistence on barcoded IDs as a condition for voting.

"This would not only be a deprivation of their right to vote, but would have grave implications for the safety, security and integrity of the process as a whole," Kriegler said.

His comments were contained in a replying affidavit to the Cape High Court in the New National Party's case against the Government.

He said even if public servants volunteered to help the IEC – as was done to rescue the three-day voter registration late last year – it would still not be possible to conduct the elections on the existing budget.

Kriegler also told the court that there had been a continuing dispute between Home Affairs and the Department of State Expenditure with the IEC over the commission's financial and administrative independence.

The NNP and the Democratic Party last year lodged different court applications challenging the use of only barcoded IDs in the elections.

The NNP brought its case before the Cape High Court on December 7.

The case will be heard on February 5.

The NNP wants the court to declare as unconstitutional the stipulation that only holders of barcoded IDs should be allowed to register.

IEC chief electoral officer Professor Mandla Mchunu yesterday declined to comment on Kriegler's resignation.

● **See page 2.**

'TENSIONS' BETWEEN GOVT AND IEC

Kriegler: 'Why I quit election'

CT 27/1/99 (304A)

DESPITE his departure, Johann Kriegler is still confident the IEC has the skills to continue functioning normally and deliver free and fair elections this year. Report by **CHRIS BATEMAN** and **OWN CORRESPONDENTS.**

STRAIGHT-TALKING Judge Johann Kriegler yesterday cited "persisting differences of opinion" over the role and function of the Independent Electoral Commission for his resignation as IEC head, and said his departure "might ease the measure of tension" that had developed between the IEC and the government.

Kriegler, a Constitutional Court judge, vacated his position at the helm of the IEC because of long-standing disagreements between him and the government over the finances and control of the IEC and the administration of the election.

There were also serious tensions between him and other members of the commission, sources said.

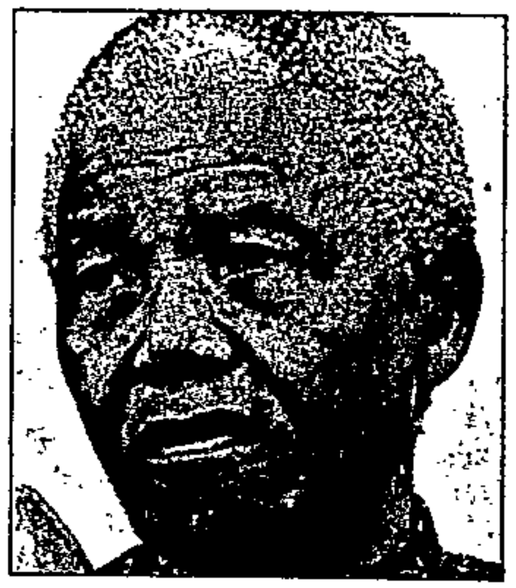
In a terse and carefully-worded statement which belied the long-standing battle he has fought with government bureaucrats to be able to do his job, Kriegler said President Nelson Mandela had accepted his resignation with effect from February 1.

Mandela dismissed suggestions that Kriegler had resigned because of differences between the commission and the government over the bar-coded identity document issue.

"Those were not the reasons Judge Kriegler gave me," Mandela said.



'HAD ENOUGH': Kriegler



REASONS CHALLENGED: Mandela

Kriegler said he was confident the IEC had the skills to continue functioning normally and the know-how to deliver free and fair elections that would be voter-friendly and cost-effective.

While thanking Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for the chance to establish a permanent electoral agency, Kriegler said he had asked to return to full-time duties as a Constitutional Court judge.

"I have found the load of the two positions increasingly heavy," he added.

In affidavits responding to a legal challenge by the New National Party over this year's elections, Kriegler had singled out the Departments of Home Affairs and Finance, claiming that:

- It would be impossible to conduct one national and nine provincial elections on the IEC's current budget of R550 million.
- Letters, memos and budget proposals by the IEC had been ignored.
- The directors-general of Home Affairs and State Expenditure had repeatedly sought to undermine the independence of the IEC.
- The Department of State Expenditure would only deal with the IEC via the Department of Home Affairs.
- This had resulted in the IEC being unable to present its own budget to the cabinet or to Parliament, with financial implications that included being forced to drop its voter education programme.
- The IEC never received a budget allocation for the 1997/98 financial year and had to rely on funds left over from the electoral commission which ran the 1994 elections.

The NNP's test case is against the government and the IEC, objecting to the stipulation that only bar-coded IDs are acceptable for voter registration, and to alleged government interference in IEC administration and funding. The NNP contends that the government has compromised the commission's independence.

SA signals intention to join fight against corruption

John Dludlu

SA HAS signalled its intention to become the first African country to join the global fight against corporate bribery in international transactions.

After years of negotiations at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Officials in International Business Transactions has been ratified by enough countries for it to come into effect.

Paul Setsetse, spokesman for Justice Minister Dullar Omar, said last night Omar had instructed the department's international affairs division to advise him on the possibility of SA becoming a signatory to the OECD anti-bribery convention. "SA is prepared to join any effort aimed at fighting corruption and bribery ... (SA) will join any fight being waged by the international community against these practices," he said.

The OECD anti-bribery convention will make it a crime to bribe any foreign public official to win or retain business. Until now, only the US had such a law.

An anti-corruption campaigner said yesterday that although there was no evidence that SA multinationals were involved in corrupt practices in the neighbouring states, a possibility for such practices existed, particularly as SA's was a giant economy in southern Africa.

Mpho Nawa, a project officer at the SA chapter of Transparency International, said he expected SA's ranking in the corruption perception index — compiled yearly by the Berlin-based anti-corruption outfit — to improve thanks to the strengthening of anti-corruption measures, including the work of the Heath investigating unit. The public awareness of corruption had increased following the seminars and campaigns that had been held on the subject.

Last year SA scored 5,2, placing it 32nd on a list of 85 countries that were ranked. Cameroon was placed last, earning the dubious honour of being the country perceived to be the most corrupt. Denmark was perceived as the least corrupt.

In another step, underscoring Pretoria's commitment to anti-corruption, an interdepartmental committee has been formed in what one official said was a move to make the anti-corruption fight a government-wide initiative.

John Makhubele, an international affairs director at the justice department, said the enlarged committee, now including several government departments, would hold its first meeting next Tuesday.

BD 27/11/99 (304A)

Kriegler quits IEC post

Electoral body's independence appears to be at the heart of judge's resignation from chairman's seat

DD 27/1/99 (304A)

Drew Forrest, Kevin O'Grady and David Greybe

INDEPENDENT Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler resigned from the commission yesterday, less than six months before scheduled elections, indicating that government encroachment on the independence of the IEC lay at the root of his decision.

Sources said differences between the judge and other commissioners over the IEC's relationship with government were also a contributing factor.

Kriegler has been in dispute with government on a range of issues since his appointment in July 1997. Key flashpoints have been the constitutionally guaranteed autonomy of the IEC, its budget and government's insistence on bar-coded identity documents for voting.

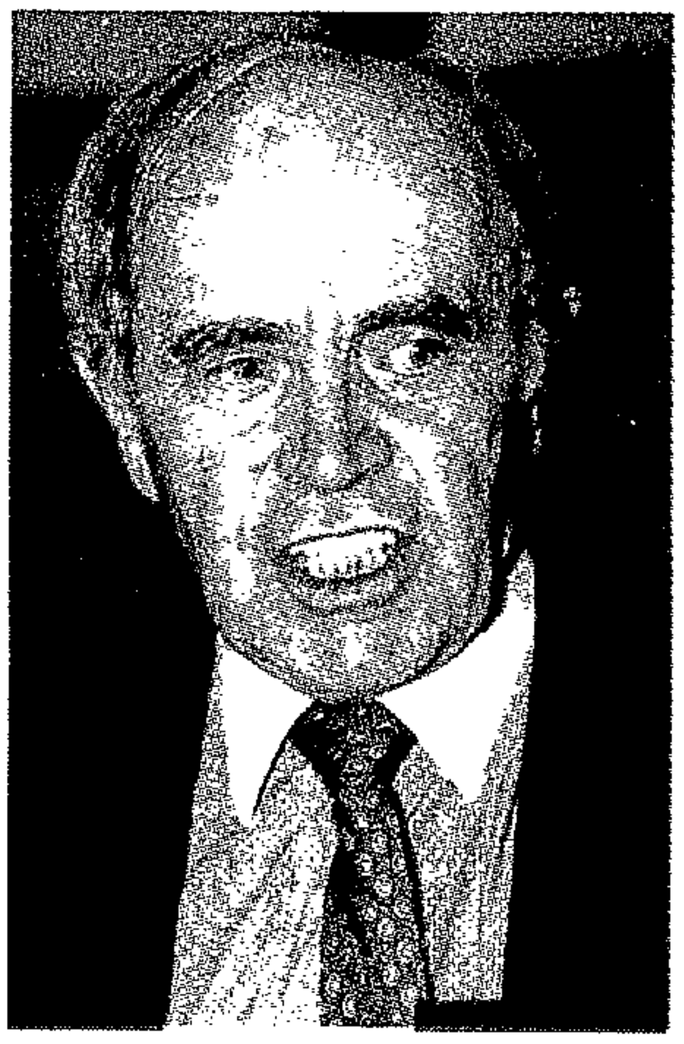
Kriegler handed his resignation, effective from February 1, to President Nelson Mandela yesterday.

Mandela said he had spoken to Constitutional Court president Arthur Chaskalson, who heads a panel charged with short-listing candidates for the commission, about filling Kriegler's position. "I made it clear I would like it done without delay," Mandela said.

His successor must meet the approval of a multiparty committee of Parliament and be recommended to Mandela by a majority of the National Assembly.

Mandela said the IEC's deputy chairman, Brigalia Bam, would act as chairman until Kriegler's position was filled. "I have the greatest confidence in (her) capacity to steer the IEC," he said.

Mandela said he secured the agreement of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi before accepting Kriegler's resignation. He also consulted political leaders, who agreed "not to make this a party political issue" but to approach it with the "interests of the whole country" in mind.







Throwing in the towel: left, Judge Johann Kriegler handed his resignation to President Nelson Mandela, top right. Brigalia Bam, right, will chair the Independent Electoral Commission until a replacement is found for Kriegler. Pictures: ROBERT BOTHA and TREVOR SAMSON

In a telephone interview yesterday, Kriegler said he had agreed with Mandela "not to blow this thing out of proportion for the sake of democracy in SA".

Mandela said Kriegler did not give his dispute with government as his reason for leaving. "In any situation there must be differences of opinion, some (of them) fundamental, but those were not the reasons he gave me when he saw me.

"Government reiterates its commitment to the independence of the IEC. We have always conducted ourselves in such a way that independence and integrity are maintained. The relationship between our government and the IEC is in accordance with the best practice in the democratic world," Mandela said.

Kriegler suggested he had found the dual responsibility of constitutional court judge and IEC head increasingly burdensome. "Persisting differences about the role and function of the commission have added to the burden. I also felt my departure might ease the measure of tension that has developed between government and the commission." He declined to elaborate, saying that to highlight particular reasons would be misleading.

However, in a television interview last night, Kriegler said he had begun to view himself as "part of the problem, not part of the solution".

At a news briefing in Johannesburg he said that "jurisdictional conflicts" with government "which matter to me" were central to his decision. He emphasised that it had nothing to do with the requirement that voters use bar-coded identity documents. He also denied having differences with fellow commissioners.

In an affidavit in the New National Party's recent court challenge over identity documents, Kriegler complained that the home affairs and state expenditure departments had not respected the financial and administrative independence of the IEC. He also questioned home affairs' rejection of an independent survey which found up to 25% of eligible voters did not have bar-coded identity books.

Kriegler dismissed suggestions that his resignation, so close to the elections, would harm the electoral process. "If the credibility of the election depends on one ageing Afrikaner we are really in trouble."

Kriegler said he had not been asked by Mandela to leave. However, Mandela had also not asked him to stay.

Background: Page 2
Comment: Page 11

I've had enough – Kriegler

Simmering tensions between the Government and the IEC chief over funding and control of the election lie behind the judge's shock departure

(304A) Star 27/1/99

By Jovial Rantao, Cecilia Russell, Hopewell Radebe and Cathy Powers

Simmering disagreements between Independent Electoral Commission chairperson Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, who announced his resignation yesterday, and the Government over the financing and control of the election lay behind the judge's shock decision to quit.

There were also serious tensions between him and other members of the IEC, sources told *The Star*.

Analysts warned that Judge Kriegler's resignation did not mean the problems besetting the electoral process had vanished. And they said Kriegler's move would rob the election of an experienced practitioner, whose easy style was responsible for salvaging the 1994 election, which was dogged by technical and logistical problems.

"I have had enough," Kriegler told a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Government sources told *The Star* that Kriegler was unhappy that some commissioners would not support his recent affidavit to the Cape High Court, in which he agreed with opposition parties that the requirement that voters had to have barcoded identity documents was problematic.

Kriegler was also unhappy that the commission had to report to the Department of Home Affairs, instead of being directly accountable to Parliament, which he believed compromised the independence of the IEC.

Kriegler told the media that the IEC would be able to fulfil its mandate without him.

"The IEC will continue to function normally because there is no constitutional crisis about my resignation," Kriegler said.

He continued: "If our country has reached the stage where the credibility of an institution like the IEC depends on one aged Afrikaner, then we are really in trouble. I am confident that the IEC has the requisite skills and know-how to deliver elections that are not only free and fair but also voter friendly and cost effective."

Asked if he was forced to resign, or whether anyone had tried to persuade him to stay on, he gave an emphatic "no".

The Government also insisted that Kriegler's resignation would not derail the election.

However, analysts warned that the process of appointing a successor, as well as the loss of public trust in the IEC, could put serious strains on the process.

President Nelson Mandela dismissed suggestions that Kriegler had resigned because of differences between the commission and the Government over the barcoded identity document issue.

"Those were not the reasons Judge Kriegler gave me," Mandela said.

But Kriegler had hinted at the disagreement, saying he hoped his departure "might ease the measure of tension that has developed between Government and the commission".

Brigalia Bam, the IEC's vice-chairperson – who will be acting chairperson until a successor has been appointed – urged the public not to doubt the credibility of the IEC, nor that it would continue with its work "without the leadership of an outstanding man".

Kriegler also had serious disagreements with the ANC. These, sources said, were exacerbated when it discovered that Kriegler had flown to KwaZulu Natal to meet Home Affairs Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to urge him to change his position on barcoded IDs. Buthelezi, sources told *The Star*, declined.

Political analysts said Kriegler's resignation was a blow to the election process.

"We are (four or five) months away from elections and require a stable team to administer the elections," said Khehla Shubane, a researcher at the Centre for Policy Studies. "This change will introduce all sorts of new variables which do not augur well (for the process)."

Political consultant Van Zyl Slabbert said Kriegler's resignation was another setback for the election, which, constitutionally, has to be held within 90 days after the end of April.

"Judge Kriegler has always made it clear that he is very unhappy with the funding of the IEC," Slabbert said. "You need proper elections to retain the confidence in the country, and you can't do that without money."

David Unterhalter, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies, speculated that Kriegler's resignation was linked to his increasing frustration about the lack of funds and the "hurdles" put in the path of the IEC in ensuring a successful election.

Mandela said Kriegler's successor would be appointed after public hearings.

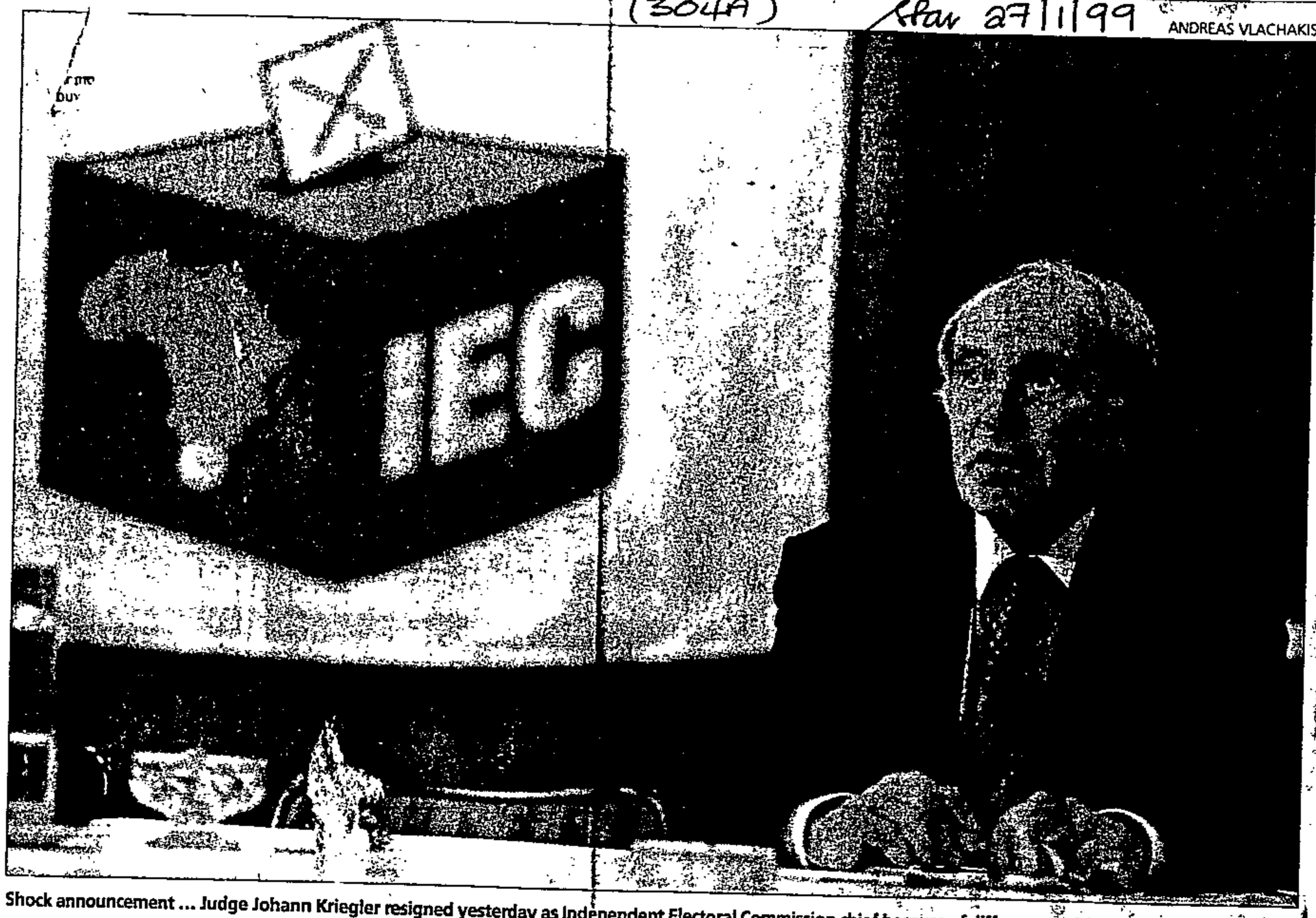
Shubane said it would be extremely difficult to replace a man who had had the experience of running the 1994 election and working with the IEC almost from scratch.

Unisa political scientist Professor Dan Kriek said: "We all knew there were problems, but he is a very respected judge and he knew something about politics.

"He had trust from many sides. They'll have to act very, very fast to keep the confidence of the public."

Most political parties, including the ANC, expressed dismay at the resignation.

▶ More reports Page 3



ANDREAS VLACHAKIS

Shock announcement ... Judge Johann Kriegler resigned yesterday as Independent Electoral Commission chief because of differences with the Government.

Judge resigns over independence

(3049)

Judge Johann Kriegler's affidavit to the high court shows the fracture lines, writes **David Greybe**

BD 27/11/99

JUDGE Johann Kriegler resigned yesterday as head of the Independent Electoral Commission mainly because he clashed with government and fellow commissioners over what was meant by the independence of the commission, sources said.

Kriegler believed the constitution provided for a commission completely independent of government, particularly in terms of budgetary and staffing matters.

However, government disagreed with Kriegler's view: it saw the commission's role as more akin to that of "best international practice" — where the main function of electoral commissions was to oversee and monitor elections.

Approached for comment yesterday on whether the issue of independence had led to his resignation, Kriegler said this was "correct".

A senior government source said: "Kriegler found himself in disagreement with government and the rest of the commission." The source said it had to be noted that none of the other four commissioners — Brigalia Bam, Thoko Mpumlwana, Fanie van der Merwe and Prof Herbert Vilakazi — had resigned.

Kriegler, in a recent replying affidavit in the Cape High Court, accused government organs of trying to undermine the commission's status and functions.

He also repeated his warning that it would be impossible to conduct a free and fair election on a R550m budget.

Kriegler yesterday reiterated these views.

However, another government source said yesterday that the commission's 1999/2000 budget was "still under discussion with the department of state expenditure, facilitated by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki".

Government's approach to the funding of elections this year also "took into account the adverse comments by the auditor-general about the management of financial matters pertaining to the 1994 elections", the source said.

Kriegler has also not backed government over the bar-coded identity document requirement for voters.

"If the rest of the commissioners were supporting Kriegler's views, then government would probably have agreed with him eventually," the first source said.

However, this had not been the case, and government had accepted Kriegler's resignation.

"There was no pressure whatsoever from government," the source said.

Kriegler confirmed that he and President Nelson Mandela had agreed, at a meeting yesterday morning, "for the sake of democracy in SA, not to blow this thing out of proportion".

Kriegler said: "My leaving was intended to promote the electoral process and not harm it."

This was borne out by comments by the two men at separate news conferences announcing Kriegler's resignation.

A third government source said Kriegler's position finally became untenable when he did not follow government in opposing the New National Party's legal challenge against government over the powers, functions and duties of the commission.

Kriegler's fellow commissioners have been at pains to point out that the affidavit presented in the court case expressed Kriegler's personal views — not that of the commission — and that he had gone to court without consulting them.

The New NP has accused government of compromising the impartiality and independence of the commission by underfunding it by more than R400m in the 1998/99 financial year.

It argues that government has usurped some of the powers and functions given to the commission in the constitution and the Electoral Commission Act. The New NP has also challenged government's decision that only identity documents with bar codes qualify South Africans to vote. The case will be heard on February 5.

Kriegler warned the court of "the ominous spectre of tens of thousands of black youths arriving at voting stations on election day ... but having to be turned away" as a result of government's insistence on bar-coded identity documents.

"This would be not only a deprivation of their right to vote but would have grave implications for the safety, security and integrity of the process as a whole," Kriegler said.

He told the court there had been a continuing dispute between the departments of home affairs and state expenditure with and the commission over the commission's financial and administrative independence.

Kriegler strongly criticised the reasons given by home affairs director-general Albert Mokoena for rejecting the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey, which found that 4,7-million to 5,3-million eligible voters did not have bar-coded identity documents.

These findings accord with those of private-market research.

If accurate, they would mean home affairs has no chance of issuing the required documents to all voters in time for the election.

Kriegler wrote that the decision to use the HSRC was originally taken by the commission in consultation with home affairs.

The two "jointly briefed the HSRC, jointly approved its methodology and jointly approved its basic questionnaire".

Kriegler wrote that as the constitution "makes electoral integrity one of the foundational characteristics of our new constitutional democracy", the agency entrusted with managing elections "is required to be independent, subject only to the constitution and the law, to be impartial and to function without fear, favour or prejudice".

He said that an essential precondition for such confidence was that the commission had to be seen to be politically, administratively and financially free from interference.

Although accountable to Parliament for what it spent, and subject to the scrutiny of the auditor-general, Kriegler wrote that the commission's view was that "it must resist any attempt to impose any form of control" by home affairs, whether in the guise of a treasury instruction or otherwise.

[redacted]

Roelf Meyer, right, and spokesman Annelize van Wyk.

Kriegler's departure disappoints parties

BD 27/11/99 (304A)

Dustin Chick

OPPOSITION parties yesterday heeded President Nelson Mandela's call not to blow the resignation of Judge Johann Kriegler as chairman of the Independent Electoral commission out of proportion.

The political parties expressed disappointment over the resignation, but said that they would resist the temptation to "make easy political capital" out of it.

Democratic Party spokesman Douglas Gibson said that it was vital that the commission be allowed to continue its work, and to ensure free and fair elections. However, Gibson said the resignation was "bad news for SA".

The New National Party said while Kriegler's move was "regrettable", the underlying reasons for his decision needed to be evaluated.

Spokesman Daryl Swanepoel said Kriegler's decision was a serious blow to the electoral process. He called on Mandela to convene a summit with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and all political parties.

Government should make an "immediate commitment" to ensure the integrity of the electoral process.

The Federal Alliance supported Kriegler's attempts to broaden the electoral basis to allow all South Africans with "legitimate" identity documents — and not just bar-coded documents — to vote.

Acting United Democratic Movement national secretary Annelize van Wyk said Kriegler's experience would be missed.

Government needed to act speedily on the frustrations of the commission's management, she said.

Pan Africanist Congress president Stanley Mogoba said Kriegler should be asked to reconsider his decision.

Underfunding the commission could never ensure a free and fair election.

The honourable thing for government to do was to ask Kriegler to reconsider his decision, because all political parties had confidence in a man of his integrity, Mogoba said.

The Freedom Front (FF) said the resignation was a setback which could bring into jeopardy the smooth running of the elections.

FF leader Gen Constand Viljoen said government had to deal with the reasons which had led to Kriegler's resignation and to take urgent steps to address them.

Inkatha Freedom Party election spokesman Keith Zondi said Kriegler's resignation was disturbing.

Kriegler had run the 1994 election successfully, and losing a man with such experience could derail the electoral process.

[redacted]

Jobs, houses unite voters – poll

(304A) Star 29/1/99

Black and white are divided on the Government's performance

By Cathy Powers

South Africans across racial and gender lines are concerned about the same things – crime, unemployment and housing. But there is wide divergence of opinion between white and black voters over the performance of the Government.

The second Opinion 99 Survey, conducted in October and November last year by the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) and Markinor, in collaboration with the SABC, reveals that crime is a major concern for both whites (79%) and blacks (77%).

Top priority for 83% of blacks is job creation, with 40% of whites in agreement.

"It is clear that all voters want to hear about crime and how the parties are going to solve it," said Bob Mattes of Idasa.

The survey found 72% of the people believed the Government was not reducing crime effectively, and 76% of people believed the Government was not reducing unemployment.

There were few gender and racial discrepancies on what people believed the top priorities were, said Helen Taylor of Idasa. Housing (34%) was followed by education (23%) and the economy (16%). Water, poverty, healthcare and electricity followed, with less than 15% of people citing them as important.

There was a slight upswing in optimism on where the country was going, the report said. Around 1994, more than two-thirds thought the country was heading in the right direction. This dipped to a low of 42%, and the latest figure stood at 49%. "It's an open question whether this optimism will continue," Mattes said.

More than half the black population (59%) believed the country was headed in the right direction, but only 11% of whites did. Only 5% of whites were happy about the economy, compared with 30% of blacks. Some 60% of blacks were optimistic about the economic future but only 36% of whites.

Most people (77%) believed the Government was encouraging gender equality well and 63% believed the Government was effectively promoting affirmative action.



Mandela ... doing a good job

Madiba still top of the pops

President Nelson Mandela enjoyed exceptionally strong support among South Africans, with over 80% saying he was doing a good job as leader of the country, an Opinion 99 poll released yesterday found.

Mandela's heir-apparent, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, has shown steady growth in support since March last year, and almost 70% of voters now approve of him.

Support for Mandela has increased by 2% since a similar poll conducted in September last year. Yesterday's results showed support for Mandela was standing at 81%.

There has been a steady growth in support for Mbeki – from 64% in March last year to 69% in the latest poll.

The poll said that while Mandela and Mbeki generally enjoyed strong support, it was less true for the Government as a whole. The Government, however, still enjoyed the support of 58% of voters who felt it was doing a good job.

The Government got strong approval ratings on issues of economic redistribution and equality, welfare and nation-building. – Sapa

CAPE TIMES
THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1999 ★

'IT'S BEEN IRKSOME'

Why Kriegler really left the commission

CT 28/1/99 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: Johann Kriegler yesterday cited various discrepancies in running the electoral commission as his reasons for leaving. **CECILIA RUSSELL** reports.

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has been reduced to another government bureaucracy unable to fulfil many of its tasks, outgoing IEC chairperson Johann Kriegler said yesterday.

In an interview with *The Star*, Kriegler elaborated on the reasons for his resignation on Tuesday, and warned that the IEC's independence was being compromised by a shortage of funding, by the use of civil servants as electoral workers and the fact that it now reported to the Department of Home Affairs rather than to Parliament.

Kriegler had previously hinted at disagreements with the government when he resigned, and said he hoped his departure would ease tensions between politicians and the electoral body.

Yesterday he went further, warning that the IEC was being hampered in its attempts to arrange this year's poll.

"The IEC has come to be regarded as a government-funded agency to run elections, like a meat control board. This is not my perception, but the creature which has been created by the constitution and the Electoral Act. And this has been irksome," Kriegler said.

The deployment of civil servants for registration resulted in a loss of independence for the IEC at a practical level, he claimed. "If you don't control the people on the job, if you can't hire and fire them, then you are not independent.

"The commission has a basic mandate to support the growth of representative participatory democracy in a country where we have pitifully little experience of it. By getting local people involved in the process is how we can exchange ballots for bullets.

"The elections must belong to the people, not to the government. People who work in the voting stations should be known by the community, not people who have been drawn in from elsewhere."

Because the commission had been cut to the bone financially the "truly valuable work" that should have started — like voter education — had been left undone, he said.

"This has contributed to the depressingly low under-25 age group registration. While this is not a South African disease, it needed a development programme, not double-page advertisements."

Kriegler said he had realised that he was not the right person to solve these problems.

He was confident, however, that his successor and the remaining commissioners would succeed.

"I am not trying to pooh-pooh things ... clearly my resignation is an important electoral event. But it is of a transient nature. It will pass soon because in reality there is a perfectly well-run organisation, headed by a perfectly competent and now experienced chief electoral officer."

● Jovial Rantao reports that government sources speculate that Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone have emerged as Kriegler's possible replacements.

Perceptions of govt improve slightly

BD 29/11/99 (304A)

David Greybe

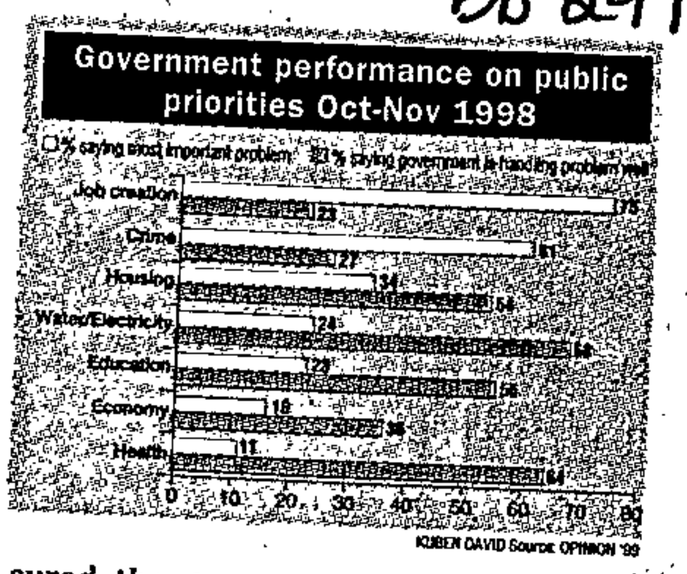
CAPE TOWN — Voter perceptions of government performance in general have improved slightly in recent months, but views on government's achievements in the most important areas — job creation and crime — remain negative, a survey conducted by Markinor and the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) has found.

Only 37% of respondents said government was performing well in controlling official corruption. Similarly, only 36% said government did a good job in appointing the right people to lead government departments and agencies.

These are key findings of the Opinion '99 survey, conducted in October and November and published yesterday.

The survey found improving voter perceptions of President Nelson Mandela (up from 74% last March to 81%) and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki (64% to 69%).

Perceptions of specific government performance varied sharply depending on the issue, "although in almost every area of government performance measured, there was a significant upswing in public satisfaction" between Opinion '99's first survey in September and the second, released yesterday.



Government received strong approval ratings on economic redistribution and equality, welfare and development, and nation-building. However, public evaluations of performance on issues of economic growth and law and order were "a mixture of many extremely negative and some positive ratings". The African National Congress-led government also received "poor ratings" for its performance on issues related to good governance.

With perceptions of government performance varying sharply from issue to issue, Opinion '99 divided them — for easier understanding — into five performance areas tapped by Markinor and Opinion '99 questions. The areas were economic growth, redistribution and equality, welfare and development, nation-building, and good government.

While improving, government's poorest evaluations came in the areas of economic management and growth: slightly more than a third (37%) said they were performing their job well in managing the economy (up from 22% last September).

However, only 23% approved of government's performance in job creation (up from 12%) and 34% said they were doing a good job controlling inflation. Government received strong ratings (62%) only on the issue of encouraging international investment.

A nation's expectations: Page 6

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tion where the DP's share ... home ... wanted to kill her, the truth commission's ...

Jobs, crime still issues for voters

BD 29/1/99 (304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Jobs and crime remain the fundamental issues in the eyes of SA voters, but concern about water, poverty and electricity is increasing, the latest Opinion '99 survey has found.

Opinion '99, run by a consortium including Markinor and Idasa, is conducting a series of polls in the run-up to the election expected in May.

The latest survey — conducted last September — found that the key issues for the election campaign were largely the same ones that have been cited for the past two years.

"There are, however, a potentially important set of developments with regard to increasing levels of public concern in three related areas," the pollsters said yesterday on release on the latest poll.

Water, poverty, and electricity were mentioned for the first time by more than 10% of the electorate, though these were largely rural, black voters in four provinces: the Eastern Cape, Northern Province, Mpumalanga and North West.

Housing and education remained the next two most often cited problems after jobs and crime, "mentioned by substantially smaller, though still significant, proportions of voters".

The economy and health care were mentioned as problem areas "by at least one-in-10 eligible voters". No other problems were cited by more than 10% of the electorate.

The pollsters found that "with a few exceptions, there is no lack of a national consensus with regard to priorities for government action".

While different groups attach different relative emphases to the problems, "virtually all South Africans are in general agreement about the four or five main problems facing the country, despite race, class or gender".

The exception seemed to be the significant attention rural people gave to issues of poverty, water and electricity.

Surveys conducted since 1994 by Idasa and Opinion '99 have asked voters what, in their view, were the most important problems facing SA that government ought to address.

"People gave us what was on their mind and could list up to four problems. Their answers ... have been remarkably stable over the past four years."

According to Opinion '99, the margin of error in its survey is less than 2%.

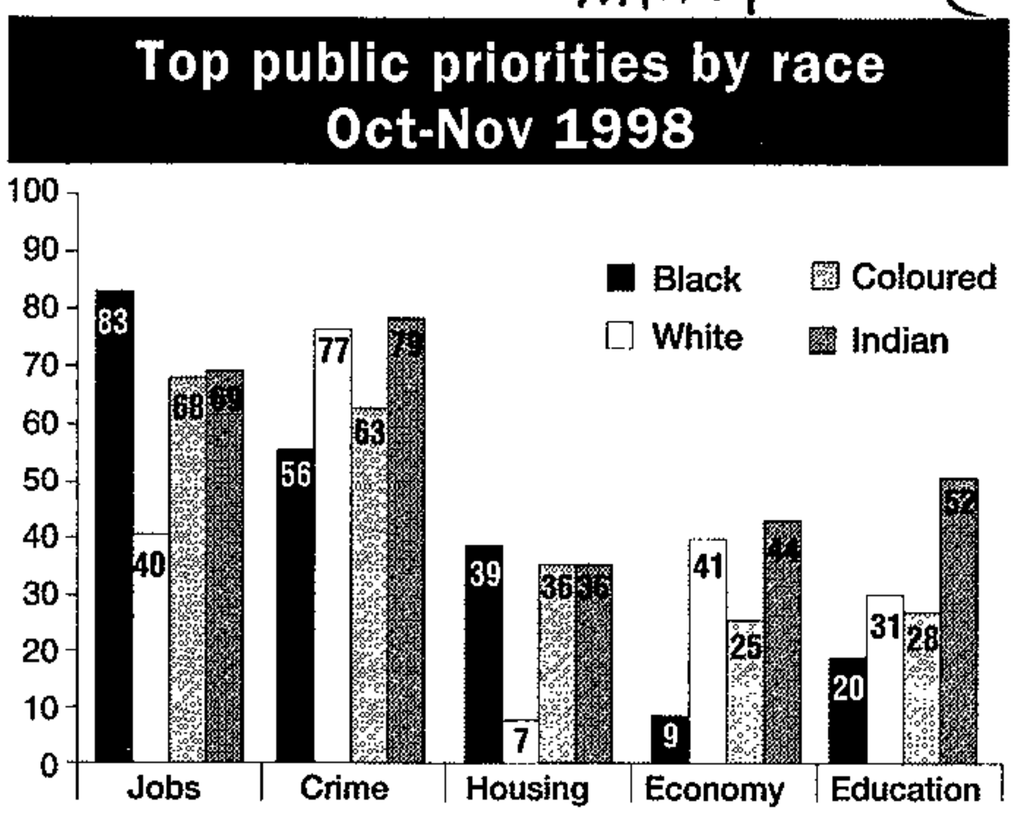
The poll found that the main issues of concern to South Africans were:

- Job creation/unemployment — 75% of voters cited it their number one priority for government action. "Jobs have consistently been prioritised more frequently than any other problem every time we have asked the question since 1994 (67% in 1994, 74% in 1995, 68% in 1997 and 73% in 1998)," the pollsters said;
- Crime — 61%. "Concern over crime has risen meteorically since 1994 when it was mentioned by only 6% (32% in 1995, 58% in 1997 and 64% in 1998).";

Other issues cited were housing, which has seesawed between 34% in 1998 and 54% in 1995; education which has held fairly stable (23%); economy (16%); water (13%); poverty (12%) and health care and electricity (11%).

Opinion '99 said it was important to note that there was a range of issues "that command a great deal of attention from activists, the media and politicians, but continue to be rarely cited by ordinary voters".

These included: immigration (2%), land (1% or less), rates and taxes (1%), wages (2%), corruption (7%) and the environment (less than 1%).



The Kriegler case: personality, political practice or principle?

Star 29/1/99 (304A)

The implications of the IEC chairperson's resignation are complicated and significant – rather like the man himself, writes **Shaun Johnson**

Judge Johann Kriegler loped lopsidedly to the far end of the bar counter and propped himself upright. It was not that he had been drinking (though the temptation must have been sore indeed). It was too little sleep and too much adrenaline. The trademark flashing eyes had the look that Vietnam war correspondents liked to call the "thousand-yard stare".

I leaned across sympathetically: "Bet you'd never do this again as long as you live," I said. He shook his head in apparent concurrence.

The *mise-en-scene* back then was Gallagher Estate, close to five years ago.

The head of the severely maligned but ultimately effective Independent Electoral Commission had earlier that day announced the final tallies of Election '94. The electoral dawning of South African democracy – a drawn-out, draining, terrifying, exhilarating epic – was complete, and Johann Kriegler had played his prominent citizen's supporting role with characteristic distinction.

For those of us who remember that day with clarity and not a little emotion, the poignancy of Kriegler's resignation this week as chairman of the 1999 IEC is acute. For in spite of what I had taken back in 1994 to be his fatigue-induced better judgment, he had indeed tried to do it again – and this time he did not make it through.

This week's black rings were those of concession, not conclusion, and at this personal level at least it was a very sad turn of events.

It goes without saying that South Africa's second democratic election will forge ahead without Johann Kriegler, in all likelihood more efficiently than its epoch-making predecessor because of the valuable lessons learned along the way. But it would be an injustice to the man and a disservice to the country to which he is deeply loyal if the nuanced realities of his departure were not analysed with some seriousness.

The precise detail of the coyly-described "difficulties" underpinning the resignation will no doubt emerge over time. Of greater interest at this stage, in my view, are some of the subtler and broader implications which can be extrapolated from the saga. They show just how different to the Uhuru poll of 1994 is this era in which we now live.

Three distinct aspects stand out regarding the Kriegler case: personality, political practice, and principle. In descending order of importance, they have implications for the country's future.

The personality issue, for obvious reasons, carries the fewest long-term implications, but it has played a role. Kriegler is a powerful individual and intellectually exceptional, with all the complications attendant to those qualities. He has been accused of hypersensitivity, vanity and occasional pomposity. He has also been credited with exquisite judgment (in both its narrow and broad senses), moments of poetical brilliance, and profoundly principled patriotism – he is truly an Afrikaner of Africa.

The point of these observations is that someone of a more diplomatic disposition might have had – and handed out – an easier time than the easily misjudged judge.

This has a direct bearing on a second, related facet of the saga, namely political practice. Kriegler's attempted "comeback" in the post of IEC chairman coincided with a period of unprecedented Africanisation in South African politics, a phenomenon utterly different from the contrived inclusivity of what I call the "climate of settlement" of 1994.

Someone like Kriegler was always going to be resented by someone else in these new circumstances, undermined by a new and assertive generational elite as a relic of an earlier era, as an irritant, as an unnecessary luxury – or even as a "blockage".

However much we might try to wish it away (as we did, wisely and successfully, in the transition period) the unresolved issue of race swims strongly beneath our society's surface. It had its effect in this instance, and we might as well start being honest about the fact that the well-meaning whitey is not in tremendous demand in South Africa right now.

It might be – I am not sure – that Kriegler opened himself to attack through a perceived fixation with "Western standards" (unfair as I believe the charge to be in his case), but the truth is that others whose names have been mentioned – Van Zyl Slabbert, Mary Burton, Colin Eglin – would probably have run into the same problems. We're just at that sensitive stage in South African history.

This brings us to the question that really matters for future generations. Once the personalities are part of the distant past and the opening era of Africanisation has been overtaken, will history record that a major principle – the independence from government of the electoral structures – was tampered with? Are we seeing here the departure from the national stage merely of transitional personalities, or are the principles they represent going with them?

On this score it certainly seems, in the famous phrase, to be too soon to panic. Kriegler himself, a very precise man, took care not to condemn the process out of hand. He declared his own innings, rather than declaring disaster, and that is significant.

Obviously enough, the disputes on jurisdiction which played a big part in his decision to quit are serious, but he is not saying they are necessarily terminal to the independence of the IEC. We shall have to wait and see.

It is indeed a pity about Johann Kriegler and the IEC. But he will continue to do his public duty at the Constitutional Court; he is not following Anne Paton to Europe.

I don't think now – and didn't think then – that he was wise to attempt an IEC comeback in the first place. But he did, and in a peculiarly South African way, it might turn out that he has rendered a different, and unexpected, service.

For if the serious organisational problems he has highlighted are attended to, and the election goes ahead with the transitional generation's lofty principles intact – but implemented by the new generation – South Africa will have achieved a new level of maturity. We must hope for this constructive outcome, as we can expect Johann Kriegler to do.

Kriegler's resignation a big mistake

(304A) BD 29/11/99

Judge will not be thanked for leaving the electoral process when it is approaching its roughest ride, argues political editor **Drew Forrest**

JOHANN Kriegler is the sort of crusty individualist democracy needs as a judge. And because he tempers strict legalism with an understanding of SA's socioeconomic realities, he is well equipped to work in the constitutional court of a developing state.

But the fact that he is a judge and a clever and sensitive man does not mean his course of action over the Independent Electoral Commission has to be accepted.

Since announcing his resignation from the IEC, Kriegler has been extraordinarily evasive and contradictory about his motives, apparently because of an agreement with government to contain the fallout.

His rage over what he saw as government's disregard for the constitutionally guaranteed independence of the commission could, however, be inferred from his deposition in the New National Party's (New NP's) court challenge to the way the elections were being conducted.

The matter has now been put beyond doubt by the release of Kriegler's correspondence with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, in which he refers to "jurisdictional skirmishes" with government and complains the IEC has lost the power to compile a voters' role "free of government let or hindrance".

Money is clearly at the centre of Kriegler's frustrations, particularly the fact that perceived underfunding has prevented the IEC from training and paying its own voter registration staff, and has forced it to use the services of 72 000 state employees.

The IEC has defended its demand for a R900m budget in the 1998/99 financial year, the registration period, by saying that a R1bn figure was independently arrived at by the electoral steering committee which predated the IEC's formation. It pointed out that the proposal was revised in a joint exercise with government.

In his court papers Kriegler also makes much of the IEC's lack of administrative and financial independence from the home affairs department, arguing that the commission should answer only to Parliament and the auditor-general on its spending. A specific beef is that the department of state expenditure insists on dealing with the commission via the home affairs department.



Judge Johann Kriegler who resigned as Independent Electoral Commission chairman. Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

The sense is that as a judge, Kriegler has an unrealistically purist view of how a constitutionally independent body like the IEC should be financed. Yes, it could discharge its brief more effectively if it had R900m, rather than its current R550m, to play with — but it could do even better with three or 10 times the amount. In a context where every organ of government is under budgetary pressure, where is the line to be drawn and who is to draw it?

A finance department official has remarked, perhaps a little unfairly, that the 1996 census told us many things we did not know, while this year's election will tell us at greater cost and with a great deal of vagueness, what we know already. The fact is that Statistics SA brought in up to 50 bits of data on 40-million people, while the election has to bring in one piece of data from 20-million people for twice the amount.

The question about the financial and administrative independence of the IEC from home affairs is more complex. There is a perception that home affairs director-general Albert Mokoena — an IEC member before the last election and therefore well known to Kriegler — is an empire-builder. Certainly there have been repeated skirmishes between the two since the judge was installed as IEC head in July 1997.

Sources say legislation planned by home affairs, but withdrawn after Kriegler's objections that it was unconstitutional, would have left the department running the elections while downgrading the IEC to a monitoring function.

The IEC is indeed answerable to Parliament and there is certainly an argument for closer oversight by the relevant portfolio committee, which the IEC could use as a court of appeal against the department.

There is a view that legislators are not paying sufficient attention to constitutionally independent agencies like the IEC and the Independent Broadcasting Authority.

Kriegler apparently believes funding should bypass the department — and that is simply not the way parliamentary votes operate.

It is clear that one of the reasons for Kriegler's departure is the rising acrimony between him and other commissioners.

They evidently do not consider the independence of the commission to be at risk and it appears the judge's supporting affidavit for the New NP's case against government is construed as itself compromising the IEC's autonomy.

The large question is: if Kriegler believed such critically important principles were at stake, why did he not stay on and fight for them? He argues that his departure will remove tension between the IEC and the state and make it easier to deliver successful elections. But how can this be true if the integrity of the body which must manage the poll is being undermined by government interference?

The same applies to the questions raised in his court affidavit about home affairs' rejection of the Human Sciences Research Council survey, which found that more than 5-million South Africans did not have bar-coded identity documents.

He is quite right to point out that home affairs was involved in briefing the HSRC, approving its methodology and endorsing the questionnaire. He may well be right that home affairs challenged the survey results without reference to the IEC and that key statistics on which it based its position were unsubstantiated.

There is a strong suggestion that the department was merely following the line laid down by the African National Congress, which has an electoral interest in insisting on the use of documents which many whites do not have.

But this is precisely the subject of the New NP's court case. Why not wait for its outcome? And why give up the fight for less restrictive voting requirements?

Whatever the intention, Kriegler's resignation will be read by South Africans and the outside world as a vote of no confidence in the electoral process. It has even been suggested that he is baling out because he does not wish to be tainted — as he was to some extent in 1994 — by an electoral debacle.

It has had a further unfortunate consequence. Rather in the same way as the maverick behaviour of dissenting white commissioners in the truth commission, it is seen as evidence that the commitment of white sympathisers to change in SA is skin-deep and liable to peter out if things are not done their way.

This is an unfair view — Kriegler's constitutional court judgments underline his democratic instincts. What may be more relevant is that he is a judge and therefore a member of a pampered breed accustomed to deference, protected from harsh criticism by the law and steeped in the orderly hierarchies and straight edges of the courtroom.

His world is far removed from the hurly-burly and messy compromises of practical politics. He may be technically right that the independence of the IEC would be better secured if its funding was not mediated through government bureaucrats, but this is not going to happen.

He may be technically right that the use of public servants to register voters is not ideal — but without them registration would not have taken place. In the end, Kriegler will be remembered as the man who set sail for calmer waters when the country was approaching the storm of the elections. He will not be thanked for it.

Letters show bitter exchange

BD 29/11/99 (304A)

Kevin O'Grady

GOVERNMENT went on the offensive yesterday over Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Judge Johann Kriegler's claims since his resignation earlier this week that it was undermining the commission's independence.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's legal adviser, advocate Mojanku Gumbi, released bitter correspondence exchanged between Mbeki and Kriegler in the days prior to the resignation. In it the depth of their differences becomes apparent.

Gumbi said it was decided "in the interests of transparency" to release the letters after Kriegler reneged on an agreement with government "not to blow this issue out of proportion" by conducting interviews on the reasons for his departure.

Mbeki's letter, dated the day before Kriegler resigned, strongly disputes Kriegler's claims, labels some of them "dangerous in the extreme" and suggests he is a victim of "self-induced prejudices" which led him to mistrust the African National Congress's commitment to democracy and the constitution.

The deputy president was responding to a letter penned by Kriegler a day earlier, in which he indicated his intention to resign and to "do so as quickly and unobtrusively as possible".

Kriegler wrote about a meeting between government and the commission on Friday last week which he described as "the culmination of a series of debilitating jurisdictional skirmishes".

He complained that the commission and its chief electoral officer, Mandla Mchunu, "have been reduced to supplicants for staffing and funding" and have "lost the power and duty to plan and execute the compilation of the voters' roll free of governmental let or hindrance".

"Moreover, there has been an irretrievable loss of the power to recruit, evaluate, select, train and motivate, deploy and control officers engaged in the electoral process," he wrote in a reference to the use of public servants to man voter registration stations.

In Mbeki's response, he reminded Kriegler of a meeting between the two of them and Gumbi last month at which "you stated that ... the constitutional and administrative independence of the commission had not been compromised".

"I do not know what has happened since that discussion which leads you to draw the conclusion in your letter," Mbeki wrote.

"The (IEC) knows as well as I do that at no point did the government interfere with the compilation of the voters' roll (and) nothing has been said or done which would suggest any ... plans or intention to interfere with the compilation of the roll in future," he said.

He also reminded the judge that at the same meeting Kriegler dismissed court cases brought by the Democratic Party and the National Party over government's relationship with the IEC as having "no basis in law or fact". Since then Kriegler has filed an affidavit supporting the parties' stance.

Mbeki also questioned Kriegler's comments on the IEC's supposed lack of funding in the light of a meeting with Mchunu on January 11 at which he "responded firmly" that the IEC did not expect any financial shortages during the current fiscal year. Mbeki wrote that Kriegler's decision to resign was "one you are free to take. Those of us who remain will continue to strive to find solutions to the problems that exist."

No thanks for judge: Page 13

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SCANDAL OVER APPOINTMENT OF ENVOY TO INDIA

Mandela probes 'thief' got top post

KEN VERNON, CARMEL RICKARD and HENRY LUDSKI

ST 31/1/99 (304A)

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has ordered an investigation into how a crooked lawyer was appointed to one of South Africa's top diplomatic posts.

The inquiry follows a national outcry over the appointment of Ramesh Vassen as Consul-General to India. Nine months ago the highest court in the land declared him too dishonest to act as an attorney.

Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said the President had recently ratified Vassen's appointment, acting on the recommendation of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

"We assumed that Foreign Affairs had done their homework," said Mankahlana, adding that an investigation would begin as soon as Mandela returned from his European tour.

Douglas Gibson, the Democratic Party's justice spokesman, who first exposed the botch up, said the failure of Foreign Affairs to inform Mandela was either a cover-up of a "struggle" lawyer's wrongdoing, or evidence of "rank incompetence".



CROOKED: Ramesh Vassen stole from trust accounts

"Foreign Affairs have seriously embarrassed the President. How could they not know of Vassen's background when it was public knowledge?"

Vassen's appointment is the most recent of several dubious decisions affecting "struggle" lawyers in top jobs. Others are:

- Kwenza Mlaba, struck from the roll in April 1998 in connection with the theft of R800 000 from a paralysed client, was offered a post in the Home Affairs Ministry in November; and
- Vivani Made was struck from the roll last year for dishonesty in relation to his private practice after he joined the government service as deputy state attorney. He was fired only after he was exposed by his colleagues.

The Sunday Times has learnt that Vassen, who at one stage was a partner in a law firm with Justice Minister Dullah Omar, personally approached Aziz Pahad, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, for a job six months after investigations into his misappropriation of trust funds began.

Vassen was appointed to the senior post of deputy director, and then promoted to full director before he had even started work.

This week Vassen refused to speak to the Sunday Times beyond saying that he had told Foreign Affairs of his conviction.

However, in a 1995 letter to the Cape Law Society, pleading for the case against him to be kept secret, he said that his job with Foreign Affairs would be "seriously jeopardised" if the case went ahead — indicating he had not informed them of his position.

"No foreign country would accept my credentials as a diplomat in their country," he wrote at the time.

Pahad has been unavailable for comment. "If Pahad knew of Vassen's conviction and still allowed him to be appointed to the Indian post, he should resign for embarrassing the President," said Gibson.

In his 1995 letter to the Law Society, Vassen pleaded for the charges against him to be dropped. "I was engaged mostly in political work and gained a reputation as a human rights lawyer and became known as a people's lawyer.

"I did a great deal of work on Robben Island and thus became closely acquainted with many people who are presently holding important and high positions, including the President of the country."

Fearing that his dishonesty would be exposed, he wrote: "Any publicity would lead to my utter destruction. I would not be able to face a single person I know — not even my children."

But the law society pressed ahead and in August 1996 the Cape High Court found the "people's lawyer" guilty of misuse and theft of trust moneys, including "at least one serious transgression" reflecting on his honesty and integrity that rendered him unfit to practise as an attorney.

In the worst instance the court found Vassen had stolen R61 763,55 from the deceased estate of a working-class father.

Vassen appealed in May last year against his striking off, but it was turned down.

Vassen's plea that he was a "people's lawyer" who helped his community in difficult times, cut no ice with the Appeal Court.

The five judges said that his actions "amounted to theft".

Mkhwanazi could end up becoming an ambassador

BD 1/2/99 (304A)

MAPUTO — SA's ambassador to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, has been told to pack his bags and return home today after the foreign affairs department declined to renew his four-year contract with them.

The contract expired at the weekend.

The position has apparently been offered to former Mpumalanga environment MEC David Mkhwanazi.

Foreign affairs spokesman Adri Cronje confirmed that Zitha would be replaced but declined to name his successor.

Mkhwanazi said at the weekend that he had been offered the post as a possible redeployment by the African National Congress (ANC) following his reinstatement to the party last week.

He was suspended from the ANC in August on charges of nepotism, self-enrichment and misconduct, but was cleared of all wrongdoing by a national executive subcommittee probe on January 21.

"The talk is that I'll be offered the Maputo post or the position of CE for the Mpumalanga Parks Board," he said. "I'm not very keen on the parks board post because it's such a hot seat."

Mkhwanazi has still not accounted for almost R19m that was misspent during his time as MEC last year.

He resigned from the post in May last year, before a damning auditor-general's report detailing massive maladministration, irregular expenditure and possible corruption in his department was tabled.

He also still faces censure for hiring his wife, daughter, sister-in-law and cousin to his department.

Zitha, a former chief minister of KaNgwane, is also no stranger to controversy. The Heath special investigating unit is investigating him for benefiting from a shady land deal that saw him and three other homeland cronies get state farms for only the price of legal transfer fees.

The auditor-general has criticised the 1991 deal, in which Zitha got a 5,7ha farm with two houses on it for only R5 795.

Zitha is also involved in the Mpumalanga Parks Board scandal. He joined a helicopter charter partnership called Air Excellence with suspended parks board chief, Alan Gray, in 1996.

Air Excellence appears to have been financed at least partially through a Rustenburg front company using parks board funds. — AENS.

Nzo confirms debarred attorney's posting (384A)

Linda Ensor and Sapa

CAPE TOWN — The foreign posting of debarred attorney Ramesh Vassen was confirmed by Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo yesterday despite protests from the legal profession and political opposition.

Vassen was found guilty of theft by two sets of judges and was struck off the roll of attorneys in August 1996.

Brushing off objections to the move as political opportunism, Nzo said Vassen deserved a second chance. He said the department knew Vassen had been struck off the attorney's roll. "We make no apology for that. We believe he has been appropriately punished and that he deserves a second chance," Nzo said.

Vassen would take up his post as consul-general to India at the end of the week.

President Nelson Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said Mandela, who ordered a probe into the appointment, had agreed with the decision.

It also emerged yesterday that Lyndall Shope-Mafole, a former Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) councillor and former adviser to Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Jay Naidoo, was appointed in Paris on a four-year contract as general manager of international telecommunications policy.

This was despite R241 722 still owed to the fiscus by four former IBA councillors who were forced to resign after being found to have grossly abused their credit cards and travel allowances.

Cape Law Society president Adrian Watermeyer said Vassen's appointment was "inappropriate". It conveyed a message to the world that the SA government condoned theft and corruption. Once again, crimes allegedly committed by those who served the struggle were overlooked in what Watermeyer said was an "alarming trend".

Vassen, a former partner in Justice Minister Dullah Omar's law firm, was found to have underbanked trust monies on about 18 occasions, the largest being the theft of a R60 000 insurance policy owed to a deceased estate.

Watermeyer said the same arguments used by Nzo to justify Vassen's conduct were rejected by both the Cape High Court and the Appeal Court when they found Vassen guilty of theft and of at least one serious transgression which reflected on his honesty and integrity.

Watermeyer said that before debarred attorneys could be readmitted, they had to prove that their character flaw had been overcome. A time lapse of about five years was normally required and then they were required to submit affidavits to the High Court and the Law Society.

Democratic Party spokesman Douglas Gibson said the appointments of people closely connected to senior African National Congress politicians made a mockery of the ANC's claims to be tough on corruption. The foreign service appeared to be becoming a "dumping ground for dishonest ANC pals".

India's deputy high commissioner in Pretoria, PS Raghavan, said it was very rare for a receiving country to object to the appointment of a diplomat.

Comment: Page 11

BD 3/2/99

Political storm as struck-off lawyer gets diplomatic post

(304A) ARLT 3/1/99

Attorney who stole trust money deserves chance, says Nzo

Pretoria – The appointment of disgraced attorney Ramesh Vassen as consul-general to India would go ahead because Mr Vassen deserved a second chance, said Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo.

Opposition parties criticised the decision yesterday, with the Democratic Party saying it appeared the foreign service was becoming a dumping ground for African National Congress pals.

"It is symptomatic of the jobs-for-pals tendency that the Government is unable to act firmly when these appointees are implicated in corrupt practices," said DP spokesman Douglas Gibson.

Brushing off objections to the move as political opportunism, Mr Nzo said Mr Vassen had repaid the trust money he misused.

Mr Vassen, a "struggle lawyer" and former partner of Justice Minister Dullah Omar, was struck from the roll of attorneys in 1996 after the Cape High Court found him guilty of misuse and theft of trust money, including R61 763,55 from a deceased estate.

His appeal against the decision was turned down in May last year.

Mr Nzo said the department knew Mr Vassen had been struck off.

"We make no apology for that. We believe he has been appropriately punished and that he deserves a second chance.

"While Mr Vassen indeed used money from trust funds, he clearly marked it as a loan in his books and has paid the amount back in full, with interest."

As a director with a good track record, Mr Vassen had legitimate aspirations to an overseas appointment. He would take up his post at the end of the week, said Mr Nzo.

India's Deputy High Commissioner in Pretoria, P S Raghavan, said: "We have and can have no comment on the matter."

He ruled out any objection from his government, saying it was very rare for a receiving country to object to the appointment of a diplomat, and then only if it was a head of mission, not a lesser-ranking envoy.

The New National Party urged Mr Nzo to reconsider Mr Vassen's appointment, saying the party did not support the minister's view that the consul-general designate to India deserved a second chance.

NNP media director Juli Kilian said Mr Vassen was no doubt a loyal ANC supporter, but "there are other ways to reward him for his role in the struggle".

"We firmly believe that South Africans who are appointed to represent their country should be of impeccable character.

"Any query about a person's integrity would undoubtedly place a shadow over the person's credibility as a foreign envoy," said Ms Kilian.

The Freedom Front said Parliament's foreign affairs committee should investigate the matter and that Mr Vassen's departure should be delayed until the uncertainty could be cleared up.

Freedom Front spokesman Pieter Mulder said Mr Nzo's reasons for the appointment were not convincing.

Meanwhile, Mr Gibson also criticised the appointment of former Independent Broadcasting Authority councillor Lyndall Shope-Mafole to a senior diplomatic posting in France.

This was another example of the appointment of well-connected ANC people to positions in the foreign service, he said.

"Like Mr Vassen, she has been implicated in a corruption scandal."

He was referring to her resignation from the IBA after the auditor-general released a damning report on credit-card abuse by IBA councillors.

Last week, Public Protector Selby Baqwa recommended that President Mandela either appoint a special investigating unit or refer the matter to the Heath unit probing corruption in the state sector, with a view to recovering money spent improperly or unlawfully by IBA councillors.

It appeared Mr Vassen and Mr Shope-Mafole had the credentials that mattered: connection to senior ANC politicians, said Mr Gibson.

Mr Shope-Mafole's mother is Gertrude Shope, an ANC MP and ex-president of the ANC's Women's League, and the widow of the late Tebogo Mafole, a senior adviser in the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. – Sapa

CAPE TIMES
WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1999 ★

MANDELA BACKS DECISION

'Unfit' lawyer gets posting

~~S11~~ (304A)

CT 3/2/99

PRETORIA: The President has intervened in a political row over the appointment of discredited attorney Ramesh Vassen to a top diplomatic post in India.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has given his stamp of approval to the appointment of rogue former attorney Ramesh Vassen as consul-general in India after a departmental investigation.

Vassen said he did not feel his disciplinary record would affect his work in India since he was working for the South African government and not the Indian government.

An Indian consul has also indicated that it is unlikely that the Indian government will object to his appointment.

Vassen was struck off the attorneys roll in 1996 for withdrawing R64 130 of a client's money he held in trust. Five judges of the Supreme Court of Appeal found that Vassen was not a "fit and proper" person to be an attorney.

Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said the department felt that Vassen had been punished enough for his misappropriating trust funds.

He said Vassen's record in Parliament had been excellent and that he held letters of recommendation from opposition parties on the good working relations he had with them.

The New National Party urged Nzo to reconsider the appointment of Vassen, saying it did not support Nzo's announcement that Vassen be given a second chance.

"Any query about a person's integrity would undoubtedly place a shadow over the person's credibility as a foreign envoy," the NNP said in a statement.

The Democratic Party slammed his appointment saying the foreign service was a "dumping ground" for dishonest African National Congress members. It also continued to accuse the ANC of providing "jobs for pals" in its allocation of vacancies.

The DP contradicted Vassen's assertion that his work in India would not be affected.

It said in a 1995 letter to the Cape Law Society that Vassen "begged" that charges against him be dropped, saying his position would be "seriously jeopardised" if the case went ahead. "(Vassen) wrote that 'no foreign country would accept my credentials as a diplomat in their country'," the DP said in a statement.

The DP also charged that Vassen is a friend of the ANC, since he is a former partner of Justice Minister Dullah Omar's law firm. But Omar last week rejected the allegation and said at no point was he consulted about the appointment of Vassen as consul-general. He said the appointment was a matter in which the Foreign Affairs Department was solely involved.

His partnership with Vassen ended in 1992 when Omar ceased practising as an attorney and started practising as an advocate.

Omar said he was not aware of the details of Vassen's conduct which led to his being struck off the roll.

The DP also questioned the appointment of Lyndall Shope-Mafole, a former Independent Broadcasting Authority councillor who resigned after the auditor-general found that councillors had abused their credit cards. Shope-Mafole is the daughter of former ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope. — Own Correspondent

Nzo stands firm on disbarred attorney's posting to India

By Edwin Naidu

Cape Town attorney Ramesh Vassen wants to put the nightmare of the past week behind him and concentrate on selling South Africa when he takes up his post as consul-general in Mumbai, India, this week.

Vassen, whose appointment provoked controversy when it emerged he had been struck off the attorneys' roll nine months ago, was given a vote of confidence by Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo yesterday.

The foreign affairs boss dismissed criticism as "opportunism" and said Vassen had been appropriately punished and deserved another chance. President Nelson Mandela recently ratified Vassen's appointment as consul-general on the recommendation of the Department of Foreign Affairs.

> "I am glad that the department trusted me"

Nzo said Vassen had a good track record and that parties were making a fuss to score election points.

However, rival politicians blasted Nzo's decision, saying the ANC's appointments to foreign missions amounted to no more than "jobs for pals" and that some of the diplomatic choices had been embarrassing failures.

Nzo said in Pretoria yesterday that the department was aware when it employed Vassen that he had been struck off as an attorney, and that he had developed good relations with all parties in Parliament.

Speaking from Cape Town, Vassen told *The Star* he was relieved to find that the department had stood behind him when people were trying to wreck his career. "I am glad the department believed in and trusted me," he said.

Vassen would not comment on his being struck off, but said he wanted to put the past behind him and concentrate on being a good representative for South Africa.

However, the DP's Douglas Gibson said the Department of Foreign Affairs seemed to be a "good dumping ground for dishonest ANC pals".

"The Democratic Party is outraged at the decision not to retract Vassen's appointment as consul-general to Mumbai, and by the appointment of Ms Lyndall Shope-Mafole as minister (second in command to the ambassador) to Paris. These appointments make a mockery of the ANC's claim to be tough on corruption," he said.

Gibson labelled the the "surreptitious appointment" of Shope-Mafole as "another example of the appointment of well-connected people to positions in the foreign service".

Like Vassen, she had been implicated in a corruption scandal, and had been forced to resign from the Independent Broadcasting Authority after the auditor-general released a damning report into credit card abuse by IBA councillors.

Gibson added that R241 722 was still owed by former IBA councillors. "If Ms Shope-Mafole has paid back the money owed by her, then we should be told. If not, why not – and, more particularly, why should she be rewarded with a plum diplomatic post?"

New National Party spokesperson Juli Kilian questioned the wisdom of Nzo going ahead with Vassen's appointment.

Star 3/2/99 (~~2150~~) (304A)

What Government has achieved

ARG 5/2/99 (304A)

President Mandela gives his Government high marks for effort, while acknowledging that more needs to be done.

Achievements outlined by Mr Mandela at the opening of Parliament today included:

■ In 1994, about 30% of South Africans did not have access to a safe supply of water near their homes. Today, after 3-million people have benefited from the Government's water supply programme, that has been reduced to 20%.

■ In 1994, less than 40% of households had electricity. Now, after more than 2-million connections, 63% of households are linked to the grid.

■ In 1994, only 25% of homes had telephones. Today, after 3-million connections, 35% have.

"This means that every day on average since our democratic elections, another 1 300 homes have been electrified, another 750 telephones have been installed and another 1 700 people have gained access to clean water," said Mr Mandela.

With the primary school nutrition programme reaching more than 5-million pupils, and with free health care, millions were growing healthy.

In areas where delivery had not been adequate, Mr Mandela warned that "heads may roll".

Noting that at the opening of Parliament last year he had labelled it inexcusable that text books were not supplied within seven days of the beginning of term, Mr Mandela said many areas had met this target and many had not.

"If this does not happen after the pressured experiences of last year, if our administrations are unable to carry out such a straightforward project, then ordinary citizens like myself will be justified in calling, so to speak, for heads to roll."

Although the promise of a million houses in five years had not been fulfilled, the Government was now able to build 15 000 a month.

Construction of sports facilities had reached new levels in 1998 and the establishment of community arts centres had exceeded targets.

ELECTION 1999

(304A) 5|2|99

THE FIGHT FOR A FREE

It will hurt no-one if all valid IDs are acceptable for voting in the forthcoming elections

A poisonous controversy threatens to undermine public confidence in the electoral process and thus in the pending general and provincial elections, the first since the formal demise of the old, unlamented racial order in 1994.

Two intertwined elements are detectable in the discord:

- The resignation of Johann Kriegler as chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) in protest against what he sees as encroachment by government on the constitutionally prescribed independence of the commission; and
- Applications to the High Court from the Democratic and National parties who believe certain aspects of the electoral process disadvantage them unfairly — especially the sole of use of barcoded identity documents for voting purposes.

FM Cover Story

If there are doubts about the fairness of the election — which has to be held within 90 days of April 28 — SA's reputation as a young and viable new democracy will suffer. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, who helped organise local government elections of 1995-1996, talks of the poll facing a potential "crisis of legitimacy".

The long-term implications of a suspect election process are serious. If SA is perceived to have fallen short, it will be less attractive to investors and less influential in foreign affairs. The controversy needs to be spelt out in greater detail.

Kriegler's public remarks after his resignation, announced on January 26, include a jocular attempt to downplay its import: if, he said, the electoral process and the IEC were dependent on the presence of "one ageing Afrikaner" then SA was in more trouble than he realised.

But Kriegler — who expressed confidence in the abilities of his fellow IEC commissioners and IEC chief electoral officer Mandla Mchunu — is not merely an ageing Afrikaner. He is a respected judge who, as chairman of the first IEC, helped overcome the logistical and political crises that threatened to subvert the 1994 election.

Kriegler's attempt to reassure the public by stressing that the IEC was a team of competent people has to be weighed against his affidavit before the High Court in the application brought by the NP. Kriegler's affidavit was not submitted in support of the NP application — as whispered by foes in ANC circles — but to help the court assess the situation.

A major theme in the affidavit is the prolonged dispute between the departments of Home Affairs and State Expenditure and the IEC.

Kriegler avers the conflict was precipitated by an attempt by the departments to exercise control over the IEC in contravention of the IEC's establishment as an independent organisation "subject only to the Constitution and the law".

Kriegler states that the two departments agreed between themselves that "administrative and financial control over the activities of the IEC" should be exercised by the Director-General of Home Affairs, Albert Mokoena. He implies the deal was cut secretly and says the IEC took a diametrically different view: though accountable to parliament for every cent it spends, it must "resist any attempt to impose any form of control by the Department of Home Affairs . . ."

Closely linked to the IEC's resistance to Home Affairs' encroachment, has been its quest for sufficient funds to carry out its tasks of organising the general and provincial elections, as well as next year's local government elections, compiling a national voters' roll and planning and administering voter-education.

According to Kriegler, the quest is a tale of rebuff and failure.

Kriegler writes that the IEC sought a minimum of R965m for the financial year 1998-99; instead, he says, it received R500m, even though "it was clear that the general registration of voters could not be performed on the available funds".

The judge goes on to disclose that on the eve of phase one of the registration process last November, the IEC presented an ultimatum to the government: make the "requisite funds" available or halt the registration process to avoid "further fruitless expenditure".

Kriegler records that a solution, of a sort, was found thanks to the Deputy President: 72 500 civil servants, including soldiers, were seconded to the IEC to serve as registration officers.

But, he adds, many of the seconded personnel were recruited "too late to be trained or deployed prop-



CONTESTED TRUTHS



"A debilitating series of jurisdictional skirmishes with government began shortly after the commissioners were appointed"

Johann Kriegler, outgoing IEC chairman, to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki

"At no point did government interfere with the compilation of the voters' roll ... Government is committed to the view that the IEC should discharge its duties well and as an independent commission"

Mbeki in a letter to Kriegler

(3045) FM5/2/99

AND FAIR BALLOT



"The election faces a potential crisis of legitimacy"

Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, member of the Election Steering Committee, which paved the way for the IEC

THE IDENTITY CRISIS

The *HSRC's version	Home Affairs' version
• 2,2m to 2,4m people (one in 10 of potentially eligible voters) do not have any form of ID	• No figures of its own but rejects the HSRC's figures
• Three quarters of those without any ID are first-time voters between the ages of 17 and 21	• Argues that most in the 17 to 21 age group have some form of ID
• 2,8m to 3,1m potential voters do not have barcoded IDs	• Says number has been reduced to below 1,6m

** Human Sciences Research Council*

erly", with the result that many registration points were "either not staffed or had to be staffed by reducing the number of officials at neighbouring registration points".

Since submitting his affidavit early in January, Kriegler has been even more forthright.

In his letter of resignation, dated January 24, Kriegler refers to a "debilitating series of jurisdictional skirmishes with government," accuses government of withholding the required "moral and material support" for the IEC, and states that he and Mchunu have been "reduced to supplicants for staffing and funding".

Then comes a devastating sentence: "We have effectively lost the power and duty to plan and execute the compilation of the voters' roll free of government let or interference."

Limitations on the IEC's independence — which forms a major part of the NP's court application — run parallel with another central issue in the voluble dispute: government's insistence on making possession of a barcoded identity document a fundamental requisite for voting.

While a clause in the Electoral Act makes a temporary registration certificate (theoretically issued by Home Affairs on receipt of an application for a barcoded ID) an optional document for registration, it will not be recognised for voting purposes during the election proper.

A brief barcode chronology is useful.

The decision to make barcoded IDs the only legal tender for the pending election was originally taken by the IEC.

Barcoded IDs are compatible with modern electronic technology and the IEC reasoned that an election based on them as the sole document of identification would be speedier and less vulnerable to fraud. But then the Department of Home Affairs revised its original estimate that only 4% of the potential electorate of 25m did not have barcoded IDs. Its later estimate was 10%.

Faced with that degree of uncertainty, the IEC and Home Affairs commissioned the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) to establish how many potential voters did not have barcoded IDs.

The results were startling. The HSRC survey found last year that about 20% of the potential electorate did not have barcoded IDs. Depending on the exact number of eligible voters, that translated to between 4,7m and 5,3m voters, far more than the number computed at the time of the IEC decision.

Most eligible voters without barcoded IDs fell into two categories:

❑ Those, mainly from the minority white, coloured and Indian communities, in possession of IDs issued before 1986, when the new barcoded IDs were introduced; and those who did not have any form of ID, the bulk of them black first-time voters between the ages of 17 and 21.

Confronted with these realities, and sceptical of the Department of Home Affairs' ability to issue the barcoded IDs to the millions without them in time for them to vote, the IEC changed tack on the advice of the HSRC.

Instead of attempting to issue barcoded IDs to those without them in time for the election, the HSRC counselled that it would "make much better sense to accept the older IDs as a valid form of identification and direct resources towards ensuring that those individuals who do not have any ID obtain their IDs in time for the 1999 election".

Kriegler mooted that approach to parliament in the middle of last year. He won endorsement from the relevant portfolio committee, including crucially, its ANC members. But then on August 14 the ANC national executive committee took a decision to insist on the barcoded IDs as the only valid document for voting purposes. The whip was cracked and ANC MPs fell into line with their leadership.

A central factor in the ANC executive decision was the unqualified confidence of Home Affairs that it could issue the barcoded IDs in time. This confidence was based partly on its contention that the number of potential voters without IDs was about half the HSRC figure.

But, in the judgment of the NP and DP, there was another more Machiavellian reason: a cynical calculation that the ANC would be a major beneficiary if barcoded IDs were the only acceptable form of voter identification.

The HSRC report was published last year in two phases, a national survey on July 30 and a regional survey on August 13, indicating that most voters in possession of IDs without barcodes were older members of the minority communities, the majority of whom support opposition parties.

The suspicion is that the ANC had sight of the HSRC reports and, believing that the opposition parties would be the primary losers if barcoded IDs were confirmed as the only valid documents for voting purposes, took its decision accordingly.

But ANC spokesman Thabo Masebe challenges that line of reasoning. The HSRC finding that between 2,2m and 2,4m South Africans, most of them young blacks who

quoted as saying the IEC had come to be regarded as a government-funded agency "like the Meat Board," Mbeki's office released his replying letter to Kriegler.

In that letter Mbeki:

- Referred to an earlier meeting in December last year, in which Kriegler is reported to have agreed that the administrative independence of the IEC had not been compromised;
- Accused Kriegler of implying that he was alone in fighting for IEC independence and that, by extension, his fellow commissioners were content to see its independence eroded; and
- Reiterated that government was committed to an independent IEC and doing "all in its power" to assist the IEC to ensure the registration process and the elections were successful.

But public disclosure of Mbeki's reply may not be enough to counter the impression of government malfeasance. Government needs to seize the initiative.

There are signs that a move in that direction may be in the offing. President Mandela is known to have approached the DP and NP towards the end of last month with the idea of talks with Buthelezi and Mbeki to resolve the dispute. The idea then stalled, due to a petty wrangle over who approached whom first.

But a solution requires only a simple amendment to the Electoral Act making all legally valid IDs acceptable for voting. It will stifle suspicions that the ANC is involved in a *schlenter* to disenfranchise opposition voters, render the NP and DP court gambits superfluous, and demonstrate that Kriegler's fears are unfounded. The political pluses are immense.

Apart from portraying the ANC as a political actor imbued with generosity, it would prudently allow for a perilous contingency: the possibility, perhaps even probability, that Home Affairs is wrong about the accuracy of its calculations and its ability to meet the demand for barcoded IDs on time.

Kriegler, sceptical of Mokoena's assurances and fearing the worst, has warned of "the ominous spectre of tens of thousands of black youths arriving at voting stations on election day and demanding to exercise their democratic right, only to be turned away."

By recognising all legal IDs for election purposes, the ANC will enable Home Affairs to concentrate in the time left on ensuring young black people without IDs get them in time to register.

There will be an added and important bonus for Mbeki: his anticipated inauguration as President in succession to Mandela will be untainted by political rancour over the election process. **Patrick Laurence**

Nyanga squatters take over 'promised land'

ARG 8/2/99 (309)

MANDLA MNYAKAMA
STAFF REPORTER

More than 200 residents from the Mau Mau and Zwelitsha sections of Nyanga East have illegally built shacks on a piece of land along Eisleben and Lansdowne roads.

The decision to occupy the land followed a meeting earlier yesterday to discuss the plight of people who lived in overcrowded homes and who were forced to share toilet facilities with neighbours.

By last night, most of the newly-claimed plots had been marked with wire, knotted strings of cloth and planks.

Residents claimed that the city of Cape Town municipality had allocated the land to them, but had taken too long to provide them with plots.

"The council promised in 1994 that it would level this piece of land to provide us with plots, but they failed to do so and built hostels for migrant workers instead. They forgot about us," said Nomathemba Tsatsane, a mother of three.

"I need a place of my own. I've had enough of living with my parents," she said.

Residents alleged that they were being encouraged to vote in the election while they had no houses to live in and that President Mandela had done nothing for them.

"We are not stealing this land, it is what we've been promised," mother-of four Ms Nompumelelo Zicima said. "We've waited long enough."

She claimed to have had her name on the housing list for many years.

Heath unit's 'saved govt R501m in six months'

BD 12/2/99

(304A)

Proclamation process a 'dismal failure' due to long delays

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The Heath special investigating unit had recovered or saved the state R501m in the six months to end-September last year, the government anti-corruption unit said in an interim report tabled in Parliament this week.

The report said the unit had successfully completed and/or was granted orders by the special tribunal in 20 cases during this period.

The unit achieved its successes despite what it said was the "dismal failure" of the proclamation process, which had resulted in lengthy delays (more than a year in some cases) before the unit got the official go-ahead to begin an investigation.

The unit also criticised procedures contained in the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act of 1996, which it said allowed for tampering with evidence.

The unit's job is to combat maladministration, corruption and fraud involving the administration of state institutions, and to protect state assets and public money.

Successes for the period ending last September included:

□ The recovery of farms in the former Transkei valued at R20,645m which were previously leased to individuals and where lease contracts were "no longer lawful". The unit obtained 117 eviction orders from the special tribunal;

□ The recovery of state-owned vehicles in the KwaZulu-Natal transport department worth R33m;

□ Corruption involving R1,3m which was linked to councillors in Butterworth — the case is "ready for trial". Also in Butterworth, the unit is in the process of recovering R31m in "arrear service levies";

□ Lease agreements for office equipment between the Northern Cape government and "six banking institutions" worth R17m were found to be invalid because, inter alia, proper Tender Board procedures were not followed;

□ The Sarafina II investigation in which Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, among others, will appear before the special tribunal. The unit is seeking to recover R6m but has already managed to recover vehicles and equipment worth R4m.

□ Interdicts brought to stop land deals on the Transkei Coast worth R6m;

□ The Mpumalanga Parks Board case, where the unit obtained information that Alan Gray, board CEO, issued three guarantees/promissory notes to the value of $50m (R340m) without the necessary government authorisation.

The unit said government's failure to act on the proclamation issue was in spite of a public undertaking it gave that it was looking into it, including possible amendments to the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act.

"Notwithstanding the views expressed by the president's office and on behalf of the justice department as long ago as about 10 months, and notwithstanding the preparation by the unit of draft amendments which were welcomed by all parties concerned, the unit is not aware of any steps taken to implement the amendments," states the report dated September 30, last year.

The justice department is responsible for the preparatory work, and only then does President Nelson Mandela sign a proclamation and it appears in the Government Gazette.

Proclamations requested by the unit in respect of Gauteng in November 1997, the Northern Province in October and November 1997 and again in March last year, as well as the Western Cape in June last year "are still outstanding".

The unit was also critical of Section 2 in the Act, where it stipulates that various role-players must be consulted prior to the publication of a proclamation.

"It has been the experience of the unit that the prescribed procedure not only results in enormous delays, which affect the functioning of the unit, but the mere fact that a role-player can refuse to give his approval for the referral of a matter to the unit can lead to even further delays," the report states.

Very often investigations need to be conducted without disclosing the fact to the political head or to the senior management of the department concerned, the unit said.

"In terms of the present system the culprits may receive ample warning of an investigation ..."

Disgraced poll names face chop

Mbeki vow on lists

ARG 16/2/99 (304A)

PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

Disgraced African National Congress members who have made it on to the party election lists in spite of questions about their past are likely to be dropped, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki revealed in Cape Town today .

Mr Mbeki said national and provincial lists approved by the extended national executive committee at the weekend would be referred back to the national list committee.

"If there's any person who, although properly elected by members of the ANC and approved by the extended NEC, it is felt does not qualify, on whatever basis, these people will be dropped," said Mr Mbeki.

Several former MECs booted out of their positions after allegations of maladministration, nepotism or corruption featured prominently on the ANC lists released yesterday.

Steve Mabona, Jacques Modipane, Mamokoena Gaoretelelwe, Nosimo Balindlela, Mandisa Marasha and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela are among those whose political conduct and poor track record in the legislatures have caused the ANC embarrassment in the past.

But the ANC defended some of its decisions today, especially the inclusion of Ms Madkikizela-Mandela, who has a criminal record, who was dismissed as a deputy minister because of irresponsible behaviour, and who is alleged to have clocked R48 000 in unauthorised expenses for unauthorised use of a government vehicle.

ANC secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe said Mrs Madikizela-Mandela's conviction in the Stompie Sepei case was not regarded as a criminal matter as it "happened within the context of her persistent persecution" by the apartheid regime.

The ANC said some of the guidelines followed in electing the candidates were that they should be ANC members of good standing, have no criminal record of a non-political nature, no history of ill-discipline and corruption, no proven history of involvement in fostering divisions and conflict, and no violations of the ANC code of conduct.

But Mr Mabona – a former Mpumalanga safety and security MEC who helped Assembly Deputy Speaker Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile to obtain an illegal driver's licence – is in the top 20 on the provincial list, 15 places ahead of former finance MEC Jacques Modipane, whose alleged involvement in the Mpumalanga parks promissory note scandal is under investigation.

Mr Mabona resigned a day before the

To page 3

P. 1 Tr. Or

Jo'burg judge named to replace Kriegler

Star 16/2/199 (3049)

By Rodney Victor

Johannesburg High Court judge Ismail Hussain has been nominated to replace Judge Johann Kriegler as chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission.

He was nominated yesterday by the National Assembly's home affairs committee. His nomination will now have to be ratified by the full Assembly, probably today, before he can be formally appointed by President Mandela.

Hussain was appointed an acting judge of the Johannesburg High Court in April 1997 and a full judge in June 1997.

He grew up in Greytown in KwaZulu Natal.

On completion of his schooling he applied to the then minister of education to study at the University of the Witwatersrand, as was the requirement for students wanting to study at a university officially designated for a different race group. He was denied permission and did a BA at the University of Durban Westville. Later he did an LLB at Wits, specialising in company law.

Hussain said last night his appointment to head the IEC would be a challenge, but he would "deal with it" when he got there.

Kriegler, the former chairperson of the IEC, quit at the beginning of this month, citing differences with the Government over the body's role and funding.

Hussain will not necessarily become chairperson of the body. His presence as a judge allows for one of the other four members, including acting chairperson Brigalia Bam, to take the position.

Only two judges were willing to be nominated to fill Kriegler's position. The other was Judge Antonie Gildenhuys.

Survey rates Mbeki poorly

17/2/99

Poll finds Mathews Phosa most popular (304A)

Taryn Lamberti

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki is the fourth most disliked and distrusted politician in SA, after Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terreblanche and former state president FW de Klerk, a survey has found.

The survey, conducted by the Helen Suzman Foundation, also found that embattled Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa was the most popular provincial leader.

The survey asked voters to name the leaders they most admired and supported, giving them a first and second choice. The result showed a significant weakness in Mbeki's position.

President Nelson Mandela came top of the list with 41,8% first choices and 7,6% second choices.

Mbeki got 12,5% first choices and 23,3% second choices.

The foundation commissioned MarkData to carry out the survey in October last year, based on a representative sample of 2 232 voters.

The results were combined with those from a survey conducted in December last year of 800 voters drawn from minority groups in the Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal and Gauteng.

This was because the minority groups were "inevitably" very weakly represented in the first survey, according to the foundation.

The foundation will provide the survey results to political parties as a free briefing and advisory service, especially for smaller parties who cannot fund their own research.

The survey found that SA's political culture was characterised by a strong emphasis on party leadership. It asked voters to list the best and worst attributes of each leader.

Mbeki was rated as being intelligent and a good speaker with a good track record. The "worst things" about Mbeki were that he was not results-orientated, put insufficient emphasis on racial equality and was dishonest, the survey found.

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk was distinguished by the fact that over half of the minority respondents failed to give either a best or a worst quality. "In particular there was a blank over his good qualities. There was an emphatic feeling, particularly among whites and coloureds, that he was not intelligent or knowledgeable."

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon's best qualities were that he was a strong leader with a good track record, honesty and good public speaking skills.

"Whereas voters rated him well on the basis of commitment to perform and being results-orientated, those who did not like him felt that he was not sufficiently committed in those directions," the survey found.

BD 18/2/99

Foreign affairs spending slashed

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Despite burgeoning international commitments, the foreign affairs departments will have to promote SA's foreign interests with substantially less money in 1999/2000 than it spent last year.

The department's budget declines from the R1,4bn spent last year to the budgeted amount of R1,27bn. This is a 9% decrease which takes no account of the projected 5,5% inflation rate for 1999/2000.

In addition to maintaining 89 missions abroad, the department will have to find funding to host the Commonwealth heads of government meeting, which is to be held in SA in November. It is expected to cost about R40m. Increasing numbers of foreign heads of state are also visiting the country.

The department reported that trade with Africa had more than trebled since 1997, from R2,1bn to R6,5bn. It also noted that trade with Latin America had increased by 30%.

Budget documentation indicated that the economic co-operation promotion loan fund, the conduit for funds from the apartheid state to the independent homelands, would be closed during 1999. The balance of the account is to be transferred into the national revenue fund.

Meeting to combat bribery is a step in the right direction

BD 18/2/99 (2nd) (304A9)

Every country in the world should enact and enforce strong laws against the acceptance and solicitation of bribes by public officials, writes **William Daley**

IN RECENT weeks, the Salt Lake City Olympics scandal has surprised and disappointed the world. But the sad fact is that this sort of corruption is not unique.

Bribery of government officials has been an all too frequent factor in international business transactions, for example, not only in the early parts of this century but right up to the present day.

The US department of commerce has identified instances of bribery in more than 60 important international contracts signed in the year between May 1997 and April last year and valued at nearly $30bn. And most of the world simply looked the other way.

However, several countries are taking an important step in the fight against corruption at the Organisation for Economic, Development and Labour Council (OECD) convention on combating bribery.

Signatory nations are required to criminalise bribery of foreign public officials in a manner similar to that of the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act.

This convention takes effect this week in the US and the 11 other countries that have adopted implementing laws: Iceland, Japan, Germany, Hungary, Finland, UK, Canada, Norway, Bulgaria, Korea, and Greece.

Unfortunately, 22 of the countries that signed the convention 14 months ago have not yet acted. Four of these nations — France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium — represent almost a quarter of all OECD exports. We need them, and all the others, to keep their commitment.

The core concept of the convention is very simple: a country should outlaw acts of bribery directed toward the officials of another sovereign state.

Even so, the agreement took more than eight years to negotiate. The entrenched interests trying to keep bribery "business as usual" were hard to beat.

These interests are still trying to maintain the status quo. For that reason, enactment of legislation prohibiting bribery will not be enough to make the convention's promise a reality. Every signatory's laws must be examined to ensure that they live up to the letter and the spirit of the agreement.

The OECD will be doing precisely that over the next year.

Unbelievably, several OECD member countries still allow tax deductions for bribes paid to foreign officials.

Others allow tax deductions for these bribes unless there has been a criminal prosecution and conviction relating to the particular instance of bribery.

After legislation is enacted, the battleground will shift to enforcement.

The OECD countries have agreed to review each other's enforcement efforts.

We need public attention to ensure that strong laws do not become dead letters because prosecutors decide bribery is a low priority or that it deserves no attention.



William Daley ... countries are taking an important step in the fight against corruption.

Why is the effort to stamp out bribery so important? First, because it is right.

But also because bribery of public officials hurts real people. Citizens of a country with corrupt officials must suffer under, and pay for, government decisions motivated by the self-interest of bureaucrats and elected officials, not by the best interests of the nation. And if the Asian financial crisis has taught us anything, it is that government corruption creates a financial structure that cannot be maintained.

That is why the international business community is one of the strongest supporters of this convention. Although the convention is an important step, it is only a first step. The OECD has more work to do, addressing outstanding issues not fully covered in the convention, such as bribes to political parties, candidates, and party officials.

And the OECD agreement addresses only the so-called "supply side" of corruption — companies and individuals who offer bribes. We also must address the "demand side". Every country in the world should enact and enforce strong laws against the solicitation and acceptance of bribes by public officials.

We stand ready to work with the private sector, other governments, and nongovernmental organisations.

It is time to get serious about bribery and corruption worldwide. If the Olympic scandal has taught us anything, it is that we cannot tolerate bribery as "business as usual".

Daley is US secretary of commerce.

Mandela rapped over IEC

Opposition parties complain they were not consulted on Brigalia Bam

POLITICAL STAFF

South Africa's upcoming elections have been plunged into more controversy by criticism today of President Mandela's appointment of Brigalia Bam to head the Independent Electoral Commission.

The New National Party and the Democratic Party claimed that Mr Mandela had not honoured an agreement to consult them on the appointment of a new IEC chairperson.

And the Freedom Front, citing Ms Bam's past role as secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, said it would have preferred the new IEC head to have been a judge to avoid perceptions of political bias.

But international experts in South Africa to look into preparations for this year's election said they were impressed and confident that the election would be fair.

Mr Mandela appointed Ms Bam, IEC vice-chair, to replace Judge Johan Kriegler, who resigned last month.

Herbert Vilakazi, an IEC member since 1997, takes over from Ms Bam as vice-chair and Judge Ismail Hussain has been nominated as IEC commissioner.

DP leader Tony Leon said he was disappointed that Mr Mandela had appointed Ms Bam "without consulting me", breaking an undertaking the president had given him and New NP leader Martinus van Schalkwyk.

"By reneging on a firm agreement, the president has dented our faith in his commitment to scrupulously maintain a spirit of non-partisanship in matters concerning the IEC," said Mr Leon.

Mr Van Schalkwyk was also upset that he had been by-passed by Mr Mandela.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said that, although nominations for the appointments were received from Parliament, the law gave Mr Mandela the authority to appoint the chairperson.

"Even though the president wants to ensure consensus, it does not mean he should abdicate his duties as head of the country," said Mr Mankahlana.

United Democratic Front co-leader Roelf Meyer welcomed Ms Bam's appointment, and said: "We know she is a person of high standing and has proven herself to be a good administrator."

Spokesmen for the Pan Africanist Congress leader and the Azanian Peoples Organisation, also welcomed the appointment.

appointment

ARG 22/12/94
as new boss
(304A)

Foreign affairs pays for empty houses in Europe

Wyndham Hartley (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department said yesterday it expected a shortfall of more than R100m on its 1999/2000 budget which could result in staff retrenchments as missions cut costs.

Despite this, it was forced to spend money on the upkeep of houses in Europe which were standing empty.

Foreign affairs director-general Jackie Selebi told the National Assembly's foreign affairs committee of a house in Zurich, Switzerland, which had stood empty for five years. However, the monthly electricity and gas accounts were paid by the department.

To cut the gas and heating would result in pipes exploding, he said.

Selebi said the house fell under the authority of the public works department which had not sold it. He appealed for control of such buildings to be returned to the foreign affairs department, which would speedily dispose of them. BD 24/2/99

The department also had to pay for the maintenance of Bophuthatswana House in Paris because it had not been sold.

The committee was also told by the department's director-general for finance Tom Moir that the 1999/2000 budget was an effective R47m less than in 1998/99. A total of R80m had been budgeted for losses the department would suffer as a result of foreign exchange fluctuations.

Priority funding not provided for in the budget included R99m for additional exchange rate losses, R40m for the Commonwealth heads of government meeting, and salary adjustments for workers recruited overseas for missions there, costing R11m.

Selebi said all missions in SA would be required to make cuts. The largest and wealthiest missions would have to cut costs by 12%, while the smallest or poorest would have to cut down by 1%.

Hard times for foreign affairs

FRANK WEGNER
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU
ET 24/2/99

CONTINUING cutbacks on South Africa's foreign missions means the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is "facing a tough time", chief director of finance Tom Moir told the portfolio committee on foreign affairs in a briefing on budget allocations yesterday.

The budget for foreign affairs will be reduced from this year's R1,18 billion to R1,13bn next year and to R1,05bn in 2000/01, a decrease of more than 11% in two years.

The ministry has to cope with major problems resulting from drops in the value of the rand.

For the year 1999/2000 losses are likely to exceed R179 million, of which only R80m will be made available by the medium-term expenditure framework allocations.

To deal effectively with the budgetary constraints, foreign affairs director-general, Jackie Selebi, proposed a scheme designed to reduce diplomatic missions according to their size. The personnel in large missions would be reduced by 12%

This, said Moir, would generate financial capacity immediately. An overall reduction of 20% in personnel cost could then be expected by the year 2001.

(3044)

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Politicians not top of likeability pops

Only Mandela is consistently highly rated, writes **David Greybe**

CAPE TOWN — Except for President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, SA's political leaders are not thought of very highly if they are thought of at all, the latest Opinion '99 survey shows.

"Only two leaders in SA (Mandela and Mbeki) are widely liked by all South Africans," the pollsters said yesterday. Mandela received a 76% positive rating from voters last October-November, when the latest Opinion '99 survey was conducted, and Mbeki a 63% positive rating.

"Fewer than one in five voters have positive ratings of any other major party leader," they said.

Bottom of the list with a 9% positive rating is Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen, not far behind the Pan Africanist Congress's Bishop Stanley Magoba with 10% and the New National Party's Marthinus van Schalkwyk with 11%.

Next, with a 15% positive rating, is Democratic Party leader Tony Leon. The United Democratic Movement's Bantu Holomisa and Inkatha Freedom Party's Mangosuthu Buthelezi both received 19%.

Opinion '99, run by a consortium including research institutes Markinor and Idasa, is conducting a series of polls in the run-up to the elections. The margin of error is less than 2%, say the pollsters.

Positive ratings of Mandela declined somewhat between May 1995 and May last year, but the pollsters said they had recovered strongly. "He is the only South African politician who is rated, on average, higher than 7 on a scale of 0 to 10 — 43% give him 10 out of 10."

Mbeki has seen his ratings "recover gradually but consistently" from a low point in November 1996.

At the bottom end of the ratings, "almost one in three (29%) gave Viljoen 0 out of 10 and slightly fewer did so for Van Schalkwyk (23%), Buthelezi (22%), Leon (21%), Magoba (18%) and Holomisa (17%)".

"Holomisa, Magoba, Viljoen and Leon have all received more favourable ratings in the past, but curiously seem to be attracting more negative reactions as the (election) campaign approaches." While Buthelezi "is still fairly unpopular, both in absolute and relative terms, he stands at the height of his (albeit low level) of popularity in the new SA".

(304A) BD 25/2/99

Top civil servants face jail threat

Overspending could put negligent officials behind bars for five years

ARG 1/3/99 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

In a far-reaching move against corruption and inefficiency, the Government has tabled a law which will send public officials to jail for up to five years if they neglect or wilfully fail to act against overspending.

The new legislation has been approved by all parties in the National Assembly and is expected to be followed by similar measures applying to local government.

Minister of Finance Trevor Manuel, introducing the Public Finance Management Bill, said it was in line with the Government's mantra: "Reprioritise, reprioritise, reprioritise."

"Our mantra will bear fruit only if we continue taking bold steps to ensure that more of every rand we spend goes to improving the quality of people's lives and is spent for the purpose (for which) it was appropriated."

Mr Manuel said the bill was part of steps to reform budgeting and ensure value for money.

Replacing the fragmented and contradictory system of financial management, the bill brought coherence to the system and put it in line with international best practice, he said.

"Accounting officers – in other words, the heads of government departments – will be responsible for ensuring departments do not overspend and for timeous financial reporting.

The bill sets out disciplinary procedures and strict sanctions for accounting officers and treasury officials who are negligent and make no effort to comply with their responsibilities.

"Provision is made for criminal prosecution in cases of gross and wilful financial misconduct."

Steps will be taken when accounting officers deliberately or negligently fail to implement effective financial controls, collect money owed, take steps to prevent unauthorised or wasteful spending, or safeguard assets under their control.

New Public Service Act regulations and the introduction of performance contracts for department heads would complement this approach, Mr Manuel said.

Strict disciplinary procedures and sanctions will also apply to accounting officers of parastatals and public entities, excluding the Reserve Bank and auditor-general's office.

Other significant measures in the bill will change the way Parliament dispenses funds.

It will vote money by programme rather than by department, with new restrictions on the ability of departments to move money between programmes.

This would give Parliament improved oversight over the spending of public money, Mr Manuel said.

Number of children held in W Cape jails soars – as youth crime gets worse

GLYNNIS UNDERHILL
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The number of children awaiting trial in prisons in the Western Cape has doubled in the past year – in spite of efforts to remove them from a system widely felt to be inhumane.

Such children were to have been released from prisons on May 10 last year, yet the number held continues to soar. A total of 418 are in prison – up from 205 last June.

Progress in keeping children out of jails in the Western Cape has been blighted by a lack of secure care facilities, a shortage of social workers and resources to work with families when children are sent home, and a slow criminal justice system.

Alan Jackson, director of child welfare in the Western Cape, said that hundreds of children had been diverted from prisons by the provincial Social Services Department in the past year.

Research had shown children who had been returned to their families often became repeat offenders.

It was a harsh reality that children were now being arrested for more serious offences.

"They simply get their revenge on the system, because they know they can get away with whatever they want. The present approach is soft on children committing crimes and does not work.

"Children learn crime is acceptable and begin to feel untouchable, until they commit a very serious crime – by which time it is too late."

The number of children awaiting trial in Western Cape prisons rose from 205 on June 10 to 394 by the end of December, he said.

Melanie Kelly, Western Cape Social Services Department manager of Project GO – part of a programme to transform the child- and youth-care system, said by January the number of children held in prisons in the region had reached 418.

More than 700 unsentenced children were diverted from prisons to other secure institutions, or to their homes, between July and November last year.

An amendment to the Criminal Procedure Act allows children charged with serious crimes – such as rape and murder – to be held in prison when other accommodation is not available.

But justice officials said children should await trial in prison only in exceptional circumstances.

Where possible, children awaiting trial for more serious offences were held in institutions. As many as half of the children, mostly first-time offenders, had been sent home to await trial, but many were re-arrested for other offences.

Arrests of young offenders rose from 1 331 in June last year to 1 444 in November.

"We need a humane but tight minimum-tolerance approach, involving diversion programmes that are tried and tested and can accommodate all offenders," said Mr Jackson.

(~~153~~) (498) ARG 1/3/99

EXCHANGE RATE LOSSES AT R170M

Budget cuts leave SA's diplomats home alone

(304A)

CT 5/3/99

SOUTH AFRICA is barely able to maintain a competent level of representation abroad in the wake of foreign affairs budget cuts, reports **ANDRE KOOPMAN** of our Parliamentary Bureau.

TEN foreign missions were shut last year and the Department of Foreign Affairs is battling to maintain existing missions in the face of another budget slash this year. More missions could be closed, say senior foreign affairs officials.

Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo said during his budget vote in the National Assembly yesterday that since his budget had been cut by R232 million (or 18%) in the past two years, his department would not be able to "serve the best interests of government if this situation persists".

Inflation had not been factored into the budget cut, he added.

For the 1999/2000 financial year only R80 million had been provided to compensate for estimated exchange rate losses of R179 million already incurred.

"Clearly this will restrict the scope of the department, as the lion's share of this vote (budget vote of R1 137 million) is spent on foreign currencies.

"The need to address the problems in our region, and the cost involved, remains critical."

The vicious cuts in the Foreign Affairs budget come at a time when South Africa is increasing its international profile following years of apartheid isolation.

South Africa became chair nation of the Non-Aligned Movement last year and is the current chair of the Southern African Development Community.

Senior foreign officials said that while the country had other priorities, it was foolish to downscale foreign missions and international profile when the country should be exploiting to the full the foreign access that "Madiba Magic" brings.

South Africa also needs increased capacity to deal with its responsibility as a fully fledged member of the international community.

Nzo pointed out that Pretoria had become one if the busiest capitals in the world, hosting over 126 foreign missions.

South Africa had diplomatic relations with almost all countries of the world and maintained these through a network of 90 missions, a three-fold increase in the last 10 years.

It was necessary to expand relations to other countries of importance to South Africa, he said. In the past five years 73 foreign heads of state or government had visited South Africa. "We have been successful beyond our aspirations these past five years. We wish to maintain this high standard while remaining true to our foreign policy principles and to our Constitution," he said.

Addressing the thorny issue of the stalled free trade negotiations with the European Union, Nzo, in strong language for a diplomat, said the move was "short-sighted and belies the stated objectives of assisting developing countries to achieve sustainable economic growth".

"We urge the EU to rise above limited narrow interests and bring the matter to a speedy conclusion."

Europe remained South Africa's main economic partner, with trade increasing from R53 billion in 1994 to R107 billion in 1998.

Nzo said restructuring and reform of the UN Security Council was "probably the single most important step to more equitable international relations." It was "imperative" that a national debate be held on whether South Africa should be prepared to serve as a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

REGISTRATION DEADLINE EXTENDED

Late relief for voters



BEARING A CROSS: Hundreds of prospective voters queue patiently outside the Home Affairs offices in Mitchells Plain. As the crowd grew yesterday, the offices were virtually under siege and a window in the front door was broken. PICTURE: JACK LESTRADE

CT 8/3/99

AFTER HUNDREDS of thousands of applicants besieged Home Affairs offices in a frantic scramble to secure legitimate documents, the Independent Electoral Commission extended the country's voter registration deadline to 5pm on Friday. **CHRIS BATEMAN** reports.

(304A)

AS the pressure mounted ahead of last night's 7pm cut-off for voter registration, the Independent Electoral Commission's administrative chief in the Western Cape, Granville Abrahams, said that the deadline had been extended "to prevent a local riot".

Political parties across the spectrum had spent yesterday petitioning provincial electoral officers, while opposition parties beat a path to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's door to plead for registration hours to be extended because of the Home Affairs chaos.

"We had to do it or there would have been a riot," Abrahams said last night after his head office had cleared the extension.

He said registration would continue mainly at municipal offices. Local electoral officers would choose which registration stations to keep open.

For details about municipal hours and registration stations that will be open until 5pm on Friday, you may phone:

- Blaauwberg: 0800-225-659.
- Central Cape Town: 0800-221-350.
- Helderberg: 853-4361.
- Oostenberg: 900-1722/7/9.
- South Peninsula: 0800-221-350.
- Tygerberg: 0800-071-499.

As political parties — especially the New National Party and Democratic Party — pulled out all the stops to ferry supporters to Home Affairs offices and registration points at the weekend, tempers frayed in the queues that snaked down pavements.

Political parties hired buses, taxis and private cars while councillors, MPs and party workers went door-to-door offering lifts to procrastinating punters in traditional party support areas.

Crowds pushed and shoved to secure identity photographs, temporary registration documents and bar-coded ID book applications. A window in the front door of the Home Affairs office in Mitchells Plain was broken and gangsters fired shots near a Belhar registration station.

Isolated fist-fights were reported outside the Mitchells Plain Home Affairs offices. At the Barrack Street, Cape Town, offices the air-conditioning broke down and water leaked down interior walls.

No one was seriously injured in any of the incidents.

Home Affairs printers and computers went off-line intermittently countrywide, extending the waiting time by several hours.

Stressed Home Affairs officials reported that political party agents were "second-guessing everything we do", but they good-naturedly accepted this as part of the hurly-burly of election preparation.

Hardest pressed were Home Affairs staffers in Nyanga, Mitchells Plain, Bellville and Barrack Street, where crowds of between 700 and 2 000 people gathered. Some people queued for up to 10 hours before emerging with hard-won voter registration documents.

By comparison, the atmosphere was mostly calm at the province's 1 308 registration stations, where there was a steady flow of people throughout the weekend.

Political parties petitioned acting provincial electoral officer Joppa le Roux last night to keep his registration stations open for an extra two hours.

Le Roux responded that local electoral officers would "as far as possible not turn people away".

In the Cape Metropole, it was estimated that an average of 9 000 people had registered in each of the six municipalities over the three days. Tallies in the rural districts were difficult to track.

By early last night the Western Cape registration tally had risen to 53% from 47% early on Friday. The percentage remained the lowest in the country.

However, Le Roux emphasised that this would rise as the backlog of tallies was "downloaded" into the central computers in Pretoria.

Nico-Jan Fourie, Home Affairs manager in Mitchells Plain, said his staff had handed out 918 queueing numbers by 1pm yesterday.

"There are another 900 at the photographer," he said. "I reckon I've lost about 15kg running around and controlling people at the door. We're praying for this day to end."

Western Cape Premier Gerald Morkel said he was "extremely disturbed" by Home Affairs' lack of "capacity" to cope. The central government should have "foreseen this chaos".

"We brought our court case because we knew they couldn't do it," Morkel said.

ANC provincial chairperson Ebrahim Rasool claimed that NNP party workers were "scaring" Manenberg, Belhar and Mitchells Plain residents into registering by telling them they would "lose their pensions if the ANC gets in".

Marius Fransman, the ANC's deputy provincial secretary and elections co-ordinator, said: "It's *swart gevaar* tactics, driving fear into coloured voters — they should rather give a message of hope and truth."

Morkel responded that while he would not expect his workers "to behave in this way, it's the type of thing that sometimes happens in elections".

"The ANC also does this kind of thing. It's a bit early for cowboys to start crying," he said.

The NNP is appealing to the Constitution-

❑ Turn to Page 4

Sweating it out at Barrack St

CHRIS BATEMAN

TEMPERS fray, bursting through Capetonian politeness as the multitude queues, sweating in the close confines of Home Affairs' Barrack Street offices.

"Ek raak nou bedonnerd — dis stupid, man — jammer vir die language, hoor," a well-dressed Belhar woman apologises to the flustered Home Affairs clerk processing her temporary registration certificate.

Behind her nearly 1 000 souls wait patiently to become legitimate voters.

Home Affairs regional director Martha Mgxashe, a composed, unflappable woman, escorts me behind the besieged counter.

"How do you plan for procrastination?" she asks, shaking her head at the crowd.

It's late Friday, two days before the initial Sunday 7pm cut-off deadline for registration that later prompts near-chaos at some Home Affairs offices.

But in general, people in this queue seem composed.

"They know they've left it late, so they're behaving themselves," one clerk laughs cynically.

I count just six white faces in the mass of prospective voters jammed into the hall.

"They (whites) tend to complain the most — I don't think they're used to this," comments

❑ Turn to Page 4

Sopa promises to be tough on criminals

Nomavenda Mathiane BD 8/3/99

CRIME, poverty and distribution of land to the poor would be the priorities of the Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa) should it get into government.

Sopa, a breakaway from the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo), launched its election manifesto yesterday at Devland — an informal settlement outside Johannesburg — and promised to be tough on criminals.

Sopa said it would not only look at "traditional crimes", such as rape and murder, but would be tough on blue-collar crime, something which was ignored by many in SA, Sopa spokesman Steven Peters said. The party would rule that first offenders get a minimum sentence of five years and would refuse bail to habitual criminals.

The party said housing was the primary responsibility of a "peoples' government" and the current state housing policy was poor in quality and did nothing to enhance people's dignity and humanity. Land should be returned to the state for it to administer and allocate to people according to their needs.

Peters said his party had raised the money necessary to register and would also undertake a tour of Europe to raise more funds for the elections.

Last week Azapo raised an objection to Sopa's use of the black fist and star which is also its emblem. Peters said the Independent Electoral Commission was to make a ruling on the emblem. (304A)

Mandela's big thank you to Nordic friends

(304A) Sowetan 8/3/99

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela sets out this week on his first state visit to the Nordic nations – a gesture of appreciation for their support during the days of apartheid.

Between 1969 and 1994 the governments of the Nordic nations gave financial support worth billions of rands in humanitarian aid to southern Africa, much of which went directly to the liberation movements.

Mandela, who will step down as president after the elections on June 2, has been an extremely active statesman-tourist having made 83 foreign visits during his five years at South Africa's helm.

His one-week visit to the Netherlands, Finland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, that starts on Thursday, was supposed to have been his last as president under the principle of saving the best for last.



Nelson Mandela

Instead, Mandela will slip in a visit to Russia and China in April which was postponed from last year.

"It is an important step during his last months as president," Swedish embassy spokeswoman Ulrika Soneson told Reuters. "The Swedish people have huge admiration for Mandela."

"There are very strong links between Sweden and South Africa. The Swedish support for the anti-apartheid movement was substantial," she added.

The emotional links are also strong. Within months of his release from prison in February 1990, Mandela visited the region to say thank you and to see exiled African National Congress president Oliver Tambo, who was in Sweden recovering from a stroke.

Trade links too are strong, although very one-sided.

Sweden exports some three billion rands worth of goods to South Africa each year and gets R300 million of South African goods in return.

For Norway Mandela's presidential visit will be a time to walk with pride.

"It is a gesture by the president that is very much appreciated by the Norwegian people," Per Grimstad, Norway's ambassador in South Africa, told Reuters. "The Norwegian anti-apartheid movement was a real grassroots affair."

"There has never before or since been a movement as strong as this among the Nordic peoples," he added, noting that trade between Norway and South Africa did not even really figure on the economic radar.

However, it will not all be rest and play for the president. He will also sign a five-year, R400-million cooperation deal continuing Norwegian support for the new South Africa.

The Dutch, who have booming bilateral trade with South Africa worth some six billion rands a year, are treating the visit as a very public thank you from Mandela.

"Our society was united in its disgust at what was happening under apartheid," ambassador Herman Froger said.

Denmark too is treating the 22 hours Mandela will spend there as a formal gesture of thanks for its anti-apartheid role. – *Reuters.*

Government communicator defends controversial information package

Star 10/3/99 (304A)

By Portia Maurice

The response of the opposition to the Government's attempts at presenting highlights of the first five years of democratic rule tend to obscure the dramatic changes which the GCIS has achieved over the past 12 months.

The current package is an innovative manifestation of what has emerged as a tradition to present to the public a tally of Government's achievements.

The recent set of newspaper inserts placed in 45 newspapers, five million leaflets which will be distributed through inter alia the Post Office and radio packages placed in 45 radio stations, has been organised under the theme "Realising Our Hopes".

Since 1997 the practice has developed for booklets to be printed based on President Mandela's State of the Nation address and assessments made by the ministries of their portfolios. It will be germane for the readers to understand how this has come about.

In the preparation for the president's State of the Nation Address, a large number of people are consulted. The research team invites inputs from every government department and agency; from provincial governments as well as local level structures.

Out of these reams and reams of documents the State of the Nation Address is crafted. The finalisation of the speech has to meet the exacting demands of the president, The preparation for the 1997 speech was a particularly intense one since it took the form of a mid-term report.

In a genuine attempt to share the vast amounts of information which the research had gleaned, President Mandela instructed his team to have it printed so that all South Africans could have access to such information.

This gave rise to a government mid-term report, which was printed in English and Afrikaans. A similar process was followed in 1998 with the publication of another booklet titled "The Building Has Begun" which consisted of the president's address at the opening of Parliament and reports from a variety of ministers about their progress.

When we were appointed to the management of GCIS we found that the process of producing this document had begun. It was a unique experience in the history of government communications. Some of the following features may help people realise this:

- It was a 48-page booklet consisting of a complex set of issues dealing with policy and programmes of government departments;
- It was translated into all the official languages of South Africa;
- There were five million copies produced;
- Distribution followed two tracks: through government offices, schools, police stations and so forth and through the network of the Post Office.

As one can imagine a huge task of that magnitude having to be executed by an institution deprived of a significant section of its management could have been overwhelming. Thanks to the dedication of staff, these booklets finally saw the light of day and the final phase of the distribution – through the Post Offices – was completed at the beginning of this year.

JOHN HOGG



Update ... Joel Netshitenzhe, head of the Government Communication and Information System.

Cynics were quick to point out that we were distributing last year's news. This was true, and without going into the nature of the complexities involved – such as not being able to use the Post Office during the festive season – GCIS admitted that we needed speedier methods to get the material into the hands of the public..

Hence the idea of the newspaper inserts was born, consisting of President Mandela's address to Parliament and statements made by the ministers at the Parliamentary Briefing Week.

This meant that we could get the material into the hands of the public a mere few weeks after the opening of Parliament.

We resorted to the radio packages for the same reason.

The performance indicator in this case is not how close to the elections it was produced, but how quickly after the opening of Parliament and the ministerial briefings the packages were produced. Bearing in mind that the last ministerial briefing was held on February 18 and the package appeared on February 28 we feel justifiably proud that our staff did a great job.

One newspaper has likened these reports to annual company reports. The only difference is that unlike companies, governments have institutionalised opposition groups located in Parliament and even more empowered watchdogs such as the media who are required to be critical of what government says and does.

Thus the charge that the 1999 package is not critical enough is a spurious one. The GCIS was established to highlight government's policies and achievements. Where necessary, as was the case with the president's speech, weaknesses and difficulties are acknowledged. If the GCIS does not do it, who will? Certainly not the opposition, and the media does it rarely.

Lest the media interpret this as yet another attack on them, we acknowledge that the media has limited space within which it has to determine the best set of stories to run with. What we are arguing is that these choices, like any choices made by human beings, are subjective.

Opposition party members have claimed that the issues in the inserts were adequately covered by the media. Read this part carefully:

"In the old days, nearly all information was disseminated via the press ... Due to a number of developments the provision of information directly to the public, using specific information channels, has become increasingly important. These developments encompass among others:

- increased involvement of the government in the life of the individual citizen (with regard to education, housing, etc);
- increased complexity of policy-making and the public administration and, more specifically, the complexity of many of the political and social is sues;
- greater independence of the average citizen, as is underlined by the Public Access to Government Information Act;
- A trend towards a consultative and media-oriented democracy."

Not the words of some Goebbels or Soviet-styled propagandist – this describes the Government Information Service of the Netherlands in 1994.

We must once again emphasise that there has been no connection between the issuing of this package and election campaigning.

What GCIS has done is the right of not only a government but that of the public and is normal practice in democratic countries. Perhaps it is the newness of our democracy which does not allow parts of our society to appreciate that.

■ *Portia Maurice is the Chief Director: Media Liaison in the GCIS*

The Standard Bank of South Africa Limited (Registered Bank) File 62/00736/06

'No plan to bomb SA Parliament'

BD 10/3/99

However, Nhlanhla says 'third force' is a threat

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley and Sapa

CAPE TOWN — Joe Nhlanhla, the deputy minister for intelligence services, has dismissed as malicious and irresponsible charges that the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) was planning to bomb Parliament.

Nhlanhla also strongly criticised People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (Pagad) and its G-Force security section for a series of targeted pipe bomb attacks.

Nhlanhla earned the ire of opposition parties by insisting there were no problems between the NIA and the SA Police Service (SAPS) in spite of the evidence which emerged in the bail hearing of five Pagad members in Oudtshoorn recently.

In that bail hearing, police unmasked one of the men as an NIA source.

Nhlanhla — in a specially requested statement to Parliament — launched perhaps the most unequivocal condemnation of Pagad yet from a member of the African National Congress (ANC) government.

He laid responsibility for the Planet Hollywood and Cape Waterfront bombs at the door of G-Force which he said was responsible for a sustained bombing campaign in the middle of last year.

Nhlanhla also laid blame for the murder of police officer Bennie Lategan and the attack on another policeman as demonstrating that G-Force was not interested in fighting crime, gangs and drugs.

However, Nhlanhla acknowledged that corrupt members of the security and intelligence forces were undermining investigations, and the combating of crime by leaking sensitive information to gangsters. This was compounded by remnants of the "third force" or a "fifth column" in the services.

"To succeed we need the security forces to rid themselves of these elements through arrests that lead to their puppet masters," Nhlanhla said.

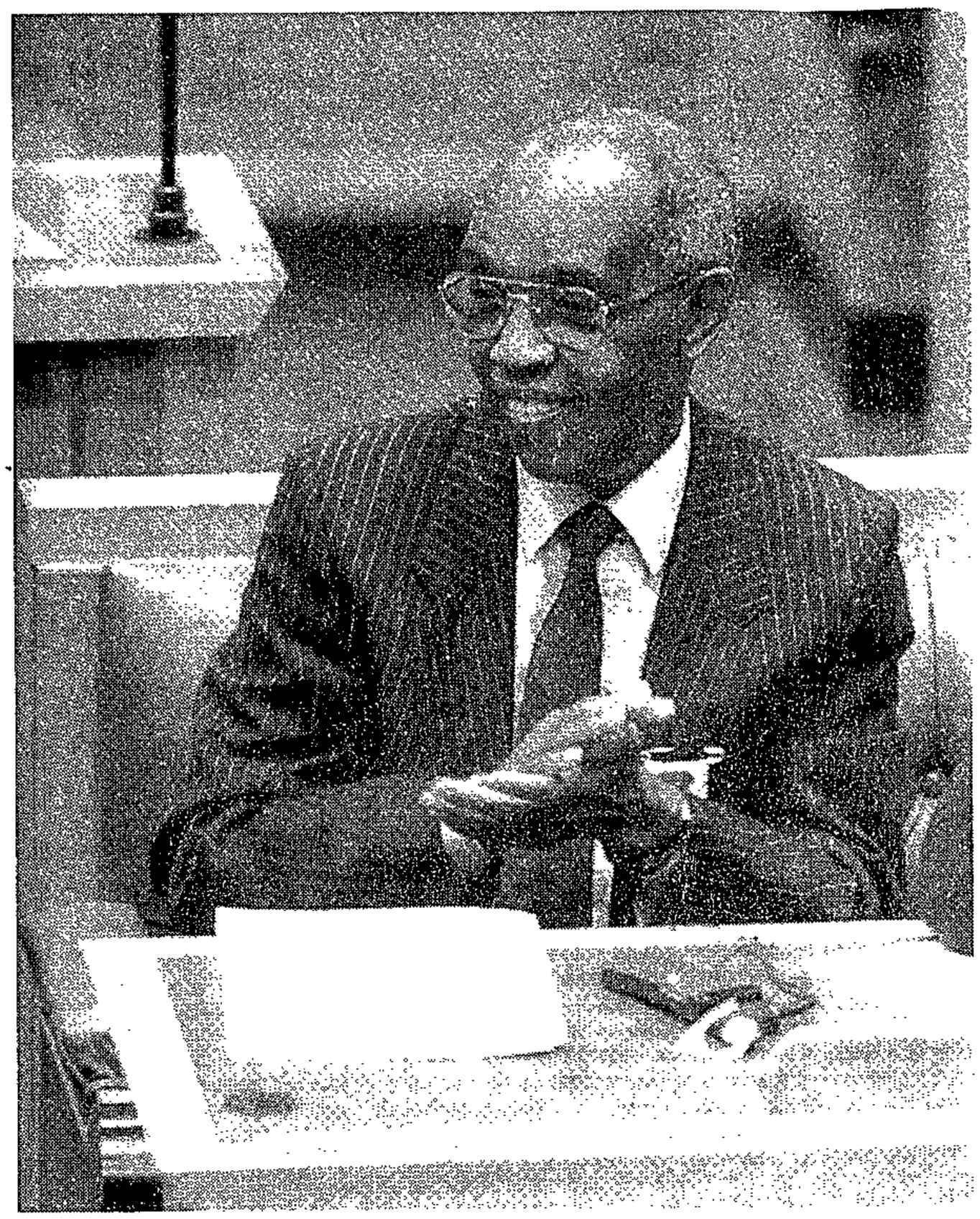
The Western Cape's security situation was made worse by hit-squads selling their services across borders, he said.

New National Party (NNP) MP Andries Beyers said Nhlanhla had failed to tell the nation what it intended to do about the mess in the intelligence services.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) MP Velaphi Ndlovu asked how the public could have confidence in the NIA and the SAPS when "they do not even trust each other".

Freedom Front (FF) MP Pieter Groenewald and Democratic Party (DP) MP Douglas Gibson asked when the government intended to appoint an inspector-general of intelligence.

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) MP Patricia de Lille said all Nhlanhla's talk of a third force indicated that the more things changed the more they stayed the same and this meant the country was in deep trouble.



Deputy Minister for Intelligence Services Joe Nhlanhla said yesterday claims that the National Intelligence Agency had been involved in a plot to bomb Parliament were irresponsible and an attempt to whip up emotions. Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

Govt defends its latest information campaign

(304A)

The government may exercise its right to inform its citizens, says **Yacoob Abba Omar**

BD 10/2/99

THE opposition's storm-in-a-teacup outcry over government's responsibility to communicate information to citizens forces the Government Communication Information Service to set the record straight.

The vitriolic attack has been lodged from so many different angles that it becomes difficult to find the focus. In their media statements, the Democratic Party (DP), New National Party (NNP) and Freedom Front (FF) have criticised the timing of the project, the form in which it is communicated, the allegedly partisan selection of information and the fundamental right of government to communicate its performance to those whom it serves.

The insert, as is stated in the document, is based on President Nelson Mandela's last state of the nation address to Parliament on February 5, and presentations by ministers at the subsequent parliamentary briefing week. During those briefings, ministers (including Inkatha Freedom Party leaders) focused on the key indicators of performance in their portfolios in their first term of office. This is the focus of the communication service's campaign. All information selected was based squarely on these presentations. The service is mandated by government to communicate to the public about efforts to transform SA society. This is precisely what the president and ministers set out to do in February, and this is what the service is communicating.

It is not surprising that, in the context of the buildup to an election period, opposition parties may be particularly sensitive. But, as you can see, the proximity of the communication to the election period is mere coincidence. There is no other time for the president to present his state of the nation address, nor for ministries to elaborate on this.

This campaign actually has nothing to do with the elections and party political campaigns.

Let us emphasise, despite the FF's protestation to the contrary, that this is not the first time that government has reported its progress to the nation. Sinister allegations of electioneering are quite out of kilter with reality.

During 1997, the service's predecessor, the SA Communication Service (SACS) published government's mid-term report and, last year, an updated report to the nation, including ministerial progress reports, entitled "The Building has Begun".

The service would be the first to acknowledge that there have been delays with distribution of the latter. This infrastructural gap in government communication is what we are addressing this year. However, there was not, to our recollection, an uproar over government's previous efforts to account to citizens. Why now? It would almost appear that if the service is to do its work effectively and efficiently, and actually reach people timeously with government information, this is what causes consternation.

We must remind those with short memories that the service has, in fact, abandoned a large number of glossy publications produced by the former SACS which, in the previous era, appear not to have caused much of a stir.

These publications have been discontinued, in line with the Comtask mandate to the service to build a streamlined, efficient communication system for government. Let this new approach not detract from the service's fundamental mandate to keep citizens informed about government activities, a right enshrined in the constitution.

Are we expected to rely solely on mainstream and community media to mediate government's messages to citizens? Or ask parties opposed to government to do this on behalf of government? Even our media statement on this debate was not accorded the right of reply in the few newspapers which carried the story. Why would they carry government information which does not lend itself to sensationalism? The role of the media is to monitor critically and constructively the affairs of society, including government. Government communications has a different role, although the two are partners in their endeavours to keep citizens informed.

Needless to say, as the service emerges from its chrysalis since we launched in May 1998, there will be more such direct communication with the citizenry, including through newspapers, leaflets, audio and video material, and the government website — Government Online (www.gov.za) — launched a few weeks ago. It is a reflection of weakness in government communications in the past, that such direct information from government to the population was not made available in creative ways.

It is not true, as conjured by the DP, that the service's budget "runs to the extent of R50m to R60m a year". The organisation's budget totals about R46,8m. An additional R14,6m was allocated to the SACS budget during 1997/98 for the campaign around government's mid-term report, and it was from savings on this allocation that the current project was partly funded.

In any case, what is the budget of government communications expected to fund except communication?

The project had three elements: newspaper inserts in about 44 national and regional newspapers; 15-minute radio packages to community and selected mainstream radio stations; and 5-million leaflets containing a summarised version of Mandela's last address to Parliament for mass distribution and translated into all official languages. The projected cost of the project is R4.3m.

These methods were selected to accommodate different literacy levels and languages. The leaflets will be distributed through organisations of civil society, clinics, labour centres, libraries, government departments and post offices. We intend in future to communicate such information directly to the population, irrespective of the party that wins the elections.

There have been comments on the content of the material. The service welcomes this. It can only enrich societal discourse. However, we wish to challenge those who claim the material does not acknowledge weaknesses to read the president's speech and summaries.

At the same time, if opposition parties expected the service to communicate their messages rather than those of government, they should look elsewhere. If they are not enthused by information on SA that does not contain their negative campaign of self-flagellation as the president put it, it is understandable. After all they are opposition.

Insofar as the coming formal electoral period is concerned where Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission regulations will apply, that is a matter on which GCIS awaits guidance. We will observe these regulations to the letter.

On matters of the present we can only say: let the citizens be the judge. They have for decades endured many privations. They (and this government) are not about to accept a new form of censorship, however thinly veiled.

Omar is deputy CEO of the service.

CAPE ARGUS ISSUES

First People's Parliament

Everything's changed – right down to fynbos replacing



South Africa's first democratic Parliament shuts up shop at the end of next week for the election campaign. This is the personal memoir of Cape Argus Political Correspondent CLIVE SAWYER who has spent five years covering its best and worst moments



Back to business: President Nelson Mandela and Speaker Frene Ginwala are welcomed into the National Assembly by members of parliament at the opening of Parliament in April 1994 who are no longer there.

Let me be honest: at times it's a crashing bore.

The pen which was poised above the notebook in wait for a valid debating point or succinct quotation steadily droops and is put down; the mind wanders, as below on the floor of the House an honourable member reads tonelessly through a speech leaden with political correctness and bereft of insight into the subject at hand.

There are times of annoyance as Government and opposition Members of Parliament swop facetious points of order, simplistic jeering and personal invective in place of sensible discussion.

Those are the times to step back and recall just what this Parliament means in history; that it represents the noble alternative to civil war and the grievous damage done, by years of oppression and struggle, to this nation's body and soul.

The triumph it represents is that the commencement of democracy is an honourable ideal in itself.

Journalists, whether political correspondents or rugby writers, have a sacred duty to try to be objective, but like my colleagues in the box at Newlands, sometimes it is hard not to be swept up by the moment.

Appointed in May 1994, I was as new to Parliament as the new MPs and new Government.

From the walls stared down myriad pairs of eyes from the dour faces of cabinet ministers and Speakers from the ancien regime; cast in bronze were busts of the demigods of apartheid.

Even as the new order swept in, it was clear that the empty shell they occupied had a lingering air of an old boys' club.

That air lingered too in the warren which is the Press Gallery offices, where on the wall of one office shared by a group of political correspondents hung a kitsch leather belt said by veterans to have once adorned a stripper at an end-of-session celebration.

Those veteran correspondents told of the strictures under which the parliamentary press operated, with strict dress code and lobby rules, journalists having to bow when the Speaker passed by in the corridors, narrow parameters of what could be reported.

Committee meetings were held behind closed doors, the times and venues were not advertised, and MPs were bound by oath not to disclose proceedings.

In those days past, astute journalists doorstepped meetings and telephoned contacts who violated such oaths; some others played cards and had leisurely lunches while waiting for the long afternoons and evenings to start.

These conventions crashed down as National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala and her allies trod determinedly over them to open the doors of committees to all: press, public, monitoring and lobby groups.

Night sittings, a weekly hangover from the days when the then mostly-male Parliament would enjoy a good supper and enter the house fuelled for sometimes uproarious debate, came to a swift end at the instance of the lobby of women, single parents and the generally enlightened.

In time the fits and starts of legislative production by the executive forced MPs into late-night sittings before heading off for long recesses.

The new era brought with it episodes of labour strife as parliamentary workers who under the previous regime had been at the beck and call of the authorities mounted a successful campaign for union recognition and more humane hours.

A parliamentary creche opened, while women MPs and visiting public servants went through the process of getting police at the door to understand they were there in their own right and not to visit their husbands.

The African National Congress had a Prague Spring of holding news conferences after each weekly caucus, presided over by then-chief whip Makhenkesi Stofile and then-senator Jackson Mthembu.

In a notorious incident, the news conference was one week hardly necessary because the internal public address was left on for the duration of the caucus meeting in the Old Assembly chamber, and one or two journalists were indiscreet enough to report proceedings.

Few stepped back to reflect on the momentousness of it all as the battery of portfolio and select committees got underway and journalists exhausted themselves trying to be experts on every portfolio and, like the tiniest minority party, somehow present at every meeting.

Side-issues which captured the public imagination became the subject of internal party debate in as much for their merits as for the way they were covered: Are MPs on a gravy train? Will Parliament move away from Cape Town?

Some MPs, usually those with no realistic understanding of the workings of the commercial daily press, became frustrated at the absence of their worthy words from verbatim coverage.

It did not help that Parliament had its teething troubles.

Committee meetings clashed and lost their quorums, on more than one occasion the National Assembly itself lost its quorum, and in a theme which was to be repeated throughout the five years, cabinet ministers absented themselves from question time.

The past five years have seen their departures: 77 names of the 400 members of the National Assembly who gathered for its opening in April 1994 are no longer there.

Death claimed Firoza Adam, Dorothy Nyembe, Ismail Richards, Joe Slovo and Thomas Nkobi.

Off to the private sector went the ANC's Johnny Copelyn, Mac Golding, Cyril Ramaphosa, while to parastatals went the ANC's Saki Macozoma (Transnet) and Max Sisulu (Denel).

To posts abroad went the ANC's Lindiwe Mabuza (Bonn), Mendi Msimang (London, subsequently replaced), Carl Niehaus (The Hague), Raymond Suttner (Stockholm), while Jackie Selebi left the Assembly to eventually become Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

Bhadra Ranchod left the Deputy Speaker's post and the National Party to become our man in Canberra, while former Cape Nat leader Dawie de Villiers went to the World Tourism Organisation in Madrid.

FW de Klerk led his Nats into the Good Hope Chamber, which under his government housed the President's Council, for an impromptu press conference in May 1996 to announce they were leaving the gov-

:GUS ISSUES

rliament turns five

o fynbos replacing the English gardens

ARG 15/3/99 (3044)



LEON MULLER

Assembly by members of parliament at the opening of Parliament in 1998

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FW de Klerk led his Nats into the Good Hope Chamber, which under his government housed the President's Council, for an impromptu press conference in May 1996 to announce they were leaving the government of national unity.

The departure from the last vestiges of power took its toll as one Nat after another left after 1994: Pik Botha, Wynand Breytenbach, Melt Hamman, Francois Jacobz, Tobie Meyer, Piet Welgemoed among them.

FW relinquished the leadership, while some former Nats relinquished the party: Roelf Meyer and Sam de Beer to the United Democratic Movement, later to be joined in the UDM by former Inkatha Freedom Party cabinet minister Sipo Mzimela; Donald Lee to the Democratic Party's number one spot on the Eastern Cape election list.

Walter Felgate drifted from grace in Inkatha and went to the ANC via a redeployment to the KZN legislature.

The Pan Africanist Congress lost Zamekile Dyani over a row about Stanley Mogoba's sanguine position on punishing criminals, after the PAC earlier shed Clarence Makwetu in a messy leadership bout.

Into the twilight world of running and monitoring the intelligence services went Jenny Schreiner and Linda Mti, both of the ANC, while Ian Phillips gave up his seat for a top post with Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe.

Redeployed to the provinces were Mr Stofile, to become the Eastern Cape's Premier, and the New National Party's PW Saaiman and Danie Schutte.

Jan van Eck, former Prog MP who joined the ANC before 1994, left the new Parliament to pursue conflict resolution; from the other side of the house, former Nat cabinet minister and deputy head of the Constitutional Assembly Leon Wessels went to the Human Rights Commission.

From the now-defunct Senate went former Nat justice minister Kobie Coetsee, and the transition to the National Council of Provinces saw the end of Allan Hendrikse's career, which had led from the tricameral parliament to an ANC bench in the Senate.

The NCOP in turn lost deputy chairperson Bulelani Ngcuka of the ANC to the newly-created office of National Director of Public Prosecutions.

Seen 'em come, seen 'em go.

One searches Hansard and one's memory for the great rhetoric we should have heard in these momentous five years.

Pitifully few come to mind: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's "I am an African" speech at the adoption of the 1996 constitution; FW de Klerk's usually deft handling of parliamentary swordplay.

Some ministers are more masterful than others when it comes to scathing rebuttals of opposition criticism: Pallo Jordan, Mac Maharaj, and Nkosazana Zuma spring to mind.

The story which offered a heady mix of amusement and misgivings about the blow to the dignity of Parliament was the flurried exchange of fisticuffs between Johnny de Lange and Manie Schoeman; to my mind Mr De Lange remains the winner on points.

It is best to reveal nothing of one's opinion about who has made the most effective opposition lest one be accused of trying to influence the electoral outcome, no matter how objective one's assessment.

But up against a governing party which boasted considerable academic, intellectual and research resources, some parties were better than others in the depth and accuracy of their response.

March 1999 sees the first people's Parliament coming to a close, new art on its walls and its European garden replaced by more environmentally sensible fynbos.

Parliament is not a gravy train, some of its members work damn hard; and it is not a rubber stamp, because some do bother to apply their minds to the hundreds of laws they scrutinise.

The past five years within these walls have been exhausting and sometimes exhilarating - and I would not have swopped them for the world.

Traditional leaders to get equal salaries

BD 15/3/99 (304A)

Farouk Chothia

CAPE TOWN — Traditional leaders across the country are to be paid the same government salaries, including pension and medical aid benefits.

Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa's announcement at the weekend came against the backdrop of talks last week between Moosa, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom and the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa). Contralesa said it hoped to press the government into paying traditional leaders equal salaries wherever they lived.

Contralesa is seen as influential in the Eastern Cape, where the African National Congress (ANC) and United Democratic Movement (UDM) are jockeying for traditional leaders' support ahead of polls.

The government-appointed Steyn commission on the remuneration of representatives recommended some time ago that SA's traditional leaders be paid R72 000 a year and headmen R13 000. Estimates at the time were that the recommendation would double the salary bill for SA's 700 traditional leaders to R50m.

Moosa, in his budget vote on Friday, said one of the sad legacies of apartheid was the poor and unequal remuneration of traditional leaders. For instance, a king in the Free State was paid R200 a month, and not all traditional leaders qualified for medical aid or pension benefits.

The government was reviewing salary packages and an announcement to bring uniformity to the salaries of kings and chiefs would be made soon, Moosa said.

The salaries of about 2 000 headmen and members of the national and provincial houses of traditional leaders would be reviewed.

On the election campaign, Moosa said opposition parties were creating a "hype" around the possibility of the ANC getting a two-thirds majority in an attempt to instil fear in the white electorate. The ANC had no intention of diluting the democratic content of the constitution.

Moosa said the constitutional court played an important role in determining the unfolding constitutional order.

There had to be a discussion on the extent and manner in which the founding values in section 1(d) of the constitution — referring to "accountability" and "responsiveness" — applied to the court. However, the court should not succumb to the general mood or the "flavour of the month in the popular media".

Moosa suggested that the ANC wanted constitutional amendments to redefine the relationship between central government and the provinces. The current arrangement was the product of "give and take at the negotiating table — a product of the art of the possible". There was now a need to look at the distribution of functions between the centre and the provinces in a "rational and dispassionate" manner, taking into account the requirements of good governance and administrative and financial efficiency.

The "detailed distribution of functions" between the centre and provinces needed closer examination, Moosa said.

CAPE ARGUS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24, 1999

Mbeki to get tough on corruption

ARG 24/3/99 (3044)

Make sure the elections are free from violence and intimidation, parties told

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has sketched a vision of the post-1999 South Africa he will lead as one tough on corruption, expecting much more from its public servants, and consolidating the successes of the first democratically-elected government.

He has also hinted at significant rationalisation of the Cabinet.

Mr Mbeki was speaking yesterday in the National Assembly debate on his budget, one of the landmarks in the closing week of Parliament.

Emphasising continuity, he said: "The continuity we speak of is the continuity of what is new and good.

"The change we speak of is the destruction of what is old and bad."

He devoted a considerable part of his speech to review the post-1994 government's efforts to restructure the state's machinery and budget to bring benefits to all.

Mr Mbeki said a review was in progress which would result in changes to improve government at executive level.

The next Parliament would not have to face the difficult challenge of 1994 to establish a democratic legislature for the first time.

He said the government and all parties participating in the election had a common responsibility to ensure they were free and fair.

He urged all parties to ensure there was no violence or intimidation and that there were no "no-go" areas.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk, leader of the New National Party and of the official opposition, said the lines between the government and the ANC as a political party were becoming blurred.

The New NP leader said Mr Mbeki had last week "evaded" questions about why a commission of inquiry had not been appointed into allegations that the National Intelligence Agency was involved in destabilising the Western Cape.

Freedom Front chairman Pieter Mulder told the Assembly that mistakes of the past were being repeated by the current government.

Like colonial governor Alfred Milner, ANC ministers were power-drunk and believed they knew what was best for everyone.

Like Transkei head Kaizer Matanzima, ANC preferred to listen to views which accorded with their own.

Ngila Muendane of the Pan Africanist Congress assailed the government for paying off its international debts, which he said meant they were serving foreign "masters" while in South Africa pensioners were paid only R500 a month.

Replying to the debate, Mr Mbeki said Mr Van Schalkwyk tried to be "baas" to the ANC's "boy" in demanding that the ANC do things which it had decided against.

■ There were further sparks between the Government and the opposition during last night's Assembly debate on the Budget Supplementary Estimates.

The debate, part of the Budget process which involves ministers answering questions of detail on changes to figures in the Budget, was not attended by Agriculture and Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, Provincial and Constitutional Affairs Minister Valli Moosa, and Labour Minister Membathisi Mdladlana.

Processing of the Budget was due for completion in the Assembly today with the second reading debate on the Appropriation Bill.

Thank God and blacks for your place in SA, Dalling tells whites

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Outgoing African National Congress MP Dave Dalling says white people should thank God and the goodness of black people that they have a part to play in the new South Africa.

Rather than "carp, criticise and bemoan the loss of their undeserved privilege" whites should be grateful that even in these times of massive change "a place has been laid for them at the table to contribute to and share in the bounty that is South Africa."

Mr Dalling was elected to Parliament in 1974 for the United Party and was a Progressive Party and Democratic Party MP before joining the ANC before the 1994 election.

He used the National Assembly debate on Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's vote to make his farewell speech.

He recalled that the previous parliament was sombre, cheerless, servile and a rubber-stamp for the executive.

Mr Dalling said the new South Africa offered a wide range of opportunities.

The country faced the challenges of upliftment and delivery and to conquer violence and crime.

"For men and women of courage and enterprise this must be one of the most exciting countries in the world. Where else would people guilty of the most horrendous atrocities and acts of violence be forgiven and granted amnesty?"

Mr Dalling, saying he was speaking on behalf of white South Africans, said "a gigantic thank-you" to President Mandela for his inspired leadership, and to Mr Mbeki for his years of principle struggle and for his vision of the renewal of Africa.

Mcbride cleared

(304A) CP 28/3/99

Gun-running charges officially dropped

BY SEKOLA SELLO
Political Editor



CLEARED... Robert McBride has been cleared by Mozambique's Supreme Court of gun-running charges.

THE MOZAMBICAN Supreme Court has cleared senior Foreign Affairs official and popular African National Congress member Robert McBride of gun-running charges.

The decision to acquit McBride was taken on Friday and immediately relayed to Albano Silva, the lawyer representing McBride in Mozambique.

McBride's wife Paula said the family was "very happy and very relieved" about the Supreme Court's decision. Robert was not at home when City Press spoke to his wife and will only speak to the media tomorrow.

The arrest of McBride precipitated the early retirement of South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring and led to Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi publicly censuring Assistant Police Commissioner Suiker Britz.

A lawyer by profession, Paula has vowed to take "appropriate action against those (she did not name them) who had convicted Robert" on the basis of what she called unknown evidence. It is most likely this is a reference to Britz.

It is estimated that the case cost the McBrides about R300 000. Paula, who is self-employed, said during the six months that her husband was held in a Maputo jail she travelled to the Mozambican capital almost every week and therefore could not continue with her business activities.

The full details of the acquittal are still unknown at this stage but Paula expressed the hope that these would be made public during a Press conference they will hold with their lawyers tomorrow.

The acquittal comes almost a year after McBride was arrested in a dramatic sting operation in Ressano Garcia near the South African border on March 8 last year. He was held in a Maputo jail for six months until his release last September pending a decision by the Supreme Court.

McBride's arrest and subsequent untested and unsubstantiated allegations that he was engaged in gun-running in preparation for the coming elections, now set for June 2, caused a national storm.

As the controversy surrounding his arrest deepened, it was also alleged that McBride might have been on a mission to procure arms for the Irish Republican Army, which was at the time fighting British rule in Northern Ireland. Later allegations were that he was buying them for the East Timor liberation movement Fretlin.

Britz told *Rapport*, the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, that there was no doubt in his mind that McBride was a "weapons smuggler. I have seen the information and the statements that the Mozambique police had on McBride. In a South African court of law it would be more than enough to put a criminal behind bars for a very long time."

Mufamadi strongly criticised Britz for this statement and went on to claim that there were elements in the police who were apparently engaged in a disinformation campaign against McBride.

All along McBride denied that he had been in Mozambique to buy arms. He said he had gone to investigate the origin of weapons like AK-47s which were increasingly being used in cash-in-transit heists, taxi wars and violence in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape.

Soon after his arrest McBride admitted that he was acting on his own and neither the government nor the ANC were aware of his activities. While this is not being questioned, there is speculation within political circles that some senior ANC/government officials were privy to what he was doing in Mozambique and may have even approved of the "unofficial" investigation.

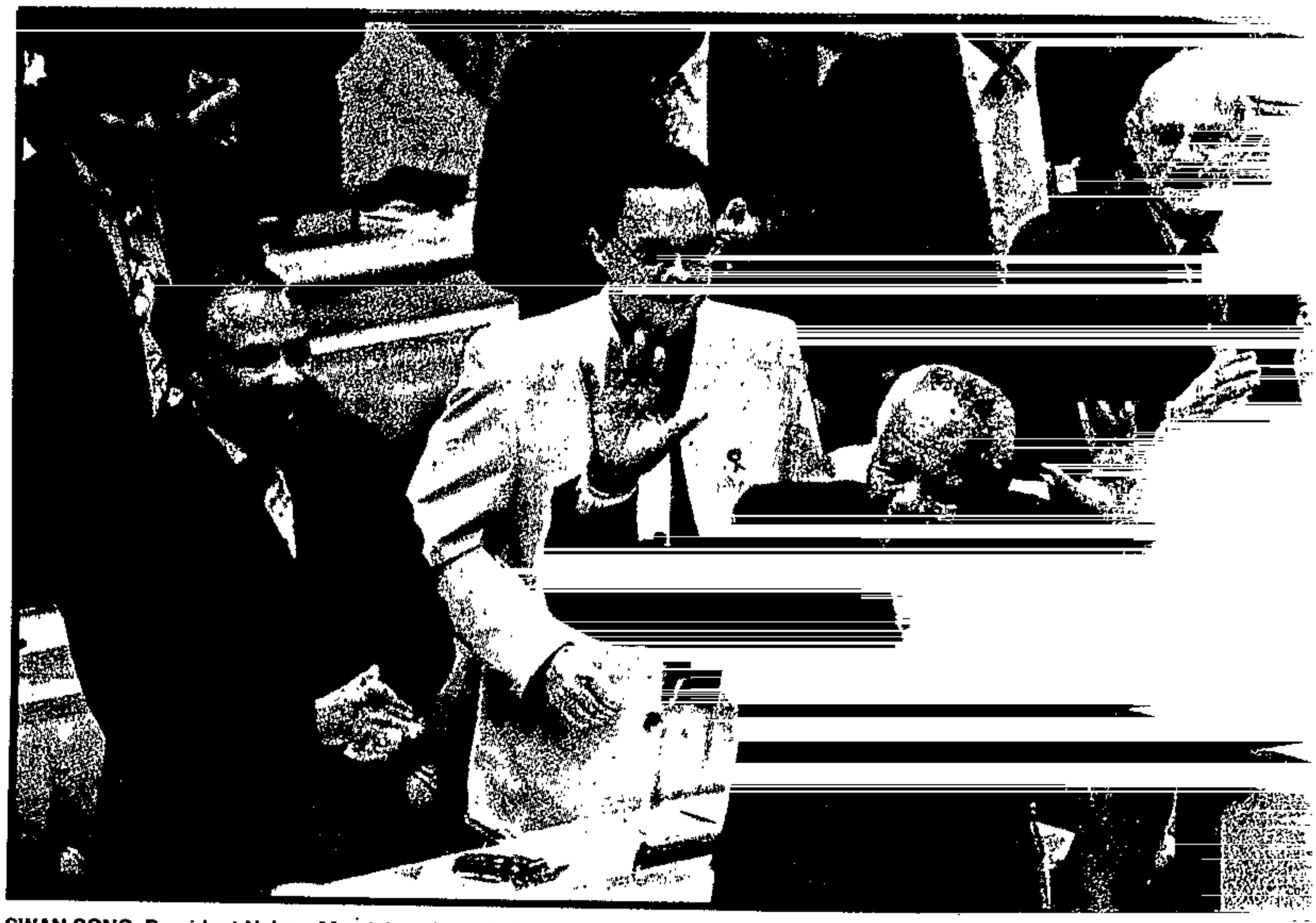
The circumstances surrounding his arrest are still shrouded in mystery and many questions remain unanswered. One of the questions still being asked is: Who set him up?

The suspect who was arrested with McBride, Vusi Mbatha (it is widely believed this is not even his real name but one given by his handlers), was a known informer for the apartheid-era security establishment. So was the man who was to sell them arms in Maputo, Alex Mamba.

Mozambican police arrested Mbatha at Mamba's home while McBride waited outside before the conclusion of the arms purchase. Following Mbatha's arrest, McBride sped away towards the SA border but found police already waiting for him in Ressano Garcia.

It is believed that part of Mbatha's testimony formed the basis of a report former SANDF chief Meiring presented to President Nelson Mandela which purported that there was a plot to topple the government.

The report claimed that Meiring's second-in-command, former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff General Siphiwe Nyanda, was among those plotting against the government. It also mentioned several high-ranking black officers. A judicial commission of inquiry headed by Chief Justice Ishmail Mahommed found the report "flawed (and)... without substance" and it was widely discredited.



SWAN SONG: President Nelson Mandela acknowledges a standing ovation after his final speech to Parliament this week

A giant leaves th

Nelson Mandela addressed Parliament for the last time as President on Friday, bringing in a tumultuous era in South African history. JUSTICE MALALA examines M.

(304A) ST 28/3/

WHEN, on May 24 1994, President Nelson Mandela addressed the first full sitting of a democratic South Africa's Parliament, he paid tribute to an Afrikaner poet. It was a speech full of symbolism which set the tone for how he would relate to the institution.

A time would come, he said, when the country would honour the memories of all those who had given his countrymen the right to assert with pride "that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world".

Among the citizens would be Ingrid Jonker, the pioneering Afrikaner poet who took her own life in the early '60s.

"She was both a poet and a South African," Mandela said. "She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being."

In his speeches to Parliament on both Wednesday and Friday, Mandela once again held out an olive branch, promising respect for the Afrikaner language and culture and calling for skilled whites to stay in the country and help rebuild it.

Reconciliation was one of the central threads of the Mandela presidency, and he has used his addresses to Parliament to underline his commitment to racial harmony. So intense was his focus on reconciliation that it tended to obscure other issues which were also close to his heart. These included fighting poverty, raising health standards, restructuring education, using his stature in the world to fight human-rights battles and his programme to restructure the South African economy to empower blacks.

And, perhaps more than reconciliation, his speeches to Parliament reflected an acknowledgement that without fundamental transformation of the lives of the black majority, reconciliation would remain a fruitless pursuit.

Another element of his interaction with Parliament was an emphasis on constitutional independence.

He also stressed the executive's accountability to Parliament, constantly ordering his ministers not to ignore parliamentary obligations like question time.

His speeches to Parliament also echoed the ANC's attempts to come to grips with the momentous changes it was introducing, its plea for understanding when under pressure and criticism, and its boasting about its achievements.

"If I have been able to help take our country a few steps towards democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism, it is because I am a product of the ANC, of the movement for justice, dignity and freedom," Mandela said on Friday.

The President is not a member of Parliament, but Mandela's presidency has had such a profound and lasting impact on the institution that all parliamentarians were united on Friday in honouring the man who had survived 27 years in jail to lead the nation in its first five years of democracy.

It was Tony Leon, the ANC's most vociferous critic in the past five years, who struck a chord. He said the century had thrown up three kinds of leaders: the great and bad, the great and good and, lastly, those who are great and touched with a certain rare grace.

The last category included Mahatma Gandhi, the Dalai Lama — and Mandela.

"You have graced this house, you have graced this country, you have graced humanity ... We will not see your like again," Leon said to his first standing ovation from the ANC benches. He paid tribute to Mandela's respect for the Constitution, and said even in cases where the Constitution seemed not to favour him Mandela had defended its independence. The sentiment was echoed by Speaker of the National Assembly Frene Ginwala, who said even though Mandela was not a member of the institution, "through your active participation, you have enhanced our debates".

1999 ELECTION ESSAY

Mandela's first speech to Parliament, in which he honoured Jonker, reflected a party that was new to the game of governing. It was an expression of principles and beliefs, sounding more like the ANC's election manifesto than a programme of action.

"The government I have the honour to lead and I dare say the masses who elected us to serve in this role, are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society. Accordingly, the purpose that will drive this government shall be the expansion of the frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of the freedom," he said then.

He added that the "acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the government institutions we create, the legislation we adopt must be whether they serve these objectives".

It was only 100 days later, after Mandela and his ministers had arrived at offices mostly empty of pivotal infrastructure and information, that he could give a proper assessment of the task that lay ahead.

He warned that "to present a facade of unity on each and every issue would be artificial, undemocratic and patently pretentious". He said the then government of national unity — which included the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — set itself two interrelated tasks: reconciliation and reconstruction, nation-building and development.

But the successes he spoke about were conceptual, not material: "We have a government that has brought together bitter enemies into a constructive relationship; our Parliament and Cabinet have properly focused on the task of reconstruction and development and we have a government that is in control and whose programmes are on course."

That speech marked the first public acknowledgement by the ANC that the journey would be longer and more arduous than first expected. On the horizon was hard debate on new labour legislation, the establishment of the truth commission and the handling of amnesty.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme, the party's central election plank, was also metamorphosing. "The RDP should be understood as an all-encompassing process of transforming society in its totality to ensure a better life for all. The RDP is not a sum total of projects, no matter how important each project may be."

The RDP ministry was later dropped, and to this day there is still disaffection within the ANC about the issue.

In February 1995, when Mandela opened Parliament, he warned again that things would be tougher: "Let me say this from the beginning that the challenges ahead of us require that we move away from spectacle and rhetoric, and bend our backs to the serious work ahead of us."

He said much of the work over the previous months had to do with the establishment of organisational structures and

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- final speech to Parliament this week

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

aves the stage

ie as President on Friday, bringing to a close an extraordinary leadership

. JUSTICE MALALA examines Madiba's parliamentary legacy

(304A) ST 28/3/99

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He said much of the work over the previous months had to do with the establishment of organisational structures and to learn how to carry out their duties. "We had to educate ourselves in an atmosphere characterised by a critical public focus which did not necessarily allow for the reality of that inexperience. Undoubtedly, many of us, both in the legislature and in the executive, have made mistakes. But mistakes are an inevitable element of any process of learning."

It was a time when public criticism of the ANC was at its highest, when crime was beginning to bite and stories of emigration abounded. The ANC's back was against the wall and it was very defensive, as reflected by Mandela: "Many within and without this chamber and among the mass media have been very keen to condemn and to propel us into precipitate action on the basis of mere allegations."

Other issues were on the boil: the establishment of the truth commission and continuing political violence in KwaZulu-Natal loomed ever larger as problems.

After 1996 Mandela's interventions to Parliament were aimed at showing the successes of the ANC. The most graphic and concentrated was his opening-of-Parliament speech this year.

With an election looming, he started off by saying the "profound changes of the past four and a half years make the distance traversed seem so short; the end so sudden. Yet with the epoch-making progress that has been made, this period could have been decades."

Mandela gave a blow-by-blow account of how his government had delivered services to those in greatest need.

More than five million children were beneficiaries of free health care and school feeding programmes, and housing was continuing apace despite the fact that the target of building a million houses in five years had not been reached.

However, Mandela took a lot of flak for the government's inexplicable stance on crime despite abundant evidence it was on the increase.

On February 5 he told Parliament that the statistics showed there had been a reduction or stabilisation in most serious crimes. He said criticism arose from "failure to appreciate the fact that turning the tide against crime cannot be achieved overnight".

"We can and shall break out of this bog. There is hope," he promised.

Always ready to take on controversial issues, he took on the anti-gangster group Pagad, saying its campaign was "rotten to the core; it is misguided; and its attempts to invoke religion are blasphemous." He also took on corrupt elements within his own party.

He said in the same address that it was a reality of the present that among the new cadres in various levels of government were individuals who were "as corrupt as — if not more than — those they found in government".

Throughout the fight between the ANC and the truth commission last year, Mandela kept a clear line between party and government. As government leader, he has consistently accepted the commission's report "with its imperfections" while his party condemned it, alleging it distorted history and lacked context.

Friday's address was not the last major leave-taking speech Mandela will make. In about three months, he will hand over the reins to Thabo Mbeki, and perhaps echo the words he used at the ANC's 50th national congress in Mmabatho in December 1997: "The time has come to hand over the baton. The time has come to make way for a new generation, secure in the knowledge that despite our numerous mistakes, we sought to serve the cause of freedom. I personally relish the moment when my fellow veterans and I shall be able to observe from near and judge from afar."

And so a new era of leaders will be ushered in, and a remarkable era symbolised by a truly great leader will finally come to a close.

McBride's ordeal over

CT 30/3/99

(304A)

ROGER FRIEDMAN and BENNY GOOL
SPECIAL ASSIGNMENTS TEAM

WEAPONS are still pouring into South Africa from Mozambique, according to Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride, who expects his year-long suspension from the department to be lifted this week.

McBride anticipates receiving official notification from the Mozambique Supreme Court today of an executive order overturning his trial judge's decision to proceed with charges relating to gun-running, conspiracy to commit a crime and espionage.

"The decision has been made but the order must be handed down by the court first, which involves a short hearing. It was to have been done today, but we are still waiting to hear," McBride said last night.

Earlier yesterday, Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Nzo said McBride's suspension would be lifted as soon as the notification was received. McBride has been suspended on full pay from his job as director of the Department of Foreign Affairs' South East Asia desk since he was arrested on March 9 last year.

In a wide-ranging interview with the *Cape Times*, McBride described how he unwittingly became entangled in a Military Intelligence plot to back up the contents of the so-called Meiring Report. SANDF chief Georg Meiring was forced to hand in his resignation last year after the report was trashed by a tribunal of judges chaired by Chief Justice Ismael Mahomed.

The charges against McBride in Mozambique were very similar to those contained in the Meiring Report. Both the charge sheet and the report relied heavily on a single witness, Vusi Mbatha, who according to McBride is run as a source by both Military Intelligence and the police.

McBride said he never commited any crime, and was in Mozambique investigating gun-running when he witnessed a botched robbery by Mozambican police and landed up in prison for six months. He expressed relief that he had been cleared by the highest court in Mozambique, rather than through diplomatic or political interventions.

McBride said gun-running was as bad as ever. "The weapons are still flowing into the country like nobody's business because the border is completely porous now. Unlike in the apartheid years everything is now safe and quiet. Much of the stuff is still coming through Swaziland



RELIEF: With charges against him dropped, McBride's priorities are to return to work and clear his name.

to South Africa, but it is also coming in through Mbuzini, near where Samora Machel's plane crashed.

"I have also heard in the past eight months of stuff coming through Northern KwaZulu-Natal and the Eshowe area. I don't know what that is for."

McBride said corrupt elements in the Mozambican military and police were involved in the supply of illegal weapons.

He said arrested cash heist gangster Colin Chauke was "a little guy" in a much bigger picture which involved both South Africans and Mozambicans. He had given names of some of those involved to police intelligence.

McBride's short-term goals are to return to work and clear the suspicions hovering over his head.

"I've given instructions to lawyers to investigate whether claims can be made for libel against policemen who made defamatory statements, including Suiker Brits who was reprimanded at a police disciplinary hearing. He said he had evidence against me, but the only evidence he had was the Meiring Report.

"My lawyers are also looking at certain elements in the media which made defamatory statements, including *Rapport* and *Citizen*.

"And we have already sent by registered post a letter to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanding an apology for his remarks," he said.

● See Page 6

Colonial era street names to go

(264) (304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Durban – Three of Durban's main streets are set to lose their colonial era names within a month, the first of an avalanche of such changes planned for the metro in the months ahead.

Executive councillors from Durban's two central councils were to meet this week to discuss a proposal to change the names of Smith, West and Gardiner streets to Mandela, Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo streets respectively.

Speaking at the African Renaissance Festival in the city at the weekend, Metro Mayor Obed Mlaba announced a radical change of colonial street names, statues and monuments was on the cards, but did not go into detail.

Councillors from the North Central and South Central councils have already received copies of a letter from African National Congress councillor, Nomvuza Shabalala, proposing the "urgent" renaming of these streets.

Council critics of the move said the ANC, which has a majority in the metro, planned to rush through the three name changes in time for next month's conferring of the freedom of the city on President Nelson Mandela.

In an interview, Mr Mlaba backed the proposal. While the logistics of physically changing all the street signs in time for the award ceremony were daunting, he "would be thrilled to have at least an agreement to rename these three major streets" by then, he said.

ARG 31/3/99

Plan to replace 'white fascists' with ANC icons

(304A) BD 31/3/99

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — It was a mistake that the African National Congress had ruled the Durban metropolitan council for almost two years and portraits of white people were still the only ones hanging in Durban's city hall, the party said yesterday.

Provincial ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said it was also surprising that the city's name had not been changed yet.

He said the pictures of the "white fascists" should have been replaced with those of people such as slain KwaZulu-Natal Umkhonto we Sizwe operative Portia Ndwandwe and Helen Joseph.

The ANC has sparked outrage with its proposals that Durban's colonial statues be removed and that three of the city's main street names be changed to those of three ANC icons.

The party has proposed renaming Gardiner, Smith and West streets Chris Hani, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela streets respectively.

New National Party MP Renier Schoeman said the NNP dissociated itself from such thinking which, "in any case, flagrantly disregards both the letter and the spirit of the policy of reconciliation".

The proposals went against guidelines set down by Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal that "triumphalism" should be avoided as it was not ANC policy.

However, at an African renaissance conference held at the weekend it was reported that the Durban council would create a new identify for the city by changing the names of its streets, buildings, parks and other major public properties.

The new look would combine Zulu and Indian cultures.

Makhaye said an attack by the NNP "meant we are right" and "we should speed up" the process to deracialise all important areas. "The NNP should be thanking the ANC because in a democracy, people who administered crimes against humanity should be in prison. They should thank us for our generosity."



Enoch Sontonga Avenue in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, is one of only a few street names in SA's towns and cities that has been changed since 1994. The street, previously Showground Road, was named after the composer of Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika, who is buried in the nearby Braamfontein cemetery.

Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Trying to airbrush history

For some people, changing the names of towns, suburbs, streets and bridges is a costly, confusing and highly provocative political exercise, writes **Taryn Lamberti**

BD 1/4/99 (304A)

THE name of a tiny suburb west of Johannesburg has changed twice in the past fifty years, symbolising the changes in SA history. Sophiatown was a haven for spirited black intellectuals and artists before its residents were forcibly removed by bulldozers in the 1950s to make way for a white working class suburb. Its name was then changed to Triomf, Afrikaans for triumph.

It was not long after the African National Congress (ANC) came into power in 1994 that the name was again changed, back to Sophiatown, but this was after much debate on the issue. Other suggested names for the suburb included Waterval Ridge and Westhoven.

Other notable name changes which have taken place over the past five years have been the Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto which changed to the Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital, the JG Strydom Hospital to the Helen Joseph Hospital, and the John Vorster bridge in East London to the Steve Biko bridge.

The notorious John Vorster Square police station in Johannesburg was renamed Johannesburg police station. A historical military area near Pretoria has been renamed three times. In 1900 it was named Roberts Heights, then in 1939 it became Voortrekkerhoogte, and last year it was renamed Thaba Tshwane, meaning the hill of Pretoria.

The ANC in KwaZulu-Natal has came under fire this week for proposing that three Durban Streets — Gardiner, Smith and West — be renamed after Chris Hani, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela.

Gardiner Street was named after Royal Navy captain Allen Gardiner who set up a mission station and school in the Bay of Natal in 1834.

Gardiner named the tiny settlement after the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Benjamin D'Urban. Smith Street was named after Royal Navy captain Thomas Charlton Smith who arrived in SA 1841 to take military occupation of Port Natal as it was then known.

West Street was named after Martin West, the first lieutenant-governor of Natal who arrived in SA in 1845.

The proposed renaming of these streets was criticised by New National Party MP Reiner Schoeman who said it "flagrantly disregards both the letter and the spirit of reconciliation".

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon said the government should not simply replace names of colonial figures with the names of ANC struggle heroes because this would be a "crude, gross over-simplification. You can't simply airbrush history away. These people did exist and to some they were very important. You can't just name everything after ANC figures. What about the other part of the struggle played by the Inkatha Freedom Party or the Zulu royal family."

He was in favour of a balanced approach to renaming. Any other system would be "very political and very provocative".

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal has been outspoken on the issue, making it clear that he tried to avoid "triumphalism" in the renaming of dams and rivers.

His spokesman Themba Khumalo said Asmal steered away from naming dams or rivers after political figures because "you would have to rename them every time a new party came into power". In many instances — like the renaming of Kafircove River in the southern Cape to Goukou River after a former Bushman chief — the names came from the communities themselves.

Frans Basson from arts, culture, science and technology department said the national place names committee had been researching and advising the minister on place names for 60 years.

But an act which was passed in Parliament at the end of last year provided for a new body, the Geographical Place Naming Council.

Basson said until the council comes into being at the end of June this year, municipalities would be able to change names without consulting the council. Members of the council would be drawn from civil society and not the department.

Comment: Page 11

McBride trap: M&G vindicated

(304A) M+G 1-8/4/99

Following the withdrawal of charges against Robert McBride, lawyers for the foreign affairs official have spoken out about those who framed him. **Wally Mbhele** *reports*

More than a year after the dramatic arrest of Department of Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride on trumped-up charges of gun-running, his defence team this week finally had an opportunity to hit back at the antics of those who had framed him.

Those, particularly South African police, who had rushed to proclaim McBride guilty even before he was charged, might have scampered for cover had they come to listen to McBride's Mozambican lawyer, Albano Silva, describing an intricate web of lies, deceit and manipulation.

Silva's press conference at Johannesburg International airport was called after the Mozambican Supreme Court withdrew charges against McBride of gun-running, espionage and association with wrongdoers.

Silva took up McBride's case following instructions from Jose Nascimento who, according to Mozambican law, is not eligible to defend in that country. In a classic act of demolition, for the first time since the McBride affair started, Silva gave the South African media a comprehensive picture of all the characters involved in setting up McBride, including state witnesses, most of whom are linked to the shady activities of the apartheid government.

This episode vindicated the *Mail & Guardian*'s consistent revelations — amid widespread scorn and cynicism up to the highest level of government — that McBride's arrest on March 9 last year was a well-co-ordinated South African police trap orchestrated with the assistance of two of his co-accused.

It was the *M&G* which first exposed Vusi Mbatha and Alex Huambo as Mozambican gun-smugglers — both of whom have a long history of working as informers with the former South African police and military intelligence. Curiously, both men arrested with McBride were to be used as state witnesses against him.

Mbatha was allegedly the author of a document which claimed a plot among prominent African National Congress politicians, including McBride, to overthrow the South African government. His document bore similarities with the charge sheet drawn up by the Mozambican police against McBride. The document became known as the Meiring report, after General Georg Meiring, then chief of the South African National Defence Force, who submitted the report to President Nelson Mandela. Meiring retired prematurely after a panel of judges termed the report "flawed".

Silva took time this week to give a graphic description of the characters of Mbatha and Huambo. He filled in the picture of how South African police — with the help of their Mozambican counterparts — manipulated the process to fabricate a story against McBride. The two police agencies were described as dangerous manipulators who deserved investigation themselves.

Shortly after McBride's arrest, he said, police embarked on a comprehensive and elaborate scheme to frame McBride. This they did in a spirit of vengeance and deep-seated disloyalty to the new democracy in South Africa.

Mbatha, according to Silva, is also known as Manuel Alfeu, Manuel Nhanombe, Vusi Madida, etcetera. "He is the bearer of false documents handed to him by the South African police ... He possesses the South African passport which reflects that he was born in South Africa at a place called Wesbanke and yet there is no such place in South Africa," said Silva.

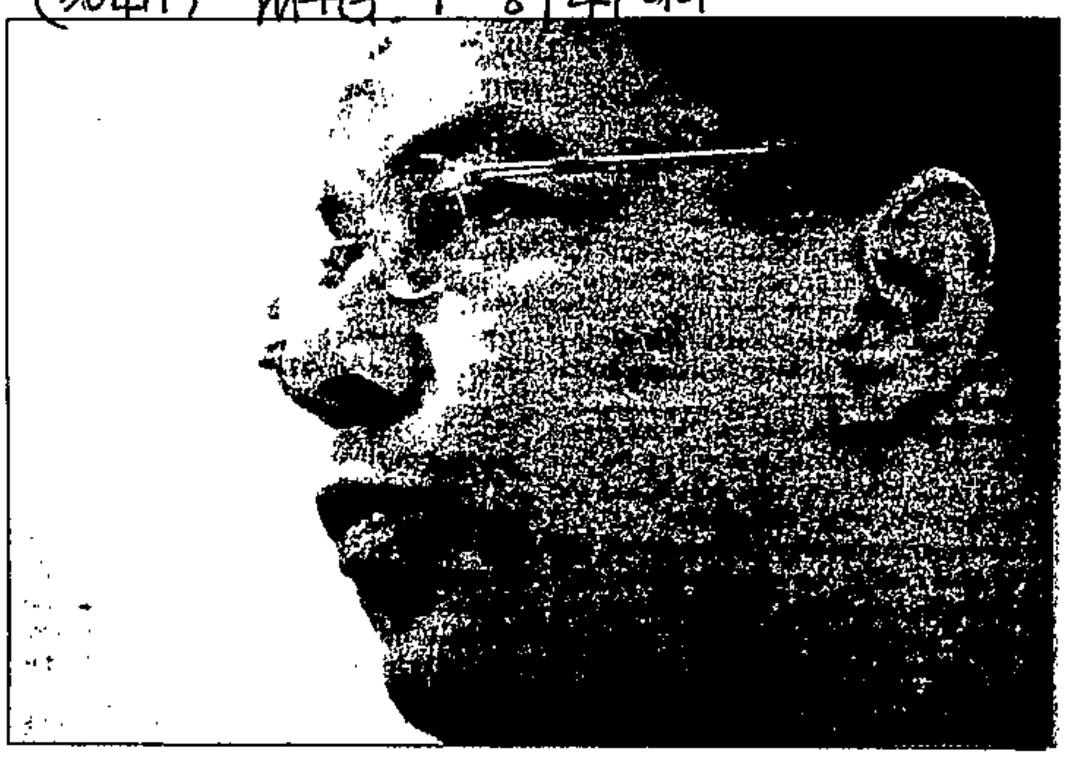
'These people are very dangerous. They forge documents to implicate people. Their documents do not show any scientific basis. They are simply false'

Simultaneously Mbatha has a South African identity book which has another birth date and another birthplace. But other documents show he was born in Mozambique. "His parents and uncle were interviewed," he said, adding that it was ascertained that Mbatha is 24 years old.

"I believe statements by this man do not deserve any type of investigation ... He's the author of another statement where he denied being the author of a statement about a plot to overthrow the government of President Mandela ...

"Those statements were authored by South African Police Service members who tried to manipulate the investigation. Mbatha was promised liberty and money to sign that statement. This guy is a poor soul, a poor devil, almost an illiterate who is obviously doing work for the police who arrange false documents for him to operate ... He can't deserve any credibility ..."

If the Mozambican court "wants this man, they can't find him because he does not have a residential address. They have no means of getting him. He is linked to the former regime and has proved to be an enemy of the new political dispensation."



How McBride was set up

On target: The dismissal of charges against Robert McBride (above) vindicates the Mail & Guardian's earlier revelations — amid widespread cynicism — that his arrest last year was a well-co-ordinated South African police trap. PHOTOGRAPH: NADINE HUTTON

Turning to Huambo, Silva claimed that the man has confessed to smuggling weapons from Mozambique to South Africa. Previously it had been claimed that besides working with elements of the South African police, Huambo's clients in South Africa included warlords linked to the Inkatha Freedom Party in Soweto. But, Silva said, "I don't know whether it's true that he was selling guns to the IFP."

Silva said questions remained: "Who took weapons to his house? Was McBride someone who truly wanted to buy weapons from this man? Was there any confirmation or an attempt to find out if Huambo was still an arms dealer?"

"Who was supplying him with weapons and who facilitated their passage through the border, and what relationship exists between those weapons and violence?" asked Silva, referring to weapons which were found in Huambo's Mozambican flat after both McBride and Mbatha's arrests. That investigation alone, he said, should have involved McBride's assistance.

Silva said a consideration about the quality of information attributed to secret police on both the South African and the Mozambican sides has to be given. "These people are very dangerous. They forge documents to implicate people. Their documents do not show any scientific basis. They are simply false."

It was the close of yet another chapter in the controversial life of McBride. Equally so, the closing of this chapter could open yet another, as McBride prepares to sue Assistant Commissioner "Sulker" Britz, who went to Mozambique hours after McBride's arrest and issued statements claiming McBride was guilty.

"Britz found me guilty even before I was charged. Even after charges against me have been dismissed, he continues to speak of me being guilty. He was censured by the minister for his utterances but he still continues. His evidence seems to be based on the evidence of the Meiring report. I know they are still after me," said McBride.

Britz is soon to retire from the police service.

A salary fit for a king

SA's 12 monarchs and 499 chiefs to share R42-million a year

ARG 3/4/99

(1888) (904A)

ESTELLE RANDALL

The Government has agreed to pay each of South Africa's 12 monarchs a salary of R322 000 a year.

From this month, the 12 monarchs – four of whom are queens – and 499 chiefs will cost taxpayers more than R42-million a year.

That figure may increase after the Government decides on the chieftainship claims of several other traditional leaders, including those of the San and the Khoi.

The salaries have been set out in a presidential proclamation, which standardises payments that previously varied substantially from monarch to monarch and chief to chief.

Salaries are currently paid to traditional leaders through the provincial governments. However, it it is understood there are plans for the national government to make payments directly.

All provinces, except the Northern Cape, Western Cape and Gauteng, have traditional leaders.

But this may change if the Government accepts claims of chieftainships from San and Khoi groups in the Northern Cape.

Mpho Mokaki, of the traditional affairs chief directorate in the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, says government research will start next month on claims by five Khoi and San groups for recognition of their traditional leaders.

"It's a policy issue," Mr Mokaki said of the research.

Until now, the Government has only recognised traditional leaders appointed before the 1994 election.

Observers, like Steven Robins of the department of anthropology and sociology at the University of the Western Cape, say the African National Congress is cautious about reinforcing new ethnic politics after spending decades fighting the divisive ethnic social engineering of apartheid.

However, it is also aware that indigenous rights are high on the agenda of the United Nations and international human rights bodies. Addressing these issues could win votes, Dr Robins says.

On March 21, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki signed over leases to 50 000 hectares of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in the Northern Cape to the San.

Mr Mbeki also signed deeds for another 40 000 hectares of private farmland adjoining the park. This was the first case of land restitution by a southern African government to the San, who were forced from their ancestral desert lands centuries ago.

Half of the private land bought from white farmers for R15-million will go to the coloured Mier community, who were pushed off their farm land into a "coloured reserve".

Dr Robins says: "The San land settlement will no doubt be extremely significant in terms of boosting the ANC government's popularity in the Northern Cape. Signs of this support were present at the signing ceremony, where speaker after speaker from the San and Mier communities praised the ANC.

"The elderly Upington sisters, /Guna Rooi, Keis Brou and /Cabaka, three of the 12 known San-speakers in South Africa, also praised the ANC government for recognising their language, cultural and land rights."

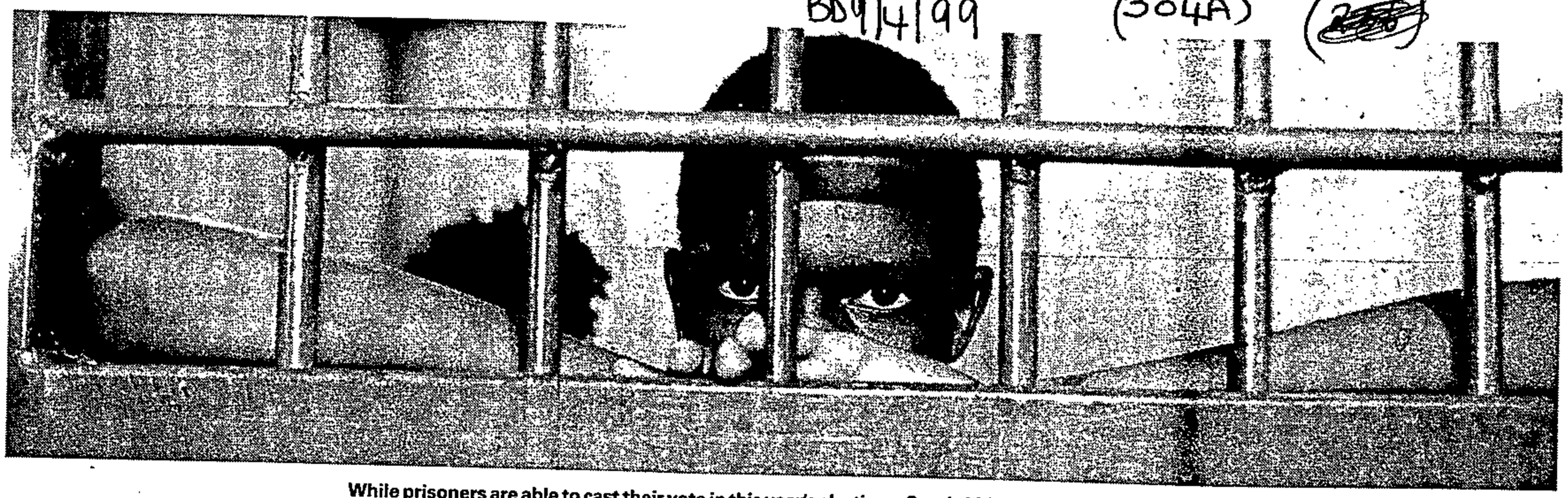
Dr Robins believes the settlement is likely to bolster the perception that the ANC is attending to land and cultural rights of historically marginalised people in the resource-poor Northern Cape.

But he notes: "It still remains uncertain to what degree these successes in land reform will influence the voting behaviour of the majority 'coloured' electorate in the Northern Cape."

Govt sees emigrants as unpatriotic racists

As a row rages over giving South Africans abroad the right to vote, **Heribert Adam** argues in favour of it

BD 9/4/99 (304A)



While prisoners are able to cast their vote in this year's elections, South Africans living abroad will not.

DENYING the vote to South Africans living abroad is not only a legal or constitutional issue. Long-term political costs of severing psychological bonds between the motherland and the substantial SA diaspora are overlooked.

At least five times more South Africans live permanently abroad than have officially declared their emigration, judging from the stated country of origin of new residents in the UK or Canada.

Most retain their SA passports fondly.

Increased emigration of some of the country's best minds and skills has been widely recognised as a tragic loss to a struggling economy. It is the risk-takers; the self-confident, imaginative spirits; the younger, better educated professional classes with specialised expertise that enrich Canada and Australia but deprive SA of their training.

The wealthy beneficiaries of the "brain drain" should be requested to reimburse some education costs of each SA doctor or accountant admitted to the overseas profession, just as Pretoria could compensate Zimbabwe or Nigeria for the exodus of skills to the southern tip of Africa.

President Nelson Mandela's flippant "good riddance" suggests that most emigrants are unpatriotic racists.

On the contrary, most are apolitical technocrats seeking career chances for themselves or their children abroad.

Disillusionment with crime or perceived better opportunities overseas where the currency appreciates often combine with a lasting nostalgia for the landscape of childhood.

Mandela also suggested that most would return after they realised how well SA was doing. Return they do in most cases — but for a holiday and rarely for good.

The longer emigrants are gone, the surer they are lost for the country.

Yet interest in SA political developments is high in the diaspora. It is only overshadowed by obsession for home rugby, soccer and cricket.

The expatriates in Sydney or Toronto keep up with political news, particularly negative ones, if only to justify to themselves their ambivalent decision to leave.

Majority sympathies of emigrants undoubtedly lie with the critics of the African National Congress.

Most SA emigrants are white and Indian, with Jewish professionals overrepresented, and blacks hardly visible.

Were emigrants allowed to vote, the government obviously would receive a much smaller share of support in this group than locally. Hence, cutting citizens abroad off the voters roll benefits the ruling party.

Yet likely voters' preferences do not justify depriving citizens of their rights.

This calculation may be a short-sighted victory for party politics but a long-term loss for the country as a whole.

Denying the vote sends the clear message: we no longer need you, we do not care about you, you have politically disenfranchised yourself by not being here.

The opposite should be communicated: "Your voting is an opportunity to show your support for our fledgling democracy. We appreciate your commitment and interest wherever you live. Perhaps you may also come back and invest in the home you know so well."

Similar to university fundraisers that keep track of their alumni all over the world, SA missions could use voting to establish a register of interested South Africans abroad who could be mobilised for other support.

Voting is an opportunity to renew and affirm the fragile ties to the country of origin. Strengthening these bonds should be the goal of government policy.

All western democracies allow their nationals abroad a postal vote. The right of citizens to influence the government of their country of origin is taken for granted.

Nobody would dare do what SA does to its permanent residents abroad, let alone its temporary absentees from home. SA restricts the most basic democratic right to vote to local immobiles.

□ *Adam is a visiting professor at the Graduate School of Business at the University of Cape Town.*

Buthelezi backs home affairs chief

BD 13/4/99

(304A)

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his deputy, Lindiwe Sisulu, rose to the defence of embattled home affairs director-general Albert Mokoena yesterday, saying they would not suspend him while a government inquiry was under way.

"Mokoena is one of the highest-ranking officials of the state and is to be accorded the benefit of the doubt," Buthelezi and Sisulu said in a joint statement.

They were reacting to the latest allegations of wrongdoing by Mokoena, published by the Sunday Times, in a saga that began three weeks ago.

The newspaper charged at the weekend that Mokoena "was running a private basketball team from his government office in Pretoria in breach of the Public Service Act".

According to the Sunday Times, "Mokoena has three foreign players in his basketball team (Mecer Soweto Panthers) who are illegally registered as SA citizens".

He allegedly helped two of the foreign players to acquire SA identity books illegally.

Mokoena refused last week to answer the newspaper's questions relating to the players.

Buthelezi and Sisulu said yesterday that the minister had asked Mokoena "to respond in writing and in detail to each of the allegations published", despite the fact that Buthelezi had "received a general written denial from Mokoena two weeks ago".

According to a source, Buthelezi and Mokoena were expected to meet face-to-face in Pretoria today to discuss the allegations.

Buthelezi and Sisulu said that Mokoena had proved himself "to be a hard-working, reliable and dedicated civil servant ... especially in respect of the challenge of producing the best possible elections (on June 2) under our circumstances".

A government investigation of the Sunday Times allegations is being conducted by the public service department, following a request by Buthelezi to the "responsible minister" — Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya.

Buthelezi said he would announce the findings when he received them and would "take action if and when any corroborated fact of substance emerges".

It should also be noted, Buthelezi and Sisulu said, that Mokoena had written to the minister requesting "an independent investigation ... and is fully co-operating".

The public protector's office last week conducted its own preliminary investigation of the matter.

A decision on what action, if any, it will take is expected soon.

The New National Party and Democratic Party have demanded Mokoena's immediate suspension as well as a criminal investigation.

However, Buthelezi and Sisulu said: "It would be unconscionable that anyone be suspended merely on the basis of a request from newspapers."

It was government's responsibility to investigate allegations, as it was doing in this case, but it would be irresponsible if it acted "merely on the basis of a trial by the media".

"In fact, it has happened too often that in analysing allegations, the media puts together unrelated circumstances, without the required ... causality and culpability, or does not report the underlying facts correctly," Buthelezi and Sisulu said.

The government inquiry should "cover the full range of allegations made", and would verify whether Mokoena had contravened any laws or regulations and, if so, whether he could be held personally responsible.

Only if the allegations contained "prima facie substance" would the possibility of any action against Mokoena be considered, Buthelezi and Sisulu said.

According to the Sunday Times, Mokoena allegedly used state vehicles to ferry his basketball players to and from games. Gauteng home affairs officials gave the newspaper a list of registration numbers of vehicles "regularly used" by Mokoena in contravention of the Public Service Act.

The newspaper also said a player who defected from Mokoena's team claimed that the home affairs director-general had threatened to deport him if he played for a rival team and told him that his life would be in danger if he spilt the beans about their dealings.

Court scraps NNP, DP applications on bar-coded IDs

(304A) CT 14/4/99

CATHY POWERS

JOHANNESBURG: The Constitutional Court ruled yesterday that the bar-coded ID requirements in the Electoral Act were not unconstitutional.

The court dismissed New National Party and Democratic Party applications to overturn the bar-coded provision for the elections.

In both cases Justice Kate O'Regan dissented in her judgment.

The bar-coded ID allowed for efficient verification of the holder's details and there was a record of fingerprints of bar-coded ID holders which would help prevent electoral fraud, the court found.

The judges made no orders as to costs — a significant factor, said NNP's lawyer André Gaum. "This indicates we had a legitimate concern," he said after judgment was handed down.

The court rejected the NNP's argument that the Department of Home Affairs did not have the capacity to allow those without bar-coded IDs to obtain them.

Although the Electoral Act prescribing bar-coded IDs was passed in October last year. Citizens had six months to apply for a bar-coded ID, the court concluded.

The DP argued that the requirement was discriminatory, revealing on a survey which showed that, by November last year, a greater proportion of potential white, rural and younger voters did not have bar-coded IDs.

But the court found no evidence to show the impact of the bar-coded ID requirement on these people. The NNP also failed in its challenge of the independence of the IEC.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's legal adviser, Mojanku Gumbi said the applications, on the eve of the elections, seems like engineering on the part of the two complaining parties.

THYS DULLAART



From Madiba, with love ... two pupils at Harvey Cohen School in Eldorado Park give President Nelson Mandela a hug of appreciation yesterday. Mandela visited the school to help raise money to keep open the institution, which caters for mentally and physically disabled children. Several businesses pledged R130 000 for the school at a breakfast that Mandela attended yesterday.

Mandela accuses former activists of corruption

(304A) Star 14/4/99

President Nelson Mandela yesterday comforted a woman recently raped in her own home and vowed to carry on the fight against unacceptably high rates of crime and corruption.

Mandela also voiced his disappointment at the incidence of corruption among ANC members, in particular senior activists, brought in to cleanse the civil service of corruption.

"Corruption is also unacceptably high, and what is even more demoralising is that we came into government with the intention of cleaning the civil service of corruption, but our own freedom fighters, some of them very top activists, when they got the opportunity, also stole taxpayers' money."

Mandela strongly defended Judge Willem Heath, whose campaign to end government corruption has been criticised in part by Finance Minister Trevor Manuel.

Heath has cited government officials and even Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma in his fight to end corruption, but Manuel has publicly questioned Heath's claim to have recovered more than R200-million in stolen cash and property.

While Manuel has ordered an audit of Heath's claims, Mandela said: "Judge Heath ... has done a remarkable job because he has recovered no less than R800-million – cash is R51-million and the rest is in the form of assets."

Mandela, who retires in June, departed from the prepared text of a speech to Chinese and Russian businessmen in Johannesburg to reaffirm his government's commitment to fight crime.

With close to 20 000 murders a year and a woman raped every 26 seconds, South Africa is widely labelled the crime capital of the world.

"Crime is still unacceptably high, but we are dealing with the situation and I have supreme confidence in the capacity and the skills of the South African police to deal with this matter," Mandela said.

At the meeting, he sought out and hugged journalist Charlene Smith, who described the horror and terror of her rape two weeks ago in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper, offering her words of encouragement.

"Let us not arouse false hopes that this can be dealt with overnight. It is going to be a long process but we are taking steps to ensure we beat crime as soon as possible," he said. - Reuters

Court ruling clears way for poll

(DOC17) Star 14/4/99

June 2 will be voting day as DP and Nats lose legal bid

By Cecilia Russell
Political Staff

The major obstacle facing the general election has been removed and President Nelson Mandela is today expected to proclaim June 2 as the official date for the poll.

Government sources told *The Star* that yesterday's Constitutional Court judgment – which effectively restricted voting to holders of barcoded IDs – was the only major hurdle which had prevented Mandela from proclaiming the date.

The Government, political parties and the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday expressed relief that the court had made its finding, and that the electoral process could now go ahead.

"I am happy that this cloud over the elections has been lifted. All South Africans now know that the matter of barcoded IDs has been settled," chief electoral officer Mandla Mchunu said yesterday.

The court's decision would pave the way for the commission to get on with its work, which included the registration of prisoners, finalising the voters roll, and putting regulations and systems in place for the election, he said.

The Star ELECTION '99 The way ahead

Had the court granted the application of the New National Party and Democratic Party, the election would have been delayed. The parties wanted other forms of ID also to be accepted for voting.

Mchunu said the judgment also clarified the role of the administrative independence of the IEC.

The court also rejected the NNP's argument that the IEC's independence had been impaired because it had been underfunded by the Government.

The IEC was unlikely to get the full budget it wanted, but it was Parliament's, rather than the executive's, duty to ensure the IEC was adequately funded. While the Department of Home Affairs and other organs of government had acted in a way that was "inconsistent with their obligations under the constitution", this had not resulted in the IEC losing its independence.

"I am happy the court laid a basis and clarified the principle here ... This means that, when we submit a budget, we will do this through the parliamentary framework," Mchunu said.

Home Affairs director-general Albert Mokoena also welcomed the judgment: "We are pleased to note that the Constitutional Court found that the systems in the Department of Home Affairs are capable of delivery," he said.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's legal adviser, Mojanku Gumbi, said the judgment confirmed the Government's belief that the NNP and DP challenges were "wrong in law".

Meanwhile, Mchunu said another NNP challenge – aimed at securing the vote for people abroad – was premature. The NNP had gone to the High Court before the regulations were finalised, he said. The regulations, which could extend votes to people who will be abroad on election day, would be published after consultation with political parties today.

► Election '99 reports
... *Pages 3 and 6*

IEC to employ priests for monitoring work

Nomavenda Mathiane (304A)

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has failed to employ the services of nongovernmental organisations, as it did in the last election, because the Electoral Act inhibited their role, IEC chairman Brigalia Bam told church leaders yesterday.

Ministers of religion had more credibility with the electorate than politicians, and for that reason, a partnership between them and the IEC would be effective, Bam told delegates at an SA Council of Churches meeting in Johannesburg.

The IEC and the council were discussing the role of the churches in the forthcoming elections.

Bam said there would be a total of 14 965 voting stations countrywide and jobs such as presiding officers and deputy presiding officers were to be filled by people other than politicians.

"We do not want politicians anywhere near those positions," she said.

She said of the 8,8-million people who had registered to vote, more than 300 000 had been rejected by the home affairs department.

She also said there were 1,5-million more women than men who had registered to vote and that contrary to politicians' claims, 42,61% youth had registered.

She appealed to churchleaders to make themselves available for duties such as observing and monitoring the elections, as well as manning stations.

She said because the acceptability of the results was so important, the IEC would need 400 people at the result centres, and people who will be counting will be watched, checked and rechecked "to avoid what happened in Lesotho".

BD 15/4/99

Good news for voters abroad

JOHANNESBURG: The Independent Electoral Commission says it hopes its revised stance on voting abroad on June 2 will reduce the number of court cases pending against it.

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has announced that voters who will be out of the country on June 2 will be able to vote in the election — provided they are already on the voters roll.

The IEC's decision came as President Nelson Mandela signed a proclamation confirming June 2 as the election date.

Announcing that regulations allowing voting abroad will be published in the *Government Gazette* today or tomorrow, IEC chairperson Brigalia Bam said she hoped the move would reduce the number of court cases pending against the commission.

However, the concession was not enough to stop the New National Party and Federal Alliance, who vowed to press ahead with their legal bids to allow expatriates to take part in the election. Most expatriates were not in the country during the registration period from November to March. Special arrangements will therefore have to be made to allow them to register.

The IEC's decision will benefit only business people and tourists who know they will be out of the country on election day. It also means that sports people temporarily abroad — such as the national cricket squad, who will be in Britain for the World Cup — will be able to vote.

"There is a qualification," Bam told journalists at a South African Council of Churches conference here. "There are South Africans who have been away for 50 years, there are those who do not have bar-coded IDs, those who have not registered, and so we haven't accommodated each and every South African. We have tried to look at what is reasonable."

Voting arrangements would have to be made at South Africa's 88 embassies, and it would have to be ensured that the ballot remained secret and ballot papers got back to South Africa to be counted, Bam said.

It is believed that measures for voters abroad would be similar to those already in place for voters who will be in the country on the day of the election but outside of the district in which they registered.

People who will be outside their districts are required to obtain declaratory certificates from their local election officer before

❑ Turn to Page 3

(304A) CT 15/4/99

IEC decision bowls over cricket boss

JOHANNESBURG: United Cricket Board managing director Ali Bacher yesterday praised the IEC for extending voting on June 2 to South Africans travelling abroad.

The IEC's ruling means that the national cricket squad and officials, who are to leave next month for the World Cup, will be able to cast their ballots.

"We are delighted. That's excellent work by the commission," Bacher said.

All citizens who registered between November and March, and who know they will be abroad, will be able to vote.

Bacher said he believed all the players are registered to vote.

"I like to think our cricket people are responsible people," he said.

At least 50 players and officials will leave South Africa for Britain on May 2. In May the team will play a series of league matches. By the end of May, six finalists will have emerged for the second half of the World Cup tournament.

Given the team's recent form, most observers agree it is likely that South Africa will be one of the final six. — Sapa

Plans revised for voting abroad

❑ From Page 1 (304A)

the election, according to the IEC.

When voters obtain a declaratory certificate, their names are removed from the roll in the district in which they originally registered. They must present the certificate when they go to vote elsewhere.

NNP legal head Andre Gaum commented: "Our position remains the same — the majority of South Africans living abroad will still be excluded from voting." It was unclear whether people outside the country would be able to vote for representatives in provincial legislatures, he said.

Federal Alliance spokesperson Jan Bosman said his party had not been invited to a meeting with the IEC to discuss the election regulations. However, it did not appear these would affect court action by the FA aimed at ensuring people could vote if on election day they are out of the district where they registered.

The Democratic Party said it was delighted its efforts had "partially succeeded" and criticised the NNP and FA for pressing ahead with actions when these had "no reasonable prospect of succeeding".

"The DP is ready for the election and we do not wish to see it delayed. Some other parties appear not to be as keen as we are to get to the polls," the party said.

The Freedom Front also appeared to accept the ruling, describing it as an "improvement" in the election regulations.

Build SA, a London group lobbying for expatriates to be allowed to vote, said the IEC's announcement did not go far enough. It would go ahead with a protest outside the South African High Commission in London on April 24. — Sapa

CT 15/4/99

Trapped by ideology

The challenge for the next presidency is to implement foreign policy that transcends the introspective ethos created by apartheid's insularity, writes **Greg Mills**

SOUTH AFRICA'S principal operating advantage in the international community has rested in the nature of the anti-apartheid struggle and the success of its negotiated transition.

President Nelson Mandela is seen to epitomise this position, one which he used in breaking the logjam around the Libyan Lockerbie suspects.

Yet South Africa's foreign policy has largely failed to take advantage of the goodwill flowing from the end of apartheid – a benevolence that has dried up as the events of April 1994 become a distant, if pleasant, memory.

Pretoria has been consistent in its foreign policy objectives – to uphold human rights, promote democracy and the peaceful settlement of disputes, and encourage regional integration in Southern Africa.

However, it has been inconsistent in the manner in which it has implemented strategies to achieve these aims. It has prevaricated over Southern Africa, being acutely sensitive to accusations of hegemonic behaviour.

It quibbled about the trade offer from the European Union to the point that Brussels became less inclined to offer concessions. It has inconsistently tried to balance its human rights sentiments with an arms export policy, preferring not to export to regions at war, but yet selling weapons to both sides in the Congo conflict thereby undermining its principled stance favouring diplomacy, not military intervention.

Until the far-reaching reforms currently being instigated by the new director-general of foreign affairs, Jackie Selebi, the Government was slow to shape foreign policy strategies to achieve its objectives.

But the most obvious ongoing policy problem for South Africa is reflected in the nature of the transition itself. The Government has been reluctant to define a notion of the national interest, given that this assumption lies at the heart of racial and political reconciliation.

The mission statement of the Department of Foreign Affairs – released after its 10-day January indaba – is to "enhance South Africa's international capability to ensure its sovereignty and security and to promote its policies aimed at furthering the African renaissance, the creation of wealth and the improvement of the quality of life of all its citizens".

But this still begs the question: how can South Africa best achieve these goals?

This necessitates the definition of South African foreign policy in terms primarily of domestic needs. A foreign policy in pursuit of such goals would be a policy aimed at economic growth and reducing unemployment, arguably (along with racial and political conciliation) the key contemporary challenges facing South Africa where there are four million unemployed and nearly 600 000 jobs required annually.



Foreign Affairs director-general Jackie Selebi.

The achievement of these goals demands, however, the implementation of foreign policy strategies geared to taking maximum advantage of South Africa's strengths in the global and regional economies.

In the global arena, this amounts to securing access to economic resources and arguing for preferential trade and investment/aid terms.

Regional interests hinge on the potential economic value of the continent to South Africa which, conversely, is affected by instability and economic decline – hence the need to encourage conditions of good governance and, if necessary, to keep the peace.

This would necessarily involve greater coordination between Government and business in the pursuit of wealth – for example, in the recruitment of business people at South Africa's foreign missions and greater stress on aspects of trade and investment rather than "political" diplomacy.

Controversially, in a world of finite human and financial resources, this could mean less stress on trying to promote democracy and human rights: after all no country – not even the United States, with all its resources – has been able to promote these values effectively: witness Kosovo. The world, put crudely, does not know how to create democracies.

But such a strategy is unlikely in an environment where mutual suspicions and hostilities exist – where the transition has not been underpinned by a shared appreciation of South Africa's history, and where the Government prefers to equate criticism of its progress with criticism of the liberation struggle.

In the tone of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's description of "two South Africas", racial political and economic reconciliation is still some way off.

While much of white South Africa appears to believe that the negotiated transition has largely atoned for their role in apartheid, black South Africa sees this as an insufficient admission and penance for the past.

Unless we are to progress past this morality impasse, the world will leave South Africa behind – especially given that it is located in a continent accounting for little over two percent of global economic output and characterised by seemingly insurmountable political and developmental problems.

But the continent's weaknesses paradoxically illustrate one critical strength possessed by South Africa – its position as a regional pivot, not just in economic and military/security terms, but critically in the wealth of human capital and political status, even if the latter is only grudgingly acknowledged elsewhere in Africa.

To capitalise on these strengths, South Africa will in all probability have to provide leadership, which will inevitably be accompanied by responsibilities along with political challenges and costs.

Put simply, whereas the Mandela presidency was characterised by the need for reconciliation, transformation and policy development, Mbeki's tenure will have to move from positions of high principles and prevarication to policy implementation.

But this will have to be underpinned by a concept of "national" interest that transcends racial and ideological barriers. Only this will allow the development of foreign policy strategies geared for maximum manoeuvre in the global economy – a policy aimed at economic growth and employment opportunities.

(The author is the national director of the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.)

Checking the realities of SA

CT 16/4/99

JUDITH SOAL

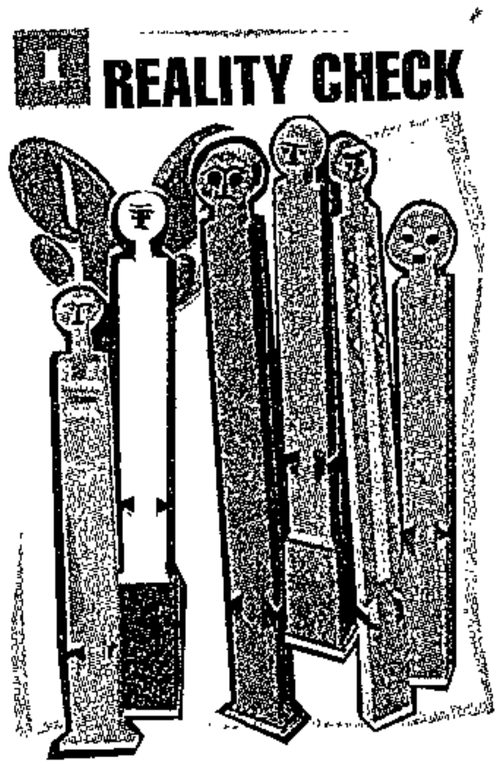
WHITE South Africans' most common expectation of the new South Africa after 1994 was "chaos". It's an expectation they say has not come true.

This is just one of the findings of a comprehensive national survey commissioned by Independent Newspapers and the Kaiser Family Foundation to provide a Reality Check ahead of South Africa's second democratic elections. The survey results will be released nationally next week, but leading opinion makers were given sneak previews at confidential briefings around the country yesterday. More briefings will be held today.

Speaker Frene Ginwala said the project provided "a veritable feast" of data.

"The title Reality Check is ambitious as well as appropriate. It raises the question: Is there a South African reality?"

She said the results helped unravel different perceptions and the factors that shape these perceptions.



"If you look at whites' major expectation of the new democracy, you can see this reflects the racism of apartheid. Whites believed that blacks were incapable of being in government or running an economy.

"But there has been a dramatic shift. Today the expectation of 'chaos' doesn't feature."

To construct our Reality Check, we asked a representative sample of 3 000 adults questions about sport and politics to their feelings about the future under president-in-waiting, Thabo Mbeki. We asked about their priorities, hopes and fears; whether the government had delivered on its promises and how their lives had changed since 1994. We also asked about racism and reconciliation, health and education, crime and the economy. You may well be surprised by what we found.

"This is one of the most ambitious research projects ever undertaken in this country," *Cape Times* editor Ryland Fisher said yesterday.

"It is different because it is huge. It is different because it is comprehensive and it is different because it deals with issues that people are really talking about."

In Cape Town the briefing was addressed by Ginwala, Anglican Archbishop Njongonkulu Ndungane and Pepkor's Christo Wiese. In Johannesburg, Finance Minister Trevor Manuel was the main speaker, joined by trade unionist-turned-businessman Marcel Golding and Cosatu leader Mbhazima Shilowa. In Durban, Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi discussed the findings, followed by Cosatu's Paulos Ngcobo and Terry Rosenberg of the McCarthy Group.

Buthelezi said the results showed that South Africa was torn between hopes and fears.

"I and the majority of South Africans hold the unshakeable faith that our situation can improve. I remain convinced that the chasm between our daily concerns and our hopes for a better future can only be bridged by political will."

The results generated more than a few surprises among the guests, as well as some nods and a healthy amount of debate.

We won't give you any more hints about what we found out just yet. All we can say is that the picture the survey paints is not a simple one, it's not always a pretty one, but it could change the way you see South Africa.

To get as complete a picture as possible we interviewed a large enough sample to provide statistically valid findings for the South African population as a whole, as well as for South Africa's major racial groups and its provinces. Interviews were also conducted with smaller samples of four groups — elected officials, business, trade unions and non-government organisations.

Details of the results will be published in the *Cape Times* next week. Each day an entire page will be devoted to one aspect of the survey. We will publish a 16-page supplement containing comprehensive survey results on Wednesday April 28. The supplement will also be included in the Sunday Independent on May 2.

● See Page 21



'PLEASANTLY SURPRISED' *Finance minister Trevor Manuel says he is pleased with the survey findings, which, he says, vindicate the government's Gear strategy* PHOTO: JOHN WOODROOF

Prejudices toppled by survey

ARG 17/4/99 (304A)(1973)

LUKANYO MNYANDA
ECONOMICS EDITOR

Johannesburg – Most South Africans did not hold the government directly responsible for the redistribution of wealth or job creation and believe it should rather provide an environment for the private sector to generate wealth and employment opportunities.

This was one of the findings of a joint research project by Independent Newspapers and the US-based Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation on South Africans' perception of democracy, the role of the government, reconciliation and priorities for the post-Nelson Mandela government.

One of the more surprising elements of the survey of a representative sample of 3 000 adults was the overwhelming acceptance of the free market system. Despite South Africa being one of the most economically unequal societies in the world, less than 10 percent of respondents believed the government should take from the relatively wealthy to give to the poor.

Instead they placed a premium on the government's duty to tackle inequalities in the provision of social services and to create the necessary conditions to enable the private sector to drive economic growth and create jobs.

Trevor Manuel, the finance minister, said he was "pleasantly surprised" by the findings on job creation and used the opportunity to defend the government's Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) macroeconomic strategy.

He said although Gear targets had not materialised, it was wrong to say the strategy had failed because these had been based on the assumptions about other aspects of the economy like interest rates. The economic environment had changed almost immediately after the adoption of Gear as emerging markets went on a tailspin from about the middle of 1997, leading to record high interest rates by last November.

Mbhazima Shilowa, the secretary general of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, said the government had a role to play in the formation of a framework for job creation. But South African business had to "do something" about its investment levels which were too low by international standards. Business could not complain about the lack of skills and then resist attempts to get it to invest in skills development.

"We are happy to accept self-regulation, but government regulation will be necessary if certain things don't happen," Shilowa said.

Cape's 'crisis of the soul'

LOW LEVELS OF CONFIDENCE

THE WESTERN CAPE has the best living conditions in the country, but the lowest levels of satisfaction and confidence. **JUDITH SOAL** and **ROGER FRIEDMAN** report.

GAUTENG and Mpumalanga are the nicest places to live in South Africa. The Free State is the province with the least going for it, followed closely by KwaZulu-Natal.

The most obvious contender for the crown, the Western Cape, is ranked just fourth. It is let down by a bad case of social depression; its residents seem to be experiencing a crisis of the soul.

As part of the *Reality Check* series which begins in the *Cape Times* today, we rated each of the country's nine provinces on a wide range of criteria.

We asked whether its citizens have taps and toilets, how often they go hungry and how much faith they have in governance and the economy. We found out how their lives have changed in the past five years and questioned them on their experience of crime.

We combined answers to 23 questions and gave each province a score on four dimensions: Living conditions, crime, confidence in the country and general satisfaction. Then we put these together and ranked the provinces.

The ratings for the Western Cape are top for living conditions and bottom for attitude. We found that its residents are easily the best-off in the country.

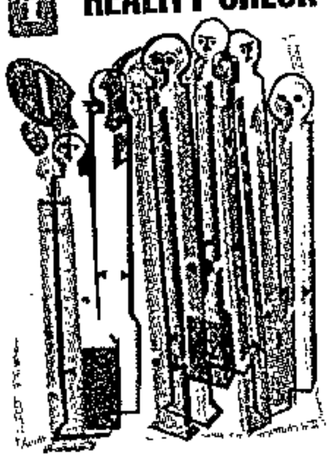
They are the most likely to be employed, educated, fed and have their rubbish removed regularly, yet they don't feel very good about their lives. Confidence in all levels of government is low and there is a general air of despondency and dejection.

In contrast, we found that even the high crime levels in Gauteng don't detract from the fact that its citizens are basically content. It has much of the infrastructure needed to support its population and, compared to the other relatively well-off provinces, its people have faith in both provincial and national governments, as well as in the economy. Despite its bad press, Gauteng retains the promise of eGoli — the city of gold.

Right up there with Gauteng comes Mpumalanga. Its people are less well-off, but much more positive. They say their lives have improved over the past five years and expect them to continue to get better in the future. Another plus is the low crime report.

The Northern Province is the poorest place in South Africa, but it ranks third because of the upbeat attitudes of its people and their confidence in the future. They may not have large salaries or running water inside their homes, but they are more likely to be positive.

KwaZulu-Natal just escapes coming last because of the relative wealth of the province. There is a high incidence of crime and, like the Western Cape, its citizens give themselves away by their negative attitudes.



These two have more in common: KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape are the only provinces not to have voted for the African National Congress — perhaps a reflection of their disenchantment with the process of change in South Africa.

The survey suggests that, five years later, this disenchantment remains. They have also both experienced high levels of political violence in the recent past, with its concomitant effect on morale.

The high standard of living in the Western Cape can be attributed to the pecking order set up under apartheid: Whites first, coloureds and Indians next, Africans last. As part of the former Western Province with its high coloured population, the Northern Cape also benefited from these policies. It scores high on living conditions and low on confidence and satisfaction.

These findings are consistent throughout our survey and reflect one of *Reality Check's* central themes: The large difference between people's perceptions and their realities. More details of these and other findings will be published throughout this week.

● See Page 17

SPECIAL REPORT

REALITY CH

Here is your reality South Afri

(304A)

REALITY CHECK writers **ROGER FRIEDMAN, KAREN MAC GREGOR, ERIC NTABAZALILA, JUDITH SOAL** and **SIMON ZWANE** took on the statistics to bring you the story of one of the most comprehensive surveys done in this country. This is the first of their reports.

MOST South Africans — including some coloureds, Indians and whites — are relatively optimistic, realistic and pragmatic in their assessment of the country's progress through the first five years of democracy.

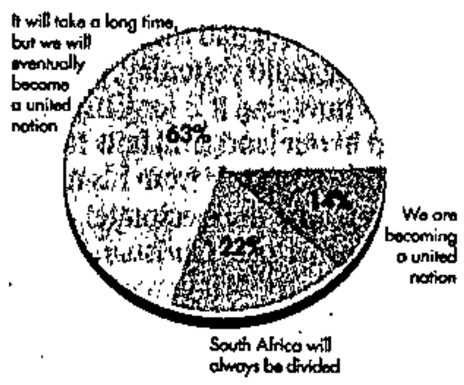
While citizens of all hues, in all provinces, express serious concerns about the economy, their personal financial circumstances and crime, the ruling African National Congress will take heart on the eve of the second democratic election that a general sense of satisfaction pervades the nation.

We remain deeply scarred by apartheid divisions — a society of haves and have-nots, where colour still invariably determines class and attitudes — but that doesn't tell the whole story.

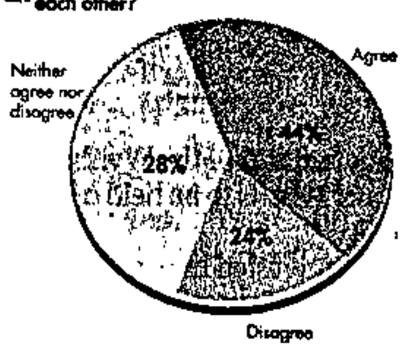
A vast majority of South Africans are committed to basic democratic principles. They express confidence in the government, in Parliament, the media, the courts, trade unions and the civil service, and are optimistic about the future of education, health care, quality of life and race relations.

Not unbounded optimism, mind you. Feelings about nation-building and race relations, for example, are obviously complex.

Q: Perception of Unity — Which comes closest to your view?



Q: Blacks and whites will never trust each other?

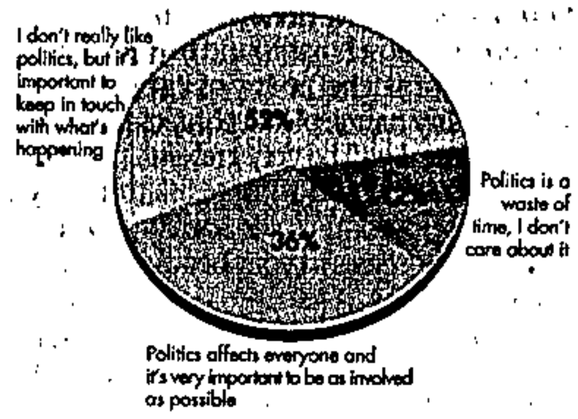


* "Don't knows" not included

These are but some of the key findings of Reality Check, which is probably the most all-encompassing political and socio-economic survey of attitudes ever conducted in South Africa. Detailed results will be published in *The Star*, *Cape Times*, *Pretoria News*, *The Mercury* and *Diamond Fields Advertiser* daily this week, with a special supplement to be released next Wednesday and repeated in the *Sunday Independent*.

Reality Check was conceived as a means of giving a voice to ordinary South Africans who might otherwise not be heard, to examine the state of our five-year-old democracy from the perspective of the people, to measure our progress on issues of race, reconciliation and national unity, and to underscore the challenges that lie ahead.

Q: Attitudes towards politics — Which comes closest to your view?



This is what we found: There is a yawning gap between the perceptions of South Africans and the reality of their lives.

Money versus happiness: People with the most material reason to be satisfied are generally the least happy with their circumstances. They see themselves as "losers" in the new South Africa and are most pessimistic about the future. Conversely, many of the worst-off see themselves as "winners" post-1994 and are optimistic.

This dilemma is best (though not completely) explained by race — which is so often the case in South Africa. Whites and Indians are by far the best off, as they were in 1994: 95% of whites and 89% of Indians are "haves" who enjoy first world living standards. But they tend to see themselves as losers, believe their situation has changed for the worse and are pessimistic about the future.

They are the "whining well"; the group of people in society who have the most but desperately fear losing it — a phenomenon not peculiar to South Africa. Among them, in small but growing numbers, are well-off coloureds and Africans.

The overwhelming majority of "have nots" are Africans living very difficult lives. One in three Africans are "have nots", 44% are quite poor with some material comforts, and one in five qualify as "haves".

Incredibly, one in three of the country's optimists are the very poor, who also make up a third of those who perceive themselves to be winners. In stark contrast, South Africa's wealthiest people make up 82% of its pessimists and 67% of those who perceive themselves as losers.

Democracy and new-found freedoms for African people post-apartheid, it seems, remain a powerful potient — and a powerful threat to others.

Finding each other: Not surprisingly, there are significant differences between the haves and have-nots when it comes to the three Rs — reconciliation, redistribution and racism.

Two-thirds of whites say they believe in reconciliation, but only two in ten Africans believe them — perhaps because they are talking about different things.

"Reconciliation can only happen when black people stop blaming whites for everything and leave us in peace," says Tria Venter, a nursing sister in the small Free State town of Hertzogville.

John Khambule lives a few kilometres away from Venter and hasn't had a job in his 25 years. "We will only have reconciliation when black people have the same as whites," he says.

According to our survey, this won't happen if whites have their way.

We measured attitudes towards redistribution and found that the demands of the majority of the population are relatively modest. Only one in ten people expect the government to literally take money from the rich and give it to the poor.

Rather, they believe in a more gentle form of social democracy.

The majority of blacks (Africans, coloureds and Indians) are likely to say that people who were thrown off their land during apartheid years should be compensated; that the government has a responsibility to provide houses and basic services to the poor and that farm workers should be given a piece of land of their own.

Yet just eight percent of whites are in favour of these and other types of redistribution.

Incidents of racism are still widely reported.

When you scratch below the surface of our rainbow veneer, it becomes obvious that the fears, mistrust and divisions remain.

Your average South African: Yet there are things we have in common. The "average" South African is socially conservative, highly politicised, sold on capitalism and doesn't read newspapers.

We watch a lot of television and listen to the radio.

We voted in the last election and we intend to vote in the next, although our knowledge of the political process is shocking.

We don't belong to a political party but have strong political views.

We have common priorities — crime and jobs — and common fears, including running out of money.

We want the death penalty back and we aren't really comfortable with abortion on demand.

We believe that it is harder for "people like us" to find jobs now than it was five years ago, and are virtually unanimous in thinking that the economy has deteriorated. We are not necessarily looking to the government to bring about improvements in the economy, however.

Most of us are of the opinion that "government can only do a little: business must grow faster and create more jobs", although we think the Defence Budget ought to be cut so that the money can be spent on the poor.

We are aware of the Aids epidemic and think HIV should be the Health Ministry's priority. We are also likely to say that Aids tests should be compulsory when people apply for jobs.

But then again, we are all different...



MOST SOUTH AFRIC

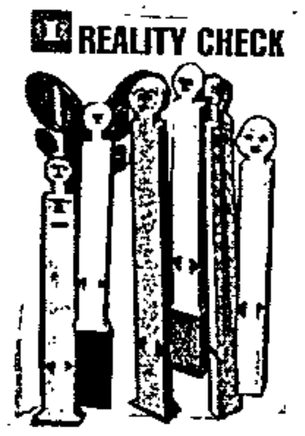
Africa — check it out

CT 19/4/99



MOST SOUTH AFRICANS believe that when central government decides to solve a problem, the problem will be solved. *PICTURE: GARY BERNARD*

REALITY CHECK



Here is your reality, South Africa

Reality Check writers ***Roger Friedman, Karen MacGregor, Eric Ntabazalila, Judith Soal*** *and* ***Simon Zwane*** *took on the statistics to bring you the story of one of the most comprehensive surveys done in this country. This is the first of their reports.*

Star 19/4/99 (304A)

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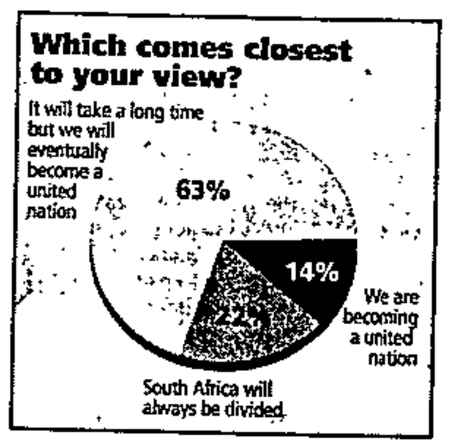

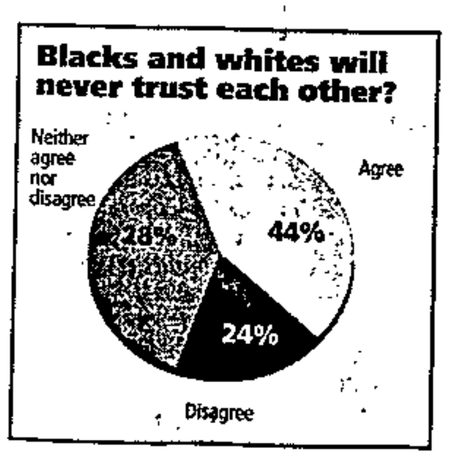

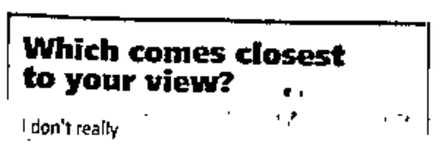

Money vs happiness

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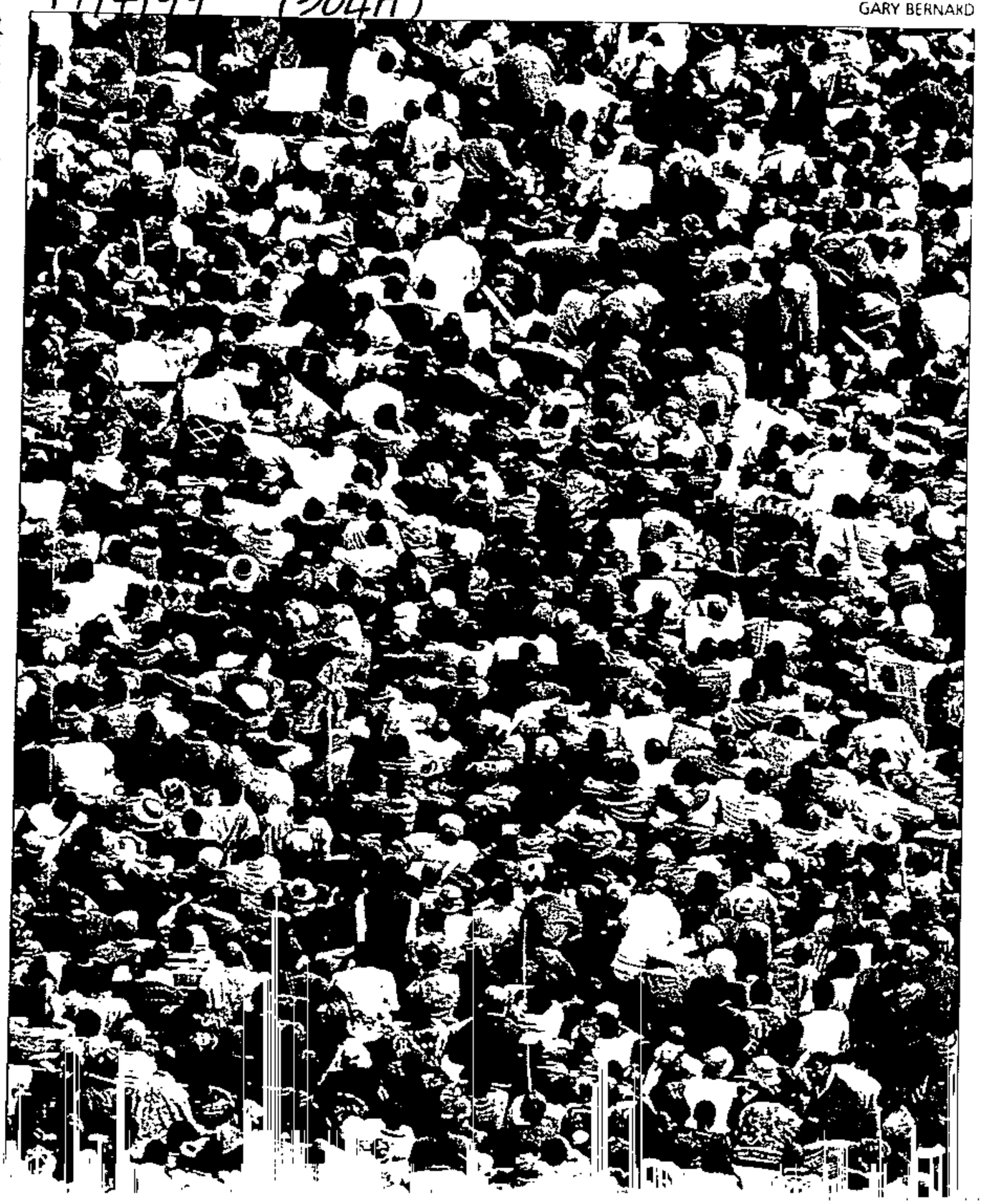
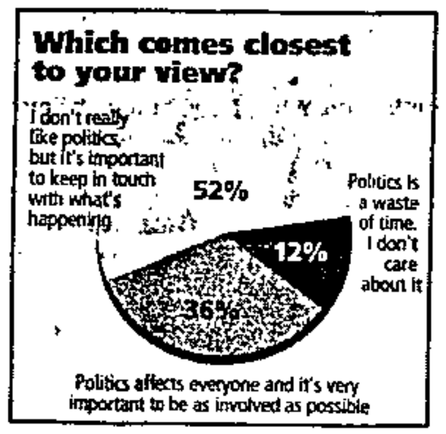
GARY BERNARD







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Optimistic population... most South Africans believe that when central government decides to solve a problem, the problem will be solved.

STUDY IN HOPE: Three years in the life of Anna Jaar ...

When we first met, she lamented that nothing had improved for poor people, that the rich had irrigated gardens while she lacked drinking water. Last year, she was elated to have a tap installed outside her shack. This year, she has a patch of green grass, but no money to pay the water bill. Roger Friedman reports

Anna Jaar's struggle for survival in a tiny Northern Cape town called Alheit typifies the marginal existence of many South Africans.

She lives with three grown-up daughters and two grandchildren in a bamboo house with an outside tap. They do not have electricity or a toilet, and they have no money because none of them have jobs.

A third grandchild is in prison for housebreaking; a fourth daughter was murdered last year.

She is deep in debt. The R1 000 she received from the Welfare Department after the death of her husband Frederick last July, was spent before she received it. When we visited her recently, there was not a morsel of food in the house.



1997 "Over there (gesturing to the 'white' side of town) it goes much better. They have gardens and swimming pools – we don't even have drinking water."



1998 "Things have improved. Most of my life I carried water on my head from far away."

BENNY GOOL



1999 "It's not easy now. They don't want to keep giving us credit at the shop, and I need to pay for the water for two months. That's another R40 I owe."

At 63-years-old, Auntie Popple, as she is known, is getting tired.

"I can't work any more," she says. "My arms are giving in, and my legs. I have grown too old to wash people's clothes. My children might get some work from June in the cotton fields and vineyards, but there is no work for them at the moment."

"It's not easy now. They don't want to keep giving us credit at the shop, and I need to pay for the water for two months. That's another R40 I owe. And then there is a woman I owe R100. I have told her to please wait until I come right."

Yet, she is hopeful: "I do feel that things will come right. We will just have to wait and see. I work together with the Lord for that. It's alright. Yesterday I went to church so that I could feel a little better."

And she is patient: "We still don't have toilets here, but they say they are going to build toilets for the old people first. I must just wait my turn. I am not in a hurry.

"We must still get electricity, too, the way they are talking. We have had many meetings about this. I don't know when it will arrive, I don't know how many meetings we must still attend.

"My children and I gather wood for cooking. We run the risk of our neighbouring farmer putting his dogs on us, but there is little else we can do. The people around here call him 'Halflyf', but I call him 'Baas' because he looks very fierce."

Anna Jaar plans to vote in the election, but she is not sure for whom. She does not read or write, relying for information on the word-of-mouth of her peers and the radio she inherited from her husband.

She does not know what Gear is, or the Bill of Rights, or the Human Rights Commission, or the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, or the Public Protector. Nor has she ever heard of Thabo Mbeki.

"I have heard that Mandela is retiring, but I haven't found out anything further," she says.

"I did register to vote, and I am sure they will send me a letter to explain. I have not heard of this person, Thabo Mbeki, but I'm sure I will hear about this in the letter."

Reality Check is a joint project of independent Newspapers and the Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation (USA). Its purpose is to take stock of South Africa's new democracy from the perspective of its people.

It explores their perceptions of democracy, the role of government, and issues of race, reconciliation, and national unity, as well as the people's priorities for the post-Mandela government.

The survey questionnaire was jointly developed by the Community Agency for Social Inquiry (CASE) and Strategy and Tactics (S&T).

A national household survey of 3 000 adults was conducted in November and December of 1998. This sample provides statistically valid findings for the South African population as a whole, as well as for South Africa's major racial groups and its provinces.

The margin of sampling error for this survey was plus or minus 2%. In addition, interviews were conducted with smaller samples of four groups – elected officials, business, trade unions, and members of the civil sector (mainly non-governmental organisations, churches and universities).

Data analysis was led by David Everatt and Ross Jennings of S&T, and by Mollyann Brodie, vice-president for Public Opinion Research at the Kaiser Family Foundation. Richard Morin, Director of Polling at the Washington Post, provided valuable assistance to the project.

Independent Newspapers retains sole editorial control over content of the stories published in the newspaper.

The Reality Check project was written and photographed by journalists from The Star, the Cape Times and The Mercury. Editorial co-ordination by Roger Friedman (Cape Times), photographic co-ordination by Benny Gool (Cape Times) and Robin Comley (The Star), graphics by Mugamad Jacobs and Nazleah Burch, design by Jen Crocker (Cape Times).

Empowering South Africans into the future.

Poor prisoner turn out for voter registration

Human rights group wants IEC to cover the costs of new identity documents, writes **Taryn Lamberti**

A HANDFUL of prisoners from the medium B section of the Johannesburg Prison in Diepkloof, Soweto, lined up in the quad on Friday morning to register on the voters roll, full of anticipation for June 2 when they will be allowed to cast their ballots.

Those who were interested in voting and had the required bar-coded identity books, or could afford the R25 needed to apply for a temporary registration certificate, were bubbly, constantly referring to the constitution which does not prevent them from voting in the election.

Although the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the correctional services department could not provide final figures on the number of prisoners who registered to vote, only 510 of the more than 10 000 prisoners held at Johannesburg Prison registered on Friday. Only 250 of the more than 4 000 prisoners at Modderbee Prison in Benoni registered.

Des, a convicted armed robber who received the death sentence in 1988 (which was later converted to 25 years in jail after the death penalty was abolished), was helping the other inmates to fill out their registration forms at Medium B on Friday. He sat importantly at a desk, wearing an IEC vest over his green overalls, a few thick gold bracelets around his wrist and a pair of Ray-Ban sunglasses on his head.

"I will probably be paroled next year and so it is right that I have a say in who the government should be," he said. He claimed that although he was convicted of three attempted murders and the illegal possession of a firearm, he did not pull the trigger during the robbery which took place in Rustenburg in 1986.

He says he was first held on Death Row in Pretoria before being moved to Leeukop maximum security prison in Kyalami and has been in Medium B for the past eight years.

The prisoners who lined up in front of Des's desk seemed amused by the media attention and were very willing to pose with their identity books for press photographers.

A bus load of journalists arrived at the prison often referred to as "Sun City" on Friday morning to witness the historical event of prisoners registering to vote.

Although one prisoner claimed their televisions were "taken away" last year, the prisoners were not unaware of the outrage with which members of the community on the "outside" had reacted to the news that prisoners be allowed to vote.

It did not dampen the prisoners' spirits. In terms of the constitution they are adult SA citizens with the same right to vote that everyone else enjoys, they said.

Des argued that the IEC was not fulfilling its role properly in providing "free and fair" elections, because the commission had refused to sponsor the costs of the prisoners' temporary registration certificates.

But there was little evidence of the "rolling mass action" that Golden Miles Bhudu, president of the SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights, had threatened prisoners would embark on if their costs were not funded by the IEC.

The organisation's deputy president Derek Mzuli said he was not at all surprised that "people had not responded positively" to voter registration for prisoners because the IEC had not paid the costs of identity documents.

He said prisoners would today demand that the IEC give them a second chance to register for the elections and that it should pay the home affairs department all the costs involved in their registration application — "or else steps will be taken including mass action in prisons".

Final figures on prisoner registration around the country would be released today, said IEC spokesman Victor Dlamini.



A prisoner helps a fellow inmate fill in his voter registration form in the Johannesburg Prison in Soweto on Friday.
Picture: ANDY KATZ

Grey area exists in regulations (304A)

Reneé Grawitzky DD 20/4/99

THERE are no clear government guidelines on whether politicians may use state personnel and equipment for party political purposes.

This emerged yesterday following reports that the Northern Province government would investigate whether premier Ngoako Ramatlhodi had contravened government regulations in this regard.

Ramatlhodi allegedly used his staff and government equipment to draft and send out a speech for the launch of the African National Congress election manifesto on April 10.

Various government officials said this was a grey area, the only guidelines for which could be found in the ministerial handbook issued by the office of the president.

The handbook says that ministers are entitled to use government stationery to communicate with the public at large, as well as their constituencies. Government will not, however, pay for the posting of party literature. No reference is made about the use of personnel for party political work.

Government sources said it was hard to expect ministers or premiers, who might spend long hours in their official offices, not to have their speeches typed by their staff.

Northern Province communications director Jack Mokobi acknowledged this and agreed that it became practically difficult when a premier spent most of his time in his government office, as opposed to that of his political party.

There was, however, concern that those in power abused the usé of government equipment and other resources.

Another source said a premier was in effect a political appointment. In a parliamentary system, there was a much thinner line between a person's appointment as a national leader and that of his position as a party leader, as compared with the congressional system where people were appointed as individuals.

Surprising facts about the winners and

CT 20/4/99

THE "winners" and "losers" in democratic South Africa are not who they think they are. There is a yawning gap between people's perceptions and the unacknowledged reality of their lives, writes **KAREN MAC GREGOR.**



HALF OF SOUTH AFRICAN dwellings do not have taps inside.

WHITE and Indian South Africans were extremely happy under apartheid. Not so anymore, even though little has actually changed for them. The opposite is true of African people, who used to be unhappy but are generally satisfied and optimistic these days, although many have scant reason to be so.

Since most people are African, most people are currently feeling quite chuffed about their lives, their prospects and South Africa. But this reversal of attitudes is extraordinary in a country with gaping, and growing, inequalities between rich and poor that are still largely racially defined.

The paradox of a populace that thinks differently from how it logically ought to is starkly revealed in our national survey of 3 000 households.

As so often in South Africa, the contradiction is partly explained by race. One of the few things all people share is depression about crime and the economy, especially jobs.

Predominantly whites and Indians constitute what we have termed the "whining well": The group of people in society who have the most and fear losing it, an international phenomenon. They are few in number but influential, vociferous, deeply gloomy and really quite unpleasant in their attitudes and opinions.

The reality, however, is that little has materially changed in the lives of apartheid's privileged. Joining them in the "whining well" are a small but growing number of well-off coloureds and Africans who share their disaffection.

Among the African majority, on the other hand, democracy and new-found freedoms post-apartheid are a powerful potion. Many Africans believe, with some justification thanks to improved basic needs delivery and a swelling African middle class, that they are "winners" these days. Only a tiny fraction are pessimistic.

Coloured people, though conservative in some of their attitudes, appear comparatively in tune with their circumstances: They are relatively well off and relatively up-beat about their lives and future.

But one of the most profound findings of Reality Check is the clear link it uncovers between poverty, optimism and a belief among many of South Africa's poorest that their lives are improving. People who have the least, for whom small gains make a very big difference, are the most satisfied and hopeful.

Amazingly, one in three people who classify themselves as "winners" in the new South Africa, and one in three optimists, are the country's worst off citizens. The common claim that "the peoples" expectations are not being met might not be true when "the people" are assumed to be poor Africans.

In stark contrast, South Africa's wealthiest people make up 82% of its pessimists and 67% of those who perceive themselves as losers.

Reality Check researchers investigated people's perceptions about whether they have "won" or "lost" in the new South Africa — and gaps between perceptions and reality — by dividing households into "haves" and "have nots", "winners" and "losers"; and "optimists" and "pessimists". (See box).

This enabled responses to 27 questions to be combined into the three categories and compared, providing a more insightful picture of group perceptions and realities than is sometimes the case for single questions.

Two in five households are "haves" and a quarter are "have nots". More than a third of people are optimists and only 15% are pessimists, while nearly half feel ambivalent about the future. Three in five people neither think they are winners nor losers, with one in five each seeing themselves as one or the other.

The picture gets more interesting when broken down racially.

Africans comprise three-quarters of South Africa's population but make up only 15% of our pessimists and more than nine in 10 optimists. Whites represent 11% of the population, but are more than two-thirds of our pessimists and only two percent of our optimists.

Such gloom among wealthy minorities, the "whining well", may not be unusual but is of grave concern in a developing country that needs their disproportionate skills and economic contribution.

Reality Check found agreement among whites and Indians that the quality of their lives has deteriorated since 1994. There can be many reasons for dissatisfaction, but materially — a major factor influencing levels of satisfaction — these groups have little reason to feel this way.

Whites and Indians still enjoy first world living standards and are overwhelmingly well educated, well fed, employed and well paid: 95% of whites and 89% of Indians are "haves", while virtually no whites and only one percent of Indians are "have nots". The same applies in a lesser degree to coloureds.

They also remain by far the best off ... Professor Roger Southall, in *Indicator SA*, ... out: "While racial income inequality may ... been declining since the 1970s, as recently ... 1993 the average per capita income of ... was almost 12 times that of Africans. ... almost certain this differential has ... since 1994, but the uncomfortable ... between skin colour and wealth remains."

Still, more than half of whites and ... two-thirds of Indians see themselves as los...

Reality Check researchers combined 27 survey questions into three categories relating to people's circumstances, their views on how their lives have changed since 1994, and their feelings about the future. By so doing they were able to classify people as "haves" or "have nots"; optimists or pessimists, and winners or losers, and to compare the attitudes of different groups of South Africans.

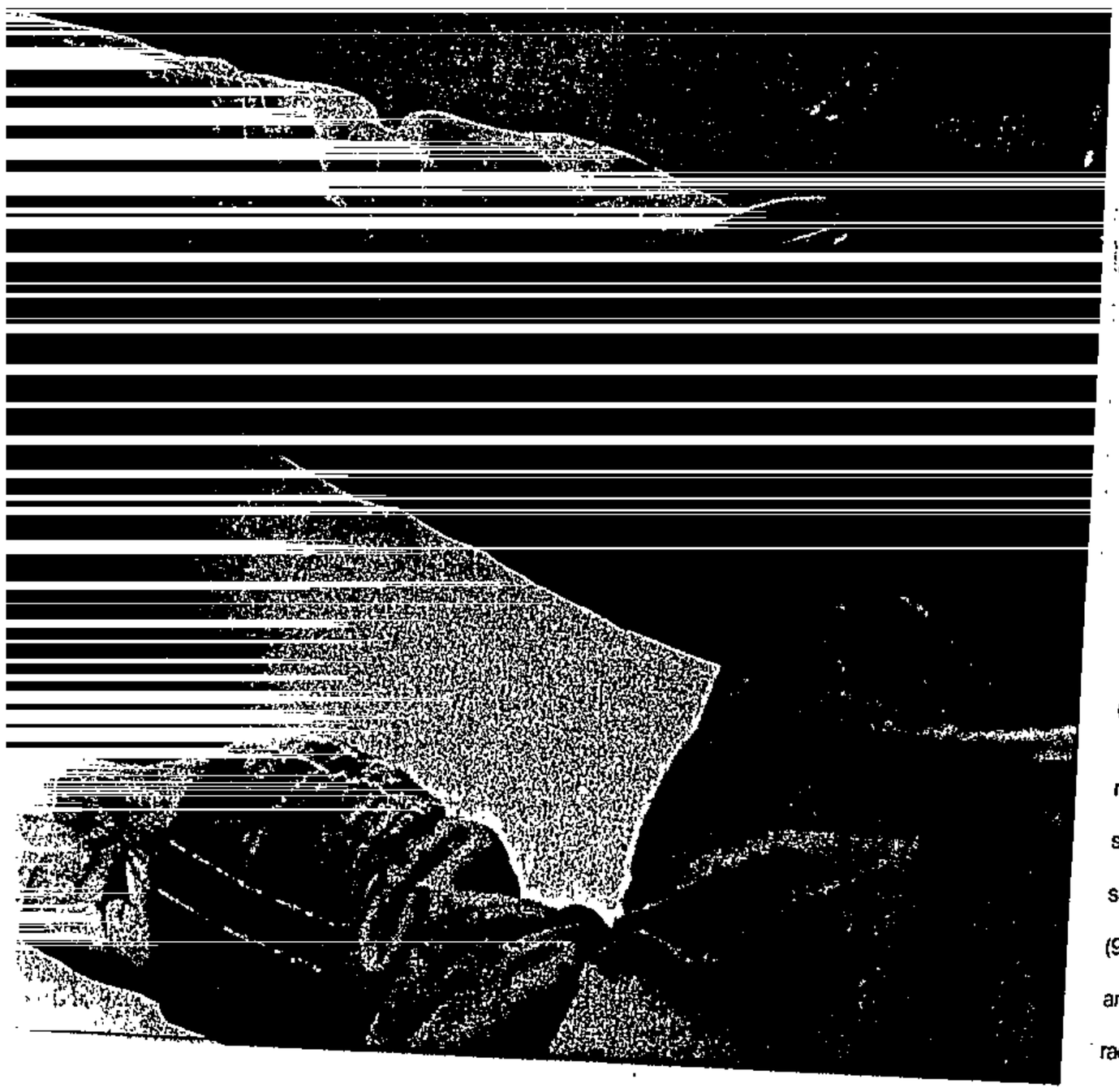
Haves and have nots: Eight standard criteria were used: Formal housing; an inside toilet; inside water; rubbish removal; more than basic education; enough food; above minimum income; and some type of employment. People were "haves" if they had seven or all of these things, in the middle with four to six, and as "have nots" if they had three or fewer of the criteria. **Have nots: 25%; Middle: 35%; Haves: 40%**

Optimists and pessimists: Answers to questions around how people think things will pan out in the next five years in a variety of ... were used, including whether the country will ... to its challenges. **Optimists: 37%; Middle: ... Pessimists: 15%**

Winners and losers: People were asked 10 questions about whether they felt things ... better or worse since 1994 for them in a ... of areas, including their financial situation, ... education and housing. **Winners: 20%; ... 59%; Losers: 21%**

Winners and losers in the new SA

CT 20/4/99 (304A)



PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Have nots: Respondents were asked whether they had a list of 10 items, including a car, a telephone, a fridge, a bank account, a TV, a video recorder, a washing machine, a microwave, a computer and a satellite dish. People were classified as "have nots" if they had three or fewer of the criteria. **Have nots: 25%; Middle: 35%; Haves: 40%**

Optimists and pessimists: Answers to nine questions around how people think things will pan out in the next five years in a variety of areas were used, including whether the country will rise to its challenges. **Optimists: 37%; Middle: 48%; Pessimists: 15%**

Winners and losers: People were asked 10 questions about whether they felt things had got better or worse since 1994 for them in a variety of areas, including their financial situation, jobs, education and housing. **Winners: 20%; Middle: 59%; Losers: 21%**

They also remain by far the best off groups. Professor Roger Southall, in *Indicator SA*, points out: "While racial income inequality may have been declining since the 1970s, as recently as 1993 the average per capita income of whites was almost 12 times that of Africans. It is almost certain this differential has reduced since 1994, but the uncomfortable connection between skin colour and wealth remains."

Still, more than half of whites and nearly two-thirds of Indians see themselves as losers in the new South Africa, hardly any believe they are winners and the rest are in the middle. Similarly, more than half of whites and nearly one in two Indians are pessimistic and only four percent and seven percent respectively are optimistic.

Such despair contrasts sharply with levels of satisfaction among these groups during the 1980s until 1994. Surveys by Rhodes University's Professor Valerie Möller found nearly nine in 10 whites and Indians to be satisfied or very satisfied with their lives in 1983, and eight in 10 to be satisfied in 1988 and 1994.

It comes as no surprise to discover that virtually all "have nots" are Africans living very difficult lives. Within the African population, only one in five people are "haves", more than a third are "have nots" and 44% are quite poor but have some material comforts.

Fewer than half of Africans were satisfied with their lives in 1983, dropping to a third in 1988. Just after 1994 elections, according to Möller — for the first time — black and white people "reported equal levels of life satisfaction and happiness".

The post-election euphoria bubble soon burst. But Reality Check found that only one in 10 Africans see themselves as losers today while more than a quarter believe they are winners. Significantly, nearly two-thirds of all Africans have mixed views on how their material circumstances have changed. While hopes appear to have been partly met among the worst off Africans, this may not be the case for all Africans.

Nearly half of Africans are optimistic about the future, nearly half are in the middle and, again amazingly, only three percent are pessimistic. They indicate considerable faith in the future, and in a government under Thabo Mbeki.

Among coloureds, three in five households are "haves", three percent are "have nots" and a third are in the middle. So while many coloureds are poor, most are living with at least some basic services. As with Africans, most coloureds neither rank themselves as winners nor losers. Nearly three in 10 feel they are losers against 11% who believe they are winners. Almost a quarter of coloureds are optimists and only 15% are pessimists.

Thus we find, on the eve of 1999 elections, a country divided in reality and in the minds of its people. There are big gaps between what people think and the material lives they lead.

Fear of losing what they have colours the vision of whites and Indians.

Things look better in the eyes of many Africans, though most still live very difficult lives. Only coloureds make what an uninterested observer might classify as a comparatively "realistic" assessment.

The 'whining well'

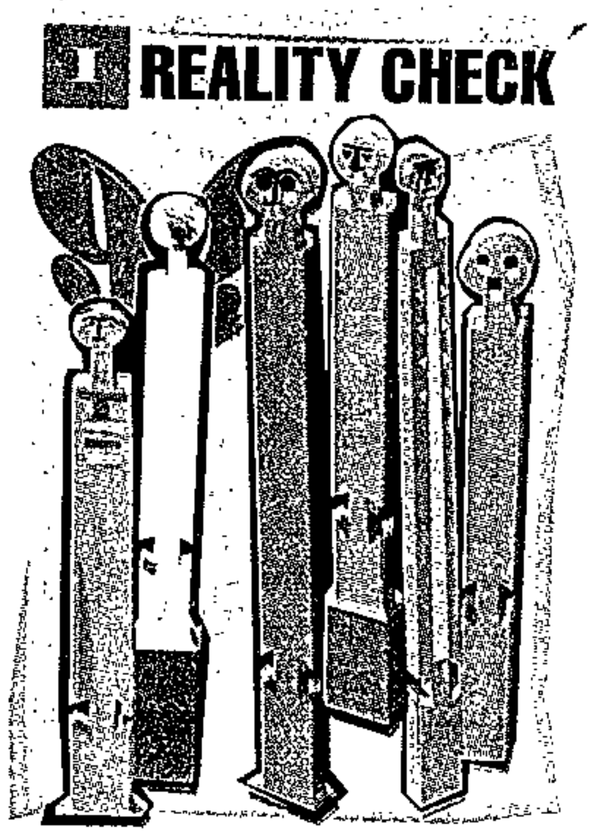
IN the United States, people who comprise the elite but commonly complain about their circumstances, prospects and the direction in which the country is heading are dubbed the "whining well".

Here, most whites and Indians, and some wealthy coloureds and Africans, fall into a similar category of whingers.

Defined as people who have a lot but are deeply pessimistic about the future, 12% of South Africans form our "whining well": 79% of them white, 9% Indian, 6% coloured and 5% African. "Haves", who feel they are losers in the new South Africa form a very similar group.

Your average local member of the "whining well":

- Has a grade nine (standard seven) education or more (89%)
- Says education is worse than it has ever been (84%)
- Works full-time, part-time, is a student or housewife (99%)
- Says it is harder to find a job these days (94%)
- Has always been able to get medical care (77%)
- Has been a victim of crime in the past five years (49%)
- Wants the death penalty reinstated (91%)
- Believes crime will get worse (99%)
- Would be bothered if his/her child married somebody of another race (71%)
- Thinks quality of life has deteriorated since 1994 (79%)
- Does not think wealthy suburbs should subsidise poorer areas (71%)
- Believes the economy has got worse (97%)
- Would opt for greater financial security and fewer political rights (74%)
- Thinks South Africa will remain a democracy (30%)
- Believes South Africa can meet its main challenges (12%).



Race still strongest clue to people's material destiny

KAREN MAC GREGOR

FIVE years into democracy, race remains the most powerful determinant of the lives of South Africans, *Reality Check* has found. Skin colour largely decides where we live, if we are rich or poor, well or poorly educated and comfortable or struggling.

Which is not to deny that racial divides are slowly blurring or that much has been achieved in the past five years.

Two million more households now have electricity, three million more people are enjoying clean water for the first time, about 1,5 million more have telephones and by mid-year, the number of houses built could reach 700 000.

The findings of the Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation national survey of 3 000 households show starkly that there are wide inequalities between rich and poor and race remains the major indicator of the quality of people's material lives.

Reality Check looked at eight criteria: Formal housing; an inside toilet; inside water; refuse removal; more than basic education; enough food; employment, and above-minimum income.

Of the people surveyed, most live in formal brick homes, 9% in shacks, and around three in 10 in rural farm homes or huts. More than nine in 10 whites and Indians live in formal areas, whereas 84% of coloureds and 49% of Africans do.

Nearly half the homes had an indoor flush toilet: Almost all whites and 93% of Indians had this, against 75% of coloureds and three in 10 Africans.

Almost all whites and Indians have indoor tap water, while four in five coloureds and a third of Africans do. Seven in 10 African households use electricity for lighting, while 56% use it for cooking, but the vast majority among other races use it for both. More than nine in 10 whites, Indians and coloureds have their refuse removed at least weekly, whereas only 55% of Africans do.

A third of Africans go hungry several or many times a month. Only 2% of whites, 3% of Indians and 11% of coloureds do.

Education has steadily improved. Statistics SA's 1995 October Household Survey found that almost all African children were now receiving some education and that Africans were achieving ever-higher levels of schooling: A third of those aged 25 to 29 have matric at least, compared with 2% of Africans aged 65 or more.

More than a quarter of the people surveyed by *Reality Check* had primary schooling or less, two-thirds had some senior schooling, including 22% with a matric or equivalent, while one in 10 had a diploma or a degree. Almost all whites have at least Grade 8, against 89% of Indians, 72% of Africans and 67% of coloureds.

Many respondents refused to disclose their monthly income. Among those prepared to do so, 99% of whites earn R600 or more, as do 97% of Indians, 89% of coloureds and 77% of Africans.

The survey found that nearly two-thirds of white households earned R4 424 or more a month, compared with 45% of Indian, 16% of coloured and 9% of African households.

One in three people surveyed have a full-time job, a quarter are unemployed, 12% have part-time or casual work and 1% are self-employed. The rest are housewives, students or pensioners. Again a racial schism appears: 96% of whites, 79% of Indians, 81% of coloureds and 67% of Africans have a job.

(304A) CT 20/4/99

It costs SA R300m a year to belong to 'clubs'

CT(BR)20/4/99 (304A)

LYNDA LOXTON
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – South Africa spends nearly R300 million a year to belong to a wide range of multilateral organisations, Alfred Nzo, the foreign minister, said yesterday. He was giving a written reply to a question from the national council of provinces.

Top of the list was contributions to the Commonwealth at R52,3 million, with R39,2 million being earmarked to host the meeting of the Commonwealth heads of government meeting in November this year.

Next on the list was the United Nations at about R31 million a year, followed by the World Health Organisation at R15,7 million. South Africa would pay more than R15 million this year to the Organisation of African Unity, R5,1 million to the International Labour Organisation, R5,1 million to the Food and Agriculture Organisation and R4,7 million to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Other bills included R7,9 million to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, R4,5 million to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, R4,2 million to the International Telecommunications Union, R3,5 million to the Southern African Development Community and R2,7 million to the World Trade Organisation.

Contributions to the International Monetary Fund, African Development Fund, World Bank, International Development Association, International Finance Corporation and Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency were not reflected in the figures because they were not regular annual payments.

Nzo said that in addition South Africa had to pay for its missions in New York and Geneva, which dealt with multilateral organisations. Their budgets for 1999-2000 totalled R46,3 million.

Race gap is slowly narrowing, survey shows

Star 20/4/99 (304A)

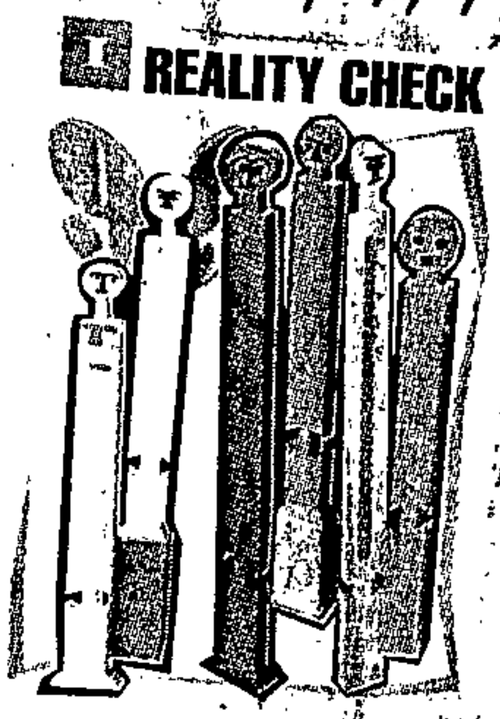
BY KAREN MAC GREGOR

Durban – Five years into democracy, race remains the most powerful determinant of the lives of South Africans, our major "Reality Check" survey reveals. Skin colour largely decides where we live, if we are rich or poor, well or ill educated, comfortable or struggling day-by-day to survive.

Race divides are slowly blurring and much has been achieved in the past five years.

Two million more households now have electricity, 3 million more people are enjoying clean water for the first time, around 1,5 million extra people have telephones, and delivery of housing could reach 700 000 units by mid-year.

But the Independent Newspapers and Kaiser Family Foundation survey of 3 000 households countrywide starkly shows that, on the eve of the 1999 election, there are gaping inequalities between rich and



poor, and race remains the major indicator of people's material lives.

Reality Check researchers looked at eight criteria: formal housing; an inside toilet; inside water; rubbish removal; more than basic education; enough food; above minimum income; and employment.

Most people surveyed live in formal brick homes, 9% in shacks, and around three in 10 in rural farm homes or huts.

Nearly half of homes had an inside flush toilet. Inside tap water is enjoyed by almost all whites and Indians and a third of Africans. Seven in 10 African households use electricity. More than nine in 10 whites, Indians and coloureds have their rubbish removed at least weekly, against 55% of Africans.

Only 2% of whites, 3% of Indians and 11% of coloureds, against a third of Africans, go hungry a few times a month.

Education has steadily improved. Almost all African children are now receiving some education.

Income levels were difficult to pinpoint, since many people refused to reveal this information.

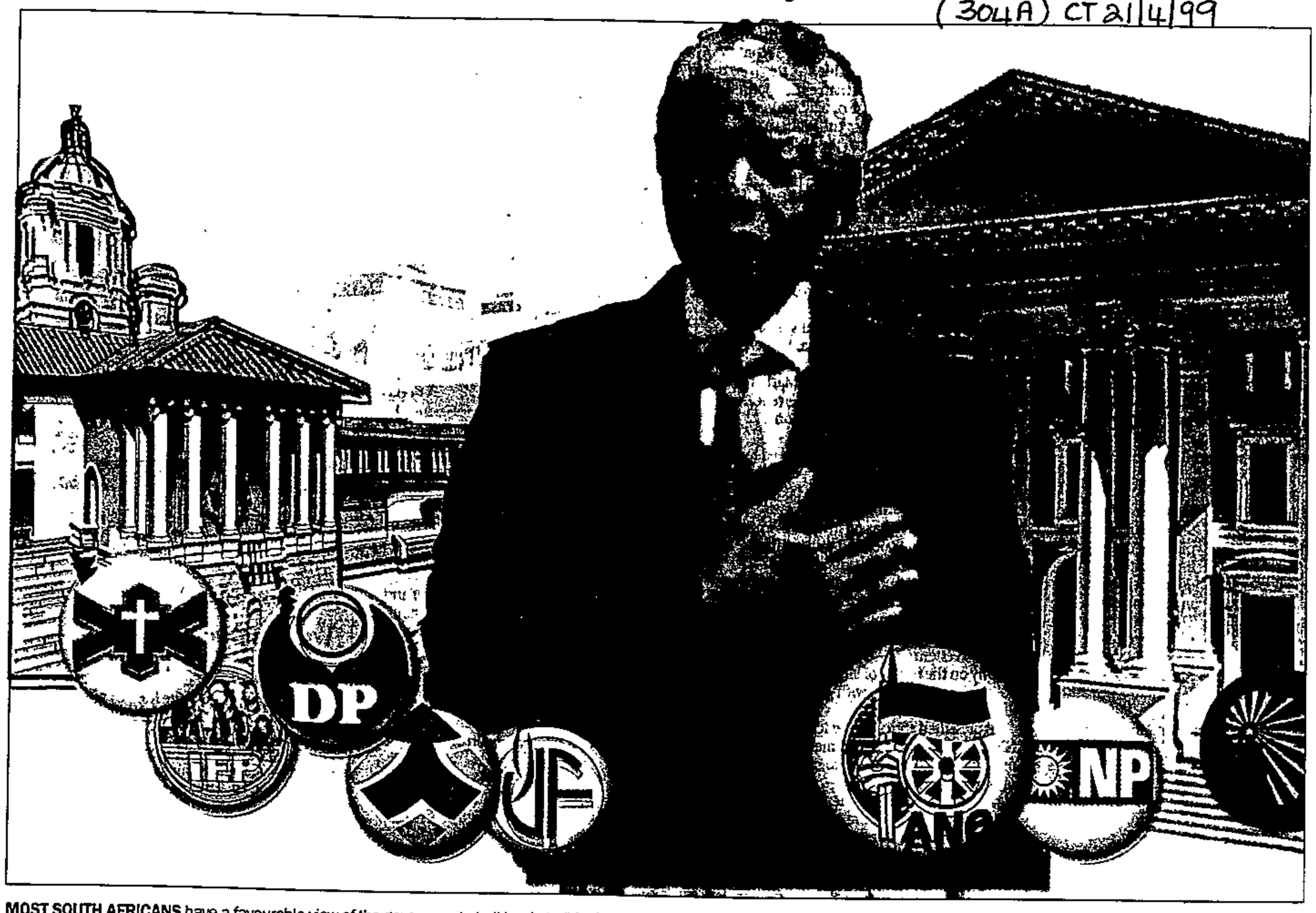
One in three people surveyed have a full-time job, while a quarter are jobless.

▶ Reversal of attitudes
Page 13

South Africans tell the politicians what they think of them

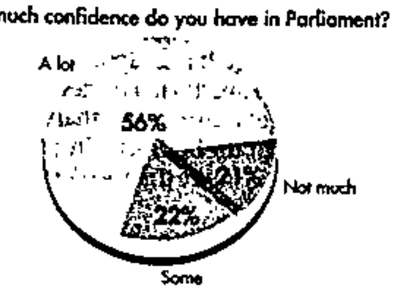
YANI MALEVU is not afraid of war. In his life, this father of eight has fought many battles. **SIMON ZWANE** spoke to him about politics, democracy, crime and the economy.

(304A) CT 21/4/99

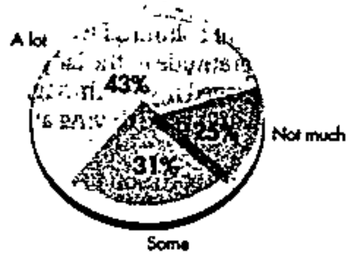


MOST SOUTH AFRICANS have a favourable view of the government at all levels to "do the right thing" almost always or much of the time. *GRAPHIC: GAIL IRWIN*

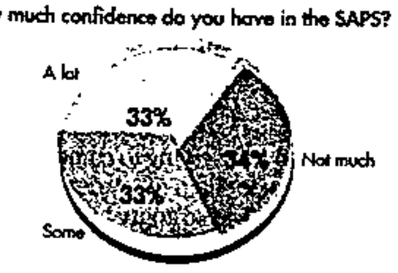
How much confidence do you have in Parliament?



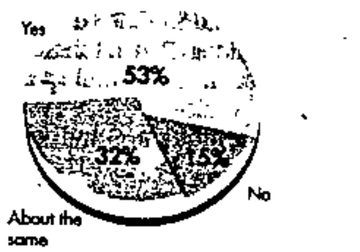
How much confidence do you have in the courts?



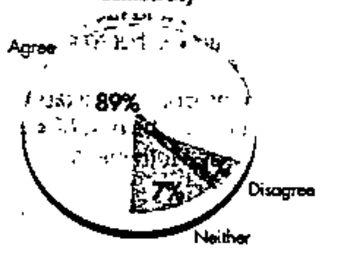
How much confidence do you have in the SAPS?



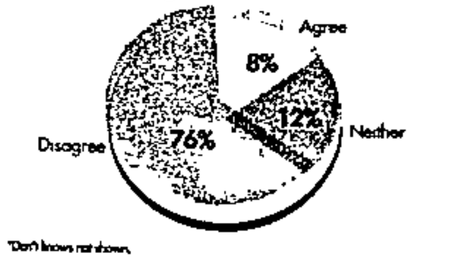
Is the gap between rich and poor increasing?



The right to vote for the party of my choices defines democracy



Voting is a waste of time



*Don't knows not shown.
Source: Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation, 99*

HE has been involved in faction fights in his Inkandla hometown in KwaZulu Natal and the pre-1994 political wars between hostel dwellers and township residents in Gauteng.

Malevu's exploits in these acrimonious battles have earned him the name Nongalaza (a Zulu metaphor for a warrior) from his peers. This 44-year-old Nancefield, Soweto, hostel resident is now itching to go out on yet another battle.

This time he wants to redirect his warrior energy to the war against crime.

"Bank robberies have become commonplace, the incidence of rape is reaching shocking levels. These things never happened before and if authorities need people to curb this, I am prepared to volunteer," says this induna, who believes that poverty and laziness are to blame for the scourge.

Although Malevu, a committed Inkatha Freedom Party member, lives on the fringes of society and is illiterate, his views are not peripheral. Our national survey found that the vast majority of South Africans (85%) share Malevu's sentiment that crime has worsened under Nelson Mandela's government.

Fewer people are inclined to blame this on corrupt government (8%) or police officials (4%). They point to poverty (33%), unemployment (11%) and disregard for the law (10%) as the major factors contributing to this scourge.

Less than one in ten blame crime on the foreigners, an indication that xenophobia is not as endemic as it has been made out to be. Possibly as a result of the current high crime rate, 74% of the people favour the return of the death penalty. This feeling is stronger among the white, Indian and Coloured communities. A smaller but nonetheless significant 68% of Africans also support the return of capital punishment.

"Laws must be strengthened," says Malevu "and those who killed must be killed."

Another sore point for him about the new South Africa is the widening gap between the rich and the poor, a view also held by 53% of the population.

More than half believe that their personal financial situation is worse off now than five years ago and are afraid that they will not have enough money in the future. Four in five think it is harder for people like them to find work.

Given different economic choices, South Africans are less likely to advocate a redistributive approach based on the Marxist dictum of "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" to address the poverty gap and the economic situation.

Less than one in 10 agrees with Malevu that the government should take from the rich and give to the poor.

Almost two-thirds endorse a capitalist approach arguing that "government can only do a little: businesses must grow faster and create more jobs".

To the majority, it is more important to have greater financial security and fewer political rights.

Society is however divided on its assessment of whether their original expectations of the "new South Africa" were met. Overall society expected more jobs, housing, electricity, water and better education.

Half of society believes that their expectations did not come true and another half say at least some of what they expected came true. More Africans (53%) feel that their expectations were met or partly met.

"Under the previous government we had jobs although they enforced pass laws, which we did not like," says Malevu. "But now..." he throws his hands up in despair.

About half of whites (most whites expected chaos, nothing, more jobs and less crime) also feel that their expectations either came true or partially true. Indians are the most despondent with 88% saying none of their expectations came true.

In assessing whether the Mandela government kept the promise it made before coming into power to provide houses for the poor, South Africans are again divided with 50% agreeing that the government kept the promise to provide houses. About a third believe the promise was not kept, and the rest expressed uncertainty.

A similar divide also appears in their assessment of education where 43% say things improved while 51% argue that things are the same or worse.

Broken promises are Malevu's major gripe about the new political order.

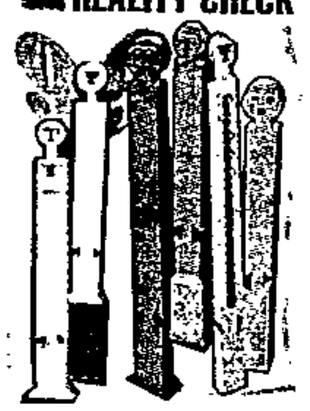
When the government came to power it made undertakings to improve hostels from dormitories to residential apartments. Changes were effected to some of the hostel blocks, including the one Malevu lives in, but most of the blocks were left untouched. Three years later preparations are underway to renovate all other blocks, but Malevu is sceptical.

"I don't know whether to trust them or not because these people don't keep their promises," he says.

He is however not despondent about the future. He was among the first people to register for the forthcoming elections and, like 78% of other South Africans, he intends to cast his vote on June 2.

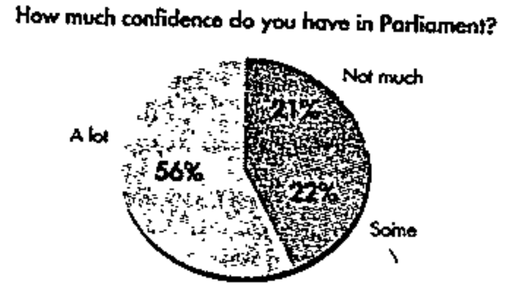
REALITY CHECK

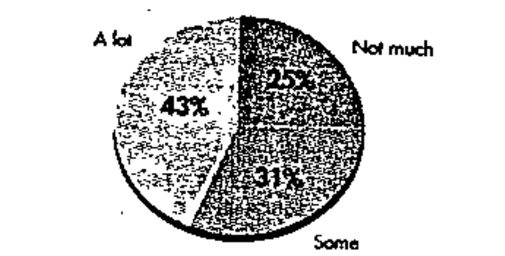
Has the government kept its promises?

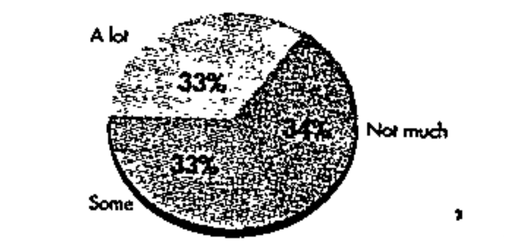


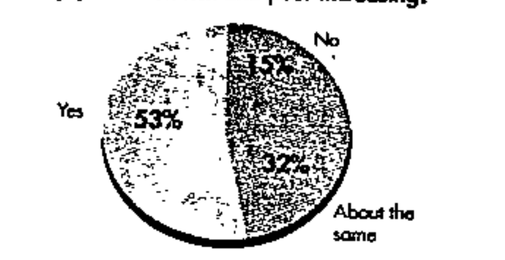
Our society is divided on whether their expectations of the "new South Africa" have been met. One person who gives the government a favourable assessment is father-of-eight, Yani Malevu. ***Simon Zwane*** *spoke to him.*

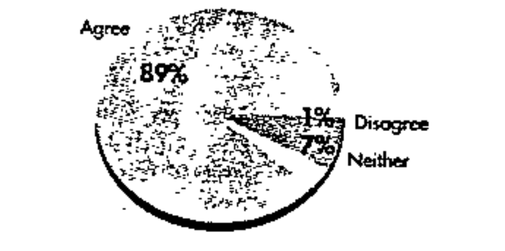
(304A) Star 21/4/99

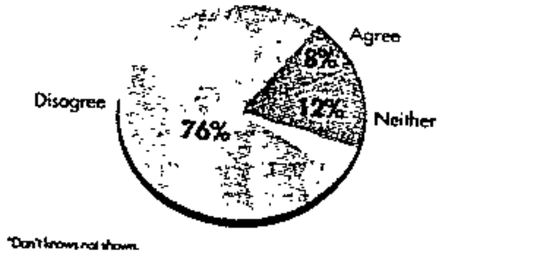












*Don't knows not shown.

Source: Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation '99

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Although Malevu, a committed Inkatha Freedom Party member, lives on the fringes of society and is illiterate, his views are not peripheral. Our national survey found that the vast majority of South Africans (85%) share Malevu's sentiment that crime has worsened under Nelson Mandela's government.

Fewer people are inclined to blame this on corrupt government (8%) or police officials (4%). They point to poverty (33%), unemployment (11%) and disregard for the law (10%) as the major factors contributing to this scourge.

Less than one in 10 blame crime on the foreigners, an indication that zenophobia is not as endemic as it has been made out to be. Possibly as a result of the current high crime rate, 74% of the people favour the return of the death penalty.

This feeling is stronger among the white, Indian and coloured communities. A smaller but nonetheless significant 68% of Africans also support the return of capital punishment.



ANDREAS VLACHAKIS

Talking it out ... Yani Malevu lives in a hostel and has fought many battles. He now wants to enlist in the war against crime.

"Laws must be strengthened," says Malevu "and those who kill must be killed."

Another sore point for him about the new South Africa is the widening gap between the rich and the poor, a view also held by 53% of the population.

More than half believe that their personal financial situation is worse off now than five years ago and are afraid that they will not have enough money in the future. Four in five think it is harder for people like them to find work.

Given different economic choices, South Africans are less likely to advocate a redistributive approach based on the Marxist dictum of "from each according to his ability to each according to his needs" to address the poverty gap and the economic situation.

Less than one in 10 agrees with Malevu that the Government should take from the rich and give to the poor.

Almost two-thirds endorse a capitalist approach arguing that "government can only do a little: businesses must grow faster and create more jobs".

To the majority, it is more important to have greater financial security and fewer political rights.

Society is however divided on its assessment of whether their original expectations of the "new South Africa" were met. Overall society expected more jobs, housing, electricity, water and better education.

Half of society believes that their expectations did not come true and another half say at least some of what they expected came true. More Africans (53%) feel that their expectations were met or partly met.

"Under the previous government we had jobs although they enforced pass laws, which we did not like," says Malevu. "But now ..." he throws his hands up in despair.

About half of whites (most whites expected chaos, nothing, more jobs and less crime) also feel that their expectations either came true or partially true. Indians are the most despondent with 88% saying none of their expectations came true.

In assessing whether the Mandela government kept the promise it made before coming into power to provide houses for the poor, South Africans are again divided with 50% agreeing that the Government kept the promise to provide houses. About a third believe the promise was not kept, and the rest expressed uncertainty.

A similar divide also appears in their assessment of education where 43% say things improved while 51% argue that things are the same or worse.

Broken promises are Malevu's major gripe about the new political order.

When the Government came to power it made undertakings to improve hostels from dormitories to residential apartments. Changes were effected to some of the hostel blocks, including the one Malevu lives in, but most of the blocks were left untouched. Three years later preparations are underway to renovate all other blocks, but Malevu is sceptical.

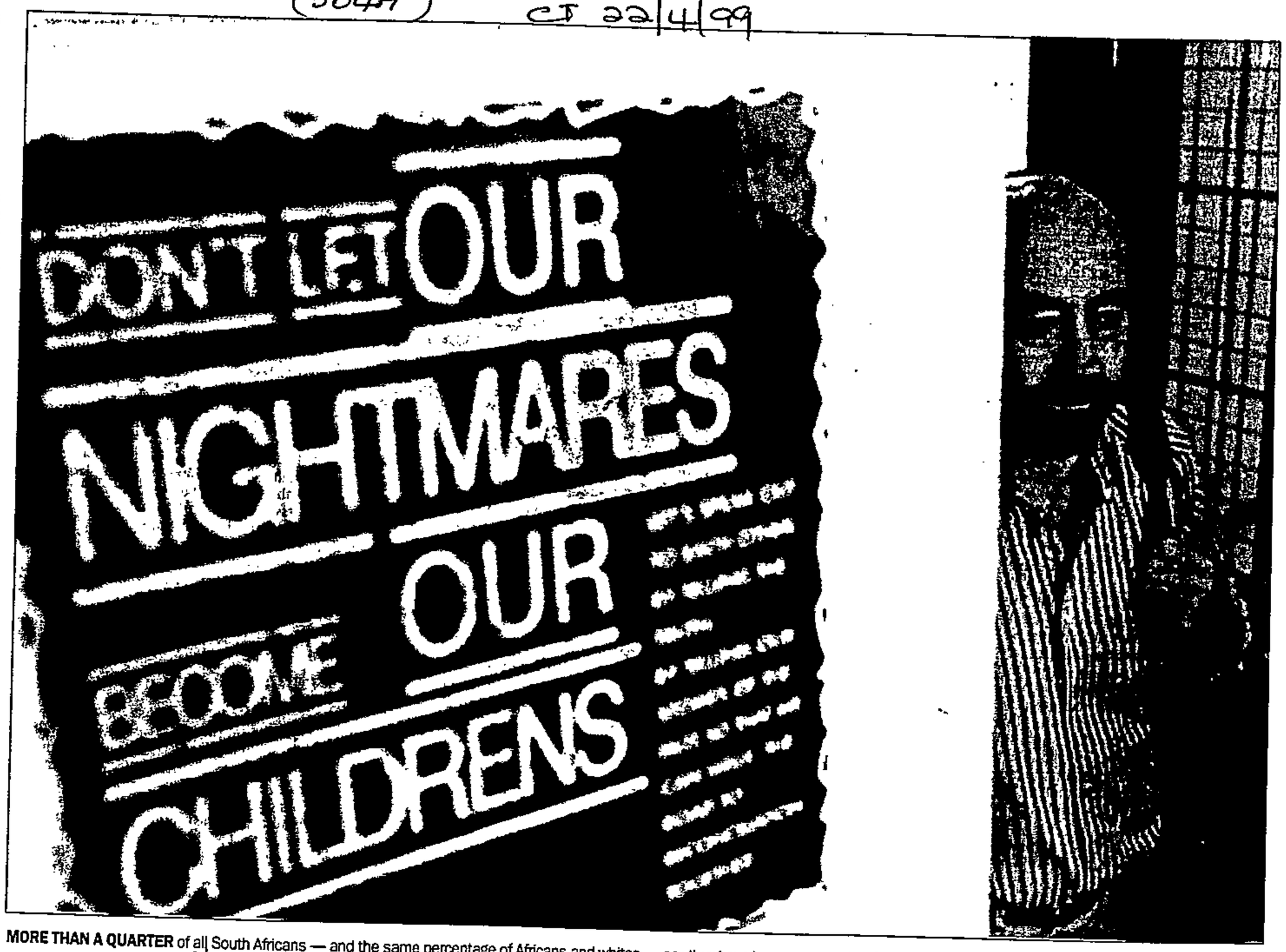
"I don't know whether to trust them or not because these people don't keep their promises," he says.

He is, however, not despondent about the future. He was among the first people to register for the forthcoming elections and, like 78% of other South Africans, he intends to cast his vote on June 2.

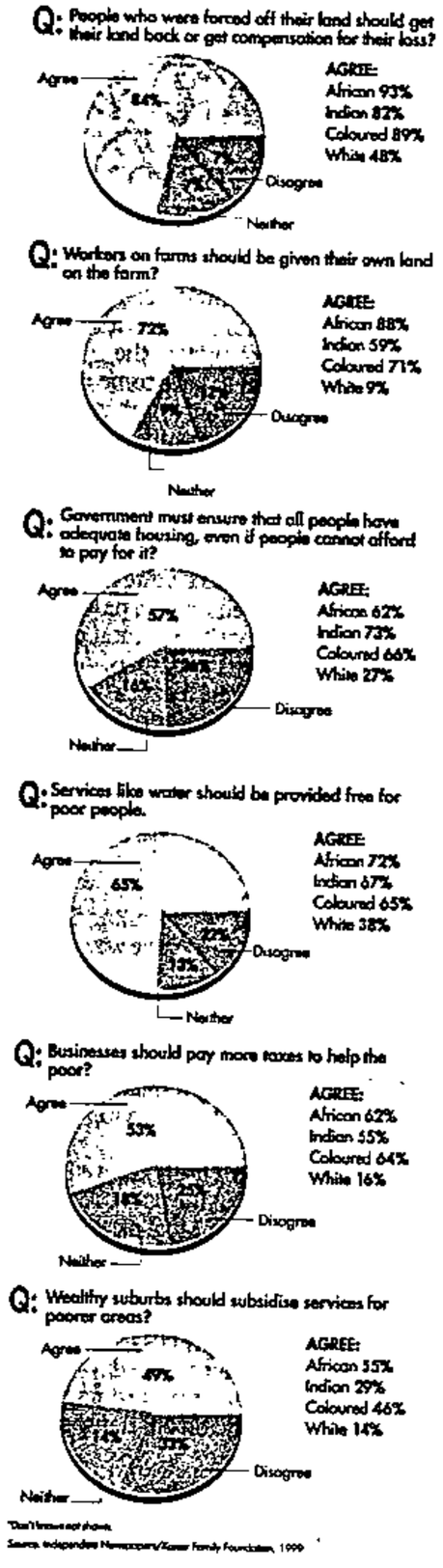
Reconciliation, race relations and redistribution ...

RECONCILIATION: To whites it means apartheid with international rugby matches. To blacks it means having what whites have. No wonder its such a popular concept. **JUDITH SOAL** visited the Free State for a sharp Reality Check on our progress towards unity.

(3049) CT 22/4/99



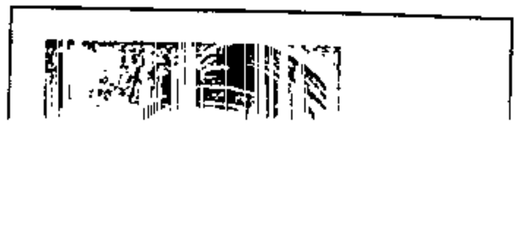
MORE THAN A QUARTER of all South Africans — and the same percentage of Africans and whites — say they have been a victim of racism in the last five years. *PICTURE: AP*



"The survey found that 66% of whites say whites want reconciliation but only 21% of Africans believe them — perhaps because they are talking about different things.

"Reconciliation can only happen when black people stop blaming whites for everything and leave us in peace," says Venter.

"We will only have reconciliation when black people have the same as whites ..."



Until 1994 there were only white pupils at Hertzogville High School in the Free State. Then black children were admitted after the election and all the whites fled. Now Hertzogville has two primary schools — one in the town for whites, one in the township for blacks — and one all-black high school in the all-white town.

"The whites didn't even want to sit in the same class as us," says John Khambule, who has lived in Hertzogville all of his 25 years. "They may say they want reconciliation, but they don't really want to be with us."

Khambule is unemployed and shares a three-roomed shack with his mother, his sister, her two children and his grandfather. The family make do with the old man's state pension and the money his sister earns doing occasional jobs for the town "madams".

"We don't see why the people should be divided," he says, "we would like to live like, them."

A few kilometres away, across the dusty road separating Hertzogville's people, nursing sister Tria Venter lives in a comfortable suburban home with her second husband and two teenage children.

"Whites do want reconciliation, but we can't give up any more than we have already," she says. "We try to help them (black people) but it all comes from the whites, they don't want to do anything from their side. They lean on us; that is their way."

She explains why she took her children out of Hertzogville High and sent them to a hostel in Bloemfontein.

"When the black pupils came to the school they threatened the white children. My kids were too scared to even go to the toilet in case they were raped."

The Free State may well be recognised as one of the least "reconciled" areas of South Africa, but our national survey shows that it doesn't end there. Throughout the country, experiences of, and attitudes towards, reconciliation vary markedly according to that great South African divider: Race.

The survey found that 66% of whites say whites want reconciliation but only 21% of Africans believe them — perhaps because they are talking about different things.

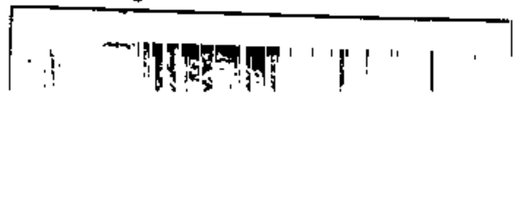
test their feelings about economic redistribution — from the relatively benign "people who were forced off their land should be compensated" to the more extreme "government should take money from the rich and give it to the poor". Here's what we found:

Less than one in 10 South Africans expect the government to redistribute wealth in its most literal sense by taking money away from the rich and giving to the poor.

South Africans are giving non-racialism the nod: 81% (and by far the majority of all race groups) say "people should stop talking about race, we are all just people".

But the cracks start showing when more than four in ten South Africans say that blacks and whites will never trust each other.

"There is too much under the bridge," says Khambule. "I would take a long time to believe that they mean well."



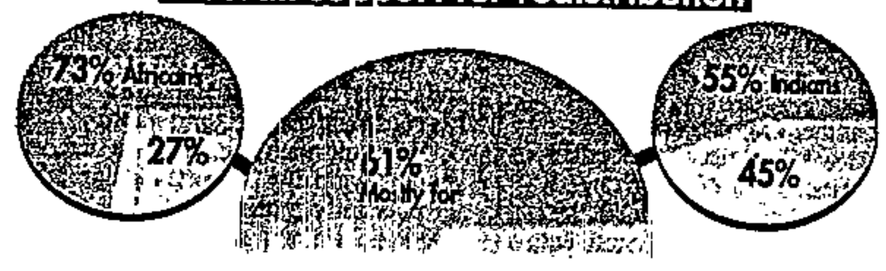
on the street "in case anyone sees".

Elisa Lebakeng shares a campus with Jacobs. She is 17 and she knows his kind of racism well.

"They were looking for waitresses at the (Bloemfontein) Waterfront, but when I went there they just said no immediately. I know it was because I'm black that they didn't want me here."

Our survey found that 26% of South Africans, like Lebak-

Overall support for redistribution



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The survey found that 66% of whites say whites want reconciliation but only 21% of Africans believe them — perhaps because they are talking about different things.

"Reconciliation can only happen when black people stop blaming whites for everything and leave us in peace," says Venter.

"We will only have reconciliation when black people have the same as whites," says Khambule.

And this is the crucial part.

It is impossible to talk about a reconciled nation when 66% of Africans live in poverty compared to 38% of coloureds, five percent of Indians and just one percent of whites.

President-in-waiting Thabo Mbeki said in Parliament recently that there could be no reconciliation as long as these economic differences remained.

"The question is, are the relatively rich, who as a result of an apartheid definition are white, prepared to help underwrite the upliftment of the poor, who as a result of an apartheid definition are black?" Mbeki asked.

Reality Check suggests they are not.

We asked our random sample of 3 000 respondents a range of questions designed to test their feelings about economic redistribution — from the relatively benign "people who were forced off their land should be compensated" to the more extreme "government should take money from the rich and give it to the poor". Here's what we found:

Less than one in 10 South Africans expect the government to redistribute wealth in its most literal sense by taking money away from the rich and giving to the poor.



JOHN KHAMBULE: 25, unemployed, Hertzogville, Free State: "The white people must give people the jobs, it is only them that can do this. Some of them treat black people very badly. The other day they beat up the black traffic cop because he punished them, but he was only doing his job. They want to be on top, they don't like a black person telling them what to do."

The demands of the majority of the population are far more modest — compensation for land taken under apartheid; subsidised services for poor suburbs; free water for the very poor; a stretch of land for people who have worked on farms all their lives.

Yet for white South Africans — and to a lesser extent other minority groups — even this is too much to ask. To answer Mbeki's question, we found that just eight percent of whites are willing to help underwrite the upliftment of the poor.

"We are at different levels," explains Technikon Free State student Kosie Jacobs. "For them to come up we must go down. Why should we want to do that?"

But if white South Africans find the hard part of reconciliation is letting go of material wealth, the easy part should surely be letting go of racial prejudice? Maybe not.

Reality Check showed that — in theory — South Africans are giving non-racialism the nod: 81% (and by far the majority of all race groups) say "people should stop talking about race, we are all just people".

But the cracks start showing when more than four in ten South Africans say that blacks and whites will never trust each other.

"There is too much under the bridge," says Khambule. "I would take a long time to believe that they mean well."

On this Venter agrees.

"We are different cultures and different religions. We believe in God and they have their tokoloshes. I don't know that I could trust that."

The closer to home you probe the more glaring becomes the prejudice.

Only eight percent of white respondents (compared to almost half of all respondents) said "it would not bother me" if their child married someone of a different race.

"It would be immoral," says eighteen-year-old Jacobs. "We are brought up separately so we must stick to that."

Jacobs says he wouldn't consider dating a black woman. He would even turn down the attentions of black supermodel Naomi Campbell. "I just couldn't."

This youngster plays rugby with black players, but wouldn't talk to them if he saw them on the street "in case anyone sees".

Elisa Lebakeng shares a campus with Jacobs. She is 17 and she knows his kind of racism well.

"They were looking for waitresses at the (Bloemfontein) Waterfront, but when I went there they just said no immediately. I know it was because I'm black that they didn't want me here."



TRIA VENTER: nursing sister, Hertzogville, Free State: "It all comes from the whites. They (black people) don't want to do anything from their side. I gave my sandwiches to a patient today, but you will never see a black do that. It is not in their culture. I work for my salary and my house, but blacks don't care about jobs or houses."

Our survey found that 26% of South Africans, like Lebakeng, say they have been a victim of racism in the last five years. It's interesting that the same percent of whites report racist experiences as Africans.

Lebakeng says that racist attitudes don't only go one way. "Black people also judge whites and laugh at them because of their clothes or the way they behave, but they shouldn't. We should try not to."

And not all whites are old-style apartheid racists. Not even in the Free State.

"I wish we could get to know each other better," says medical student Yolandie Goodyear, 20. "I wish we could see a person first, rather than a 'black' or a 'white'. I think we are getting closer to that."

She echoes the sentiments of the majority of South Africans (63%) who say: "It will take a long time but we will eventually become a united nation."

This kind of new patriotism is also evident in the survey by the way more people chose to call themselves "South Africans" than any of racially-defined labels.

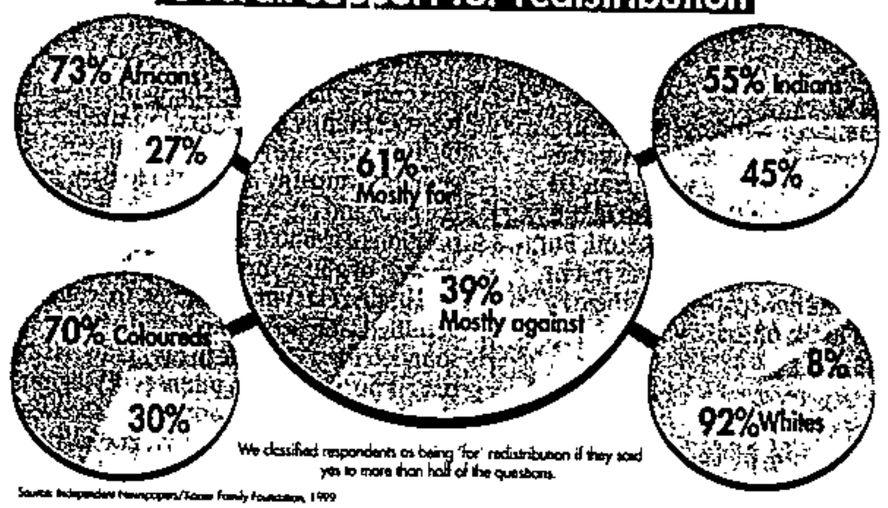
It seems that President Nelson Mandela's government of reconciliation has succeeded in an important, if limited, way.

Through his rugby jerseys, his tea parties and his conciliatory talk he has sold the concept of reconciliation to most South Africans, both black and white.

But scratch below the surface and the old fears, divisions and distrust remain. Mandela's successor Mbeki has vowed to pick up the baton with a focus on the upliftment of the poor: For most South Africans, only then will real reconciliation begin.

"How can we even talk of a rainbow nation when there are still such huge differences?" asks Cape Town resident and student John Mdingi.

"Whites think reconciliation just means they can play rugby overseas again while everything else stays the same. But black people expect more than that, of course."



REALITY CHECK is a joint project of Independent Newspapers and the Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation (USA). Its purpose is to take stock of South Africa's new democracy from the perspective of its people.

It explores perceptions of democracy, the role of government, and issues of race, reconciliation, and national unity, as well as people's priorities for the post-Mandela government.

The survey questionnaire was jointly developed by the partners and the Community Agency for Social Inquiry (CASE) and Strategy and Tactics (S&T).

A national household survey of 3 000 adults was conducted in November and December of 1998. This sample provides statistically valid findings for the South African population as a whole, as well as for South Africa's major racial groups and its provinces.

The margin of sampling error for this survey was plus or minus 2%. In addition, interviews were conducted with smaller samples of four groups — elected officials, business, trade unions, and members of the civil sector (mainly non-governmental organisations, churches and universities).

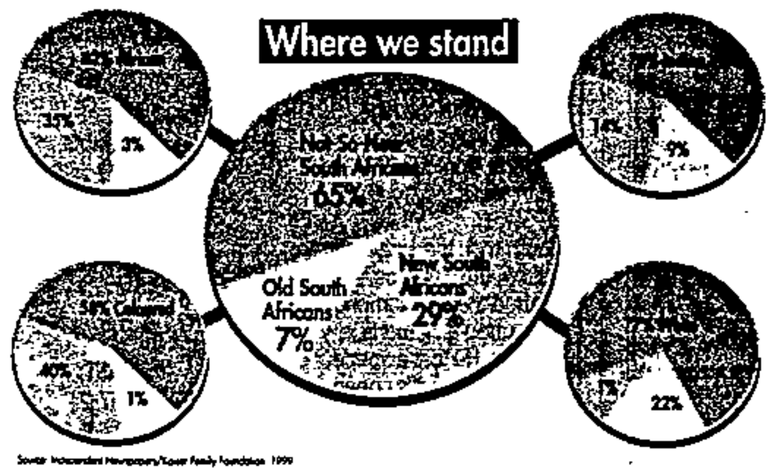
Data analysis was led by David Everatt and Ross Jennings of S&T, and by Mollyann Brodie, vice-president for Public Opinion Research at the Kaiser Family Foundation. Richard Morin, Director of Polling at the Washington Post, provided valuable assistance to the project.

Independent Newspapers retains sole editorial control over content of the stories published in the newspaper.

THE Reality Check project was written and photographed by journalists from *The Star*, the *Cape Times* and *The Mercury*. Editorial co-ordination by Roger Friedman (*Cape Times*), photographic co-ordination by Benny Gool (*Cape Times*) and Robin Comley (*The Star*), graphics by Mugamad Jacobs and Nazleah Burch, design by Jen Crocker (*Cape Times*).

● **Tomorrow: what the future holds**

So, you think you're a New South African?



Are you a New South African? Do you have both feet firmly planted in the bad old days or are you struggling to meet the challenges of change?

We asked South Africans questions on the all important three 'R's — Racism; Reconciliation and Redistribution. Then we divided them into three groups, based on their responses. This is what we came up with:

● New South Africans: To qualify, you must embrace reconciliation with more than just talk. As well as shunning overtly racist attitudes, you recognise the need for some form of redistribution to level those ubiquitous playing fields. For example you feel strongly that people whose land was taken away from them under apartheid should get it back or be compensated; you tend to agree that the government has a responsibility to provide housing to people too poor to afford their own and you are more likely to believe richer suburbs should subsidise poorer ones. You also say you would be happy to welcome someone of another race into your family. If you meet these criteria you are in the minority — just 29% of South Africans make the grade. Not surprisingly, if you do fit here you are probably one of those who bore the brunt of racist policies in the past and are most likely to benefit from redistribution in the future. In other words you are probably African. Your chances of being white or Indian are about two percent.

● Not-So-New South Africans: Not-So-News are happy to bask in the supposed glow of our rainbow nation, but not quite ready to embrace change closer to home. If you're one of these, you're probably a bit confused about what reconciliation means and how to go about finding it. Never mind, you're in the majority. To belong to this group you fail the New South Africa test on one of the two criteria — either you are opposed to most forms of redistribution (in which case you're likely to be white) or you're still seeing everything in racial terms (in which case you're likely to be African). If you are coloured or Indian you're as likely to fail either component. Whichever way, you must have some redeeming characteristics or you wouldn't have made it this far.

● Old South Africans: You are the easiest to spot. You are quite happy with the way things were — and, unlike some of the Not-So-News, you don't mind saying it. You disagree that "we should stop talking about race because we are all just people" and you would be the most distressed if your child married some one of a different race. You also don't see why you should share the spoils of your privilege (you are privileged) with anyone. You are probably white and you are probably getting on in years. Fortunately, you make up just seven percent of the population.

Many cultures, one nation.

(304A) CT 23/4/99

Take a look with us into the crystal ball for South Africa

SOUTH AFRICANS say that creating jobs, dealing with crime and improving the economy — in that order — are the main challenges confronting the country in the first decade of the 21st century. **ROGER FRIEDMAN** and **ERIC NTABAZALILA** write.

OPTIMISM

65% of South Africans believe the education system will improve in the next 5 years.

37% think the crime situation will improve.

55% think health care will improve.

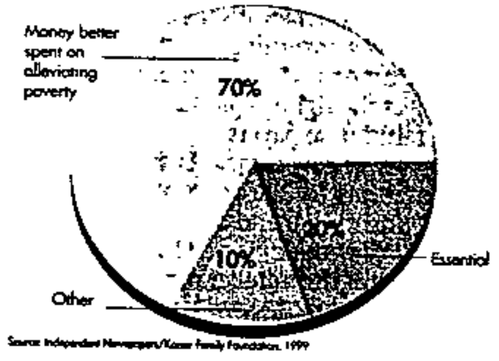
58% think the race relations will improve.

55% think the quality of life will improve.

49% think the economy will improve.

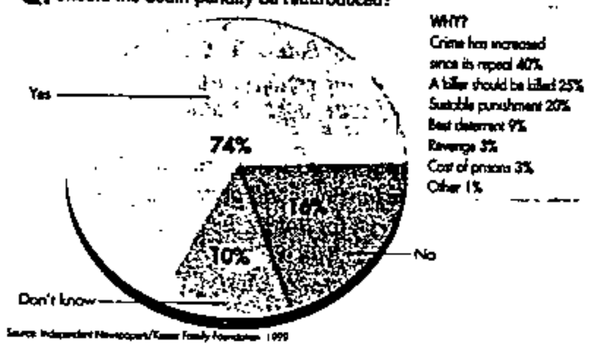
Source: Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999.

Q: Does SA need a well-equipped defence force?



Source: Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999

Q: Should the death penalty be reintroduced?



Source: Independent Newspapers/Kaiser Family Foundation, 1999



THE majority of South Africans expect to see improvements in the education and health systems, race relations and quality of life over the next five years.

Although there are worries about personal financial security and crime, most citizens express confidence in the country's democratic future after President Nelson Mandela retires.

But these overall impressions mask a gulf in thinking between African (most optimistic), coloured (bordering on optimistic), Indian (very pessimistic) and white (even more pessimistic) people.

Sliding scale: This sliding scale of opinions is typified in predictions about the economy. Sixty percent of Africans and 43% of coloureds predict that the economy will improve. Seventy-three percent of whites and 71% of Indians, on the other hand, believe it will deteriorate.

Similar racial divisions in attitudes and beliefs litter the survey.

Eighty-one percent of Africans believe that the education system will "get better" over the next five years, while 65% of whites think it will "get worse".

More than two-thirds of Africans believe that health care will improve, compared to the nearly two-thirds of whites who say the opposite.

Twenty percent of Indians believe race relations will improve, as do 30% of whites, 45% of Coloureds and 67% of Africans.

While 68% of Africans predict that their quality of life will improve, a similar view is expressed by just 10% of whites. Sixty-two percent of whites, on the other hand, think their quality of life will deteriorate.

Thabo Mbeki: More than half the population (54%) believes that South Africa will remain a democratic country after President Nelson Mandela retires following the country's second all-race election on June 2.

And about half the country (49%) is confident in South Africa's future under the leadership of Mandela's designated successor, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. Broken down into race, however, a familiar pattern emerges. Sixty-two percent of Africans are either "very confident" or "confident" in Mbeki, compared to just 12% of whites.

Three percent of Africans are "very worried" about the Mbeki-led future, compared to nine percent of coloureds, 18% of Indians and 25% of whites.

The majority of those who do not express confidence in Mbeki are not so much worried about him as unsure. This applies to 35% of the population. Indeed, coloureds and Indians are more likely to say they are not sure about Mbeki than to express either confidence or worry. Whites are more likely to express worry.

Convergance of opinion: On the basis of this survey, the most universal South African concern for the future is running short of money to live on. About three in four citizens are worried about this issue.

A particularly high proportion (95%) of Indians are worried about being out of pocket, but so, too, are 71% of Africans, 73% of coloureds and 74% of whites.

A second issue on which most South Africans of all races agree is that taxpayers money would be better spent on alleviating poverty than on equipping the army. Only one in five South Africans believes a well-equipped defence force is more important than eradicating poverty. But more about the people's budget priorities later.

There is widespread concern about crime. South



SOUTH AFRICANS BELIEVE that housing, education and crime, in order of importance, should be the country's spending priorities. *PICTURE: BENNY GOOL*

Ninety-two percent of whites think crime will remain the same or get worse, as do 93% of Indians, and 73% of coloureds.

extra doctors.

Africans and whites are most likely to prioritise HIV/Aids, while Indian and Coloureds are more likely to prioritise extra clinics and hos

Parliament versus the people

PARLIAMENTARIANS seem a little out of kilter with the people when it comes to identifying priorities. While the people regard crime as one of the top three challenges and spending priorities facing the country, our elected representatives see things slightly differently.

The opinions of four constituency groups were elicited for purposes of comparison to those of the 3 000 respondents ("the people") in our main survey. One of these groups comprised 173 members of Parliament and provincial legislatures. The others were made up of representatives of business, labour and and the civil sector (largely church leaders, academics and non-governmental organisations).

All four groups agreed with the people that job creation was the country's foremost challenge, and that economic growth was one of the top three challenges.

However, while the people named crime as the second most important challenge, parliamentarians, unionists and the civil sector omitted crime from their top-three lists.

While the findings of the constituency surveys cannot be regarded as representative because random sampling was not applied, the sample was drawn to ensure adequate spread across each constituency.

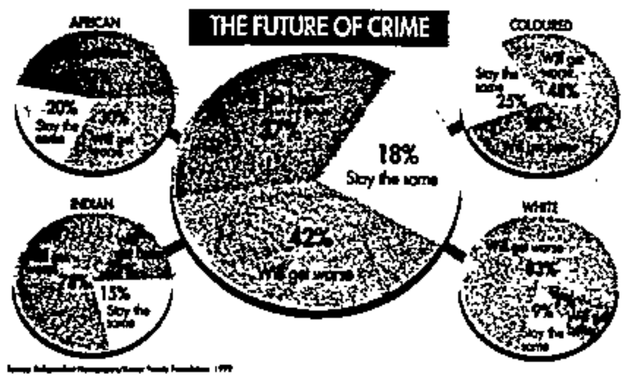
In preference to crime, the parliamentarians, and representatives of the civil and labour sectors listed "improved quality of life/meeting basic needs" as their third main challenge. The business group placed crime in third place.

Having identified what they were, the groups were the asked how confident they felt that the country could meet the main challenges.

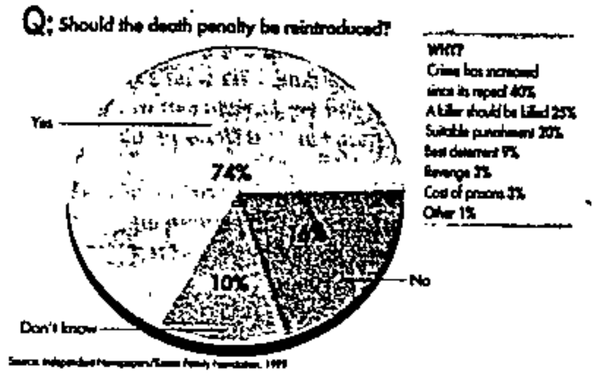
Forty-eight percent of the people were optimistic, compared to 70% of the business sector, 87% of parliamentarians, 91% of the civil sector and 95% of trade unionists.

African and coloured people are far more likely to feel optimistic than Indians and whites. Only 14% of the people are pessimistic, including about a third of whites and a quarter of Indians.

Turning to spending priorities, the people rank housing as most important, followed by education and crime. Parliamentarians include health and omit crime from their top three, as do unionists and the civil sector. All three groups do, however, include crime as one of the top five spending priorities.



Uncertainty rules the day



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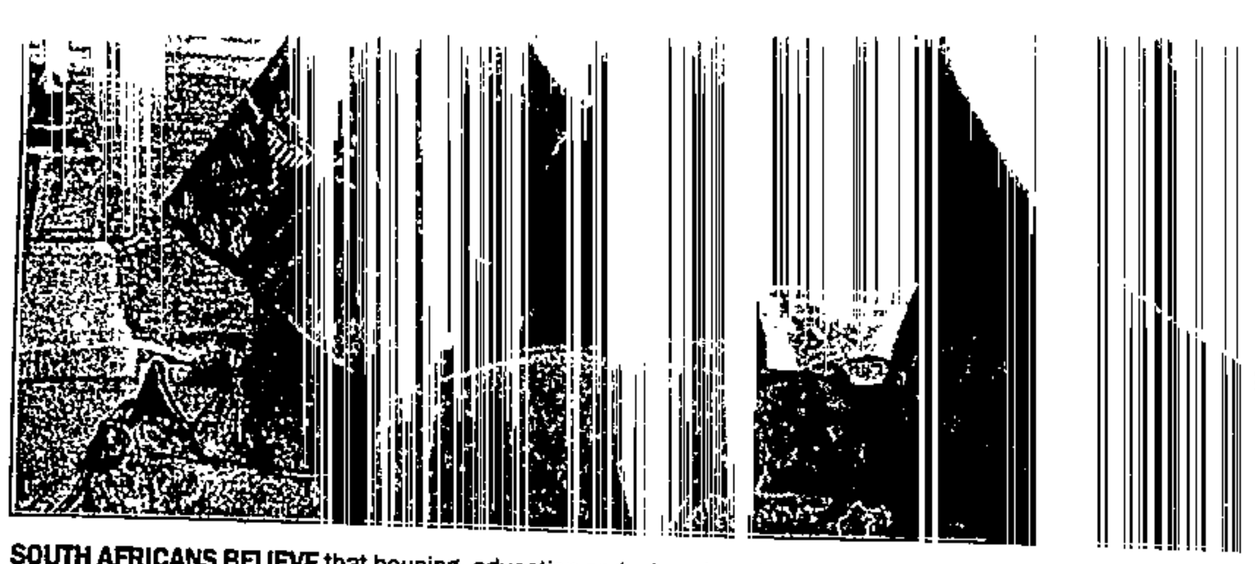
A second issue on which most South Africans of all races agree is that taxpayers money would be better spent on alleviating poverty than on equipping the army. Only one in five South Africans believes a well-equipped defence force is more important than eradicating poverty. But more about the people's budget priorities later.

There is widespread concern about crime. South Africans are more likely to believe that the situation is going to deteriorate (42%) than improve (37%). Nearly one in five believe that the present level of crime is here to stay.

While the vast majority of Africans predict that the education and health systems, race relations, quality of life and economy will get better, less than half of Africans (47%) display similar confidence in the crime rate.



SOUTH AFRICANS BELIEVE that housing, education and crime, in order of importance, should be the country's spending priorities.

PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

Ninety-two percent of whites think crime will remain the same or get worse, as do 93% of Indians, and 73% of coloureds.

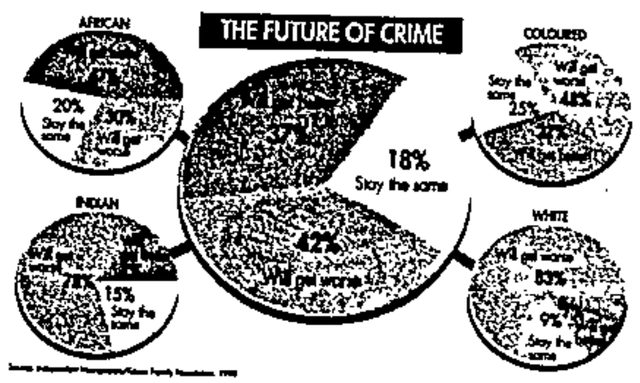
BUDGET: South Africans believe that housing, education and crime, in order of importance, should be the country's spending priorities, with health in fourth place.

Asked which health issue they would prioritise for the next five years if they were the Minister of Health, South Africans are most likely (41%) to answer HIV/Aids. About one in four would make building extra clinics and hospitals their priority, while about one in 10 would employ extra doctors.

Africans and whites are most likely to prioritise HIV/Aids, while Indian and Coloureds are more likely to prioritise extra clinics and hospitals.

More than half the total population believes that the government should refuse to pay the debts of its apartheid predecessor. More than half the white population, however, believes we should continue to pay.

While citizens rank job creation as the major challenge facing the country, they are most likely to believe that the onus for job creation is not on government but on the private sector.



top three, as do unionists and the civil sector. All three groups do, however, include crime as one of the top five spending priorities.

Uncertainty rules the day

WHEN asked for their opinions about Thabo Mbeki, whether the country will remain a democracy, and whether they are confident the democracy will meet its main challenges, South Africans are more likely to register uncertainty than negativity or pessimism.

They're most likely — this survey shows — to be relatively positive and optimistic, but the number of uncertain citizens could be construed as a worrisome factor.

Nearly four in ten South Africans do not know whether the country will remain a democracy after President Nelson Mandela retires; 35% are not sure how confident they feel about the Thabo Mbeki-led future; and 37% are not sure whether South Africa can meet its main challenges.

We asked our data analyst, Mollyann Brodie of the Kaiser Family Foundation, to identify who these uncertain people were most likely to be.

Well, for a start, 63% of the group are Africans, 21% are whites, 12% are coloureds and four percent are Indians.

In a nutshell, we found that they are a relatively well-off, disaffected bunch, who are less likely to feel like winners than other South Africans.

They are likely to be slightly older than average, more cynical about the media, and have inside taps and toilets.

They are less likely to have seen the South African Constitution or heard of the Bill of Rights, to belong to a political party, to trust any level of government and to vote. And they are more likely to believe that politics is a waste of time, compared to those people who expressed opinions on Mbeki, democracy and whether the country would meet its challenges.

Other characteristics of the group are their beliefs that education, health, race relations and quality of life have deteriorated in the new South Africa.

They are much more likely than the rest of us to believe that South Africans will always be divided.



PICTURE: MUJAHID SAFODIEN

"Rome was not built overnight." This is how Ethel Mlambo Mzinjana, 80, consoles herself about the future of South Africa.

Mlambo is from Buntingville — a small village near Umtata with a handful of huts and a few brick houses. She is one of the village's oldest residents and she feels positive about the changes our society has experienced since 1994.

Her house has no toilet; no running water, and the area has only one primary and high school.

She acknowledges that the government has not fulfiled all its promises, but argues that it should be given more time and co-operation. But she is upbeat, as are many of the most marginalised.

"When this government came to power it promised us a lot of things including houses, clinics, electricity, free education, free health care, less crime and jobs.

"Many of these things have been done. Now I can push a button to light my house. To me electricity was a dream.

Mlambo is optimistic.



PICTURE: BENNY GOOL

WHEN you ask Sally Zealand about the future, she rails at you about how much better things were in the old days.

She is 50-years-old, unemployed, describes herself as coloured, and occupies a dingy two-bedroom council flat in Manenberg along with 18 members of her family. None of them have full-time jobs. They owe the Cape Town City Council nearly R7000 for arrear rent and another R2000 for water.

"Things should have got better for us already in this new South Africa. But there is no work for my husband or my children. If we coloured people would just stand together for a change then things can improve," Zealand says.

"When you go into the shops these days you just see native people working there. Our children complete their matric but can't get anything right after that."

"It's not fair. When De Klerk was in power more of our people had jobs.

"I am planning to vote for the National Party."

"We are not racists here. Natives come into our house.

"What must we do about our house? We have been paying rent here for nearly 20 years, but they are going to put us out one of these days."

● 57% of South Africans believe that the government should ensure that all people have adequate housing, even if they cannot pay.

Thirty-five percent believe they will never be able to afford a better place to live."

CAPE TOWN attorney Deon Welz is not your average white South African. Like most South Africans — but unlike most whites — he is relatively comfortable with developments in the country since 1994, and hopeful about the future.

"I think a two-pronged attack, alleviating poverty and fighting crime, are our priorities for the future," he says. "These two dovetail. You cannot solve the crime problem solely with an economist, you have to look at the socio-economic causes."

Welz is happy with the schooling his twin stepsons receive at a government school close to their home.

"Obviously we should expect the standards at former white schools to drop a little in order to achieve some balance between haves and have-nots."

He doesn't believe that the crime situation is going to deteriorate any further: "I think it has bottomed out. . The reason I say this is because the government is passing legislation. We have to get the system working before we can start reducing crime. The Proceeds of Crime Act, for example, may not have been perfectly drafted, but it is a manifestation of the government's intent."

Race relations, he believes, have improved in the social milieu. Economically, though, he thinks things are still tense, largely because of widely differing attitudes to Affirmative Action.

Welz is comfortable about his quality of life, and feels it will continue to improve.

"It will, however, be much harder for people from my background to 'succeed' in life as easily as I did.

"We benefited from the apartheid regime and now it's payback time. Provided that affirmative action is not applied indefinitely after equity has been achieved, if people cannot compete on the open market in this country they probably won't be able to compete anywhere else in the world."

Welz's biggest uncertainty in the future relates to incoming president, Thabo Mbeki.

"I don't know. He doesn't have the charisma of Mandela, though I think he has the same integrity. He'll have a lot of trouble bringing the white electorate with him."



PICTURE: MUJAHID SAFODIEN

REALITY CHECK is a joint project of Independent Newspapers and the Henry J Kaiser Family Foundation (USA). Its purpose is to take stock of South Africa's new democracy from the perspective of its people.

It explores their perceptions of democracy, the role of government, and issues of race, reconciliation, and national unity, as well as the people's priorities for the post-Mandela government.

The survey questionnaire was jointly developed by the partners and the Community Agency for Social Inquiry (CASE) and Strategy and Tactics (S&T).

A national household survey of 3 000 adults was conducted in November and December of 1998. This sample provides statistically valid findings for the South African population as a whole, as well as for South Africa's major racial groups and its provinces.

The margin of sampling error for this survey was plus or minus 2%. In addition, interviews were conducted with smaller samples of four groups — elected officials, business, trade unions, and members of the civil sector (mainly non-governmental organisations, churches and universities).

Data analysis was led by David Everatt and Ross Jennings of S&T, and by Mollyann Brodie, vice-president for Public Opinion Research at the Kaiser Family Foundation. Richard Monn, Director of Polling at the Washington Post, provided valuable assistance to the project. Independent Newspapers retains sole editorial control over content of the stories published in the newspaper.

The Reality Check project was written and photographed by journalists from *The Star*, the *Cape Times* and *The Mercury*. Editorial co-ordination by Roger Friedman, photographic co-ordination by Benny Gool and Robin Comley , graphics by Mugamad Jacobs and Nazieah Burch.

Three observer groups keep an eye on SA elections

Security is still the big issue as political, coalition and foreign officials gear up for the poll, writes **Belinda Anderson**

ON VOTING day in SA's watershed election year, voters can take courage from the presence of thousands of official, antlike figures clad in Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) garb roaming the sidelines.

This year, there will be no official IEC monitors, but that does not mean that nobody is on the lookout. Last year's Electoral Act shuffled out "monitors" and brought in "observers".

That distinction may seem semantic. However, to be precise, a monitor plays a more active role and an observer simply observes.

"Monitoring, perhaps, has a higher threshold of responsibility," says senior Electoral Institute researcher David Pottie.

Three categories of observers will be on the lookout for irregularities during the three phases of the election, namely during the campaign, polling and counting.

Although the observers will play a less direct role, there are official avenues to channel complaints.

The first group — of party political party representatives — may seem a strange addition to the observer melting pot, considering the aims of independence and objectivity that underly the concept of election observation.

"The issue is the feasibility of having a politically affiliated presence around an electorate that is basically still learning the rules of the game," says Pottie. This will work since parties can check on each other, he says.

The second set consists of a conglomeration of nongovernmental organisations, church and community-based organisations, grouped into national and provincial coalitions.

Mfana Ndlovu, co-ordinator of the Gauteng Coalition, says: "Our ultimate goal is to enhance the role played by the IEC. We are able to observe on the ground, and filter that information through to the IEC."

Complaints are submitted to the IEC within two days by means of official forms and include voter objections, alleged irregularities in ballot sorting and counting and irregularities in verifying the result.

The third group of watchers — the international community — will include United Nations experts, a regional structure organised through the Electoral Institute and other groups of experienced observers.

While the international watchers trickle in slowly ahead of June 2, those on the domestic front are preparing to send workers into the campaign field to check the actions of the parties.

No party may legally refuse the presence of an observer.

If it seems a little early to begin, think again. Observing the campaign process is as important as the actual voting and the counting of votes.

Ndlovu says the Gauteng Coalition plans to post 600 trained volunteers by this week — not enough to cover all 1 400 or more polling stations. This raises a concern about whether domestic capacity will be sufficient.

Another concern is that of legitimacy. Ndlovu's coalition has been accredited by the IEC. However, party agents, on the other hand, receive neither official accreditation nor training regulations. They must simply register with the IEC.

Problems aside, though, Pottie says that institutional structures to ensure a free and fair election are in place and SA seems to have fostered a sufficient culture of democracy.

"In the end, it's about actualising ones' rights," says Pottie.

"My largest concern is the ability to maintain this cyclical preparedness. If it's about taking control of the elections, does it mean we have to reinvent the wheel every five years, or can we maintain the whole process in the interim and carry it through?"

So it is up to all citizens to be constantly on the lookout, and use the relevant avenues in place to ensure that SA receives the verdict of a free and fair election for the second round of democracy.

However, the balance hangs on the issue of security — an issue no observer can guarantee. That is up to the IEC, and the police force.

(304A) BD 26/4/99

Matchbox houses could be the ANC's election undoing

By ADRIAN HADLAND
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

The Government has spent close to R10-billion on housing programmes since 1994 but, ironically, the provision of low-cost housing may yet prove to be a serious liability for the ANC's election hopes in June.

Persistent problems regarding the quality of construction, shoddy workmanship, the inadequacy of the government's R15 000 subsidy, the small size of the new dwellings, allegations of corruption, and the vulnerability of new homeowners to fraudsters have caused anger among potential voters.

People have given the new low-cost "RDP houses" several derogatory terms that reflect discontent with their size and construction, among them "unos" – after the small Fiat Uno car – "matchboxes" and even "toilets".

According to a recent nationwide poll by the Human Sciences Research Council, housing tops the list of South Africans' complaints. But it's not only the lack of housing that's causing the anger.

In the small Klein Karoo town of Calitzdorp, several of the recently built houses have massive cracks right through the walls. Residents fear that the strong winds that whip over the nearby Swartberg mountains could demolish their homes at any moment.

Failure by both the New National Party-led provincial government and the ANC to assist residents led to virtually the entire town signing up with the PAC in March.

In Aberdeen, Eastern Cape, RDP houses have been abandoned, unfinished, because the council ran out of funds. Those that have been completed are a fraction of the size of the houses built by the government before 1994, conjuring unflattering comparisons and fuelling further discontent.

"The ANC can't do anything right. They have failed to govern the Eastern Cape properly. They'll never be able to do what the NNP did in past years," said local NNP organiser Stephanus Lewis.

Building industry representatives complain that the government subsidy of R15 000, even taking into account the imminent increase of the grant to R16 000, is not enough to build a 30sq m home, as stipulated by the government in recently approved minimum-standards legislation.

Building Industries Federation of SA president Ian Robinson said earlier this year that the Housing Ministry was being unrealistic in its setting of minimum standards for the low-cost housing industry. The subsidy could at most provide for a house of 10sq m – little more than the size of a small room, he said.

Although millions of people have been housed and sheltered since the last election, the problems associated with that housing may yet cost the government dearly when it faces voters once more next month.

Parties sign code of conduct for free and fair elections

(304A)

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Thirteen political parties in KwaZulu-Natal committed themselves yesterday to ensuring free and fair elections in the province by signing a code of conduct to be enforced by the Electoral Code of Conduct Observer Commission.

Commission chairman Bishop Michael Nuttall said the code aimed to promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections such as tolerance of democratic political activity, free political campaigning and open public debate. The code is part of the Electoral Act.

Nuttall said political violence had dogged the province since 1985, yet in recent times there has been willingness and commitment to reverse the trend. "There are still 27 days until we go to the polls and none of us can afford to be complacent about actual or potential tension."

He said the commission would be the first to acknowledge that the signing of the code was relatively simple. "The implementation of its provisions, especially in tricky situations like the so-called no-go areas is another matter," he said.

The code states the right of political parties to lawfully erect banners, billboards, placards, posters and all other election material during the campaigning period. It prohibits defacing, unlawful removal or destruction of such material. It also bars the use of language or action that could provoke violence and intimidation, the publishing of false or defamatory information on a party, its candidates, members or representatives, the carrying of arms or weapons at public political events and unreasonable prevention of access to voters.

KwaZulu-Natal premier and Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Lionel Mtshali welcomed the code. However, he said it was up to the political parties to take forward the message of tolerance and mutual respect to all their members.

BD 6/5/99

Mass action is marching away from politics

CT(BR|6|5|99

(304A)

FRANK NXUAMLO (~~134~~)
LABOUR EDITOR

Johannesburg – Most workers allied to Cosatu would put pressure on former trade unionists in parliament and then embark on street action if the new government did not deliver on its electoral promises, said the latest edition of the South African Labour Bulletin, released this week.

This threat contrasts sharply with the atmosphere of the 1994 elections, when up to 72 percent of Cosatu members were prepared to embark on rolling mass action to push their agenda, compared with only 53 percent this year.

The trend was seen as the beginning of a process of "normalisation" of workers' attitudes, with mass action continuing around workplace issues but declining over political issues.

Workers' commitment to the ANC as part of the tripartite alliance remained largely unshaken at 74 percent, compared with 75 percent in 1994. A growing number seemed to accept parliament as a central arena for their political aspirations.

However, Dumisa Ntuli, the spokesman of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, said: "The democratic changes of 1994 have not fully addressed the socio-economic backlogs left by the apartheid government.

"We want the ANC to continue with the transformation of the country.

"We believe that ... it is both feasible and necessary to vote ANC to change the powers of economic ownership and possession and make them more favourable to the working people."

Etienne Vlok, the researcher of the Labour Bulletin article, said: "Interestingly, only 0,8 percent of Cosatu members in KwaZulu Natal support Inkatha.

"There is some support for the new political party, the United Democratic Movement, in the Eastern Cape (2,9 percent) and in the Western Cape (4,8 percent).

"Most workers (54 percent) feel they cannot rely on political parties to protect their interests. They (93 percent) feel they will always need trade unions to protect their interests."

The article warned that newly elected ex-Cosatu parliamentarians would no longer be individually accountable to the labour federation.

The 11 elected to the lists, compared to 20 in 1994, were selected for their activism in the ANC or South African Communist Party rather than in the labour movement.

Most citizens happy with way SA is run — study

(304A)

KAREN MACGREGOR
OWN CORRESPONDENT

CT 10/5/199

DURBAN: Most South Africans are happy with the way the country is being governed, a Human Sciences Research Council survey (HSRC) has revealed. Those most likely to be satisfied are poor, African and support the Pan Africanist Congress.

People are more satisfied with central government than they are with provincial and local governments.

Only KwaZulu-Natal (49%) and the Western Cape (50%) contain more people who are dissatisfied than satisfied with central government. Whites and the wealthy give the government the lowest ratings.

Significantly for the ANC, with the elections looming, satisfaction with government performance has risen dramatically from 39% in February last year to 53% in March this year, when the HSRC poll of 2 200 people was conducted.

In contrast, only 36% of people are unhappy with the way SA is being run, down from 45% last February.

But while these these figures are a big improvement on last year's ratings, says Meshack Khosa, the HSRC's director of research into democracy and governance, they "still fall short of the 64% satisfaction rating of October 1994".

Two in three Africans (66%) are satisfied with the government's performance, against 27% of coloureds, 12% of Asians and 8% of whites. Four in five whites (81%) are dissatisfied in this regard.

Three-quarters (75%) of PAC supporters are happy with the way the country is being governed, against 72% of ANC supporters, 66% of Azapo, 44% of the UDM supporters and 33% of IFP supporters.

The March survey also shows that wealthy people are the least satisfied with the government's performance. While 60% of people earning less than R830 a month are satisfied, the same can be said of only 31% of people who earn R8 330 or more.

These findings are not surprising as government programmes have largely targeted lower income groups, Khosa said.

People in KwaZulu-Natal (49%) are the most unhappy with their provincial government, as against 48% in Gauteng, 38% in the Northern Cape and 34% in the Western Cape.

State asset register leads to big savings

Coffers should start to fill after 240 000 properties worth R120-bn identified

Star 14/5/99 (3044)

By Edwin Naidu

The country's first national asset register – which estimates the value of South Africa's state properties at more than R120-billion – has already yielded savings amounting to millions, according to Minister of Public Works Jeff Radebe.

Speaking at the launch of the register yesterday, Radebe said more savings were expected when cases of past and previous government officials who may be living in state homes rent free are investigated.

The register showed that South Africa had 239 494 assets, including premises for government departments, courts, the army, hospitals and clinics.

Radebe, speaking at a press briefing in Auckland Park, Johannesburg, said government coffers would start to fill when his department began charging other departments.

"The asset register will become part and parcel of the accounting system provided to control annual budget expenditure of the institutions responsible for procurement, maintenance and administration of the fixed-property portfolio."

Radebe said his department received R58-million from the sale of eight properties scattered in various parts of the world – including London, Paris and Uruguay – in addition to savings of another R42-million.

The Cabinet asked Radebe's department in 1995 to compile a comprehensive, accurate and manageable register of state-owned fixed property at national and provincial level.

"The pre-1994 data indicated that the state had 112 165 assets on its books. Little did we know that we would find, during the course of the compilation process, an additional 127 329 that were not registered at all," he said. The bulk of work on the project required visits "to each and every land parcel and building in the country".

Radebe said the asset register would enable his department to fight fraud and corruption and also bring to an end fictitious and/or unnecessary maintenance programmes.

He said his department had a record of all state homes which were being occupied by public servants, and policies and processes were under way to check whether the people occupying those homes were doing so legitimately.

At least 834 houses have been identified as possible starting points for any investigation, and Radebe called on those who knew they had occupied the homes in an underhand manner to come forward. The investigation is expected to start next month.

At last, State knows what it owns

ST(BT) 16/5/99 (304A)

ASSET REGISTER

By HENRY LUDSKI

GOVERNMENT has completed the exhaustive process of compiling a national register of state assets, paving the way for an accelerated sell-off of billions of rands worth of state property.

The state now finally knows that it owns 239 494 properties and parcels of land, which is 127 329 more than what was listed on its books when the process began three years ago.

The register includes photographs and technical details of all assets and will be made available on CD-Rom. It cost R60-million to compile.

Jeff Radebe, Minister of Public Works, said this week the register gave the department an effective means of "unlocking alternatives resources" to pursue government's development agenda.

It would assist the department in combating fraud and rooting out corruption, said Radebe.

Government last year set the sell-off ball rolling with Cabinet approval for the sale of 878 redundant state-owned residences throughout the country. The properties will be widely advertised later this month.

Government expects to raise close to R2-billion from initial sales, regarded by the department as a pilot project.

The department is also in the process of selling off five huge tracts of prime land in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Maritzburg and Pretoria, and expects to raise billions more through the sale of other properties and land parcels.

Completion of the register also precedes the formation of a property agency to manage state property worth an estimated R120-billion. The state has an R8-billion maintenance backlog.

Zaid Nordien, Public Works' ministerial spokesman, said the completion of the register would speed the disposal of properties.

Although policy is for proceeds to go to central government, some of the money is set to find its way back to cash-strapped provinces.

The department has also disclosed plans to sell at least 20 military bases for use in economic development. Such disposal is part of defence force restructuring.

IUC to exercise right not to vote

RHODA DAVIDS

(3044A) (422)

THE Islamic Unity Convention (IUC) denies it is calling for a boycott of the election but says its members will exercise their right not to vote.

"The IUC is not inciting others not to vote. It is our members who have decided to exercise their political right not to," Imam Achmad Cassiem, national chairperson of the IUC, said yesterday at a press conference.



ABSTAINING: Imam Achmad Cassiem of the IUC.

Cassiem emphasised that the IUC is not a racial or ethnic group, but rather a mass of people who have been oppressed. He added that there are more than 300 organisations within the IUC and all have expressed a vote of no-confidence in the political parties taking part in the election.

"We believe that the parties contesting the election cannot fulfil the aspirations of the oppressed masses, especially with the two cornerstones of the apartheid regime, racism and capitalism, still intact," said Cassiem.

He added that alternatives to not participating in the election have been discussed, including an option that all Muslims should vote for the party of their choice. However, this was ruled out because the views of political parties could clash with the "moral standing" of Muslims.

Also considered was whether Muslims should be encouraged to vote for parties to the left of the ruling party.

"But to support a party, you have to support all its principles. Because all the principles of parties such as the PAC and Azapo cannot be endorsed, that too was ruled out," Cassiem said.

ET 19/5/99

Government enjoys increased trust

(3049)

Human Sciences Research Council survey shows drop in voter apathy

Star 20/5/99

MOSHOESHOE MONARE
Election Staff



Voter trust in the national government has increased by 19 percentage points within three months – from 46% in December 1998 to 65% in March this year, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) said this week.

The council said at the same time distrust in the Government decreased considerably.

The council conducted a survey in March 1999 interviewing 2 200 people countrywide on their level of trust in the Government.

"While nearly 40% of respondents reported in December 1998 that they either distrusted or strongly distrusted the national government, this figure dropped to 22% during March this year.

The survey said 78% of the black respondents trusted the Government, while conversely 60% of whites distrusted it.

"Similar perceptions among coloured respondents were 51% (trust) and 26% (distrust) and, among Indians, 20% (trust) and 51% (distrust).

Only two out of 10 white respondents (20%) reported that they trusted the national government," the council said.

The survey found that although trust levels had improved, 53% of the respondents said they were satisfied with the national government's performance.

On provincial level, a total of 54% said they trusted the provincial government, while 46% said they were satisfied, and on local government level, 52% said they trusted local government, and 44% said they were satisfied.

"This suggests that voter dissatisfaction with the performance of government institutions, for whatever reason, does not necessarily undermine the legitimacy of those institutions," said Richard Humphries, the HSRC's public policy programme manager.

The HSRC survey said respondents in the two provinces controlled by opposition parties had the least trust in the national government with 41% in KwaZulu Natal trusting the national government compared with a slightly higher 46% in the Western Cape.

"As far as ANC-controlled provinces are concerned, the national government was trusted most in the Northern Province (88%), followed closely by the Eastern Cape, North West and Mpumalanga (all close to 84%).

A total of 60% respondents in Gauteng indicated that they trusted the national government."

The HSRC said ANC supporters showed the greatest trust in the national government at 83% followed by the United Democratic Movement (UDM) with 63% while the Democratic Party (DP) supporters indicated the lowest trust at 25%.

Other levels were the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), 55%, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) 49%, the New National Party (NNP) 37%, and the Freedom Front (FF) 35%.

The survey also analysed the respondents according to their income variations.

"The HSRC data shows that trust levels decline as the levels of income of respondents rise.

Persons earning less than R2 499 a month trust the Government the most (67%). Trust then drops steadily among income bands over R2 499 a month to a low of nearly 30% in the R5 830 to R8 329 income bracket.

This figure, however, jumps again to nearly 41% in the upper income bracket of more than R8 330 per month."

Mandela in R1,6m smear

(3044A) Star 22/5/99

British press claims president received kickback involving a Nigerian oil company

An attempt had been made to smear President Nelson Mandela, presidential lawyer Ismail Ayob said yesterday – following reports in a British newspaper that the president was embroiled in a controversy after accepting a R1,6-million donation to his Children's Fund from a United Nations envoy.

Reached for comment yesterday, Ayob confirmed that Mandela had received two cheques of R830 800 each. Ayob said it was a donation to Mandela's charity.

The British newspaper claims revolve around an apparent contract between a Nigerian oil company and a Central African Republican diplomat, Antonio Fernandez.

The suggestion is that Mandela accepted a kickback at a meeting at Abuja airport by, among others, Fernandez and Nigerian military leader Abdulsalami Abubakar.

Ayob confirmed he had been approached by several British journalists for comment, which he said was evidently part of the plan to smear Mandela.



EMBROILED: President Mandela says he did not discuss contract at airport

The story had a happy ending when the London law firm which had purportedly offered the cash to Mandela ended up donating R1,6-million to his Children's Fund.

Ayob had earlier said he had received an envelope from the president's office in March this year containing a cheque made out to him for R830 800, a covering letter from a London law firm and a contract involving a Nigerian oil company.

The contract was between Fernandez and the Nigerian National Petroleum company, and the cheque was made out in the name of Arcadia Petroleum.

The letter addressed to Mandela referred to a meeting at Abuja airport.

Ayob, who was acquainted with Fernandez before the 1994 general election, said that, on seeing the diplomat's name, he wrote to the law firm to try to find out what was going on. A representative of the firm, Simon Goldberg, apparently said: "Ask your client."

Ayob approached Mandela, who confirmed he had met several people at the airport, but had not discussed any contract.

Mandela had said that if any money had been discussed, it would have been in the context of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund, Ayob said.

At this stage, reporters, who had apparently been leaked copies of the letter, telephoned for comment.

The London lawyers then accused Mandela's office of having leaked the letter, which Ayob said was ridiculous, as he would then also have leaked his letter expressing bewilderment at the whole affair.

The lawyer called again, this time saying there appeared to be a big mistake and that the money was to be taken from the proceeds of an oil transaction earmarked for the "president's emergency fund".

Ayob said this was one of the names floated for the fund before its inception.

In the end, the London lawyer forwarded two cheques of R830 800 each to the Children's Fund.

Ayob said he wrote back thanking the lawyer, but said in his letter it would always be a mystery to him how the London firm reconciled the first letter attached to the contract saying the money was for Mandela, and the second letter saying it was for charity.

The president's office yesterday referred all comment to Ayob. – Sapa

Van Schalkwyk fails to inspire

Kortbroek is not a leader, survey finds

By ADRIAN HADLAND Star 22/5/99 (304A)

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk's poor leadership rating, even among his own supporters, looks set to have a significant impact on the party's showing in next month's election.

The latest Independent Indicator poll, released this week, has found that only 39% of NNP supporters thought Van Schalkwyk "could run the country well".

The rating falls far below how other party leaders fared among their own supporters on the same question.

Almost 90% of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters thought IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi could run the country well, 65% of DP supporters backed their leader Tony Leon, 58% of United Democratic Movement supporters thought running the country well was an accurate assessment of Bantu Holomisa's potential and 59% of ANC supporters believed Thabo Mbeki has what it takes.

NNP's man at the helm can't generate significant support even among his own party's followers

The poll, compiled in March this year after at-home interviews with more than 3 000 registered voters who said they would be voting on June 2, produced some interesting and unexpected results.

Overall Van Schalkwyk failed to make any significantly positive impression.

He ranked only fifth in the good-leadership stakes with 4% support, considerably behind Mbeki (40%), Buthelezi (7%), Leon (7%) and Holomisa (5%).

The results, together with other findings from the poll, suggest the NNP is in very real danger of losing its position as official opposition nationally as well as its hold on the Western Cape.

On the question of whether leaders "care about people like me", 5% of the voters in the survey said this was true of Van Schalkwyk, compared with 9% for Leon.

The results also showed overwhelming support among white voters for Leon (40%) against 14% for Van Schalkwyk. The trend was matched among Indian voters, with 18% saying they believed Leon would run the country well and only 4% saying the same was true of Van Schalkwyk.

While coloured voters rated Van Schalkwyk the highest in this category (21% believed he would run the country well), Mbeki was a close second (18%) and Leon was not that far behind at 15%.

Surprisingly, in the Western Cape, Leon scored higher among all voters (18%) than Van Schalkwyk (16%), with Mbeki comfortably ahead at 24%.

Almost three times as many voters in metropolitan areas said they favoured Leon against Van Schalkwyk and twice as many expressed the same preference in the small urban centres.

Registered voters in Gauteng showed a high degree of scepticism concerning whether political leaders could be expected to deliver on their promises. When asked which leader they thought could deliver, almost a fifth of respondents (17%) replied "none".

KwaZulu Natal showed the greatest level of collective scepticism with a massive 31% unable to name a politician whom they trusted to deliver on their promises. The Western Cape came in second at 24%.

Indian voters appear to feel the most unrepresented, with almost a third saying that no current political leader cared about them.

Some 40% of people polled in Gauteng believed Mbeki cared about them – streets ahead of Leon, about whom 15% thought the same.

Stayaway call strikes at freedom

ET 26/5/99 (304A)

PROFESSOR
KADER ASMAL, MP

A political campaign dressed up in religious garb

THE recent call on Muslims not to vote in the elections cannot be isolated from the activities of certain people who, over a long period, have questioned the legitimacy of leaders and also of the state.

This goes to the heart of what was established in South Africa in 1994 when we embraced, by an overwhelming majority of the political forces in the country, a free and modern democracy. Given the undeniable legitimacy of the new South African order, the real question turns on the legitimacy of those who call for this action.

If the state loses legitimacy by tearing up a constitution, denying political rights, killing citizens and destroying their property, citizens are justified in overthrowing that order because it has no basis for their loyalty and support. To question the legitimacy of a state that is universally recognised as legitimate — including in the Muslim world — must surely border on a call to arms.

The appeal not to vote differs in no significant respect from the boycott call made five years ago when our democracy was born. It is a political ploy reminiscent of the organisers' close ancestors, such as the unity movement, who perfected the boycott weapon to sterile heights — though admittedly it was against apartheid at that stage. Yet some people persist in this strategy as if nothing has changed, as if we do not now live in one of the most flourishing democracies in the world.

Such people are either removed from reality or they lust for revolutionary change. The political campaign is suitably dressed up in religious garb and rests on the allegation that the government has not met the aspirations of the masses. At a time when people can use their vote creatively to assist in the task of furthering reconstruction and development, they are being urged to sideline themselves.

Chief exponent of such views is Achmad Cassiem of the Islamic Unity Convention and Quibla, who in an interview (*Cape Times*, February 12) stated that Quibla does not view the new dispensation as legitimate because it is the result of a "sell-out" process of negotiations leading to no change in the police, civil service and other institutions and with wealth still in the hands of the few.

No one would deny the inherited difficulties faced by the state but this position ignores the steps taken to transform the civil service and public institutions and the economic strides taken by the government to redress inequality in wealth and in the workplace. People who refuse to accept this are playing into the hands of the physical-force brigade that seeks to destroy the state.

The legitimacy of the state comes from the constitution, rules regulating elections and the mandate of the people given at elections. To seek a stayaway from the polls strikes at this legitimacy.

Although individuals in South Africa have the right to abstain, unlike, say, in Australia and other countries where voting is compulsory, the effect of a campaign such as this is both anarchic and manipulative.

The IUC should be seen for what it is: a sectarian body, arrogant enough to seek to bind all its affiliates and using the protective colouration of religion.

Serious questions have been raised about whom such people actually represent. Consider the type of company they keep. By urging people not to vote they take the same position as Eugene Terre'-Blanche of the AWB and the Boerevolk Party. Nothing could more effectively show how marginalised the IUC and its associates are from mainstream thinking in both the Muslim community and the South African community at large.

> The real issue concerns not religion but democracy, legitimacy and the constitution

The real issue concerns not religion but democracy, legitimacy and the constitution. It concerns people's rights and obligations as citizens. It concerns the significance to be placed on the achievements of one of the most impressive struggles for justice in history. Our constitution, though in the preamble recognising God as the protector of the people, is not a confessional document that requires a specific religious observance from citizens. It is a deeply moral and ethical document. If we were to be a theocratic or religious-based state, in view of the numbers involved, we would be classified Christian. Where would that leave Muslims, particularly those who argue that the present arrangements are unsatisfactory for Muslims?

We live in a country Muslims call Darul Amaan, where Muslims are in the minority and the government is either secular or (though not in our case) chooses some other set of religious values by which to govern. Here the onus rests on the individual and the custodians of the religion to live out their values while the state protects and enhances these values, without interfering. This should not be confused with Darul Islam where the government makes Islamic law the law of the land, a situation inconceivable in South Africa in the present circumstances. Nor should it be confused with Darul Harb, a place of war or hostility for Muslims, which South Africa is not.

Our constitution is supportive of Islam and all other beliefs and outlooks. It specifically entrenches the right "to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion". Nothing is placed in the way of Muslims realising their religious aspirations and pursuing their convictions in democratic SA. There is, therefore, no basis for the sort of hostility to the new order that justifies a stayaway from the polls on the ground that the order is not legitimate. The effect of this boycott movement will probably be very small, as in 1994.

Thousands died in the cause of democracy precisely so that people might vote freely. It is a gross affront to those who fell (including the martyred Iman Haron) to shun what they they fought and died for.

The most influential organs of Muslim opinion have come out strongly for participation in the election. Mainstream Muslims are appalled at the no-vote campaign.

The real tests to apply to the question whether the new South Africa is worth the vote of the religiously committed are these: does it give room for the promotion of religious freedom or are its citizens coerced and spiritually impoverished? Does it give room for progress in social and economic matters and for the removal of traces of racism and does it allow citizens to decide such matters, as free men and women?

Kader Asmal is a member of the national executive committee of the ANC and Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

Small turnout in London vote

LONDON – A steady trickle of voters passed through the halls of South Africa House in London yesterday to cast their ballots in the country's second democratic election.

By lunchtime only a few hundred people who had registered in South Africa had cast their special votes.

The scene was in stark contrast to five years ago when election officials had their hands full coping with a queue of eager, many first-time, voters snaking all the way around the imposing grey building overlooking Trafalgar Square.

The longest wait yesterday was less than half-an-hour.

The voting process has been shrouded in uncertainty over exactly how many South Africans have registered to vote in the elections.

According to the Election Regulations published in the Government Gazette, only registered South Africans abroad for business, study or employment purposes in the United Kingdom were allowed to cast their special votes.

Voters had to present their identity documents bearing the registration stamps and had to sign a document declaring that they fell into one of these categories before they were allowed to vote.

Chief electoral officer Ms Mary-Anne Downs said: "There is no way of knowing how many people have registered in South Africa.

"There are 350 000 to 500 000 South Africans in London at any time, but it is very hard to say how many people have registered," she said, adding that the London voting office was capable of catering for 10 000 voters.

The voting station was open between 7am and 9am, but by midday no more than a couple of hundred people had arrived to cast their special votes.

One of them was Maggie Moollan from Durban, who failed to bring her barcoded ID book with her. "I registered two months ago and organised everything, but I left my ID book at home in South Africa," she said.

"I am very disappointed to have gone through all that trouble ... it has given me an instant headache."

Moollan tried desperately to have election officials accept her passport, but to no avail.

First-time voter Ingrid Green (21), from Johannesburg, said she was "indifferent" about voting, but had turned out at her parents' insistence. However, she was glad she had the opportunity.

"If they're allowing prisoners to vote, we should be allowed to vote too," she said.

South Africans who have been living and working in London and who were not able to register in South Africa have expressed their disappointment at not being able to participate in the democratic process.

Last month – before the Independent Electoral Commission reversed its decision at the 11th hour to allow South Africans abroad to vote – close to a thousand disgruntled placard and flag-bearing citizens turned out on Trafalgar Square to protest against the fact that they were being disenfranchised.

The protest was organised by two London-based campaigns, Build SA and Vote SA.

Businessman Donald Attwood, from Durban, said he was "pleased" the IEC had reversed its decision, allowing him to make his mark while he was in London. "It all helps a little," he said.

Pretoria businesswoman Hannie van Loggerenberg said she was pleased that she was able to vote, but was disappointed that her children, both of whom are working in London, were not as they had not been in South Africa to register.

"They have not immigrated and will be returning. They want to contribute to the country and would like to have a say in how it is governed," she said. *Sapa*

POLL ROCKS ANC HOPES

Two-thirds majority and Western Cape victory beyond reach

(304A) ARG 27/5/99

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A two-thirds majority will elude the African National Congress and it will take an electoral miracle for it to win the Western Cape, according to the latest Independent Indicator poll.

Commissioned by Independent Newspapers, the poll indicates that the ANC nationally can expect between 60% and 63% of the vote.

It indicates the Democratic Party is hard on the heels of the New National Party for the mantle of official opposition in Parliament, but the DP's projected 7% to 9% means it might not overtake the New NP's 8% to 10%.

At national level, the Inkatha Freedom Party is said to have 6% to 8% and the United Democratic Movement 3% to 5%.

The Freedom Front, African Christian Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress each are shown to have between 1% and 2% support, while the Azanian People's Organisation is at 1%.

In the close-run race for the Western Cape, a survey of registered voters intending to vote showed the New NP has 32% to the ANC's 25%, with the DP continuing to show strong growth by reaching 18%.

But these figures change when taking into account undecided voters and those who refused to disclose their intentions, and factoring in the rural vote, which is not included in the survey.

When this is done, the New NP gets between 38% and 44%, the ANC 34% to 40%, the DP 10% to 14%, the UDM 2% to 3%, the PAC 2% to 3% and the ACDP 1% to 2%.

The Independent Indicator poll shows that in the Western Cape, 89% of black and 95% of white registered voters are "very likely" to vote.

Those keenest to turn out were the ANC supporters, 92% of whom were very keen to vote, while 87% of DP supporters and 79% of New NP voters were similarly eager to head for voting stations next Wednesday.

Of coloured voters in the Western Cape, 49% supported the New NP, 15% the DP, 11% the ANC, 7% refused to say, 5% were undecided, 3% were for the UDM, 2% for the ACDP and 1% each for the PAC, IFP and "none".

Among whites in the province, the New NP had 37% to the DP's 32%, 13% refused to say and 10% were undecided, while only 1% supported the ANC.

Of black Africans, 84% supported the ANC, 6% the PAC. 2% the New NP and 1% the ACDP.

Among black people, parties registering no support in the poll were the DP, Freedom Front, Inkatha and UDM.

Among party leaders, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki was seen by 24% of Western Cape voters as capable of running the country well, while 20% believed he would deliver what he promised.

But there appeared to be a broad streak of scepticism among the electorate in the province, because 24% responded "none" when asked which of eight national party leaders would deliver what they promised.

A boost for Tony Leon was that, of the eight leaders, he was seen as most caring, rated so by 23% of Western Cape people.

Behind him was New NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk, at 18% in the caring stakes, but only 16% of those polled believed he could run the country well.

Among other provinces, Gauteng showed the most dramatic change, reports Jovial Rantao from Johannesburg.

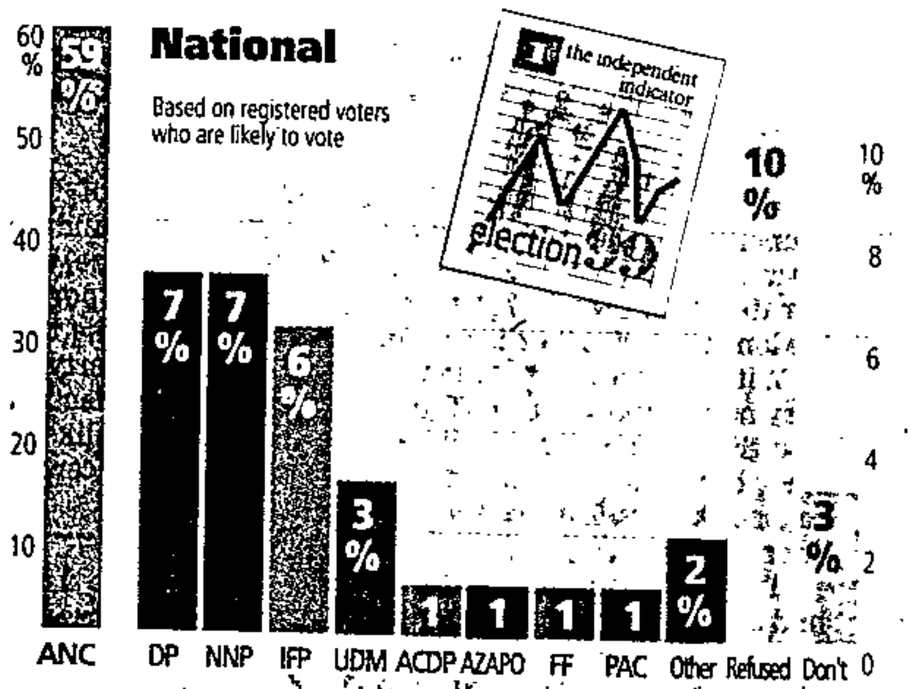
Compared to 1994, the DP is expected to increase its vote from 3% to 13% and, boosted by floating voters and vociferous campaigning, this could rise to 16%.

The ANC is likely to retain the level of support it achieved in 1994, which was 59%. The DP's increase in support has been largely at the expense of the New NP, whose support in Gauteng has plummeted from 27,5% to a possible high of 10%.

In Kwazulu Natal, an ANC-led coalition government with the IFP is on the cards, reports Charles Phahlane from Durban.

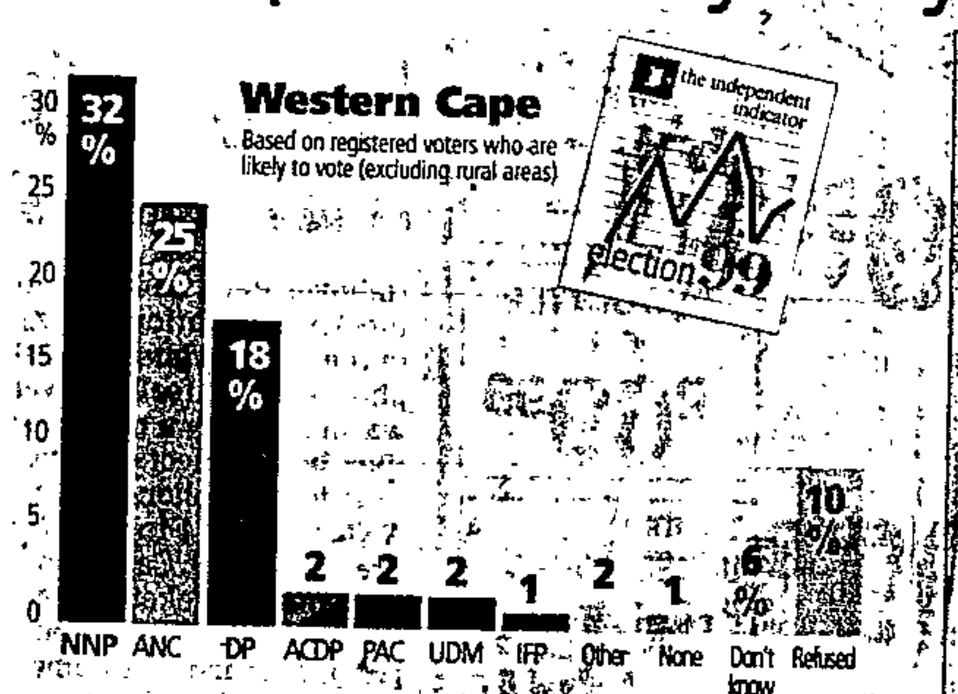
About 34% of registered voters declared their support for the ANC while 24% said they would vote for the IFP. There was a large undecided group.

■ The survey polled 2 322 registered voters who intend to vote and was conducted between March 5 and March 30.



Projected result Taking undecided/undisclosed voters into account

	BEST	WORST		BEST	WORST
ANC	63%	61%	UDM	5%	3%
NNP	10%	8%	ACDP, PAC, FF	2%	1%
DP	9%	7%	AZAPO	1%	1%
IFP	8%	6%	Other parties	4%	3%



Projected result Taking account of undecided/undisclosed and rural voters

	BEST	WORST		BEST	WORST
NNP	44%	38%	ACDP	2%	1%
ANC	40%	34%	PAC	3%	2%
DP	14%	10%	IFP	1%	1%
UDM	3%	2%	Other parties	2%	2%

'Coloureds belong with New NP' P2
Rivals tense over coalition rule P3
ANC and New Nat cliffhanger P12
Issue is black and white P13



It's the showdown the people of the Western Cape have been waiting for.

Tonight, the premier candidates of the African Christian Democratic Party, African National Congress, Democratic Party, New National Party and the United Democratic Movement will take part in the Great Cape Argus Election Debate.

CapeTalk will broadcast the debate live on 567 medium wave and e.tv will carry news reports and cover the debate in its election programmes.

The debate begins at 7pm in the city hall. Entrance is free.

Betting on a one-horse race

(304A) M+G 28/5 - 3/6/99

X ELECTION 99

Thabo Mbeki and the African National Congress are set to romp home next Wednesday, June 2, with about 70% of the vote — well over the two-thirds majority that excites ANC supporters and horrifies the opposition.

The turnout across the country should be high, averaging out at about 90% of registered voters.

Apart from the ANC, the only other real winner will be Tony Leon's Democratic Party which, with about 36 seats in the National Assembly, could displace the New National Party as the official opposition.

Marthinus van Schalkwyk's NNP looks like being the biggest loser, with less than half the tally of MPs it achieved in 1994.

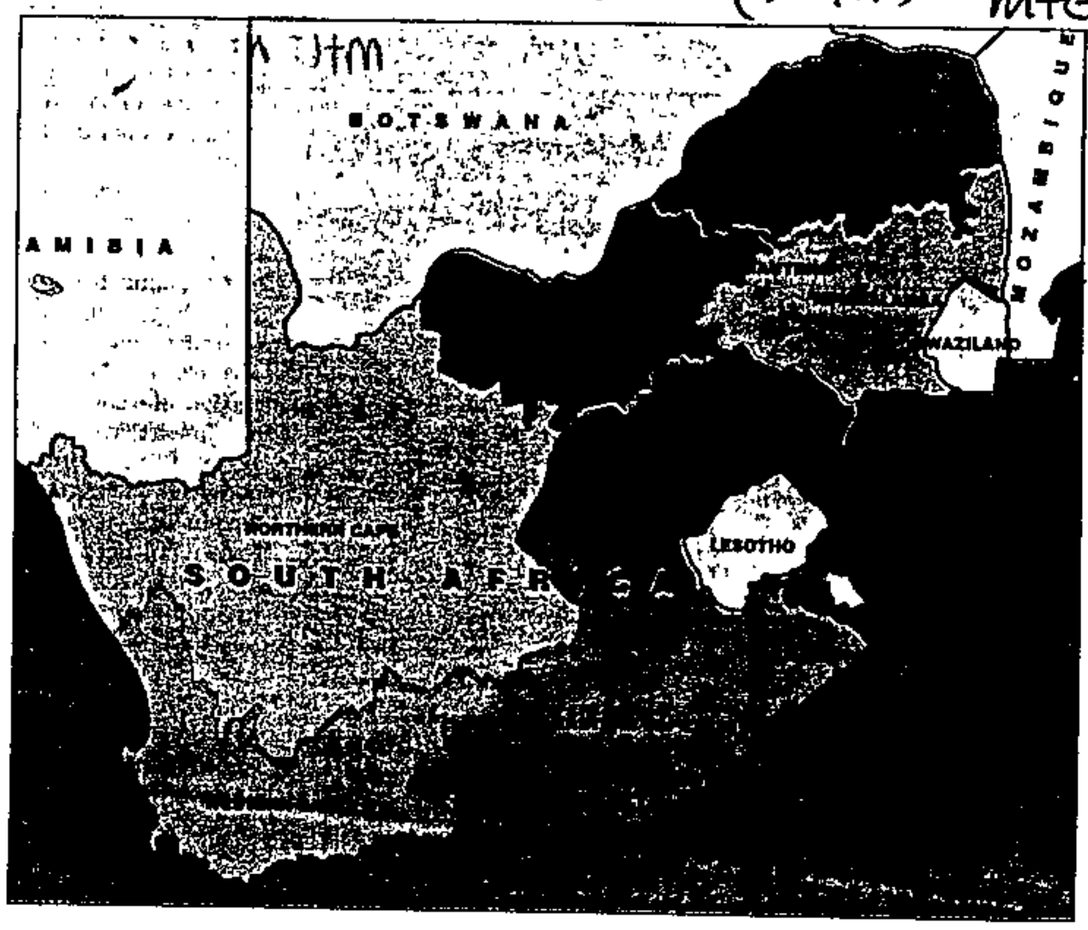
The Inkatha Freedom Party could also be forced to eat humble pie — as indisposed as Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to doing so.

The disappointment of the election could be Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer's United Democratic Movement.

After an impressive start, the UDM rapidly lost momentum over the campaign.

Expect Bishop Stanley Mogoba's Pan Africanist Congress to hang on to a presence in Parliament by its fingernails (if its hands haven't been amputated, that is).

The African Christian Democratic Party should slip home on a wing and prayer, while General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front will fight its way back.



Western Cape

This one could end up being settled with fists or in the courts if the NNP splits over whether to go into coalition with the DP or the ANC. NNP legislators disagree over which party to join up with to form the Western Cape government; one or other side could refuse to accept whatever decision is taken; rebellious members could lose their seats; and some could ask the courts to determine who has the power to decide a coalition partner.


Peter Marais

Local NNP maverick Peter Marais and his national leader, "Kortbroek" van Schalkwyk, are believed to hunger for the rewards that could come from bedding down with the ANC. But most local NNP legislators favour a tie-up with the DP.

No party looks likely to get an absolute majority. Latest opinion polls show the ANC, and NNP are neck and neck. The best prediction will be that one of the two will get 15 seats, the other 16. The DP should get five or more seats. DP sources say they see little sense in an all-party "government of provincial unity".

The ACDP should also retain a local presence, but Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance doesn't seem to have a hope in hell here. This is Stormers territory, man.

Gauteng

The political parachute may have rescued the ANC here. Mbeki's decision to let loose the outgoing general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Mbhazima Shilowa, on the Gauteng ANC in place of the dismally rated Premier Mathole Motshekga has given the ANC campaign a lift. Opinion polls predictions of a clear ANC majority look much sounder as a result.


Mbhazima Shilowa

Expect the ANC to get about 46 seats in the 73-seat legislature, with the DP installing itself as the official opposition, with about 12 seats.

Gauteng will give the NNP some of its worst news in what looks to be a miserable week for the party, as its tally of seats seems set to fall from the 21 gained in 1994 to about four on Wednesday.

The Azanian People's Organisation, the PAC and the UDM seem likely to be found yapping while the ANC caravan moves on. And the IFP's support looks a lot shakier than in the past.

KwaZulu-Natal

If nothing else, the fact that most voters in the province live in urban rather than rural areas looks set to ensure a victory for the ANC. Urban and peri-urban areas are solidly controlled by the ANC, and it will take a miracle — or massive disruptions — to keep the party out of power in the province. Polls have shown that six out of 10 people in the province fear intimidation if their voting preferences are known.


S'bu Ndebele: ANC premier candidate

Assuming a percentage poll of about 90% of registered voters, the ANC should win an absolute majority and grab about 44 of the 80 seats in the legislature, double the likely IFP tally. This outcome would clearly stamp the ANC's authority on the coalition government the ANC and the IFP are likely to establish after the election.

Among white, coloured and Indian voters, expect gains for the DP and a fall-off in support for the NNP.

Eastern Cape

A hands-down win for the ANC, helped somewhat by the way the government suddenly managed to launch, amid great fanfare in the course of the campaign, a number of local development projects.


Bantu Holomisa

The main interest lies in who will play second fiddle in this large, poor province where Transkei homeboy Holomisa still has a fighting chance of making an impact despite his disappointing campaign.

Expect the ANC to win about 54 of the 63 seats in the Bisho-based legislature. Holomisa must be hoping the opinion polls have underestimated his mainly Transkei-based support because if they haven't, he won't get more than two seats. This would allow the DP or NNP, likely to win about three seats each, to become the official opposition.

Northern Cape

The DP, FF and the FA have ganged up to form a small opposition bloc which they hope will enable them to hold the balance of power in South Africa's most sparsely populated province, depending on the balance of power between the NNP and ANC.


Manne Dipico

The polls suggest their strategy will not work, as the ANC should scrape home with an absolute majority, with about 16 of the 30 seats on offer.

But the group believes it has everything to play for. The NNP, which toyed with the idea of joining it, got cold feet at the last moment.

ANC Premier Manne Dipico played a clever hand in 1994 when he offered the single DP member elected the speakership in the legislature to turn his party's 15 seats into the slimmest of majorities. He may just have to be as crafty again.

Free State

Another resounding ANC victory. But expect it to be down a little on the scale of its success five years ago. The reason? The ANC has resorted continually to imposing new leaders on the fractious local party to calm it down, instead of resolving the internecine dynamics. Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, brought in to replace Patrick "Terror" Lekota in 1996, was no solution. And Winkie Direko, brought in now as the ANC premier candidate, is even less likely to end the infighting.


Winkie Direko

Her first act was to seek the wholesale deletion from the party's election lists of all members of one faction implicated in local struggles.

This has created opportunities for the PAC and the UDM, though it is unlikely they will succeed in fully exploiting them.

Each seems unlikely to gain more than two seats, against the ANC's probable 23, in the 30-seat assembly.

Mpumalanga

Another emphatic ANC victory — even though the ANC has removed from the premiership anti-corruption champion Mathews Phosa and rewarded those he alleged were lining their pockets at taxpayers' expense with prominent positions on the provincial list.


Johannes Mahlangu

His handpicked successor, former homeland leader Johannes Mahlangu, has not exactly inspired the locals.

How this will play itself out is unclear. But the UDM, with perhaps two seats, could establish itself as the official opposition in place of the NNP.

The DP could be a newcomer in the legislature, and the FF looks set to retain a toehold there.

Northern Province

Expect the biggest walkover of the lot for the ANC — despite bitter infighting that cost Premier Ngoako Ramathlodi the party chair, and the fury of 170 000 highly politicised voters in Bushbuckridge who want incorporation into Mpumalanga.


Ngoako Ramathlodi

On a far smaller scale, the Reverend Kenneth Meshoe's ACDP could pick up a couple of seats in the Bible belt around Pietersburg, and the DP looks like displacing the NNP and FF as the main parties among whites.

The FA may also benefit from agreements it has struck with local black ethnic parties.

North-West

The North-West has long been good fossil territory, and Wednesday may see the recovery of another one — the former president of erstwhile Bophuthatswana, Lucas Mangope.


Popo Molefe

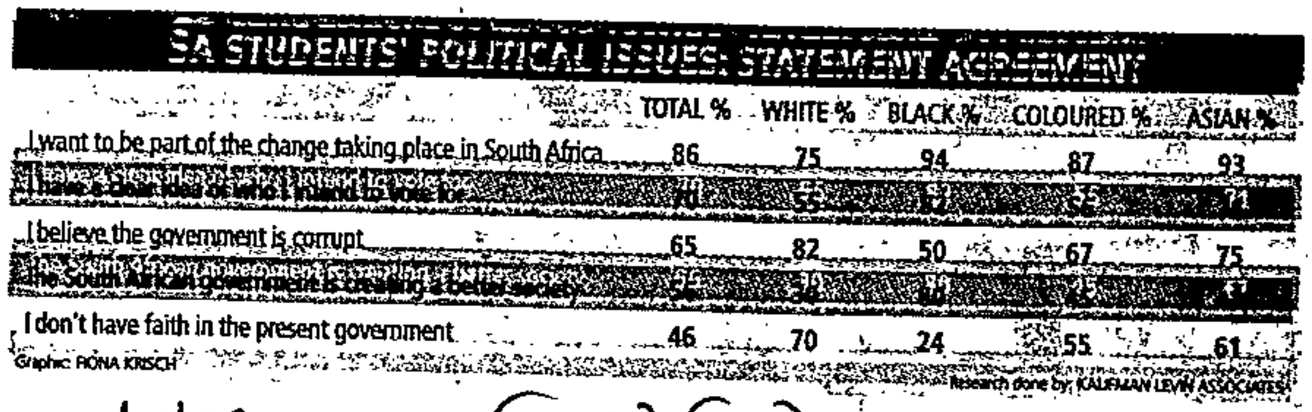
He looks set to return to mainstream politics if poll predictions of support for his United Christian Democratic Party prove well founded. His party could just pick up two provincial seats and may rival the DP in the race to become the official opposition there.

But Premier Popo Molefe's ANC will be overwhelmingly dominant, with perhaps 28 of the 33 seats on offer.

Compiled by Justin Arenstein, Howard Barrell, Peter Dickson, Selby Makgotho, Wally Mbhele, Makhosini Nkosi, Ivor Powell and Tara Turkington

PHYLICIA OPPELT

Survey of youth reveals some interesting divisions



Young say SA is cool

SOUTH Africa's young people mix easily with other race groups, believe in democracy and want to be part of the changes taking place.

But they also believe crime is the biggest problem in South Africa, and most of them feel that the government is corrupt and that the death penalty should be reinstated.

These sentiments — focusing on political issues — are part of a Sunday Times survey among 1 500 students at 12 universities.

The objective of the research was to identify life issues and the mindsets of South African university students. The survey used a quota sample and the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis on campuses around the country. Respondents were randomly selected.

While much has been made of supposed political apathy among young South Africans, 84 percent of the university students surveyed have registered to vote on Wednesday.

Registration is evenly spread among race groups — 86 percent of blacks, 83 percent of whites, 71 percent of coloured students and 77 percent of Asians say they have registered.

But white and coloured students do not seem to be clear about which party represents their aspirations. At the time of the survey only 55 percent of white students and 56 percent of coloured students had a clear idea who they would vote for.

Most of the students interviewed, however, believe in a democratic South Africa, but at the same time 65 percent feel that the present government is corrupt.

An astounding 41 percent of all the students surveyed said that they were happier living in South Africa five years ago — 55 percent of white students, 27 of blacks, 41 percent of coloureds and 67 percent of Asians.

Nearly a third of the black students interviewed thought that they would emigrate at some time in the future while 58 percent of white students, 52 percent of coloured students and 63 percent of Asian students said they would contemplate living elsewhere.

Asian students, in many respects, seem to be the most alienated from the new South Africa, although 96 percent feel happy mixing with people of all races and 85 percent are comfortable with the idea of democracy. When it comes to issues like the death penalty, crime, emigration and a desire for the old South Africa, they appear to be pessimistic. Asian students are also the least positive about the future.

Black students, on the other hand, are highly optimistic about the ANC government and say it has created a better South Africa. They want to be part of change and 81 percent believe they have a future here.

White students make up the biggest proportion — at 70 percent — of those who don't have any faith in the present government. A full 60 percent wish the political situation had not changed as much as it has over the past five years. They, more than any other race group, are not confident that the present government will successfully take South Africa into the future.

But 83 percent feel happy about mixing with people of all races and 81 percent are happy with the idea of democracy.

For 90 percent of all students, South Africa would be a much better place without crime, while 88 percent believe crime is our biggest problem.

When asked whether South Africa was a good place to grow up in, 78 percent of the students said yes. But while 66 percent of the white students and 57 percent of the Asians said yes, an overwhelming 92 percent of black students agreed.

The complete Sunday Times survey will be published next month.

Desegregation parallels considered

Uneducated blacks are being left behind in the race for global competitiveness

(304A)

FROM very different directions, the US and SA, which is now five years removed from the horrors of apartheid segregation, have followed a common path, says Rupert Taylor, a professor of political studies at the University of Witwatersrand.

"Given the spread of globalisation, there is value in a comparison between the experiences of blacks in both countries," he says.

State-enforced racial segregation ended in the US south in the 1960s and three decades later in SA.

But in both communities, claim some academics, the initial wave of euphoria has turned to cynicism as political equality has failed to translate into economic equality.

Resentment has grown as some blacks have made it up the economic and education ladder while the expectations of many of their poor brethren have remained unmet.

Among SA's white minority, meanwhile, a furious backlash is developing from people who feel cheated by affirmative action and who see their race-based privileges at risk.

Some analysts say changes in the global economy, which has seen moves from labour to capital-intensive industries, help explain why many of the high hopes of poor blacks in both countries have been dashed.

"Globalisation has really hit blacks in both countries very hard.

"It has benefited those with education or skills while those lacking in these departments have been left behind," says Jane Parpart, a southern African specialist at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia.

More than 30 years after the civil rights movement in the US peaked, the gap between black and white Americans remains wide.

According to a 1998 White House report, the median family income of whites in 1996 was $47 100, but only $26 500 for black families.

The poverty rate for black families fell to 26,1% in 1996 from 30,4% in 1991.

But even that improved rate was more than triple the white poverty rate of 8,6%.

Some analysts say these disparities can be explained only in the context of the decline in manufacturing jobs and relative reduction in real wages in the US since the early 1970s, processes that have had a disproportionate effect on a black community already lagging in skills training and education.

In SA the urban black poor appear to have borne the brunt of the changes in an economy newly exposed to global competition after decades of isolation.

More than 500 000 jobs have been shed since SA's first nonracial elections in 1994.

The mining industry has undergone a painful restructuring.

From a peak of more than 500 000 workers a decade ago, the sector has been cut to fewer than 300 000 workers. Most of those who have lost their jobs have been black.

The divide between white haves and black have-nots remains a chasm.

The World Bank says only Brazil and Namibia have a more unequal distribution of income than SA, and many of these divisions run along racial lines.

Income divisions within the black communities in both countries have increased with the growth of vibrant black middle classes who have grasped opportunities previously denied them.

"The upwardly mobile blacks in the US have left the ghetto while the poor remain mired in the mud," said Bruce Murray, who teaches American history at the University of Witwatersrand.

The development of a black middle class has provoked racist resentment from some segments of the white communities.

However, there are obvious differences between the experiences of the black communities in the two countries.

Blacks in America, by and large, enjoy far higher incomes and standards of living than their SA counterparts.

Blacks in SA are the majority and have a black president to look up to, an experience never enjoyed by their counterparts across the Atlantic, who are a minority in the US.

In 20th century America, racial segregation was legally enforced only in the deep south, though historians say discrimination was — and remains — widespread.

In SA all blacks had to abide by the hated laws of apartheid.

Taylor said there were significant political differences between the black liberation struggle in SA and the US civil rights movement of 1950s and 1960s.

"The African National Congress has tried to represent all of SA. It does not see itself in racial terms, while the US civil rights movement was more closely linked with black identity," he said. — Reuter.

BD 31/5/99

Kevin O'Grady (304A)

MPs get a R22 500 farewell allowance if not re-elected

BD 31/5/99

MPs who do not return to Parliament after Wednesday's election will each receive a once-off allowance of more than R22 500, in terms of a proclamation by President Nelson Mandela.

The proclamation in the Government Gazette says people who are members of the National Assembly and permanent delegates to the National Council of Provinces will receive a 12th of their total annual pay if they are not re-elected.

MPs currently receive a total annual package of R270 774.

They would not receive the allowance if they were "elected or appointed to any office under the state within one month of June 1", the proclamation said. The allowance need not be paid before June 30.

The allowance is authorised in terms of the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers Act which says the president can award allowances to MPs by proclamation in the gazette.

Lawson Naidoo, spokesman for parliamentary speaker Frene Ginwala, said the allowances were intended to compensate nonreturning MPs as they were not covered by the existing labour legislation.

If they were in the private sector, MPs would qualify for severance pay of a week's salary for each year of employment, a provision that did not apply to public representatives, said Naidoo.

The move was strongly criticised by the United Democratic Movement's acting secretary-general, Annelize van Wyk, who said the allowances were "a small golden handshake" that could "go down as one of the last mistakes Mandela made".

There were some MPs who would not be returning for a second term because they had performed inadequately. "This sends a message to the outside world that we reward people for not doing their jobs," she said.

The allowance meant spending on MPs' salaries would increase dramatically next month because newly elected legislators would be paid from June 2.

Phosa condemns reports of farmers bullying workers

By Victor Mecoamere, Wilson Ramothata

POLITICAL parties must comply with the Electoral Act to protect the integrity of South Africa's second democratic elections, Mpumalanga Premier Matthews Phosa said in Nelspruit yesterday.

Phosa was reacting to allegations of intimidation involving farmers and their workers in the province's Piet Retief area.

"Much as I appreciate the enthusiasm of the voters who have come in large numbers, I am disturbed by reports of farmers in the Piet Retief area who are said to have told their workers which parties to vote for," Phosa said after voting at the Nelspruit civic centre.

Phosa also remarked on the report of a policeman who was arrested in Buffelspruit a few days ago for allegedly being in possession of ballot papers "which were reportedly destined for the Inkatha Freedom Party".

Independent Electoral Commission project and liaison deputy director Mr Leon Mbangwa told a media briefing later that the voting process in Mpumalanga had been peaceful. Voting started on schedule except at stations that encountered shortages of election materials.

"This resulted in some of our voting stations opening late. Allegations of intimidation between members of the United Democratic Movement and African National Congress were reported in Wakkerstroom and KaNyamazane," Mbangwa said.

He said a UDM member allegedly stabbed two ANC supporters in Wakkerstroom.

But Mbangwa did not describe what transpired between UDM and ANC supporters in KaNyamazane.

He said both incidents were referred to the IEC's conflict resolution committee, which would investigate and resolve them.

Mbangwa said only a few of the 883 voting stations in Mpumalanga had opened late due to logistical problems.

● Farmworkers turned out in their thousands yesterday to cast their votes in the second democratic elections in various polling stations in farms north of Johannesburg.

A throng of voters rubbed shoulders with their madams and masters to cast their votes at the Model C Nooitgedacht Lower Primary School in the Magaliesberg Rural Council, Renosterspruit Farm, south of Erasmia, and Kwena-Molapo High School in Bothaville farm, near Lanseria.

Voting went relatively smoothly without any logistical problems at the polling stations. The IEC had supplied the necessary equipment.

By midday most of the voters at Bothaville were beginning to criticise the slow pace of the queue.

They also complained of hunger, with some claiming they had been away from their homes since 4am.

"Some of us walked more than 15 kilometres from our homes in the hope of finishing early, but the queue is moving slowly," said an angry voter.

A presiding officer at Kwena-Molapo polling station, Ms Ingrid Matabane, said more than 700 of the 2 500 voters had cast their votes by noon yesterday.

Ms Flora Bombi, a domestic worker in Lanseria, said despite the non-delivery of infrastructure in the area as promised by politicians before the 1994 general elections, she was confident that after she had made her mark there would be some changes for the better.

She said even if they still lived in squalor, the Government needed a second chance.

● A bomb hoax spiced up the generally sedate elections in Mpumalanga yesterday.

"A report was received that a bomb was defused at one of the voting stations in Lydenberg. After investigations it was found that this was only a bomb scare," said Mr Leon Mbangwa, the IEC's deputy director of project and liaison in Mpumalanga yesterday.

"A parcel alleged to contain the bomb was not one after all," Mbangwa said at the IEC provincial result centre.

Another allegation that was found wanting in the Lowveld was a report about a presiding officer at Khumbulani High School who was accused of chasing away old people who wanted to vote.

"The allegations was found not to be true. Only one old person was turned away because that person was not on the voter's roll," said Mbangwa.

Act will stop unlawful evictions

(306) Sowetan 3/6/99

THE new Prevention of Illegal Eviction and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act now makes it illegal for anyone to evict an "unlawful occupier" of land without a court order.

In the past many tenants, usually farm workers, found themselves homeless after being evicted by farmowners whose land they occupied. Such incidents have in the past led to serious and sometimes bloody confrontations. The new Act removes the often ugly confrontation between landowners and squatters.

Some people have in the past been victims of unscrupulous "estate agents" who sold the homeless land that did not belong to them. The Act will now protect the innocent by making it an offence for anyone to solicit or receive any payment for "arranging" for or permitting people to occupy land without the owner's consent.

But the new Act does not cover those farmworkers and their families who occupy farmland in terms of the Extension of Security Tenure Act, or those living in settlements recognised under the Interim Protection and Informal Land Rights Act.

It applies to all others who occupy land without the express consent of the landowner or the "person in charge" of the land at the time of occupation.

According to the Estate Agents Affairs Board, "since the person in charge" could well be an estate agent who is managing or overseeing property for the owner, it is important for agents as well as owners to understand the new provisions on eviction. The most important fact that this cannot take place without a court order.

A magistrate's court has jurisdiction to issue an eviction order but is required, in terms of the Act, to take into account many factors besides unlawful occupation itself. For example, if squatters have occupied the land for less than six months, the court cannot make an eviction order without considering the rights and needs of the elderly, children, disabled people and households headed by women.

On the other hand, the court may grant an urgent eviction order if it considers that there is real and imminent danger of injury to any person, or damage to property if the unlawful occupier is not immediately evicted. However, the Act also makes provision for the appointment of a mediator to attempt to resolve any dispute between a landowner and an unlawful occupier.



Flashback: Evicted Hillbrow flat dwellers with their belongings on the pavement.

Two-thirds majority looms

From page 1

(304A) ARG 3/6/99

be relegated to a low position in the Eastern Cape, North West, Mpumalanga, Free State and Northern Province.

In the largest and most sparsely populated province, the Northern Cape, where it had boasted it would install provincial leader P W Saaiman as premier, the New NP was soundly beaten by the ANC.

Provisional Western Cape results indicated that the DP had made minor inroads into "coloured" areas, although these suburbs were the ones which stood by the New NP, returning to it the major share of political power in the province.

Comparison of national and provincial figures appeared to show that the New NP had retained its hold on the Western Cape thanks to working-class coloured people giving it another chance, but at national level whites deserted the Nats for the DP in droves.

ANC hopes for major gains in strategic areas such as Mitchell's Plain were dashed as the sprawling suburb stayed firmly in the Nat fold.

The Democratic Party took a huge chunk of votes from such areas as Sea Point, wresting it back from the New NP.

Provincial leader Hennie Bester said his party had made a "major breakthrough" in areas where it previously did not have a single vote.

These included areas such as Tafelsig, Belgravia, Lansdowne and Duinefontein.

Some artistic touches on ballot papers get IEC nod

ARG 3/6/99 (304A)

Pretoria – Funny faces, scribbles and thumb prints all counted as a valid indication of a voter's choice, the Independent Electoral Commission said today about a controversy over the use of pencils to mark ballot papers.

Ticks, a long line through the party of choice, and a big "yes" also counted as a vote, said the IEC's Craig O'Flaherty at the results centre in Pretoria.

A voter was even allowed to write the words "this one", or repeat the name of the chosen party in the space next to its logo.

What did not count were huge flamboyant crosses or ticks that floated over into the larger part of another party's designated box, graffiti, ranking parties 1, 2, 3 according to preference, or marking two parties on the same ballot paper.

A crumpled ballot paper, or a ballot paper folded into an elaborate origami shape was also valid, as long as the chosen party was clearly defined.

■ Police had to intervene at the KwaMashu Rotary men's hostel in Durban yesterday when voters refused to use pencils and others expressed concern about being given a pen to vote with.

Mr O'Flaherty said the presence of two party agents and observers at each polling station, and at the counting centre, removed the possibility of a vote being erased. – Sapa

■ Frustrated IEC staff in the small Northern Province town of Ohrigstad had to use a hearse from a local funeral home to transport ballot papers to polling stations, when they ran out of material almost immediately after opening, reported African Eye News Service.

■ In Tygerberg, three voting stations opened late after the presiding officers had locked the voters roll inside steel ballot boxes used for special votes. Legally, the boxes could not be opened until counting began.

But the local electoral officer negotiated with all party agents and by 10.30am they were opening the boxes to remove the voters roll.

■ In one of the quickest polls in the country, voting at the tiny Eastern Cape town of Paterson was over by 10.45am. Paterson local electoral officer O' Donovan Williams said 350 voters had made their crosses by then – the town's roll had only 210 registered voters. – ECN

■ The first election results came from Robben Island. The last boat, carrying officials, left for Cape Town five hours before the polling station officially closed at 9pm.

University of Cape Town
7700 Rondebosch

IEC battles to handle turnout

BD 3/6/99 (304A)

Voters were still queuing to vote late last night, and this was certain to delay counting — Mchunu

Kevin O'Grady, Farouk Chothia
Stephen Laufer and Sapa

PRETORIA — Voters in many parts of the country queued long into the night to cast their ballots last night as the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) battled to cope with what chief electoral officer Mandla Mchunu called "an extremely high turnout" for SA's second democratic election.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi said there had been "not a single incident of violence relating to the election". The mood at the security operation centre was "bullish, very upbeat. We are getting this peace because we prepared to go to war if necessary in order to defend this election."

Both men said months of preparation had paid off on an election day that Mchunu described as "unprecedented in a second democratic election, especially in Africa". Mchunu said that as far as he was concerned, all 14 650 polling stations opened, even though the IEC had been in contact with only 70% of presiding officers by 6.30pm.

However, long queues, particularly in major cities, appeared certain to delay counting. Mchunu said stations would stay open for as long as necessary to allow anybody wanting to vote to do so. There was no question of a second day of voting.

Several reasons were advanced for the long queues, among them the number of illiterate people needing help, the inexperience of presiding officers leading to a slow start and the fact that many people went to vote after finishing work. Isolated stations in the Eastern Cape opened in the late afternoon.

The IEC said many queues started thinning by late afternoon as polling stations gathered speed and dealt with backlogs caused by the early arrival of eager voters. In Greenside, Johannesburg, for example, voters queued in the morning for an hour and a half, but by afternoon were completing their business within minutes.

Contrary to predictions, no serious incidents arose from unregistered voters being turned away from polling stations. Some minor incidents were reported, including a call to the Durban flying squad to remove unruly voters from a polling station in KwaMashu. They had refused to make their crosses with pencils, saying they feared their choices could be altered.

Police said a man was shot in the leg while queuing to vote at Ivory Park on the North Rand, apparently after an argument over liquor.



Johannesburg resident Liz Moore, third left, cuddles up against her nanny, Helen Modibedi, second left, while queueing in the morning cold outside a voting station in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: AP

In the hotly contested Western Cape there were complaints of intimidation and irregular canvassing by different parties. It was reported that African National Congress agents forced their Democratic Party counterparts away from four voting stations on the Cape Flats. In KwaZulu-Natal "verbal intimidation" among party agents was reported.

Opposition parties echoed Mchunu's prediction of a high turnout. The Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson and Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen said they believed this would work to their advantage, preventing the African National Congress from obtaining a two-thirds majority.

ANC spokesman Thabo Masebe said the party was satisfied that voting stations around the country were operational. The party's communications network had allowed it to keep in touch with party agents everywhere. None had reported serious problems.

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the IEC had done "very well". He predicted an 80% turnout in the Western Cape, with voters still queuing at 8pm, swaying the province towards the NNP in a neck-and-neck race with the ANC.

The United Democratic Movement's Roelf Meyer was critical of the IEC for its failure to make contact with as many as 30% of polling stations.

By 8pm the IEC's database showed that 6 394 341 registered voters (34,61%) had cast ballots at 10 683 polling stations. If the remaining 4 000 voting stations were taken into account, the reported 8pm turnout was likely to be about 55%.

In Nebo, Northern Province, Pan Africanist Congress leader Stanley Mogoba had to wait an hour to cast his vote because IEC officials could not find his name on the roll.

DP leader Tony Leon was delayed in casting his ballot in Orange Grove, Johannesburg, as the vehicle delivering ballot papers was involved in an accident — just one of a number of instances in which voting stations reported receiving supplies late or not at all.

Mchunu said the functioning of voting stations was not seriously impaired, as neighbouring stations helped one another out. The defence force also provided logistical assistance, mobilising helicopters to ferry materials and ensuring that voting stations in rural areas had lighting after dark.

Polling day characterised by harmony and efficiency

BD 3/6/99 (304A)

Business Day Reporters

THE generally positive mood at the polling stations was reflected inside most of the headquarters set up by the Independent Electoral Commission in the nation's provincial capitals — though there was some turbulence in Durban.

The spirit of harmony was particularly strong in East London, where political parties fell over each other to praise the IEC operation at the city hall.

The parties voted that the IEC-provided facilities — from the separate offices for each party to the telephones and catering — were "excellent". There was even a word of praise for the lunch provided for party representatives.

The hard-to-please media were also happy to second the vote of thanks to IEC officials.

While all was sweetness and light elsewhere, in Durban the Inkatha Freedom Party criticised some of the IEC's rulings and made numerous complaints about events at polling stations on Tuesday involving allegedly uncooperative electoral officials, a lack of proper ballot papers, names not appearing on the voters' roll and ballot boxes arriving for the count already open.

The provincial IEC insisted that everything was on track.

There were also problems in Gauteng, though provincial electoral officer Terry Tselane said many were a result of confusion and ignorance of the rules.

The IEC's "pool of experienced people was extremely limited", he said.

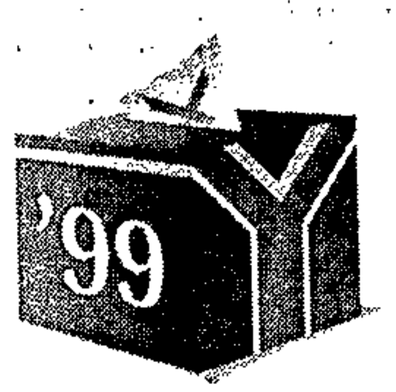
Tselane said not even the long queues at the province's 1 845 voting stations could deter the determined people who started queuing from as early as 4am. The early queues, he said, were a blessing because there would be less pressure on electoral officers in the evening when the counting of ballot papers resumed. He said the process was running smoothly.

In Bloemfontein, the IEC seemed to be encouraging an amicable atmosphere by housing its Free State media centre in the Friend building, named after a now-closed newspaper.

What on Sunday had been just a bare room was transformed into something that almost resembled a newsroom, with television sets facing every desk — well-equipped with phones and plugs for laptop computers — and frantic IEC officials and journalists rushing around talking on cellphones.

Provincial electoral officer Jabulani Mepha briefed the media every few hours on the day's hitches and successes.

For its Northern Cape nerve centre, the IEC chose Kimberley's historic town hall. In the main hall, dominated by an SA Broadcasting Corporation studio, journalists gathered for briefings by IEC staff, but the tables provided for the political parties remained empty for most of the day.



There was a serious debate at the IEC's North West media centre in Pietersburg — the IEC staff who lobbied for *pap en vleis* won an overwhelming victory over those who favoured hamburgers.

Once this crucial decision had been taken, IEC staff moved into top gear for the influx of the media and political party representatives, though "top gear" might be an exaggeration in a province where time is not of the essence.

Northern Province provincial electoral officer Zwo Nevhutalu said voting had been slow at some polling stations as "country folk were slow-moving people". They were expected to get to the polling stations later in the day.

It was all a lot slicker in the Customs House on Cape Town's foreshore. The cavernous and gloomy election centre — with rows of seats for journalists and cubicles round the sides from where party representatives popped out with up-to-the-minute tales of their party's experiences in the field.

Televised events at the national election centre were projected onto a large screen at the front.

Political analysts from universities briefed the media during the day and provincial electoral officer Courtney Sampson held a series of press conferences.

There was a similar big screen at Nelspruit civic centre where there was so much bustle that no-one seemed to have time to eat.

As IEC officials scurried about helping the people of Mpumalanga to vote, the catering staff sat bored, twiddling their thumbs.

Tables covered with salads, sandwiches and curries for journalists and political parties were largely ignored.

"Where are the journalists?" a tired looking catering staff member sighed as she paced up and down the room before finally deciding to feed herself.

She was however adamant that the food would not get wasted. "They will come back later hungry", she said.

At Mafikeng, the IEC had all the bases covered, but did overlook the needs of one of the country's minorities — smokers.

In the Provident House media centre, there were beautiful flower arrangements, hot coffee and tea, functional faxes, telephones, computers, biscuits, sandwiches and a massive screen to display results will be displayed as they are received from the province's more than 1 200 polling stations.

But Provident House is a non-smoking building, without a single ashtray or even a balcony for addicts to take refuge. As the counting went on through the night, many a weed-dependent journalist could be seen stepping out into the cold night-air of the North West.

Sanco 'looks at' UIF agency

(301)
Sowetan 4/6/99

By Ido Lekota

THOUSANDS of unemployed people are flocking to the offices of an agency which claims it can help them collect their Unemployment Insurance Fund payments and other benefits, including payouts from the metal and textile industries.

The "Advise the Nation Centre" has opened offices in Johannesburg in Duncan House, De Villiers Street. It also has offices in Orange Farm and Kliptown.

Long queues form at the offices where people bring their "blue cards" (employment record cards). The centre promises help with claiming outstanding benefits from previous employers.

Clients are charged a minimum fee of R10 for administrative costs and R5 for photocopying the documents to be sent to the previous employer or to the specific industry's bargaining council.

Clients are then advised to wait for three months before any payout is made.

An investigation by *Sowetan* has failed to find a single person who has received a payout.

Meanwhile Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) officials in the Department of Labour said no UIF claim applications had been received from the centre. They pointed out that the agency cannot, in terms of the law, make claims on anyone's behalf.

Pension payouts

Department of Labour spokesman Mr Percy Wright advised people with UIF problems to go directly to their nearest labour office.

Steel and Engineering Industry Federation of South Africa director Mr Brian Angus said that people, who were previously employed in the industry and were retrenched or dismissed, did not need a third party to help them claim either their provident fund or pension payouts. "All they need to do is to approach the benefit fund of the industry concerned for their provident or pension payouts."

Officials at the Textile Industry Bargaining Council in Gauteng complained about claims forms they received from the centre.

The officials revealed that they received batches of worthless forms from the agency purporting to assist former employees in claiming their benefits from their former employees.

However, the council officials pointed out that most of the forms were from people who had already received their benefit payouts when they left their places of employment some years ago.

The council's Ms Shunky Bond revealed that they had even received claims from people who were never employed in the industry. For example, she showed *Sowetan* a claim for someone who had apparently previously been employed at HER Tanker (Pty) Ltd. "We do not know this company," said Bond.

South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) chairman in Orange Farm Mr Oupa Mofokeng accused the agency of misleading people.

Mofokeng accused the agency of running a business which was nothing short of a "gambling scam" where they make thousands of rands a day, then probably pay one client just to prove that they are delivering and to alleviate suspicion.

Investigating the agency

Mofokeng said Sanco was investigating the agency's activities.

Applicants that *Sowetan* interviewed claimed the agency told them that it was helping them reclaim the money that the apartheid Government had withheld from black people in favour of whites.

Run by Mr Victor Radebe, the centre started in Welkom and is believed to have branches in KwaZulu-Natal as well.

During a visit to the agency's office in Duncan House an employee (who refused to identify himself) referred any inquiry about how the agency helps its clients to Radebe, who was unavailable.

Attempts to get Radebe on his cellphone were futile as the phone was turned on to voice mail and the message receiving facility was full.

For the past three months *Sowetan* has been trying to locate Radebe and visits to his house and office in Thabong have also drawn a blank.

The head of the fraud unit – who is housed in offices just three doors from Radebe's office in De Villiers street – Superintendent Jan Hyman, told *Sowetan* that the unit could act only if there were indications that the agency was acting fraudulently.

ANC trounces opposition parties

By Claire Keeton and Sharon Chetty

RESULTS from more than 2 000 polling stations were still outstanding last night as counting in the country's second democratic election entered the home stretch.

Professor Mandla Mchunu, the IEC's chief electoral officer, said that although the ballot papers at those stations had been counted, presiding officers had not transmitted their results sheets back to the IEC's nerve centre in Pretoria.

The bulk of the votes from 14 650 stations had been counted around 6pm, returning the African National Congress to power with only a small fraction of a percentage necessary to give it a sought-after two-thirds majority.

The ANC percentage poll stood at 66 percent while the Democratic Party with 9,8 percent, overtook the NP as the official opposition which polled 7,2 percent of the national vote.

But Mchunu cautioned against speculating on a final result as he said several of the outstanding stations were in metropolitan areas, like Durban and Cape Town, and would have catered for large numbers of voters.

Declaring the election free of any major hitches, Mchunu said he was not able to say when the final result would be announced.

The Electoral Act gives the IEC until June 9 to announce the final result and political parties have until 9pm tonight to lodge formal disputes. By late last night no disputes had been declared.



An elderly man and a disabled woman are assisted by an IEC official in casting their votes at a polling station in Soweto.
PIC: CLEMENT LEKANYANE

Safety and Security Minister Sidney Mufamadi again declared the election a peaceful one, saying no incidents of violence relating to the elections had been reported.

The DP looked set to maintain its lead over the NNP to become the official opposition in Parliament, and second to the ANC in Gauteng, Mpumalanga and Free State.

Former homeland leaders General Bantu Holomisa of the United Democratic Movement and Mr Lucas Mangope of the United Christian Democratic Party may see their parties become the official opposition in Eastern Cape and North West respectively.

In Eastern Cape the ANC was leading with 72,5 percent, with the UDM at 13 percent.

In Northern Cape, where the ANC and NNP were on par in 1994, the ANC had 63,7 percent and the NNP 24,8 percent.

Although Mr Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance, Mangope's UCDP and the UDM made inroads into the established parties' support base, the number of seats they have gained will be determined proportionally and depend on the final tally.

Poll astounds critics

Sowetan 4/6/99 (3044)

Despite minor snags at some polling stations, observers were favourably impressed with South Africa's second democratic elections, writes **Sharon Chetty**

SOUTH AFRICA'S second democratic elections will go down in history for the major contrast between them and the 1994 poll, and most importantly for the fact that they went off so smoothly and peacefully.

The return to power of the African National Congress was a foregone conclusion. And the fight for second place by the Democratic Party and the New National Party was also expected.

So the surprises were that there were no major logistical hitches, no incidents of election-related violence and most of those who registered turned out to vote, contrary to fears that there would be widescale apathy.

And for the duration of this country's single biggest electoral event, the "peace and quiet" that characterised June 2 made the news, dispelling fears that the stringent rules of the poll – like the need for people to have a barcoded identity documents, be registered on the voters' roll and vote within specified areas – would result in massive disorganisation.

Independent Electoral Commission chief electoral officer Mandla Mchunu described the initial tally of a voter turnout at about 85 percent as "unprecedented in Africa for second democratic elections".

The fact that there had been no queries about the voters' roll confirmed that the "roll is a valid one", and vindicated the Government's insistence on introducing such a measure even in the face of court challenges from the NNP and DP.

If uncertainty was the norm for the 1994 elections, this poll will be remembered for the sophisticated methods employed.

At any given time 600 volunteers sitting in front of computer terminals were in touch with voting districts to collate and verify results.

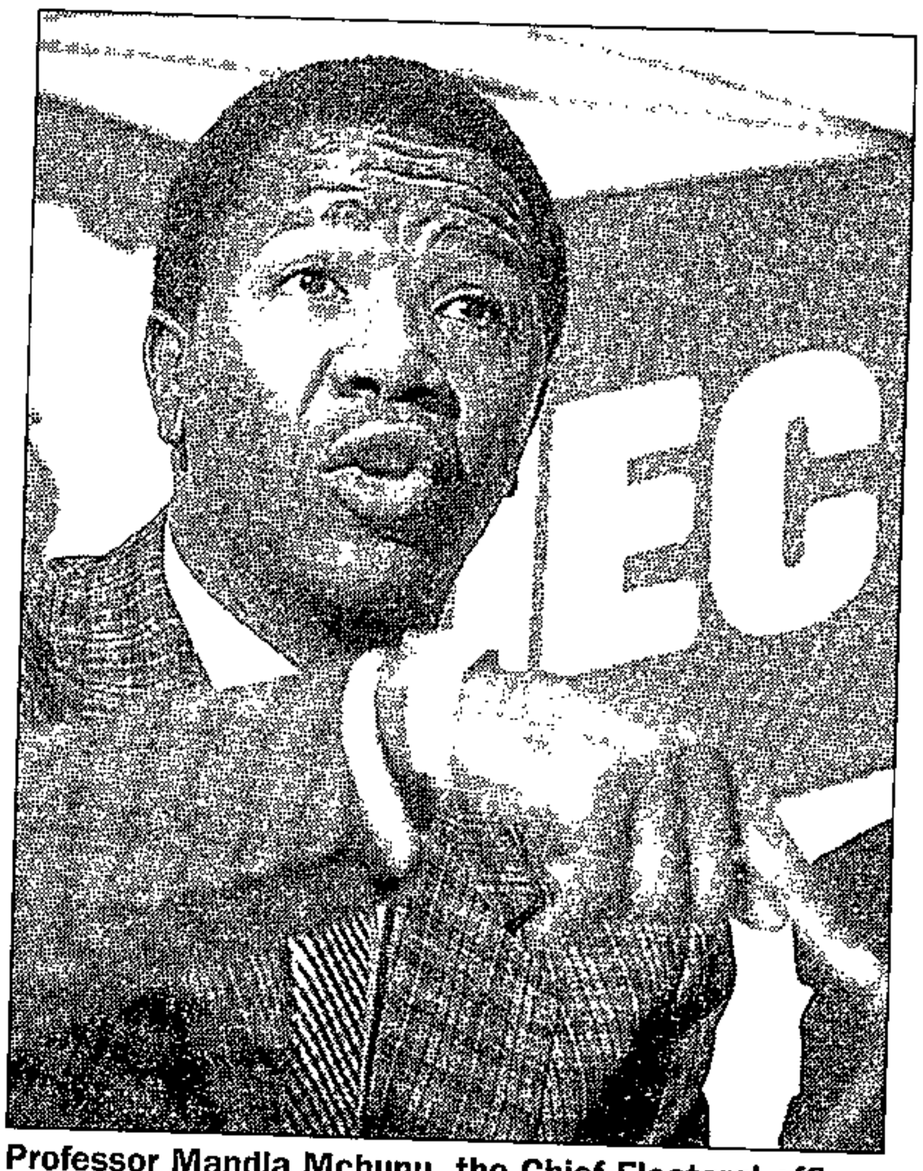
At the same time, the political parties and media had access to results as they flowed in and often applause was heard from among the different parties, although it was not always easy to work out immediately the significance of the new results when they came in so rapidly.

As everyone spent the early hours of yesterday awaiting the results, many local and foreign journalists were clearly flummoxed by the lack of "bad" news and one clearly desperate radio journalist was overheard filing a story about a short glitch in the computer system, even though the announcement of results was interrupted for only a few minutes.

"It's so quiet even the police in KwaZulu-Natal are bored," said one observer.

A United States diplomat who had spent Wednesday watching television and monitoring news wires and went to the Elections Centre "to soak it all up" declared late that evening: "What a boring and quiet day... I just love it."

He was "amazed" that all the dire forecasts had been proved wrong.



Professor Mandla Mchunu, the Chief Electoral officer of the IEC, during a press briefing at the IEC offices.
PIC: MOTLAPELE TAU

So too were two European diplomats who had worked as observers in Eastern Cape and Pretoria and who were still at the centre in the early hours of Thursday morning, curious to see how the results came in.

"It really has been a surprise ... no violence, and a high voter turnout."

But the day wasn't without snags, with voting having to continue at two stations one in Khayelitsha in Western Cape and another in Potchefstroom in North West – until about 7am yesterday, 24 hours after the polls opened.

Such iniquities, though remarkable, are nevertheless characteristic of this country and the whole election process was no different.

A sophisticated telecommunications and information technology system, including several satellites and "foolproof back-ups", made up the nerve centre of the elections.

Results were first phoned in. Once a fax was received, it was made public and the third step was for it to be transmitted electronically. Yet in many parts of the country ballots were cast and counted by candle and gas-lamp light and presiding officers had to drive to a telephone to report to the Elections Centre.

Inevitably, the "human factor" was also central to the success of the poll.

Officials overseeing the voting displayed impressive stamina when they had to deal with long queues and even longer counting hours, and at no stage did anyone say that they were unable to cope, said Mchunu.

Then there were problems with illiterate people, especially the elderly, who often did not understand the process, which caused some of the delays.

One monitor said there had also been cases of the aged sending grandchildren or others to vote on their behalf. In some areas, the "last-minute frenzy" happened when people rushed to vote after work late in the evening because they were not given the day off.

But worst of all, rumours, misinformation and misunderstandings had to be constantly dispelled by electoral officers, such as when some employers queried whether or not yesterday would be a holiday so that voting could continue.

In another instance, a political party claimed that rural Eastern Cape voters had given up on voting after dark due to security and weather concerns, thus causing speculation that there would be a low voter turnout. But an IEC survey showed an average 85 percent had voted.

Yesterday two independent groups of monitors, the Commonwealth Observer Group and the Human Sciences Research Council, said their initial impressions were that people were able to "express themselves freely".

Whatever reservations anyone may have held, the rapid count and results done in a fraction of the time expected would surely have dispelled them.

This election was the single most important event for South Africa, and more than the victory of any party, it proved that when it comes to the crunch, we all have the interests of the country at heart.

More effective, united opposition now born, says DP leader Leon

JOHANNESBURG: At the break of dawn today, the DP will emerge as the official opposition ahead of the IFP, DP leader Tony Leon said last night.

Addressing the media here following what he described as a "massive victory" for the DP, he said: "Today, a new, more effective, more united opposition has been born.

"Across South Africa, people from every community have swung in behind the DP in greater numbers than ever before. We are today a bigger, broader and better party."

He described Wednesday's election as a "political earthquake" that saw the NNP ousted as the official opposition.

"I don't think any party has suffered an official meltdown like the NNP. They were pretty hopeless as a government and they got their just desserts."

He said he drew comfort from president-in-waiting Thabo Mbeki's victory speech.

"I will take Mr Mbeki at face value and hope that he delivers on his promises ... We will oppose constructively and co-operate when necessary, but we will not have our voice stilled, because it is politically correct." — Sapa

NNP reeling from humiliation

MARCO GRANELLI
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

THE New National Party's highest decision-making body is set to meet on Monday for a post-mortum of Wednesday's stunning humiliation at the polls.

Sources confirmed the party's executive, comprising leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk along with the provincial leaders, executive director and selected other senior members, would meet in Cape Town in a bid to fathom what went wrong.

The crisis facing the party is a life or death one: It went from official opposition with more than 20% of the vote to fourth place with less than 8% (with 60% of results counted). It went from majority rule in the Western Cape to second largest party and lost its official opposition status in all seven provinces where it held it in 1994.

Party officials were reeling yesterday as the results poured in.

"I'm shell-shocked," said one senior member. "It was stunning. We expected a bit of a knock by the DP, but nothing as bad as this."

One executive member said nothing was now clear about the future. "It's not a case of changing the leadership. It's a case of trying to decide where, what, how and why it all went wrong. I think we are going to have to re-assess our very existence in some ways.

"We will have to look at what it is we are about. Are we just another opposition party and is there any future in that?"

The source said voters had clearly sent a signal to the NNP: "We are doing something wrong. The first job is to decipher what. Then we can start thinking about how to fix it. To talk about changing the leadership is premature. You can't undergo surgery before you have a diagnosis."

Parties bewail lost votes

MANDLA MNYAMANA

WHILE some political parties pampering in South Africa's second democratic election celebrated their victory at the polls, others were left disappointed after they did not make it to the National Assembly by the election deadline.

Most of the parties which could be said to have lost votes were at the provincial level.

Mosiuoa Lekota, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) president, said his party's poor showing in the Western Cape, where it got only 0,5% of the vote, was because "Africans in the Western Cape are politically immature".

"We said the ballot box could not be trusted by the illiterate people. We said they should vote by symbols, but they voted for parties they knew nothing about," he said.

Azapo, which got 0,2% of the vote countrywide, won only 0,4% in the Western Cape.

Lekota said the party had also been disadvantaged by the fact that it was not allowed to campaign in the townships.

"We were not allowed to campaign in the townships because we were told that there was violence there. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned there," he said.

Lekota said Azapo had also been disadvantaged by the fact that it was not allowed to campaign in the hostels.

"We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the hostels. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the townships. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the squatter camps. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the rural areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the white areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the coloured areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the Indian areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the Afrikaner areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the English areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the Jewish areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the Greek areas. We were told that we would provoke violence if we campaigned in the Portuguese areas. 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ANALYSIS

What's so magical about two-thirds?

KANTHAN PILLAY

Any party having a two-thirds majority will not dramatically alter the way this country is run.

TO lawmakers, it's known as Act 108 of 1996 of the Republic of South Africa. The rest of us know it more simply as "The Constitution". However you choose to refer to it, this document — as adopted on May 8, 1996 and amended on October 11 in the same year by the Constitutional Assembly — is the supreme law of the Republic. "...law or conduct inconsistent with it is invalid, and the obligations imposed upon it must be fulfilled", says the Constitution in its founding provisions.

Now, the election results are in, and the ANC looks set to take more than 66,6% of the polls nationwide, giving it untrammelled authority to change the Constitution and thereby alter every law of the land.

Or does it?

Not by a long shot. South Africa's constitutional framework is protected by an intricate structure of legal procedures that do not allow for easy manipulation to suit party political interests.

But let's get back to basics. Chapter 1 of the Constitution, "Founding Provisions" defines the Republic of South Africa as a sovereign democratic state founded upon a number of 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, a national common voters roll, regular elections, and a multi-party system of democratic government to ensure accountability, responsiveness and openness.

Chapter 4 of the Constitution. "Parliament", defines the circumstances under which the Constitution may be amended by elected representatives. The founding provisions described above are — in constitutional terms — a protected species. Redefining these founding provisions would require a bill passed by:

- The National Assembly, with a supporting vote of at least 75% of MPs;
- The National Council of Provinces, with a supporting vote of at least six provinces.

The same protection of a 75% majority vote is given to the law entrenching the 75% requirement. Note that this is a three-quarters majority requirement — significantly more than two-thirds.

Chapter 2, the Bill of Rights, *may* be amended by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly backed by two-thirds of the provinces. Even so, such amendments could not contradict any of the founding provisions we've talked about earlier. Freedom of expression, for example, cannot be tampered with if — in so doing — our rights to accountability, responsiveness, and openness on the part of government are compromised.

> The government would need three-quarters, not two-thirds, to change the values defined in the Constitution

The Constitution Court is the final authority on whether acts of parliament are in breach of constitutionalty. Almost without exception, such courts the world over are conservative — preferring to err on the side of the status quo before extending to politicians greater rights than they would otherwise enjoy. Decisions thus far from our constitutional court have echoed this trend.

Will the ANC now be able to move Parliament? The constitution allows for several safeguards defining the rights of provinces, and such a move could face stiff challenge in the Constitutional Court if opposed by the Western Cape provincial government.

What can be said with certainty is that the death penalty will not be reinstated over the next five years.

MBEKI PROMISES TO RULE WITH HUMILITY

ANC storms to victory

Saldru
School of Economics
University of Cape Town
7700 Rondebosch

ET 4/6/99 (304A)

SOUTH AFRICAN politics entered a new era this week with the ANC romping home to a commanding victory while the once all-powerful New National Party was devastated at the polls in eight of the nine provinces, marking its lowest ebb in 50 years of politics. **ANTHONY JOHNSON, ANDRE KOOPMAN, KARIN SCHIMKE** and **CHRIS BATEMAN** report.

THE ANC is storming towards a triumphant landslide victory in the national Parliament and could hold total or partial control in all nine provinces.

With the ruling party poised to change the face of South African politics and ready to breach the critical two-thirds majority landmark last night, president-in-waiting Thabo Mbeki committed his government to reconciliation and promised to rule with humility.

Analysts predicted that late results from rural areas and informal settlements were expected to push the ANC comfortably over the two-thirds threshhold, a majority that would give the ANC a relatively free hand to changes aspects of the Constitution. The ANC, however, was swift to scotch speculation that any such changes were on the cards.

The local stock, bonds and currency markets gave the resounding ANC victory a loud round of applause, with traders saying the peaceful poll and the stronger rand increased the prospects of an interest rate cut.

The powerful ANC performance nationally was matched in the Western Cape as the ANC first closed the gap on the NNP and rallied last night past the ruling party to take a 42% to 38% lead in the province after 97,5% of the votes had been tallied.

But the shape of the new coalition government in the Western Cape — where 87,5% of voters who registered, voted on Wednesday — remained unclear last night with the NNP, the ANC and the DP still coy about who could comprise the new administration. The NNP's provincial executive, including provincial leader Gerald Morkel and his deputy, Peter Marais, was locked in crisis strategy talks until early this morning.

Meanwhile, a confident ANC was celebrating major gains at the provincial polls where it increased support from 33% to about 42%.

ANC provincial leader Ebrahim Rasool, speaking on a motorcade celebration tour through the Cape Flats, said the ANC was not opposed to forming a coalition government with the NNP. Spontaneous ANC celebrations erupted across the Peninsula last night.

Provincial DP leader Hennie Bester said last night: "We are confident we can form a leadership force in the new provincial government."

However, he emphasised the DP's view was that opposition needed strengthening, not the ANC government. He reiterated his party's policy of not entering into such a coalition.

Idasa's polling specialist, Bob Mattes, said last night the smaller parties (excluding the DP) in the Western Cape did not seem to have enough votes to hand power to the ANC or the NNP. "The NNP and the ANC will either have to deal with one another or the DP."

The DP, with about 10% of support nationally, was confident last night of becoming the next official opposition in central Parliament. However, the IFP, with eight percent support, was closing in on the DP total as results from rural KwaZulu-Natal continued to flow in.

Ironically, the IFP was itself in danger of losing KwaZulu-Natal to the ANC. Both parties had about 40% of the vote and the result could turn either way, with a small margin of victory for the winner, analysts said. However, the ANC and the IFP are poised to enter a "super-coalition" in the province.

The NNP, a shadow of its former self, was the biggest loser in the election, with the once all-powerful party in danger of being relegated, like the IFP, to a regional political force. Although the NNP appeared to have gained significant support from coloureds in the Western Cape, late results from African areas — where the ANC enjoys solid support — tipped the balance in the ANC's favour.

In the seven provinces where the NNP was the official opposition after 1994, other parties had supplanted it.

"The story of this election is really the NNP's demise," said political analyst Vincent Maphai. "I think it is clear that this may be the end of 50 years of National Party politics."

Susan Booysen from the University of Port Elizabeth agreed, saying the results showed the total disintegration of the NNP.

Analyst Richard Calland said the NNP had been decimated in all the other provinces outside the Western Cape.

The DP, which grew more than any other party — from 1,5% to about 10% — "has some problems of its own". If it failed in its bid to become the official opposition, its "fight-back" strategy could well work against it, Maphai said.

The UDM, said Maphai, was the only party which had performed the way polls had predicted. It had gained 3,3% of the vote.

Another feature of the poll was the poor performance of extreme left-wing and right-wing parties such as Azapo, the PAC, the Freedom Front and the Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging.

● Provincial leaders of the NNP, DP and ACDP said in a joint statement early this morning they had entered negotiations to form a coalition government in the Western Cape since no party had a clear majority.

DP sources said last night the parties had concluded the first round of talks, but that the coalition was not a *fait accompli*. They would have a second round of negotiations today.

INSIDE:

THABO MBEKI'S VICTORY SPEECH IN FULL

NATS REEL AFTER POLL THRASHING
PAGE 17

UNTOLD ELIGIBLES TURNED AWAY FROM POLLS
Page 18



VICTORY JIG: Thabo Mbeki dances with supporters at the ANC victory party at Gallagher Estate in Midrand yesterday. PICTURE: DEBBIE YAZBEK

Mbeki closes in on unfettered power

ARLT 4/6/99 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The African National Congress was today tantalisingly close to a two-thirds majority, while the ballot duel between the Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party to be the official opposition continued.

By early afternoon, with more than 10 million or about 80% of the votes in, the ANC had 65,38%. More than 4 million of the votes counted had been verified.

By midday, the DP was still in the No 2 position with 10,13% of the vote, followed by the IFP with 8,26%, meaning that with well over a million votes yet to be counted, the two were about 300 000 votes apart.

The DP is expected to have more than 30 seats in the 400-strong National Assembly, compared to its seven MPs in 1994.

But the votes yet to be counted from KwaZulu Natal could shift the mantle of official opposition to the IFP.

With the ANC already about 4% ahead of its 1994 figure, it was expected to get the boost it needed to push it over the threshold to absolute power when votes from rural constituencies and informal settlements were processed.

A huge question mark hung over the future role of the IFP should it win second place, depending on whether its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was offered and accepted a deputy presidency, or chose to become leader of the official opposition.

Significant dynamics at play in the future of the IFP include the strong possibility of a coalition between it and the ANC to rule Kwazulu Natal, with neither having obtained a governing majority in the province; and an important current of opinion in the ANC which favours drawing Inkatha into a powerful parliamentary and government alliance with comfortably more than a two-thirds majority.

Should the IFP opt to go into a new government of national unity with the ANC, the DP would become the official opposition. Rules of Parliament prevent the joint holding of the offices of Cabinet minister and leader of the opposition.



BRENTON GEACH

All smiles: provincial ANC leader Ebrahim Rasool and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel yesterday

Parties and voters anxiously awaiting results had to bide their time as exhaustion took its toll on staff at the Independent Electoral Commission's national results centre.

At noon, predictions were that it was unlikely that final results would be available before midday tomorrow.

Shares of votes awarded to parties rose and fell as the reconciliation process continued.

The story of the obliteration of the New National Party continued, with the party in fourth place, leaving the Western Cape as its sole stronghold.

The political ramifications for the New NP are enormous, with provisional results showing the number of votes it garnered in the Western Cape are about equal to those it attracted in the rest of the country.

This gives disproportionate clout within the party to its Western Cape chiefs, which could have far-reaching implications should a leadership contest erupt now national head Marthinus van Schalkwyk has led the party to political near-oblivion.

In only one province did the New NP appear certain to stay on as the official opposition: the Northern Cape, where it had hoped to win but was overwhelmingly beaten into second place by the ANC.

In Gauteng, the DP was sure of becoming the official opposition, and was a strong contender for this role in the Northern Province and the North West province, in each competing against the Nats, and in the Eastern Cape, where the race for second spot is between the DP and the United Democratic Movement.

At national level, the ACDP is set to get about three seats in the National Assembly, followed by Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front with two, Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance with one, and ex-homeland leader Lucas Mangope's United Christian Democratic Party with one.

The Pan Africanist Congress has suffered a humiliation of relatively even larger scale that that dealt the New NP.

The party, riven in the past five years by a leadership battle, is expected to return only one member to the Assembly.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

African National Congress	Democratic Party	Inkatha Freedom Party
65.42%	10.11%	8,24%

New National Party	7.44%
United Democratic Movement	3.48%
African Christian Democratic Party	1.49%
Freedom Front	0.84%
United Christian Democratic Party	0.74%
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania	0.71%
Federal Alliance	0.57%
Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging	0.31%
Minority Front	0.30%
Azanian People's Organisation	0.18%
Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party	0.07%
The Government by the People Green Party	0.06%
The Socialist Party of Azania	0.06%

Latest unverified figures

WESTERN CAPE LEGISLATURE

African National Congress	New National Party	Democratic Party
40.68%	39.05%	12.68%

African Christian Democratic Party	2.84%
United Democratic Movement	2.29%
African Moral Party	0.60%
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania	0.46%
Freedom Front	0.42%
Federal Alliance	0.27%
Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging	0.19%
Inkatha Freedom Party	0.18%
The Government by the People Green Party	0.17%
National Coalition Party	0.07%
Peoples Liberation party	0.06%
Workers International Vanguard League	0.04%

Latest unverified figures



HANNES THIART

We are the champions: Tony Yengeni, in white cap, celebrates with party colleagues in the ANC offices in Athlone

ANC revellers told it's time to work

ARG 4/6/99 (30A)

CHARLES PHAHLANE
POLITICAL STAFF

African National Congress members and supporters drank champagne and danced to local disco music at Gallagher Estate, while president-elect Thabo Mbeki rounded off his victory speech by saying it was time to work.

This was the message the ANC gave the electorate throughout its two months of campaigning – that it wanted a huge victory to speed transformation and delivery.

Political scientist Vincent Maphai said last night the "overwhelming and unambiguous" victory meant the ANC would be able to pursue transformation with "greater vim and vigour".

Provisional Independent Electoral Commission results showed that the ANC was a whisker away from a two-thirds majority.

The ANC victory showed that opposition calls for the electorate to stop the ANC from gaining a two-thirds victory had fallen on deaf ears.

Surveys indicated that the electorate had little faith in opposition parties like the New National Party and the Democratic Party, while the Inkatha Freedom Party's strategy of pitting itself as neither opposition nor government.

[illegible]aid off, as it looked set last nigh[illegible]ertake the DP as official oppos[illegible].

The ANC ha[illegible]creased its showing in all the [illegible]ovinces it won in the last election. It also looks likely to snatch Kwa Zulu-Natal from the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Western Cape from the New National Party.

In reference to opposition parties' warning of a two-thirds victory for the ANC, Mr Mbeki pledged that it would not use its overwhelming support "arrogantly", and appealed for people to "act together to build a South Africa that truly belongs to all who live in it, black and white".

ANC set for two-thirds majority

BD 4/6/99 (304A)

NNP concedes it has lost its status as the official opposition

Stephen Laufer, Kevin O'Grady and Farouk Chothia

PRETORIA — The African National Congress (ANC) appeared set for a two-thirds majority last night as the New National Party (NNP) conceded it had lost its status as official opposition.

With about a third of the vote still to be counted, the Democratic Party (DP) appeared set to don the mantle of the official opposition.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) made a better showing than expected, with analysts saying black voters had cast their ballots for unity and stability.

NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk cast doubt on his party's ability even to hold on to the third spot behind the ANC and the DP. "If the IFP and DP are getting ahead of us, I would like to congratulate them," he said.

Chief electoral officer Mandla Mchunu said at 7pm counting slowed considerably due to fatigue among presiding officers. Most of the 2 177 voting stations which had not yet reported were in metropolitan Durban and Cape Town. A slew of fresh results was expected early today, possibly allowing a provisional final result during the day.

At 8pm the ANC had 65,91% of the national vote, with more than 10,5-million of a potential 18,172-million votes counted. The DP had 9,8%, the IFP 8,35% and the NNP 7,27%.

In KwaZulu-Natal the ANC and IFP were running neck and neck at 40% each, with a large portion of votes in the Durban metropolitan area outstanding. Analysts said the ANC was likely to win a majority of these votes, but would still need a coalition partner to govern.

Mchunu said no disputes had been lodged yet. The Independent Electoral Commission would be able to announce a time for a final result after 9pm tonight, the deadline for filing disputes.

While Van Schalkwyk said he had no intention of resigning, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Stanley Mogoba, after a dismal showing at the polls, said he would put the question of his retirement from politics to his party at its congress later this year.

ANC president Thabo Mbeki said his party's overwhelming majority "constitutes a people's directive to use the power given us to defend and entrench the democratic system and the human rights contained in our constitution". The ANC would stick to its economic policies, seeking higher growth rates with the private sector in the interest of job creation and the development of SA into a globally competitive economy.

Analysts pointed to the fact that a possible 66% of the vote for the ANC would not necessarily translate into two-thirds of the seats in Parliament.

Mathematical formulae used to allot seats meant they could need as much as 68% of the vote. At a victory celebration in Midrand yesterday Mbeki told singing and ululating supporters he understood the ANC victory as a popular directive "to move forward faster with our programme for reconstruction and development so that the goal of a better life for all is achieved sooner rather than later".

He thanked all parties for the "largely responsible manner" in which they had participated in the elections. Congratulating them on their successes, he expressed the hope that they would "contribute to the common national effort for the reconstruction and development of our country. Now we must all get back to work," he said.

Against the backdrop of a better than expected national showing, IFP deputy chairman Ben Ngubane said the party had proved it was "a major player in SA politics". Nobody would have even raised the possibility of the IFP coming in ahead of the NNP.

Chris Landsberg of Johannesburg's Centre for Policy Studies said the IFP was reaping the benefits of its decision to remain in government when the NP, under FW de Klerk, retired to the opposition benches in 1996.

Admitting defeat, Van Schalkwyk said the NNP had no intention of altering its strategy in favour of adversarial politics. It had suffered short-term losses, but would benefit in the medium to long term by promoting "inclusivity".

In the Western Cape, where the NNP shed support substantially, the party looked set for a coalition. A senior NNP source said moderates within the party were dead against a coalition with the DP, believing the NNP should enter a political alliance with the ANC.

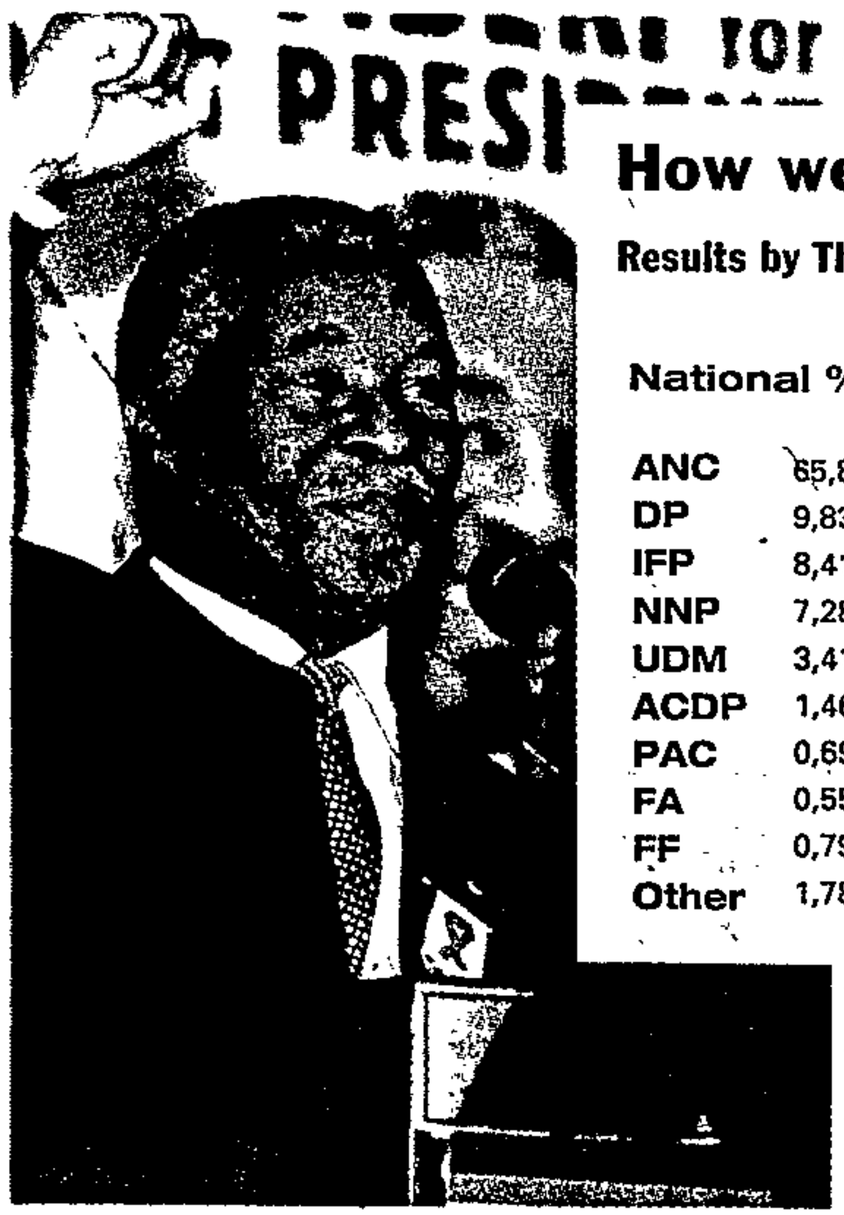
At 8pm the NNP held 38,35% of the provincial vote and the ANC 41,69%.

The NNP's most senior black member, Mpumalanga leader David Malatsi, said Van Schalkwyk's power within the party should be increased to unify and strengthen the party. Its regions tended to be too independent, resulting in a lack of coherence. It was also necessary to create a number of deputy leadership positions, making some available to black members. Looking backwards for solutions to its current misery would be "tantamount to Lot's wife looking back to Sodom and Gomorrah". He would not be part of such a party.

Provincial elections held few surprises, except for Gauteng and the Northern Cape, where the ANC did significantly better than predicted after hung legislatures were mooted.

At 8pm the ANC held 66,87% of the vote and in the Northern Cape it held 63,35%. In the Northern Province the United Democratic Movement appeared set to be the second-largest party with 2,64% of the vote. In North West former Bophuthatswana dictator Lucas Mangope was heading for the number two slot with 9,57%.

Observers were surprised by how many voters switched parties between the provincial and national votes.



Winning is sweet ... ANC president Thabo Mbeki gives his victory speech yesterday.
Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

How we voted

Results by Thusday 8pm (unverified)

'99

National %		Provincial breakdown %								
		Gauteng	*Mpuma-langa*	*Northern Province*	*North West*	*Free State*	*Northern Cape*	*Western Cape*	*Eastern Cape*	*KwaZulu-Natal*
ANC	65,81	66,95	86,07	87,97	79,18	80,04	63,35	41,69	72,59	40,05
DP	9,83	18,59	3,9	1,46	3,2	5,67	4,64	12,27	7,28	8,54
IFP	8,41	3,55	1,35	0,35	0,5	0,5	0,51	0,18	0,36	40,63
NNP	7,28	4	2,25	1,69	2,34	5,48	25,17	38,35	3,72	3,41
UDM	3,41	1,97	1,4	2,64	1,23	1,74	0,91	2,38	13,26	1,21
ACDP	1,46	1,18	1,08	1,15	0,94	0,92	1,52	2,86	1,02	1,85
PAC	0,69	0,7	0,63	1,45	0,71	1,15	0,68	0,47	1,04	0,27
FA	0,55	0,92	0,62	0,34	0,5	0,81	0,58	0,27	0,18	0,28
FF	0,79	1,33	1,53	0,67	1,31	2,22	1,78	0,4	0,37	0,24
Other	1,78	0,81	1,17	2,28	10,09	1,47	0,86	1,13	0,18	3,52

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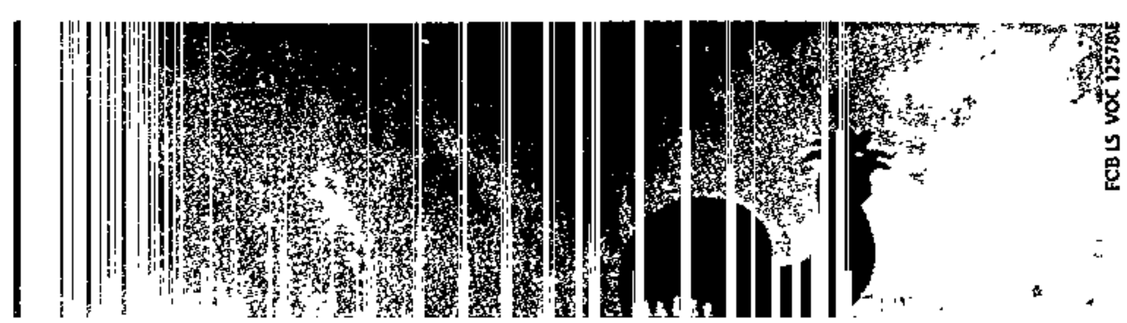


One thing is certain about the 1999 election: the opposition has taken a beating in the face of a stronger ANC. **Adrian Hadland** takes a sweeping look ahead

A winner – and a host of also-rans

ARG 5/6/99 (304A)

Though the results are still outstanding, there are a few things about the 1999 election that even Independent Electoral Commission chief executive Mandla Mchunu would agree constitute "cold, hard facts".

At a midnight press conference in Pretoria on Wednesday, the impressive, implacable Mr Mchunu refused even to consider anything other than facts so classified.

One cold, hard fact is that the opposition to the ANC in South Africa has been shattered, leaving the majority party with a margin of victory over its nearest competitors far superior to that achieved in 1994.

Also, the New National Party led by Marthinus van Schalkwyk has taken a severe beating at the hands of the South African electorate; the Democratic Party has made substantial gains over 1994; the United Democratic Movement made an interesting debut, securing well over 10 seats in the national Parliament; and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) showed that the 1994 result did indeed owe as much to popular support as it did to electoral fraud and intra-party negotiation.

Many talk of the end of an era, but the demise of the NNP became increasingly evident during the course of last year when opinion polls and local by-elections hinted at the events of this week. And when the parties' election lists were being finalised earlier this year, dozens of NNP leaders – national, provincial and local – fled the party, usually to the DP.

The election this week was a rout for the NNP before it even began. Within two or three hours of the results starting to trickle through at the IEC's impressive centre at the Pretoria showgrounds, the fate of the NNP was apparent.

It was losing to the DP in seven provinces. The DP had edged ahead of the NNP in Gauteng by 11.10pm. By 01.30am, the DP had surged ahead of the NNP on the national scoreboard.

The DP would never look back and will now have close to 40 MPs when Parliament reconvenes later this month.



ELECTION 1994: opposition to the ANC has been shattered, leaving the majority party with a margin of victory over its competitors which is far superior to that achieved last time round

The ANC has improved its position by a few percent, up from just over 62% in 1994 to close to, if not beyond, 66%. This may appear marginal, but one must remember that there were fewer voters this year because of the voters roll and the requirement to register. The party picked up votes from the Pan Africanist Congress and probably from the left of the DP.

The ANC has significantly improved its position and can rightfully claim to have received a renewed and strengthened mandate to govern. This was the case too in Gauteng, where the ANC built up its margin of victory over its closest rival by some 13% compared with the first democratic election.

In 1994, the ANC beat the NNP in Gauteng by 58% to 24% for a winning margin of 34%.

This week, it took 66% over the DP's 19% for a winning margin of 47%. The mouthwatering prospect of ANC premier Mbhazima Shilowa and DP Gauteng leader Peter Leon battling it out in the provincial legislature could give a real injection of life to politics in the country's richest province.

The scale of the NNP's failure can be appreciated by its cataclysmic fall from 24% of the Gauteng vote in 1994 to only 4% in 1999.

Other major failures included the PAC and the Freedom Front, which focused mainly on self-determination as its manifesto priority.

Self-destruction may have been more appropriate for both parties. At least then they would have achieved their objective.

FF leader General Constand Viljoen has effectively presided over the disbursal of the Afrikaner vote and the abandonment of Afrikaner unity, self-determination and the Volkstaat.

Looking at the PAC figures, down nationally from 1,2% to 0,7% (or from five MPs to one), it would be easy to think that the only votes the Africanists got were from white farmers. The PAC was not helped by the hospitalisation after a car crash of Patricia de Lille, their most effective campaigner and MP, at a critical stage of the run-up.

Perhaps the two most absorbing battles have taken place in the Western Cape and in KwaZulu Natal. Coalition governments look likely in both.

The NNP again lost massive ground in the two provinces. From a commanding 53% of the Western Cape vote in 1994, the NNP slumped to less than 40%. The ANC, at last count, had edged just in front with a little over 40%.

In KwaZulu Natal, the NNP fell out of contention, registering only 3,5% this year against 11% in 1994, leaving the path clear for a humdinger of a contest between the ANC and the IFP. Both were locked at around the 40% mark, making a coalition between the parties a virtual certainty.

In spite of the odd incident and some logistical difficulties, the South African 1999 election has received widespread praise for the manner in which it has been conducted. Sir David Steele, the leader of the Commonwealth Observer Group, said he had been "immediately struck by the tolerant atmosphere ... We have seen unhindered and vigorous political campaigning and there can be no doubt of the political freedom enjoyed by all candidates."

Horse trading begins

● Buthelezi to be offered deputy presidency in KZN deal

ST 6/6/99 (304A)



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI: Top post in return for the KZN premiership

● Nats and DP plot to deny ANC power in Western Cape

JUSTICE MALALA, RANJENI MUNUSAMY and HENRY LUDSKI

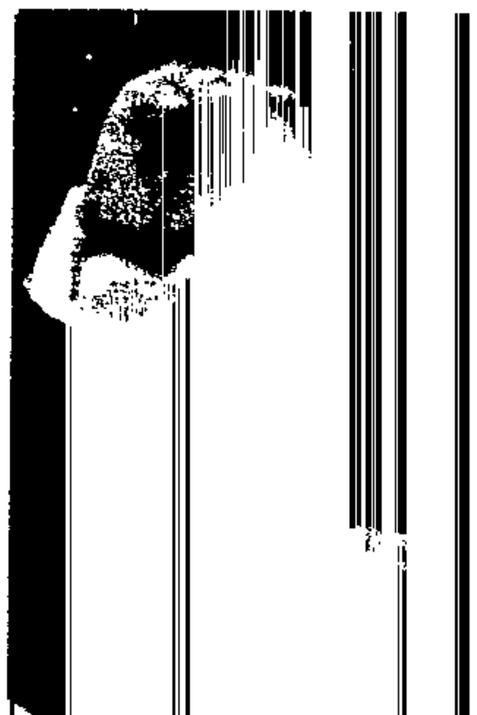
THE ANC is to offer Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi the post of deputy president if he agrees to give the KwaZulu-Natal premiership to provincial ANC leader S'bu Ndebele.

This proposal will be presented to ANC leaders at a meeting of its national working committee at its Johannesburg headquarters tomorrow to decide the party's approach to coalitions in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape — the provinces where it does not have a majority.

The proposal would see the ANC and IFP going into government together nationally and in KwaZulu-Natal — a move that would see the government enjoying more than 75 percent of the seats in the National Assembly.

The ANC's provincial leadership is believed to be unhappy with the prospect of IFP hard-liner Lionel Mtshali continuing as premier.

Ndebele met Democratic Party provincial leader Roger Burrows on Friday to discuss a possible alliance should the IFP insist on Mtshali as premier. Burrows, acting on the instructions of DP leader Tony Leon, rejected the offer in keeping with the party's election promise not to enter into any coalitions with the ANC. Leon said yesterday: "We will primarily be interested in alliances which check the ANC. That would make a deal with the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal on its own inconceivable."





Election Results Special

SIX PAGES OF IN-DEPTH ANALYSIS BEGIN ON PAGE 15 — PLUS THE THABO MBEKI STORY

Visit the Sunday Times Internet site at www.suntimes.co.za/online/election



MEETING THEIR MATCHES: President-elect Thabo Mbeki and his wife, Zanele, mark the ANC's triumph at Gallagher Estate this week and leader of the opposition Tony Leon and fiancée Michal Even-Zahav relax after the campaign at his Johannesburg home yesterday Pictures: RAYMOND PRESTON

No beer has done more to relieve the hoarse throats of cheering crowds than Castle Lager.

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The IFP leadership met in Ulundi yesterday, but took no decision on coalitions. Buthelezi said afterwards that the ANC was yet to offer him a post in central government.

IFP deputy chairman Ben Ngubane said yesterday the IFP was open to a coalition, but added that there had not been discussion on potential partners.

The coalition discussions took place as the ANC lodged a complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission over vote counting at several polling stations in northern KwaZulu-Natal. The IEC last night admitted figures supplied via the Internet for some municipal districts were inaccurate. They showed that more votes had been cast than the number of registered voters in certain areas.

In the Western Cape, the National Party, DP and African Christian Democratic Party — who together won 54 percent of the vote — have begun talks on a coalition government. Their aim is to keep the ANC, which won the most votes but not a clear majority, out of the provincial government.

Leon said of the coalition plan: "I would think the most logical thing would be a non-ANC partnership in the Western Cape."

However, ANC Western Cape leader Ebrahim Rasool yesterday vowed to oppose any anti-ANC alliance, saying it would be a "betrayal" of the mandate from the electorate for an ANC government.

Rasool's views were backed up by a meeting of the ANC's provincial executive committee attended by national leaders Dullah Omar, Trevor Manuel, Frene Ginwala, Kader Asmal and Philip Dexter.

The night before, Rasool told 5 000 jubilant ANC supporters at a celebratory rally in Khayelitsha: "It is immoral for parties who were rejected at the polls to think they can gang up against the ANC and keep it out of government."

Gerald Morkel, the NP's Western Cape leader, refused to comment until the coalition was finalised.

Meanwhile, the knives are out for NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk, whose party plunged from 20 percent of the vote in 1994 to around seven percent. The party is holding a federal executive meeting in Cape Town tomorrow, where Van Schalkwyk is expected to be blamed for the abysmal showing.

The party is set to lose 50 MPs in the National Assembly, putting party stalwarts such as David Malatsi and Andre Fourie out of work.

An analysis of the latest provisional election results released yesterday and those of the 1994 general election has revealed that the NP has lost a staggering 500 000 voters over the past five years.

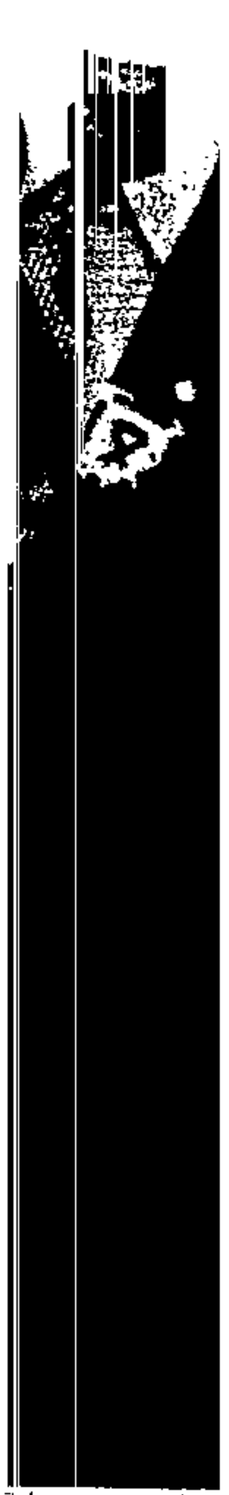
Eight opposition parties have meanwhile begun an independent audit of the voting numbers, claiming that mistakes have been made by IEC workers when transferring data from faxed results slips.

The IFP's Koos van der Merwe, who is the leading force behind the audit, said an "independent" company had offered to do the audit free of charge and would input all the data from the results slips to see that it tallied.

Yesterday, the IEC made an embarrassing mistake when a results slip from a station in KwaZulu-Natal, which had been filled out incorrectly, was entered into the system, sending the IFP's total racing ahead of the DP's and pushing the ANC beyond the two-thirds mark.

● **Additional reporting by CAROL PATON, CELEAN JACOBSON, CRAIG DOONAN and S'THEMBISO MSOMI**











MEETING THEIR MATCHES: President-elect Thabo Mbeki and his wife, Zanele, mark the ANC's triumph at Gallagher Estate this week and leader of the opposition Tony Leon and fiancée Michal Even-Zahav relax after the campaign at his Johannesburg home yesterday Pictures: RAYMOND PRESTON

Court slams criticism of judge in Louis Luyt case

CARMEL RICKARD

THE Constitutional Court has slammed high-ranking government officials and members of the public critical of the judge who handled Louis Luyt's case against President Nelson Mandela.

"There is an unfortunate tendency for decisions about which there is disagreement to be attacked by impugning the integrity of the judges rather than by examining the reasons for the judgment," the court said.

The comments were made in a judgment handed down on Friday, when members of the court, involved in a contentious recusal application by former rugby boss Luyt, explained why they had not agreed to stand down from hearing the recent appeal involving Luyt and Mandela.

The court repeated comments made by Constitutional Court President Arthur Chaskalson during the recusal application, saying it deplored the fact that Judge William de Villiers, who originally heard the case brought by Luyt against Mandela, had been "denigrated in the media and, in particular, by government officials".

The judges said this tendency could be seen not only in the public attacks on Judge de Villiers, but also in many of the allegations made against the Constitutional Court in the recusal application.

Indicating that not even the ruling ANC would escape its criticism if the party impugned a judge's integrity, the court said: "Political discontent or dissatisfaction with the outcome of a case is no justification for recklessly attacking the integrity of judicial officers."

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Whether you're watching soccer, cricket or rugby, whenever you hear cheers, there's bound to be a Castle Lager.

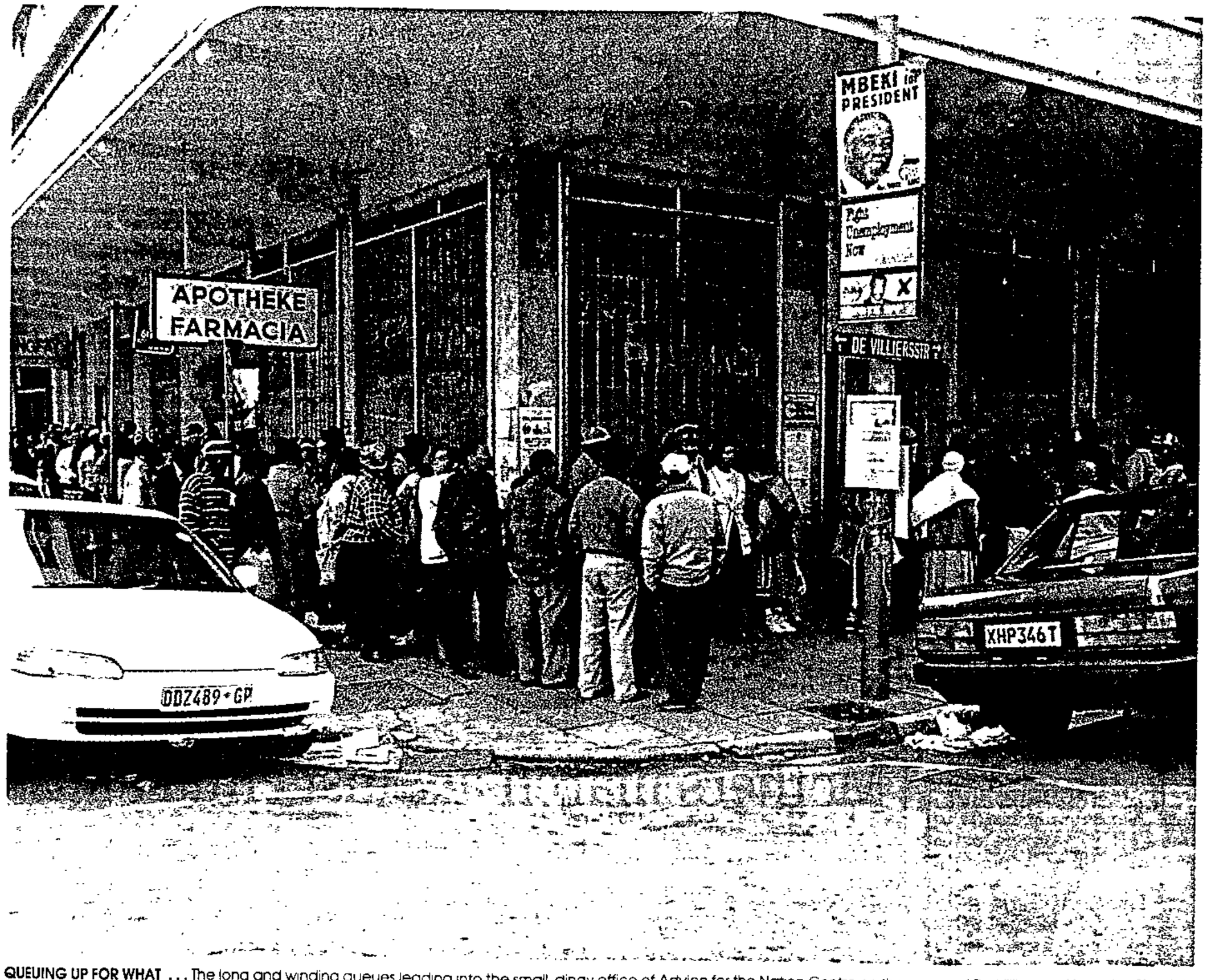
THE TASTE THAT'S STOOD THE TEST OF TIME.



Pension 'rip off' scam

(300) CP 6/6/99

Assistance offered with pension funds – thousands pay up and get nothing



QUEUING UP FOR WHAT ... The long and winding queues leading into the small, dingy office of Advice for the Nation Centre on the corner of De Villiers and Loveday Streets in central Johannesburg.
Pictures: Panyaza Mcineka

By MALOSE MONAMA

THOUSANDS of retired people and retrenched workers are being taken for a ride by an advice centre that claims it can help them get their pension and provident fund money from their former employers.

Most of the hard-pressed people get scraps of worthless paper instead for their R10 to R20 "registration fee". Very few get anything else from the Advice for the Nation Centre.

The scheme is being run by Victor Xolani Manakaza, a director of the Advice for the Nation Centre which has its headquarters in Welkom.

The centre claims to assist retired people recover outstanding pension and provident fund money from their previous employers.

They also claim to assist customers in obtaining unemployment insurance funds (UIF) from the Department of Labour.

While Manakaza has indeed helped some people get their provident fund dues from their former employers or from the fund administrators, the overwhelming majority are being taken to the cleaners and stand only to lose their R10 or R20 "registration fee" they paid before their cases could be "investigated".

Manakaza, better known to thousands of his clients as Victor Radebe – he says Radebe is his clan name – collects as much as R60 000 a day in "registration fees" in return for an offer to investigate if clients have received all their dues from their previous employers.

Manakaza is based at the centre's Welkom headquarters.

The centre also has branches in Johannesburg, Thembisa, Kliptown and Palm Springs.

The centres are operated from dingy little offices with the barest of furniture, like the one on the third floor of Duncan House on the corner of De Villiers and Loveday Streets in central Johannesburg.

Manakaza's booming business has been boosted by the fact that he has successfully recovered some money from former employers for some of his clients.

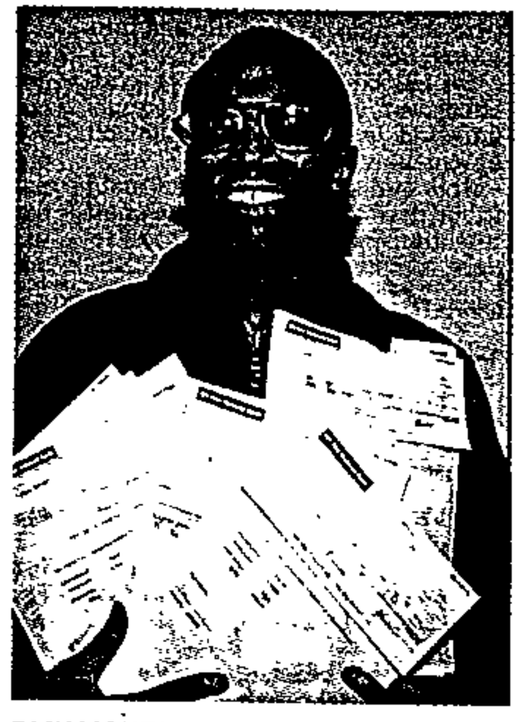
However, only about one in a thousand customers is this lucky.

Since opening its Johannesburg office, the Advice for the Nation Centre has seen about 8 000 clients and has raked in thousands of rands.

The centre has, however, yet to resolve a single case.

The centre does not issue receipts for money received from customers.

Instead, customers are given a piece of paper with Advice for the Nation Centre stamped on the back and the name Victor Radebe and two phone numbers on the front.



EASY MONEY ... Victor Manakaza (Radebe), a director of Advice for the Nation Centre.

City Press visited the Johannesburg branch of the centre after receiving complaints from the Clothing Industry Bargaining Council and members of the public who claim the whole thing is a scam and that people are being ripped off.

Athol Margolis of the Clothing Industry Bargaining Council said they had received many applications from the centre claiming to be acting on behalf of former employees in the clothing industry.

The Bargaining Council, however, said that none of the people represented by the centre was owed anything.

Margolis said while there was no evidence to suggest the centre's activities were illegal, he suspected that a lot of the people who go there are being ripped off.

City Press this week received a call from an African National Congress MPL in the Free State, the Reverend Motlalepula Chabaku, who said she was concerned that members of the public were being taken for a ride.

Makgotso Pholosi-Moorosi of the Black Sash said she had no doubt that the people were being taken to the cleaners.

"It's a scam and our people are being cheated," she said.

She urged members of the public to come to them or approach the Department of Labour, which runs a free advice service.

City Press was unable to get comment from the Department of Labour by Thursday.

Parties cut deals

(304A)

ANC, DP IFP, NNP cosy up to each other

6/6/99

By ZOLILE NQAYI, CHIARA CARTER and SEKOLA SELLO

BEHIND the scenes horse-trading among the country's four major political parties – the African National Congress, the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the New National Party – got into top gear this week as the Independent Electoral Commission entered the last lap of tallying votes yesterday.

With the ANC within a hair's breadth of winning two-thirds of the seats in Parliament and being firmly in the driving seat in all but two provinces, the four parties, as well as the smaller African Christian Democratic Party, were locked in negotiations about possible coalitions, especially in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape.

Meanwhile, opposition parties are demanding an independent audit of the votes after the IEC made an error which briefly placed the IFP above the DP.

Loudest in their protests were the PAC, Federal Alliance and Freedom Front, who all failed to live up to expectations. They claimed they might have been shortchanged by the IEC errors.

With an unverified 66.39 percent, the ANC emerged as the runaway winner with none of the opposition parties garnering more than ten percent of voter support.

Tony Leon's "Fight back" campaign got the DP about 10 percent of the votes, putting it in a neck-and-neck race with the IFP, with eight percent, to become the official opposition. The previous official opposition, the New National Party, came a humiliating third with slightly less than seven percent of votes and lost its role as official opposition in a range of provinces as well as being pipped at the post by the ANC in the NNP's former stronghold, the Western Cape. The United Democratic Movement will take up about ten seats in Parliament, having won more than three percent of the votes. Its strongest showing was in the Eastern Cape, where it won more than 13 percent to become the official opposition – a role the party will also occupy in the North Province.

Just who would govern the Western

■ Turn to Page 2 ☞



IT'S PARTY TIME ... Gauteng premier-elect Mbhazima Shilowa and his wife, Wendy Luhabe, doing the get-down during celebrations to mark the ANC's landslide victory. ■ Pic: GEORGE MASHININI.

Deals cut as parties cosy up to each other

From page 1

Cape remained in the balance this weekend. At the time of going to press the ANC had won more than 40 percent of the votes as opposed to the NNP's 39 percent. But the ANC could be kept from taking the helm by an opposition coalition.

Political parties were yesterday locked in talks with the ACDP. With almost three percent of the votes, the ACDP is being wooed by both the ANC and the NNP.

Unconfirmed reports claim there has been contact between the ANC and NNP politicians who favour working with the ruling party. The NNP and DP, which polled about 12 percent in the Western Cape, were also locked in talks.

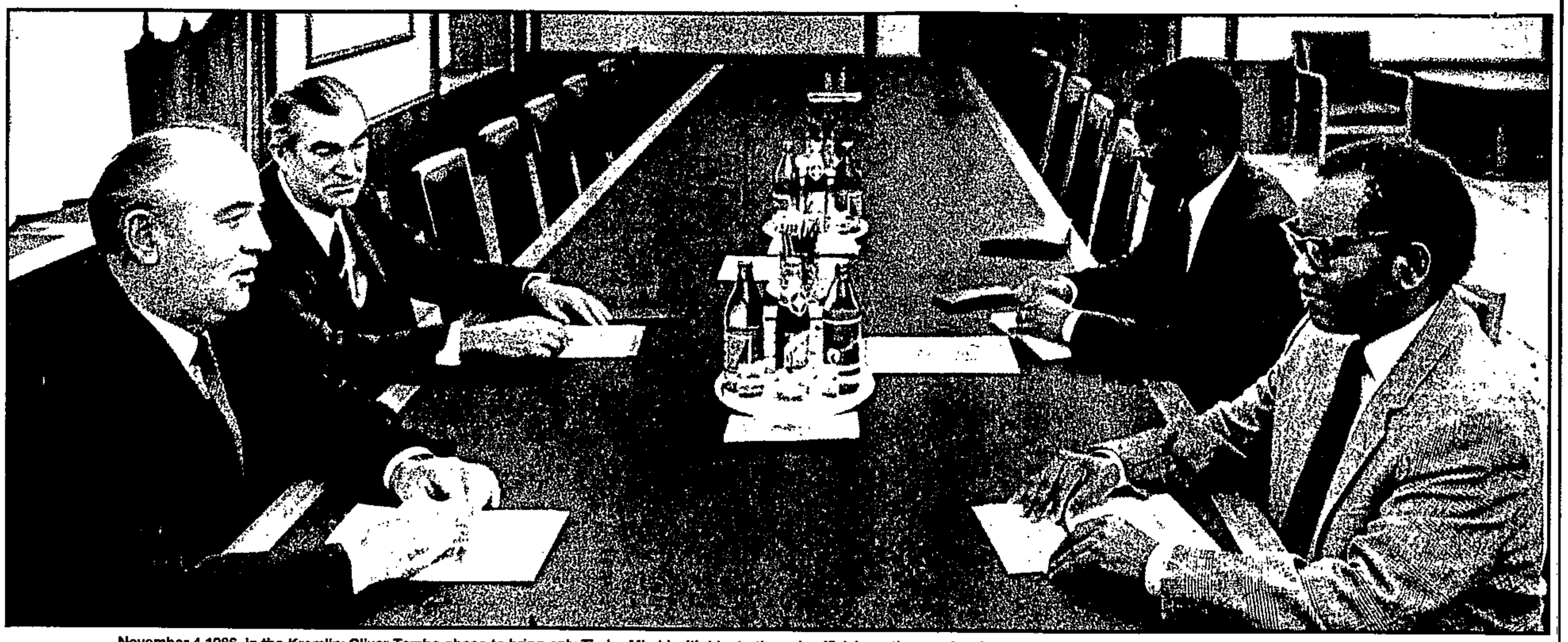
The ACDP's Michael Louis said his party had not ruled out working with the ANC.

Louis, NNP provincial leader Gerald Morkel, and DP provincial leader Hennie Bester earlier this week issued a statement confirming they were negotiating an agreement which would exclude the ANC from government.

The UDM won more than two percent in the Western Cape. But party leaders said the fledgling movement wanted to forge an identity as an opposition party and would not take part in coalition governments.

In KwaZulu-Natal a coalition government is certain to be formed between the IFP and the ANC, which at the time of going to press had polled about 42 percent and 39 percent respectively

Pan Africanist Congress leader Stanley Mogoba offered to resign after his party failed to poll even one percent, as die Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen. – See Page 4☞



November 4 1986, in the Kremlin: Oliver Tambo chose to bring only Thabo Mbeki with him to the only official meeting to take place between the ANC and then Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev

THE BAG-CARRIER

(304A) ST 6/6/99

'WE HAVE now arrived at the moment when we go back to work," said Thabo Mbeki at the conclusion of his victory speech at Gallagher Estate, in Midrand, on Thursday afternoon. Almost wilfully out of key with the jubilant supporters filling the hall, it was his purest statement yet of anti-populism: there was no wife at his side, no rah-rah, no triumphalism — just a clear recapitulation of his policies and a sober, authoritative confidence.

Nelson Mandela was not there and was referred to only in passing by Mbeki along with "the hundreds of leaders and activists" who needed to be thanked; an indication that the real transfer of power from Mandela to Mbeki had already taken place 18 months previously — at the party's December 1997 conference in Mafikeng.

"Madiba," Mbeki had said then as he stepped up to the podium, "members of the press have been asking me how it feels to step into your shoes. I've been saying I would never be seen dead in such shoes. You wear such ugly shoes!"

At that moment of gravity — a moment on which Mbeki's entire career had been focused — he was betrayed, momentarily, by the schoolboy in him, by the awkward braggadocio of someone whose performance had been measured, perpetually, against the stature of a "father" even before he had been given a chance to prove himself.

He then switched to Xhosa: "If you don't see tears in our eyes, Madiba, it does not mean we are happy . . . We will always seek to ask you for help, even if it is for you to carry my briefcase so that I can walk around with my hands in my pockets."

Metaphorically and literally, Thabo Mbeki has spent his adult life carrying older men's briefcases. He did it for ANC secretary-general Duma Nokwe in the'60s, for ANC president Oliver Tambo throughout the years of exile, for Nelson Mandela over the past five years. Now that he no longer has his hands full with other people's bags, he is learning how to use them — to embrace, to feel, to applaud, even to slap. He will sling an arm, with studied insouciance, around a child's shoulders during a campaign walkabout; he will slam a fist into the air at a rally, he will point a finger at adversaries.

But like many clever, capable people who have spent most of their professional lives in the background, in the shadows of their bosses, Mbeki has learnt the art of wielding power without showing it, for he has had responsibility without authority. This might be one of the reasons he has developed a reputation for being "manipulative" and "devious".

Indeed, at Mafikeng in December 1997, what seemed to put the new president of the ANC on edge was the fact that Nelson Mandela had not come out unequivocally in support of Mbeki's candidacy. Mandela had left it to the ANC's national executive committee to decide who should succeed him, and Mbeki had won by the slimmest of margins.

Mbeki's response was to call for unity, to say that the ANC was not a "two-horse race", and to say that he would not be "a president of the ANC". Mandela, he said, would remain the president of the ANC.

Mbeki's fear was that Mandela's stature would overshadow his own presidency, that he would be seen as a mere caretaker, a bag-carrier. Mandela's response was to say that he would not be a "lame duck" president, that he would not be "sidelined".

Mbeki's fear was not unfounded. Mandela's stature is such that he has become a kind of secular saint, a figure of veneration. Mbeki, on the other hand, is a figure of controversy, of suspicion, of doubt.

Mbeki's fear was also not unfounded because Mandela has been the dominant figure in the ANC for the past 40 years. Mbeki has been in the shadows for most of that time

responsibility without authority. This might be one of the reasons he has developed a reputation for being "manipulative" and "devious".

Indeed, at Mafikeng in December 1997, what seemed to put the new president of the ANC on edge was the fact that Nelson Mandela had welcomed him to the presidency with a sermon: "One of the temptations of a leader who has been elected unopposed," the old man said, "is that he may use his powerful position to settle scores with his detractors, to marginalise them and in some cases get rid of them, and to surround himself with yes-men and women . . . The leader must keep the forces together, but you can't do that unless you allow dissent . . . People should be able to criticise the leader without fear or favour. Only in that case are you likely to keep your colleagues together."

The speech was vintage Mandela: in assuring the delegates that "fortunately, I know our president understands these issues [and] he is not the kind of man to sideline anyone", he was simultaneously calming fears about his successor and warning him, in the most public way possible, that these fears existed and needed to be addressed.

The roots of these fears are to be found in the extremely complex world of exile politics; a world into which Thabo Mbeki was thrust and which he ultimately conquered. It was in exile that Mbeki found his particular path to leadership; in exile that he developed the key relationships that were to propel his ascendancy in the liberation movement — with his mentor, Oliver "OR" Tambo, and with the SA Communist Party. Balanced between the pragmatism of the former and the ideology of the latter, he developed a leadership style — and an approach to liberation — that he deploys to this day; one that played a major role in bringing reform to the ANC (and, ultimately, through negotiations, peace to South Africa), but that has also caused political difficulties for him so serious that they almost cost him the deputy presidency in 1994.

THERE is a story told of how the young Thabo Mbeki caught Oliver Tambo's eye. In London in the '60s, after Tambo gave a group of youngsters an assignment, Mbeki suggested they all go to a pub. A few hours later, at closing time, the others all rolled out blind drunk, but Mbeki — perhaps because of abstemiousness, perhaps because of his legendary capacity to hold his liquor — went home and worked through the night. In the morning, only he had done the homework. The ANC president realised both his brilliance and his vulnerability, and took him

Now Oliver Tambo brought him back to Lusaka and appointed him his political secretary. He was already on both the SACP Central Committee and the ANC's NEC, but this appointment vaulted him into a position of influence far beyond his place in the hierarchy, for he became Tambo's proxy; the de facto deputy president of the ANC.

He was known, in some quarters, as "the national interferer", but, says one of his contemporaries, "you might have resented him for interfering, but you couldn't do without him, for he was clever, efficient, and he had a direct line to the chief. If you wanted to talk to Tambo, you had to talk to Thabo."

Tambo was already Mbeki's mentor and guide, and Adelaide Tambo recalls how he "became the brother of my children — in exile, he was like my first-born". But perhaps the reason the Tambo-Mbeki partnership was so effective was that neither ever allowed it to cross the boundary into familial intensity, into the father-son territory of tensions and rivalries — ground that Mbeki's relationship with his own father, Govan Mbeki, appears to have occupied.

And Mbeki has a very different personality to Tambo: the former is always emotionally controlled, and speaks in reasoned, measured tones, while the latter had an excitable streak and tended to express himself through staccato outbursts. Joe Nhlanhla, the Deputy Minister of Intelligence, remembers watching the two of them, both highly musical, listening to records together. "Thabo had this way of sitting back with his eyes closed and absorbing it, being cool, while OR would move his hands about, as if he wanted to conduct the orchestra himself."

Mbeki had begun working for Tambo as a speechwriter in the '60s; in ghostwriting, he found the perfect vehicle for his particular combination of diffidence and intellect. He could apply himself, fully, to drafting ideas for Tambo to articulate that he had neither the authority nor the volubility to say himself.

The stories of the exacting, pedantic Tambo's speech-drafting sessions have an almost novelistic texture to them. To prepare for an address, he would get several of the young intellectuals in the movement to draft speeches for him, keeping them up all night for days on end, sending an entire draft back to be retyped because of a split infinitive or a superfluous comma. He would often require them all to draft the same speech, and would then choose the best — invariably Mbeki's.

After 1978, Mbeki's role as the liberation movement's word-

This included rebuilding the ANC's image inside South Africa via propaganda media like Radio Freedom, granting interviews to



THE THABO MBEKI STORY

PART FOUR OF A SIX-PART SERIES WRITTEN BY MARK GEVISSER

journalists and, later, receiving the cavalcades of white South Africans who were to make the pilgrimage to Lusaka.

Mbeki's genius in the '80s was not only that he seduced white South Africans, particularly Afrikaners, out of the arms of the apartheid government, but that he seduced the West into the arms of the liberation movement. Using his pipe and his intellect (not to mention his whisky decanter) to maximum effect, he exuded bonhomie and reason in equal measure.

Paradoxically, though, his very success at this role was to create enduring problems for him within the ANC; problems which, as we shall see, culminated in the political difficulties he experienced in the early '90s on his return to South Africa.

Mbeki was often scorned by MK cadres for having had a cushy life flitting around the world's capitals and for never having experienced the hardships of life in the camps. Indeed, in his mutinous (according to the ANC) 1969 memorandum to the leadership, Chris Hani railed against the fact that "virtually all the sons of the leaders" had "been sent to European univer-

Mozambique in mid-1976.

But Mbeki nonetheless did not have an easy time countering the stigma. One of his first actions when back in Lusaka in 1978 was to authorise a CBS crew to interview senior ANC officials and to film in the ANC's Angolan camps. The result, a 1978 programme entitled *The Battle for South Africa*, was a major publicity coup for the movement in the US, but caused indignation in the ANC community: Mbeki discovered, a year later, "that our own intelligence had classified me as a CIA agent".

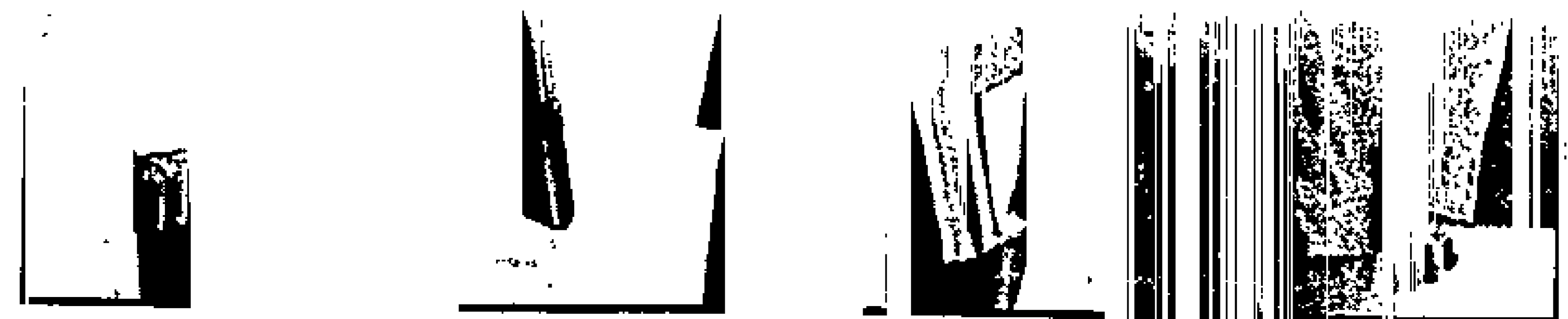
The fact that Thabo Mbeki was once under suspicion by the intelligence services of his own organisation says much both about how paranoid and fearful those times were and about how contentious Mbeki's own history within the ANC has been.

Those close to him say that the "CIA" or "sellout" tag stemmed in part from resentment; he was perceived to be a youngster with too much power, overstepping those older and more senior than him. The tag, which was to follow Mbeki all the way through into the '90s, was often deployed by those who resented his meteoric ascendancy, or what they perceived to be a "pragmatism" short on principle.

He was by no means isolated, though: he remained Tambo's right-hand man and maintained his positions in the senior leadership of the SACP. Elders like Joe Modise and Alfred Nzo remained loyal to him, and he developed around him a powerful group of followers who were to form the backbone of his "talks" teams in the late '80s: Jacob Zuma, Joe Nhlanhla, Aziz Pahad, Penuell Maduna. He mentored his own protégé — Joel Netshitenzhe — in much the way Tambo had developed him. Most of all, his strategic mind and intellectual capacity made him indispensable even to those who mistrusted him.

TO UNDERSTAND the complex position that Thabo Mbeki held within the ANC's exile structures, one has to look at how he rose along two parallel routes: the first was at Oliver Tambo's side, and the second was in the SACP — which was not only the intellectual vanguard of the movement but in control of the army and, via the Eastern Bloc, its purse strings too.

It remains a nigh-impossible task to track this second route. Mbeki has never spoken publicly about his SACP leadership before; indeed, the authorised "biographical sketch" to his recently published anthology of speeches does not even mention it. In this area, Cold War winds continue to blow, and the pacts of secrecy cemented during the struggle hold even now: comrades still will not talk about



Shortly after his arrival in exile Thabo Mbeki was already keeping company with the leadership. Here he is, centre, with ANC secretary-general Duma Nokwe, right, in Leipzig, GDR, in the early '60s Pictures: MAYIBUYE CENTRE

their organisation and its leadership. This is not only because of the way the apartheid regime used the SACP against the ANC, but also because it was agreed, in 1990, that each SACP member would make his or her own decision as to whether to go public.

However, this continues to sow confusion and dissent. Some SACP members maintain that Thabo Mbeki remains a communist and is simply "underground"; others resent him deeply for having, in their eyes, used the party when it suited him and dumped it expediently when it did not. Now, to his credit, Mbeki has agreed to go public for the first time about his position and role in the SACP. Old habits die hard, though, and he was not able to confirm when he was elected to the Central Committee and the Politburo — the SACP's two highest organs.

But, in a remarkably frank interview, he did confirm that he was recruited to the SACP in 1962 and that he was on both the Central Committee and the Politburo until the unbanning in 1990, when he made the decision to let his membership lapse because "with the unbanning, the question arises, can you adequately represent the position and interests of the ANC with this requirement that you [be] equally active in this separate independent party programme of the SACP? . . . In our particular instance we were too senior in the party just to say, 'I'm a member', and not do any party work . . . The principal challenges of the time had to be met by the ANC . . . In those circumstances, choices had to be made."

Mbeki denies that he had long drifted from the SACP, and that the unbanning just gave him a convenient excuse to sever his ties. Others note that someone with as open a mind as his would have chafed against the orthodoxies imposed by the party and would have found it difficult working under the leadership of Joe Slovo after his election as general secretary in 1986.

Under the wing of Slovo and of Yusuf Dadoo, Mbeki was as much the SACP's crown prince in the '60s as he was the ANC's.

While studying at the Lenin International School in Moscow in 1970, he was brought secretly to an extended SACP Central Committee meeting that was being held in Volynskoye, outside the city, coincidentally in a dacha

that used to be Joseph-Stalin's summer home. Here, the decision was made to increase the number of Africans and young people on the Central Committee, and both Mbeki and Chris Hani, in their late 20s, were elected.

And so, five years before he was to be elected to the ANC NEC, Thabo Mbeki was a leader of the SACP. When, in 1977, the party formed its first Politburo (its most secret, highest organ), Mbeki was appointed as the youngest of the original five.

He was dropped from the Politburo in the early '80s — ostensibly because of "non-attendance" — but was reappointed shortly thereafter, and, at the very last SACP congress before the unbanning, in Cuba in April 1989, which he also chaired, he was elected first in the vote for the Central Committee.

But despite his senior position in the SACP, he was frequently at odds with its leaders, particularly Chris Hani and Joe Slovo. Hani and Mbeki — schoolmates at Lovedale and exact contemporaries — have been described, by a close friend of both, as "unwilling participants in a rivalry neither could avoid".

Slovo, unlike Hani, was Mbeki's intellectual equal, and even though Slovo was initially something of a mentor to the young Mbeki, their relationship became fraught with tension and difficulty. The differences were ideological to a point — disagreements, for example, over what the balance should be between armed struggle (which Slovo supported) and mass mobilisation (which Mbeki, along with people like Mac Maharaj, advocated).

Many in the movement say that Slovo could not tolerate his position as senior strategist being challenged by Mbeki; others maintain that Slovo was appalled by Mbeki's expedient use of the SACP and, as time went on, his willingness to compromise towards the end of a negotiated settlement.

Their first major clash came in 1979, during the drafting of "The Green Book", an important policy document that shifted the ANC's focus towards the notion of mass mobilisation via "armed propaganda". This was the time of Frelimo's victory in Mozambique and of the MPLA's victory in Angola, and within this context, Slovo had managed to convince Oliver Tambo — who

was not a member of the SACP — that the ANC should cease to be a "national liberation movement" and should become, like Frelimo and MPLA, a "Marxist-Leninist movement".

Mbeki refused to accept this, arguing, he recalls, "that it was wrong, the notion that the ANC was a party of socialism. I said, 'well, if that is the case, then what is the SACP doing? You might as well dissolve it.'" The ANC, he said, had to remain a "broad church" that appealed to all sectors of the population, and "National Liberation" had to remain the objective.

He only won out by enlisting the support of Moses Mabidha, the SACP general secretary (and thus Slovo's senior), who reminded Slovo that his position was not an SACP one.

SIX years later, Slovo and Mbeki clashed again, at the ANC's major conference in Kabwe, Zambia, where Slovo rejected the "Strategy and Tactics" document Mbeki had prepared. Ronnie Kasrils, who chaired the Strategy and Tactics Commission, recalls that "Slovo dismissed it out of hand as 'the same old Lenin School formula' and demanded that we find fresher formulations". Although he supported Slovo at the time, Kasrils feels now that the master strategist was displaying his major weakness: "He could not abide rivalry. I greatly respected Joe Slovo and was close to him personally. But it wasn't easy to oppose him, and he did not easily accept that his mantle should be passed on to others."

Whatever its roots, the rivalry between Slovo and Mbeki had profound political implications: as we shall see, Slovo was to become one of the most vocal critics of Mbeki's approach to negotiations and was one of the key people behind the replacement of Mbeki, as the ANC's head of negotiations, with Cyril Ramaphosa.

Slovo and Mac Maharaj — also a critic of Mbeki — were perhaps the returned exile leaders to whom Nelson Mandela listened most; the ANC president's thoughts about Mbeki's role in the '90s were — at first — influenced by them. In 1994 Mbeki's proposal to give Slovo the junior portfolio of Minister of Science and Technology was over-

table and thus feel "an obligation to market it".

Mbeki assiduously follows the Tambo approach, which, he says, "allows everybody to say whatever they think without feeling that they are following a line because the president has spoken. It makes people feel more relaxed, and then, once you propose moving in a certain direction, everybody moves with you, without pressure, because they all feel like they've contributed to the idea . . . You are able to move people without banging on the table."

Mbeki's way, says one of his close associates, "is to absorb, take everything in, and then make a decision, as a chief does in a *kgotla*. Always a compromise, no winners or losers. Everybody recognises everybody else's interests." Mbeki's idea of a good time has always been the Glenfiddich *kgotla*: plonk a bottle in the middle of the table and spend hours listening to people talk, absorbing their thinking.

But an approach that is ostensibly designed to empower people can have the opposite effect: if you never know what the "chief" is thinking, you are often scared to advance a position for fear it will be shot down and put you out of favour. When his comrades say that Thabo Mbeki does not tolerate dissent, what they often seem to mean is that they don't know what he thinks, and that they fear he will not like their ideas (he does not suffer fools), so they refrain from proffering them. The fact that he withholds opinions and emotions — and that he then dispenses them sparingly — may well be a function of his character, but it is also a powerful way of wielding control.

Frene Ginwala, who worked directly for Oliver Tambo for many years, notes that "Thabo's style was more closed than OR's. OR was never competitive . . . [but] Thabo has had to fight for leadership, consciously or unconsciously, and therefore he is much more of a closed person."

Any young man who aspires to leadership has to fight for that position, even if he is so fortunate as to be blessed with the name Mbeki. But each combatant responds differently to the battle and its results. To understand Thabo Mbeki, one needs to recognise that he still bears scars from these battles and that he has developed, as a result, a carapace of caution, even — some in the ANC say — of paranoia.

Watching the President-elect on stage at Gallagher Estate on Thursday, one was struck, certainly, by the way he controlled his emotions. One was struck, too, by the observation that nothing lifts a shield more effectively than a decisive victory.

© Mark Gevisser. Gevisser is writing a biography of Mbeki to be published by Jonathan Ball

Most voters are confident about electoral process, survey finds

(304A)

Kevin O'Grady

PRETORIA — Most voters who took part in last week's election believed they were conducted freely and fairly, according to the results of exit polls conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The survey, conducted among 11 140 voters at 214 polling stations, showed that only 3% of voters said they felt election procedures were not free and fair, while 1% of those surveyed did not have an opinion.

Council executive director Yvonne Muthien said one of the most striking features of the survey results, particularly with regard to the freeness and fairness of the election, was the insignificant difference between respondents of different race groups.

"This signifies a high degree of national consensus — across the racial and party political divide — in the legitimacy of the election process," Muthien said.

The survey found that 99% of voters were neither forced nor intimidated into supporting a specific party. Of about 1% who said they were forced or intimidated into voting a certain way, most said this occurred before going to vote, and that family and friends were the primary source of influence.

More than two-thirds of respondents said they did not think there had been any problem with the election. Among those who identified problems, the most frequently mentioned complaints were long queues (6%), the need to register (5%), delays in the issuing of identity documents (3%), perceived inefficiencies with the registration process (2%) and names not appearing on the voters roll (2%).

Six in 10 voters who complained about their names not appearing on the voters roll came from the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, which were also the source of most complaints about delays in the issuing of IDs.

The survey also found that 85% of voters believed their ballot was secret, while only 12% did not think so. Provinces with the highest levels of confidence in the secrecy of the vote were Free State, Gauteng and Western Cape, while Northern Cape and Northern Province had the lowest levels of confidence.

Muthien said the survey showed the Independent Electoral Commission achieved its aim of placing the 14 650 polling stations within easy reach of voters — 79% said they were able to reach a polling station within 30 minutes.

Just over half the voters said they had to queue for less than half an hour before casting their votes, 13% said they waited between 30 minutes and an hour, while 14% waited one to two hours.

BD 7/6/99

London calm on SA election

BD 7/6/99

Neil Behrmann (304A)

LONDON — London Fund managers and brokers received the SA election results with mixed emotions.

The majority are underweight in SA, but a portfolio manager at global fund managers Invesco (no connection with Investec) is cautiously optimistic, and funds have raised their exposure to SA.

"We aren't fazed about a two-thirds majority because Mbeki now has a firm mandate to pull SA forward," said an emerging market fund manager at Invesco.

He said he expected economic policy to remain unchanged. As the world economy and commodity prices revive, the SA economy would follow suit.

There were some good businesses in SA, and since the shares are offering good value, the market should rise, said the fund manager.

Most emerging market funds were underweight in SA. Once they appreciated, the market would offer excellent value, and foreign cash should eventually pour into the market.

By contrast, James Graham-Maw, portfolio manager at Foreign & Colonial was cautious about prospects.

He said that Foreign & Colonial's funds were underweight in SA because the economy was slack and the rand weak. Major labour market reforms were needed to make corporations more competitive, but Mbeki's hands were tied.

Meanwhile, local corporate capital outflows persisted. Direct foreign investment inflows were inadequate. Local institutions were lowering their exposure to the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and investing abroad, he said.

This meant foreign investors were encountering a steady supply of equities, said Graham-Maw. Without sufficient long term investment, the stock market was over reliant on short-term, volatile hit money flows.

In papers for the Royal Institute for International Affairs book, After Mandela, several UK academics emphasise that crime is becoming a major, if not the major deterrent to foreign investment.

Jack Spence, former director of studies at the Royal Institute for International Affairs writes that SA can no longer rely on foreign investment on the back of Mandela's charisma and international goodwill.

"It is now just another country, competing as best it can with other emerging markets for a place on the agendas of multinational companies and governments."

Thus political and economic stability, law and order and sufficient growth to attract new investment will be essential ingredients in the coming term, according to London analysts.

School of Economics
University of Cape Town
7700 Rondebosch



SHELTERING WING: Noel, 64, lives at the Ark City of Refuge, a home for the homeless and destitute in Khayelitsha. The Ark had to move recently from its Lakeside premises to the old Faure Technical School for Boys. It is part of the Ark Christian Ministries Church and its mission is "to provide shelter and relief to the needy, the destitute and the abused, with the Christian Bible as our principle and guide".

PICTURES: ROBYN COHEN

Cape Town, the cradle of age — the grandmother city

(300) CT 7/6/99

In brief

ABUSE of the aged could easily have been a sensationalist focus of this entire series. But growing old doesn't have to be a form of punishment. Punching an old be[illegible]

IN a lounge at the Zerilda Steyn Place in Pinelands the "frailest of the frail" sit and wait for their tea. Some of them, suffering from varying forms of dementia, chew on their clothes. Others sit in their own space, talkin[illegible]

doesn't have to rely on public transport and can drive in his "little car" home to Gugulethu where he lives with his recently retired wife and two unmarried daughters who help their parents financially. But, he tells me since [illegible]

In brief

ABUSE of the aged could easily have been a sensationalist focus of this entire series. But growing old doesn't have to be a form of punishment. Punching an old beggar in the street is clearly assault, but if an elderly person has some bananas and the person looking after him or her eats them, is that abuse? Is the most profound abuse of all created by the social welfare system itself? Even state-funded facilities seem to remain exclusionary. "Oh, we had a few blacks, but they died," the matron of a city bowl home said when asked about the mix of residents. Instances of abuse are threaded into the stories that will be told over the next days, but they are not the key to growing old in Cape Town. We look at life, intimacy, survival and faith to show how individuals — even in the most desperate conditions of poverty and physical and mental deterioration — can and do resist becoming victims of age and truly enjoy their golden years.

Ushwankathelo

UKUHLUKUNYEZWA kwabantu abadala ibinokuba yingqwalasela yethu yesi sifundo. Kodwa ukukhula akufunekanga kubeyindlela yesohlwayo. Ukubetha umngqibi omdala estalatweni lityala kodwa ukuba lowo umdala uneebhanana ze lowo uyimpelesi yakhe azidle ezobhanana, ingaba kukuhlukunyezwa oko? Ingaba okona kona kuhlukunyezwa kwenziwa lisebe lezentlalakahle yethu? Neendawo zikarhulumente ngathi zikhethekile kule nto. "Oh, sasinabo abantu abamnyama nto nje basweleka, watsho omnye umongikazi wekhaya labantu abadala iCity Bowl xa wayephendula umbuzo wokuxutywa kokuhlala kwabantu abadala. Iziganeko zokuhlukunyezwa zizinto nje ezifakwa kumabali abaliswayo ngeentsuku ezilandelayo zingeyongqwalasela kwabo bakhulayo kweli leKapa. Sijonga ubomi, ukwazana, indlela yokuphila nenkolo, ukubonisa ukuba ingaba abo badala (nakwiimeko ezinzima zokulamba nezokuphelwa zingqondo) bangenza njani ukuiwa ukuba bangabingamaxhoba okukhula bonwabele iminyaka yobomi babo.

Kortliks

DIE mishandeling van oumense kon baie maklik 'n sensasionele fokus van hierdie reeks gewees het. Maar oudword is nie 'n straf nie. Wanneer 'n ou bedelaar in die straat geslaan word is dit duidelik aanranding, maar wanneer 'n ou mens 'n tros piesangs het, en die persoon wat hom of haar versorg eet die piesangs, is dit nie ook mishandeling nie? Is juis die maatskaplike dienste skuldig aan die mees skokkende mishandeling van oumense? Selfs staatbefondsde bejaarde instellings bly eksklusief. "O, ons het 'n aantal swart mense gehad, maar hulle het gesterf," sê 'n matrone by 'n City Bowl tehuis toe ons vra oor die inwoners. Gevalle van mishandeling is ingeweef in die stories wat ons oor die volgende paar dae sou hoor. Maar tragedie is nie die sleutel tot oudword in Kaapstad nie. Ons kyk na die lewe, nabyheid, oorlewing en geloof, en wys hoe enkelinge (ten spyte van die mees haglike toestande van ligaamlike en verstandelike agteruitgang en armoede) veg daarteen om slagoffers van ouderdom te word — en hoe hulle die goue jare geniet.

IN a lounge at the Zerilda Steyn Place in Pinelands the "frailest of the frail" sit and wait for their tea. Some of them, suffering from varying forms of dementia, chew on their clothes. Others sit in their own space, talking. One of the women says: "Don't I know you from somewhere?" A nurse explains: "She is out of touch with reality". Is she? Maybe not, because the same resident then asks: "What do you think of Mr Mandela?" I greet another woman good afternoon. She answers in Xhosa and since I don't speak her language, I have no way of assessing how lucid or incomprehensible she may or may not be. "I need wee-wee", she then says. "Please". This I understand perfectly. But this CPOA facility (Cape Peninsula Organisation for the Aged), like so many other institutions, has a shortage of wheelchairs and it is like playing pass-the-wheelchair as staff juggle residents around to free up a chair.

But there are lighter moments. Outside we speak to the sister in charge. Her badge has on it: "Breastfeeding Association". As an agency nurse, she hasn't taken off that particular tag. However, as she muses: "The people here need the same amount of care as babies — but still need to be respected as adults."

Cape Town is the retirement capital of South Africa. It is the first choice for the many who want to spend their golden years, under sunny skies, near the sea and mountains. It is also the cradle of old age, since the first old-age homes and many of the residential models in caring for the aged were pioneered in the Mother City.

He says he will continue to work as long as his health allows him. 'What can you do?' he asks

Over the next five days, we look at many ways of growing old — at some groups and individuals in our city — both care-givers and cared for (young and old); the interaction between generations as they actively assist each other in growing old in meaningful sustaining ways. As the joke goes "I'm not afraid of death, I just don't want to be there when it happens". With growing old, you've got to live through it. Here are some of those stories.

At another end of the multi-layered spectrum of growing old in Cape Town, there are people like Alex. It is a freezing Tuesday night as I speak to Alex, a chef at a well known theatre restaurant. He will soon turn 66. Born in King Williams Town at the age of nine he came to live in Cape Town. With a Std 6 education, he worked his way from being a worker in a haberdashery shop, to receiving training as a chef while working at one of Cape Town's premier hotels for 17 years. Then came 10 years at the restaurant until last year (1998) when he officially retired aged 65 because of ill-health. Now, he works part-time because he needs to supplement his state pension of R500 a month. Although he enjoys his work the problem he says is "all the standing" and he reflects "I get tired". However, he says he will continue working as long as his health allows him. "What can you do?", he asks. "You have to manage."

His day started at 2.30pm but he will only leave after midnight. He is lucky he says because doesn't have to rely on public transport and can drive in his "little car" home to Gugulethu where he lives with his recently retired wife and two unmarried daughters who help their parents financially. But, he tells me, since retiring he has more time to attend church (Roman Catholic) and he has a nice home which he owns. "I'm comfortable in my home. I have water, electricity. I have everything".

In the queue in the foyer of Newspaper House I meet Aunty Nellie (aka Beira Isaacs). She is 75 and has for 10 years worked as a messenger for SAPA (South African Press Association), and still opens up the office at 7am. Beryl Silberbauer at the Classified desk tells me: "I've never known Aunty Nellie to be sick. She is always there — standing, waiting patiently for her deliveries."

In Newlands at a buzzing IT company there is Bennet Chubeka who was born in 1922 in the Transkei and at his first job in Cape town as house-boy earned £2.10 a month. Now, at the ripe age of 77 he continues to be a much valued employee of this company — doing "everything — whatever needs to be done".

We have all read the amazing stories about 92-year-olds still managing to do a daily dawn-patrol swim of 20 lengths in 10° water, who still sky dive, bungy jump, and abseil — and that's just in the morning! Wonderful as it may be to read about those who have reached their century mark, pictured with a frosted cake and candles — at historic locations like the Mount Nelson Hotel — for the majority there is no cake with icing.

There are also those who are more "academic" — who have embarked on their PhD at the age of 75 and then gone on to achieve full professorship, patented some brilliant idea and made a fortune. Once again, inspiring as these stories may be, the majority of older people in our city do not have the right combination of genetics, opportunity and good luck.

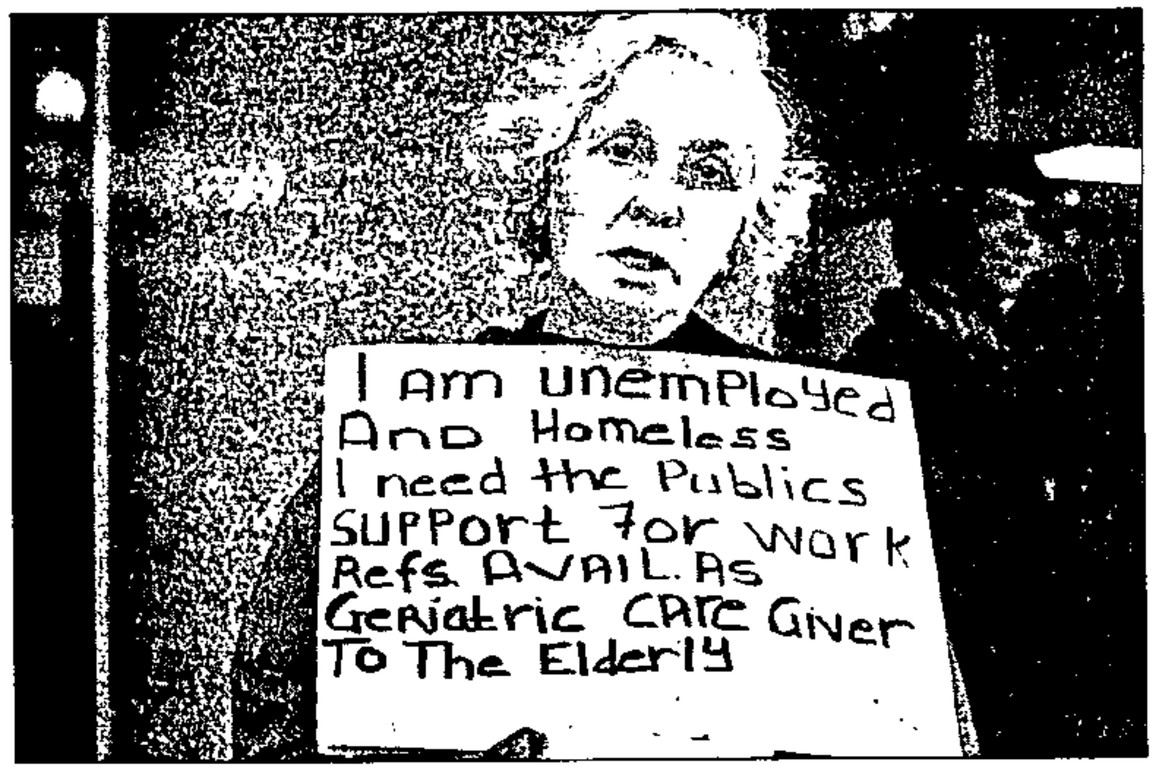
In Heathfield, a daughter-in-law who retired to care of her aged mother-in-law, shakes her head and says she can't take it anymore. The stress of looking after the incontinent lady has taken its toll.

In the grey zone, growing old is a matter of survival — where government policy that is supposed to govern lives doesn't officially exist. Overwhelmingly, when all else fails, it is faith: Faith in themselves, in religion, in the family and community, that helps people live another day.

There are very few prescriptions or prohibitions, in any of the major religions represented in Cape Town, regarding older age, besides the moral benchmark of "respect for elders". Fasting and other similar doctrinal requirements generally fall away, as physical ability to meet those requirements diminish. There is no equivalent of circumcision as a rite of passage into older age.

While there are customs and rituals

● Continued on Page 12



FAR FROM FAMILY: Maureen, 60, lives in a street shelter and has children in Durban who she says are aware of her situation but are unable to help her.



NOT QUITE PARADISE: A rainy day in Dreyer Street, Claremont. Martin, 59, lives in Nyanga and comes here to beg. He has no family.

Up and up, the journey seems to take forever, to the top ...

● Continued from Page 11

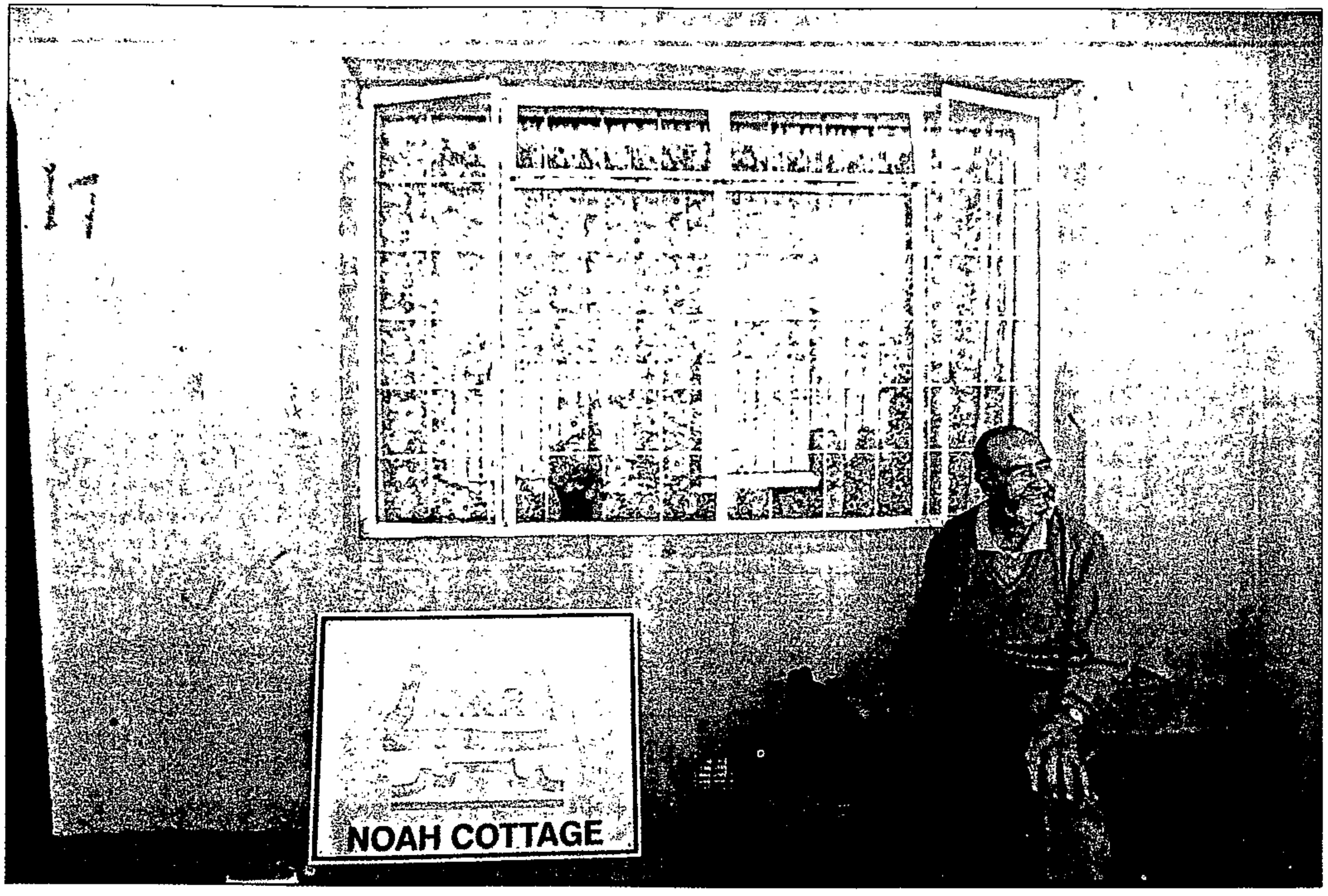
performed by older people or for older people, most are not scripturally prescribed.

In some faiths, post-menopausal women are released from ritual obligations. Jewish women for example are no longer required to go to the Mikveh, a ritual cleansing bath, required after each menstrual period. In some African cultures, post-menopausal women are believed to have added powers. Just as older age is a coming of age into reduced circumstances (health, income, mobility, status, power) so in many religions there is also a reduction of obligations.

Up and up, the journey seems to take forever, to the top, to the 23rd floor of Cape Town's Golden Acre Building. It is an ascent to the mother of all organisations — the South African Council for the Aged — the national umbrella body for other organisations. Much of the government policy will pass through here, to get rubber stamped on its way through the legislative maze. In a sense the council is the last port of call.

I am here to interview Syd Eckley, the national director. In the reception area, posters from all over the world advertise the United Nations, 1999 IYOP (International Year of the Older Person — Towards a Society for all Ages). It is the first time South Africa has officially participated in observing a UN designated "special year". Coincidentally it is also the year South Africa is focusing on developing community/family based care in place of institutionalised care for older people. The aim is to level out the ageing playing fields of previously disadvantaged communities and to strive for a society where people will remain as long as possible "active, healthy and independent" participants in family and communal life.

What is the government's policy? "In terms of our legislative process we have watershed legislation in the form of the Aged Person's Amendment Act ... (amended November 6, 1998)" wrote Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Minister for Welfare and Population Development, in



HOME FROM HOME: An elderly resident, who has been married for 41 years, lives with his wife in one of the NOAH cottages in Woodstock. Before moving into the cottage which Murray and Roberts have sponsored as part of NOAH's corporate adopt-a-house scheme, the couple lived in Retreat. *PICTURE: MUJAHID SAFODIEN*

chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (and author of *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will transform America — and the World*) writes in *The Australian Financial Review* (March 1999) that 14% of the population in developed countries is 65 and over. By the year 2030, those numbers will reach 25% and 30% and rising in "developed" countries.

Life expectancy in Germany is around 77, Israel 78, United States 77 and Australia it is 78 years. Here in Africa according to Dr Monica Ferreira of the HSRC/UCT Centre for Gerontology (citing US Bureau of the Census statistics) the Aids epidemic has drastically reduced life expectancy. In Zimbabwe — it's come down from 65 to 39 and in South Africa from 65 to 56

"It should be the other way round," explains Eckley (and others), saying that we go into frail-care much too early. "In Israel life expectancy upon entering a frail home is 7,5 months. In SA it is 28 months." What can we deduce from cept of a pension is fine but it's not realistic because people can't make out on it."

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"In many areas", say director Margaret Dobson, "the elderly are primary care-givers, keeping the family unit together. If we can hang onto that, we can stabilise society. ... the children and elderly are disadvantaged and if you can get those two together, you can really win... it is gives their lives purpose to look after grandchildren and to pass on culture and tradition.

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Up and up, the journey seems to take forever, to the top, to the 23rd floor of Cape Town's Golden Acre Building. It is an ascent to the mother of all organisations — the South African Council for the Aged — the national umbrella body for other organisations. Much of the government policy will pass through here, to get rubber stamped on its way through the legislative maze. In a sense the council is the last port of call.



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Moleketi referred to what many interviewed for this series have loosely referred to as the "'two percent law" — cited variously as being included in the Aged Person's Amendment Act or in the White Paper, 1997. "No", corrects Eckley "it's not law, it is policy, a signpost of where government would like to go. The ideal is that two percent of the most frail (those requiring 24-hour nursing care) should be accommodated in state-subsidised homes." This policy has, he tells me, been approved by the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in the White Paper for Social Welfare, in the Government Gazette, notice 1108, 1997.

Where is it in the White Paper? Eckley looks and can't find a reference. "It's not here", says a stunned Eckley. "I'm flabbergasted" Can we quote you on that? "Yes, yes — you must. There are far-reaching constitutional implications. It opens the whole area up to abuse. It means people are making decisions on peoples' destinies using policy which hasn't been ratified in the due process ... It is a shocking omission".

He is perturbed about many issues — poverty, health, abuse — the list goes on. Many facilities for the aged have been shut down in the past years, particularly the last year. He doubts whether these facilities will be replaced. South Africa, like the rest of the world, has a growing old-old population. Where will these people be accommodated? "Age", says Eckley "is not the problem. It is poverty that is the problem."

Globally there is a greying and ripening of life expectancies. Americans climbing on to the IYOP bandwagon have written tomes about their babyboomers who will be coming of age in the new millennium — the rise and rise of the "old-old" who will be a drag and drain on the state. Writers including Peter G Peterson, deputy chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (and author of *Gray Dawn: How the Coming Age Wave Will transform America — and the World*) writes in *The Australian Financial Review* (March 1999) that 14% of the population in developed countries is 65 and over. By the year 2030, those numbers will reach 25% and 30% and rising in "developed" countries.

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Our (social) pension scheme, unique in Africa, is a blessing and a curse, says Ferreira. For 1997/8, 51% of the total welfare budget went to caring for the aged. A great chunk of that (around R20 billion) went to pay for the pension scheme. Women qualify at age 60 and men at 65 and the payout is around R500 per month. (This figure may vary slightly according to extra stipends such as civil pensions. There are also disability pensions which people are eligible for before 60/65).

"The pension system is very generous — a very large wealth transfer from government," says Ferreira. But at the same time it has engendered a culture of "learned helplessness: sit on the stoep and be served ... we have to empower people to see themselves — help themselves and their communities".

Eckley says he differs totally from Fereirra's view in that he feels the pension system is not "generous" but "necessary to keep people alive and sane — and is an important contribution towards poverty alleviation by government as the money goes straight to the individual ... Apartheid deprived the black elderly of today of education and this is seen by the fact that 70% of black elderly are illiterate ..."

Eckley warns: "... We created a monster called retirement. 'Age' doesn't mean you are history — it's the future. People retire, they give up, they stop ... In South Africa, we are bringing this wonderful dream to black people ... that they will retire. This is a total contradiction. The concept of a pension is fine but it's not realistic because people can't make out on it."

The development of low-cost communal housing options is a priority, says Eckley. The council is trying to develop assisted-living complexes by buying clusters of houses in townships with the view of fencing around them and building a central cooking/social area in the centre. Currently in the Cape there are 98 housing complexes for older persons and 166 frail care homes.

"It should be the other way round," explains Eckley (and others), saying that we go into frail-care much too early. "In Israel life expectancy upon entering a frail home is 7,5 months. In SA it is 28 months." What can we deduce from these statistics? That well-aged people go into homes much too early.

Other countries like Sweden and Holland boast similar success but in these countries they also have evolved social structures to take up the slack — the stress and strain that is often involved in caring for the very frail. In Japan, Israel and now in Ghana there are state subsidised adult day-care centres where families can leave their elderly for the day. Here they will be cared for — physically and socially.

In some centres, income generation is linked to these centres. Multi-purpose centres catering for both old and young are an ideal way of linking generations. The well-aged can assist in child-care of children who either have no parents who whose parents are working and also help to care for the old-old and the frail. It is a win-win situation for all.

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At NOAH small groups of eight to twelve people live independently in well furnished homes (no institution vinyl or plastic easy to clean chairs). Residents pay monthly expenses (water, light, maintenance) but any surplus goes into a house account which can be used at the residents' discretion to buy "extras". They do their own cleaning and cooking. Unlike an institution, they are not served but serve themselves. In the two beautifully restored homes in Woodstock I visited, residents busied themselves with activities. On the board at the recreational centre next door there were notices offering services —counselling, dates of excursions and an apologetic notice of price increases stating that "25 Panados now cost R2".

In the one house an Alzheimer sufferer is watched over by her house-mates, who regularly have to point her in the direction of her bedroom because she forgets where it is. Residents share rooms to keep costs down and also cuts down the need for staff as room-mates watch over each other.

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"It is important, for health workers, community and religious organisations to empower older people — so that they can fulfil whatever potential they have — socially, physically or through income generation, learning and developing health skills, child-minding skills".

Says Elise Levendal, chairperson, Primary Health Management Trust: "For me it's about getting older people involved in something that will add value to their lives ... Many older people (especially black people) have low self-esteem. They must be involved in the greater community. It's about unlocking and accessing hidden potential." After one advocacy workshop an old illiterate man thanked her: "You've taken my thoughts out of my head and put them down on paper for me."

● **Tomorrow: Culture of caring for our own — A street in Gugulethu and a Muslim Home of Peace in Wynberg.**



TRAINSPOTTING: Public transport can be a nightmare for the elderly. Bus drivers have the worst reputation, but taxi drivers are known to go the extra mile in helping passengers with their packages and for being considerate when pulling up to and away from the kerb. ***PICTURE: ANDREW OCTOBER***

Most SA voters say elections were free and fair

Sowetan 7/6/99 (304A)

NINETY SIX percent of South African voters believe the country's second democratic elections were free and fair, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The results of the survey – conducted on election day at 214 polling stations among 11 140 voters – showed only three percent felt that the elections were not free and fair, while one percent did not express an opinion.

Council executive director Dr Yvonne Muthien said yesterday a striking feature of the survey was the insignificance of race in the results.

"This signals a high degree of national consensus – across the racial and party political divide – in the legitimacy of the election process."

Ninety nine percent of voters said they were not intimidated or forced to support a specific party.

Of the 1,2 percent of voters who did report intimidation, a larger proportion indicated this had occurred before casting their ballots, the council said.

Family, friends and to a lesser extent party workers, were identified as the primary source of intimidation.

A total of 68 percent of voters did not think there had been any problems with the 1999 elections.

The most frequent complaints related to long queues (6 percent), the need to register (5 percent), delays at Home Affairs Department offices in issuing IDs (3 percent), perceived inefficiencies with the registration process (2 percent) and names not appearing on the voters' roll (2 percent).

Complaints about long queues and the need to register were most often raised among voters in Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal, while delays at Home Affairs offices were raised by voters in Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Northern Province.

Inefficiencies in the registration process were cited most often as a problem by voters in the Northern Province and Gauteng, the HSRC said.

Six out of 10 voters who did complain about their names not appearing on the voters' roll came from the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, the council said.

A total of 85 percent of the electorate believed their vote was secret. Three percent were uncertain and the balance believed it was not secret.

Provinces with the highest levels of confidence in the secrecy of the vote were the Free State (92 percent), followed by Gauteng and Western Cape (both 89 percent).

Ninety percent of white and coloured voters believed their votes were a secret, compared to 83 percent of black and 87 percent of Asian voters.

On accessibility to voting stations, the council survey found that 79 percent of voters were able to reach their polling stations in less than 30 minutes.

Just over half of voters said they had to stand in queues for less than half an hour before casting their ballots, with 13 percent saying they had to wait between 30 minutes and an hour, while 14 percent waited for between one and two hours. – *Sapa*

ET 7/6/99 (3049)

Free, fair and easy to understand

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The vast majority of respondents (96%) said voting procedures were easy to understand. — Sapa

New faces crowd the opposition benches

ARG 7/6/99 (304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – Up to 12 parties will be represented in South Africa's second democratic Parliament when it convenes for the swearing-in of MPs next week – five more than in 1994.

Among new faces on opposition benches will be former Bophuthatswana strongman Lucas Mangope, the former leader of the Indian house in the tricameral parliament, Amichand Rajbansi, and former rugby supremo Louis Luyt.

With only a few thousand votes remaining to be counted yesterday, the African National Congress had secured about 265 seats, the Democratic Party 38, the Inkatha Freedom Party 34, the New National Party 27, the African Christian Democratic Party six, the Freedom Front three and the Pan Africanist Congress two. Biggest winner is the DP, which has gained about 31 seats. The biggest loser is the New NP, set to lose 50 seats.



Lucas Mangope



Amichand Rajbansi



Louis Luyt



Kraai Van Niekerk



Patricia De Lille



Nigel Bruce

Parties which will be in Parliament for the first time are the Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (one seat), Dr Luyt's Federal Alliance (two), the Minority Front (one), Mr Mangope's United Christian Democratic Party (three) and the United Democratic Movement (14).

Chief Mangope will now find himself leading the UCDP on the opposition benches – but perhaps not for long. If his appeal against a conviction and jail sentence for fraud and theft fails , he will have to relinquish his seat.

Dr Luyt is likely to share a desk with former NP minister Kraai van Niekerk, No 2 on the Freedom Alliance's list.

The PAC's Patricia de Lille may not return to Parliament. She features on the party's province-to-national list in the Western Cape, where the PAC polled less than 0,5%.

The DP's strong showing means that recent converts – among them would-be media magnate Nigel Bruce – will be rewarded with seats.

We won't tamper with the constitution, says Mandela

ARG 7/6/99 (304A)

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – President Mandela has reassured voters that the ANC will not abuse its overwhelming election majority, as the party hovers close to the two-thirds majority mark.

Although the ANC appeared to be falling marginally short of the 267 seats needed for a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly, Mr Mandela seemed confident the party would reach that mark.

With only a few thousand votes still to be counted last night, the ANC had 10 582 485 votes, or 66,39% of the nearly 16-million votes counted. The count was still provisional and could change as the verification process neared completion, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said.

Echoing president-elect Thabo Mbeki's victory speech of Thursday, Mr Mandela said yesterday: "The people have spoken." But he added the ANC had no intention of using a two-thirds majority to effect wide-ranging changes to the constitution.

"We have had a government of national unity involving nine ministers from opposition parties. None can say we abused our majority. We treated our partners in a sensitive manner and addressed their concerns.

"Nobody should be concerned that we won this election with a two-thirds majority," Mr Mandela said.

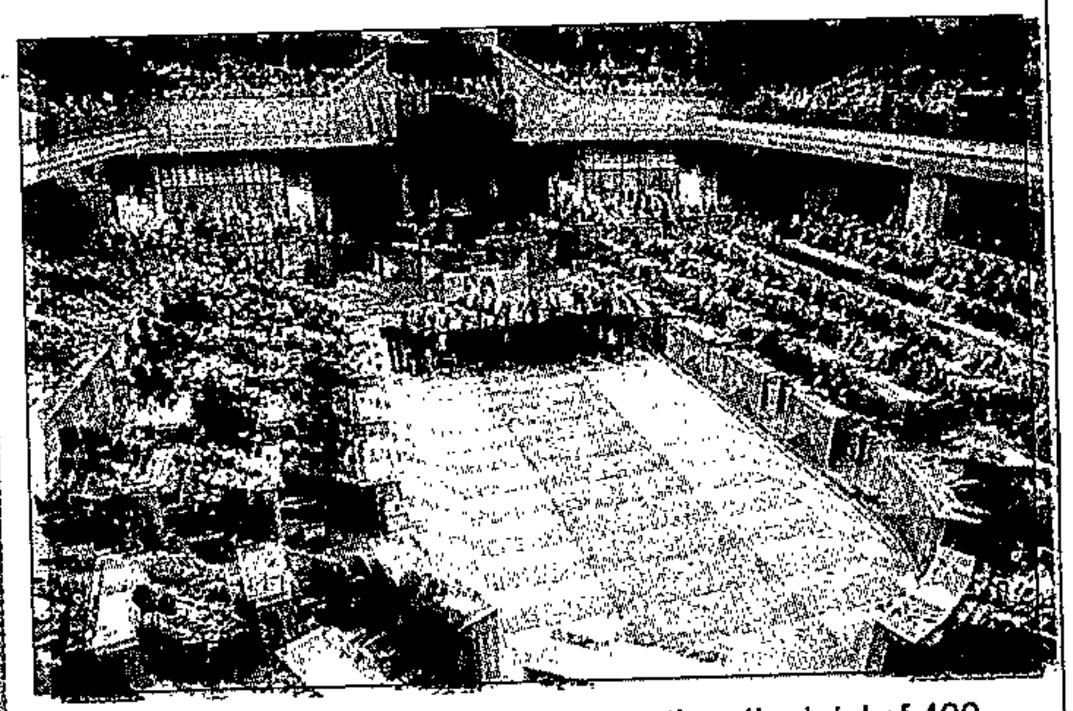
The new Parliament will meet next Monday to formally elect Mr Mbeki as president and swear in new MPs. Mr Mbeki is also expected to announce his cabinet then.

At the IEC's operations centre in Pretoria, officials were kept busy most of yesterday with the painstaking process of cross-checking poll results. The final verified result was expected to be released at 7.30pm today, IEC deputy electoral officer Norman du Plessis said.

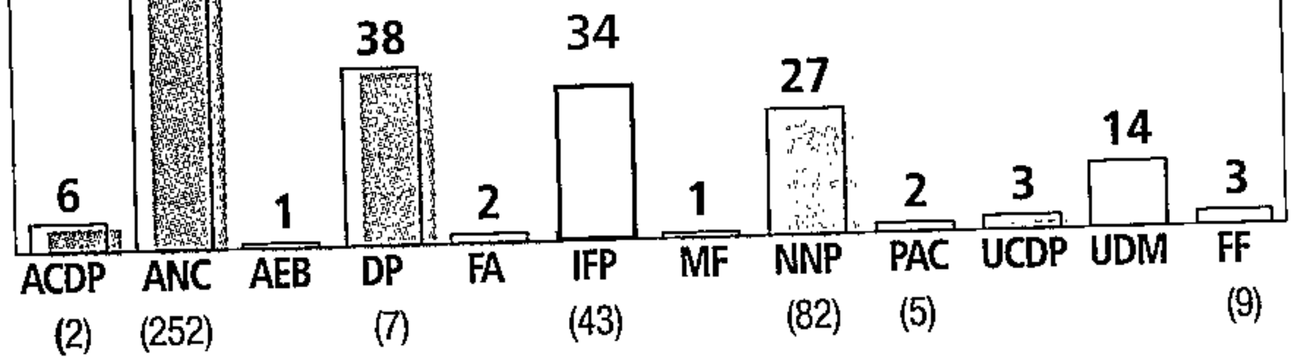
The percentage poll is close to 88%, confounding pre-election predictions of voter apathy.

The Human Sciences Research Council said 96% of South African voters believed the elections were free and fair.

ALLOCATION OF SEATS



This breakdown of seats adds up to less than the total of 400. The remaining seats will be allocated according to a formula taking into account votes cast in the provinces and votes cast for parties that did not secure a seat *(1994 figures in brackets)*





WAYNE CONRADIE

Grub's up: sisters Teresa, left, and Patricia du Toit wait for lunch at Wildwood

Food tempts hungry from field of rubble

Container to serve as a kitchen

COEN VAN KRANENBURG
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The Meals on Wheels car comes to a halt at Mitchell's Plain's Wildwood informal settlement, and about 15 people emerge from a field of rubble.

They take their time, as pace is not an issue for people with little more to do than make daily repairs to their shacks and try to find a job.

The Wildwood people, their faces marked by hardship, have come to collect their food for the day. They gather around Olive Koeries, the leader of the new Meals on Wheels Centre in Mitchell's Plain.

The squatters cheer and laugh as food is handed to them.

"For years no one knew these people lived in Wildwood," says Ms Koeries. "About two years ago a man down the road from here told us about them."

As Ms Koeries speaks, children and adults are given food.

One of the women is Angeline Chilet, 59, who has lived in Wildwood for years. She tells how her family was laid off by a farmer who sold his farm in Ottery.

Felicity, Angeline's 18-year-old daughter, said: "We had to leave Ottery, but we didn't know where to go. Luckily my brother worked in this area. His boss owned the Wildwood field and he has let us live on it."

At the moment food for the Wildwood people is cooked at the homes of the 15 Meals on Wheels volunteers, but that will change when the organisation moves into three containers donated by Safmarine – giving Meals on Wheels a permanent base in Mitchell's Plain.

One container will be used for storage, one as a kitchen and one as a workshop.

But preparing meals for the disadvantaged is not the only thing Meals on Wheels does. The plan is to use the big workshop container as a skills-teaching centre for the community.

"We will teach people how to knit, patch, clean and cook. All sorts of things to help them find jobs and look after themselves," says Ms Koeries.

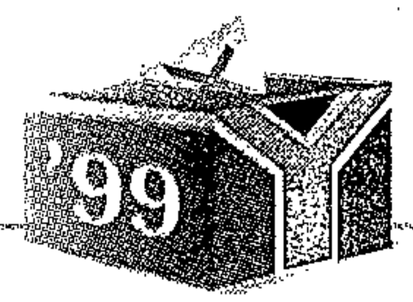
But while things are looking up for Meals on Wheels in Mitchell's Plain, life is threatening for the Wildwood people.

Their field has been sold, and the new owner wants the Chilets and their 120 neighbours to move out.

"The owner has told us to get off his land. We don't know where we'll go," says Felicity.

ART 7/6/99 (307)

Election '99 results



Latest count Sunday night (unverified)

National %		Provincial breakdown %								
		Gauteng	*Mpuma-langa*	*Northern Province*	*North West*	*Free State*	*Northern Cape*	*Western Cape*	*Eastern Cape*	*KwaZulu-Natal*
ANC	66,39	67,85	85,01	88,27	78,98	80,81	64,32	42,07	73,68	39,33
DP	9,56	17,96	4,45	1,42	3,28	5,32	4,77	11,91	6,4	8,14
IFP	8,55	3,51	1,41	0,34	0,52	0,48	0,53	0,18	0,33	41,92
NNP	6,88	3,89	2,35	1,7	2,3	5,18	24,17	38,39	3,28	3,27
UDM	3,42	1,95	1,42	2,51	1,29	1,69	0,9	2,4	13,53	1,6
ACDP	1,43	1,16	1,12	1,1	0,96	0,9	1,53	2,79	0,97	1,81
PAC	0,71	0,73	0,65	1,41	0,74	1,15	0,66	0,49	1,14	0,26
FA	0,54	0,89	0,8	0,32	0,55	0,8	0,53	0,26	0,17	0,33
FF	0,79	1,25	1,68	0,65	1,38	2,1	1,66	0,4	0,34	0,29
Other	1,73	0,77	1,11	2,28	10,00	1,57	0,93	1,11	0,16	3,49

DP declares its new status

(304A) BD 7/6/99

Farouk Chothia, Kevin O'Grady and Pule Molebeledi

PRETORIA — The Democratic Party (DP) declared last night that it had secured the status of the new official opposition, while the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) won KwaZulu-Natal in a photo finish with the African National Congress (ANC).

While the final results of last week's election will be announced only tonight, with only about 25 000 ballots outstanding last night there appeared to be consensus among political parties on the outcome.

In the Western Cape unverified results showed the ANC winning 42,07% of the vote compared to the New National Party's (NNP's) 38,39%. The NNP was divided over whether to be the junior partner in a coalition with the ANC or whether to form a minority-led coalition government with the DP and the African Christian Democratic Party.

Deputy chief electoral officer Norman du Plessis said the Independent Electoral Commission would announce in Pretoria tonight the final results and allocation of seats in the National Assembly and provincial legislatures.

By 7pm last night, votes were still outstanding from nine voting districts in the national election and 15 in provincial ballots. These were not likely to affect the outcome significantly.

Late last night the ANC, with 66,39% of the unverified vote, was just short of a two-thirds majority. The DP had 9,56%, the IFP 8,55%, NNP 6,88% and the United Democratic Movement 3,42%.

Du Plessis said that if the ANC polled less than 66,5% it would be one parliamentary seat short of a two-thirds majority. If it received more than 66,75% of the vote it would be assured of two-thirds, and if it received between 66,5% and 66,75%, the outcome would depend on the formulae used to allocate seats.

DP chief whip Douglas Gibson said there was no doubt that his party had become the official opposition, while the IFP had resigned itself to occupying third position. The DP would be a vigilant but not a negative opposition party, he said. The question of a "Codesa" of opposition parties was "high on the agenda" of party leader Tony Leon and would receive attention in August.

Observers said there would be a number of post-election activities this week, including the possibility of president-elect Thabo Mbeki naming his cabinet to avert uncertainty over its composition ahead of his inauguration next week. An early announcement was likely to welcomed by the markets.

Senior NNP leader David Malatsi said he believed Mbeki should be magnanimous enough to invite smaller parties other than the IFP into government in order to promote reconciliation. The election showed that parties were racially polarised and the ANC's huge victory might result in whites believing "nothing is left for us".

However, ANC spokesman Thabo Masebe said there was no question of the NNP being invited into government.

In the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, intense negotiations on the formation of coalition governments would take place ahead of the inauguration of provincial premiers next week.

Late last night the IFP held 41,94% of the unverified KwaZulu-Natal vote, with the ANC at 39,14%. ANC provincial chairman S'bu Ndebele said it looked like his party would hold 32 seats in the provincial legislature to the IFP's 34. The need for peace and development should be considered when a coalition government was formed, he said.

In the Western Cape, former NNP premier Gerald Morkel was believed to be pushing for a coalition that would exclude the ANC, while senior NNP member Peter Marais was understood to favour a coalition with the ANC.

Malatsi said he believed that the near "equilibrium" in NNP and ANC support should not be forgotten when a coalition government was formed.

The issue was expected to be discussed by the NNP's national leaders when they met today.

Comment: Page 11

Council ordered to shelter evicted women and children

ARG 8/6/99 (307)

NORMAN JOSEPH
METRO REPORTER

The Oostenberg Council has been ordered by the Cape High Court to provide temporary shelter for mothers and children evicted from a Kraaifontein site.

The order came after a Cape High Court judge viewed a video and inspected a vacant site.

About 700 homeless families were evicted by the sheriff of the court from Kleinbegin, a vacant site neighbouring Wallacedene informal settlement.

The owners of the site, a medical practitioner and a property developer, applied for an interdict in the Cape High Court to prevent people from squatting there.

But the landowners could not afford to pay the costs of the court case, and the Oostenberg Council then paid part of the costs from taxpayers' money.

Oostenberg's chief executive officer, Dave Cedras, said he could not disclose the amount of money involved because a formal agreement had been reached between the two parties.

Repeated efforts to get comment from the landowners failed.

Mr Justice Gerald Josman and assessors viewed video recordings supplied by the municipality and held an inspection in loco at Kleinbegin on Friday last week.

The video showed shacks instead of uncovered structures as claimed by shack dwellers.

Judge Josman ordered that more than 20 women and children be sheltered at the Wallacedene community centre.

Seven children are ill and are receiving medical attention.

He said the interim order would be reviewed on June 22 to see if it should be made final.

Attorney Julian Apollos, acting on behalf of the squatters, said the video did not reflect the actual plight of the homeless people and "we do not accept it".

Oostenberg African National Congress councillor Ebrahim Sawant said the council should have a policy on how to deal with homeless people.

Regarding the council's financial support of the landowners, Mr Sawant said the money could have been "better spent to acquire land for housing".

But Mr Cedras said the council recently approved, in agreement with the landowners, that low-cost housing would be build at Kleinbegin.

He said the council did not have alternative shelter for the people, but that most of them had been accommodated at West Bank, an emerging low-cost housing scheme in Kuils River.

Hefty pay hike awaits DP's Leon in Parliament

ROBERT BRAND (304A)

JOHANNESBURG: The new leader of the official opposition, Tony Leon of the DP, will get a hefty salary increase of R50 000 a year, an official car and driver when Parliament resumes.

Parliament will also have to find accommodation for at least 31 new DP MPs — probably from the NNP's office space in the same building. The DP's current seven MPs are in the Marks Building in the parliamentary complex. Following their party's dismal performance in the elections, more than 50 NNP MPs will have to clear out their offices.

DP sources said the party would prefer to remain where it is rather than move wholesale to another floor or building, because of the computer network it had installed. The party hoped extra accommodation could be found close by.

Office accommodation for political parties in Parliament is negotiated between the parties' whips. The ANC is expected to stay in the building which houses Parliament. The IFP will remain in the Good Hope building.

There is no office for the leader of the official opposition, so NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk will probably be spared the indignity of Leon moving into his office.

The NNP leader will, however, have to forego the official car and driver to which the leader of the opposition is entitled. The car will go to Leon, who will also be entitled to a larger office and extra staff.

Van Schalkwyk's income will drop from R346 890 a year, including allowances, to the R297 057 earned by the leader of an opposition party other than the official opposition.

Leon, who now earns R297 057, will see his annual pay cheque rise to R346 890. This is set to increase when the Steyn Commission recommendations are implemented.

MPs returning to the city for Monday's session will stay at their homes in the parliamentary village, while new MPs will be housed in hotels until accommodation is found for them.

CT 8/6/99

PENSIONS *Efforts to revamp he system 'unsuccessful'*

State's inquiries into funds 'fall short'

(300) CT(BR) 8/6/99

BONTLE HEADBUSH

Johannesburg – The Institute of Retirement Funds (IRF) passed a vote of no confidence yesterday at the government's commissions of inquiry into retirement funds.

The IRF, which began its annual two-day conference yesterday, said none of the government's commissions or committees into retirement funds had been completely successful.

"They all had some inherent shortcoming," said Jan Groenewld, the president of the IF. "The Mouton commisson was predemocracy, Katz was tax-driven and Smith not representativenough."

He said thIRF was concerned that may of the commissions' propsals had only been partially mplemented, leaving a trail of uncertainty.

Andre Rou., the deputy director general in the department of finance, said the governmenhad managed to implement only some of the recommenations made by the Katz commission.

It was still involved in consultations on the appropriate future policy for retirement provision in South Africa, said Roux.

The South African pension system catered for about 1,8 million elderly..

The annual cost of this programme was approximately R10 billion.

The percentage of people receiving pensions amounted to 61 percent of the total older population of the country.

Roux also mentioned the fiscal environment affecting retirement funding in South Africa. He said the government needed to create more incentives to get all sectors of the population to contribute to retirement funds.

"There are potential drawbacks to the government's taxing of contributions to pension funds," Roux said.

"This reduces the incentive for low-income earners to contribute to retirement funds."

He said the benefit of taxing retirement funds was that it resulted in a widened tax base.



WATCHDOG *Jan Groenewald, the president of the Institute of Retirement Funds, says proposals were only partially implemented*

World Bank calls for a single retirement system in SA

FRANK NXUMALO
LABOUR EDITOR

Johannesburg – The World Bank called yesterday for the consolidation of South Africa's different retirement options into a single national system for effective long-term planning.

The Bank said while the country's reirement coverage of about 7 percent of the economically active population was good, there were "too many different optins", including the defined benefit (DB) and defined contribution (DC) schemes, the provident fund and a pay-as-you-go system.

Pay-as-you-go also made it "difficult to test evasion", as little data was available.

In addition, one could "easily construct a DB system that looks like a DC and vice versa".

In both cases, optimising returns while reducing risks and ensuring that the system was properly regulated offered the necessary protection for fund members, beneficiaries and the retirement fund industry.

Shadrach Appanna, the Bank's spokesman, said a reformed system for South Africa should incorporate all stakeholders.

The responsibility for operating the system should be vested in a board whose members had "equal voting rights to insulate it from political interference".

The choice of investment had to be limited to a few instruments as well as aimed at attaining economies of scale.

The possibility of a member retiring poor because of market volatility could be limited by pooling the risks.

Magic fraction eludes the ANC

BD 8/6/99 (304A)

But pact with IFP would allow it to call on 300 seats — a 75% majority

Kevin O'Grady, Farouk Chothia and Stephen Laufer

PRETORIA — The African National Congress (ANC) has won 66,36% of the vote in last week's national election, coming within one seat of a two-thirds majority in the new Parliament which convenes for the first time on Monday.

If its likely coalition partner, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), votes with it, the ANC could be in a position to call on 300 of the seats in Parliament — a 75% majority. The ANC will have 266 seats, while the IFP, which won 8,59% of the vote, will have 34 seats.

The Democratic Party (DP), which becomes the new official opposition with 38 seats, won 9,55% of the vote.

The final certified results were announced by Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Brigalia Bam at the IEC's results centre in Pretoria last night.

Receiving the results on behalf of President Nelson Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said: "The centre has held in favour of democracy, in favour of the people being able to say freely who they want to govern them." Mbeki congratulated all the parties for their contribution to the stabilisation of democracy.

He said there was nobody in SA who could seek to change the system and take way from the people their right to govern themselves. "The people have said they want to be governed democratically, justly and with sensitivity to the needs of millions of people."

The final results confirmed the collapse of the New National Party (NNP).

National election results and seat allocations



Party	%	Seats
ANC	66,36	266
DP	9,55	38
IFP	8,59	34
NNP	6,87	28
UDM	3,42	14
ACDP	1,43	6
UCDP	0,78	3
PAC	0,71	3
FF	0,8	3
FA	0,54	2
MF	0,3	1
AEB	0,29	1
Azapo	0,17	1

Source: IEC

Losing 13,13 percentage points in comparison with the 1994 election outcome, the party was left with just 6,87% of the vote and 28 seats in Parliament. The next strongest party was the United Democratic Movement (UDM), which won 3,42% of the vote and 14 seats.

The Freedom Front (FF) with 0,8% of the vote, saw its parliamentary representation slashed from nine to three.

The African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) trebled its tally of seats to six after receiving 1,43% of the vote.

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) saw its share of the vote more than halved to 0,71% of the total and its seats reduced from five to three.

Louis Luyt's Federal Alliance (FA) won two seats and former Bophuthatswana dictator Lucas Mangope's United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP) three.

Three parties will have a single seat each — Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front (MF), the Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging (AEB) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Besides the well-known figures who were guaranteed a seat, the new Parliament will also be home to former NP minister Kent Durr (now ACDP); former IFP minister Sipo Mzimela (UDM); former NP Gauteng leader Sam de Beer (UDM) and former NP agriculture minister Kraai van Niekerk (FA).

In the Western Cape legislature the ANC has 18 seats to the NNP's 17, the DP five and the ACDP one.

In KwaZulu-Natal the IFP has 34 seats, the ANC 32, the DP seven, the NNP three, the MF two and the ACDP and the UDM one each.

In Gauteng the ANC will have 50 seats, the DP 13, the IFP three, the NNP three and the ACDP, FA, UDM and FF one each.

In the Northern Cape, where a cliffhanger was predicted, the ANC has 20 seats, the NNP eight and the DP and FF one each.

Rules must be checked for fairness and equity

CT (BR) 9/6/99 (300)

Trustees of retirement funds and employers would do well to audit the rules of their funds to check that there is no unfair discrimination, Kobus Hanekom, senior manager at Sanlam Employee Benefits Consulting, says.

Hanekom who co-chaired a workshop on pension in Italy last week, says benefits which exclude "a life partner", surpluses, eligibility criteria for retirement funds and the allocation of death benefits are some of the practices which may discriminate unfairly and should be reviewed.

The South African retirement fund industry is going through a period of significant change, he said.

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights in particular are forcing the retirement industry to focus on the rights of individual members, insuring greater transparency and management accountability in all areas of fund administration.

"Members can now challenge any fund rule or decision taken by the trustees which infringes on their constitutional right.

"This introduces a much greater need to allow members a choice in respect of retirement fund investment, annuity and risk products."

It also makes consumer-oriented, trust-effective administration and communication even more important, Hanekom says.

Trustees, of whom half must be elected by members, face a huge task ensuring that the rules, practices and procedures of the fund comply with the law, including the Bill of Rights.

"At present the difficulty facing them is the fact that the interpretation of fairness and equity in respect of the rules they administer is something of a moving target," Hanekom says.

He says the interpretation of fairness can change from one court case to another. A failure to take appropriate action could constitute a breach of the trustees' statutory or fiduciary duties.

"Should the fund as a result suffer any damages or losses, the indemnity clause may not protect the trustees, in which case they may be liable in their personal capacities," he adds.

Hanekom says it has become a "strategic imperative" for trustees and employers to review their rules, practices and procedures to avoid losses and damages. This sort of review should not only expose potential threat but also throw up opportunities to save costs, improve investment flexibility, benefit member communication and general member satisfaction.

"The right to information and the right to just administrative action requires trustees to review their practices and procedures," Hanekom says.

Gay partner wins pension benefits (300)

MOTSHIDISI MOKWENA
COURT REPORTER
ET 9/6/99

IN a breakthrough case which could afford gay and lesbian partners rights to their deceased partners' pension fund benefits, the Pension Fund Adjudicator has ordered a pension fund to amend discriminatory rules to bring them in line with constitutional guarantees of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Beka Provident Fund was ordered by John Murphy in Cape Town to pay Rory Martin of Johannesburg not only the lump sum from his late partner's pension fund but the spousal benefits too.

After Martin's partner's death, Beka Provident Fund decided to pay him the lump sum but said he was not entitled to the spousal benefit. The reasoning was that the pension fund rules state that same-sex partners cannot be paid out the full benefits.

Murphy found that the exclusion of same-sex partners from the "class of persons entitled to enjoyment of the spouse's pension" unfairly discriminates against lesbian and gay couples by denying them the same rights as heterosexual couples.

Until now, the rules have allowed only married and certain heterosexual cohabiting partners to claim a spousal pension on the death of a member of the fund.

The decision follows a dispute between the Gay and Lesbian Legal Advice Centre (GLLAC) and the trustees of Beka Provident Fund.

Martin had been involved in a committed relationship with his late partner for four years.

In March 1998, Martin and GLLAC asked the Pension Funds Adjudicator to make an order regarding the spousal benefits.

Martin was awarded the lump sum death benefits on the basis of his relationship of mutual dependency with his late partner.

The definition of "marriage" in the fund rules was declared unconstitutional on the basis of the right to equality, and thus invalid.

GLLAC co-ordinator Jonathan Berger said: "All areas of the law are being developed to give real content to constitutional guarantees of equality for all."

Call for a reassessment of retirement and what it is to be old

The elderly are having a tougher time of it today

CT(BL)9/6/99 (300)

An older person's death can be likened to a library which burns to the ground, Syd Eckley, executive director of the South African Council for the Aged, told the Institute of Retirement Funds conference. Eckley pleaded for a new approach to retirement and older people.

"Older persons are important resources for families and communities who are able to link the past with the future."

Yet being old and retired in South Africa is not easy, Eckley says, painting a sombre picture of the way old people live:

☐ Most older South Africans, of whom 90 percent are black, depend entirely on a social grant of R520 a month, "and this will be the situation for many years to come";

☐ Only 18,4 percent of black older people in the cities, and 6,6 percent in the rural areas, get income from a pension or provident fund, compared to nearly 80 percent of whites, Eckley says, pointing out that "this reflects the discrimination in school and work place over many years";

☐ On average, the income of a white retired person is four times higher than that of a black retired person;

☐ Black retired people face "excessive" demands from unemployed family and grandchildren: between seven and nine people share one social grant, Eckley says, arguing that "the social grant is possibly the best poverty alleviation programme as it serves the 1,8 million older persons, plus another six million others;

☐ Among whites, fewer than eight percent have generated enough income to maintain the standard of living they had before retirement and one third will need outside help to survive; and

☐ There is no compulsory retirement system and no insurance products tailored for the needs of older people.

The social pension has fallen in value by 60 percent in the past 10 years because it is not inflation indexed, Eckley says.

"This trend will continue," he warns. "Sometime in the future, sooner rather than later, the social grant of R520 today will be a mere few coins in a beggar's tin."

Though in the Western world retirement was seen as a time of leisure and freedom, this is no longer the case, he says.

"The 20th century old age identity built on the great retirement dream is devoid of any inherent social meaning, resulting in degradation and dependence.



SYD ECKLEY, *executive director of the SA Council for the Aged*

"Old age has become undesirable," he says – it is associated with tragedy, ridicule, lack of productivity and loneliness.

Even in African families, where traditionally old people are revered as wise leaders, modernisation and urbanisation are eroding tradition.

"The whole concept of retirement needs to be re-examined, re-evaluated and re-designed to cater for life in the next century."

Ideas which can help to make a new beginning are:

☐ The concept of agelessness, where continuity is maintained in spite of social and physical changes associated with old age;

☐ The concept of active ageing, which is widely promoted by the World Health Organisation;

☐ The concept of interdependent stages in life, which shows that a well-lived life provides satisfaction in later years and can be shared with younger people.

Older people are lonelier than others; surveys show that nine out of 10 older people do not feel safe; and getting around is a problem because of inadequate public transport; community services "are totally inadequate".

Most old people prefer to age in their own homes even when housing is inadequate, Eckley says.

"Residential circumstances differ vastly between the various groups. Fifty-five percent of whites live in houses with four to eight rooms, while 73 percent of urban blacks live in one to two room dwellings.

"On average, black elderly people share facilities with six others compared with one to two persons among whites.

"Residential care is undergoing a dramatic transformation. In 1990 there were 801 old age homes with about 53 000 persons. In 1999, there are 409 homes with 28 752 residents. Over the past year alone, 108 homes closed, affecting 5 102 persons.

"This trend will continue and future generations of older persons will find it very difficult to access frail care," Eckley warns.

Critical strategic decisions must be taken if South Africa is to cater for a growing ageing population, many of whom may not contribute adequately to retirement funds.

Policy should emphasise the transition from one stage of life to another "with as little institutional intervention as possible".

"The bottom line should be that we create a society for all ages, allowing all people – young and old – to live to their fullest potential."

A formula for success

Economic security for ageing South Africa depends on:

☐ Compulsory transfer of retirement benefits;

☐ The encouragement and reward of good financial planning so that people save for their own old age;

☐ Innovative pension and insurance products which make it easier for old people to stay where they are and live with other generations;

☐ Equal access for men and women to economic resources, including the right to inheritance, ownership of land and credit;

☐ Social security and pensions which protect young and old, ensure equality between generations and within generations, and remove gender biases; and

☐ The promotion of a range of economic activities which lead to an adequate standard of living.

INSTITUTE OF RETIREMENT FUNDS JUBILEE CONVENTION

Security in later life taking on a new form

CT (MR) 9/6/99 (300)

The future of an individual's security in later life is no longer as clear as we once thought it was, Elizabeth Mullen, director of international activity at the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), told delegates to the Institute of Retirement Funds conference this week.

This is evident in changes in social security programmes over the world, she says. In the United States, for example, there were 40 workers for every retired person in 1948. Today there are about three.

Since the US system is pay-as-you-go, the amount of wealth transferred from each working person to each retired person must inevitably rise, she says.

"We have managed slightly to delay this change by accumulating a surplus."

Meanwhile, Mullen says, many Americans are suggesting private investments should replace social security and more people are trying to prepare for their future security by investing in the stock market – one of the chief reasons US stocks are rising in price.

Since 1983 US social security revenues have been much greater than obligations, Mullen says.

The surplus is held in a trust fund invested in special United States Treasury notes. In about 12 years, annual revenue will no longer be adequate to meet social security's retirement benefits and the programme will have to begin using the surplus.

Mullen says this is why the generational transfer rate has been slowed.

"But about 20 years after that, the surplus will be exhausted and social security will only be able to pay about 75 percent of expected benefits."

Mullen believes if the AARP is earnest about solving this problem, it must look at what social security has accomplished for the last 65 years.

She believes the fact that the American social security system is mandatory is critical to the debate.

It has resulted in fewer older people being poor and this has relieved younger people from some of the burden of supporting their parents and enabled them to finance homes and education for their children.

Mullen says that despite criticism from conservatives, a mandatory and universal social security system is some insurance against the individual and social evils of poverty and provides some mechanisms for the distribution of equity and material support.

"Consequently, such a public mandatory system insures society against the improvidence of its citizen and against the excesses of the market place. Were social security voluntary, society would be vulnerable."

She illustrates the value of mandatory social security by citing examples of the savings scenario amongst Americans between age 51 and 61 as reflected in a survey a year ago: 14 percent of people in this age group had no savings at all; 18 percent had less than US$10 000; 21 percent had less than US$50 000; and 18 percent had less than US$100 000. Only 29 percent had at least US$100 000 saved toward retirement.

She says other statistics are even more alarming – for instance, Americans are spending more than they earn and have a negative personal savings rate.

"Certainly, with a negative personal savings rate and a consumerist expansion of the economy, people are not heaping up treasure for their retirements – but rather are borrowing, drawing down their bank accounts or selling assets."

Whether this should be attributed to an outcome of improvidence or of the high cost of living, Mullen firmly believes a compulsory and universal system of savings is insurance for society and a guarantee of some comfort for all its citizens, no matter how diligent or negligent they have been.

The AARP is sceptical of privatising any part of social security in the US and, Mullen says, this does not arise from any political considerations, but from concerns about how well a private system will work.

Mullen says it is necessary to look at the future of retirement rather than just the future of social security.

She says people are living longer and it is implausible to expect any social security programme to come up with enough money to pay for longer and longer retirements.

"If people are living longer, perhaps they should work longer."

Working later in life is not a matter of self-interest only, Mullen says. The older working person requires less from the state and may continue to contribute to the social security account of others while receiving some payment from his or her own account.

Physically and psychologically healthy older people require less expensive care and



ELIZABETH MULLEN, *of the American Association of Retired Persons*

support, Mullen says, and their contribution through direct economic activity helps bolster productivity which is a critical element to the survival of social security programmes.

"Their contribution through indirect economic activity – that is, as volunteers – can relieve private and public budgets of costs that would otherwise be incurred."

On the debate of the merits of defined benefit funds compared with defined contribution funds, Mullen says the argument in favour of defined contribution funds' likelihood to provide a more generous retirement income should be heard against the background of circumstances where the investments that have been bought by defined contributions have appreciated a great deal and have become immune to declines in value.

"In a period of a buoyant stock market that might appear to be possible, but its permanent likelihood is nil."

She says in fundamental economic terms there is little difference between how a defined benefit and a defined contribution fund finance pensions, particularly in the face of growing numbers of retired people relative to working people.

"A defined benefit system takes the taxes workers pay and transfers them directly to the retired. A defined contribution system has the retired selling their assets to those who are still working."

In both cases, Mullen points out, the working person gives up disposable income to support the retired person.

Either system can succeeds, she says, and either can fail.

"They will succeed not because one method of financing public retirement is superior. Neither is. They will succeed because the economy continues to growth and, most especially, because productivity per worker increases in the face of the declining number of workers relative to the increasing population of retirees. If not, then either one may fail – and surely will."

Mullen believes the real debate should not centre on the differences between the systems, but on stability or predictability – the heart of any social security programme because it allows you to budget and to have a certain income you can rely on.

Industry too long at crossroads

ET (BR) 9/6/99 (300)

The retirement industry has been at the crossroads too long, Jan Groenewald, the president of the Institute of Retirement Funds, says.

Opening the 50th anniversary conference of the IRF, Groenewald said the industry was being frustrated by the lack of a comprehensive retirement policy for the country as a whole.

All the commissions and committees set up by this and previous government have made valuable contributions to the debate, but each had an inherent shortcoming, Groenewald says. The Mouton Commission was pre-democracy; the Katz Commission was tax-driven and the Smith Commission not representative enough, he says, calling for a "structured" revival of the National Retirement Consultative Forum.

"However, a simple reincarnation would be a waste of time. All interested parties have been heard the previous time around. The theme committees have done their work and natural progression should now begin. We need to be able to work to a white paper within a reasonable time frame, so that next year this time we should be able to at least report some progress."

Key questions to be answered, Groenewald says, include:

☐ What of the future of the old age assistance programme?;

☐ How could it be linked to retirement provision for all?;

☐ Should private provision be extended to alleviate the burden on the state?;



JAN GROENEWALD
president of the Institute of Retirement Funds

☐ What about the means test?;

☐ If retirement provision is widened to include people in the informal sector and those not in full time employment, how can provision be made for life-time crises?;

☐ How does this tie in with preservation?;

☐ How should it be enforced?, and

☐ What should the tax regime look like?

"Of paramount concern is the life savings of millions of ordinary people who do not want to rely on the state for financial assistance. And even worse, people who, during their working lives, needed money for everyday living, who had no choice because a contribution to a fund was a condition of employment."

Minister says 61% of the elderly need grants and numbers are growing

SA's ageing population is a welfare challenge

ET(BR)9/6/99 (300)

South Africa is facing the important challenge of finding a formula and appropriate policies to effectively manage the ageing process at individual and family level, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Minister for Welfare and Population Development, says.

Addressing the Institute of Retirement Funding (IRF) conference in Johannesburg this week, she said government was still consulting on an appropriate future policy for retirement provision in South Africa.

In this process, she says, the government believes it is crucial to take into account:

☐ The fact that old age grants are an important source of household security: Social pensions are often the main source of food and security and, while the old-age assistance was not specifically designed to do this, the way it has grown means that it achieves a number of RDP goals.

Presently 1,8 million older people get social assistance on the basis of a means test. The annual cost of this social protection programme is about R10 billion and the percentage of older people who get social assistance is about 61 percent of the total older population of South Africa.



GERALDINE FRASER-MOLEKETI, *minister of Welfare and Population*

Fraser-Moleketi says the most recent analysis by the World Bank showed that about 53 percent of the population can be classified as poor and 29 percent as ultra poor. Furthermore about 75 percent of the poor live in rural areas and 95 percent of these people are black;

☐ Population growth and the problem of HIV/Aids: Fraser-Moleketi says population ageing is becoming a significant global trend forcing countries worldwide to re-examine their social security system and social protection programme.

Presently worldwide there are about 579 million people over the age of 60 years. Fraser-Moleketi says by 2050 it is projected that this figure will have grown to 1,9 billion. At that time the population of older persons will be as large as the population of children.

"While we are still a relatively youthful society by global trends, the impact of Aids will soon result in South Africa being confronted with an accelerated older population."

Fraser-Moleketi says a significant trend of the 21st century is the speed at which ageing will occur in the developing countries. The developing countries have the largest share of the world's older persons, and this share is expected to increase to 70 percent by 2020 with women dominating at older ages, and

☐ Management of costs: The total welfare budget in 1998/99 amounted to just over R17 billion, and social pensions represented 82 percent of the total welfare expenditure budget.

Fraser-Moleketi says the total welfare budget expenditure grew by an average annual rate of 22 percent between 1990/91 and 1998/99. Social pensions, she says, still account for more than 90 percent of the total welfare expenditure.

The widespread poverty, prevalence of HIV/Aids and an ageing population, she notes, has a direct relevance on South Africa's social pensions programme, which is already expanding quite rapidly.

She says the White Paper on Social Welfare focuses on a developmental approach to enable beneficiaries, in the long-term, to become self-reliant.

Against this background, Fraser-Moleketi says, the challenge to South Africa is to quickly and dynamically find the right formula to manage the ageing process at individual, family and community levels.

Pension funding needs to focus on risk bearer

(300)

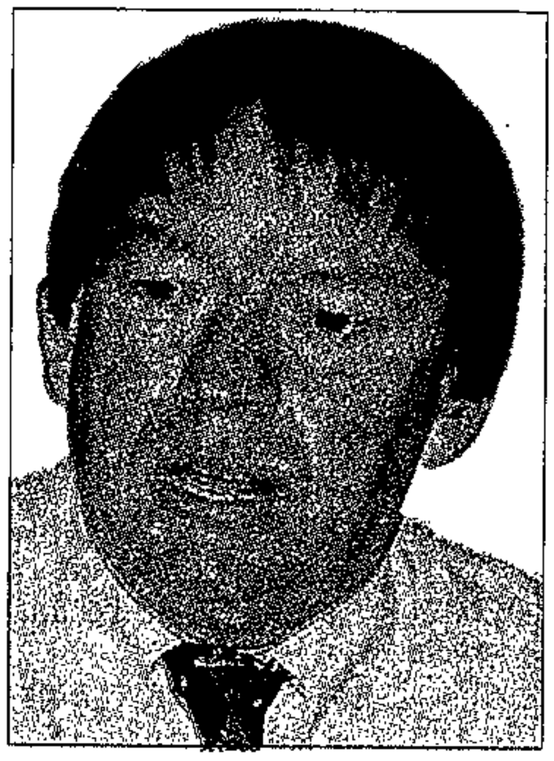
Joint participation by employees and employers in the governance of pensions funds is vital, Bobby Godsell, chief executive officer of Anglo American, says.

Addressing delegates at the annual conference of the Institute of Retirement Funds (IRF), Godsell said the degree of employee and employer participation should be proportionate to both funding and the question of who bears the risk.

The democratic rights of both employers and employees should be subject to the purpose of the fund and to the financial realities that flowed from this, he says.

Addressing the issue of how much of one's money should go towards funding for retirement, he says it is important to keep in mind that the purpose of a retirement fund should be to create the promise that, during a lifetime of economic activity, provision will be made for your needs in retirement.

Godsell says how much of each of your rands should be set aside throughout your working life to effectively provide for a retirement period which is growing longer, is the underlying question about the level of funding in retirement funds. He believes it logically precedes debates both about defined benefit versus defined contribution,



BOBBY GODSELL, *CEO of Anglo American*

levels of funding and governance.

"It seems to me that as a society we have spent too little time debating this crucial question. Without the benefit of actuarial science I would be surprised if the amount was much less than 20 cents in the rand."

Whatever the amount is, however, he believes a national debate and a national consensus is needed on the matter.

Godsell says another crucial issue of retirement funding is whether the nature of the post retirement benefit should be a lump sum or a pension.

He believes the benefit should be in the form of a pension, at least until that minimal post employment monthly financial need has been provided.

Godsell says the debate about defined benefit and defined contribution funds should take place in the context of who takes the risk of present investment to meet future expenditure.

"I am not sure that the form of a fund is vital. Provided every cent contributed is preserved for post-employment needs, the form of fund should not be a major issue."

If there is a factor that weighs, he says it seems to him to be the related issues of time and risk sharing.

By definition, he says, retirement funds deal in a time scale of decades. They can either be designed as individual accounts or risk pools. The advantage of any structure, he says, should be measured by the extent to which it enables high and sustained investment return.

"In this context I think it would be a grave mistake to ignore the strengths of the defined benefit, pooled risk fund," he said.

CT (BM) 9/6/99

SA electorate repeats 1994's 'perfect fluke'

(304A)

The election result could not have been more suitable, says **Alan Fine**

BD 9/6/99

THE new SA's electorate is truly wise beyond its (five) years. The almost unbelievably precise results it delivered in the past two general elections is proof of this.

In 1994, the critical issue was KwaZulu-Natal. Then, the electorate contrived to give the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) a 50,3% provincial majority. The 0,3% gave the IFP the single seat required to govern — and exceeded even the most optimistic opinion poll scenario for the party.

This outcome arguably rescued the province and the country from, at worst, civil war or at the very least, continuing instability due to the feeling of marginalisation the IFP was then feeling. And, funnily enough, it all came right after the hiatus of several days in the counting process.

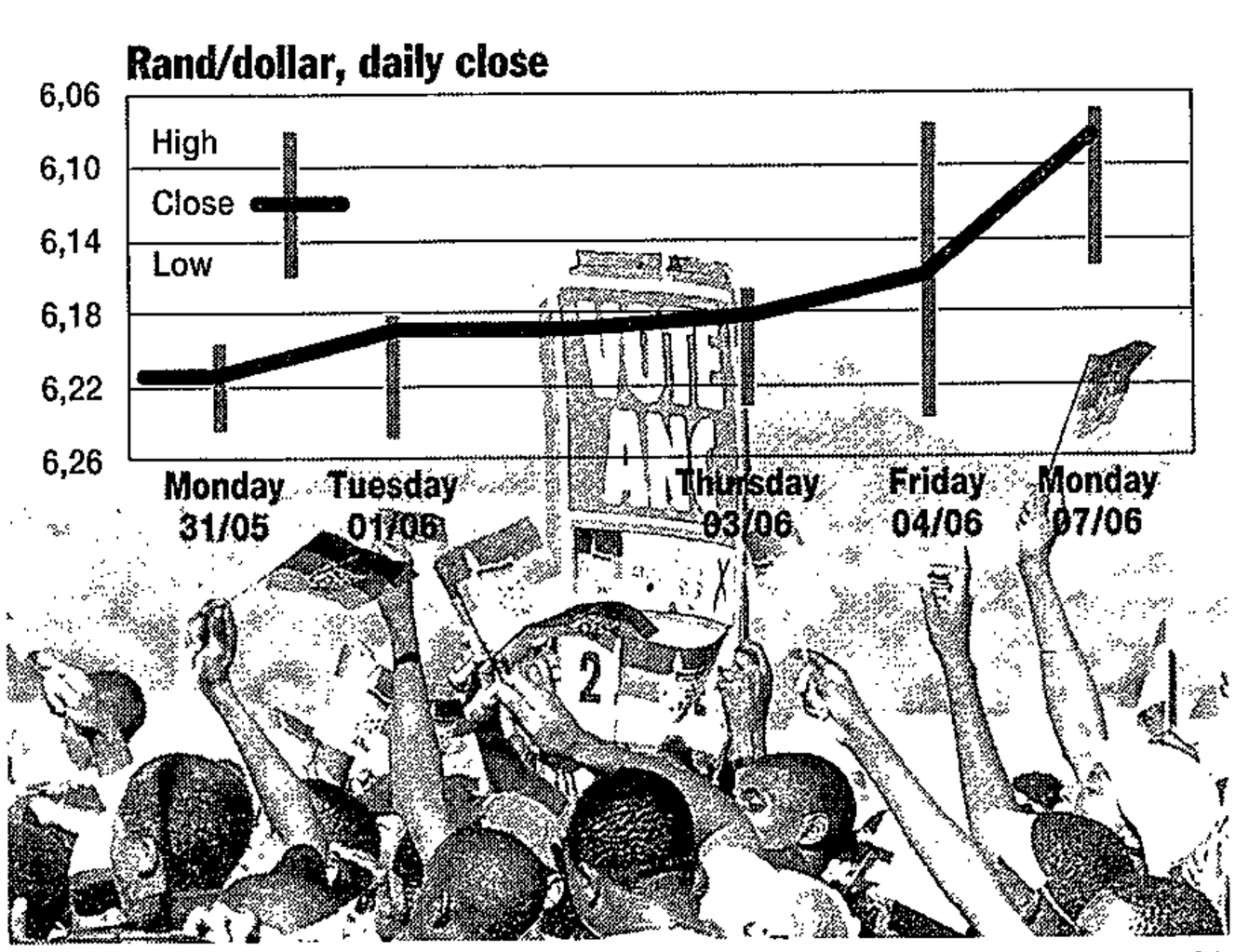
The stakes were lower and the issues different this time around. The relationship between the African National Congress (ANC) and the IFP is now a cosy one, and a coalition government in KwaZulu-Natal was more or less pre-ordained.

The "worst" that could have happened in the second democratic election would have been a two-thirds majority for the ANC. No matter that all manner of august commentators and newspaper editorial writers had repeatedly explained that the two-thirds majority fears were a shoal of red herrings. The international markets were unconvinced, and most of the opposition parties continued to try mobilising their supporters on the basis of those fears.

All the polls from March onwards suggested that those fears would be realised. And so did the initial slew of results from late Wednesday night up to lunchtime on Thursday. The psephologists were at that stage unanimous — patterns shown by the first 10 000 000 or so votes counted indicated a fairly comfortable two-thirds majority for the ANC. The newspaper, radio and television headlines screamed out the news.

Then, not unlike 1994, came the hiatus in the transmission of results. From early afternoon on Thursday to around midday on Friday, the total number of votes counted remained stuck just above 10-million, or about two-thirds of the final total of 15 977 026 votes cast.

During that hiatus, there were some minor adjustments as a few verification exercises were done.



Pic: ELIZABETH SEJAKE

KAREN MOOLMAN Source: I-NET BRIDGE

Mike Moriarty, the Democratic Party's representative on the party-IEC liaison committee, says the slowdown in the flow of results was due to a number of factors. There was, he says, the previously reported problem of reconciling ballots because the printers had failed to produce them in batches of 100. Electoral offices in some outlying areas simply disappeared — perhaps to rest — and were uncontactable. IEC officials were struggling with the three-way (telephone, fax and wide area network) verification exercise.

Be that as it may, Friday afternoon and the weekend saw a significant shift in the pattern of results. It gradually began to dawn on those monitoring the results that the expected ANC two-thirds majority was evaporating. And the final result on Monday evening confirmed it. The ANC, with 66,36% of the vote, had failed by a single seat — and, coincidentally, by precisely the same 0,3% of the vote by which the IFP succeeded in 1994 — to win the two-thirds.

It is a result which displeased no one. The opposition parties have held off the ANC as they sought to do (two thirds needed only a swing of 50 000 votes).

Markets are thrilled. On Friday, as the pattern changed, the rand swung from a worst of close to R6,25 to the dollar to a best of below R6,08 (see graph). Though it slipped back a little, by Monday, just ahead of the official result, it was back to R6,0825, and R6,06 by yesterday morning after the official result. It could be said that the 50 000 votes, or 0,3% of the vote, were worth 2,5% to the rand's value.

One would wager that president-designate Thabo Mbeki is not too upset either. He is starting off his presidency with a somewhat pacified opposition and positive markets. As the said august commentators have maintained, the ANC has no need of a two-thirds majority. The imperatives of social stability and the markets are sufficient to stop it doing anything silly to the constitution.

If it wanted to do something silly, it could. It could amend the constitution to weaken provincial powers or property rights with the no doubt ready connivance of the one Azanian People's Organisation MP, or the three Pan Africanist Congress ones. It could limit civil rights by reintroducing the death penalty and compromising legal due process with the help of every opposition party other than, perhaps, the DP. But that does not change the symbolic effect that the two-thirds majority had developed. The outcome could not have been more suitable, all round, if it had been devised through old fashioned horse trading. It was, as Moriarty says, "the perfect fluke". Again.

The Leon roars back in triumph

M+G 4 – 10/6/99 (304A)

Howard Barrell

Perhaps, more than anything else, force of personality and raw political will explain how Tony Leon grabbed the title of official leader of the opposition. For if any one individual and his image dominated the election campaign — more so perhaps than even Thabo Mbeki's or Nelson Mandela's — it was that of the pugnacious leader of the Democratic Party.

With at least 40 seats in the National Assembly, the DP has narrowly pipped the New National Party, at least 31, as the official opposition. This means an end to the exalted status in the National Assembly enjoyed over the past two years by the NNP leader, Marthinus van Schalkwyk — sweet, diffuse and massively ineffective.

Leon's and the DP's new preeminence among the African National Congress's opponents means that the man who has long been known as the "real leader of the opposition" is now also the official leader of the opposition.

Mocked as a "chihuahua" by the ANC earlier this year because he had a mere six fellow MPs at his side in the National Assembly, Leon returns now as a bull terrier with at least 39. His larger tally of MPs and his new official position will give him more talking time in the assembly, and he will use it to give the ANC maximum hell.

Wednesday afternoons -- when the assembly normally hears questions and interpolations -- will be much, much more entertaining as a result. The "Thabo versus Tony Show" each Wednesday could well turn out to be a gladiatorial contest every bit as riveting as its British counterpart.

Forty-two-year-old Leon's chutzpah and hard-driving leadership has wrought an important change on South Africa's political landscape. Muscular liberalism has displaced its rather limp-wristed predecessor, and is positioning itself to provide the core of an alternative to the ANC.

This has offended some more delicate sensibilities in liberal circles. But it has transformed the DP from a party facing extinction in 1994 with just 1,7% of the vote into the second largest in the country.

Speak to DP members and they attribute this success overwhelmingly to Leon's leadership — sharp, irascible, supremely demanding, somethimes offensive, but motivated always by a passionate desire to advance his cause.

It may be tasteless to say so, but the death in the course of the campaign of Zac de Beer, the awfully naïve, awfully genteel man who led the DP to its nadir in 1994, symbolised the abrupt and dramatic transformation that has occurred in the DP.

Leon dismissed criticisms of the flavour of his election campaign — uncompromisingly, even bitterly combative. The "chattering classes" is his latest insult for his critics. He reserves particular contempt for those one time or almost liberals who, in his view, lack the backbone for the battle that must be fought to keep South Africa democratic and to take it to modernity.

He sees their allegations that the DP pandered to racist impulses among whites during the campaign as little more than a disingenuous attempt by some of his critics to camouflage their own cowardice.

"I and the DP haven't changed our principles at all," he says.

His is still the party of Helen Suzman. But it is now also the party of Piet Retief of Oudtshoorn, once a supporter of the white supremacist Conservative Party, and many like him. That, for Leon, means the DP has spread its message and advanced its cause, not that it has retreated from principle.

Having come close to destroying the NNP and displacing it, certainly among the white electorate, for the DP the challenge is now to take on the ANC for black support. When I suggest this to Leon like every other political commentator has been doing for the past six months — his exasperation is audible in the silence that first greets me.

Then he controls himself: "Of course, of course," he says. The unsaid part of his sentence is something like: "You bloody fool -- don't you think I know that?"

There is a sense in which Leon -- judge's son, former private schoolboy, Wits University student leader, dyed-in-the-wool liberal – represents the same chutzpah that drove Suzman during the bleakest days of apartheid. Both are secular Jews from a culture which, perhaps more than any other over the past two millennia, has known the debumanising effect of intolerance.

Both are also gifted individuals who punch way, way beyond their weight.



Good guts: Democratic Party leader Tony Leon's slogan 'The guts to fight back' proved on target. The party has ousted the New National Party as the official opposition in Parliament. PHOTO: NADINE HUTTON

Red faces for black opposition

(304A) MTG 4-10/6/99

Internal divisions and bitter leadership struggles spoiled black opposition parties's election chances, reports **Wally Mbhele**

South Africa's second democratic election virtually spelled the death knell for those black opposition parties who have positioned themselves to the left of the African National Congress.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its breakaway Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa), who have entered the contest for the election for the first time this year, failed to muster even a mere 1% of the vote.

Only the pathetic Pan Africanist Congress appears likely to return to Parliament, although its support from black voters still remains dismal. Among these three black organisations, which have positioned themselves as viable alternative parties with the potential to pull a vast number of black supporters away from the ANC, none appears to have a chance of survival after this election.

All three organisations have been wrecked by internal divisions and bitter leadership struggles that tore them apart before the election. Commanding only a fraction of black support in the townships, Azapo split into two factions when its former president, Lybon Mabaso, led a breakaway group and formed Sopa.

The PAC's position was made catastrophic by the never-ending acrid leadership struggles since the organisation was unbanned and its former president, Zephania Mothopeng, died. There is still a significant number of its supporters harbouring political sour grapes about the dramatic removal of Mothopeng's successor, Clarence Makwetu.



Going back: Stanley Mogoba's PAC is set to return to Parliament

While its new leader, former Methodist cleric Stanley Mogoba, was believed to be the man to save the party and revive it for this election, his efforts to bring unity in the organisation have failed. But many of the organisation's members in the Eastern Cape and the East Rand still regard Makwetu as the PAC leader.

This embarrassment of black opposition parties at the polls has made them look like political amateurs compared with the better showing from newcomers like the United Democratic Movement and the Federal Alliance. "It could mean the end of the road for us if we cannot all unite against the ANC after this election," said a disillusioned Azapo supporter in Katlehong on the East Rand this week.

Not even in Gauteng's East and West townships did there appear to be any sign of the existence of these parties as most people interviewed on election day appeared not to know about their existence or if they were running for election.

In most Gauteng areas the *Mail & Guardian* visited on Wednesday, it was difficult to trace supporters of these organisations. With the exception of the PAC, election posters were also hard to find. Those few of their members who were identified appeared to have resigned themselves to casting their votes for other parties or not voting at all.

Sopa attempted to attract support from the townships by saying "black people first", but the organisation's campaign was virtually absent and unattended in most areas where it tried to attract voters.

Commenting on these parties' poor performance, South African Communist Party general secretary Blade Nzimande described them as "old remnants of the black consciousness movement".

Nzimande said the "black people first" slogan failed because it did not identify the majority of black people, in particular, the black working class. "They have no future and they are not going to survive this election. They'll be wiped out," he said.

Nzimande, who insisted that the SACP remains the only credible socialist organisation in the country, said both Azapo and Sopa have come across to voters as "clowns" and they have failed to talk about serious political issues .

Nzimande said the reason the PAC was also failing to become a trustworthy black opposition was because the organisation did not emerge as friendly to the working class. The reason it broke away from the ANC, he said, was because the PAC hated the presence of communists in the ANC.

"They pursue policies which are much closer to the Democratic Party than to the ANC, even in Parliament. People do not believe them. They'll be finished with this election," said Nzimande.

At the Independent Electoral Commission's Pretoria headquarters on election day, officials of Azapo and Sopa maintained a stony silence about their future in South Africa's political terrain. As results started pouring in on Thursday, they switched off their cellphones and failed to return messages.

Most political observers agree that the black opposition is now faced with the choice of either uniting or being condemned to political oblivion. There has been already been talk of a possible merger between the PAC and Azapo after this election.

According to Nzimande, "no one is sure if these organisations know what they mean when they talk about unity because they use socialism as a mere slogan". He contends that the home of all socialists and left-wing activists is within the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Single seat leads to two-thirds majority

(304A) BD 10/6/99

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi gave the African National Congress (ANC) the extra seat needed to attain a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly when the two organisations formed an alliance yesterday.

Rajbansi's decision, lambasted by opposition parties, came amid confidential talks between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) in KwaZulu-Natal to form a coalition government. This follows the failure of either party to attain a clear majority in the province.

IFP chairman and provincial premier-designate Lionel Mtshali confirmed that he had invited the ANC to participate in a coalition government for the province "under my premiership".

Mtshali said the IFP and the ANC had co-operated in the past and it was in the best interests of the province that they continue to do so. The two parties would not give details of the agenda for last night's meeting. IFP spokesman Musa Zondi described the talks as "delicate".

ANC provincial chairman S'bu Ndebele said the party would honour the mandate given by the electorate and would not operate from a position of power politics in the talks. "We are approaching them with an open mind and no preconditions;" he said.

Asked whether the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal would be on the agenda, Ndebele said "everything is under discussion".

He said Rajbansi had not bargained with the ANC when he decided to join forces, but had acted in principle. A case in point was Rajbansi's earlier decision to turn down President Nelson Mandela's offer of an ambassadorship.

Ndebele said Rajbansi's decision meant the Minority Front's sole representative to Parliament would add to the ANC's 266 seats, giving the ANC the crucial seat needed for a two-thirds majority.

In KwaZulu-Natal, the Minority Front's two representatives would increase the ANC's 32 seats to 34, making them on a par with the IFP.

The IFP said Rajbansi was free to join forces with the ANC. "To what effect they will use votes, we do not know," said Zondi. The party would adopt a wait-and-see attitude.

The Democratic Party's Mike Ellis said Rajbansi had proved once and for all that he was in the ANC "pocket" and had betrayed the electorate that had placed him in office.

Meanwhile, KwaZulu-Natal health MEC Zweli Mkhize said yesterday he welcomed Mtshali's undertaking to end the the commission of inquiry Mtshali had attempted to launch against the health MEC.

Mkhize, who is also provincial ANC deputy chairman, said he was happy that Mtshali had finally realised that there was no basis for the inquiry.

The commission, which has been repeatedly paralysed by several court interdicts, was supposed to investigate allegations of gun-running against Mkhize.

'Registration kept many from voting'

BD 10/6/99 (304A)

A pollster says the turnout was 70% of the voting-age population — not the 85% that has been stated, writes **Wyndham Hartley**

WHILE 16-million South Africans went to the polls last week in the country's second democratic election, almost 8-million people who were entitled to vote did not cast their ballots.

A rough guide to the number of people who could have voted is that there were about 20-million votes cast in 1994. Since then, according to the 1996 census, about 4-million young South Africans have turned 18 and were entitled to vote this time round.

A little more than 18-million people registered and fewer than 16-million cast their ballots. This has been classified as a highly successful 85% poll. But it must be remembered this is 85% of registered voters and not those who are of voting age or eligible to vote.

Bob Mattes, the leader of the Institute for a Democratic SA's (Idasa's) Opinion 99 team, said research showed that 79% of eligible voters had registered for the election before the Independent Electoral Commission deadline. The research further showed that there were 23,9-million people in the "voting-age population".

He said the 16-million registered voter turnout was a good one but it still meant only 70% of those who were able to vote actually did. He said it was not apathy which kept these people from the polls, but the process of registration leading up to the election.

Mattes said in 1994 "people had to make a low-cost decision" about voting. The decision in 1999 was a high-cost one involving expenditure of both time and money through queues and registration costs. There was also the issue of applying for the appropriate identity books and this all came at a point when they were not excited by the election because campaigning had not yet begun.

Opinion 99's final survey five days before the election noted that "while overall possession of identity documents has increased, there are still significant differences among differing groups within the electorate in terms of possession of the documents that allow one to register and vote.

"There still is a significant racial skew in the rate of possession, with 92% of blacks saying they have the correct identity documents, compared with 79% of coloured and Indian respondents. While they have taken long strides, voters in the Western Cape still lag far behind those in other provinces in terms of identity documents."

Voters of 18 and 19 years of age were most likely not to have the correct documents, the survey found.

Five days before the election it was also noted that "while there have been declining partisan differences in possession of identity documents, the New National Party, Democratic Party and Freedom Front and undecided voters still lag behind the Inkatha Freedom Party, Pan Africanist Congress, United Democratic Movement and African National Congress voters".

The fact that large numbers of the 7,6-million who did not vote would have cast a ballot had they been able to lends another fascinating aspect to election speculation. Would the ANC have achieved more than two thirds? Would there have been outright victories in KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape?

It is certain they would not have changed the overall result at all. It is unlikely that anything would have significantly changed at all except the perception that there was a massively successful turnout would be more deserved.

A 70% turnout is higher than most mature democracies can manage, but is not as good as the 85% poll figure would have us believe.

ELECTION '99

FM 11/6/99 (304A)

CENTRE HOLDS AS FLANKS WITHER

The differences between the ANC and the main opposition parties are ones of degree

SA's second democratic election has witnessed a profound development: the emphatic rejection by the vast majority of South Africans of radical parties of the Left and Right.

The collective tally of these parties — the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation and Socialist Party of Azanian on the left, and the Freedom Front and Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging on the right — is barely more than 2% of the total vote.

The reduction of the radicalism of both varieties to minuscule dimensions is at least as important as the confirmation of the African National Congress as the political colossus, the survival of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a force to be reckoned with and the rise of the Democratic Party (DP) and its corollary, the decline of the once powerful National Party, aka the New National Party (NNP).

The marginalisation of black militancy and Afrikaner nationalism signifies a shift in the centre of political gravity. The election results show that it has firmly settled in the middle of the political continuum, with the ANC conspicuously dominant there.

The differences between the ANC and the main opposition parties are mainly ones of degree and emphasis.

All subscribe to capitalism, though the ANC is more cautious about privatising State-owned corporations. All endorse affirmative action as a means of redressing historical injustices, though the opposition parties hold that the measures implemented by the ANC under Nelson Mandela are too reckless in discarding merit and in danger of degenerating into a new form of racism.

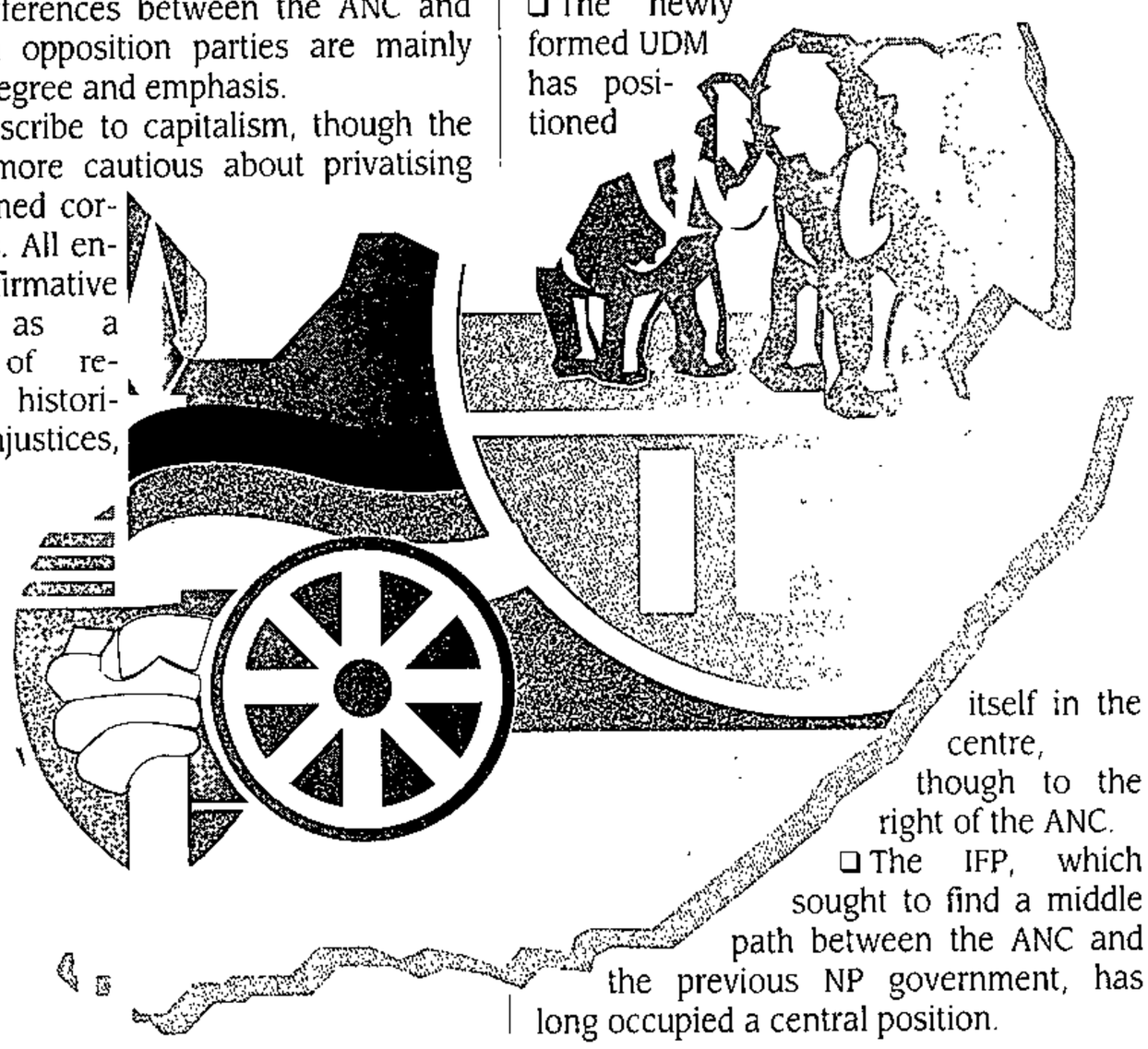
Like the mainline parliamentary opposition parties snapping at its heels, the ANC is a centrist party. No less a person than Thabo Mbeki, ANC president and President-designate, acknowledges that. Referring to W B Yeats's warning in *The Second Coming* of anarchy when the centre collapses, Mbeki sums up the election result thus: "The centre has held in favour of democracy."

The shift to the centre is a strong thread in recent political developments.

❑ The NNP, once a rightwing party which denied membership to Jews and, until 1990, blacks, has moved decidedly to the centre, particularly under its savagely lampooned new leader, Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

❑ The DP, seen as a party of the Left under the apartheid regime, has moved sharply to the centre and crossed the middle line to occupy a position to the right of the ANC.

❑ The newly formed UDM has positioned itself in the centre, though to the right of the ANC.



❑ The IFP, which sought to find a middle path between the ANC and the previous NP government, has long occupied a central position.

❑ The ANC, however, as the political leviathan of SA, has been most instrumental in defining the centre as the main arena of political activity by occupying that position itself. The ANC's movement from the left to the centre began long before the election, though the process undoubtedly accelerated as the election drew closer.

One of the defining moments in the ideological reorientation of the ANC is described by Mark Gevisser in his insightful articles on Mbeki published in the *Sunday Times*. It concerns Mbeki's decision to sever ties with the SA Communist Party after former President F W de Klerk unbanned the ANC and its ally, the SACP.

Focusing on the moment when Mbeki, a former member of the SACP's central committee, decided to dissociate himself from the party by allowing his membership to lapse, Gevisser quotes him as asking whether it is possible to represent the position of the ANC and to actively promote the "separate independent party programme" of the SACP.

Mbeki then answers the question himself: "The principal challenges of the time had to be met by the ANC . . . In those circumstances, choices had to be made."

Mbeki's explanation of his decision to dissociate himself from the SACP recalls a discussion paper prepared by former ANC Youth League chairman Peter Mokaba for the 1997 ANC conference. In that paper Mokaba presses for termination of the agreement that allows joint membership of the ANC and the SACP.

Mbeki has not publicly pushed in that direction, though his renunciation of SACP membership implicitly signals that he does not think dual membership is feasible for high-profile leaders. He has, however, firmly asserted the primacy of the ANC over the SACP and its leftwing ally, the Congress of SA Trade Unions. His speeches to the SACP's 10th congress and a meeting of Cosatu's central committee last year leave no doubt about that.

Thus, in his address to the SACP congress, Mbeki minces no words in dealing with SACP criticism of government's Growth, Employment & Redistribution (Gear) policy and its fear that the policy might lead to betrayal of the "national

democratic revolution" and of the poorest strata of SA society.

Mbeki tells the SACP leadership to, in Amilcar Cabral's words: "Tell no lies. Claim no easy victories." He warns it of the perils of telling lies to "the masses", of claiming "easy victories" and of engaging in "fake revolutionary posturing".

There are other pointers to the ANC's shift to the centre, a process that converges with the reassertion of its position as the dominant partner of the alliance.

One is the move away from nationalisation towards privatisation, illustrated by the juxtaposing of two statements by Mandela: the first, made shortly before his release in 1990, in which he proclaimed that nationalisation was the fundamental policy of the ANC; the second, made after a visit to Europe in the mid-Nineties, in which he declared that privatisation was the ANC's fundamental policy.

More important, perhaps, has been the rapprochement between the ANC and the IFP. The ANC undoubtedly has strategic reasons for seeking friendlier relations and closer ties with Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP. One is consolidation and extension of its political supremacy in the majority black community by co-opting the IFP into its fold as a possible prelude to ingesting it. But the rapprochement would not have been possible if the ANC had not itself moved closer to the IFP on the political continuum.

Four stages in the evolution of the ANC's attitude to the IFP from hostility to fraternity are listed below:

❑ July 1992, Mandela attacks the IFP in his address to the United Nations, accusing it of permitting itself to "become an extension of the Pretoria regime, its instrument and its surrogate".

❑ Mid-Nineties: Mandela appoints Buthelezi as Acting President during his and Mbeki's absence from SA, an appointment he repeated several times before the June 2 election.

❑ July 1998: Mbeki, addressing the IFP's annual conference, notes that the ANC and the IFP "heroically opened the century" (a reference to the formation of the ANC in 1912 and the IFP in its original form as Inkatha kaZulu in 1920). He then expresses the hope that the two organisations "will heroically close the century".

❑ June 1999: Mbeki calls Buthelezi to the podium at the Independent Electoral Commission's results centre to accept the official results of the June 2 election jointly with him.

The last of these developments seems to presage the fulfilment of predictions that Mbeki will seal the reconciliation between the two organisations by appointing Buthelezi to serve as Deputy President in the incoming ANC government.

One further point needs to be noted: when Buthelezi, a former member of the ANC Youth League, revived Inkatha kaZulu in 1975, he did so with the blessing of the exiled ANC leadership, which wanted a voice to articulate its aims and objectives in SA.

The subsequent quarrel between the ANC and the IFP is part of SA's political folklore, as is the then ANC president Oliver Tambo's accusation that Buthelezi dressed Inkatha in the colours of the ANC for his own political ends, and Buthelezi's counter-indictment that the ANC external mission was trying to manipulate Inkatha for its ends.

The two organisations still have much in common, as Mbeki has observed. At the core of their commonality is African nationalism.

In his address to the IFP conference, Mbeki quotes an extract from the IFP constitution committing it to the upliftment of "the underprivileged and the victims of apartheid". He then remarks that the ANC shares that objective, which "defines for both of us who our primary constituency is".

As Mbeki's ANC pushes ahead with its programme of African rebirth and, as a corollary, closer ties with the IFP, it is likely to win the approval of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and a host of foreign investors in direct proportion to its marginalisation of the SACP and Cosatu — provided, of course, it is seen to be taking tough action to combat crime and curb corruption

From that scenario a question arises: will the ANC be able to forge closer ties with the IFP without jettisoning its ties with the SACP and Cosatu?

The answer is probably, provided it tames their leadership and turns them into converts to Gear and pointsmen for the ANC in its rediscovered African nationalist mode.

Members of the SACP-Cosatu axis who hold key positions in the government and who are distinguished by their loyalty to the ANC even as it diverts from socialism to capitalism include Essop Pahad, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Sam Shilowa and Ronnie Kasrils.

It is significant that when Mbeki lashed the SACP leadership at its congress, these communists sat on their tongues and dutifully accepted his chastisement, leaving it to SACP deputy general secretary Jeremy Cronin to reply.

One stalwart of the SACP, predicting that there will be further, undeclared apostasy by former staunch communists, observes: "The SACP does not offer a vehicle for the upwardly mobile. That time has passed. We have entered different times."

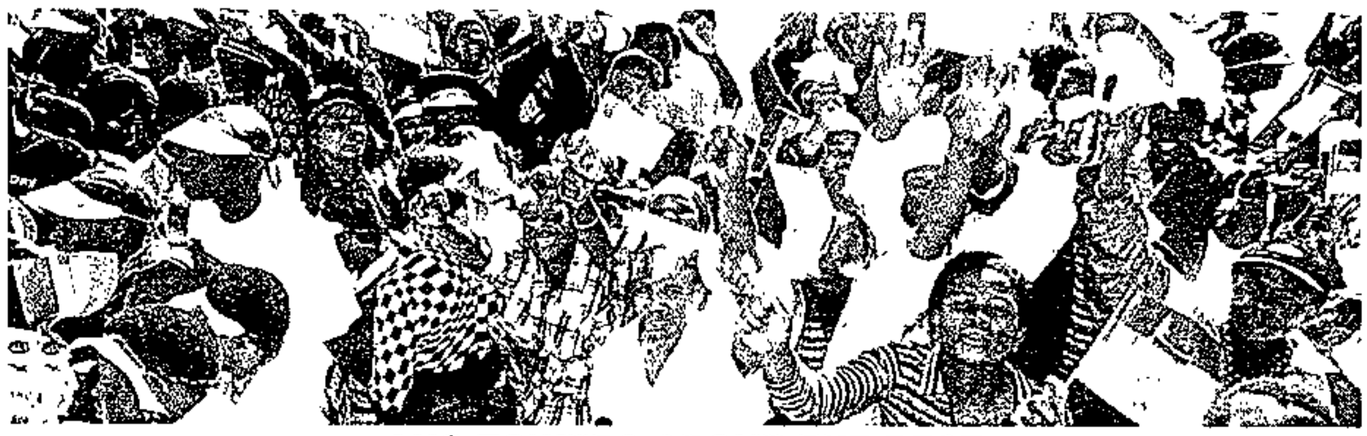
The same stalwart sees battle lines being drawn increasingly firmly in the months and years ahead, as those communists who have not converted to the ANC's new course seek to reassert a socialist agenda.

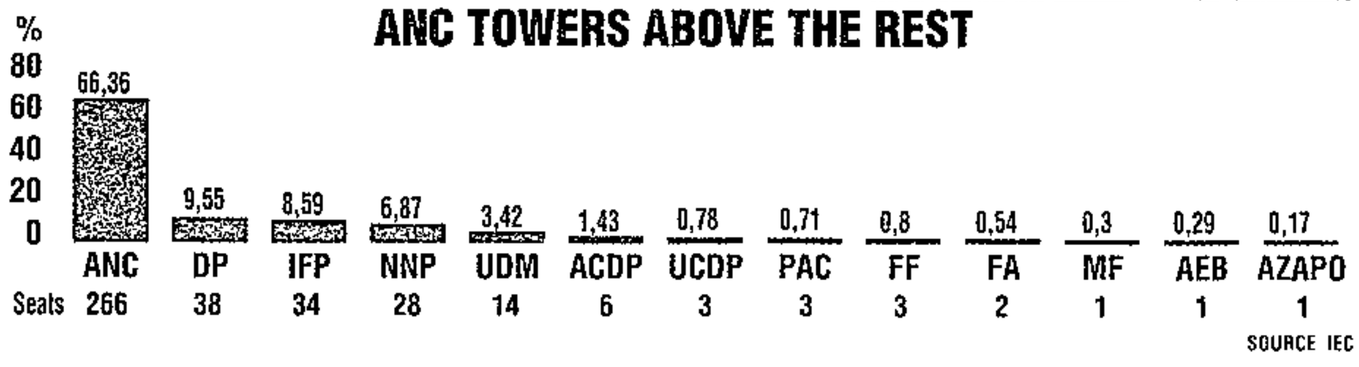
If they man the trenches in an ideological war for the soul of the ANC alliance but are driven out, the long-heralded parting of the ways between the ANC and its left wing may actually occur.

Phil Mtimkulu, professor of political studies at Unisa, thinks that's unlikely. "The ANC is the SACP's meal-ticket," he says. The decimation of the leftwing parties in the election is a reminder of the fate that awaits them if they forgo the protecting wing of the ANC, he adds.

"Socialism is no longer in vogue. We are all moving to embrace capitalism."

Patrick Laurence





Murphy ruling a boost for gay rights

ARG 12/6/99 (250) (300)

CHARLENE CLAYTON

Gay rights have been given a boost following a ground-breaking decision by Pension Funds Adjudicator Professor John Murphy in which he ordered a pension fund to pay out retirement death benefits to a Johannesburg man.

The determination may have far-reaching implications for gay people and their rights to the death benefits from their partners' retirement funds.

A complaint was lodged with Murphy's office by Rory Martin who was unhappy about being refused the lump sum death benefit and spousal pension from his late partner's pension fund.

Sue Myrdal, who investigated the case for Murphy's office said the rules of the Beka Provident Fund regarding the spouse's pension, and in particular the definition of "marriage" unfairly discriminated against same sex relationships.

Such discrimination is prohibited under the Constitution.

The rules of the fund only allowed for cohabiting heterosexual couples to be considered "married" but not cohabiting same sex couples.

"The stability and permanence of same sex relationships is no different from that of married couples and both types of union deserve respect and protection," she said.

Myrdal said objective criteria may well need to be developed to determine what "as if married" means.

"In the absence thereof we are left with the rather vague understanding that 'as if married' incorporates mutual dependency and a shared and common household, but also means more than this, in terms of a long-term, committed, emotional and sexual bond," she said.

Murphy ordered the fund to amend its rules to include in the definition of marriage any "union of two adults, whether of the same or opposite sex, in respect of whom the board is satisfied that the parties cohabited as if married".

Sunday Times Business Times
June 13, 1999

Pension fund ordered to pay gay partner

(300) ST(BT) 13/6/99

A PENSION fund was this week ordered to amend its rules to recognise same-sex relationships, and to award a pension to the same-sex partner of a member.

The Gay and Lesbian Legal Advice Centre said the order, by the Pension Funds Adjudicator, ended a dispute between the centre, acting on behalf of Rory Martin, who had been in a long-term committed relationship with a man, and the Beka Provident Fund. The fund had refused to award Martin the pension due to a surviving spouse.

Jonathan Berger, co-ordinator of the centre, said in a statement that Professor John Murphy, the pension funds adjudicator, found that the exclusion of same-sex partners from those entitled to enjoyment of the spouse's pension, unfairly discriminated against lesbian and gay couples.

Until now, the rules have allowed only married and certain heterosexual cohabiting partners of members to claim a spousal pension on the death of the member of the fund.

In March last year, Martin and the advice centre asked the adjudicator to make an order awarding Martin the lump-sum death benefits on the basis of his relationship of mutual dependency with his late partner, and to declare the definition of marriage in the rules of the fund to be unconstitutional.

They also asked the fund to award Martin the spousal pension.

'Funds can no longer hide behind unconstitutional rules as an excuse to perpetuate discrimination'

"This is not the first time an award has been made in favour of a surviving same-sex partner," Berger said.

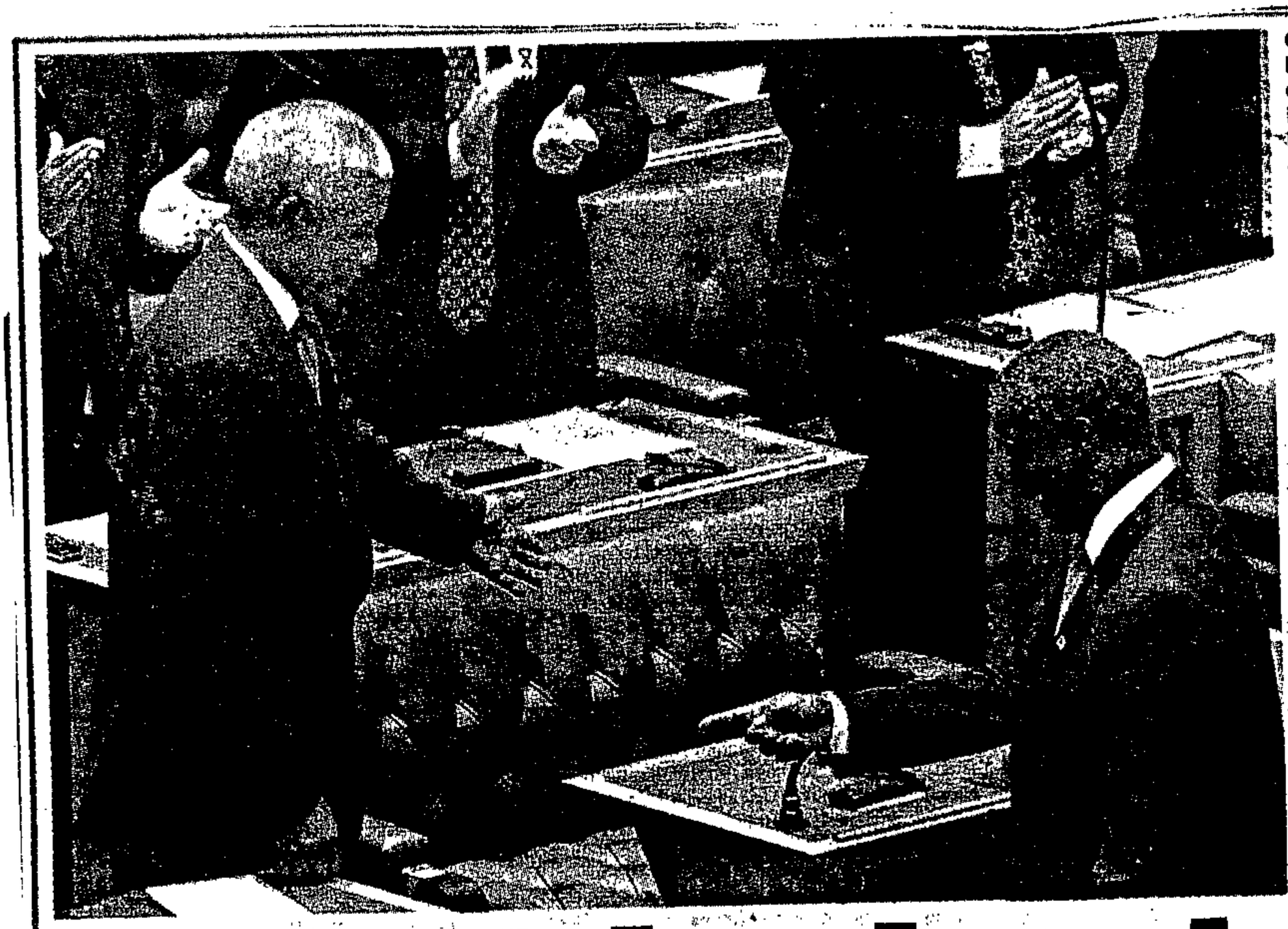
"In the matter of TWC and Others vs Rentokil Pension Fund, Professor Murphy awarded a similar death benefit to a surviving gay partner. However, this is the first time a spousal pension has been awarded in such circumstances."

Berger said Murphy argued that the definition of marriage in the fund's rules differentiated between male/female cohabitee relationships and same-sex cohabitee relationships, and discriminated against the latter.

This was unfair because the former group may obtain benefits denied to the latter group, on grounds of sexual orientation. This was prohibited in terms of section 9(3) of the Constitution and equality was enshrined in section 9(2).

In addition to ordering the Beka Provident Fund to pay both the lump sum benefits and the spousal pension, the decision instructs the fund to submit its amended definition of marriage to the Registrar of Pension Funds for approval and registration within six weeks.

In the statement, Mazibuko Jara, national manager of the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality, said the decision served as a warning to all pension funds that they could no longer hide behind unconstitutional rules as an excuse to perpetuate discrimination. — *Sapa*



Outgoing President Nelson Mandela offers his seat to President Thabo Mbeki after his last appearance in Parliament yesterday. South Africa's second democratically elected Parliament met for the first time yesterday to formally choose the country's new President.
PIC: REUTERS

Mbeki elected

SD 15/6/99 (304a

By Claire Keeton

AFRICAN National Congress president Thabo Mbeki was elected South Africa's second democratic President yesterday in Parliament at a ceremony marked by new faces in the front rows and embraces by candidates across party-political lines.

Official opposition leader Mr Tony Leon of the Democratic Party took up his new seat opposite Mbeki.

Dr Frene Ginwala was re-elected Speaker of Parliament, unopposed, and MPs rose to congratulate her. Unexpectedly the African National Congress nomination of Mrs Baleka Kgositsile as Ginwala's deputy was challenged by the DP, who nominated Dene Smuts. A secret ballot predictably re-elected Kgositsile as Deputy Speaker.

Mbeki, during his first speech before the National Assembly as South Africa's second President after Nelson Mandela, called on members to be accountable to their constituencies.

He made it clear that MPs would be expected to "reach out more regularly" to the people who elected them, in order to build a participatory democracy.

"We are, of course, also conscious of the fact that as in the last Parliament, you will have to process a large volume of legislation," said Mbeki. "The demands on your time will therefore be great. But we will be able to plan so that everything that needs to be done is done."

Similarly, he said, the executive needed to strengthen links between itself and the people. "Among other things this would provide the government with the opportunity to assess, directly from the people, whether its policies are producing the intended results."

He said the last five years had shown it was also necessary to "improve interaction between the executive and the legislature".

Throughout his speech Mbeki emphasised the responsibility of MPs to the people who elected them to Parliament.

"If all of us stand tall today, as all of us surely do, it is only because we are borne aloft by the firm hands of the ordinary people of our country ... (they) have said all they want is peace, progress and liberty," he said.

Mbeki was the first MP to be called to swear allegiance to the Republic of South Africa and obedience to the Constitution by Constitutional Court Judge Arthur Chaskalson.

The first group of 10 MPs to be sworn in, including Mbeki, included Jacob Zuma, Ginwala, Kader Asmal, Trevor Manuel, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Pallo Jordan, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Winnie Madi-kizela-Mandela.

Two more groups of senior MPs from the ANC were sworn in, then a group of DP MPs led by Leon, followed by and Inkatha Freedom Party group headed by the party's leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The New National Party and the United Democratic Movement were next in line, with UDM leader Bantu Holomisa raising his hand in greeting to Mbeki on his way to the front.

Mbeki commits government to better delivery of services

CT (BR) 15/6/99 (304A)

LYNDA LOXTON
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – Little or no reference was made yesterday to economic policies when the second democratically elected national assembly was convened here.

The main focus was on taking sentimental leave of President Nelson Mandela and welcoming Thabo Mbeki, the president-elect, who is due to be installed in Pretoria tomorrow. Mbeki is expected to announce his new Cabinet on Thursday.

He made clear he expected the second parliament to focus more closely on the delivery of services now that most policy issues had been sorted out.

Bantu Holomisa, the leader of the United Democratic Movement, said that "we'll be calling for speedy implementation of policies.

"We cannot spend another 10 or 15 years flooding the country with white papers all the time ... we must concentrate and stay focused," he said. Other party leaders generally steered clear of economic issues.

Holomisa said MPs had to ensure parliament monitored budget spending more carefully, rather than leaving this to bureaucrats.

Mbeki urged MPs to spend more time in their constituencies and ensure greater interaction between the executive and the legislature so that both branches of government could do their work more effectively.



TETE A TETE *Trevor Manuel (left), the finance minister, and Alec Erwin, the trade and industry minister, yesterday* PHOTO ANDREW BROWN

Mbeki said he was aware South Africans expected the government to move faster in pursuit of a better life for all, but was also aware of the negative consequences of any failure to do this in a sustainable way.

TOWARDS AN AFRICAN CENTURY

Thabo Mbeki takes the reins

(304A) ET 16/6/99

PRETORIA: Thabo Mbeki has been groomed to become president. Today he will finally be appointed South Africa's first citizen in what promises to be a sumptuous African-style inauguration ceremony.
ANTHONY JOHNSON and **KARIN SCHIMKE** report.

AFTER more than four decades of involvement in the liberation struggle, Thabo Mbeki's political career will reach its pinnacle today — two days shy of his 57th birthday — when he is installed as South Africa's second democratically elected president.

More than 5 000 local and foreign dignitaries attending the lavish affair in the Union Buildings amphitheatre will be celebrating not only the beginning of the Mbeki era but also bidding farewell to internationally beloved statesman Nelson Mandela.

In a tribute to the ordinary people of South Africa — about 50 000 of whom will watch the proceedings from the expansive Union Buildings lawns — Mandela, with his wife Graça Machel at his side, will make his farewell speech to the nation at 12.30pm. He will speak from the stage where the eight-hour People's Concert is set to begin at 1pm. Mbeki is expected to set the tone for his five-year term in office when he makes his speech immediately after Mandela.

The president-in-waiting kept a low profile yesterday. He was still nursing a nasty bout of flu, but his spokesperson Ronnie Mamoepa said Mbeki spent the day at his Pretoria home preparing for the ceremony and fine-tuning his speech.

There were worries that the flu would make it difficult for Mbeki to make himself heard today, but Mamoepa said the president-elect is on the road to recovery.

Cabinet hopefuls will be kept in suspense for only one more day; Mbeki is expected to knuckle down to the business of government tomorrow when he is due to announce his cabinet — only a few hours before chairing the first meeting of the new executive.

This year's organising committee has characterised Mandela's 1994 inauguration as having symbolised reconciliation. Today's event is aimed at building on the successes of the Mandela era and reasserting South Africa's ties to Africa, underlining Mbeki's wish for an African renaissance. The official theme for the day-long, R47-million event is "Towards the African century".

Of the 30 presidents representing various countries, 27 will be from Africa.

Pretoria yesterday buzzed with activity. The stage for the People's Concert was erected on the lawns of the Union Buildings, seating was

To Page 4



Flu-struck Mbeki's big day

From Page 1

in place and the entire area was fenced off with razor wire. There was a strong security presence in the capital city, especially at some of the hotels accommodating heads of state from nearly 200 countries, along with the leaders of organisations such as the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Not among these are Cuban leader Fidel Castro and the PLO's Yasser Arafat. The heads of the eight most powerful countries in the world — Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and the United States — will miss today's event as the inauguration coincides with their annual G8 summit, which this year is to take place in Germany.

Sources close to the inauguration said some of the foreign dignitaries who arrived this week had complained that their accommodation is too far away from the action, or too lowly for their needs.

At the Government Communications Information Services building in central Pretoria, chaos reigned as flustered officials tried to meet a tight deadline for laminating and punching holes in the accreditation cards of the thousands of local and foreign journalists covering the event.

For journalists, inauguration day will begin earlier than most, with their having to meet far out of town at the Centurion cricket ground at 4am only to be bused back into town in groups. They are not the only ones who will have to rise early in what the weather report says is going to be a chilly Highveld morning: Members of Parliament will also have to brave the cold weather to be bused from the same spot at 6am — five hours before the official ceremony is due to begin.

The Mbeki and Mandela families, ministers and deputy ministers, heads of missions and provincial premiers will begin arriving at the venue at 8.15am. By 10.30am visiting heads of state will have to be seated. Constitutional Court Judge Arthur Chaskalson is set to arrive soon afterwards, followed by Mbeki and his wife Zanele and finally Mandela and Machel. Chaskalson is set to begin Mbeki's swearing-in at 11.15am.

The entire inauguration will be televised live on SABC 2 today. The transmission will have tough competition in the form of the Comrades Marathon, to be screened on SABC 3, and the World Cup cricket semi-final between New Zealand and Pakistan, to be screened on DStv.



VIVA! ANC supporters welcome their Western Cape leader, Ebrahim Rasool, at yesterday's rally. *PICTURE: MANDLA MNYAKAMA*

HRG 15/6/99 (304A)

Mandela's gesture to Mbeki says it all

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Mandela made no speeches in Parliament yesterday, just one gesture that said more than all the other tributes and counsel given to his newly-elected successor, Thabo Mbeki.

When Mr Mbeki finished his acceptance speech after the 400 members of the National Assembly chose him unopposed as South Africa's new head of state, Mr Mandela rose to usher him to take his place on the bench reserved for the president.

It was a magnanimous gesture on the part of the world icon who so recently disclosed that Mr Mbeki had not been his choice as Deputy President in the first epoch-making days of 1994.

The first sitting, called in terms of the constitution, was Thabo Mbeki's day.

Leaders of the kaleidoscope of established and new parties elected to Parliament offered him warm praise, poetry, plainly-put warnings to meet the continuing dire needs of the country's poorest and even, in the case of African Christian Democratic Party leader Kenneth Meshoe, quotations from Mr Mbeki's mother, Epainette.

Jacob Zuma, speaking for the African National Congress, hailed Mr Mbeki's life of struggle which had led from his birthplace in Idutywa to the country's highest office, with heavy sacrifices along the way.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon, in his debut in Parliament as Leader of the Opposition, promised Mr Mbeki the DP would stand up to him whenever necessary and sit down with him whenever possible.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Ben Skosana, wishing Mr Mbeki well, said the South African dream was a workable one which could no longer be deferred.

Among other things, the dream related to jobs, housing, health, education, the environment, stability and peace.

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Mr Mbeki was the people's choice to lead the country for the next five years.

He would be entrusted with much power and would be expected to use it for the good of all South Africans.

"But more than anything, the people will expect from you wisdom," said Mr Van Schalkwyk.

The deposed leader of the opposition cautioned the president-elect that the country could not be governed by "superficial promises and soundbites".

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa noted that the challenges facing the country were complex, and Mr Mbeki's responsibility enormous. Supportive messages were given by the United Christian Democratic Party as well as the Freedom Front.

ANC members awaited with obvious interest any signs of a fusillade of disgruntlement when Louis Luyt of the Federal Alliance took the podium, but the former rugby supremo limited himself to a non-contentious pledge of support to Mr Mbeki.

The single-person caucuses of the Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging, Minority Front and Azanian People's Organisation also paid tribute to the new head of state, although with somewhat varying political sub-texts.

At the end of it all, Nelson Mandela walked out of the chamber as he had entered it, both five years ago and yesterday: to the singing, applause and acclaim which resounded to the House's high ceiling.

15/6/99 (#3) (3049)

ANC wields 'greater control' over provincial cabinet

Kevin O'Grady

THE incoming premiers of the seven provinces that are controlled by the African National Congress (ANC) will announce their cabinets later this week, after extensive consultation with national and provincial ANC leaders, sources say.

This is the first time that ANC leaders will have a direct say in who the premiers appoint as MECs, an indication of the party's plans to exert greater national control over provinces.

The seven premiers-designate will be formally elected in their legislatures today, and will be inaugurated on Friday. Most have indicated they will name their cabinets on Friday, but some could delay their announcements until early next week.

The ANC spokesman in the Free State legislature, Qondile Khedama, said it was likely that premier-designate Winkie Direko would name her cabinet after her election today.

Senior provincial government and ANC sources said the amount of control the party was exercising over the appointment of provincial cabinets was far greater than after the 1994 elections.

ANC caucus meetings were being held in all the provinces this week to discuss the cabinets, although the premiers-designate started consulting on the issue after their appointments were announced in April.

Sources said the increased involvement of the party in the appointment of MECs was intended to allow the ANC to "take greater responsibility" for the performance of the provincial governments.

It was also designed to prevent the "horse trading" that previously characterised the appointment of provincial cabinets.

"The terrain has changed since 1994. From now on, the emphasis will be on delivery. The team you choose for your cabinet should no longer be based on who was in exile or who wasn't," a Northern Province government source said.

In the Free State, where divisions were emerging between the provincial ANC leader Ace Magashule and Direko following speculation that Direko wanted to exclude Magashule's allies, sources said that agreement had been reached on who should be appointed.

"There have been ongoing talks between (Magashule), the provincial working committee and Direko to iron out problems and forge unity," one source said.

Speculation was rife in the North West yesterday about who would be appointed. "He's keeping things very close to his chest," a North West government source said of premier-designate Popo Molefe.

"At the moment, the main influence is from the national ANC leadership," he said.

Speculation in the North West was that Agriculture MEC Johannes Tselapedi, who unsuccessfully challenged Molefe for the party chairmanship last year, would be one of the casualties — even though he is seen to have performed well in his portfolio.

In Mpumalanga, education MEC David Mabuza was not expected to be reappointed following last year's matric exam scandal. Public works and Transport MEC Jackson Mthembu, who is currently facing internal ANC disciplinary action, was also likely to be axed, sources said.

Pearl Sebolao reports that the ANC in Gauteng met last night to finalise nominations for the positions of speaker and deputy speaker in the provincial legislature.

The Gauteng premier, the speaker and deputy speaker of the legislature, as well as permanent delegates to the National Council of Provinces would be elected at the first sitting of the legislature today.

promotions

Mbeki pledges 'faster, credible improvement'

15/6/99 (280) BID (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — African National Congress (ANC) president Thabo Mbeki was unanimously elected yesterday as SA's second democratic president and immediately vowed to work for a faster and more credible improvement in the lives of South Africans.

Mbeki will be inaugurated tomorrow, bringing to an end the era of President Nelson Mandela, who after tomorrow will play no formal role in politics.

There were two surprises in a day which had natural drama in abundance as the 400 newly elected public representatives met for the first time after being sworn in by Constitutional Court president Arthur Chaskalson.

The first was that there was a challenger from the new official opposition, the Democratic Party (DP), for the post of deputy speaker. After the ANC's Frene Ginwala was elected unopposed to a further term of office as speaker, the DP nominated Dene Smuts in a direct challenge to Baleka Mbete (formerly Mbete-Kgositsile) for the post she had held in the old Parliament. Mbete won the contest resoundingly.

The second surprise was that Mandela took his seat in the assembly but did not address the gathering as expected. He received the farewell greetings of all the new political leaders in the house, including the Federal Alliance's Louis Luyt, who he last faced in the Pretoria High Court.



Thabo Mbeki takes the oath while being sworn in as an MP in Parliament yesterday. He was elected president later in the afternoon. Picture: AP

Mbeki, in his acceptance speech to the National Assembly, which erupted with joy when his election was announced, said he was aware that millions of South Africans "expect that we will move faster in pursuit of the goal of a better life for all.

"Equally, I am aware of the negative consequences of any failure to move forward faster in a credible and sustained fashion."

In a voice weakened by flu, he committed government to achieving the unity that would allow this sort of progress to transpire, particularly achieving unity along racial lines.

At the moment of his election Mbeki ceased to be a member of the National Assembly. He thanked all the leaders for their support and those who had confidence in him.

The first opposition leader to congratulate Mbeki was DP leader Tony Leon, who said that for the newly elected president the change from leader of the ANC to president of all South Africans was a big change.

He said that as opposition the DP saluted his "democratic accession" but also as opposition "we will stand up to you when necessary and sit down with you wherever possible".

United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa promised Mbeki "bouncers and yorkers when he came to the wicket".

Afrikaner Eenheidsbeweging leader Cassie Aucamp, the only member of the party to be elected, drew laughter from Mandela when he promised the support of his entire caucus.

Buthelezi 'refused to accept Mbeki's offer'

15/6/99 (3049) B/D.

IFP leader says deputy-presidency trade-off was rejected

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — Newly elected president Thabo Mbeki formally offered Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi the deputy presidency in exchange for the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal, according to Buthelezi.

The disclosure appeared yesterday in the IFP-owned Ilanga newspaper and followed a meeting between Buthelezi and Mbeki on June 8, a day after the election results were announced.

Buthelezi said in a statement published by the Zulu newspaper that he had made it clear to Mbeki at the meeting that he would not accept the deputy presidency on such an arrangement.

This development comes months after intense speculation in the media that Buthelezi would become Mbeki's right-hand man following progress registered in the rapprochement taking place between the African National Congress (ANC) and the IFP.

Buthelezi said that at the meeting Mbeki proposed that even though the ANC and IFP had different policies, they should continue to work together just like in the past five years.

"He said if this was going to be the case, I should take the deputy presidency," said Buthelezi.

Buthelezi said KwaZulu-Natal ANC chairman S'bu Ndebele saw him earlier and informed him that Minority Front leader Amichand Rajbansi had joined the ANC, resulting in both the ANC and IFP having 34 seats each in the provincial parliament.

"He (Mbeki) said they should have the same number of seats in the cabinet and the premiership should be given to Ndebele," said Buthelezi. "I was shocked to hear that because it had not been mentioned before that such an arrangement would be made in KwaZulu-Natal. I then apologised and said I could not enter into an agreement like that. This would place me in dispute with IFP members and voters," he said. Buthelezi said the matter was still unresolved.

Ndebele dismissed media reports a week ago which suggested that there was a deal to give Buthelezi the deputy presidency in return for handing the province's premiership to the ANC.

The swearing in of a new premier, members of the provincial legislature, speaker and deputy speaker in KwaZulu-Natal will not take place as scheduled today, a multiparty meeting agreed yesterday. Instead, the legislature will continue with an induction programme for provincial MPs. The postponement came at the request of the IFP. The constitution makes provision for all the four functionaries to be sworn in on one day. IFP spokesman Musa Zondi said they requested the postponement to allow the ANC and IFP, which have deadlocked on a coalition government "to talk it all out".

Zondi said there was a flurry of behind-the-scenes consultations taking place in an attempt to break the deadlock. At issue is the non-agreement on the 50/50 cabinet split, the speaker and deputy.

Zondi said the IFP was committed to Lionel Mtshali as premier designate and if the two parties voted separately for the premier, then there would be no coalition government for the province.

All eyes are now on Mbeki

Sowetan 16/6/99 (304A)

By Themba Molefe

ALL the world will be the stage for incoming President Thabo Mbeki as he stands to acknowledge his place among his counterparts from Africa and beyond this morning.

Today, an official public holiday and National Youth Day, is also dedicated to young people, with the National Youth Commission (NYC) also lining up several activities.

The day will culminate in a prime time television documentary that explores the legacy of June 16 1976 and its meaning to young people. Also, a Youth Day concert, drawing 100 youths, will be held on Robben Island.

Mbeki and outgoing President Nelson Mandela were also scheduled to be part of a wreath-laying ceremony at the Hector Petersen Memorial in Orlando West, Soweto, at about 7am, according to the National Youth Commission and outgoing Gauteng Premier Mathole Motshekga's office.

Petersen (13) was the first victim of police bullets that claimed hundreds of young lives in the Soweto pupils' uprising on June 16 1976.

The event also saw thousands of youths fleeing into exile to receive military training and returning as freedom fighters of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the black consciousness movement.

NYC chairwoman Ms Mahlengi Bhengu is expected to deliver a farewell message to Mandela at the People's Concert during the inauguration ceremony.

A special youth song composed by Sello "Chicco" Twala will be performed live at the concert.

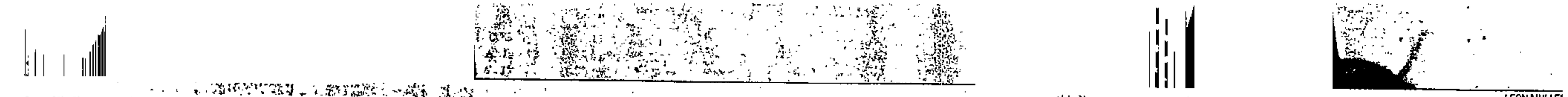


Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi acknowledges the crowd that welcomed him in Johannesburg. He is one of more that 30 heads of state who are in South Africa for Thabo Mbeki's inauguration as President.

PIC: BONILE BAM

Foreign delegations to attend the inauguration ceremony

- Namibia – president Sam Nujoma;
- Colombia – deputy president Dr Gustavo Bell;
- Republic of South Korea – prime minister Kim Jong-pil;
- Burundi – president P Buyoya;
- Mauritius – prime minister Dr N Ramgoolam
- Japan – senator M Murakami;
- New Zealand – governor-general Sir M H Boys;
- Spain (two delegations) prince of Asturias Filipe de Borbon;
- Myanmar – senior deputy prime minister Lt Gen Khin Nyut;
- Apostolic Nunciature – Apostolic Nuncio Archbishop G Prigione;
- Norway – minister of International Development and Human Rights Ms HF Johnson;
- Botswana – president FG Mogae and former president Dr Ketumile Masire;
- Nigeria – president General O Obasanjo
- Argentina – vice-president Jorge Rodriguez;
- Mozambique – president Joachim Chissano;
- Pakistan – minister of foreign affairs Mr M S K Kanju;
- Zambia – president Frederick Chiluba;
- Gabon – president EHO Bongo;
- Mali – president AO Konare
- China – vice premier of state council Mr Qian Qichen;
- Tunisia – minister of foreign affairs Mr SB Mustapha;
- St Kitts and Nevis – Governor General Mr C M Sebastian;
- Greece – minister of foreign Affairs Mr G Papandreou
- Malaysia – minister of telecommunications and multimedia Mr Dato' Leo Moggie;
- Kuwait – first deputy prime minister Mr Sheikh SS Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah;
- Malawi – vice president Mr J Malewezi;
- Antigua and Barbuda – governor general Dr J.B Carlisle
- Morocco (two delegations) – crown prince Sidi Mohammed;
- Rwanda – president P Bizumungu
- Congo (Brazzaville) – president DS Nguesso
- Indonesia – minister coordinating for political and security affairs Mr F Tanjung;
- Mauritania – minister of foreign affairs Mr AO Sid' Ahmed;
- Italy – deputy prime minister Mr HS Mattarell;
- Ivory Coast – minister of state Mr LD Fologo
- Cambodia – United Nations ambassador Mr O Borith;
- Uruguay – minister of state Dr E Bluth
- Bangladesh – minister of foreign affairs Mr AS Azad;
- Thailand – deputy minister of foreign affairs Mr MR Sukhumbhand Paribatra;
- Benin – president M Kerekou;
- Belize – governor general Sir CN Young;
- Brazil – vice president Mr MA de Oliveira Maciel;
- Belgium – prince Philip
- Iraq – foreign minister Mr M Sa'eed Sahhat;
- Liberia – vice president Mr EM Dogolea;
- Grenada – prime minister Dr K Mitchell;
- Singapore – minister of national development Mr Mah Bow Tan;
- Lebanon – ambassador Mr E Alam;
- India – vice president Mr K Kant;
- Bulgaria – deputy minister of foreign affairs;
- Kenya – president DT Arap Moi
- Chile – minister of public works Mr J Toha;
- Czech Republic – president of senate Mrs L Benesowa;
- Trinidad and Tobago – president Mr ANR Robinson;
- Belarus – first deputy prime minister of foreign affairs Mr V V Velichko; and
- France – deputy minister of cooperation Mr C Josseli.



LEON MULLER

In with the new: former President Nelson Mandela shows the crowd of tens of thousands his backing for President Thabo Mbeki after the presidential swearing-in ceremony at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday

ARG | 17/6/99 (3079)

'Let us believe in our African dream'

THE MBEKI ERA

- Cabinet announcement delayed
- Gore wishes South Africa well
- From Soweto massacre to unity
- Banquet fit for a new President

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- Mandela leaves in a holiday mood
- Royalty and presidents hail SA
- Timing of fly-past on the button

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- Mbeki's tough economic choices

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CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Pretoria – Africa, youth, and the next phase of the liberation struggle.

Those are the opening themes of Thabo Mbeki's presidency as defined in his inauguration speech at the Union Buildings.

The president was unequivocal in his message yesterday, paring back his phrases from the lyrical and even mystical heights he has been known to reach.

It was no coincidence that Mr Mbeki chose to be inaugurated on Youth Day. The new head of state, 57 tomorrow, represents a new generation and is aware that most of the people he leads are the post-1976 generation in every sense.

When he seeks a renewed mandate for the African National Congress Government in 2004 or before, it will be a youthful constituency he will have to satisfy.

In the lives of these young South Africans, their fortunes and that of the continent are intimately interwoven.

Just how deeply Mr Mbeki appears to care about the plight of those "previously disadvantaged" who continue to be disadvantaged could be heard in the beguilingly detached terms in which he spoke.

The references in his speech, couched in generality, to sleep being disturbed by concern for the vast task of reconstruction still lying ahead could be an insight into the intensely private and undemonstrative man who is now head of state.



DEBBIE YAZBEK, THE STAR

Sharing the moment: Allan and Elna Boesak at the inauguration ceremony yesterday

"Our nights cannot but be nights of nightmares while millions of our people live in conditions of degrading poverty," he said.

The president said South Africa was "at the dawning of the dawn, when only the tips of the horn of the cattle can be seen etched against the morning sky".

"As the sun continues to rise to banish the darkness of the long years of colonialism and apartheid, what the new light over our land must show is a nation diligently at work to create a better life for itself."

When the sun rises, it must show a rebirth of South Africa "driven by the enormous talents of all our people, both black and white, and made possible by the knowledge and realisation that we share a common destiny."

For Mr Mbeki, the fortunes of Africa and of South Africa are indivisible.

Africans had been the "children of the abyss", seen by some as sub-human.

Bringing the country as a whole into the role of African visionary in which he has cast himself, Mr Mbeki said South Africans could take the lead in the continent's rebirth by taking pride in their African heritage.

"We will do what we have to, not only to better our own condition as a people, but will also make a contribution, however small, to the success of Africa's Renaissance, towards the identification of the century ahead of us as the African century."

Equally notable about Mr Mbeki's speech were references not made directly. Those hoping for official assurances of continuity in economic policy or for vows to come down hard on the corrupt will have to refer to his election speeches or wait for next Friday's State of the Nation speech to the first joint sitting of the new Parliament.

For the moment, Mr Mbeki has issued a call to build a dream in place of the nightmares. And when the dreams came true, he said, it would be "because we succeeded to believe in our own dreams".

Occasion fit for a king as Mbeki takes the oath

Royalty, presidents and other dignitaries hail SA

Arg 17/6/99 (30 pg)

JOSEPH ARANES
STAFF REPORTER

New President Thabo Mbeki called his inauguration a "festival in celebration of democracy" – but it was an occasion befitting a king.

And several kings, including the Swazi and Lesotho royal families, as well as princes from Belgium and Norway, attended the function which again highlighted the continuing popularity South Africa enjoys in the global village.

Tens of thousands of people packed the lawns of the Union Buildings in Pretoria hoping to catch a glimpse of their new president. And he did not disappoint them.

In the Union Buildings amphitheatre, the royals were joined by heads of state from around the world, other dignitaries and invited guests and together braved the chilly morning waiting patiently for the ceremony to begin.

Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, in a smart yellow and black military uniform, and Palestine's Yasser Arafat, wearing his customary dark fatigues and checked scarf, drew a rowdy welcome and standing ovation as they entered.

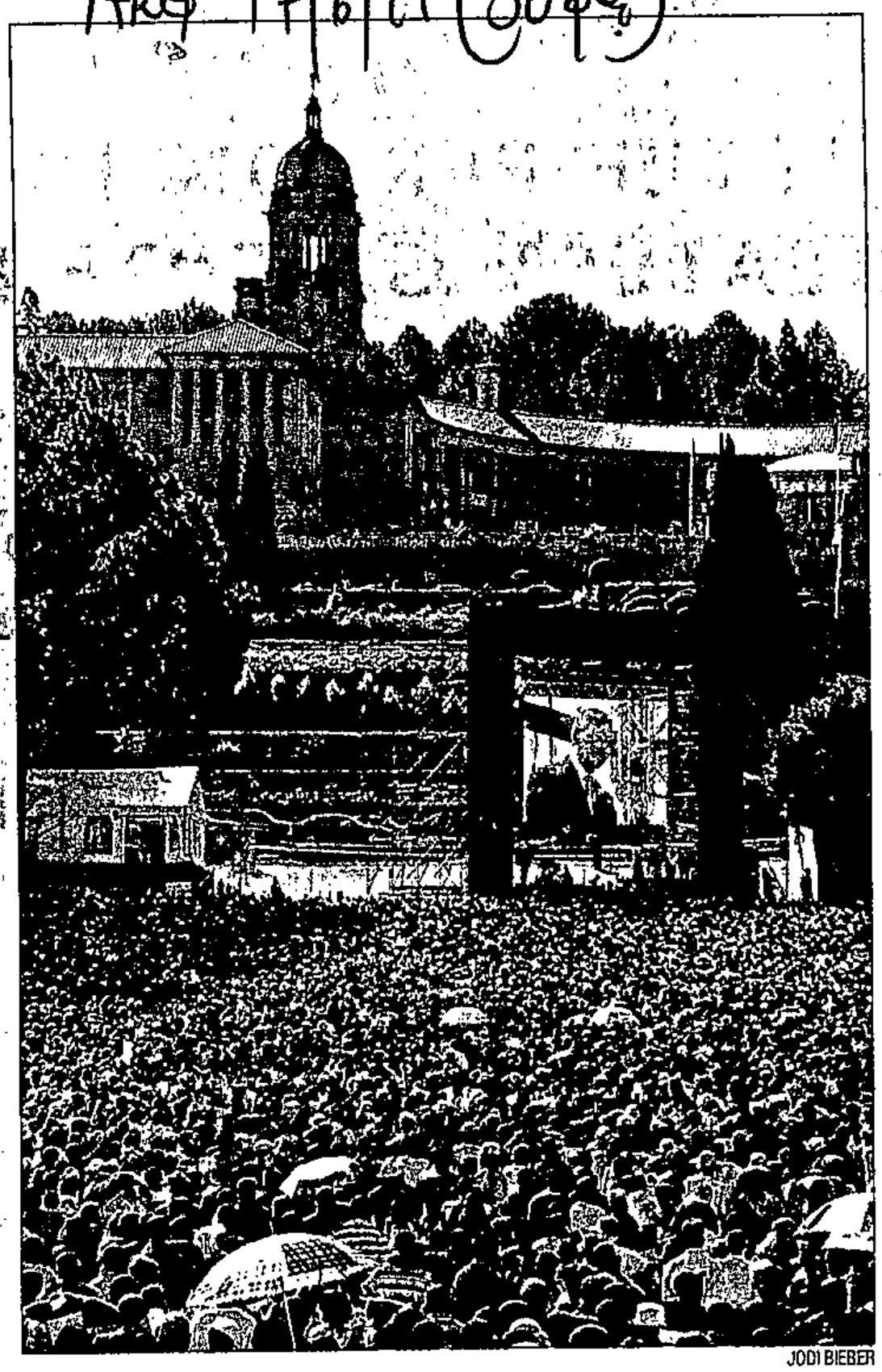
Old foes greeted each other as they took their seats in the area demarcated for heads of states.

The delegation from Iraq sat a few seats away from the Kuwaitis and Saudis.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and his ally Namibian President Sam Nujoma hugged each other before settling down almost next to Ugandan President Muweri Musevini.

But the atmosphere remained cordial and the cold weather did little to dampen people's spirits or their excitement as they were entertained by five youth choirs from various parts of the country, including the Tygerberg Children's Choir.

While most of the men were dressed in dark suits and ties there was a sprinkling of African traditional wear. Most of the women also favoured darker shades but a few bright red and orange dresses, especially those in ethnic design, added colour to the glamour.



JODI BIEBER

Celebrating with music: thousands attend a concert on the Union Buildings lawns

Then there was a loud roar from the thousands down on the lawns – they were being kept abreast of the proceedings via a huge television screen – as they saw Mr Mbeki's entourage arrive.

Those in the amphitheatre quickly joined the applause as Mr Mbeki and his wife Zanele made their way to the stage.

A few minutes later it was the turn of the Mandelas.

Nelson and Graca Machel slowly made their way up the stairs leading to the stage.

Both greeted Mr Mbeki and the other guests, which included several religious leaders and the president of the Constitutional Court, Arthur Chaskalson.

At 11.15am Mr Justice Chaskalson asked Mr Mbeki to swear his allegiance to the country and to take the oath of office.

The president did it in four languages and as he signed the register, the crowd rose and cheered.

After being congratulated by the judge, Mr Mbeki was hugged and led to the front of the stage by Mr Mandela, who took Mr Mbeki's hand and held it in the air just as he did five years ago with then outgoing State President FW de Klerk.

Those on the podium stood for the 21-gun salute. At the same time five Impala jet fighters, spewing smoke in the colours of the flag, flew past. This was followed by three helicopters, two Oryxes and a Rooivalk, flying flags. Minutes later a Cheetah fighter jet, painted in the colours of the flag roared by to loud approval on the ground.

Exactly 10 minutes later the master of ceremonies, (or should that be mistress of ceremonies?) called on Mr Mbeki to address the nation. He laughingly replied that he was waiting for a Boeing to fly past as well.

The woman boomed over the microphone that Mr Mbeki needed to speak to the people.

He walked to the podium to do just that.

As he was wrapping up his speech, the Boeing arrived – in fact three of them with the words "Welcome President Thabo Mbeki" and "Thank you Madiba" painted on the bellies of two of the three.

The President just laughed and finished his speech.

'We must work to build a nation'

CT 17/6/99 (3049)

Speech of President Thabo Mbeki at his inauguration as President of the Republic of South Africa

Your Majesties,
Your Royal Highnesses,
Your Excellencies,
President of the Constitutional Court,
Chief Justice,
Isithwalandwe Nelson Mandela,
Distinguished guests,
Fellow South Africans:

I am honoured to welcome you all to our seat of government as we carry out the solemn act of the inauguration of the President of our Republic.

I feel greatly privileged that so many of you could travel from all corners of the globe, from everywhere in Africa and from all parts of our country to lend importance and dignity to this occasion.

That sense of privilege, which will stay with us for all time, is intensified by our recognition of the fact that never before have we, as a people, hosted this large a number of high-level delegations representing the peoples of the world.

We thank you most sincerely for your presence, which itself constitutes a tribute to the millions of our people and a profound statement of hope that all of us will, together, continue to expand the frontiers of human dignity.

For us, as South Africans, this day is as much a day for the inauguration of the new government as it is a day of salute for a generation that pulled our country out of the abyss and placed it on the pedestal of hope, on which it rests today.

I speak of the generation represented pre-eminently by our outgoing President, Nelson Mandela — the generation of Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Albertina Sisulu, Ray Alexander and others.

Fortunately, some of these titans are present here today, as they should be.

None of us can peer into their hearts to learn what they feel as this infant democracy they brought into the world begins its sixth year of existence.

But this I can say, that we who are their offspring know that we owe to them much of what is humane, noble and beautiful in the thoughts and actions of our people, as they strive to build a better world for themselves.

For throughout their lives, they struggled against everything that was ugly, mean, brutish and degrading of the dignity of all human beings.

And because they did, being prepared to pay the supreme price to uphold good over evil, they planted a legacy among our people which drives all of us constantly to return to the starting point and say — I am my brother's keeper! I am my sister's keeper!

And because we are one another's keepers, we surely must be haunted by the humiliating suffering which continues to afflict millions of our people.

Our nights cannot but be nights of nightmares while millions of our people live in conditions of degrading poverty.

Sleep cannot come easily when children get permanently disabled, both physically and mentally, because of lack of food.

No night can be restful when millions have no jobs, and some are forced to beg, rob and murder to ensure that they and their own do not perish from hunger.

Our minds will continue the restless inquiry to find out how it is possible to have a surfeit of productive wealth in one part of our common globe and intolerable poverty levels elsewhere on that common globe.

There can be no moment of relaxation while the number of those affected by HIV-Aids continues to expand at an alarming pace.

Our days will remain forever haunted when frightening numbers of the women and children of our country fall victim to rape and other crimes of violence.

Nor can there be peace of mind when the citizens of our country feel they have neither safety nor security because of the terrible deeds of criminals and their gangs.

Our days and our nights will remain for ever blemished as long as our people are torn apart and fractured into contending factions by reason of the racial and gender inequalities which continue to characterise our society.

Neither can peace attend our souls as long as corruption continues to rob the poor of what is theirs and to corrode the value system, which sets humanity apart from the rest of the animal world.

The full meaning of liberation will not be realised until our people are freed both from oppression and from the dehumanising legacy of deprivation we inherited from our past.

What we did in 1994 was to begin the long journey towards the realisation of this goal. When the millions of our people went to the polls 12 days ago, they mandated us to pursue this outcome.

Our country is in that period of time which the seTswana-speaking people of Southern Africa graphically describe as *mahube a naka tsa kgomo* — the dawning of the dawn, when only the tips of the horn of the cattle can be seen etched against the morning sky.

As the sun continues to rise to banish the darkness of the long years of colonialism and apartheid, what the new light over our land must show is a nation diligently at work to create a better life for itself.

What it must show is a palpable process of the comprehensive renewal of our country — its rebirth — driven by the enormous talents of all our people, both black and white, and made possible by the knowledge and realisation that we share a common destiny, regardless of the shapes of our noses.

What we will have to see in the rising light is a government that is fully conscious of the fact that it has entered into a contract with the people, to work in partnership with them to build a winning nation.

Mbeki hails new dawn in SA

South Africans must work diligently to create a better life for themselves, he says

Stephen Laufer

SA's second democratically elected president, Thabo Mbeki, took office yesterday with a call for South Africans to rise to the challenges facing the country and for everyone to take responsibility for the wellbeing of others.

Mbeki said SA was "in that period of time graphically described in seTswana as the dawning of the dawn. As the sun continues to rise to banish the darkness of colonialism and apartheid, the new light must show a nation diligently at work to create a better life for itself."

Mbeki was sworn in by Constitutional Court president Judge Arthur Chaskalson, and took his oath in the amphitheatre of Pretoria's Union Buildings in five languages as 4 500 invited guests looked on. A crowd of about 50 000 celebrating on the lawns below followed the proceedings on giant TV monitors.

The inauguration ceremony was accompanied by civilian and military flypasts, a 21-gun salute, the prayers of religious leaders from across the spectrum and a free concert featuring some of SA and the continent's best known musicians. Royalty, elected heads of state, ministers and other representatives of 130 countries added colour and diversity to the occasion.

In his speech, the new president — who struggled with the effect of flu on his voice — highlighted several key challenges facing his government. Drawing on the themes stressed in his election campaign, he listed poverty, hunger, AIDS, rape and other violent crimes against women and children, gender and racial inequality, and crime and corruption.

Mbeki's cabinet is expected to be announced today at 11am, after which the ministers will be sworn in. A first cabinet meeting is understood to be scheduled for 2pm this afternoon in the Union Buildings.

Mbeki made the building of a unified multicultural nation a core theme of his address, saying: "South Africans, whatever the difficulties, are moving forward in an effort to combine into one nation of many colours, many cultures and diverse origins".

It was no longer possible to falsely define SA as a European outpost in Africa. Instead, it was "an African nation in the complex process simultaneously of formation and renewal".

SA needed comprehensive revitalisation "driven by the enormous talents of our people, both black and white".

Drawing an analogy with the Comrades Marathon, Mbeki said the people of SA had to take to the road together, refusing to be discouraged because it was long and arduous. When the race was run, humanity would acknowledge that SA had succeeded because it had believed in its dreams.

Government would have to be conscious of its contract with the people, and work in partnership with them to build a winning nation.

Mbeki said there was a need to understand the past if the continent's present was to be mastered. "As Africans, we are the children of the abyss who have sustained a backward march for half a millennium." The continent had been colonised, a source for slaves and a victim to local predators.

However, it was also necessary to publicise what had been done to uphold the torch of freedom. For this reason, the centenary of the start of the Anglo-Boer war and the 120th anniversary of the battle of Isandhlwana would be celebrated this year.

Mbeki's final sentences were interrupted when three SA Airways jumbo jets flew past in formation. The undersides of their wings carried messages of farewell to departing president Nelson Mandela and of welcome to Mbeki.

Earlier, local guests greeted arriving foreign dignitaries with applause ranging from polite to adulatory. Libya's leader Muammar Gaddafi and his Palestinian counterpart Yasser Arafat received the most enthusiastic reception. Gaddafi raised a clenched fist in salute to the crowd.

Captains of industry from Virgin's Richard Branson to Anglo American's Julian Ogilvy Thompson were also present. The invited guests were treated to lunch on the upper lawns.

Mbeki and his Zimbabwean counterpart, Robert Mugabe, later went to the FNB stadium, where they gave the start signal for a soccer match between the teams of the two countries.

Earlier, Mbeki paid tribute to those who fought for SA's freedom, saying inauguration day was also a day of salute for the generation that had "pulled our country out of the abyss".



Outgoing president Nelson Mandela and his successor, Thabo Mbeki, join hands to greet thousands of supporters during Mbeki's inauguration at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Picture: TREVOR SAMSON

Celebrations: Page 3
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GOVERNANCE

MEASURING UP THE MINISTERS

Part of Mbeki's master plan for running SA Inc

FM 18/06/99 (3044 3047)

The setting of performance targets for SA Cabinet Ministers would be a radical and daring step. And what's more, it is being considered by the powerful new President's Office, where Thabo Mbeki took his seat this week.

Such a step would mirror changes in the civil service, where directors-general and other top managers now sign performance-linked contracts in which specific and measurable targets are set for them. If these are not met, they do not receive an annual increase. Those who sign are also paid at a premium.

Tying Ministers to a similar performance plan would make it easier for Mbeki to institute the practice of a mid-term reshuffle. But such a system of management will be a hard sell at Cabinet, where Ministers are already jittery about the power of the President's Office. The step is essential to the Mbeki presidency. His success depends far more on managing government and producing results than did that of Nelson Mandela.

"It's long overdue," says Prof Vincent Maphai, who led the Presidential Review Commission probe into how government could be made more effective. "Nobody in government or the civil service has ever been fired for incompetence." Those who caution against the move say the art of politics is not defined by executive action only — Ministers perform on many levels.

Their performance agreements would differ fundamentally from those of civil servants. They would not be time-bound (senior civil servants renew their contracts annually), linked to pay, or public. Instead, they are likely to be negotiated in more private meetings with Mbeki.

The system would fit in with Mbeki's master plan for managing SA Inc. An all-powerful President's Office is the fulcrum of the plan. Mbeki plans to fill his office of 316 staff with the cream of civil service and political talent. Consequently, posts in his office have been upgraded to top-notch ranks and Mbeki's DG, Frank Chikane, will work with four deputies. One each of these super-bureaucrats will be assigned to:

- ❑ The Deputy Presidency;
- ❑ The Cabinet secretariat;
- ❑ Mbeki's private office; and
- ❑ A policy advice and co-ordination unit.

The two to watch are the Cabinet secretariat and the unit for policy advice that will be led by Pundy Pillay, who headed the Co-ordination & Implementation Unit (CIU) in the Deputy Presidency.

The Cabinet secretariat will have two arms, one administrative and another described by Chikane as a "thinking machine" to vet policy proposals. It will overhaul executive policy-making, giving the President far more power to decide policy and determine "strategic objectives".

Under Mandela, the Cabinet did not vigorously assess Ministers' policy proposals. This meant it did not foresee problems that would affect the implementation of many policies like Curriculum 2005, the clinic-building programme and Gear, the macro-economic strategy.

The Cabinet secretariat will work closely with Pillay's Policy Co-ordination & Advisory Services Unit, as the CIU will now be known. He is the only one of Chikane's four deputies who is in office; the other three posts have yet to be advertised. This unit will help the secretariat to sculpt policy development and implementation. In time, the two outfits may be merged.

Pillay stresses that his unit does not usurp Ministerial authority by creating a kitchen Cabinet. "We don't develop policy and we don't implement policy," he says. "We monitor and co-ordinate policy and deal with the big crisis areas like jobs."

This unit is Mbeki's eyes and ears in government. With his authority behind it, it can investigate the co-ordination and implementation of policy across the three levels of government. It can recommend policy changes and it brings, Pillay says, an independent eye to government. "The departments think departmentally. We encourage them to think sectorally."

It can bring together several departments to deal with strategic objectives like job creation, crime-fighting and education.

Five key chief directors work in Pillay's unit with responsibility for the following:

- ❑ The "delivery" sector, which includes education, health, housing and welfare;
- ❑ The economics sector, which includes finance, trade, labour and water;
- ❑ International relations, which includes foreign affairs and defence;
- ❑ Relations between the tiers of government; and
- ❑ Criminal justice.

"The big challenge now," Pillay says, "is to monitor how much government is getting for what it is spending. We must ask: Are people coming to the clinics? What's the quality of the houses we are building? What's the worth of matric certificates and are they equipping young people with the right skills to get jobs?"

Ferial Haffajee

KEY PERFORMANCE AREAS FOR MINISTERS:

- *Managing finances and dealing with corruption
- *Policy that isn't pie-in-the-sky but is firmly grounded and creative
- *Sound implementation of policy
- *Getting the basics right. For example, schools must have textbooks and hospitals must have medicine.
- *Setting priorities with specific, spelt-out targets



Thabo Mbeki

All the President's people

MIXED REACTION greeted the naming of the new cabinet, aimed at continuity in government, speeding up delivery and transformation. Political Correspondent **ANDRÉ KOOPMAN** reports.

PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki reshuffled the cabinet yesterday in what observers regard as a bid to maintain experience, party unity and keep the party's "peace deal" with the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu-Natal on track.

However, there were some surprise announcements.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who was widely tipped to be deputy president, remains Home Affairs Minister while the capable but controversial former Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma has been named Foreign Minister, replacing the retired Alfred Nzo.

Mbeki said his cabinet is aimed at maintaining continuity in government while speeding up transformation and delivery. Speculation persisted that the naming of the new cabinet was delayed because talks about Buthelezi being offered the deputy presidency in exchange for an ANC premiership in KwaZulu-Natal continued until minutes before the cabinet announcement.

ANC heavyweight Jacob Zuma is the new Deputy President, while IFP stalwart Ben Skosana remains Correctional Services Minister and the IFP's Ben Ngubane continues to serve as Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

Essop Pahad, the former deputy minister in the deputy president's office, becomes the Minister in the Presidency — tipped as a powerful new post.

Meanwhile, the stellar economics team of Finance Minister Trevor Manuel and Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin, which helped South Africa weather the global economic crisis, remains intact.

But analysts criticised Mbeki for retaining some unimpressive ministers such as former Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau — who is now Communications Minister. And Democratic Party leader Tony Leon was quick to condemn former energy minister Penuell Maduna's appointment as Minister of Justice and Constitutional Development, which he said "defied belief".

Former justice minister Dullah Omar is the new Transport Minister. Also shifted was former safety and security minister Sydney Mufamadi, who is now Minister of Provincial and Local Government.

Another key posting is that of sports "Mr Fixit" Steve Tshwete, who performed well until the Sarfu debacle that saw former president Nelson Mandela being dragged into court. Tshwete takes over as Safety and Security Minister, heading a department which sorely needs a revamp, while Patrick Lekota is now Defence Minister. The highly efficient Kader Asmal, former minister of water affairs and forestry, is now Education Minister.

Announcing his team at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Mbeki said: "The majority of the people are people who have served in government and clearly one of the things we are saying is that they have worked very well."

On sacked and sidelined ministers he said: "Some people get chosen and some don't." Women's representation in the cabinet has increased by 100%, he added.

Women appointees include former deputy justice minister Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, who is now Health Minister, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, the former welfare minister, who now heads the Public Service Ministry, and new Agriculture Minister Thoko Didiza.

The new Sports Minister is Ngconde Balfour, a former sports administrator who has played a vital role in the National Assembly's sports portfolio committee. SA Communist Party chairperson Charles Nqakula is Mbeki's new parliamentary adviser.

Opposition leaders reserved most of their ire for feisty new Foreign Minister Zuma, who has successfully baited them in Parliament.

The DP's Leon said that apart from a few notable exceptions, Mbeki had "preferred party loyalty and partisan considerations over performance and merit".

"Less bureaucracy and more competence is what South Africa needs. Mbeki has provided less competence and more bureaucracy."

New National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk described the cabinet as "a mixture of good and questionable appointments". He praised Asmal's appointment but criticised the appointments of Tshwete and Zuma .

"Continuity with the finance portfolios should please the markets and this we welcome," he added.

The director of the SA Institute for International Affairs, Greg Mills, said Zuma's appointment would probably send out a message to Africa and the world that South Africa is bent on continuing an independent approach to its foreign relations.

He said Mbeki wanted to improve women's representation in the cabinet and wanted a close confidante in the Foreign Affairs portfolio, which Mbeki is understood to regard as a particularly important one.

In contrast to the DP and NNP, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa heaped high praise on the new foreign minister.

"Zuma has experience — she will surprise many people.

"You need a tough negotiator in the international field. She will do it. I'm confident of that."

He also praised Lekota as the right man for the Defence portfolio, but said of Tshwete's appointment: "I thought he would have retired."

Analysts Richard Calland of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa and Vincent Maphai agreed that major cabinet changes would have set back delivery because new ministers would have had to undergo a learning curve.

INSIDE:
Acclaim for Asmal as new education head
Police welcome Tshwete's appointment
PAGE 3
A team geared towards delivery
PAGE 15

CT 18/6/99 HOA BOATA



SETTLED: Speculation that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be offered South Africa's deputy presidency was laid to rest yesterday when President Thabo Mbeki appointed Jacob Zuma, his deputy in the ANC, to the post. *PICTURE: PRETORIA NEWS*

Jordan and Hanekom out

ANDRÉ KOOPMAN

FORMER Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Pallo Jordan has again been booted out of the cabinet, as has his deputy, Peter Mokaba.

Jordan, part of the ANC intelligentsia and known as an independent thinker, was a former minister of communications but was dismissed apparently because he opposed interference with the SABC and the watering down of constitutional rights to grant the police more powers in the fight against crime.

At No 6, Jordan was very high on the ANC election list.



JORDAN: Booted out of cabinet.

He is replaced by constitutional expert Valli Moosa, who moves from the constitutional development portfolio to environmental affairs and tourism.

Two other capable former ministers, Mac Maharaj (transport) and Jay Naidoo (communications) have resigned. Naidoo has been replaced by the lacklustre Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, former Free State premier. Justice Minister Dullah Omar takes over the transport ministry.



HANEKOM: Relieved of agriculture portfolio.

Also retired are former foreign minister Alfred Nzo, Joe Modise, former defence minister, and Sibusiso Bengu, former education minister who is to be replaced by Kader Asmal.

Derek Hanekom has been replaced by Thoko Didiza as Agriculture Minister, a move criticised by DP leader Tony Leon who described Hanekom as having "performed a credible job". Mokaba, 17th on the list, has been replaced by Joyce Mabudafhasi.

Asked about the axed ministers, Mbeki said: "What you see here is partly a reshuffle.

"We had to consider the work of different departments and the various challenges facing them."

Markets give thumbs-up

JOHANNESBURG: The South African rand gave a thumbs-up to the new cabinet after it was announced by newly elected President Thabo Mbeki yesterday afternoon.

There were few surprises, with Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin retaining the finance and trade and industry posts. The rand strengthened to close at 6,0640 to the US dollar after ending its last session at a softer 6,0805.

"We have seen the rand reaching a good level after the cabinet announcement. If the rand holds its current level, we could see it strengthen today to 6,0400," said a dealer.

● See Business Report



Mbeki's dream team: Asmal, Balfour, Buthelezi, Matsepe-Casaburri, Didiza, Erwin, Fraser-Moleketi, Kasrils, Lekota, Maduna, Manuel, Mdladlana, Mlambo-Ngcuka, Moosa, Tshabalala-Msimang, Mufamadi, Ngubane, Nhlanhla, Omar, Pahad, Radebe, Mthembi-Mahanyele, Sigcau, Skosana, Skweyiya, Tshwete, Jacob Zuma, Nkosazana Zuma

THE CABINET
President: Thabo Mbeki
Deputy President: Jacob Zuma
Agriculture & Land Affairs: Thoko Didiza
Arts, Culture, Science & Technology: Ben Ngubane
Correctional Services: Ben Skosana
Defence: Patrick Lekota
Education: Kader Asmal
Environmental Affairs & Tourism: Valli Moosa
Finance: Trevor Manuel
Foreign Affairs: Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma
Health: Manto Tshabalala-Msimang
Home Affairs: Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Housing: Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele
Justice & Constitutional Development: Penuel Maduna
Labour: Membathisi Mdladlana
Minerals & Energy Affairs: Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka
Communications: Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri
Provincial and Local Government: Sydney Mufamadi
Public Enterprises: Jeff Radebe
Public Service & Administration: Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi
Public Works: Stella Sigcau
Safety & Security: Steve Tshwete
Sport & Recreation: Ngconde Balfour
Trade & Industry: Alec Erwin
Transport: Dullah Omar
Water Affairs and Forestry: Ronnie Kasrils
Welfare & Population Development: Zola Skweyiya
Intelligence: Joe Nhlanhla
Presidency: Essop Pahad

DEPUTY MINISTERS
Agriculture & Land Affairs: Dirk du Toit
Arts, Culture, Science & Technology: Bridgitte Mabandla
Defence: Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge
Education: Smangaliso Mkhatshwa
Environmental Affairs & Tourism: Joyce Mabudafhasi
Finance: Sipho Mphahlwa
Foreign Affairs: Aziz Pahad
Home Affairs: Lindiwe Sisula
Justice: Cheryl Gillwald
Minerals & Energy Affairs: Susan Shabangu
Public Works: Bust Nzimande
Safety & Security: Joe Matthews
Trade & Industry: Lindiwe Ngwane

Surprises and rewards in new Cabinet

Ministers move up, down and sideways as Thabo Mbeki picks millennium colleagues

Let no one tell you that merit is the sole criterion in choosing cabinet ministers anywhere in the world.

Bestowing of high office to keep the political flock together and take cognisance of power bases will always be uppermost when leaders sit down to choose their executives.

A woman foreign minister seen by her most ardent critics as too abrasive for the nuances of international diplomacy? For Nkosazana Zuma read Madeline Albright.

In composing his first executive, President Thabo Mbeki has honoured almost all the conventions of cabinet-making; in some cases, notably that of Patrick Lekota, first having at hand a talented and influential senior politician and then seeking an appointment suitable to him.

Related political processes were allowed to play themselves out before the announcement was made.

Had the Inkatha Freedom Party done a deal with the African National Congress on the KwaZulu Natal premiership, which portfolio would Jacob Zuma be occupying today?

And as noble a cause as gender representivity is, the fact that the official Government Communication and Information System media release makes note of the gender balance underlines its role as a political dynamic in Mr Mbeki's choices.

GCIS's summary has it that 38% of ministers and deputy ministers are women, eight in the Cabinet and eight deputy ministers.

The career choices of incumbents play a role too. Dullah Omar was believed in some circles to want to ease out of the highly demanding justice portfolio, and perhaps to become an ordinary ANC MP. Instead he was given the transport portfolio in place of outgoing minister Mac Maharaj.

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

There are other ways to look at the Cabinet. Opinion polls reinforced widespread perceptions long before the elections that South Africa's two most crucial political issues are jobs and crime. In the appointments he has made, Mr Mbeki has sent important signals about how he views these issues.

In the portfolios directly connected to the themes of job creation, labour relations, and fiscal and financial management, the key theme has been continuity. Finance Minister Trevor Manuel, Labour Minister Membathisi Mdladlana and Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin have kept their jobs.

The two deputies in these portfolios are Sipho Mphahlwa (finance), already widely respected for his performance as head of the National Assembly's finance committee, and Lindiwe Ngwane, a virtual unknown outside the ANC caucus and her Eastern Cape base.

The ministerial appointments were given the courtesy salute of an initial hop upwards for the rand.

Then there is the cluster of criminal justice portfolios. In the Government's view, the criminal justice cluster includes Safety and Security, Correctional Services, Justice, Defence and Welfare.

Of these, Correctional Services Minister Ben Skosana will be the minister longest in the job, having replaced former Inkatha colleague Sipo Mzimela after Dr Mzimela fell out with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last year.

In the other appointments, party seniority appears to have been a significant factor in the appointments.

Steve Tshwete has had no line-function dealings with Safety and Security and his appointment has been one which was virtually instantly controversial.

Penuel Maduna has a range of law qualifications, but does not appear to have attracted plaudits during the five years he was required to produce policy for his Minerals and Energy portfolio.

Patrick Lekota, whose drive, intellect and charisma would qualify him for almost any post, appears to have been under-used by being givenDefence instead of Safety and Security.

Completing the cluster is Zola Skweyiya at Welfare and Population Development, which has a vital role in juvenile justice and in helping to create environments which are not conducive to crime.

Dr Skweyiya must be measured by the performance of his Public Service and Administration portfolio, which after five years has been more productive in terms of good intentions than much else.

Finally, intelligence has been raised to the status of a full ministry after being borne by the Justice Ministry for the past few years. What strategic thinking lay behind this, or whether it is a measure of Joe Nhlanhla's seniority, remains to be seen.

Good service rewards are also certain to have played a role in other appointments, notably that of Ronnie Kasrils to Water Affairs and Forestry. With the politics of the ANC having made it highly unlikely that Mr Kasrils, who has played a vital role in the defence ministry, being promoted to full Minister of Defence, the next best was to give him Cabinet rank in another portfolio.

Among the other redeployed cabinet ministers, the essence of whether some changes are promotions or sideways moves is hard to decide.

Former Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi takes over Public Service and Administration, a major portfolio with the only the theme of eliminating ghost employees familiar to her from her last job.

Sydney Mufamadi, long tipped to be Foreign Minister, got the considerably less glamorous role of Provincial and Local Government, making him Mr Megacities and the man most likely to be on the receiving end of court action by the Western Cape government in the future.

Jeff Radebe got Public Enterprises in a straight swop with Stella Sigcau, who gets his former Public Works job.

If this swop was meant to put Mr Radebe in a position to bring the drive he showed in his past job by taking on the mammoth task of producing a national asset register into his new job, it is not obvious why the languid touch which has lain on Public Enterprises for five years has been shifted to Public Works.



LEON MULLER

Congratulations! Speaker Frene Ginwala hugs new agriculture minister Thoko Didiza

NATIONAL

DP leads critics of cabinet

BD 18/6/99 (3048)

Kader Asmal's appointment as education minister earns wide approval

Kevin O'Grady and Sapa

PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki's new cabinet was greeted with mixed reaction yesterday, with the most vitriolic comments coming from the new official opposition, the Democratic Party (DP).

The New National Party (NNP) described the cabinet as "a mixture of good and questionable appointments", while organisations representative of a number of economic sectors welcomed the appointment of individual ministers.

DP leader Tony Leon said Mbeki had "missed a golden opportunity of sweeping the stables and making some inspired, imaginative and quality appointments to the cabinet.

"Instead, and subject to a few notable exceptions, he has reshuffled an already thin pack and has preferred party loyalty and partisan considerations to performance and merit," Leon said. Mbeki had opted for African National Congress unity over the resolution of the country's crises.

Leon also criticised Mbeki for ignoring recommendations by the presidential review commission that several ministries be merged or abolished altogether.

He doubted whether new Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Zuma had "the necessary diplomacy, tact and competence" for the position and said the appointment of former minerals and energy minister Penuell Maduna as justice minister "defies belief".

Former water affairs and forestry minister Kader Asmal's appointment as education minister was "an inspired one, notwithstanding his tendency to overstate his own case".

NNP executive director Renier Schoeman also welcomed Asmal's appointment as the portfolio needed "somebody with a firm hand linked with the ability to understand the medium and long-term challenges".

He criticised Zuma's appointment, as well as former sports minister Steve Tshwete's as safety and security minister. "Tshwete did not distinguish himself as a good administrator or hands-on manager, characteristics which will definitely be required in this critical portfolio," Schoeman said.

SA Chamber of Business CEO Kevin Wakeford said the appointments appeared to be "merit-based". The level of continuity would increase business confidence, as would the appointment of Asmal and Tshwete and the reappointment of Finance Minister Trevor Manuel and Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin.

These ministers had proved their ability to implement policy, Wakeford said.

The Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) welcomed Tshwete's appointment and said it believed he would be able to do the same for transformation in the police as he had done for sport. Popcru spokesman Greg Goss the union was pleased that Ben Skosana had been retained as correctional services minister as transformation in that department was way ahead of that in the police.

Business Against Crime's John Pemberthy also welcomed Tshwete's appointment, saying he looked forward to a business-like approach to the portfolio.

The Building Industries Federation of SA welcomed former public enterprises minister Stella Sigcau's move to the public works portfolio but executive director Ian Robinsons said it was "disappointed that Jeff Radebe, with whom we had an excellent relationship, had moved to another portfolio".





President Mbeki

Mbeki's team

By Jimmy Seepe
Political Reporter

PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki served up some major surprises yesterday when he announced his Cabinet at the Union Buildings. Mbeki, who had kept the choice of his Cabinet a closely guarded secret, appointed Mr Jacob Zuma as his deputy.

The decision has effectively put to rest wide speculation that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be Deputy President. Instead Buthelezi, in a surprise move, retained his position as Home Affairs Minister.

A shock move was the appointment of Dr Nkosazana Zuma as Foreign Affairs Minister, while deputy Defence Minister Ronnie Kasrils replaced Mr Kader Asmal as Water Affairs Minister.

Asmal, as expected, was appointed minister of the all-important Education Ministry.

Another surprise was the removal of Justice Minister Dullah Omar and his appointment to the Transport portfolio.

A decision that raised many eyebrows was the exclusion of Mr Pallo Jordan and Mr Derek Hanekom as ministers. Controversial deputy minister and former ANC Youth Leaguer Mr Peter Mokaba was also effectively sidelined. His deputy minister position of Tourism was taken up by Joyce Mabudafhasi.

Mbeki's announcement projected a total overhaul of the Cabinet of former president Mr Nelson Mandela, shuffling around some of the key ministers. The shuffle involved swopping Mr Jeff Radebe with Ms Stella Sigcau. It was widely believed that Sigcau would lose her seat in the Government.

However, Mbeki's Cabinet has elevated the role of women. He said he had increased the number of women by 100 percent, indicating his Government's commitment to gender equality and women's emancipation. The Cabinet consists of 16 women and 24 men.

The IFP retained all its positions in the Cabinet.

Mr Alfred Nzo, Mr Mac Maharaj, Mr Jay Naidoo and Prefessor Sibusiso Bengu had all announced their unavailability for the Cabinet before Mbeki made his decision.

Most of the ministers were informed about the reshuffle only early yesterday.

Foreign Affairs Minister Zuma told *Sowetan* that she would be able to cope with the new challenge but it "moves me away from my area of training".

Mbeki was noncommittal on whether the decision would help the stalemate in KwaZulu-Natal after his appointment of IFP ministers.

● **See also pages 2 and 4**

Full Cabinet List

Deputy President: Jacob Zuma
Minister in the Office of the President: Essop Pahad
Agriculture and Land Affairs: Thoko Didiza
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Ben Ngubane
Communications (formerly Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting): Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri
Correctional Services: Ben Skosana
Defence: Patrick "Terror" Lekota
Education: Kader Asmal
Environmental Affairs and Tourism: Mohammed Valli Moosa
Finance: Trevor Manuel
Foreign Affairs: Nkosazana Zuma
Health: Manto Tshabalala-Msimang
Home Affairs: Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Housing: Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele
Intelligence: Joe Nhlanhla
Justice and Constitutional Development: Penuel Maduna
Labour: Membathisi Mdladlana
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka
Provincial and Local Government: Sydney Mufamadi
Public Enterprises: Jeff Radebe
Public Service and Administration: Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi
Public Works: Stella Sigcau
Safety and Security: Steve Tshwete
Sport and Recreation: Ngconde Balfour
Trade and Industry: Alec Erwin
Transport: Dullah Omar
Water Affairs and Forestry: Ronnie Kasrils
Welfare and Population Development: Zola Skweyiya

Deputy ministers:

Agriculture: Dirk du Toit
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology: Brigitte Mbandla
Defence: Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge
Education: Smangaliso Mkhatshwa
Environmental Affairs and Tourism: Joyce Mabudafhasi
Finance: Sipho Mphahlwa
Foreign Affairs: Aziz Pahad
Home Affairs: Lindiwe Sisulu
Justice: Cheryl Gillwald
Mineral and Energy Affairs: Susan Shabangu
Public Works: Busi Nzimande
Safety and Security: Joe Matthews
Trade and Industry: Lindiwe Ngwane

Mbeki's dream team surprises

(304A) BD 18/6/99

Unchanged economics portfolios in new cabinet reassure markets

Stephen Laufer and Samantha Enslin

PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki has announced a cabinet full of surprises — reshaping or enhancing four portfolios, dropping and reshuffling ministers, as well as promoting two former provincial premiers, deputy ministers and backbenchers.

Mbeki's decision to leave the economics portfolios unchanged sent a signal of continuity to financial markets. He said there was no intention to change economic policy.

The rand reacted positively to the news that Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin would stay on as finance, and trade and industry ministers respectively. The currency firmed 4,3c against the dollar to R6,0570 shortly after the cabinet announcement. The rand closed R6,0640 — 3,6c firmer.

Inkatha Freedom Party ministries were unchanged, an apparent effect of difficulties in the talks over the composition of KwaZulu-Natal's government.

Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, expected to get the deputy presidency, stays at home affairs, while SA's number two job goes to African National Congress deputy president Jacob Zuma. Mbeki said he did not know where rumours about Buthelezi getting the deputy presidency had come from.

Buthelezi's colleagues, Ben Ngubane and Ben Skosana, stay at arts culture, science and technology, and correctional services respectively. Joe Mathews continues as deputy safety and security minister, and Busi Nzimande as the deputy in public works.

Mbeki announced his new government late yesterday in Pretoria after an all-night session in which he made his decisions known to members of his new government and to those he had sacked. He met each person individually, some reportedly as late as sunrise.

Asked why he had not implemented the proposals of the presidential review commission, which recommended fewer portfolios, Mbeki said work in this area was continuing. "When it is finished, we will decide which of the recommendations we will introduce. Quite a lot has already been implemented."

The cabinet has 10 new full members, while 11 ministers move to new portfolios. Seven ministers keep their jobs, including the three IFP ministers, and Manuel and Erwin.

New in the cabinet are Zuma, Land and Agriculture Minister Thoko Didiza, her colleagues Patrick Lekota (defence), Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (health), Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (minerals and energy), Ivy Matsepe Casaburri (communications), Ngconde Balfour (sport), and Ronnie Kasrils (water and forestry). Two deputy ministries have been upgraded, making full cabinet members of Joe Nhlanhla at intelligence and Essop Pahad in the presidency.

Among new ministers, Didiza, Tshabalala-Msimang, Mlambo-Ngcuka and Kasrils have been promoted, some of them switching portfolios at the same time. There are now eight women ministers and eight women deputies, taking the female quotient to 38%. Mbeki said: "We are committed to gender equality."

Ministers reshuffled include Kader Asmal, who moves up from water and forestry to education, Valli Moosa (sideways from constitutional development, provincial and local government to environment and tourism), Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma (up from health to foreign affairs), Penuell Maduna (sideways from minerals and energy to justice, with constitutional development added), Sydney Mufamadi (sideways from safety and security to provincial and local government, minus constitutional development), Jeff Radebe (up from public works to public enterprises), Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (up from welfare to public service and administration), Stella Sigcau (down from public enterprises to public works), Steve Tshwete (up from sport to safety and security), Dullah Omar (down from justice to transport), and Zola Skweyiya (down from public service and administration to welfare).

Opinions were divided over Lekota's appointment to defence, with some insiders arguing that the ANC chairman had taken another step on the comeback road. Others said they believed he had been handed a poison chalice. Pahad's rise to the powerful position of minister in the presidency recognises his role as Mbeki's closest adviser.

Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele at housing and the recently appointed Mbhathisi Mdladlana at labour also retained their portfolios.

Mbeki said former environment minister Pallo Jordan, his former deputy, Peter Mokaba, and former agriculture minister Derek Hanekom would stay in Parliament, and talks would continue about their future.

New portfolios: Page 4
Reaction: Page 6
Comment & Analysis: Page 15



Thabo Mbeki's cabinet

Portfolio	Name
Deputy President	Jacob Zuma
Minister in the Office of the President	Essop Pahad
Agriculture and Land Affairs	Thoko Didiza
Arts, Culture, Science and Technology	Ben Ngubane
Correctional Services	Ben Skosana
Defence	Patrick Lekota
Education	Kader Asmal
Environmental Affairs and Tourism	Mohammed Valli Moosa
Finance	Trevor Manuel
Foreign Affairs	Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma
Health	Manto Tshabalala-Msimang
Home Affairs	Mangosuthu Buthelezi
Housing	Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele
Intelligence	Joe Nhlanhla
Justice and Constitutional Development	Penuell Maduna
Labour	Membathisi Mdladlana
Mineral and Energy Affairs	Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka
Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting	Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri
Provincial and Local Government	Sydney Mufamadi
Public Enterprises	Jeff Radebe
Public Service and Administration	Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi
Public Works	Stella Sigcau
Safety and Security	Steve Tshwete
Sport and Recreation	Ngconde Balfour
Trade and Industry	Alec Erwin
Transport	Dullah Omar
Water Affairs and Forestry	Ronnie Kasrils
Welfare and Population Development	Zola Skweyiya

GRAPHIC: MATTHYS MOSS

GOVERNMENT *Decision to leave Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin in their posts pleases business*

Mbeki's 'meritocracy' hailed

(304A) CT(BR) 18/6/99

LYNDA LOXTON
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – Business and economists yesterday welcomed the composition of the Cabinet announced by Thabo Mbeki, the newly sworn-in president.

Particularly welcomed was the fact that Trevor Manuel, the finance minister, and Alec Erwin, the trade and industry minister, had retained their portfolios.

But there was concern in some quarters about the changes in minerals and energy affairs, where Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, the former trade and industry deputy, and in communications, where Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, the former SABC chief and Free State premier, had been appointed.

Mlambo-Ngcuka was expected to have to go on a rapid learning curve because of the complexity of the field, but it was felt she would be well supported by recent top-level appointments of departmental staff.

Kevin Wakeford, the chief executive officer of the South African Chamber of Business, said the chamber welcomed the appointments as they appeared to be more "merit-based in terms of political management skills. It will accommodate the new government's focus on policy implementation and the speeding up of the delivery for a better life for all."

Wakeford also welcomed the appointment of Steve Tshwete to the safety and security portfolio as he had proved his ability to "close the loop" between policy intent and implementation.

Mike Schussler, an economist at FBC Fidelity Investment Bank, said the appointment of Sipho Mphahlwa, the capable former chairman of the national assembly's finance committee, as Manuel's deputy, was also welcomed.

Other commentators said although little was known about Lindiwe Ngwane, who was appointed deputy minister of trade and industry, she would do well to follow in the footsteps of Mlambo-Ngcuka, who focused on small business development.

Most analysts said the fact that Manuel and Erwin would remain in place would ensure continuity, especially in finance where Gill Marcus, the former deputy minister, had moved across to the Reserve Bank.

Mphahlwa was described as a knowledgeable and competent finance committee chairman.

There was some surprise about the appointment of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, the former controversial health minister, to the foreign affairs portfolio, especially since she had alienated foreign drug manufacturers through some of her radical health policies.

The appointment of Dullah Omar to the transport ministry was also queried, but Schussler said that this would probably not cause a major problem as most of the groundwork for transport reform had been laid by Mac Maharaj, the outgoing minister, who had retired from politics.

Rudolf Gouws, the Rand Merchant Bank economist, also welcomed the fact that Manuel and Erwin would retain their posts and said the transfer of Kader Asmal to education could be a good thing as he had proved that he was a "doer" in the water affairs and forestry portfolio.

This would also make it easier for Ronnie Kasrils, the former deputy finance minister, to take over from Asmal.



HAPPINESS IS... *Thabo Mbeki congratulates Trevor Manuel, who retains his Cabinet post as finance minister*

Mbeki's cabinet for the new millennium

(30A) CT 18/6/99



JACOB ZUMA, aged 57
Portfolio: Deputy President
ANC deputy president and former MEC for Economic Affairs in KwaZulu-Natal. More comfortable as a back-room operator and strategist. Was instrumental in bringing peace to KZN, but regarded by some as a weak manager. Implicated by the Motsuenyane Commission for his part in atrocities at the Quatro detention camp in Angola.



TREVOR MANUEL, aged 43
Portfolio: Finance
APPOINTED Trade and Industry Minister in April 1994, graduating to current position in 1996. Manuel has earned respect as a gutsy minister with the political clout to say no to continual requests from his colleagues for more cash. Under him the budget deficit has been slashed, investor confidence has improved and government's financial management has been overhauled.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, aged 71
Portfolio: Home Affairs
THE Inkatha Freedom Party leader retains his post despite widespread expectation that he was going to be deputy president. It is likely he was not awarded a more senior post because he refused to allow the ANC to appoint the premier of KwaZulu-Natal. He has acted as president on several occasions and both Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki treated him as the most senior cabinet minister.



ALEXANDER (Alec) ERWIN, aged 51
Portfolio: Trade and Industry
Formerly trade and industry minister, academic and trade unionist. One of the most effective members of the Mandela cabinet, he has played a central role in formulating economic policy. Has been instrumental in South Africa's re-integration into the global trading economy. A skilled negotiator, he deserves credit for sealing a free trade deal with the European Union.



NKOSAZANA ZUMA, aged 50
Portfolio: Foreign affairs
The biggest surprise appointment of the cabinet. Darling of President Mandela and the ANC, but the nemesis of opposition parties, pharmaceutical companies and tobacco barons. Was uncompromising in her attempts to provide basic health care and cheaper medicine for all. She was viciously criticised, has faced numerous law suits and has weathered countless calls for her axing.



PENUELL MADUNA, aged 46
Portfolio: Justice and Constitutional Development
APPOINTED Mineral and Energy Affairs minister in 1996 after a stint as deputy home affairs minister. Has had a rocky term in office, becoming embroiled in a series of high-profile scandals, including employing a shady Liberian contractor and a running battle with auditor-general Henri Kluever. Is popular with Mbeki and has had extensive legal training, which should stand him in good stead.



KADER ASMAL, aged 65
Portfolio: Education
AN academic, author and constitutional expert, he was appointed Water Affairs and Forestry Minister in 1994. He is a hard worker and widely regarded as one of the cabinet's top performers. Among his achievements is the Working for Water Project that created employment for thousands of people. Although he has cancer, he was tipped for a number of posts in the Mbeki cabinet.



STELLA SIGCAU, age 62
Portfolio: Public Works
HER return to the cabinet comes as a surprise. She faced criticism as Public Enterprises Minister for being ineffectual and not moving quickly enough to privatise state assets. She appeared unsuccessful in balancing the tensions between business and labour on this issue. Looking after and selling of government buildings and running the state assets register will be less challenging.



ESSOP PAHAD, aged 59
Portfolio: Minister in the Office of the President
MBEKI's right-hand man and confidant, having served as deputy minister in his office. Studied at Sussex University, obtaining a PhD in history. Spent many years in exile working for the ANC and SA Communist Party. Played a leading role in negotiating the Constitution. Brother of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad. Known for his quick and sharp wit.



PATRICK LEKOTA, aged 50
Portfolio: Defence
THE popular former Free State premier was stripped of his position in 1996 and was "redeployed" as chairman of the National Council of Provinces. He spent some time on the political sidelines until a landslide victory over Steve Tshwete, whereupon he became ANC national chairman. Lekota was briefly an ANC intelligence head in the early 90s.



ZOLA SKWEYIYA, aged 57
Portfolio: Welfare and Population Development
A SENIOR ANC member, he was appointed Minister of Public Service and Administration in the Mandela cabinet. He wasfaced with transforming the bloated apartheid and homeland bureaucracy. He succeeded to some extent and also placed a code of conduct before civil servants. He now trades posts with Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi.



GERALDINE FRASER-MOLEKETI, aged 38
Portfolio: Public Service and Administration.
DEPUTY Minister of Welfare and Population Development for six months in 1996 before she was appointed minister in July of that year. Member of ANC's NEC; and deputy chairwoman of the SACP. Widely liked and considered highly capable despite the pension debacle of 1997 in which thousands of pensioners received the monthly payments weeks late.



STEVE TSHWETE, aged 60
Portfolio: Safety and Security
Former sports minister and one-time ANC head office "Mr Fixit". Tshwete made it his mission to have more representative sport teams. His battle with rugby boss Louis Luyt landed in court and dragged Mandela into the witness stand. ANC officials have said that Tshwete was considered for his new portfolio because his strongman image could earn the respect of the police's white officers.



MEMBATHISI MDLADLANA, aged 47
Portfolio: Labour
REPLACED popular Tito Mboweni as Labour Minister last year and has defied predictions that he would serve only in a caretaker role until after the election. Has not had much time to prove himself in the post yet, but has demonstrated uncanny ability to rile DP leader Tony Leon. Last pledge before the elections was to introduce minimum wages for domestics and farm workers.



IVY MATSEPE-CASABURRI, aged 61
Portfolio: Communication
SPENT three years as chair of the SABC's board, which should give her valuable insight into her new portfolio. She also chaired the board of Sentec, and served on the board of the CSIR. Appointed Free State premier in December 1996 to replace Patrick Lekota. Holds a sociology doctorate, and is known as a hard worker.



DULLAH OMAR, aged 65
Portfolio: Transport
AS justice minister he introduced tougher sentences and bail conditions, returned judicial powers to chiefs and created the post of National Director of Public Prosecutions. Accused of interfering with courts' independence for backing Allan Boesak. Threatened by militant Muslims for his criticism of Pagad.



BEN SKOSANA, aged 52
Portfolio: Correctional Services
THE senior Inkatha Freedom Party member succeeded axed Sipo Mzimela as Correctional Services Minister. Little is known about Skosana, who spent 10 years in London representing the IFP and is regarded as a "moderate". His colleagues and subordinates say he is "highly principled" and "shrewd when the chips are down".



SANKIE MTHEMBI-MAHANYELE, aged 48
Portfolio: Housing
ANC national executive committee member. Deputy minister of welfare from 1994, taking over the housing ministry in January 1995 after Joe Slovo's death. Her unremarkable track record includes the 1997 Motheo scandal in which a R190 million tender was awarded to an inexperienced company run by a former associate.

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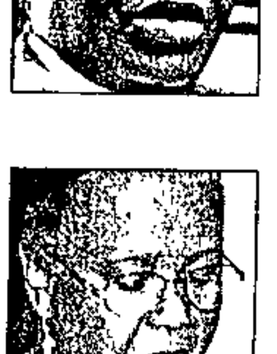

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MANTO TSHABALALA-MSIMANG, aged 60
Portfolio: Health
FORMER Deputy Justice Minister. Holds a BA from the University of Fort Hare and completed her doctorate at the Leningrad Institution in the former USSR in 1969. Also has a diploma in obstetrics and gynaecology. A founder member of the ANC's health department. Chaired the National Assembly's health portfolio.



MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA, aged 42
Portfolio: Environmental affairs and tourism
DEPUTY to Roelf Meyer in this portfolio from 1994 to 1996, when he became minister. A pre-1994 ANC negotiator, Moosa guided the new Constitution to its adoption by the Constitutional Assembly in 1996. His new post is seen as something of a demotion, with his previous ministry being absorbed into justice.



THOKO DIDIZA, aged 34
Portfolio: Agriculture and Land Affairs
DIDIZA was appointed Deputy Agriculture Minister in May 1994. She worked as a legal secretary at Diakonia, the ecumenical church agency. Has participated in women's issues, and was national general secretary for the Women's National Coalition. Organised agriculture respects her knowledge of agricultural affairs.

JEFF RADEBE, aged 46
Portfolio: Public Enterprises
REGARDED as a quiet trooper in the cabinet who gets on with his job. A former lawyer, he is also a member of the SACP central committee and apparently plays a Mr Fixit role in relations between Mbeki and the SACP. During his term in office he succeeded in compiling a long overdue register of state properties.

BEN NGUBANE, age 57
Portfolio: Arts, culture, science and technology
NGUBANE's term as Arts and Culture Minister under the Mandela administration was interrupted when he was redeployed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as KwaZulu-Natal Finance MEC and later became the province's premier. In February this year he returned to his previous national government post.



Looking after and selling of government buildings and running the state assets register will be less challenging.

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JOE NHLANHLA, aged 62
Portfolio: Intelligence
DESPITE numerous reports of bungling by South Africa's spy service, Nhlanhla's post was upgraded to a full ministerial position. Completed a Master's Degree in economics in Moscow in 1969. Appointed chief ofthe ANC's intelligence in 1987. Secrecy surrounding the NIS makes it difficult to assess his performance.



RONNIE KASRILS, aged 60
Portfolio: Water Affairs and Forestry
ALTHOUGH promoted from deputy minister of defence to full-blown minister of water and forestry, Kasrils' move echoes Magnus Malan's demotion from defence minister to water and forestry in the National Party government. His role in sending troops into the botched Lesotho peace mission last year may have contributed to his removal.



PHUMZILE MLAMBO-NGCUKA, aged 43
Portfolio: Mineral and Energy Affairs
FORMER deputy trade and industry minister, primarily involved in overseeing the small business sector. Her job was not made easier by high interest rates and adverse economic conditions. Initiated the National Empowerment Fund, advocating a "culture of saving" in South Africa.



SYDNEY MUFAMADI, aged 40
Portfolio: Provincial and local government
SAFETY and Security Minister in the Mandela government. SACP central committee member and member of Mbeki's inner circle. He was given increasing foreign affairs responsibilities and was chairperson of the SADC troika on Lesotho, so his new appointment is surprising. He was widely regarded as inept in his previous portfolio.



NGCONDE BALFOUR
Portfolio: Sport and Recreation
AN MP since 1997 and member of the National Assembly's sports portfolio committee. He was a founding member of the National Sports Council, a negotiator in the unity talks between the SA cricket boards and association. Director of international affairs for Cape Town's bid for the 2004 Olympic Games.

Mbeki's cabinet for the new millennium

(30A) CT 18/6/99



JACOB ZUMA, aged 57
Portfolio: Deputy President
ANC deputy president and former MEC for Economic Affairs in KwaZulu-Natal. More comfortable as a back-room operator and strategist. Was instrumental in bringing peace to KZN, but regarded by some as a weak manager. Implicated by the Motsuenyane Commission for his part in atrocities at the Quatro detention camp in Angola.



TREVOR MANUEL, aged 43
Portfolio: Finance
APPOINTED Trade and Industry Minister in April 1994, graduating to current position in 1996. Manuel has earned respect as a gutsy minister with the political clout to say no to continual requests from his colleagues for more cash. Under him the budget deficit has been slashed, investor confidence has improved and government's financial management has been overhauled.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI, aged 71
Portfolio: Home Affairs
THE Inkatha Freedom Party leader retains his post despite widespread expectation that he was going to be deputy president. It is likely he was not awarded a more senior post because he refused to allow the ANC to appoint the premier of KwaZulu-Natal. He has acted as president on several occasions and both Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki treated him as the most senior cabinet minister.



ALEXANDER (Alec) ERWIN, aged 51
Portfolio: Trade and Industry
Formerly trade and industry minister, academic and trade unionist. One of the most effective members of the Mandela cabinet, he has played a central role in formulating economic policy. Has been instrumental in South Africa's re-integration into the global trading economy. A skilled negotiator, he deserves credit for sealing a free trade deal with the European Union.



NKOSAZANA ZUMA, aged 50
Portfolio: Foreign affairs
The biggest surprise appointment of the cabinet. Darling of President Mandela and the ANC, but the nemesis of opposition parties, pharmaceutical companies and tobacco barons. Was uncompromising in her attempts to provide basic health care and cheaper medicine for all. She was viciously criticised, has faced numerous law suits and has weathered countless calls for her axing.



PENUELL MADUNA, aged 46
Portfolio: Justice and Constitutional Development
APPOINTED Mineral and Energy Affairs minister in 1996 after a stint as deputy home affairs minister. Has had a rocky term in office, becoming embroiled in a series of high-profile scandals, including employing a shady Liberian contractor and a running battle with auditor-general Henri Kluever. Is popular with Mbeki and has had extensive legal training, which should stand him in good stead.



KADER ASMAL, aged 65
Portfolio: Education
AN academic, author and constitutional expert, he was appointed Water Affairs and Forestry Minister in 1994. He is a hard worker and widely regarded as one of the cabinet's top performers. Among his achievements is the Working for Water Project that created employment for thousands of people. Although he has cancer, he was tipped for a number of posts in the Mbeki cabinet.



STELLA SIGCAU, age 62
Portfolio: Public Works
HER return to the cabinet comes as a surprise. She faced criticism as Public Enterprises Minister for being ineffectual and not moving quickly enough to privatise state assets. She appeared unsuccessful in balancing the tensions between business and labour on this issue. Looking after and selling of government buildings and running the state assets register will be less challenging.



ESSOP PAHAD, aged 59
Portfolio: Minister in the Office of the President
MBEKI's right-hand man and confidant, having served as deputy minister in his office. Studied at Sussex University, obtaining a PhD in history. Spent many years in exile working for the ANC and SA Communist Party. Played a leading role in negotiating the Constitution. Brother of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad. Known for his quick and sharp wit.



PATRICK LEKOTA, aged 50
Portfolio: Defence
THE popular former Free State premier was stripped of his position in 1996 and was "redeployed" as chairman of the National Council of Provinces. He spent some time on the political sidelines until a landslide victory over Steve Tshwete, whereupon he became ANC national chairman. Lekota was briefly an ANC intelligence head in the early 90s.



ZOLA SKWEYIYA, aged 57
Portfolio: Welfare and Population Development
A SENIOR ANC member, he was appointed Minister of Public Service and Administration in the Mandela cabinet. He wasfaced with transforming the bloated apartheid and homeland bureaucracy. He succeeded to some extent and also placed a code of conduct before civil servants. He now trades posts with Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi.



GERALDINE FRASER-MOLEKETI, aged 38
Portfolio: Public Service and Administration.
DEPUTY Minister of Welfare and Population Development for six months in 1996 before she was appointed minister in July of that year. Member of ANC's NEC; and deputy chairwoman of the SACP. Widely liked and considered highly capable despite the pension debacle of 1997 in which thousands of pensioners received the monthly payments weeks late.



STEVE TSHWETE, aged 60
Portfolio: Safety and Security
Former sports minister and one-time ANC head office "Mr Fixit". Tshwete made it his mission to have more representative sport teams. His battle with rugby boss Louis Luyt landed in court and dragged Mandela into the witness stand. ANC officials have said that Tshwete was considered for his new portfolio because his strongman image could earn the respect of the police's white officers.



MEMBATHISI MDLADLANA, aged 47
Portfolio: Labour
REPLACED popular Tito Mboweni as Labour Minister last year and has defied predictions that he would serve only in a caretaker role until after the election. Has not had much time to prove himself in the post yet, but has demonstrated uncanny ability to rile DP leader Tony Leon. Last pledge before the elections was to introduce minimum wages for domestics and farm workers.



IVY MATSEPE-CASABURRI, aged 61
Portfolio: Communication
SPENT three years as chair of the SABC's board, which should give her valuable insight into her new portfolio. She also chaired the board of Sentec, and served on the board of the CSIR. Appointed Free State premier in December 1996 to replace Patrick Lekota. Holds a sociology doctorate, and is known as a hard worker.



DULLAH OMAR, aged 65
Portfolio: Transport
AS justice minister he introduced tougher sentences and bail conditions, returned judicial powers to chiefs and created the post of National Director of Public Prosecutions. Accused of interfering with courts' independence for backing Allan Boesak. Threatened by militant Muslims for his criticism of Pagad.



BEN SKOSANA, aged 52
Portfolio: Correctional Services
THE senior Inkatha Freedom Party member succeeded axed Sipo Mzimela as Correctional Services Minister. Little is known about Skosana, who spent 10 years in London representing the IFP and is regarded as a "moderate". His colleagues and subordinates say he is "highly principled" and "shrewd when the chips are down".



SANKIE MTHEMBI-MAHANYELE, aged 48
Portfolio: Housing
ANC national executive committee member. Deputy minister of welfare from 1994, taking over the housing ministry in January 1995 after Joe Slovo's death. Her unremarkable track record includes the 1997 Motheo scandal in which a R190 million tender was awarded to an inexperienced company run by a former associate.

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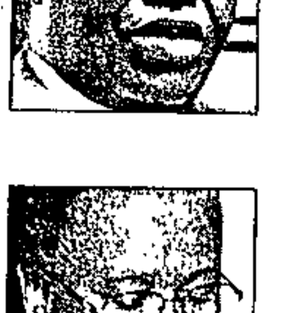

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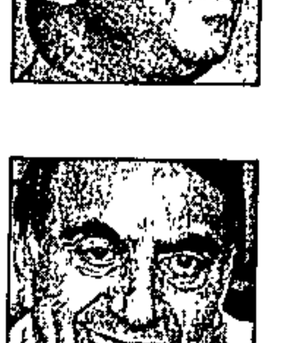

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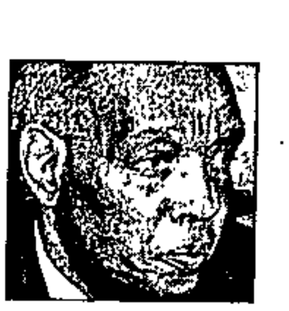

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MANTO TSHABALALA-MSIMANG, aged 60
Portfolio: Health
FORMER Deputy Justice Minister. Holds a BA from the University of Fort Hare and completed her doctorate at the Leningrad Institution in the former USSR in 1969. Also has a diploma in obstetrics and gynaecology. A founder member of the ANC's health department. Chaired the National Assembly's health portfolio.



JOE NHLANHLA, aged 62
Portfolio: Intelligence
DESPITE numerous reports of bungling by South Africa's spy service, Nhlanhla's post was upgraded to a full ministerial position. Completed a Master's Degree in economics in Moscow in 1969. Appointed chief ofthe ANC's intelligence in 1987. Secrecy surrounding the NIS makes it difficult to assess his performance.



MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA, aged 42
Portfolio: Environmental affairs and tourism
DEPUTY to Roelf Meyer in this portfolio from 1994 to 1996, when he became minister. A pre-1994 ANC negotiator, Moosa guided the new Constitution to its adoption by the Constitutional Assembly in 1996. His new post is seen as something of a demotion, with his previous ministry being absorbed into justice.



RONNIE KASRILS, aged 60
Portfolio: Water Affairs and Forestry
ALTHOUGH promoted from deputy minister of defence to full-blown minister of water and forestry, Kasrils' move echoes Magnus Malan's demotion from defence minister to water and forestry in the National Party government. His role in sending troops into the botched Lesotho peace mission last year may have contributed to his removal.



THOKO DIDIZA, aged 34
Portfolio: Agriculture and Land Affairs
DIDIZA was appointed Deputy Agriculture Minister in May 1994. She worked as a legal secretary at Diakonia, the ecumenical church agency. Has participated in women's issues, and was national general secretary for the Women's National Coalition. Organised agriculture respects her knowledge of agricultural affairs.



PHUMZILE MLAMBO-NGCUKA, aged 43
Portfolio: Mineral and Energy Affairs
FORMER deputy trade and industry minister, primarily involved in overseeing the small business sector. Her job was not made easier by high interest rates and adverse economic conditions. Initiated the National Empowerment Fund, advocating a "culture of saving" in South Africa.

JEFF RADEBE, aged 46
Portfolio: Public Enterprises
REGARDED as a quiet trooper in the cabinet who gets on with his job. A former lawyer, he is also a member of the SACP central committee and apparently plays a Mr Fixit role in relations between Mbeki and the SACP. During his term in office he succeeded in compiling a long overdue register of state properties.

SYDNEY MUFAMADI, aged 40
Portfolio: Provincial and local government
SAFETY and Security Minister in the Mandela government. SACP central committee member and member of Mbeki's inner circle. He was given increasing foreign affairs responsibilities and was chairperson of the SADC troika on Lesotho, so his new appointment is surprising. He was widely regarded as inept in his previous portfolio.

BEN NGUBANE, age 57
Portfolio: Arts, culture, science and technology
NGUBANE's term as Arts and Culture Minister under the Mandela administration was interrupted when he was redeployed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as KwaZulu-Natal Finance MEC and later became the province's premier. In February this year he returned to his previous national government post.

NGCONDE BALFOUR
Portfolio: Sport and Recreation
AN MP since 1997 and member of the National Assembly's sports portfolio committee. He was a founding member of the National Sports Council, a negotiator in the unity talks between the SA cricket boards and association. Director of international affairs for Cape Town's bid for the 2004 Olympic Games.

NEW PORTFOLIOS IN MBEKI'S CABINET

(304ff) BD 18/6/99

JOE NHLANHLA
Intelligence Minister



AS ONE would expect from a spy-master Joe Nhlanhla says very little and when he does reveals nothing. "Trying to get information from Nhlanhla is about as useful as trying to drag Mount Everest to SA," a seasoned journalist said recently.

Nhlanhla's job in the Mandela administration — deputy justice minister responsible for intelligence — was not an easy one, integrating the intelligence service of the apartheid government with that of a former liberation movement in the context of a staff exodus.

Detractors say he failed, the National Intelligence Service has not delivered in the fight against organised crime the SA Secret Service blundered in giving Congolese rebel and now president Laurent Kabila a clean bill of health.

Supporters say he did well to keep the intelligence community together at all.

Nhlanhla's appointment is coupled with the creation of a new intelligence ministry. Some suggest that this move signals President Thabo Mbeki's intention not to amalgamate intelligence, prosecution and criminal investigation into a single crime-fighting agency, as some have advised him to do. Instead, Mbeki may want to keep SA's intelligence capacity close to the presidency. — Jonny Steinberg.

DULLAH OMAR
Transport Minister



DULLAH Omar's shift from justice to the less critical transport portfolio is something of a demotion to a sector in which he has little knowledge if any interest.

Following Mac Maharaj's successful restructuring of the department, much of the nuts and bolts of transport is now handled by semi-independent agencies.

An advocate by training, Omar's natural home is in the law. Regarded as an innovator in terms of legislative reform, he lacked the leadership needed to overhaul the justice system.

Bottlenecks have meant long delays in getting criminals through the courts while dissatisfaction among magistrates and prosecutors about their working conditions have added to the instability in the system.

Retiring transport minister Maharaj has largely completed the fundamental policy framework for the department, but taking this forward will be no easy task for Omar. Born in Cape Town in 1934 and educated at the University of Cape Town, he gained prominence as a civil rights lawyer who had former president Nelson Mandela as a client.

He was a member of the Unity Movement until the mid-1980s when he joined the United Democratic Front, being elected chairman in 1989. — Linda Ensor.

STEVE TSHWETE
Safety and Security Minister



STEVE Tshwete should expect to come under a great deal of pressure as he settles into the sprawling, grey police headquarters of Wagthuis in downtown Pretoria.

It is commonly understood among security observers that Tshwete's predecessor Sydney Mufamadi, had too soft a hand to lead the rusty and demotivated SA Police Services into the new era. Commentators are expecting to see a man of action with the stamina to lead a long-overdue project of institutional reform.

An Eastern Cape community leader in the cauldron of the struggle, Tshwete fled into exile in the early 1980s and quickly took a key position on the African National Congress's national executive committee.

Tshwete showed a lot of grit as sports minister. After failing to nudge and cajole Louis Luyt's rugby administration into the new SA, Tshwete rolled up his sleeves and helped push Luyt out of the game.

Reputed to be a man of broad brush strokes, rather than detail, security experts hope Tshwete will surround himself with a phalanx of smart technocrats: the men in grey suits might stitch together the plan in the background, while Tshwete fronts the police force. — Jonny Steinberg.

PATRICK LEKOTA
Defence Minister



PATRICK "Terror" Lekota completes his political rehabilitation with his appointment as defence minister following the low point of his dismissal as Free State premier.

This native of the Free State moves from the obscurity of being the chairman of ... ganisation activities.

Lekota did time on Robben Island after having been convicted under the Terrorism Act. Within months of his leaving prison in 1982 he became a founder member of the United Democratic Front and it is this constituency that is his background in the ANC.

Lekota was also active in the ANC structures in KwaZulu-Natal prior to his

JACOB ZUMA
Deputy President



JACOB Zuma was born on 12 April 1942 at Inkandla, KwaZulu-Natal. He has managed to become the country's second in command without any prior formal schooling.

The son of a policeman and a domestic worker, Zuma was until yesterday KwaZulu-Natal's economic affairs and tourism MEC.

He joined the African National Congress (ANC) in 1959.

A former Robben Islander, Zuma spent years in exile, returning in 1990 after the ANC was unbanned.

He then served the ANC as deputy secretary-general and national chairman in 1997, because of the respect he had won in the ANC. He defeated Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in elections for the party deputy presidency.

He is known to be a crafty strategist who prefers a low profile. He is also credited with resolving many internal ANC problems and with doing the spadework for the peace process between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, allowing President Thabo Mbeki to take the credit.

Zuma played a crucial role in persuading Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to distance himself from the IFP.

An ANC commissioned report implicated him in human rights violations while in exile. — Pule Molebeledi.

STELLA SIGCAU
Public Works Minister



WIDELY criticised for her lack of initiative, dynamism and energy in driving the privatisation process while public enterprises minister, Sigcau's move to public works is a demotion to a far less demanding position.

However, this is not to say that there is not valuable work to be done.

One such area would be in galvanising the affirmative procurement policy to nurture small business and devising innovative public works programmes in order to create jobs.

The department — which has often come under the scrutiny of the auditor-general's office — also needs to be knocked into shape.

Sigcau's retention in the cabinet is probably due to her connection with Xhosa royalty, which means she is able to bring along an important constituency, Eastern Pondoland.

Born on 4 January 1937, Sigcau was the eldest daughter of Paramount Chief Botha Sigcau of East Pondoland. She joined the Transkei government in 1968 and over the next 20 years served in a number of ministerial portfolios, eventually becoming prime minister of Transkei in 1987.

She was removed from power in a military coup led by her then defence force chief, Maj Gen Bantu Holomisa. — Linda Ensor.

GERALDINE FRASER-MOLEKETI
Public Service and Administration Minister



GERALDINE Fraser-Moleketi's surprise shift from welfare to head the public service and administration ministry has a lot to do with the unfinished job of transforming a public service which is bloated and which suffers from indiscipline.

The job will be tough, but Fraser-Moleketi's energetic efforts as welfare minister to transform and streamline a very fractured welfare system won her a lot of respect from her colleagues and within the African National Congress (ANC).

One senior ANC official who knew her already during her years in exile yesterday described the 38-year-old as "young and energetic". People who worked with her at welfare said she was "tough", but "a doer".

Fraser-Moleketi's first challenge in her new post is likely to be for government to finally identify the tens of thousands of excess public servants, and either redeploy them or retrench them.

A second area that needs a lot of attention is that of discipline, anti-corruption and ethics — while former minister Zola Skweyiya introduced various measures, including a new code of conduct for public servants not a lot has been done to implement them as yet. — David Greybe.

ESSOP PAHAD
Minister in the Office of the President



HE DOES not yet have clarity about what exactly his position as minister in the office of the president will entail, but there is little doubt that Essop Pahad will play a very important role in President Thabo Mbeki's cabinet.

The 59-year-old Pahad, a friend and confidant of Mbeki ... Sussex University, UK, while in exile. At the same time, he worked for the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party (SACP).

On his return from exile and before SA's first democratic elections in 1994, Pahad was employed full-time by the SACP, where he headed the organisation's international department.

While holding the position of deputy minister dur-

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA
Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister



MOHAMMED Valli Moosa is considered the right person to spearhead the tourism drive identified at last year's job summit as crucial for job creation in SA.

Moosa, 42, formerly provincial affairs and constitutional development minister, has become the environmental affairs and tourism minister. There were some raised eyebrows at this, as he is regarded as having performed well in his last portfolio.

Moosa's success in getting local government infrastructure in place, and the experience he gained, would be critical in boosting tourism and creating new jobs, one source said.

Moosa shot to prominence in the 1980s as one of the leaders of United Democratic Front (UDF), which was widely regarded as an internal wing of the African National Congress. He, Patrick Lekota, Popo Molefe, Murphy Morobe and other youthful leaders led the UDF's defiance campaign and spent most of the time "underground".

Comment that Moosa was demoted was rejected. Constitutional development has been joined with justice in a new ministry headed by former minerals and energy affairs minister Penuell Maduna. — David Greybe.

PENUELL MADUNA
Justice and Constitutional Development Minister



PENUELL Maduna, an African National Congress (ANC) "exile" and close to President Thabo Mbeki, has been shifted from minerals and energy affairs to head the newly-created justice and constitutional development ministry.

Constitutional development was formerly part of the provincial and local government ministry.

Maduna's extensive legal training, and active role in the multiparty negotiations, should help him to deal with the many unresolved issues in justice and constitution-making, including a justice system that lacks credibility among many South Africans; a huge backload in court cases; poor pay and persistent demands by the Inkatha Freedom Party for greater powers for the provinces.

Maduna was appointed the minister of mineral energy affairs in June 1996 after a stint as deputy home affairs minister.

He had a rocky term as a minister, and became embroiled in a series of high profile scandals including employing a shady Liberian contractor and a running battle with the auditor-general Henri Kluever.

Within the ANC though, Maduna is regarded as highly intelligent and is held in high esteem by his colleagues — David Greybe.

RONNIE KASRILS
Water Affairs and Forestry Minister



RONNIE Kasrils has earned a promotion to full minister and becomes the new Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry.

The Jewish boy from Yeoville in Johannesburg, who earned a reputation for eluding the SA Police during his struggle days, has been the deputy at defence for the last five years under trying circumstances.

First, there were the upheavals that saw various military components being integrated with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) and Apla.

It was also a time of restructuring at defence, and Kasrils was involved in the redesign of the force through the defence review.

He and Modise were at the helm during the crisis when defence force chief Gen Georg Meiring was forced to resign following a botched military intelligence report about a threatened coup.

Kasrils joined the African National Congress after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and was a member of MK in Natal. He was banned in 1962, and on the run in SA from the police until late 1963 when he went into exile to undergo military training.

He saw service with MK in the Angola camps in 1977, and was based in Lusaka between 1985 and 1989. — Wyndham Hartley.

NKOSAZANA ZUMA
Foreign Affairs Minister



NKOSAZANA Zuma, after thumbing her nose at the international community over intellectual property rights and enraging the drug and tobacco companies in five years as health minister, has become foreign minister.

The 50-year-old medical doctor, born, raised and educated in KwaZulu-Natal, ... one that was for all South Africans. This was complicated as it was designated a dual national and provincial competence.

Zuma took on the drug, tobacco and other vested interests head on and has earned increased popularity as a result.

Despite, being one of the most controversial ministers in the previous cabinet, she is also regarded as one

habilitation with his appointment as defence minister following the low point of his dismissal as Free State premier.

This native of the Free State moves from the obscurity of being the chairman of the National Council of Provinces to defence.

Promotion for Lekota became almost inevitable when he came from nowhere to be elected African National Congress (ANC) national chairman at the Mafikeng conference in De-



cember 1997.

Like many political activists he was barred from entering SA universities because of his SA Student Or-

months of his leaving prison in 1982 he became a founder member of the United Democratic Front and it is this constituency that is his background in the ANC.

Lekota was also active in the ANC structures in KwaZulu-Natal prior to his deployment by the ANC leadership to the Free State.

He takes over at defence as someone who has never been a part of the ANC's former "military" wing — Umkhonto weSizwe. — Wyndham Hartley.

ZOLA SKWEYIYA
Population Development Minister

ZOLA Skweyiya's shift from the public service to welfare and population development has a lot to do with unresolved problems around the division of welfare powers between central government and the provinces, according to sources.

A number of provincial welfare ministers have requested central government to centralise welfare so as to cut costs by eliminating duplication and ensuring a more streamlined system.

Skweyiya's experience as public service minister, in



particular his audits of the provinces which highlighted numerous problems was, according to senior officials of the African National

Congress, needed in the welfare ministry.

But Skweyiya's move is also regarded by some as a demotion.

It is the result of a lack of toughness on his part in restructuring and downsizing the public service.

"Skweyiya will be very good at finding a balance between central government and the provinces on this issue," one source said.

The former welfare minister, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, has traded posts with him.

Skweyiya, also an ANC exile, has known President Thabo Mbeki for more than 30 years. — David Greybe.

SYDNEY MUFAMADI
Provincial Affairs and Local Government Minister

NEWLY appointed provincial affairs and local government minister Sydney Mufamadi appears to have moved down the pecking order. Yet observers stress that local government is viewed as a key portfolio because of its importance in service delivery.

With constitutional development moved to the justice portfolio, the new local government job has been given added weight.

Known to be close to president Thabo Mbeki, who is likely to take a close inter-



est in local government reform, he is still seen as a senior minister.

However, Mufamadi's move from safety and secu-

rity also reflects widespread perceptions that he was not a success in this portfolio.

Mbeki did not give him foreign affairs, for which he was groomed at one stage.

Born in Venda in 1959, Mufamadi was a trade unionist who became a leader of the United Democratic Front. A mild-mannered former teacher, he was drafted into the previous cabinet to help reconcile the police service with the new order.

Rising crime became the central concern, and he was seen as lacking the toughness and vision needed to tackle it. He is understood to have wanted a change of job. — Xolani Xundu.

KADER ASMAL
Education Minister

NEW education minister Kader Asmal is seen by education analysts as just the person needed to shake up the education system.

Asmal, 65, who headed the water affairs and forestry ministry in the last cabinet, is perceived to be a hard worker, despite being diagnosed with cancer.

His appointment is a surprise, as he and President Thabo Mbeki have not always seen eye to eye. However, it confirms his standing as one of the more successful "delivery" ministers of the new order.

Asmal has direct experi-



ence of the educational field. Born in Stanger, he became a teacher while simultaneously studying for a law degree through Unisa.

He qualified as a lawyer

at London University in 1963 and taught administrative law for 15 years at Dublin's Trinity College, later becoming dean of arts.

Over the past five years, Asmal has shown himself to be both sensitive and tough.

Asmal negotiated widely to achieve consensus around his National Water Bill, which redefines water usage.

He faced down opposition threats to thwart the legislation in the Constitutional Court.

Education analyst John Pampallis said Asmal was a successful publicist who would sell government's vision of education to the public. — Primarashni Pillay.

about what exactly his position as minister in the office of the president will entail, but there is little doubt that Essop Pahad will play a very important role in President Thabo Mbeki's cabinet.

The 59-year-old Pahad, a friend and confidant of Mbeki, assumed that he would continue dealing with issues such as the status of the disabled, government communication, youth matters and children's programmes, but said the president indicated that the matter would need



further discussion.

Pahad, who has been Mbeki's right-hand man for the past four years, completed a PhD in history at

On his return from exile and before SA's first democratic elections in 1994, Pahad was employed full-time by the SACP, where he headed the organisation's international department.

While holding the position of deputy minister during Nelson Mandela's presidency, Pahad, known for his sharp wit, played a leading role in negotiating the constitution. He is the brother of Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad. — Stephané Bothma.

JEFF RADEBE
Public Enterprises Minister

AS A member of the SA Communist Party's central committee, Radebe, who becomes Public Enterprises Minister, is an interesting choice to lead government's privatisation programme.

However, he is well-placed to bring on board the programme's critics in the communist party and the labour movement.

His new portfolio will give him scope, as the privatisation process accelerates, to display his acknowledged ability to mobilise support from diverse constituencies.

It will also give Radebe



greater scope to use his political acumen than was the case in the relatively uncontroversial department of public works.

Born in 1953, Radebe graduated from the University of Zululand as a lawyer.

He went into exile in 1977 and graduated with a masters degree in international law at Leipzig, East Germany, in 1981.

He then proceeded to work for the African National Congress in Lusaka as well as Tanzania.

Returning to SA, he was sentenced to six years on Robben Island in 1986.

Radebe has a strong constituency in southern KwaZulu-Natal, and he has played an important role in brokering peace in the area during the early 1990s. — Linda Ensor.

MANTO TSHABALALA-MSIMANG
Health Minister

FOR the past three years, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang had used her medical qualifications, which includes a masters degree in public health obtained from the University of Antwerp in Belguim, in her position as deputy justice minister.

From this morning, she will need all the skills she acquired during her 28 years in exile to step into the demanding position of health minister — one of the most important portfolios in cabinet with an annual budget of R24bn, putting it right up



there with education and safety and security.

As a young student, she left SA for Russia to study medicine at the First

Leningrad Medical Institute, having changed her mind about being a nurse.

After Russia, Tshabalala-Msimang took a diploma in gynaecology and obstetrics at Dar es Salaam medical school in Tanzania. In 1976, she was asked to set up a health training programme for national liberation movements sponsored by the World Health Organisation.

She returned to SA in 1990. After the first democratic election, Tsabalala-Msimang became an MP and chairman of the parliamentary committee on health.

She was appointed deputy justice minister in 1996. — Stephané Bothma.

IVY MATSEPE-CASABURRI
Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister

IVY Matsepe-Casaburri's appointment as posts, telecommunications and broadcasting minister is seen as a more suitable posting than the Free State premiership, thrust on her by the national leadership of the African National Congress after infighting in the provincial party.

Many believe Matsepe-Casaburri lacked the force of character and political skills to heal the divisions in the Free State ANC.

However, her broadcasting experience is seen as bringing the right balance to



a technical portfolio. A sociology graduate, she chaired the SA Broadcasting Corporation board for three years.

Known as a hard worker she is committed to the de-

velopment of human resources, especially among women.

Matsepe-Casaburri's keynote speech on World Telecoms Day in Thaba 'Nchu earlier this year earned her respect in the telecommunications industry. It indicated, a source said, a degree of interest in, and a grasp, of the issues.

The highlight of the speech involved the restructuring of telecommunications so that resources are utilised effectively.

She also called for a partnership between Satra and the public and private sectors so as to promote access for the poor and women. — Pearl Sebolao.

ternational community over intellectual property rights and enraging the drug and tobacco companies in five years as health minister, has become foreign minister.

The 50-year-old medical doctor, born, raised and educated in KwaZulu-Natal, went into exile in 1976 after having worked underground for the African National Congress (ANC) and publicly for the SA Students Organisation (Saso).

She completed her medical studies in Britain.



Zuma took over the health ministry in 1994 with the task of reforming a sector which provided excellent service to whites into

Zuma took on the drug, tobacco and other vested interests head on and has earned increased popularity as a result.

Despite, being one of the most controversial ministers in the previous cabinet, she is also regarded as one of the hard-working ministers. Over the past five years, she has moved quickly to draft and implement new health policies.

She is divorced from Deputy President Jacob Zuma. — Wyndham Hartley.

THOKO DIDIZA
Agriculture and Land Affairs Minister

AT THE age of 34, Thoko Didiza is perhaps the youngest member of the cabinet.

She swaps her position as deputy minister of agriculture and land affairs with that of a full minister after the sacking of Derek Hanekom.

While Hanekom must be considered unlucky to lose his job, he is apparently the victim and Didiza the beneficiary of growing feelings in government that so sensitive a ministry as land affairs should be in the hands of a



black person.

While agricultural unions have come to accept that a credible land reform programme is a vital necessity,

it remains to be seen how this conservative lobby will react to a youthful black woman. Didiza matriculated in Durban in 1981, and comes from a background of Christian and women's non-governmental organisations.

Among previous positions, she was the treasurer of Natal Women's organisation (1986) and an executive member of the South African Council of Churches (1987).

She is at present studying for a business administration degree. Didiza was appointed deputy agriculture minister shortly after the elections in April 1994. — Wyndham Hartley.

PHUMZILE MLAMBO-NGCUKA
Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister

A CHALLENGE lies ahead for Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, but given the energy, hard work and dedication she brings to the task at hand, it is one which she will probably rise to.

One of eight women in the cabinet, Mlambo-Ngcuka is regarded as a competent and innovative manager and was publicly proposed as ministerial material by Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin.

Although mineral and energy affairs is a highly tech-



nical area, the issues are not altogether unfamiliar to her. As deputy minister of trade and industry she was responsible for small business

development, bilateral foreign trade, export promotion and transformation of the department.

She also served on government's gold crisis committee and was a member of cabinet's committee for economic affairs.

Black economic empowerment will be a priority for her as the mineral and energy sectors undergo fundamental restructuring. Born on November 3 1955 she graduated from the University of Lesotho and after teaching for three years went to Geneva.

She has been active in development work among NGOs. — Linda Ensor.

NGCONDE BALFOUR
Sport Minister

NGCONDE Balfour has been unfortunate enough to spend most of the 1990s working with cantankerous men who sport large egos.

A veteran of the black Eastern Cape rugby establishment, Balfour became SA Rugby Football Union's (Sarfu) development officer in the early days of SA's transition to democracy.

Commentators say Balfour was dismayed by the heavy-handed style of Sarfu's leaders and worried that he was the token black face in transformation.

He resigned shortly after his appointment and moved



to Cape Town to co-chair, with supermarket tycoon Raymond Ackerman, the city's bid to host the 2004 Olympic Games.

No sooner had Balfour

set up office than Ackerman dived into his tussle with National Olympic committee chairman Sam Ramsamy.

Balfour looked on hopelessly as his co-chair resigned and the bid was reconstituted under the chairmanship of Chris Ball.

A relatively new MP, he replaced Marcel Golding in parliament in 1997, the better part of his job will be nudging white sports, like rugby and cricket, into the new SA, and to keep an eye on soccer administrators.

The question is whether he does so with charm, or whether he borrows the heavy stick of his predecessor Steve Tshwete. — Jonny Steinberg.

Political allies and old confidantes

Mbeki's overriding message is that he is in charge and that nobody should get too comfortable, write **Farouk Chothia** and **Stephen Laufer**

INKATHA Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has shown that he wants to hold on to his support base in KwaZulu-Natal — rather than become reliant on the African National Congress (ANC) for his political survival.

Buthelezi was tipped for the deputy presidency of SA — but rejected the offer after the ANC made it conditional on the IFP relinquishing the premiership of the province.

The ANC's stance was surprising. It wanted to achieve through negotiations what it failed to achieve through the ballot box — wresting control of KwaZulu-Natal from the IFP.

Buthelezi may be vain — but not as vain as the ANC thought. He refused to sacrifice his party to advance his personal career.

If Buthelezi accepted the trade-off, the IFP would have been swallowed by the ANC by the 2004 elections. Buthelezi saw through this — and chose to retain the largely insignificant home affairs portfolio.

This opened the way for Jacob Zuma's ascent to the deputy presidency. He was an unavoidable choice, as he held the corresponding post within the ANC.

By the looks of things, President Thabo Mbeki has so far accepted only one recommendation of the presidential review commission led by Vincent Maphai — that the deputy presidency be downgraded.

This means Zuma will operate from the president's office and will not have a director-general of his own.

Zuma has weak administrative skills, having performed poorly as KwaZulu-Natal economic affairs and tourism MEC.

He is unlikely to exercise significant power as deputy president, but he is a wheeler-dealer who could concentrate on holding the various factions within the ANC-led alliance together. It may well be that his primary job for the next five years will be a party-political one.

Although a longstanding political ally of Mbeki's, Zuma could be an informal check on the power exercised by the president because of his seniority in the party.

The bigger question is: having secured the deputy presidency by default, will Zuma make a bid to succeed Mbeki after his term in office ends?

Mbeki's choice of ministers is in line with his image as an Africanist, but one who takes into account the need for racial inclusiveness. The clearest illustration of this is the appointment of Deputy Land Affairs and Agriculture Minister Thoko Didiza-Msane to head the portfolio with Dirk du Toit, a white ANC MP, as deputy.

When former president Nelson Mandela appointed former land affairs and agriculture minister Derek Hanekom in 1994, members of the ANC national working committee objected on the grounds that land affairs should be held by a black person. Mandela refused to bow to pressure, but Mbeki has decided to oust Hanekom.

Du Toit's claim to fame is he is an Afrikaner from the Free State, though it is questionable whether he is best suited for the post. He is a constitutional expert, who played a role in drafting the constitution.

The other odd choice — possibly aimed merely at striking a racial balance — is the appointment of Ronnie Kasrils as water affairs minister. A former Umkhonto we-Sizwe intelligence chief and deputy defence minister, his entire political life has been spent in the military field.

Hanekom's downfall was his lack of an identifiable constituency, making it possible for Mbeki to dispense of him. His successor is known to favour a policy which promotes small black farmers, while Hanekom's mission was to uplift the rural poor. Two years ago the National African Farmers' Union passed a vote of no confidence in Hanekom.

The only other cabinet member whom Mbeki has axed is Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan. Like Hanekom, Jordan was dispensable because he was not identified with any significant faction in the ANC.



Unlikely to exercise much power ... Jacob Zuma is the new deputy president.

BD 18/6/99. (304A)

Jordan's departure from the cabinet will weaken the quality of debate. He is known to be an independent thinker, who was not afraid to express disagreement in the cabinet.

The most important newcomer to the cabinet is Patrick Lekota as the defence minister. He is not seen as a close ally of Mbeki, but Mbeki had to include him because he is the ANC national chairman — the third most senior post in the party.

Lekota has demonstrated that he is a hard-nosed politician who has overcome the setbacks he suffered when he was ousted as Free State premier in 1996.

Mbeki has shown that accommodating the ANC's left-wing alliance partners and the "populist" faction is a lesser priority.

A number of Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) office-bearers have moved to parliament, but none of them are included in the cabinet. Former Cosatu general-secretary Mbazima Shilowa was tipped for a cabinet post, but was made Gauteng premier.

Mbeki has not appointed any new SA Communist Party (SACP) members to the cabinet. However, he has made a gesture to the left by appointing party chairman Charles Nqakula as his parliamentary counsellor.

The one SACP member whose star has risen is Essop Pahad. Having been a deputy minister in Mbeki's office, he now acquires the status of full cabinet minister.

His elevation does not come as a surprise. He has been a confidante of Mbeki since their student days in England.

In sections of the SACP he is seen as Mbeki's "eyes and ears" in the party's central committee.

In a surprise move Mbeki sacked Peter Mokaba as deputy environmental affairs minister. This is despite the fact that Mokaba has been shedding his image as a "populist". Beyond this, Mokaba lobbied for Mbeki when he was involved in a bitter power struggle with former ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Despite speculation that Mbeki might include ANC Women's League president Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in his team, she has not featured. This confirms her political defeat at the last ANC conference, though she will be used to mobilising certain constituencies when necessary.

The woman who is rising within the ANC is Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, having been promoted from the health portfolio to foreign affairs.

She is the leader to watch — and could challenge Madikizela-Mandela for the top post in the league.

She has a lot to learn in foreign affairs, but brings a number of qualities that Mbeki will rely on. Among these are her personal closeness to the Mbeki family, which indicates that she is likely to follow the president's lead without much question.

And she has proved she is tough — a quality she will need when dealing with the world's more chauvinistic and intractable leaders, some of whom are involved in deadly conflicts not far from SA's borders.

On international platforms, Dlamini-Zuma will present a modern, feisty image of the country.

This cabinet is unlikely to be Mbeki's last. His overriding message is that he is in charge and that nobody should get too comfortable.

Who would have expected Valli Moosa to be switched from constitutional development to the environment affairs and tourism portfolio?

Admin demons are eating your pension

(300)

Your retirement savings are slipping away to a host of new costs and higher taxes, writes DINA SEEGER

ST(BT) 20/6/99

YOUR retirement fund contributions are being whittled away by the rocketing costs of new legislation and higher taxes. Although pension fund members nearing retirement age aren't in danger, younger members will foot the bill for the rising costs to the detriment of their fund payouts.

According to PSG Actuarial Consultants managing director Elna Croeser, the typical fund member will pay a staggering 20% of their lifetime pension contributions towards costs and taxes.

These are administration costs, government levies, and the tax on the fund's interest and rental income imposed by the minister of finance in 1996 at 17%, but bumped up to 25% last year.

New legislation for retirement funds was introduced in 1996, and while it is sure to benefit members in the long run, there is a price to pay.

The new law calls for enhanced disclosure to fund members and the authorities, and that the members elect at least half of their fund's board of trustees.

Electing member trustees, which became effective last December, is costly and the employee members must be educated and trained — at the expense of the fund.

Gary Hughes, managing director of fund administration company PSG Channel Management Services, says the cost for a fund to comply with the law has risen by 65% since 1994, when the Financial Services Board (FSB) began implementing the new legislation and increasing levies.

Administration costs aren't cheap: if you belong to a small fund, you could already be paying as much as 0.8% of your salary each month on pension fund administration costs. (Administrators are private companies which are contracted by employers to administer a fund.)

Members of defined contribution funds will feel the pinch the most as their final pension payout depends on the fund's growth — which is reduced through high costs.

If you are a member of a defined benefit fund your payout will not be directly affected as it is calculated on your salary and years of service. However your employer, who pays the costs, may decide to switch to a defined contribution fund.

Peter Moyo, Old Mutual Employee Benefits executive general manager, applauds the new legislation for giving members more say in how their fund is run.

Full transparency results in expenses that the fund and ultimately the member will pay for

"But disclosure and communication, critical for full transparency, results in expenses that the fund and ultimately the member, will pay for," he says.

And while new legislation is eating away at your pension nest egg, a host of other money-gobbling costs are increasing too.

If your fund includes disability insurance and group life cover, as most funds do, you will pay increasingly higher premiums as AIDS takes its toll.

Administration costs have been further inflated by recent industry trends such as the shift from the defined benefit to the defined contribution system which is more administration intensive.

And you'll pay even more in administration costs if your fund is planning to offer individual investment choice.

Hughes says the FSB is to blame for much of the increased administration costs. He says the FSB did not look at how new legislation would affect members' pockets.

Jeremy Andrew, chief actuary for the FSB, says cost benefit analysis will be used before introducing additional regulatory requirements.

Andrew defends the FSB, saying the benefits members will receive from the new legislation far outweigh the costs. "In the long run the new legislation will be cost-effective and add value for members.

"We've responded to the demands of members — they want to know what's going on in their pension fund. We've had too many cases where employers have dipped their fingers in the till."

Andrew says the new legislation will protect members more.

Of issue in the industry is whether administration companies should bear some of the costs of the new legislation, instead of passing them on to members. The industry of pension fund administration and consulting is a highly profitable one.

The FSB, in turn, passes part of the blame for rising pension fund costs to the finance ministry. "I think the biggest shock to the industry has been retirement tax — this tax is significantly higher than any other expense to a fund," says Andrew.

The tax was introduced in 1996 at 17% of a fund's interest and rental income, but was raised to 25% in March last year. The effect of this tax is particularly severe for low-income earners.

But it does not matter who shoulders the blame for rising costs: the administrators will continue to hunt for profit, the FSB won't allow funds to side-step costly legislation, and the taxman will collect his dues.

Moyo says pension fund trustees shouldn't depend only on the administrator to find cost-cutting measures. They should ensure the fund itself is as efficient and cost-effective as possible.

Picture: IMAGE BANK



LURKING ... many hidden costs are just waiting to gobble up your carefully planned retirement capital

The President falls out with Buthelezi

Each insinuates the other lied over deputy presidency

ST 20/6/99 (304A)

JUSTICE MALALA and
CAROL PATON

THABO Mbeki's presidency got off to a rocky start this week when his cosy relationship with Inkatha head Mangosuthu Buthelezi soured — with the leaders publicly casting doubts on each other's integrity.

The relationship turned bitter on Thursday when Mbeki surprised the country by announcing that ANC stalwart Jacob Zuma was to be Deputy President, and then suggested Buthelezi knew where "rumours" that the IFP leader was to be appointed to the position had emanated from.

"I don't know who started those rumours. Clearly they were wrong," said Mbeki.

When asked about a letter from Buthelezi published in the Zulu newspaper Ilanga referring to negotiations in which he had turned down the position, Mbeki pointedly suggested journalists should perhaps address their questions to Buthelezi.

Immediately afterwards, Buthelezi said he was "deeply distressed" by the comments.

"It is a very difficult situation for me because it raises the matter of who is telling the truth."

After the first meeting of the new Cabinet on Thursday, Buthelezi told Frank Chikane, the director-general in Mbeki's office: "The President's utterances present me with a serious moral problem. It would be bad for me to cast aspersions on the President. But I am not in the habit of telling lies."

The fallout brings to an abrupt halt a *toenadering* that began three years ago when the ANC and IFP started talks to co-operate.

Buthelezi is believed to be deeply hurt — and this may affect the relationship between the two parties in the Cabinet (in which the IFP has three seats) and in Parliament, where the IFP may not be as supportive of the ANC as expected.

The IFP's alliance with the ANC gives the two parties a majority of more than 75 percent in Parliament, which allows it to change large chunks of the Constitution.

"It has hurt Dr Buthelezi very deeply. It makes him look like a liar in the eyes of the public," said IFP spokesman Musa Zondi.

Thursday's events brought to a head two weeks of tense behind-the-scenes negotiations which saw Buthelezi take out an advertisement in Ilanga saying he had turned down the post of Deputy President because the ANC insisted on getting the KwaZulu-Natal premiership.

This is how the past two weeks unfolded:

- June 7: ANC national working committee empowers delegation to negotiate a coalition with IFP in KwaZulu-Natal;
- June 7: Mbeki calls Buthelezi to the podium at the release of the election results and says he wants him "in government";
- June 8: Mbeki meets Buthelezi at Oliver Tambo House at 3pm and an informal offer of a deputy presidency is put on the table. Buthelezi immediately rejects the linking of the KwaZulu-Natal premiership to the post;
- Monday 14: Buthelezi announces rejecting the post;
- June 16: Mbeki has a telephone conversation with Buthelezi, who claims he was told "the status quo would remain". But ANC sources claim the decision was arrived at mutually and that the door to the deputy presidency was still open;
- June 17: Mbeki announces his Cabinet and says he does not know where the rumours Buthelezi was to be his deputy came from; he suggests that perhaps the IFP leader knows.

Said Mbeki's spokesman, Ronnie Mamoepa: "In the exercise of his prerogative to appoint a Cabinet, Mbeki spoke to a number of ministers but discussions with those people would be confidential." He refused to say whether an offer was made to Buthelezi. Zondi was not aware of an offer.

Some Cabinet choices baffle

(304A) Sowetan 22/6/99

By Sipho Seepe

WHILE the announcement of Cabinet appointments brought to an end weeks of uncertainty and speculation, it seems to have ushered in new controversies, anxieties and fears.

These fears and anxieties are derived from a lack of clarity about choices made both at national and provincial levels.

Firstly, there is no mistaking the fact that the choices seem to have been triggered by a need and commitment to continuity in the executive.

This is understandable, especially if the African National Congress led executives are to be true to the mandate to speed up delivery.

What better way than to use the people with experience, the very group involved in the policy debates, and making them responsible for the implementation?

These people will be better placed to understand the nuances and challenges of policy implementation.

Secondly, while the overall picture is that of continuity at executive level, there has been a lot of shuffling around of people to various portfolios.

A reason advanced for this shuffling is that it was necessary to discourage executive members from assuming ownership of positions or departments.

Since there is no reason to believe this practice is prevalent, this fear is irrational and unfounded.

It is further argued that the role of executive members is to give a human face to the portfolios and to articulate policy in various departments. Delivery and implementation is then left to the directors general.

While these reasons may make sense from a political party's perspective, they may not appeal to ordinary folks in society.

A glaring omission in these arguments is recognition of the fact that in certain departments, especially those involving stakeholders and communities, it takes enormous energy, persistence and time to build human and working relations with incumbents.

A new incumbent may feel insecure as stakeholders begin to renegotiate a new relationship and working culture.

In addition, the ease with which people are shuffled around, in some cases to areas where they lack expertise and experience, can only weaken the authority of the incumbents among stakeholders.

Some portfolios require a person with a clear understanding of the sector. Such an understanding will assist the incumbent to approach contentious issues with the sympathy and sensitivity demanded.

Education is such a portfolio. The appointment of Professor Kader Asmal as Minister of Education is a welcome relief. He will speak with authority on matters educational, having distinguished himself as both a scholar and an activist.

Asmal has also not shied away from the educational debates in this country, especially about transformation.

And he comes to education having turned around the Water Affairs Department – considered historically as a ghetto department – into one of the critical areas of delivery.

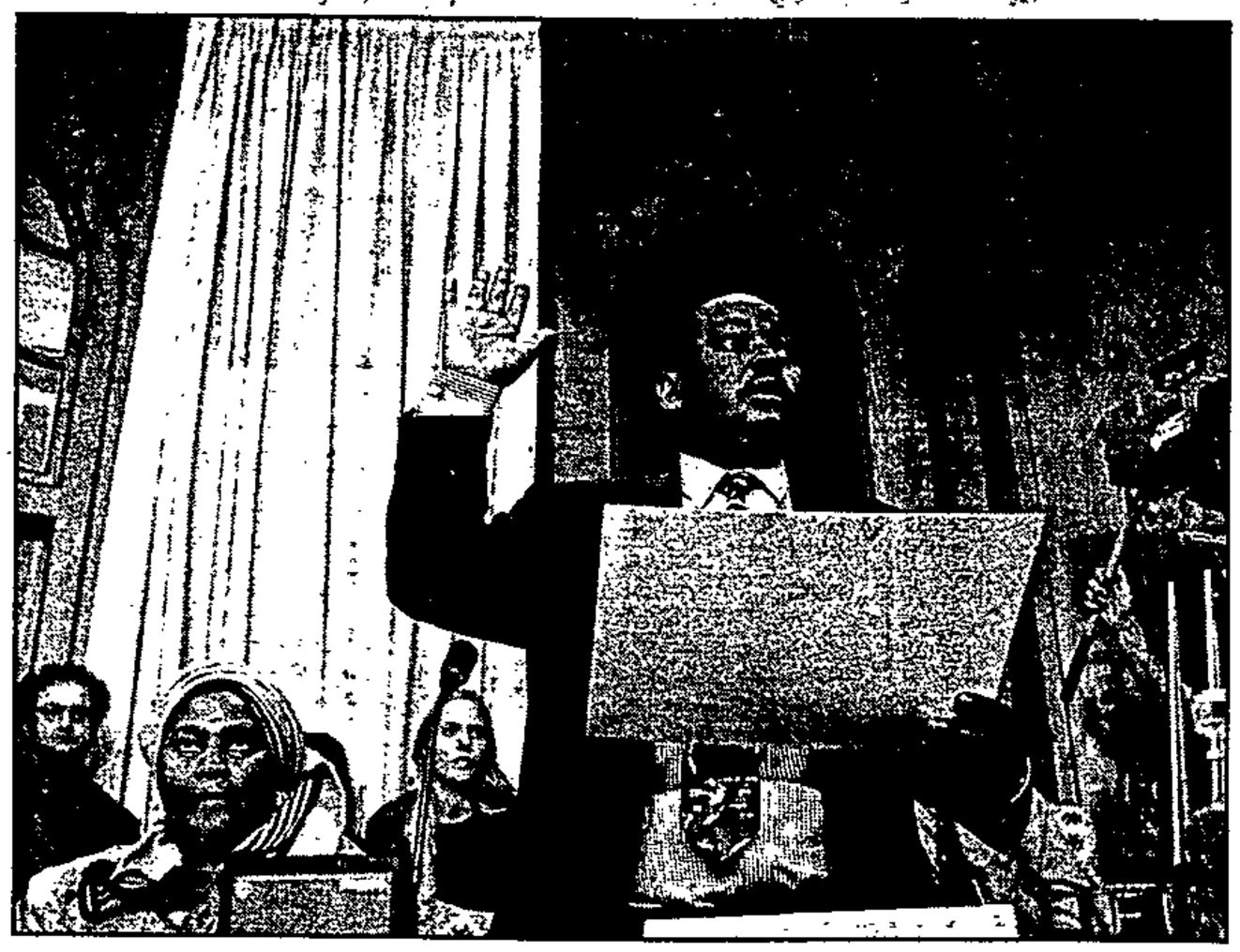
Difficult to understand

However, it is difficult to understand why Dr Nkosazana Zuma was moved into Foreign Affairs. She displayed firmness and fortitude in the transformation of health.

Unlike many of her colleagues, she weathered a storm of criticism from those opposed to transformation. Her removal from health must come as a relief to those who were opposed to her policies.

Her detractors continue to harp on about the *Sarafina* debacle. These are the very same people who were unconcerned that the majority of people in this country could not access the most basic of health services.

While there is no doubt that Zuma will succeed in protecting the national interests in her new job, one is not convinced that there are not enough diplomats to tackle this portfolio.



Patrick "Terror" Lekota takes the oath as Minister of Defence in President Thabo Mbeki's new Government.
PIC: VELI NHLAPO

Zuma should have been left to do what she does best – transform the health services.

The appointment of Dullah Omar as Minister of Transport is another case in point. After painstakingly steering the justice system and putting in place policies and plans for the complete overhaul of the judicial system, he was moved before these came to fruition.

At provincial level, the same applies to Paul Mashatile and Mary Metcalfe in Gauteng. Mashatile was moved to housing and Metcalfe to agriculture and land affairs.

Yet Metcalfe distinguished herself as a most able, trusted and popular MEC in education. As a teacher and educator, she was able to establish a rapport with teachers, principals and other educational officials.

While there is no reason to doubt her ability to steer the agricultural sector in the right direction, her shift to agriculture could only be made by those with little knowledge and understanding, if any, of the education sector.

And in his short stint as safety and security MEC, Mashatile was able to establish respect and working relations within the police and the communities.

On the other hand, the fact that the ministers of Finance and Trade and Industry were left intact underscores the fact that we have entered an era of worshipping the new god – the financial market of global economy.

But had the process of appointing MECs and the Cabinet been inclusive and collective, some of the concerns raised above would not have prevailed. Unfortunately, the appointments were left to individuals, that is, the President and the respective premiers.

We are made to believe that these critical decisions were left to individuals to keep unity in the organisation after the unpleasant experience of ruthless lobbying, fighting and backstabbing among members to get positions.

While this may have worked in the short term, it unfortunately introduces a new culture where an individual holds inordinate power. The mere fact that someone holds a key position does not endow him or her with infinite wisdom.

The challenge is to evolve strategies to overcome the backstabbing and disunity sown during the previous process of appointments without sacrificing democratic participation and the wisdom derived from the tradition of collective leadership.

It would be better to err in the interest of democracy rather than to err on the side of expediency and autocracy. Shuffling people around without any obvious and reasonable explanation creates insecurity and weakens the positions and authority of the incumbents.

It is a strategy which dictators often use to stamp their authority and, at times, to camouflage their own inadequacy.

(The author is the Sebokeng campus principal of Vista University.)

MPs' staff kicked out of parliamentary village

Houses 'wrongly allocated' to support workers

ARG 23/6/99 (307)

LYNNE RIPPENAAR
STAFF REPORTER

Employees working for Members of Parliament are being evicted from Pelican Park after houses were wrongfully allocated by political parties.

Greg MacMaster, regional manager of the national Department of Public Works, said they had arranged with political parties in 1994 that each one would get a housing quota and that the party's whips would allocate houses.

However, houses which were meant for MPs had wrongfully been allocated by parties to MPs' support staff.

"The accommodation in the three parliamentary villages is intended for parliamentarians and sessional officials," said Mr MacMaster.

"Some of the political parties gave some vacant houses to parliamentary support staff."

In July 1997, the department gave the "illegal" residents verbal notice to quit the houses. Two written notices were sent to residents in August and November 1997.

The matter went to court after residents failed to leave the premises and the court ruled residents had to move by June 15.

Mr MacMaster said that of the six tenants who had been served with eviction notices, four had moved while two had remained in the houses and had had to be put out.

Yesterday, Munsoer Anthony, whose wife works in one of the national government departments, said he was "very angry" about the eviction. His wife, whom he said could not be named, had asked for a 10-day extension until they could move to their new home in Grassy Park on July 1.

Some of the government employees being evicted did not want to reveal their names to the press for fear they might be reprimanded or lose their jobs.



WAYNE CONRADIE

Out in the cold: the belongings of a government employee, who was evicted from Pelican Park yesterday, at the entrance to the parliamentary village near Zeekoevlei

The two families evicted yesterday had lived in Pelican Park for three years.

"Now Public Works say we are illegal occupants. We paid to stay here and they gave us keys," said Mr Anthony.

Next door to the Anthony home there are two similar empty houses, and one resident said most of the one-bedroom houses were unoccupied. Standing at the entrance to Pelican Park, Mr Anthony said that he was waiting for his children, the eldest of whom is 10, to come home from school.

"This is going to be a shock for them," said Mr Anthony. "My eldest daughter is very upset and the five-year-old said she was going to miss the place.

"We don't have a place to go."

One government employee said she had been at work when the sheriff of the court came to her house.

She had started packing her belongings with the intention of moving as soon as she found a new home for herself and her two children, but instead had found all her furniture and other belongings at the entrance to the village when she got home yesterday.

"I don't really know what to say. I am not thinking straight now," she said.

"I said I was ready to move, but they did not give me time. I told them I was looking for a place. I asked for an extension."

As the woman tossed books and other items into a rubbish bag, she said: "I don't want to look at it, because then I won't throw it away and I can't take it with me.

Mr MacMaster said residents had been told they did not meet criteria to stay.

"Two-and-a-half years is enough time to get a new home and we need the houses for MPs and sessional officials."

He said the process of getting rid of tenants had taken so long because new laws introduced in 1998 made eviction difficult.

Shack-dwellers praise plan to upgrade homes

ARG 24/6/99 (307)

Don't move, improve – UCT research professor

A proposal to upgrade shacks rather than replace them with brick houses is a cost-effective way of providing low cost housing, says a professor of civil engineering.

John Abbott, professor of civil engineering at the University of Cape Town, said the idea required a new approach, but it was "a cost-effective way of development".

The idea has been welcomed by shack dwellers in a snap survey by the Cape Argus.

People said government housing subsidies might go further when it came to upgrading dwellings, rather than building new ones.

They said, also, that the brick houses that were being built were too small.

Professor Abbott said Cape Town faced a number of different housing problems, such as overcrowding in Mitchell's Plain and Hanover Park, and a proliferation of backyard shacks and informal settlements.

He said the last meaningful housing project in Cape Town was Mitchell's Plain.

When shack dwellers went from an informal settlement to formal housing, the vacant land was invaded by more people

NORMAN JOSEPH



METRO REPORTER

and the backlog increased.

About 25 000 shacks had been upgraded in Gauteng after shack dwellers received security of tenure.

Similar efforts regarding shacks were being made in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Cape Town should adopt a similar approach instead of relying on the R15 000 government subsidy for low-income families, said Professor Abbott.

The Cape Metropolitan Council commissioned Professor Abbott to conduct a pilot project to evaluate shacklands to see whether upgrading would be a better alternative than relocating people to low-cost housing schemes on far-away sites.

The project team is checking to see which methodology or guidelines could be used to upgrade informal settlements.

The team is taking aerial photographs of shanty towns, looking at the demographics, identifying the number of shacks in an area and capturing details such as the structures' numbers and open spaces available for possible roadways.

A survey is then made of the residents' skills and how the settlement could be developed economically.

"Obviously, physical changes will have to be made, such as the shifting of certain families within certain settlements," said Professor Abbott.

Local authorities should develop good relationships with informal settlement communities.

Key policy principles should be mapped out and the manner in which the development will be done should be discussed with communities.

"It is a process and depends on how much funds are available."

Professor Abbott said the aim was to transform informal settlements into desirable communities and to get people involved in their own development.

There were hidden costs for people who were maintaining a home for the first time, such as rents and rates.

"Not everyone can afford it," said Professor Abbott.

In terms of his scheme, households could choose how to pay for the new venture which "makes it affordable".

The project team would forward its findings to local authorities for their study.

Provincial Housing Minister Cecil Herandien welcomed the professor's suggestions, but doubted whether shanty dwellers would be enthusiastic.

However, a snap survey by the Cape Argus proved him wrong.

Several homeless people said new brick houses were even smaller than most shacks.

Nomthandazo Yawa of Samora Machel informal settlement near Philippi said: "It's a very good idea."

She said contractors always told people they could not build decent houses with the government housing subsidy.

But they said it was possible that the subsidy would go further when it came to upgrading existing dwellings.

Nomangesi Luti, who lives in a backyard shack in NY72 in Guguletu, said new houses were so small people could not get all their belongings in.

Miriam Deseu of Khayelitsha said new homes had only one room and no toilet, and "contractors always complain that the subsidy is too little".

THE NEW CABINET

(3044) FM 25/6/99

HOW BUTHELEZI SHAPED PRESIDENT MBEKI'S TEAM

It would have been different had he taken the deputy's job

President Thabo Mbeki's immediate priority as he addresses parliament this week will be to kiss and make up with Mangosuthu Buthelezi, after the fiasco of his attempt to woo the IFP leader to become his Deputy President

Mbeki's relationship with Buthelezi was to have been the anvil of his presidency He has spent the past few years assiduously nurturing the relationship — to the extent that Buthelezi was more comfortable with Mbeki than with former President Nelson Mandela — only to see it fall apart at the last hurdle

Buthelezi's assumption of the deputy presidency would have marked his symbolic homecoming to the ANC, where he started his political career, and was to cement the grand coalition between the two parties, ushering in a new era of co-operation to bring about lasting peace in KwaZulu-Natal

Sources give differing accounts of what brought about this rupture But Mbeki himself could not have helped his cause by the manner in which he handled the matter at the press conference to announce his new Cabinet last week. Buthelezi went away with an impression that he had been accused of actively campaigning for the position

That the matter was sensitive could be seen from the way Mbeki responded to questions. Buthelezi reportedly said he turned down the offer to become Deputy President because the ANC had linked it to the IFP relinquishing the KwaZulu-Natal premiership Asked for his response a clearly irritated Mbeki shot back "Why don't you ask him?"

"You can ask him, but not here," government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe helpfully butted in

Later, asked by reporters whether he was disappointed at having been overlooked for the number two spot, Buthelezi responded "Why should I be disappointed. I never applied for it, I never aspired to it, I never canvassed for it"



Arnold Pronto

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

So things did fall apart somewhat for Mbeki

Yet though he did not get the deputy presidency, the brooding figure of the IFP leader loomed large over the final line up The Cabinet was as much Mbeki's choice as a result of Buthelezi's refusal to play ball! Once again, the twists and turns of KwaZulu-Natal politics had a bearing on the type of Cabinet Mbeki finally appointed Buthelezi's refusal to take the Deputy Presidency had a cascading effect on a number of key positions in the Cabinet As one Minister said after the team was announced "It would have been a different-looking Cabinet had Buthelezi accepted"

It meant Jacob Zuma, the ANC's deputy president, became Mbeki's deputy, and not Defence Minister as was originally expected Defence went to Patrick Lekota. It also meant that Buthelezi's deputy at Home Affairs, Lindiwe Sisulu, a rising star, could not be promoted to the Cabinet.

In the end Buthelezi paid the price for the IFP's better than expected performance in the elections Though the party did worse than in 1994, it did better than many polls and pundits had predicted, and by getting the biggest number of votes in KwaZulu-Natal, it had the first claim to the premiership of the province. Had the ANC won in KwaZulu-Natal, it would have received the premiership, and the idea of linking the position to the Deputy Presidency would not have arisen

By demanding that IFP turn the premiership over to the ANC, Mbeki was asking too high a price from Buthelezi in exchange for the Deputy Presidency, a position of questionable value after the office had been denuded of most of its powers It seems as though, under Mbeki, the Deputy Presidency, would be more a ceremonial position, with the incumbent acting merely as the president's emissary, akin to the American system

Buthelezi must have realised that the position would have less power than he currently has as a Minister By turning it down, he has enhanced his position among his supporters. By accepting, he could have risked rebellion within Inkatha, especially as there were those who were beginning to worry that their leader was only interested in feathering his own nest

Mbeki should, however, be commended for keeping the IFP on board. There are no electoral or constitutional reasons that oblige him to allocate Cabinet seats to the IFP, except his desire to knit together a grand coalition that goes beyond the tripartite alliance. Given the magnitude of the ANC's victory in the elections, there will probably be further pressure from within the organisation to reward deserving cases. Mbeki will then have to come up with a convincing reason as to why he should retain IFP members in his Cabinet, especially if the tenuous relationship between the two parties in KwaZulu-Natal crumbles



Robbie Tshabalala

Thabo Mbeki

Buthelezi's predilection to criticise government policy when addressing his party faithful could cause some strain Mandela tolerated it Mbeki might not be so magnanimous. The IFP's role in government needs clearer definition. Are they an opposition party or part of the government? If part of government, are they free to criticise government policy?

Mbeki should also be congratulated for turning (in the circumstances) to his party's number two as his Deputy President. Jacob Zuma is not a star, but he is level-headed, loyal and dependable He is also Zulu-speaking, which is always a help, and as leader of the ANC in KwaZulu-Natal, Zuma helped douse hos-

THE CABINET AND WHAT THE *FM* THINKS ABOUT THEM

Jacob Zuma	Deputy President	Plus: Will do what Mbeki wants Minus. A bit disorganised	Buthelezi was not available
Essop Pahad	Minister in the Office of the President	Plus: Close to Mbeki [illegible] Rude and arrogant	Nobody knows Mbeki better
Thoko Didiza	Agriculture & Land Affairs	Plus: She was Hanekom's deputy Minus Black woman in a white male's domain	She appeals to youth and women
Ben Ngubane	Arts, Culture, Science & Technology	Plus: Noninterventionist Minister [illegible] Who is my boss?	Part of the IFP contingency
Ben Skosana	Correctional Services	Plus: At last sorting out Correctional Services Minus. Who is my boss?	IFP contingency
Patrick Lekota	Defence	Plus: Efficient, personable [illegible] Has he made up with his enemies in the party?	You can't keep a good man down
Kader Asmal	Education	Plus: Knowledgeable, witty, workaholic Minus: Shoots from the hip	Education needs exceptional talent
Mohammed Valli Moosa	Environmental Affairs & Tourism	Plus: Young, energetic [illegible] Party hack	Deserves promotion after good performance at Constitutional Development
Trevor Manuel	Finance	Plus: Has worked hard to earn confidence of "amorphous" markets Minus Supports the All Blacks	Continuity in economic policy
Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma	Foreign Affairs	Plus: Fearless; she speaks her mind [illegible] Undiplomatic, dogmatic	Recognition of her status in the party; close ally of the President
Manto Tshabalala-Msimang	Health	Plus: She's not Zuma; she listens Minus No fire in the belly	Mbeki serious about gender equality
Mangosuthu Buthelezi	Home Affairs	Plus: Hard worker [illegible] Will he get on with Mbeki after spat over deputy presidency?	He turned down deputy presidency
Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele	Housing	Plus: She's mastered her brief Minus Not firm on corruption	She's finally delivering and Mbeki wants faster service delivery
Joe Nhlanhla	Intelligence	Plus: Like all spooks, he doesn't say much [illegible] He hasn't given the impression he's in charge of his department	Long-serving loyal member of the ANC

Penuell Maduna	Justice & Constitutional Development	Plus: He's a lawyer Minus: Penchant for dubious consultants	One of the ANC's legal eagles
Membathisi Mdladlana	Labour	[illegible]	He's doing Thabo's bidding in what will prove the most difficult portfolio in the Cabinet
Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka	Mineral & Energy Affairs	Plus: Intelligent; fast learner Minus: Promotion came too soon	Proved herself adept at Trade & Industry
Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sydney Mufamadi	Provincial & Local Government	Plus: An easy enough brief for him to master Minus: Dour, uninspiring	Nkosazana Zuma snatched his sweets
Jeff Radebe	[illegible]	Plus: Hard worker [illegible]	Deserved a promotion after his performance at Public Works
Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi	Public Service & Administration	Plus: Passionate about her work Minus: Has she ever met a DG that she likes?	Hard work and commitment rewarded
Stella Sigcau	Public Works	[illegible] Public Works [illegible]	ANC has to stem UDM onslaught [illegible]
Steve Tshwete	Safety & Security	Plus: His star is so low it can only rise Minus: Good at wining, dining. A flatterer	After losing the race for the party chairmanship, Mbeki had to find something substantial for him
Ngconde Balfour	Sport & Recreation	[illegible]	Mbeki had to show that ordinary MPs can also be elevated
Alec Erwin	Trade & Industry	Plus: Good performer Minus: Thinks manufacturing creates jobs	Mbeki wants to signal that Gear remains in place
Dullah Omar	Transport	Plus: None that could be found [illegible] Lacklustre	After the high-profile departure of Jay Naidoo and Mac Maharaj, Mbeki had to keep Omar in the Cabinet
Ronnie Kasrils	Water Affairs & Forestry	Plus: Ebullient boytjie Minus: Not known to drink much water	From guns to water: shades of Magnus Malan
Zola Skweyiya	Welfare & Population Development	Plus: Safe pair of hands [illegible] Never got down to reforming the civil service	Loyal member of the ANC

CONTINUED →

tilities between the two parties A traditionalist, he worked hard to mend fences between the ANC and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, which soured in the wake of the Shell House shootings Zuma never misses royal functions, where he can be found dressed in tribal gear. Today Zwelithini has better relations with the ANC than with the IFP President Mandela made a point of visiting him to say goodbye before he retired The king has reciprocated by preaching peace and appealing to the two parties to co-operate in the delivery of services to his people.

But Zuma s leadership of the provincial ANC and his performance as MEC for economic affairs were not dazzling. His election as ANC deputy president was seen as a way of removing him from the province and making way for a younger, more ambitious leader in Sbu Ndebele

Zuma's performance as Deputy President will depend to a large extent on whether he can develop a working relationship with Essop Pahad, the Minister in the Office of the President, who's Mbeki's confidant Pahad is arguably the second most powerful person in the Cabinet after Mbeki Most of the powers that resided in the deputy presidency under Mbeki are now in his hands Mbeki trusts him absolutely Zuma will have to go along simply to get along, otherwise he could find himself out in the cold It will be Pahad's responsibility to coordinate the work of the Cabinet on behalf of his boss

Mbeki said this was not a new team but a "reshuffle". What was important was continuity Two key areas where continuity is most welcome is at Finance and Trade & Industry, where the incumbents Trevor Manuel and Alec Erwin have been re-appointed

"There won't be any change in economic policy," Mbeki said These sentiments were later echoed by Manuel Which means therefore that Gear is safe. But whether Mbeki's administration will show more commitment to its implementation remains to be seen

Analysts have been pondering whether Mbeki, in choosing his Cabinet, has gone for expertise or loyalty It seems to be a mixture of both, though loyalty was clearly a big plus.

The appointment of Kader Asmal as Education Minister has been widely acclaimed But he is also loyal, and has often been charged with important responsibilities by the party



Pallo Jordan

Ricardi Roberts

Steve Tshwete's promotion to the thankless Safety & Security portfolio can only be explained by the fact that he is a close ally of the President He has done nothing in sport to make a convincing case for his elevation In fact Judge de Villiers in the Sarfu case described Tshwete as someone who was not fit to hold public office. Mbeki obviously doesn't agree But crime is such a serious issue in this country, Tshwete won't have long to prove himself

By appointing Nkosazana Zuma at foreign affairs, Mbeki has replaced a weak Minister in Alfred Nzo with an inexperienced one Mbeki is a foreign affairs buff and likes to keep his hand on issues relating to the department He obviously wants an ally or Minister he can control But Zuma may just surprise the sceptics After years of incoherence, and some will say incompetence, under Nzo's stewardship, there is a case for a muscular foreign policy regime Zuma is not one to keep her opinions to herself She will differ with her boss if she has to

Stella Sigcau retains her Cabinet seat (at Public Works this time) not so much for her competence, but for the constituency she brings. As daughter of paramount chief Botha Sigcau in the Transkei she is critical to checking the rise of Bantu Holomisa's UDM in the Eastern Cape. That the UDM did not make the gains they expected in the Transkei is thanks to her and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

Two appointments that may have a huge bearing on government performance are Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi at Public Service & Administration, and Jeff Radebe at Public Enterprises. Both are senior members of the SA Communist Party, which has opposed certain key government policies, notably the reduction of the civil service and privatisation

Government has already stated its intention to drastically cut the public service and Fraser-Moleketi will be required to lead the charge

Radebe was doing well at Public Works where he was seen as delivering to the poor In his current portfolio he will have to work himself out of a job by privatising State enterprises Will these two Ministers listen to the party, or carry out their tasks with the zeal of (Gear) converts?

The big losers have to be Pallo Jordan, former Minister of Environmental Affairs & Tourism, and Derek Hanekom, the former Agriculture & Land Affairs Minister Jordan's sin appears to be the fact that he is his own man He first fell out with Mbeki when, as Minister of Broadcasting, he publicly refused Mbeki's request for a government news slot on the SABC He was subsequently dropped from the Cabinet But a huge outcry forced Mandela to bring him back. Jordan's omission suggests that his relations with Mbeki have yet to be repaired. And his absence means that Mbeki will have few intellectual equals around the Cabinet table.

Policy differences within Hanekom's department, especially with his former deputy, Thoko Didiza, who's now comfortably ensconced in his seat, seems to have been his undoing. His department was also said to have been too pale But he was a hardworking Minister committed to land reparation. Perhaps the idea of a white male handing out tracts of land to landless black peasants didn't sit well with certain people within the ANC.

The axing of Peter Mokaba, Jordan's deputy is surprising. It was Mokaba who, as ANC Youth League president, supported Mbeki's leadership ambitions Other constituencies followed suit. One would have thought that such support would have counted for something, especially now that Mbeki has reached the pinnacle of his ambitions Mokaba was seen as someone destined for higher things within the ANC That is now in doubt

But the other big losers are the SACP and Cosatu Senior members such as John Gomomo, Jeremy Cronin, Charles Nqakula and Connie September have been shipped to parliament where they become voting fodder and thus stripped of their independence Apart from Nqakula, former SACP secretary-general, who becomes Mbeki's parliamentary counsellor, none has been offered any position befitting their status within the tripartite alliance

The chiefs, too, who Mbeki went out of his way to court during the election campaign, have emerged empty handed Ironically, the only tribal chief in the Cabinet belongs to the IFP Chief Buthelezi

And the Cabinet still lacks the geographic spread of the ANC's support, reflecting instead a strong bias towards Gauteng and the Eastern Cape (and of course, KwaZulu-Natal through the three IFP Ministers) Some regions, like Mpumalanga, have no representatives at all

It can be argued that in choosing his team, Mbeki plumped for loyalty over expertise On the other hand it is a President s prerogative to appoint people he is comfortable with And they must be given the benefit of the doubt The proof of the pudding will, as they say be in the eating

Barney Mthombothi

FM 25/6/99

(304A)

SA lends weight to Congo peace talks

Dlamini-Zuma, Lekota leave for Lusaka to help thrash out ceasefire deal

Claire Pickard-Cambridge, and Sapa-AFP

SA MINISTERS who left for Lusaka last night are expected to add weight to moves towards a ceasefire in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it is proposed that troop withdrawals begin next month.

Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Defence Minister Patrick Lekota are to meet several of their Congolese counterparts after officials in the region reportedly reached a tentative agreement on dates for a troop withdrawal over a three-month period.

Many stumbling blocks remain and preparatory ceasefire agreements will have to be endorsed by heads of state at a summit meeting set for tomorrow in the Zambian capital. President Thabo Mbeki is expected to attend tomorrow, but Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and Congolese President Laurent Kabila cast doubt yesterday on whether the summit would go ahead.

After two days of consultations with Kabila in Zimbabwe, Mugabe said heads of state would not meet unless an "acceptable" draft ceasefire agreement had been drawn up. Kabila complained that there were too many draft ceasefire documents in circulation.

A draft agreement circulating in Lusaka and several European and African capitals early this week envisages the establishment of a joint military commission and observer groups within a week of the signing of the peace agreement. The ceasefire would take effect seven days after the signing on July 3.

The document sets out mobilisation of military observers within two weeks of the signing, but is vague about the release and exchange of prisoners of war, saying only this would take place over a period of "one to 12 months".

Deployment of a peacekeeping operation should take place before the withdrawal of foreign forces from Congolese territory although both steps would take place within one to three months after the peace agreement.

The United Nations (UN) is understood to be committed to providing the political, financial and logistical resources needed to support the peace effort. However, the document does not make it clear whether a peacekeeping operation would take place under UN auspices or what the number and nationality of troops deployed would be.

Outlining the principles of the agreement, it says that the signatories — all the warring parties, including Chad which has already withdrawn its troops — would have to allow the prompt treatment and evacuation of the wounded. Signatories should allow immediate access to the International Committee of the Red Cross, enabling the organisation to arrange the release of prisoners of war, recovery of the dead and treatment of the wounded.

All the parties would be compelled to facilitate humanitarian assistance through opening up "humanitarian corridors" and by providing enabling conditions for assistance to refugees.

The document envisages the rebels signing under the umbrella of the United Front, but it was not clear last night whether all three rebel factions would be attending. The Zambian government said on Wednesday that rebel leaders of two factions, Jean-Pierre Bemba and Emile Ilunga, were in the country.

A Congolese delegation from the Union for Democracy and Social Progress led by veteran opposition leader Etienne Tshisekedi is expected to attend, and representatives of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the UN and the Southern African Development Community are also in Zambia.

While officials are still thrashing out ceasefire modalities, sources say the main sticking point is determining which side should pull out first. The Congolese government and its southern African backers are insisting that Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi — who support the rebels — should withdraw their troops first because they "invaded" Congo, while the rebels and their allies prefer simultaneous withdrawal.

Walter Themba Thabethe, SA's high commissioner in Lusaka, said yesterday the atmosphere at the discussions was positive and there had not been any walkouts. He said it appeared that the summit would still take place.

However, Mugabe warned in Harare yesterday: "The war continues and to us the most important thing is that we strengthen our defence forces and strengthen our own lines of resistance and resist more ground being taken and occupied by the invading forces."

Zambian President Frederick Chiluba, assigned by regional leaders, the OAU and the UN to mediate peace in the Congo, is spearheading the preparations for the Lusaka talks.

More troops: Page 9

Debt relief plan robs Peter to bale out Paul

ST 27/6/99

The IMF's bullion sale spells disaster for gold producers in Africa, writes KUSENI DLAMINI

THE Group of Eight's recent endorsement at its Cologne summit of the International Monetary Fund's move to sell 10 percent, or 10 million ounces, of its gold reserves will have far-reaching effects on African countries that produce gold.

It is expected that IMF gold sales will begin in August, while the Bank of England's sale of an initial 25 tons of gold is set to begin on July 6.

Mining, and gold mining in particular, still has the potential to be an engine for Africa's delayed industrial revolution and progress. It is, by all accounts, one of Africa's few areas of hope for economic growth and prosperity.

Even Afro-pessimists agree that the continent has a comparative advantage. Miners have no alternative but to go to where the forces of nature have placed so many rich mineral deposits — that is, Africa.

For example, Southern Africa alone has 50 percent of the world's gold deposits, nearly 90 percent of its platinum and palladium, 85 percent of its chromium and 75 percent of its vanadium. Mining is indeed one of the sectors that can make a meaningful contribution to Africa's economic renaissance.

Foreign expenditure on mining exploration in the '70s and '80s was at best insignificant and at worst non-existent. In the '90s, however, spending on exploration in Africa has skyrocketed. Canada's Metals Economics Group mining exploration spending in Africa last year was $493,4-million (about R2,9-billion), or about 17,4 percent of the total global expenditure.

One does not need to be a hard-nosed Oxford economist to realise that expenditure on mining exploration is based on positive sentiments about the future of gold as a store of value.

The $30 fall in the price of bullion since May has not only sent negative sentiment to the market, it has resulted in a $6,8-billion (about R40,8-billion) loss in export earnings for gold-producing countries in sub-Sahara African, according to the World Gold Council.

The South African economy might lose $2,5-billion (about R15-billion) in export earnings this year alone. Gold earnings make up approximately 20 percent of SA's export earnings.

South Africa is not classified by the IMF as a heavily indebted poor country and will therefore not benefit directly from the debt relief initiative, assuming that any of the classified countries are to benefit.

Anglogold, the world's leading gold producer, supports debt relief for poor countries — as does the South African government — but says, rightly, that funding it through the sale of IMF gold reserves would have disastrous effects on the industry.

The IMF's move is at best misguided and at worst mischievous because its unintended consequences outweigh its intended results. It has had a negative impact not just on shareholder value but on important stakeholders such as workers and governments dependent on gold not only for export earnings but also for tax revenue and economic development.



RICH TREASURE: Gold still has the potential to be a trigger for Africa's progress and its delayed industrial revolution

Indeed, the World Gold Council notes that the intended effect of reducing debt has been outweighed by a loss in export earnings far greater than the size of the relief package.

A strategic response from mining companies, trade unions and African governments is required to counter the IMF and Western central banks' move to sell gold on a huge scale without considering the adverse consequences this would have for poor countries and gold mining as an industry.

Furthermore, African countries need to strengthen relations between business and government in general, and business and foreign and international trade policy in particular. Building successful economies in an increasingly competitive and globalising world requires it.

The sale of gold reserves is misguided on three main grounds.

First, there is no conclusive evidence that selling gold is the best possible way to fund debt relief. If anything, it is the worst possible way because it exacerbates the socio-economic and political problems of debt-ridden countries by robbing them of an important source of tax revenue, foreign exchange and export earnings as well as employment and infrastructure development.

Second, gold-producing countries and companies from the Third World, and especially from sub-Saharan Africa, should have been consulted on ways to relieve the debt burden. The failure to do so smacks of the northern hemisphere's classic patronising approach to the southern hemisphere, where the former knows what is good for the latter and that what is good for the North is good for the South.

Third, the developed countries were naive not to have used this opportunity to show their political will and commitment to debt relief by putting their money where their mouths were.

It is indisputable that debt relief is an important prerequisite for the foundation for development to be laid in the Third World. It goes without saying that, like anything else, it can only work if it is properly planned, designed, financed and implemented.

It matters much how debt relief is financed, as indeed it mattered much how the Marshall Plan to reconstruct post-war Europe and Japan was financed. It will determine the extent to which debt relief becomes a success, especially in Africa. If it is approached as just another accounting exercise or it undermines sectors capable of making an even more important contribution — as the IMF approach seems to do — then it will not succeed.

Selling gold reserves to help heavily indebted poor countries is tantamount to robbing Peter to pay Paul because it essentially robs struggling gold-producing African countries to ostensibly help other poor nations.

The IMF's initiative on debt relief has been nothing but a dismal failure since its inception in 1996. So far only three countries have felt any real relief.

If rich countries are genuinely committed to debt relief and sustainable development in the Third World, they should, *inter alia*, do the following:

First, they must be prepared to finance relief from their own coffers.

Second, profits made by the IMF and the World Bank should be used to finance debt relief. There can be no development without industrialisation in Africa.

Third, the IMF and Western governments could borrow money from the international financial markets to finance debt relief.

The mining industry should be nurtured to unleash its maximum potential in the industrialisation and diversification of Africa's economies. The sooner the IMF and Western central banks realise and accept that, the better are the prospects for regional prosperity and security in Africa.

● *Dlamini, a Rhodes Scholar, is a lecturer in the department of international relations at Wits University*

Zuma announces first four appointments

(304A) BD 28/6/99

The new ambassadors include two career diplomats and two former activists

Stephen Laufer

A KEY appointment to Nigeria by SA since Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma took office seems calculated to bolster the peace effort in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Bangumzi Sifingo, who becomes the high commissioner to Nigeria, represented the SA Congress of Trade Unions in north America from 1988 to 1991.

This followed a spell as the union body's international officer.

Sifingo subsequently headed the international section of the Congress of SA Trade Unions and was an executive member of the union federation.

Nigeria has become a key diplomatic posting since the west African country's return to democracy earlier this year.

While attending the inauguration of President Thabo Mbeki, Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo said he would be prepared to contribute troops to a peacekeeping force in the Democratic Republic of Congo, should they be required.

The four new diplomats will head key SA missions, including embassies in Zimbabwe, Canada and the Ukraine.

The new ambassadors include two long-serving career diplomats and two with a background in the diplomatic activities of the liberation movements.

The new high commissioner to Zimbabwe is Jerry Ndou, a former special assistant to the Northern Province finance MEC and a member of the African National Congress's international department, which was integrated into foreign affairs.

He was a member of Parliament's foreign affairs committee while an MP and chaired the committee which established the national youth commission.

For Andre Jaquet, the posting as high commissioner to Canada is his second as head of mission there.

Previously he headed SA consular activities in Montreal and has also served the foreign affairs department in Washington, London and Paris.

Before his most recent position as head of North American affairs in Pretoria, he was the ambassador to Switzerland.

Jaquet was also a member of the team which negotiated Namibian independence.

Delray van Tonder becomes ambassador in Kiev.

He has served in Washington, where he completed several courses in diplomacy at prestigious US universities.

The new ambassadors — who are the first to be sent abroad since Mbeki's government — include two long-serving career diplomats and two with a background in the diplomatic activities of the liberation movements.



Family members of four murdered ethnic Albanian civilians from the Lekay family hold crosses during their funeral in Cerovik, near Pec, in northwestern Kosovo, Saturday. Their long-dead bodies were found shot inside the family's house when Mane and Ana Lekay arrived home from a refugee camp earlier in the week. The Lekays are among the many Catholics who are part of the mainly-Muslim ethnic Albanian community in Kosovo. The Lekays believe that Serbian soldiers killed their family members in early May.
PIC: AP

Forward to better life

This is an edited version of the highlights of President Thabo Mbeki's speech at the opening of Parliament on Friday

WE are on course. Steadily, the dark clouds of despair are lifting, giving way to our season of hope. Our country which, for centuries, has bled from a thousand wounds is progressing towards its healing.

At the dawn of a new life, our practical actions must ensure that none can challenge us when we say – we are a nation at work to build a better life!

When millions of our people went to vote three weeks ago in peaceful elections that were free and fair, they guaranteed the permanence of the foundations from which we will advance to meet this objective.

To these masses we owe the obligation to recommit the Government to the construction of a people-centred society. This I am happy to do with all the authority at my command.

This society must guarantee the dignity of every citizen on the basis of a good quality of life for every woman, man and child, without regard to race, colour or disability.

It must be sustained by a growing economy capable of extending sustainable and equitable benefits to all our people.

This is not a task that can be carried out by the Government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity faces the entirety of our people.

It is a national task that calls for the mobilisation of the whole nation into united people's action, into a partnership with Government for progressive change and a better life for all, for a common effort to build a winning nation.

One of the central features of the brutish society we seek to bring to an end is the impermissible level of crime and violence. Acting together with the people, we will heighten our efforts radically to improve the safety and security of all our citizens.

This will entail a variety of initiatives focussed on ensuring the effective implementation of the national crime prevention strategy. Coordination of all security organs will be improved in accordance with the provisions of this strategy.

Legislation will also be introduced to ensure that we can deal mercilessly with all crimes involving guns, including the illegal possession of firearms, the killing of police officers, corruption within the criminal justice system and the intimidation of witnesses.

Measures will be taken to strengthen the community police fora to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve cooperation between the people and law enforcement agencies.

We will also adopt this same approach of partnership with the people in the fight against corruption. In this regard, we must ensure that we pass the Open Democracy Act and move speedily to ensure the implementation of the provisions relating to the protection of whistle-blowers.

The coming into force of the Public Finance Management Act will also increase our capacity to ensure proper control and accountability with regard to public finances.

New steps will be taken to ensure the enforcement of the Code of Conduct for Public Servants as well as the proposals that emerged from government and national anti-corruption conferences.

The South African Revenue Service, police service and the Director of Public Prosecutions will further strengthen their cooperation in the fight against financial and economic crimes.

The caring society of which we have spoken must, of course, successfully address the challenge of meeting the material needs of our people.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) programme were implemented by our first democratic government to achieve socioeconomic transformation and macroeconomic stability.

The RDP and Gear will remain the basic policy objectives of the new Government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.

At the same time, we will actively address any remaining impediments to investment and job creation. Where the structural changes already achieved allow us to evolve new policies, we will do so.

Investment in the public sector is closely associated with the restructuring of state assets. Progress in this area has been made over the last five years.

We are now at a stage where further important restructuring can and will take place. Some of the most important developments with regard to the restructuring of state assets will relate to Transnet.

In part, the priority given to this corporation arises from the fact that the transport and logistic system it contains underpins the success of other major investment projects.

These include the spatial development initiatives, industrial development zones, cross-border initiatives, industrial participation programmes arising out of the defence procurement as well as the overall export drive.

Similarly, the liquid fuels and petro-chemical industry will be given priority, with the ministries of minerals and energy, trade and industry and public enterprises acting together.

The outcome of these processes will result in adding a highly competitive dimension to the productive economies of Southern Africa.

The development of small, medium and micro enterprises also remains a top priority of Government. Accordingly, new measures will have to be instituted to record more success than has been the case to date.

The Government will also place more emphasis on the development of a cooperative movement to combine the financial, labour and other resources among the masses of the people, rebuild our communities and engage the people in their own development through sustainable economic activity.

Job creation, the opening up of opportunities for all our people to earn an honest livelihood, as well as the protection of the rights of all our working people, remain matters of critical concern to the Government.

We must also ensure that education and training constitute the decisive drivers in our effort to build a winning nation.

The Government will therefore intensify its focus on education so that we succeed in our effort to produce an educated and appropriately skilled population.

The promotion and protection of the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all our people must also occupy a central place in the work of the Government.

For us to succeed in our work, both as a Government and a people, will require that we approach the tasks ahead with all due seriousness and a sense of discipline.

It will require that all of us defend the freedoms and the system of governance guaranteed and created by our Constitution, underpinned by the understanding that the people are the final guarantors of our democracy, the subject of all government policies and their own liberators.

As the people went to the polls earlier this month, they expected that the Government they would elect would work selflessly to respond to their needs and aspirations, bearing in mind resource limitations.

We will not disappoint that expectation.

Mbeki unveils master plan to hit crime and boost jobs

ARG 25/6/99

(304A) (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President Thabo Mbeki today opened Parliament with a master plan for reconstruction, crime and job creation.

It includes a new national priority crimes unit, special intervention in high-crime areas such as Mitchell's Plain, and a high-powered international investment council.

In his first address as head of state to the new National Assembly and National Council of Provinces, Mr Mbeki urged mobilisation of the whole nation in partnership with the Government, to "draw on the energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something that will surely be new, good and beautiful".

He promised "radically" heightened efforts to improve safety and security.

A special, adequately staffed and equipped investigation unit is to be set up urgently to deal with all national priority crimes, including police corruption.

"I have directed that the ministers of safety and security, defence, intelligence, justice, home affairs and finance must finalise all outstanding matters which relate to the activation of this unit within a fortnight."

Co-ordination of all security organs would be improved in line with the National Crime Prevention Strategy.

Mr Mbeki said new recruits with the requisite levels of education were to be brought into the police and there would be human resources development in the police service to improve its effectiveness.

New recruits would be trained to take up posts at all levels, including senior management, as soon as possible.



Salute: President Mbeki, with his wife Zanele on the right, listens to the national anthem on the steps of the National Assembly today. Behind him are Deputy President Jacob Zuma and Speaker Frene Ginwala

Police staff regulations would be reviewed to ensure proper promotion and deployment, "taking into account their competence, honesty and dedication and the need to end racial and gender imbalances in the police".

Mr Mbeki said new laws would enable the Government to deal mercilessly with all crimes involving guns, including illegal possession of firearms, killing of police, corruption in the criminal justice system and intimidation of witnesses.

A multi-disciplinary approach involving members of affected communities would be used in high-crime areas, including Mitchell's Plain.

The approach of partnership with the nation would be used in the fight against corruption, with steps including the approval of the Open Democracy Bill and the protection of whistle-blowers.

"I would like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the commitment of our Government to honest, transparent and accountable government and our determination to act against anybody who transgresses these norms."

The Government was considering special commercial crime courts to deal with white-collar crime.

Turning to the economy, Mr Mbeki said the reconstruction and development programme and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) programme remained the basic policy of the new government.

At the same time, he committed his administration to clearing impediments to investment and creation of jobs.

The Government planned incentives to encourage saving.

Improvement in deficit and debt ratios opened the way for further public-sector capital spending.

Mr Mbeki announced that Swissair had won the bid to acquire 20% of South African Airways, at a price of R1,4-billion.

He said an international investment

To page 2

Mbeki unveils plan to cut crime and create jobs

(304A) (304A)

From page 1

council was to be set up, including leading players in the global economy "driven by a passionate desire to ensure we succeed as a country".

The council would work with the president, leading business people and trade unionists to ensure South Africa attracted foreign investment, said Mr Mbeki.

Four working groups would be established to bring the Government together with big business, the black business sector, commercial agriculture and the trade unions.

New measures were needed to develop small, medium-sized and micro-enterprises, and decisions to encourage this would be announced within three months, the Assembly was told.

While discounting claims that labour laws acted against job creation, he pledged to "address" perceptions which could damage efforts to create employment.

Labour law issues that were to be discussed with labour and business included probation, remedies for unfair dismissal, dismissals for operational requirements and certain conditions of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

Implementation of job summit resolutions was to be stepped up, he said.

Mr Mbeki announced that Minister of Trade and Industry Alec Erwin was to make immediate recommendations to the Government about who should be allowed to run the national lottery, and pledged that the matter would be resolved in the next 14 days.

A rural development programme bringing together all government departments and spheres of government, including traditional leaders, was to be implemented.

The Government was to continue to re-prioritise public spending to improve the safety net for the poorest in society.

Special programmes were to be introduced to improve the quality of life for various sectors, including women and the disabled.

The Government would intensify its focus on education.

Mr Mbeki said the Government would also focus on the African Renaissance, "ensuring the next century evolves as the African century".

Committing South Africa to contributing to the resolution of conflicts on the African continent, Mr Mbeki said that, where necessary, the services of retired presidents such as Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere and Ketumile Masire would be called upon.

Moss wheels in to attack

CT 29/6/99

PARAPLEGIC African National Congress MP Maxwell Moss showed yesterday that physical disability need not stand in the way of a good political scrap.

He used his National Assembly maiden speech — which in parliamentary tradition is usually non-contentious — for a no-holds-barred attack on the Democratic/New National Party coalition in the Western Cape.

He delivered the speech from his motorised wheelchair, in the space in front of the speaker's podium, and used a lapel microphone while a helper held up and turned the pages of his speech.

At first he was met with respectful silence from the opposition benches, but when he claimed that the ANC had won the "majority" of votes in the Western Cape, that it had been excluded from the coalition, and that the DP and NNP were polarising racial groups in the province, opposition interjections grew louder.

"They stole the people's mandate," he said. "They returned to their egocentric world and forgot the people out there."

As the heckling intensified, one of Moss' ANC colleagues rose to ask Speaker Frene Ginwala whether it was in order for DP leader Tony Leon to interrupt a member making a maiden speech.

Ginwala explained that an MP claiming protection in a maiden speech was not expected to be provocative.

This did not dampen Moss' vigour.

"We warn the NNP and DP that even in the Western Cape the people have spoken. We will not tolerate suffering of the people again: Together we will stand and together we will fight for a better life for all."

He also called on provincial Premier Gerald Morkel to create a section in his office to watch over the interests of the disabled and the youth.

He was warmly applauded by his party colleagues as he steered himself back to his seat. — Sapa

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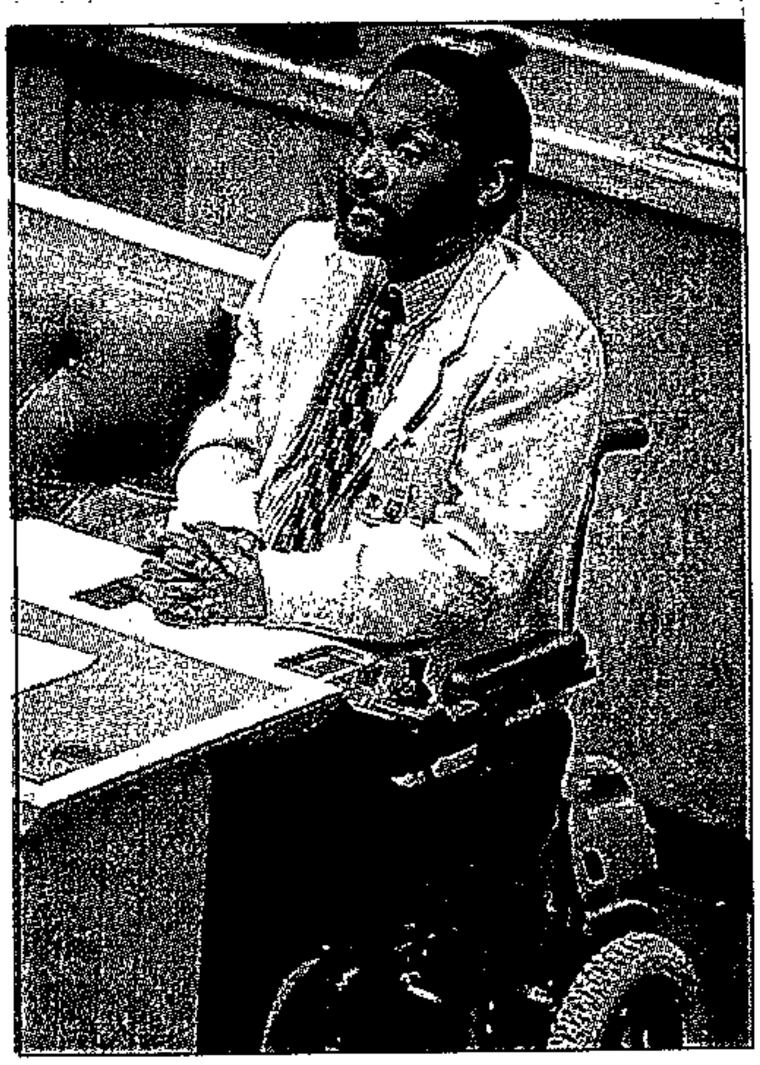


ON THE ATTACK: Maxwell Moss in Parliament yesterday, after his maiden speech.

TOM HOOD

Council trucks used to help land thieves

ST(CM) 1999 (307)

A R12-million industrial estate planned by German investors has been stymied by a land "invasion" in which Cape Town council workers used municipal trucks to move building materials for 2 000 squatters.

A secret inquiry into the episode at Monwood, Philippi, on the Cape Flats has ended with the bare disclosure that "appropriate action" had been taken.

But Kendall Kaveney, director of water and waste services, refused to say what type of action.

He confirmed cleansing department trucks transported building materials and other goods for the squatters.

The council now apparently wants to stop the use of municipal vehicles to take employees to and from work. But the clampdown needed union approval because the transport perk had become a right.

The "invasion" took place in February and truck numbers were taken by Helmut Ernst, representing the German investors.

"The invasion was extremely well planned and orchestrated and 200 shacks were built in only two days," he said.

Squatters were "sold" plots for R200 to R300 by unknown people.

"Now they say they paid for the land and won't move peacefully," said Ernst, who plans to apply for an eviction order.

"We cannot have a totally lawless occupation. We have tried to negotiate with the council and community but nobody is interested."

The 20ha site was bought in 1984.

"We were looking at spending at least R12-million and then building factories to employ skilled people from Mitchells Plain." But building was delayed by a sewerage dispute.

In 1986 the P W Botha government secretly rezoned industrial land between Mitchells Plain and Monwood and dumped squatters from Hout Bay.

This had reduced the industrial area from 250ha to 20ha and marginalised the industrial estate, said Ernst.

"Our services are being vandalised because we cannot police it," Ernst said.

He said fencing, poles and water-supply equipment worth thousands of rands had been smashed or stolen and sold as scrap.

A block-making plant had been dismantled and kilns imported from Germany destroyed.

"This investment was made in good faith, made economic sense and made sense for social responsibility. But who is going to be attracted to open a business?

"When I talk to people in Germany about investing here, they say I must be joking. There is no law and order and your rights to property ownership can be taken away."

Jurassic Parliament



The election has rescued three apartheid dinosaurs from political extinction, write
Mungo Soggot *and* **Evidence wa ka Ngobeni**

(304A) M+G 4-10/6/99

South Africa's answer to Ross Perot, Louis Luyt, is heading for Parliament as the sole voice of his fledgling Federal Alliance party. On Thursday night it appeared Luyt would be the only representative from his party who will start commuting between its Ellis Park headquarters in Johannesburg and the National Assembly in Cape Town. At a push he might be joined by the New National Party defector, Kraai van Niekerk.

If the former fertiliser king's closest advisers are to be believed, Luyt's Achilles heel in Parliament will be his inability to lie — not his track record as one of South Africa's most controversial businessmen, his bad temper and his fondness for the politically incorrect.

Luyt's right-hand man, former National Party MP Brigadier General Kobus Bosman, said of the rugby supremo: "Dr Luyt has one bad political weakness and that is that he cannot tell a lie. The fact is that Dr Luyt is one of the most honest people I've met."

Bosman, who himself was banking on a seat in the Gauteng legislature, said of the party's dismal performance, "Of course we are disappointed," but he sought solace in the fact Luyt will now be on the opposition benches.

"He's got such a personality, he's always a winner. We did not really win here," he said, gesturing around the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) counting hall, "but we didn't lose. I think we have planted a seed."

Bosman was scathing about the other opposition parties' failure to join hands, reserving most of his contempt for the NNP, which he quit in February. Bosman said the NNP's Gauteng leader, Johann Killian, had passed him in the IEC headquarters in Pretoria and said: "You and Mr Luyt have succeeded in fucking up the NP."

"My reply to him was that he had done a better job."

Bosman said of the other opposition parties: "They have been fishing in the same old fishing pool, while the ocean was out there ready to be taken."

Bosman declined to disclose how much money Luyt had spent on his campaign, but party officials have privately estimated R12-million.

Although Luyt has dubbed himself a liberal, he has thrown his weight behind the death penalty, chain gangs and the creation of a Christian state. However, he has mocked the idea of a *volkstaat*, and likes to remind critics that he flouted the ban on the African National Congress in 1988 by talking to the liberation movement about the possible desegregation of rugby.

After succeeding in the fertiliser business, Luyt founded Luyt Breweries in 1971, bagging 16% of the market in one year. Since the mid-1980s, however, he has concentrated on developing his stranglehold on South African rugby.

The former Bophuthatswana homeland president and the leader of the United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP), Lucas Mangope, is also going to the National Assembly.

Mangope, making a new appearance on the political scene since his regime was destroyed by angry youths in 1993, proved that you can't keep a good (or bad) man down, when his party won votes in the North-West province.

Last week he was cleared of fraud and corruption charges involving millions of rands.

The UCDP is now the official opposition to the ANC in the North-West.

From the thorn-tree-covered valleys of Lobatsi, to Koster outside Rustenburg and Mmabatho, Mangope was a crowd-puller in the run-up to the elections.

Last Saturday, he joined a church congregation at Mmabatho stadium to pray for victory.

However, on Wednesday Mangope drew little attention from rural voters during his tour around the province's polling stations.





Reviving fortunes: Louis Luyt (left), Lucas Mangope (top right) and Amichand Rajbansi (above) will take seats in the National Assembly. PHOTOGRAPH: NADINE HUTTON

He cast his vote in the tribal office of his home village of Motswedi, outside Zeerust, arriving in his Volkswagen Golf with his wife Leah. There were no cheers or vivas.

Even his brother, who is the chief of the Motswedi, left before his older brother arrived.

However, Chief AM Mangope said his people "naturally" voted for the UCDP.

After casting his vote, Mangope stood alone, waiting for his bodyguards to arrive to start his tour of polling stations. He displayed little charisma on the tour. At Zeerust, he walked past a queue of voters and into the polling station without attempting to speak to a single person. A white woman wished him luck as she passed him to make her mark inside the ball.

Party insiders say Mangope was aware that in order to perform well at the polls he had to overcome the deep distrust most voters had for him in 1994.

"He has a good chance of winning this election here and governing well compared to what the ANC did," said a matric student, who voted for the first time on Wednesday.

Another student, who took part in the destruction of Mangope's regime and is now a loyal member of the UCDP, said he chose the party because the ANC did nothing for him.

"People say Mangope's support base is limited to elderly people around here, but that is not true. He has been gaining a lot of support lately," he said.

A Motswedi woman recalled the benefits Mangope had brought to the former Bophuthatswana. He had built roads and schools, she said.

As Joe Serote, who was prevented by his mother from participating in the 1993 coup, said: "Things are different now — Mangope may take the province once again because people who had jobs lost them when the ANC took over."

Meanwhile, the leader of the Minority Front, Amichand Rajbansi, will take a seat in the National Assembly after collecting enough votes from the KwaZulu-Natal Indian community, the constituency he served as an MEC in the provincial legislature.

Rajbansi formerly served in the House of Delegates, the Indian house of the discredited apartheid-era Tricameral Parliament.

MAIL & GUARDIAN
June 4 to 10 1999

ANC crosses two-thirds threshold

South Africa's second democratic election saw the virtual extinction of the party that invented apartheid, writes **Howard Barrell**

The African National Congress scored an emphatic victory at the polls this week, soaring beyond the two-thirds majority threshold in an election widely acclaimed by international observers.

And in one of the most remarkable recoveries in modern South African politics, the Democratic Party fought back from obscurity to seize the mantle of official opposition in the National Assembly. The DP was set to gain well in excess of 25 seats.

In two provinces, the races to form governments were neck-and-neck affairs between the ANC and its main rivals — the Inkatha Freedom Party in KwaZulu-Natal and the New National Party in the Western Cape. But by late Thursday, the ANC was showing signs of pulling ahead in both provinces.

Elsewhere, the ANC scored decisive victories -- notably in the Northern Cape, where the NNP had boasted a strong following.

Computer problems at the election centre in Pretoria delayed the counting of votes from about midday onwards on Thursday. By late afternoon only about 60% of votes were available.

ANC president, and South Africa's president-in-waiting, Thabo Mbeki, said his party had scored an "unequivocal victory".

The other main feature of South Africa's second democratic election was the virtual extinction of the offspring of the party that invented apartheid and ruled South Africa for 46 years – the National Party.

The DP vaporised the NNP's support base in Gauteng, mopping up a string of once safe NNP seats in some of the most conservative parts of South Africa's wealthiest province.

The NNP's Gauteng leader, Johan Killian, conceded the DP had trounced his party in once conservative strongholds. "They [the DP] have been clobbering us where the Conservative Party used to clobber us," he said.

Both the NNP and the DP said the ANC vote in Gauteng had been buoyed by the parachuting in of former trade union leader Mbhazima Shilowa as premier candidate in the province.

The DP's leader in the province, Peter Leon, said the ANC would not have done as well had it retained controversial Mathole Motshekga as premier.

Tony Leon, national leader of the DP and the man set to take over as official leader of the opposition in the National Assembly, was in triumphant mood when he visited the Pretoria election centre on Thursday.

"We've overtaken the Nats!" he jeered as he grasped outstretched hands from well-wishers, among them Lord David Steele, a pre-eminent British liberal and election observer.

Leon plans a series of meetings in coming days to set out a strategy to oppose the ANC and bring together opposition parties in a form of anti-ANC co-operation in Parliament.

Party officials are talking of a "repositioning of the party" to equip it to consolidate its increased support at this election among the coloured and Indian communities and to extend its reach into the black community.

The one blot on the DP's landscape late yesterday came from the IFP's vote, which was creeping dangerously upwards towards the DP's figure, seeming to endanger the DP's grasp on the position of official opposition. Leon's aides were privately anxious about this unexpected development.

One of the parties Leon is eying as a possible alliance partner, the United Democratic Movement, on Thursday ruled out any official ties with any other opposition parties.

NNP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk, however, left the door open for co-operation with the DP, saying his party was willing to "strategically co-operate with other opposition parties, even where our approach differs".

Van Schalkwyk said the NNP had "paid the price for inclusivity" and he implicitly accused the DP of having plundered its traditional support base by moving to the right.

Sheila Camerer, parliamentary leader of the NNP, was particularly blunt about her party's performance. "It's a very bad day for us," she said.

Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen, whose party's share of the vote dipped dangerously, spurned Leon's idea of a "Codesa of the opposition", saying he feared such a public affair would merely lead to "grandstanding by political leaders".

He favoured quiet meetings between opposition party leaders aimed at developing discreet, limited co-operation between parties on a piecemeal basis around specific issues.

In the Eastern Cape, the ANC beat off the challenge of Bantu Holomisa's UDM, despite the former ANC firebrand's loyal support in the former Transkei homeland. But the UDM managed to secure the position of official opposition in the province and was set to gain nine seats in the National Assembly.

In the Free State, the ANC was edging towards an 80% majority, with the DP trailing behind it, with less than 8%, as the likely official opposition in the province.

In Mpumalanga, the ANC topped 80%, with the DP again lined up to become the official, if tiny, opposition in this ANC stronghold. The ANC pulled off this decisive victory despite the recent firing of Mathews Phosa, its popular former premier.

The ANC scored its most overwhelming landslide in the Northern Province, with nearly 85% of the vote by late Thursday afternoon. Yet again, the ANC will face the DP across the provincial chamber.

The surprise of the North-West contest was the strong showing by former homeland leader Lucas Mangope.

Dr Brigalia Bam, chair of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), expressed her relief at the smooth running of the poll, which saw an extraordinarily high voter turnout in some regions well above 80%.

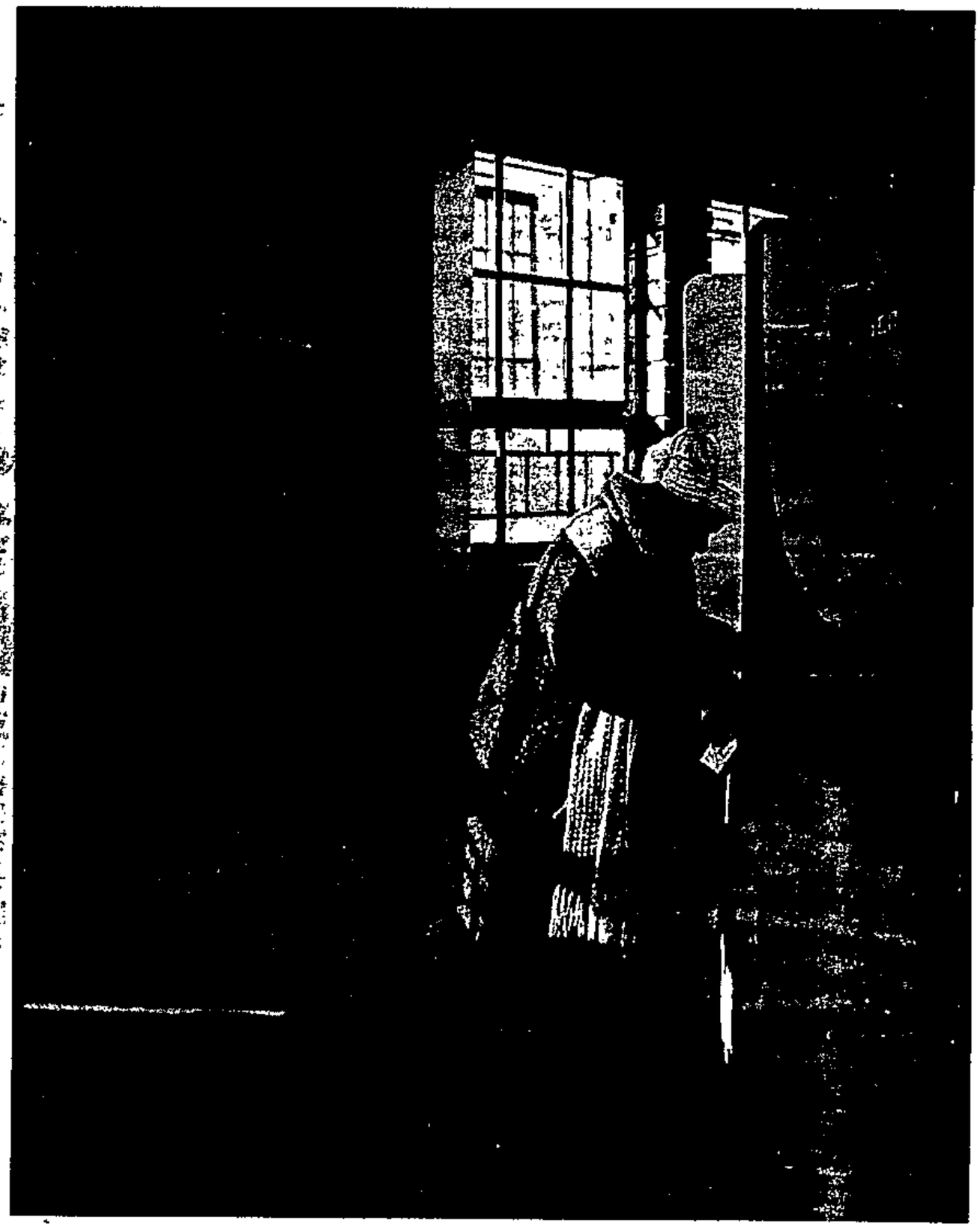
The success of the poll was particularly sweet for her and her IEC colleagues because of the recent controversial departure of her predecessor, Judge Johann Kriegler.

The two-thirds majority has been identified by both local opposition parties and the international investment community as the key issue in the poll. In response, Mbeki has sought to dispel fears that his party is bent on changing the Constitution.

Bishop Stanley Mogoba, Pan Africanist Congress president, whose party's support was nearly halved, announced his intention to step down late on Thursday.

But Van Schalkwyk, whose party suffered even greater punishment at the polls, brushed off suggestions that he might step down and that senior members of his party, who had spoken to the *Mail & Guardian*, were deeply dissatisfied with his helmsmanship. "I've not met those people," he said of his critics in the party at a press conference in Pretoria where he claimed that he was in full control of the NNP.

Former president and NP leader FW de Klerk said his party's performance had been "a big disappointment and a setback for non-racial politics".





The old and the beautiful: South Africans of all ages turned out in extraordinary numbers to vote. PHOTOGRAPHS: JACQUI PILE AND RUTH MOTAU

Weighty win a comfort or a threat?

(304A) M+G 4-10/6/99

The size of the ANC's electoral victory need not be an issue of burning concern, writes **Richard Calland**



All for the ANC: President Nelson Mandela and president-elect Thabo Mbeki cast their votes on election day. PHOTOGRAPHS: AP

So, it's all over. And frankly, thank goodness for that. Elections are a necessary -- though often engaging — evil. However, it was not that this campaign consumed so much energy and resources, or even that it was so dull at times, but that its superficiality was so depressingly bestial.

"Hang murderers! Kill the rapists!" screamed the lamp-posts, representing the not-so-thin edge of a thick and ghastly wedge; next time round it will be "Chop off the hands of thieves!" Most of the opposition parties appeared to have entered a bloodthirsty competition to prove to the electorate that they were the toughest on crime and criminals; an appalling contest of machismo rather than of ideas.

At least British Prime Minister Tony Blair has always proclaimed that he is "tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime". Here the cause — poverty — and the vexed questions around how best to alleviate it were invariably conspicuous by their absence. To the extent that the African National Congress, at least, sought to confront the real policy challenges, it deserved to win. Is the fact that it won so well a comfort or a threat? That, to many, becomes the important question for the future.

The short and trite answer is to say, well, that depends on how the ANC uses - or abuses — its power. The longer and more profound answer requires an examination of the condition of the democratic polity within which the ANC will exercise its replenished authority to govern.

But first the easy bit: it was fair, it was free, and it was pretty calm and peaceful. To those looking from afar, it will confirm their view that South Africa is a consolidated and fully functioning democracy.

This exposes a central problem with elections in transitional societies: the actual electoral process can eclipse the more fundamental democratic challenges. The fact that things went smoothly does not alter the fact that, according to our attitudinal surveys, one in four South Africans would be prepared to intimidate a political opponent in his or her community. South Africa is still a deeply wounded and violent society.

Nor does it alter the reality that a culture of rights still needs to be built to give life to the values that underpin the Constitution; that the efficacy of the various independent institutions of democratic governance is clouded by uncertainty about their role and funding, and their relationship with the government still uneasy; that the system of representative democracy that has been created is obscure to many, rendering meaningless the constitutional articulation that South Africa's is a participatory as well as a representative democracy.

For those who are worried by the size of the ANC's victory, it should be a comfort to recognise that a large majority reduces the likelihood of a populist shift in ANC policy-making. Capital punishment, for example, is less likely to return because the ANC won so decisively.

Indeed, the central irony of the campaign was that while the main opposition parties eagerly sought to make the two-thirds majority "threat" a major source of anti-ANC votes, it is the ANC that is the more likely to protect the human rights basis of the Constitution against those ignorant fools who believe that it is the Bill of Rights rather than ineffective police detection that explains why criminals run amok.

All of this exposes the deceit of liberal democracy, according to which a free and fair election and multi-party democracy is all you need. South Africa has just proved that it has both. The fact that the opposition parties performed so ineptly that they were unable to capitalise on the decline in individual identification with the ANC after 1994 does not alter the fact that they had a full opportunity to compete.

Some liberals are honest enough to admit that it is not the taking part but the winning that matters; that it is the rotation of power - or at least the real possibility of it — that is both significant and necessary.

Even ex-liberals such as the born-again conservative Tony Leon speak in these terms. Towards the end of the campaign, in a desperate attempt to convince the Democratic Party's former core constituency, and apparently himself, that he is still a liberal, Leon argued that the ANC "is affronted that there should exist in this society a genuine, confident, unapologetic alternative".

No doubt this would have attracted the 10 (out of 12) white Johannesburg golfers who on Wednesday told the BBC that the election was about "strong opposition". But did his reactionary "fight back" campaign achieve anything other than an increase in the (still modest) percentage of the popular vote cast for the DP?

Put in wider terms: did the pluralism of the election campaign serve the needs of the majority of South Africans? Did the ostensible array of choices serve the quest for the right policies to reduce unemployment and alleviate poverty? If so, it is very difficult to see how.

The Constitution is, in the words of Constitutional Court Judge Kate O'Regan, a document of transformation, at the heart of which lie various extraordinary social and economic rights. The government is enjoined to progressively realise the rights to adequate food and housing, health care, education and social security. These rights are unique to South Africa and set an appropriate, but demanding challenge.

The grand dilemma for the government is how to increase power without diluting accountability in the face of such challenges.

Hence, the search for "strong opposition" entirely misses the point. The liberal notion that rotation of power is good for democracy needs to be subjected to serious scrutiny. Why should the rotation of power produce either good, accountable government or good, clear, long-sighted policy-making? The comparative experience suggests the opposite.

My former boss, head of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) Wilmot James, got into an unedifying row with president-elect Thabo Mbeki at the end of last year when his view of the Mbeki presidency as likely to be "tougher and [yet] more obscure" leaked out.

The clumsiness of the expression and his handling of the response to the assault from Mbeki's office colluded with the context to permit a solely negative interpretation. I prefer a more positive one: modern government is about being decisive — and tough — in the face of powerful countervailing forces. Whether you achieve that objective by obscurity or by transparency in your political management is, of course, another matter.

Hence, the test for the next five years has two distinctly uncertain dimensions.

The first uncertainty is whether the maturation of the new system of democratic governance with its bright but troubled array of state-of-the-art democratic institutions, is deep enough to secure accountability in the use of power.

The second asks whether the electoral authority that has been conferred upon the ANC is matched by sufficient power in government to achieve what the Constitution demands of it by way of radical social and economic transformation.

Thus, the weight of the ANC's electoral victory need not be an issue of burning concern. The ANC is, conclusively, still in office. Now, however, it must prove that is in power as well.

Richard Calland currently heads PIMS, Idasa's Political Information & Monitoring Service

Too little land, too late

M+G 11-17/6/99 (306)

The government may not like it, but land invasion is a reality in South Africa, writes **Louis Freedberg**



It's a hard life: Henry Rashalala lives in the Monwabesi informal settlement, on land that is earmarked for a middle-income housing development. PHOTOGRAPH: RODGER BOSCH

Isaac Williams, a land invasion officer for the Tygerberg municipality, has an uncanny ability to spot an unauthorised shack amid the hodge-podge squatter settlements in Khayelitsha and surrounding townships.

To help him do the job, the city has set up a 50-person land invasion unit which patrols the townships on a daily basis, painting yellow numbers on shacks and tearing down those that spring up overnight.

"There are five new shacks coming up," Williams says, pointing to some cardboard and corrugated iron shacks in the Mfuleni section of Khayelitsha as he patrols with members the unit. Some carry plastic shields, tear gas, guns and batons.

"They weren't here late last night when we were patrolling here, so now we're coming to break them down."

The establishment of the unit, and a similar one by the Cape Town city council, dramatises the failure of the government to meet the burgeoning housing needs in Cape Town and other urban areas.

With an estimated shortage of three million homes, and the migration of some 300 000 rural dwellers into urban areas each year, squatters like 25-year-old Portia Butela Bukula say they had no choice but to occupy land illegally.

"We came here in 1997 when it was just veld here, and there was nothing here at all," says Bukula, who has two children and was living with friends in the Harari section of Khayelitsha across the street.

But then relatives of her friends showed up, and she was evicted. "They told me I had to find my own place."

Bukula then built her shack on what authorities said was a choice piece of land overlooking False Bay. The land had been earmarked for the development of a middle-income housing suburb called Monwabesi Park.

Two years later nearly 10 000 people — and 2 000 barely livable shacks — occupy the area. There is no running water, electricity or sanitation. The prospect of middle-income housing ever being built here has evaporated.

Bukula says life is hard enough without the threat of having her shack torn down. Just that day, Williams and his men tore down an extension that she was trying to attach to her tiny two-room shack.

"The police are coming here all the time," she says. "They let us build our houses, but then many people came, and they are now telling us we have to leave."

Attempts by municipalities to prevent land invasions seem entirely consistent with national government policy.

"No government wants people to just go and occupy land," says Geoff Budlender, director general of the Department of Land Affairs. "If this was to become a mainstream way in which people can get land for housing, you're going to have it all over the country, and it is going to be impossible to manage urbanisation and provide decent services."

No one knows exactly how many "land invasions" have taken place or are currently under way because no one has done a national or even a provincial survey.

But it is clear that in communities across the country people without housing are simply seizing land — from Oukasie outside Brits near Pretoria, to Malawi Camp, a jot of land occupied by 170 shacks off the N2 near Cape Town airport.

The problem may be far bigger than the authorities are willing to admit. "Land invasions are happening on an unprecedented scale," says Kobus Pienaar, an attorney with the Legal Resources Centre which represents the Monwabesi Park squatters. "The problem is that the African National Congress party line is dead against land invasions, and it is as if the whole problem is not spoken about. But you can go into any township and you will see people building informal housing on any possible vacant piece of land."

The government has taken steps to prevent the arbitrary evictions that were commonplace during the apartheid era. To that end, Parliament passed a law in June 1998 which reflects the government's ambivalence about squatter evictions.

The Prevention of Illegal Eviction From and Unlawful Occupation of Land Act outlaws land invasions, but also says that once people are living in a shack, authorities must get a court order before they can evict them.

That, officials complain, is an expensive and time-consuming process. Another constraint is that once someone has been living in a shack for more than six months, the government has to make sure alternative housing is available before an eviction can take place. "It is now a matter of constitutional law that you can't demolish someone's home without a court order," says Budlender. "The days when people would go to work in the morning, and come home to find their homes demolished are over."

Nonetheless, the effect of the law has been to create a cat-and-mouse situation in which squatters try to build a shack and move into it as quickly as they can before law enforcement officers can tear them down.

"We're putting an enormous amount of resources into the managing and monitoring of invasions of land," says Mandla Maxongo, director of community services for Tygerberg.

The municipality is spending a month on overtime for the land invasion unit alone. "That kind of money could be far better spent to address the shortage of housing, and improve the quality of life in these areas instead of using it to prevent land invasions."

Maxongo says he sympathises with the squatters' plight, but that they should be patient and put their names on official housing lists.

But to shack dwellers that is a patently absurd option. There are now 40 000 people on the official waiting list for homes in Tygerberg, and the council is only managing to build about 10 000 units a year.

In Cape Town officials say there is a shortage of at least 150 000 housing units. Nearly 40 000 people are on the official housing list there as well.

"We're not coming close to addressing the needs," says Philip Jacobs, Cape Town's municipal housing committee chair.

The root of the problem, says Pienaar, is that authorities are failing to release land quickly for people to build their houses on.

"It is a ridiculous situation," says Pienaar. "Instead of releasing land for people to occupy, the state is simply taking a hard line against any land invasions, and it is creating a pressure-cooker situation where people out of sheer desperation are forced to take the law into their own hands and invade land."

He says that authorities should follow the example of Gauteng, where five "reception areas" in and around Johannesburg have been set aside where homeless people can settle.

Once people are on the land, authorities provide them with rudimentary services, but their names go on official housing lists. These areas have helped relieve the pressure of housing the estimated 20 000 new people who stream into Gauteng each month.

Adding to the pressure to invade land is the fact that often it is the most practical way to jump ahead of thousands of people who have been waiting for years on official housing lists.

"If people want to get the ear of the government, there is no quicker way to get officials, politicians or ministers to come and see them than to occupy land," says Joel Bolnick, director of People's Dialogue, which raises funds for self-help housing projects around the country.

"If they want to create a negotiating space, perhaps the most effective way to do that is to first occupy land and then to negotiate, otherwise the bureaucracy doesn't respond to their demands."

In many cases, authorities try to work out an arrangement with squatter leaders to prevent new shacks from being built as they try to cope with the ones already there. But this can put local leaders in an almost impossible situation.

When Tygerberg's squatter control forces showed up at Malawi Camp, they noticed that a new shack was being built. They warned Philip Heuwel, one of the leaders of the settlement, that he had to stop the shack from going up.

"These people are coming out of desperation," Heuwel says, complaining that his life would be in danger if he did anything. "They are forcing their way in here, and there is nothing I can do."

MAIL & GUARDIAN
June 18 to 24 1999

Asmal to Zuma: Thabo's team

(304A) M+G 18-24/6/99

Mail & Guardian reporters

Kader Asmal (Education): Had remarkable succ s as minister of water affairs and fores ry, despite the onset of enervating illness. Intelligent and hard working, he was a distinguished legal academic before returning from 27 years in exile. He was placed at number four on the African National Congress's national election list, showing that ability to deliver counts for votes in the ruling party. Will have his work cut out dealing with one of the most critical portfolios.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi (Home Affairs): The man the ANC struggles to keep sweet, not because they like him but because peace in KwaZulu-Natal seems to demand it. Buthelezi (71) refused the deputy presidency, not wanting to step into a position whose powers have been substantially downgraded with the move of its previous occupant to the presidency.

Thoko Didiza (Agriculture and Land): A forceful, determined individual. As deputy she clashed with her minister, Derek Hanekom of the ANC, over drought relief subsidies for farmers.

Nkosazana Zuma (Foreign Affairs): One of the big surprises for a woman who, despite her tenacity, is not known as a diplomat, though she is probably the most powerful woman in South African politics.

Alec Erwin (Trade and Industry): Has won the respect of business and international trade bodies for his competence, despite his trade union background and membership of the South African Communist Party. The reappointment of Erwin (51) is an indication that the economic portfolios have been under Mbeki's control for a couple of years anyway.

Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (Public Service and Administration): Hardworking though not always effective. Aged 38, she is also deputy chair of the SACP, although not part of the anti-Mbeki group.

Ronnie Kasrils (Water Affairs and Forestry): As deputy was a great help to his minister, Joe Modise. Thoroughly deserves promotion to the Cabinet. Difficult to know what background he has in this portfolio, but then Kader Asmal before him didn't have much prior experience either.

Patrick 'Terror' Lekota (Defence): Made a successful grab for the chair of the ANC at the 1997 congress — against the wishes of some in the leadership. A popular man and good communicator with a reputation for integrity, he was a star of the Mass Democratic Movement during the anti-apartheid struggle. A popular choice in a key portfolio.

Penuell Maduna (Justice): He acquitted himself miserably at minerals and energy. One can only hope that Maduna's experience as a constitutional lawyer stands him in better stead for the enormous challenge of reforming the country's rickety justice system.

Trevor Manuel (Finance): Deserves to keep his place. Commands considerable business confidence and has overseen construction of a very strong Department of Finance.

Membathisi Mdladlana (Labour): The story is that he was so vocally contemptuous of trade unions in the ANC caucus that Mbeki decided he was the man to sort out the workers when Tito Mboweni went to the Reserve Bank. No rocket scientist, he nonetheless succeeded in steering tricky labour legislation through Parliament shortly after taking over.

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka (Mineral and Energy Affairs): Deputy minister of trade and industry since 1996. Assigned the primary responsibility for the small, medium and micro-enterprise sector. Aged 43, she is married to Bulelani Ngcuka, the national director of public prosecutions.

Valli Moosa (Environmental Affairs and Tourism): As minister of provincial affairs and constitutional development, he proved himself able and industrious, though occasionally obsequious. Moosa made his name as an activist with the Mass Democratic Movement. Will be widely welcomed in this portfolio.

Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele (Housing): She makes a surprising return to housing. The low point of her first tenure at housing was when she fired her director general, Billy Cobbett, after he blew the whistle on a provincial housing scam.



Switching positions: Former chair of the National Council of Provinces Patrick 'Terror' Lekota (above left) takes over the defence portfolio, while Steve Tshwete (above right) becomes minister of safety and security

Sydney Mufamadi (Provincial and Local Government): Former minister of safety and security. One of the few "internal" members of the liberation movement to have developed a close rapport with Mbeki. Mufamadi's stint at safety and security has been little short of disastrous. Was tipped for foreign affairs but has been allocated a more lightweight post.

Ben Ngubane (Arts, Culture, Science and Technology): One of the more moderate and urbane members of the Inkatha Freedom Party who is highly regarded in this portfolio.

Joe Nhlanhla (Intelligence): Moves up from deputy where, as government chief spook, his time has been taken up with integrating the service and dealing with rogue members. Mbeki loyalist.

Dullah Omar (Transport): Did not have an easy time at justice, shouldering much of the blame for the decline in the criminal justice system. At age 64, this will be an easier portfolio.

Jeff Radebe (Public Enterprises): Aged 45, he is an able strategist, and popular in the ANC and the SACP. Was tipped for a higher-profile ministry but this one will be critical because he will be responsible for driving privatisation.

Stella Sigcau (Public Works): Huge surprise that she is in the Cabinet at all. Sigcau's lineage — she is a Xhosa princess — is the only explanation as to how she has secured her place in the ANC hierarchy

Ben Skosana (Correctional Services): An IFP heavyweight who has won respect for his enthusiastic approach and willingness to learn from international practice.

Zola Skweyiya (Welfare and Population Development): He has not distinguished himself with his attempts at transforming the myriad administrations bequeathed by the apartheid era into a single national public service and nine provincial administrations.

Manto Tshabalala-Msimang (Health): She has a masters degree in public health, a diploma in obstetrics and gynaecology, a medical degree awarded in Russia, and has attended several courses on health care systems. Generally regarded as a good choice.

Steve Tshwete (Safety and Security): Former minister of sport, he has not distinguished himself in the government or in the party since 1994. Regarded as a disappointing choice for such a key portfolio.

Jacob Zuma (Deputy President): The ANC deputy president's main task over the past five years has been keeping the peace in KwaZulu-Natal and a watchful eye on the IFP.



Krisjan Lemmer

Diplomatic mission

This missive from the Dorsbult Bar is being dispatched before the announcement of President Thabo Mbeki's first Cabinet. Lemmer is awaiting it with much interest in the hope that it could throw some light on a story doing the rounds at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies.

The story has it that early last year two strange gentlemen ("white, with South African accents") approached a professor at this learned institution and inquired whether Sydney Mufamadi could enrol for a course in international relations. When the said prof exclaimed that South Africa's Minister of Safety and Security was surely too busy to attend lectures in London, the two gentlemen replied innocently that it could be arranged so it was all done by post!

What can this mean?

Missing, presumed ... meditating?

Talking about the new Cabinet, can anyone find the name of Jay Naidoo on the list? Lemmer puts the question anxiously, because a few months ago this newspaper dared predict his political career was coming to an end — a suggestion met by paroxysms of indignation from the former telecommunications minister and various of his hangers-on around town.

Lemmer did hear rumours that someone resembling Naidoo was seen holding a press conference last Thursday afternoon to announce his premature retirement from politics. As this event was staged just hours after the *Mail & Guardian*'s deadline, we were unfortunately unable to authenticate the sighting.

So, if he is not to be found in the Cabinet room, his disappearance from the corridors of power will just have to go down with the other great mysteries baffling students of history — what happened to the Marie Celeste?... was he *really* Jack the Ripper ... ?

Crumbs

Lemmer was fascinated to see Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed rising at the inauguration ceremony to introduce President of the Constitutional Court Arthur Chaskalson, whose duty it was to administer the oath of office. One appreciates the desire for "peace at any price" at this delicate juncture in our constitutional development. But just how minutely can our law lords divide the legal pie?

Oh dear

Although Lemmer has been sorely hurt by his failure to receive the usual blandishments (gold-embossed invitation card, promises of the finest whiskey, hints of services offered by sultry maidens, free and signed copy ...) to grace this week's launch of the book, he must confess to finding Anthony Sampson's biography of Nelson Mandela something of a gold mine. It needs, of course, to be read in appreciation of the fact that it is an "authorised" biography and as such the next best thing to words from the proverbial horse's mouth.

One startling charge that it makes is against that heroine of the liberation struggle, Ruth First, who is seemingly accused — with others — of censoring Mandela's early political writing. Examples cited include the removal of passages that showed he was supportive of the system of free enterprise, subject to reforms.

First was alarmingly hypocritical about it, by Sampson's account. After removing critical sentences from an essay written by Mandela on the Liberal Party. First observed in an editor's note: "The articles are reproduced here almost exactly as they were written, with light editing only here and there to omit repetition or local references."

Criminal activity

Nelson Mandela's favourite reading matter while on Robben Island was *The Weekly Mail*. Lemmer is now pleased to report that this fine tradition is being upheld by more contemporary felons at C-Max prison in Pretoria.

Apparently the only inmate who is officially allowed to receive the newspaper is Eugene de Kock, whose exploits at Vlakplaas were once a regular feature of our pages. But demand for the *M&G* is so great among his fellow prisoners, according to a regular visitor to the dungeons, that De Kock has to forfeit an in-depth read and hand over the paper after two hours.

The wardens then pass the newspaper (we hope for a small fee not inappropriate to a newsboy) to such luminaries of the underworld as Colin Chauke and Clive Derby Lewis.

Happy reading!

Mbeki plumps for continuity

(304A) MHG 18-24/6/99

Howard Barrell

President Thabo Mbeki plumped for continuity and party loyalty over performance in the first big decision of his presidency: the choice of his Cabinet.

He avoided any of the radical innovation urged on him by commentators, the business community and South Africa's friends abroad, choosing by and large the old faces and mediocre ... nts that peopled the Cabinet of his predecessor, Nelson Mandela.

Two bright spots were the appointment of Kader Asmal to the key education portfolio and Patrick "Terror" Lekota's entry to central government as defence minister.

Colin Bundy, vice-chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, gave Asmal's appointment the thumbs up. "Obviously he is someone who has spent his working life in education before taking political office. That is a basis for confidence. And the [high] marks he has received in the *Mail & Guardian* [annual ministerial scorecard], provide further basis for confidence."

The promotion of the hard-working Ronnie Kasrils to a full ministry — that of water affairs and forestry, previously held by Asmal — from his previous position as deputy defence minister was also fitting reward.

The investor and business communities will also be relieved to see that Mbeki has decided to retain Trevor Manuel as minister of finance and Alec Erwin as minister of trade and industry. Both men have won the confidence of the markets and their presence in their current portfolios is seen as a test of the government's determination to stick to its current economic course.

But the appointment of former sports minister Steve Tshwete as minister of safety and security has been roundly criticised. Tony Leon, leader of the opposition in Parliament, said Tshwete's appointment showed the government was "not serious about fighting crime". Tshwete succeeds Sydney Mufamadi, who was widely considered to have been inept in the portfolio.

Leon likened Dr Nkosazana Zuma's appointment as minister of foreign affairs to "sending a bull into a china shop".

"It shows we don't care much about the image we project abroad," he added.

As the previous minister of health, Dr Zuma was renowned for her combative, often undiplomatic style in conflict situations.

Mufamadi had been widely tipped for the foreign affairs portfolio. But Mbeki gave him the new portfolio of provincial and local government - an apparent demotion for a non-performer.

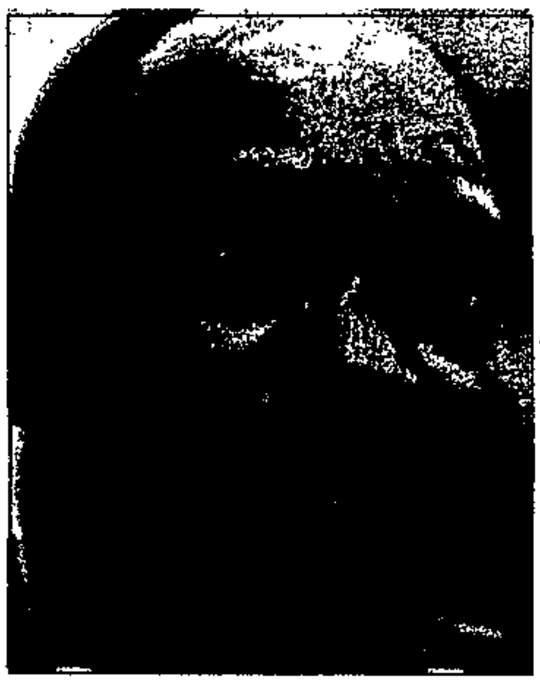
The appointment of Jeff Radebe, a senior member of the South African Communist Party, as minister of public enterprises - and so responsible for privatisation - will have sent mixed signals to local and foreign investors about the government's seriousness about privatisation.

A number of South African economists argue that the use of privatisation revenues to reduce South Africa's overall domestic debt is crucial to reducing current high interest rates and so to putting the economy on a growth path.

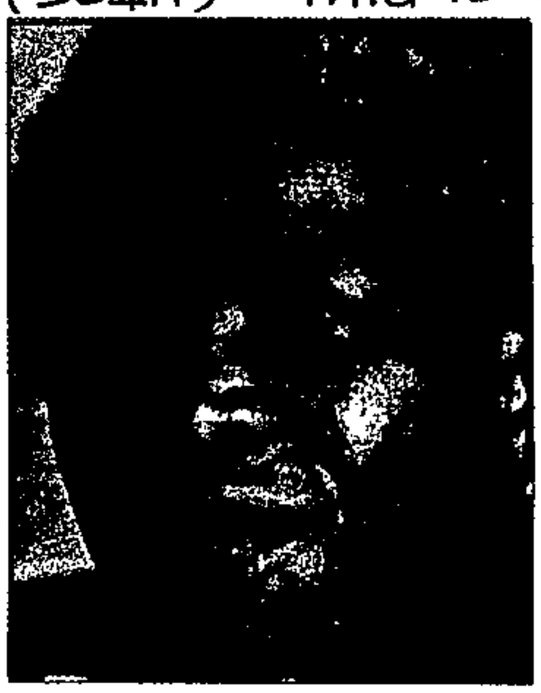
The appointment of Jacob Zuma as deputy president indicates the failure of a proposed deal between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mbeki under which Buthelezi would have got the deputy presidency in exchange for the African National Congress getting the premiership of KwaZulu-Natal, where support for the two parties is evenly spread.

Zuma is a long-standing ally of Mbeki's within the ANC, going back to Swaziland in the mid-1970s, when Mbeki was ANC representative there, and Zuma was an underground ANC activist inside South Africa, running men and arms between the two countries.

In the late 1980s, Zuma, as head of ANC intelligence, was Mbeki's key ally in the difficult process of steering the ANC towards a negotiated settlement in South Africa and abandonment of the armed struggle.



Deputy President: Jacob Zuma. PHOTOGRAPH: RUTH MOTAU



Minister of Foreign Affairs: Nkosazana Zuma. PHOTOGRAPH: ANNA ZIMINSKI

Buthelezi stays on as minister of home affairs, depriving Lindiwe Sisulu, his deputy, of what many saw as well-deserved promotion to the top job.

Nkosazana Zuma, Jacob Zuma's former wife, has been replaced at health by Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, formerly deputy minister of justice.

Tshabalala-Msimang has a strong background in health. She has a masters degree in public health, a diploma in obstetrics and gynaecology and a medical degree awarded in Russia. Many had expected to see her in the health ministry earlier.

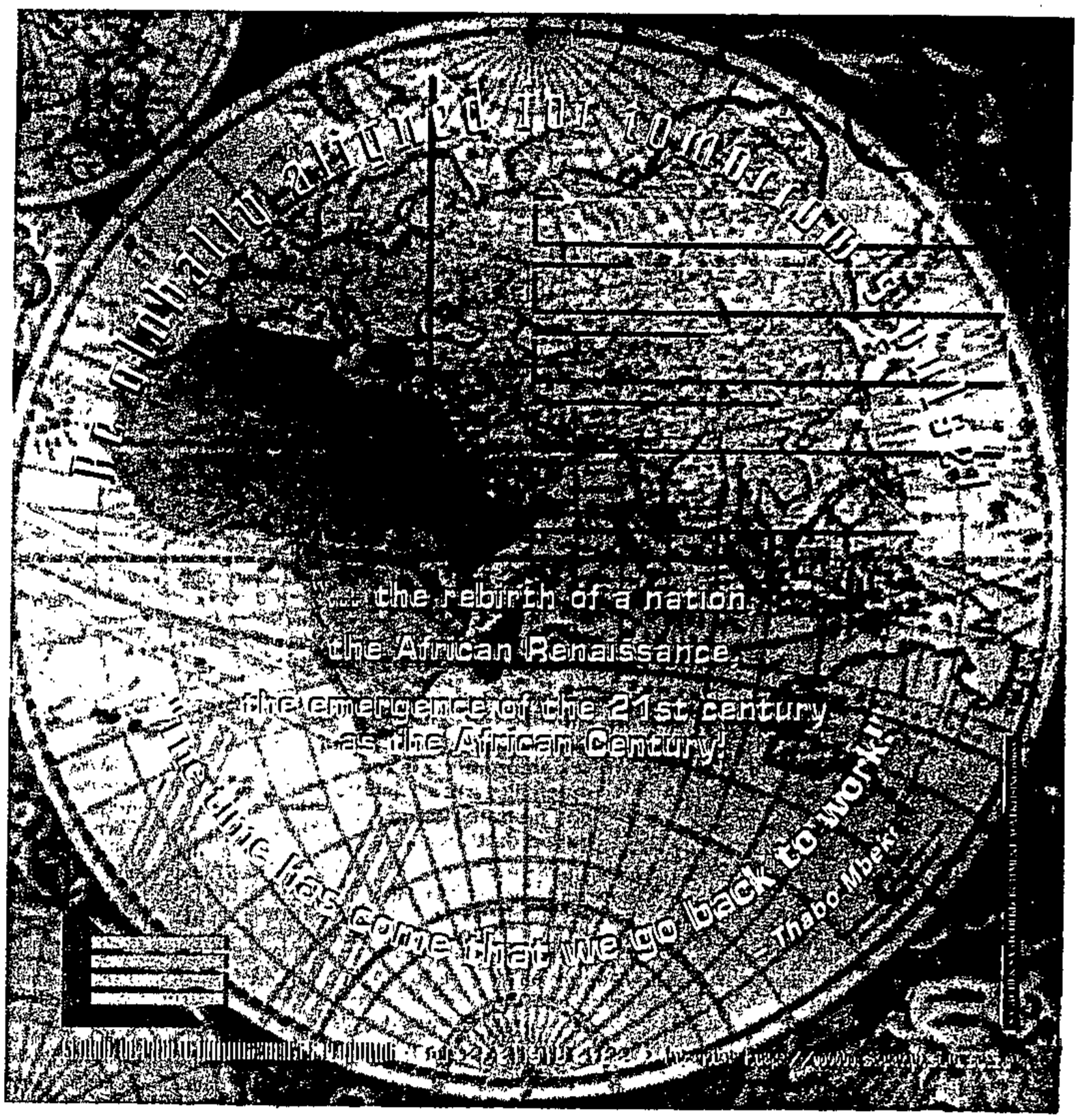
The retention of Stella Sigcau, formerly minister of public enterprises, in the Cabinet can be explained only by the political position she occupies in the Transkei. A Xhosa princess, Sigcau is being kept on -- this time as minister of public works -- only as a counterweight to Bantu Holomisa, the leader of the United Democratic Movement, which won 14 seats in the general election on June 2.

ANC sources say that sacking Sigcau from the Cabinet — even if her talents are dubious — would be tantamount to giving the Transkei to the UDM.

Essop Pahad, formerly deputy minister to Mbeki when he was deputy president and one of Mbeki's closest allies and friends, gets promotion to ministerial rank and becomes minister in the Office of the President. This puts him in charge of what will be a highly centralised operation, almost imperial in character, with more than 300 officials operating directly within it.

Eyebrows have been raised at Dullah Omar's shift from being minister of justice to minister of transport. His replacement at justice, Penuell Maduna, seemed out of his depth at mineral and energy affairs. Maduna had several lapses in judgment in the appointment of advisers, and clashed frequently with his top civil servants.

The make-up of the Cabinet represents a fair balance of various tendencies within the ANC. The SACP is well represented by Erwin, Geraldine Fraser-Moeleketi, Kasrils, Mufamadi, Pahad and Radebe -- all, however, members of the faction of the SACP aligned to Mbeki.



MBEKI PRESIDENCY

(304A) FM 2/7/99

ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN

Expansion of powers in the Office of the Presidency in line with recommendations

Those close to President Thabo Mbeki say he wants to run the country like a business or a corporation, an idea borrowed from Tony Blair's theories of modernising government. What is clear is that under Mbeki, the Office of the Presidency will be bigger and more powerful than it was under Nelson Mandela.

Accusations have already been levelled against Mbeki that he has vested too much power in himself and his confidants.

Nevertheless, the expansion is in line with a key recommendation of the Presidential Review Commission (PRC), which submitted its report in February last year. The task of the commission, which was headed by political analyst Vincent Maphai, was to look at the effectiveness and the role of government.

Though Mbeki has shelved the bulk of the PRC report, including a reduction of the number of Ministries, he seems to have taken to heart its criticism of the office under Mandela.

The commission found that Mandela's office was woefully inadequate and under-resourced. Policy formulation and decision-making by the Cabinet was "unsatisfactory" and decisions were often taken without effective co-ordination, both across departments and between national departments and their provincial counterparts.

The report called for "a radical appraisal" of the office's functions, structures, personnel and management. "It (the office) should be the core of the system of governance," the commission said.

The result of the restructuring will be that all powers to set and co-ordinate policy will lie with Mbeki and those around him in the Presidency.

While there may be a case for a more elaborate system, there will be casualties. Chief among these is the Cabinet, which will have less influence.

At the centre of the first tier of power in the new structure sits Essop Pahad, the Minister in the Office of the Presidency. While Mbeki is both head of State and head of government, the new post suggests Pahad will, in effect, be a Supra-Minister (or Prime Minister).

Pahad denies this. "There's no such thing as a Supra-Minister. If there is a gatekeeper, then that is Frank Chikane. Reverends are, after all, much better gatekeepers than communists."

The organogram of the Presidency places the Deputy President at a level higher than the Minister in the Office of the Presidency. The reality will be different, however. Pahad will drive the presidential projects and take a hand in executive management of the Cabinet.

Significantly, Pahad will also have control of the Government Communication & Information System (GCIS), the government information service. Government opponents will be concerned, particularly in the light of Pahad's recent robust defence of the GCIS in the face of opposition accusations that it was not being used to serve the interests of government, but as a propaganda tool for the ANC.

Under Pahad, there is unlikely to be any satisfactory clarification of this issue.

Deputy President Jacob Zuma, in turn, is the leader of government business in parliament. His primary function will be to prioritise legislation as it goes through parliament. Zuma will also be Mbeki's eyes and ears within the ANC. Mbeki, Pahad and Zuma form a political troika.

Chikane also emerges as a powerful figure. Though he retains the same title as his predecessor, Prof Jakes Gerwel, he has far more authority. Chikane's responsibility will be to drive the transformation process and to ensure co-ordination of government policy.

The President's spokesman, Ronnie Mamoepa, says while Chikane will serve as DG and Cabinet secretary, he has also been put in charge of the civil service.

This is again in line with the PRC which called for the creation of the Office of the Cabinet Secretariat (OCS), to be headed by an incumbent who would also be head of the public service.

Under Mandela, responsibility for the civil service rested with the Public Service Minister.

Chikane will also oversee the directors-general, whom he will meet regularly under the forum of the Federation of SA Directors-General. Previously DGs reported directly to their Ministers.

This development gives the Presidency far greater control of the executive. In addition Mbeki assumes the responsibility of appointing all DGs from this month.

The President's five advisers also fit into this first level of the Presidency. These political appointments will act on the President's behalf, liaising with trade unions, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), parliament and business. They meet weekly or as necessary with the President and serve as his sounding board.

The next tier, or level two, of the Presidency, includes the Cabinet Office. This idea has been borrowed from the British Cabinet Office and comprises three sections: research, a Cabinet Secretariat and operations.

The task of the Cabinet Secretariat, which has not yet been established, will be to vet policy proposals from the Cabinet as well as to make policy recommendations to the Cabinet. It will have the power to pass or veto policy proposals.

The Cabinet has reportedly been crying out for such a secretariat to co-ordinate and help shape policy. Chikane has called it a "thinking machine". It will work closely with the President's advisers and with the Policy Co-ordination & Advisory Services, whose members will act as the President's intelligence gatherers.

On the same level is Chikane's administrative office — the Office of the DG. Interestingly, Pahad has oversight over this office.

The final, or third tier, encompasses two key offices — the Policy Co-ordination & Advisory Services and the President's Private Office. A deputy DG — Pundy Pillay — will lead the policy co-ordination and advisory service with a team of five chief directors.

The unit meets another recommendation of the PRC — that policies should be more effectively co-ordinated. The group will oversee the implementation of policy and ensure that policies cut across one another.

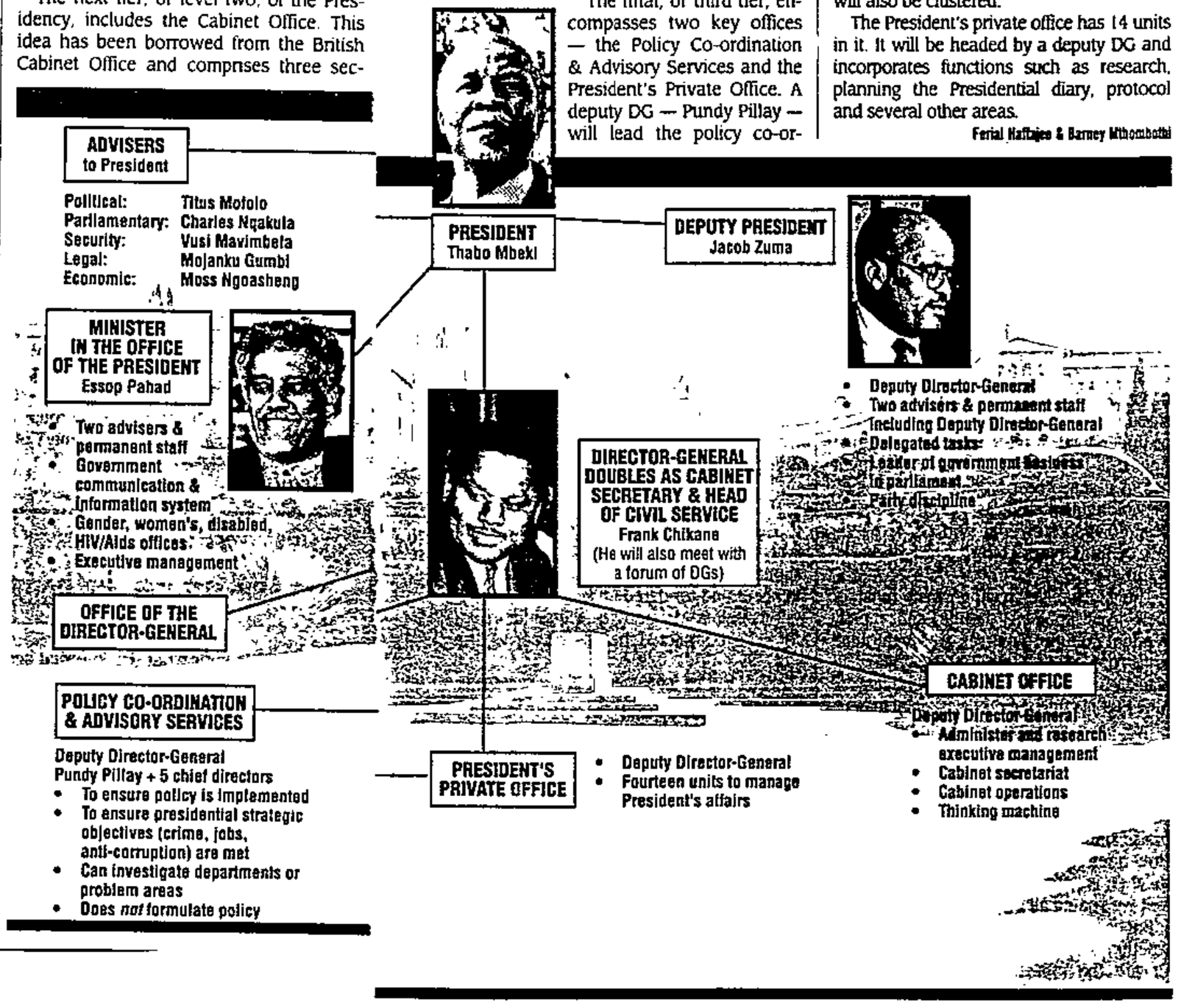
In this capacity, it will manage the "clustering" of Ministries. The most important is the security cluster, comprising Safety & Security, Justice and Correctional Services to tackle crime.

In the same vein, Finance, Trade & Industry and Labour Ministers will work on common objectives, such as job creation.

These clusters will work as units to plan and implement policy. Thus, the so-called "delivery" Ministries, which include Welfare, Housing and Water Affairs & Forestry will also be clustered.

The President's private office has 14 units in it. It will be headed by a deputy DG and incorporates functions such as research, planning the Presidential diary, protocol and several other areas.

Ferial Haffajee & Barney Mthombothi



PARLIAMENT

FINE-TUNING THE ENGINE ROOM OF DEMOCRACY

FM 9/7/99 (3049)

Radical overhaul of committees should improve performance

SA might sport a model modern democracy on paper, but in practice its ability to translate this into action is hampered by a parliament stuck in the dark ages.

Support staff, computers and e-mail are scarce and growing more so as budgets shrink in line with cuts in public spending.

But parliament's ability to do its job — ensuring an effective balance of power between the presidency, the executive and the legislative — is hampered by more than a shortage of resources. Its committee system, the engine room of the legislative, has also suffered from severe shortcomings.

As a result, parliament is planning a radical overhaul of the system. The changes are designed to streamline and refocus the job of SA's 490 members of parliament.

Central to the streamlining process is a drive to improve the oversight role the committees exercise over the executive.

The number of committees will be reduced as will be the number of MPs who sit on them. Whereas MPs belonged to between four and five committees previously, they will now sit on only two. An MP will specialise on one committee and attend a second only when the programmes of the two do not clash. Thus, committees should become centres of expertise where a core of members are specialists, conversant in specific areas of governance.

»Ideally we should halve the number of committees or halve their size«
Ken Andrew, Democratic Party

These changes are still being negotiated by the political parties in parliament. Though the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew is broadly supportive of the changes being mooted, he believes the changes could be more radical. "Ideally we should halve the number of committees or halve their size."

The committee system was introduced in SA in 1983 with the Tricameral system, set up by the National Party in an attempt to share power with the coloured and Indian communities.

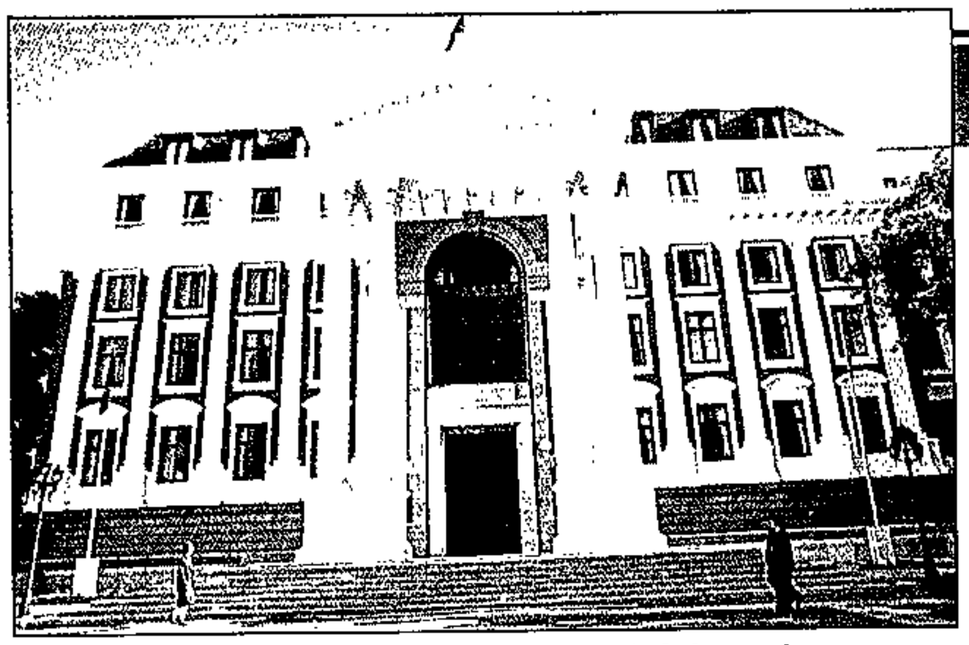
The committee system was changed radically 11 years later when Nelson Mandela's government came to power. The number of committees more than doubled, they were thrown open to the public and became the nerve centre of parliament. But, says De Lange, "we opened up the system without having the resources in place".

Law-making limped along with some committees functioning better than others. Some became vibrant centres of debate where policies were scrutinised, civil servants called to account and legislation altered. Others faded into parliamentary oblivion as Pretoria called the shots.

In a young democracy where inexperience is a problem and poorly conceived policy the consequence, it is vital to have as many checks on power as possible. "It's no use having 490 people here if they're not doing anything. They all want to play a meaningful role," says De Lange.

De Lange's comments underscore a problem that plagued many of the first MPs to serve in SA's new democracy — a lack of engagement in the workings of parliament.

This problem should be solved for the latest intake of MPs as parliament shifts its focus from overhauling the country's legislation — 534 pieces of legislation were passed in the first term — to overseeing implementation.



***Parliament** . . . MPs will be expected to shift focus from making laws to seeing that they are implemented*

"We're changing mode to delivery and implementation," says Naledi Pandor, head of the National Council of Provinces (Ncop).

The Provincial Chamber has already grouped its committees into clusters and improved its provincial reporting system. It's now planning to sharpen its teeth as a watchdog of implementation in the provinces, where delivery in some areas has been abysmal.

The aim is to mirror these developments in the National Assembly where three clusters of various Ministries have already been created around security, investment and social welfare.

To be able to police implementation, committees have been given a new tool in the shape of the public service management framework. This places the emphasis on targeting the "outcomes" of policies rather than their inputs. For example: while the emphasis in the previous term may have been to look at how much government was spending on education, MPs will shift to measuring what is being delivered.

In addition, says Pandor, parliament will ask civil servants to set implementation targets.

Though committees have had extensive investigative and summonsing powers since 1994, these were rarely used in the first parliament. Two exceptions were last year's parliamentary hearings into bank charges and into the prosecution records of the attorneys-general. Rob Davies, head of the Trade & Industry committee, believes the probe into bank charges proved successful because it "captured the mood of the public".

Many more such investigations should take place this term as parliament becomes "increasingly concerned with the effectiveness of policies", says Davies.

In addition to the structural changes, parliament urgently needs to provide committees with better resources. Andrew, until recently the head of the Public Accounts committee, does not have a computer and spends hours filing. "We've got the balance wrong in terms of scarce resources."

Filing also became a common past-time for head of the Justice committee Johnny de Lange. For two years his committee did not have a secretary and he works on his own laptop. Like others, it functioned against the odds.

Pandor adds that to be effective, committees need a better research and investigative capacity.

Parliament is pressing central government for more money to boost resources. But, mindful of the constraints on the fiscus, it has also sought foreign donor funding, chiefly from the European Union.

Ferial Haffajee

SA poised to declare apartheid a crime

Cabinet green light to ratify UN convention

(304A) ART 20/7/99

ROBERT BRAND
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

More than 25 years after the United Nations declared apartheid a crime against humanity, South Africa will finally become a signatory to the UN convention concerned.

Justice Minister Penuell Maduna yesterday said the Cabinet had approved the ratification of the convention and would ask Parliament formally to ratify it during the next sitting starting in August.

The main purpose of the convention, formally named the International Convention on the Suppression and the Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, is to declare apartheid a crime against humanity and to criminalise acts of apartheid.

It requires parties to the convention to outlaw systematic oppression and legislation or other measures adopted to promote apartheid.

The convention came into operation on 18 July 1976 and was specifically aimed at South Africa.

Theoretically, the convention could be used as a basis to prosecute members of the old National Party government, but the Government denied that was the intention.

Justice Ministry spokesman Paul Setsetse said the convention would not be applied retroactively, because the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had already dealt with the injustices of apartheid.

The convention was being ratified as part of a process of ratifying a number of UN conventions to which South Africa, during the apartheid years, had not been a signatory.

"The TRC has dealt with the 48 years of apartheid. But for those who did not apply (for amnesty), the TRC act is very clear – you will be prosecuted.

The TRC report has been forwarded to the National Director of Public Prosecutions (Bulelani Ngcuka) to consider who should be prosecuted. It is now in his hands."

Mr Setsetse said the Equality Bill, being drafted at the moment, would also outlaw all forms of discrimination and contribute to the eradication of apartheid.

The convention outlaws murder, torture and persecution for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one group of people over another.

It also outlaws forced labour.

Grassroots opposition, not reactionary parties, is needed

(304A)

Social movement that fought against apartheid can oppose government and help transformation, says **Mojalefa Musi**

DEBATE surrounding the election was precipitated by the possibility of the African National Congress (ANC) achieving a two-thirds majority.

This victory would mean the party would have the prerogative to make changes to the constitution and would also allow it to have both vertical and horizontal control of SA.

Reacting to this, other political parties, public policy analysts and commentators argued that it would not be desirable for "democracy" for one party to have such a phenomenal victory. The Democratic Party (DP) specifically invoked the clarion call for a "Codesa (Convention for a Democratic SA) of the opposition" immediately after the poll. Since the election debate on coalitions has preoccupied public commentary.

Steven Friedman, director of the Centre for Policy Studies, remarking on the DP-New National Party Western Cape coalition (Perspectives, June 29) demonstrated its obvious weaknesses. He argued that the coalition was motivated by parties leaning towards the past that wanted to defend the privileges of the white minority against the African majority.

I concur with the view that the coalition is a force opposed to transformation of the society. Therefore, this is not a coalition for the defence of democracy but its violation.

My criticism of Friedman's version of the debate is twofold. The first flaw is that it narrowly limits democracy — and for that matter politics — to one institution of society: Parliament.

In this view Parliament is a theatre, politicians are actors and broader society is the audience. The second critical question is: opposition for what and whom? Opposition parties are not inherently progressive; nor are ruling parties always reactionary.

A reactionary opposition poses two problems: the reactionary notions of democracy hold sway and tend to blot out the progressive ruling party. A progressive ruling party, reacting to this, becomes paranoid and cynical when developing an agenda for transformation, thus neglecting genuine concerns and sentiments from progressive sections of society.

Any reactionary opposition, regardless of colour and race, is more likely to drift from the left to the right, not vice versa.

The race and class configuration of the opposition as we know it is not capable of posing any challenge to the ANC. Any meaningful opposition should come with a new conceptualisation of democratic practices in SA.

A strong extraparliamentary (participatory) grassroots network of organisations fulfilling this obligation should take up this role.

The period of the 1980s in SA demonstrated the great potential of the mass-based social movement and its organisational depth. It included trade unions, civics, students, youth organisations, church groups and street and village committees.

Some people who subscribe to the strong opposition thesis have argued that these mass organisations have been operating under the tutelage of the ruling party and therefore cannot stand in opposition.

Students of SA history will agree that this broad network of anti-apartheid social forces was not a happy marriage. There were contradictions and tension. For this reason the potential for a serious opposition is possible, given the degree of independent thinking and proactive engagement. If these social movements are to revive themselves they must equally bring with them their senior cadres and think-tanks to provide technical and other kinds of support.

The first feature of this opposition is that it should be grounded among working-class activists spread throughout society. Its nucleus must be African. This "African requirement" is based on the experience that whites may find it difficult to pose any serious challenge to the leadership.

These cadres will first and foremost have to evolve within the tripartite alliance, the political head of which is the ANC. They should have been activists of the alliance and commanded an impeccable record of disciplined participation within it.

Also, just as the Youth League activists of the 1940s engaged the leadership of the ANC at the time, they should be of a younger generation than the current leadership.

The view articulated should not be reduced to "left-wing watchdog" that will stir up cynicism and pessimism; however, they have to be active agents of the transformation of society. The relationship between this type of opposition and the state will be dialectical: its leaders must strike an intelligent balance between complementarity and contradiction.

In terms of the former they must defend the democratic nature of government and progressive legislative and policy changes.

In terms of contradictions, they must take the lead in reminding the delegates of the people of their duties when there are dubious and unexpected twists and turns.

This paradigm of opposition constructs a layer of activists who will bring a culture of popular and participatory democracy back to the fore of the transformation agenda.

Musi, national educator of the SA Transport and Allied Workers' Union, writes in his personal capacity.

Govt hints at starting information centres

Sowetan 23/7/99 (304A)

By Jimmy Seepe

THE Government is currently exploring the feasibility of establishing "one-stop government centres" around the country that will provide the public with information and reports about each ministry under one roof.

This was said by Minister in the President's Office, Mr Essop Pahad, yesterday at the Government Communication and Information Service conference.

Delivering the keynote address at the conference, Pahad called on delegates to address the issue of coordination at regional and district levels. Such centres, he said, could result in an integrated impact on delivery.

Pahad said one of his key milestones would be to see such centres becoming operational by the end of the year in a pilot project.

Pahad said the centres could not only result in enormous savings for the state but also ensure that people would not be hustled from one office to another in search of information on Government.

"In specific localities you find all kinds of government offices: labour offices, welfare points, licensing departments and so forth.

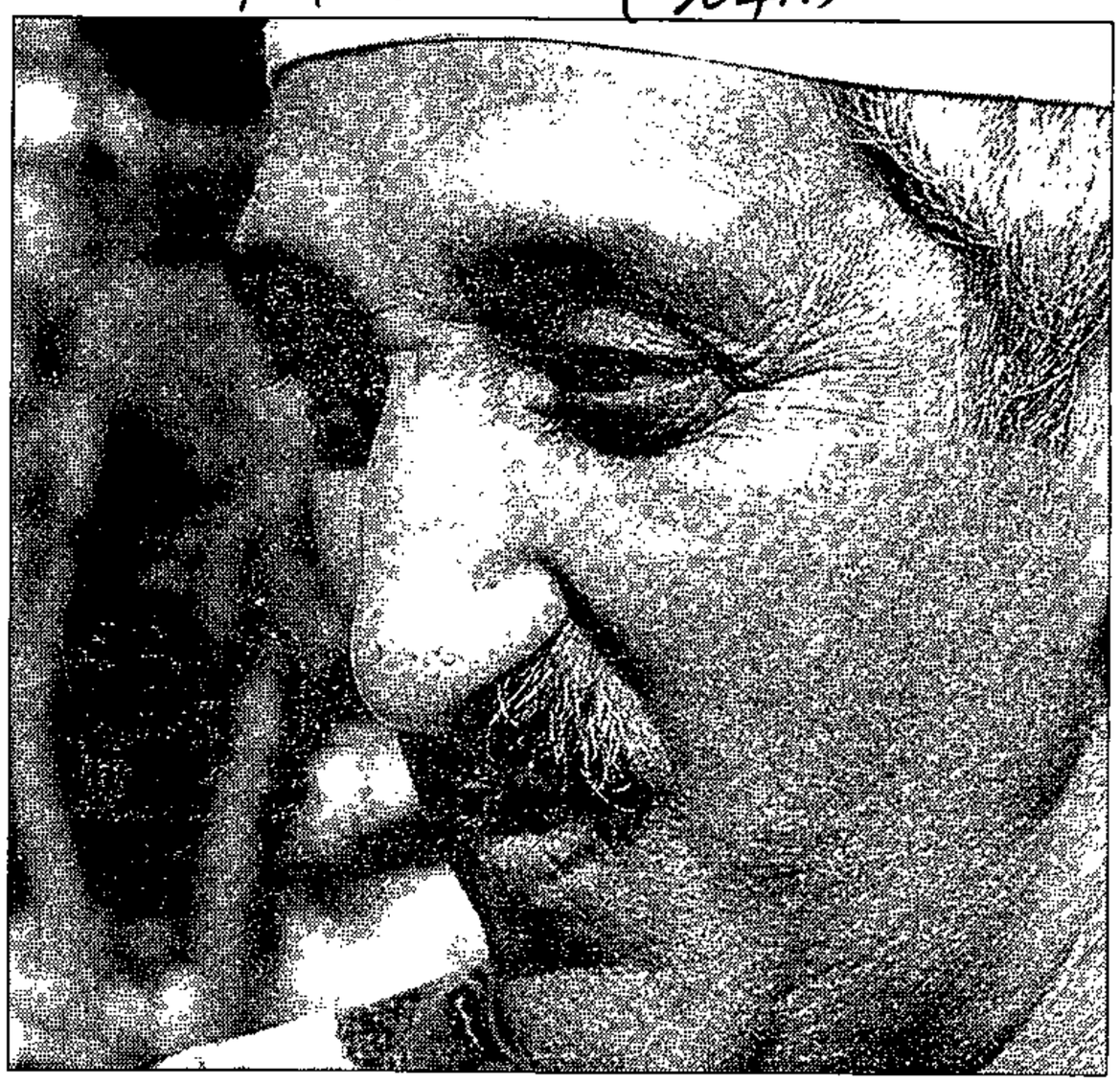
"Those who can barely afford to move from one office to another will benefit from having all their requirements of Government under one roof."

He said the long-term cost-saving for the country as a whole could be incalculable once such one-stop government centres were established.

"But even more important is the improvement in the quality of service to the people by Government as a corporate entity," he said.

Pahad also called on government communicators to follow the lead established by ministries to work in cluster forms.

Government communicators would need to ensure that their work was shaped by the deliberations within the ministerial clusters, and that what they did and said reflected this new approach both in content and style.



Government is considering setting up 'one-stop government centres' around the country to give the public information and reports about different ministries, says Essop Pahad, Minister in the Office of the President.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

He said the cornerstone of this commitment would be a visible programme of contact with the people to report back on progress being made and to learn from them – constantly strengthening the contract Government had made with the nation.

He also called for "creativity and nimbleness" from government communicators which could be harnessed in ensuring the success in dialogue between Government and the people.

"Opportunities should be exploited, situations created for Government to listen to the needs of the people, to communicate to the public Government's advances and explain its shortcomings," he said.

"A key area that Government will be concentrating on is governance as a process.

"Reinventing Government has become the rallying call of reformists trying to transform huge uncaring bureaucracies and to replace them with institutions more in tune with the needs of the public and committed to meeting these needs."

Pahad said Government was also seeking to modernise the management and operational style of the public service guided by the dictum of *Batho Pele* – People First.

"We shall appreciate feedback from the public about the efficiency of the public service, its attitude and spirit of service at the point of delivery."

Pahad said "integrated governance will become a major feature of this government. The relationship between local, provincial and national spheres as well as traditional leaders shall also be further developed through consultations."

Rewriting our history

The place and involvement of blacks in the Anglo-Boer War needs to be acknowledged as South Africa rewrites its history, says **Ido Lekota** (304A) Sowetan 28/7/99

ONE of the issues set to test how the history of South Africa can be used for nation building and reconciliation is the planned Anglo-Boer War centenary commemoration, which will be officially launched in October.

The three-year programme – expected to run until May 2002 – is aimed at commemorating the war, which lasted from October 1899 to May 1902, eventually leading to the signing of a peace pact between the British and the Boers to the exclusion of blacks.

Already, progressive historians are contending that the commemoration should be used as a platform to rewrite the history of this country and give recognition to the role black people played in South Africa's history.

Central to this contention is that, contrary to the history written by colonial historians, the so-called Anglo-Boer War was not a whites-only event. For example, there is already agreement among many historians that the war should be renamed the South African War.

"At the moment that is the most neutral title, which does not give a monopoly to any racial grouping as far as participants in the war are concerned," says Thami Plaatjie, a historian based at Vista University in Sebokeng.

Professor Keto Tsehloane, a historian from Vista University in Pretoria, agrees with Plaatjie and points out that blacks were involved on both sides of the war, supporting either the British or the Boers.

"Our people played an active role, for example in incidents such as the Mafikeng siege by the Boer commandos, fighting on the side of the British as recorded by Sol Plaatjie in his war diaries," Tsehloane says.

"The war was a much broader struggle of various parties, including blacks, trying to protect their interests."

What also needs to be highlighted, Tsehloane says, is the fact that blacks were betrayed by the British after fighting with them against the Boers.

"Instead, the British signed an all-white pact with the Boers, which eventually led to the Union of South Africa in 1910."

Historian Dr Peter Warwick points out in his book *Black people and the South African War* that when the war broke out in 1899, there were about one million whites in South Africa compared with four million Africans.

"South Africa's majority population could not remain unaffected either by the two-and-a-half turbulent years of warfare or by the issues over which the war was fought and its subsequent implications," Warwick argues.

He says that the British scorched earth policy (where farmsteads and crops belonging to Boers were destroyed as a way of depriving the Boer commandos of food) left many black farmworkers destitute.

It is estimated that by the end of the war, almost 116 000 blacks had been removed to concentration camps and more than 14 000 died.

The recent discovery by researchers of grave sites believed to be of black people killed in concentration camps at Greylingstad and Heidelberg seems to confirm this.

With an estimated 2 476 refugees, the concentration camp at Heidelberg was the second largest. The one at Greylingstad, with 1 171 refugees, was the fourth largest.

The largest concentration camp is believed to have been at Klerksdorp, with 4 909 occupants. The third largest camp was apparently at Vereeniging, with 2 305 occupants.

Warwick also reveals in his book that at least 100 000 blacks were directly involved in the war as scouts, spies, guards, servants, messengers and other occupations in the white armies.

He estimates that between 10 000 and 30 000 blacks fought in the British army as combatants.

He also claims that in some instances black tenants drove Boer landlords off their farms and cultivated them. Peasants in many regions also accumulated capital by supplying the British with livestock, cereals and other products at inflated rates.

In some cases, blacks even operated transport services by luring their ox-wagons to the British.



Researchers Johann Strauss, Erik van den Berg and Maurice Evans at a grave believed to be of a black person who died in a concentration camp outside Heidelberg during the Anglo-Boer War. The headstone states the person died in 1901 and his or her surname was Kgosana.
PIC: PAT SEBOKO

The Government supports the commemoration of the war and has committed funds to restore some of the historical sights that confirm the role of black people in the war.

Department of Arts and Culture director general Dr Rob Adam told *Sowetan* that at least R4 million has been set aside for the centenary commemoration – half of which will be used to restore historical sights.

The commemoration must not be seen as a celebration of war, says Adam. "It should be used as a lesson on the impact of war and how it can lead to misery. Through this we can then learn how to avoid civil wars."

Meanwhile, historical societies in Greylingstad and Heidelberg have not missed the opportunity to use the discovery of the historical sites in their localities to the fullest.

During a visit to the grave site outside Heidelberg, the town's historical society chairman, Maurice Evans, told *Sowetan* their dream was to have the sites restored and made part of a historical tour of the area.

Evans hopes restored grave sites – including those of white concentration camp victims, a few metres away from that of blacks – will attract visitors interested to learn about the real history of all South Africans.

His colleague Johann Strauss says the commemoration of the war offers all South Africans an opportunity for a greater understanding of each other rather than "using history to divide".

Government says R20-m fleet will cut costs

(304A) ARG 28/7/99

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – The Government has defended its decision to buy luxury cars worth R20-million for national and provincial Cabinet ministers and provincial premiers.

A Sunday newspaper reported that national Cabinet ministers can choose two cars from a list which includes the BMW 528i, Mercedes-Benz E320, Audi A6 Quattro and Alfa Romeo 156 V6, each worth up to R280 000. Premiers can choose one from the list.

Deputy ministers can choose two from a list which includes the Audi A4 2,8, Audi A4 2,8 Quattro Tiptronic, Mercedes-Benz C280 and BMW 328i, worth up to R230 000 each. Provincial MECs can choose one.

All the cars must have leather upholstery, air conditioning, radio, tape deck and a CD shuttle.

Opposition parties had a field day condemning the awarding of the tender, considering the current economic climate and the looming public service strike.

The Democratic Party said it was irresponsible of the government's top dogs to fork out state resources for their own personal comfort while at the same time Finance Minister Trevor Manuel slammed the unions and told them their demands for wage increases would not be met because there was no money.

But a statement by the Ministry of Transport yesterday said the Government would cut costs in maintenance and other costs by nearly R15-million, since the new tender also encompasses the reduction of the Government fleet from the current 552 cars to about 200 vehicles.

The ministry said the need for two cars was justified because ministers spend time in Pretoria and Cape Town and work in both cities most weeks of the year.

Vehicles currently used by ministers will be transferred from provincial administrations to the departments concerned, where applicable, and the relevant ministry will make use of the vehicle until it has exhausted its life of 150 000km.

FOAM
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AGRAIMS

Inside apartheid's secret bunkers



WILLEM STEENKAMP (30+A) ARG 31/7/99

The underground secrets of Parliament are out. Today, Saturday Argus can disclose that beneath the chambers and offices from which South Africa is governed lies an intriguing network of secret bolt-holes and escape routes, apparently built for the apartheid leaders of yesteryear.

In addition to the legendary cold, damp dungeons – they are indeed there – subterranean secrets shown to Saturday Argus this week include concealed passages and bunkers, a hidden lift and a mysterious stairway leading to the one-time Prime Minister's office.

Years ago a tunnel, which is now partially flooded and blocked with mud, is believed to have linked Parliament to the Castle where an embattled politician could seek refuge.

A one-person lift apparently designed to whisk people like former prime ministers Hendrik Verwoerd or John Vorster to the roof for evacuation by helicopter in an emergency was discovered recently.

Saturday Argus was shown a concealed concrete bunker and staircase hidden behind an innocuous-looking waist-high cupboard in a passage.

The hidden features were apparently built at the behest of apartheid leaders as bolt-holes or to enable them to flee to safety by tunnel or helicopter in an emergency.

Graphic on page 3

These relics of yesteryear supply stark proof of an era when nothing was what it seemed.

Not so long ago, at the height of ex-president PW Botha's "total onslaught" era, thick metal-plated concrete pillars were built in front of the main entrance to Tuynhuys, the president's offices in the parliamentary complex, to stop any suicidal car bomber.

During this time the concrete roof of the underground parking garage in front of Tuynhuys was also specially strengthened to take the weight of a helicopter which could land to whisk away the head of the apartheid state at the first sign of trouble.

But these were the more visible measures put in place to appease the phobias of previous apartheid governments. Hidden from public view, until now, are more secret measures concealed in the bowels of Parliament.

During the Vorster era, a reinforced underground tunnel was built from Parliament to the basement of 120 Plein Street, formerly the H F Verwoerd Building where cabinet ministers had their offices. A few years ago workers of the Department of Public Works uncovered the shaft of a secret lift linking this tunnel to one of the auditoriums at 120 Plein Street.

Believed to be a secret escape lift to allow Mr Vorster to reach the roof of 120 Plein Street, the liftshaft was found when workers started breaking up the concrete base in the auditorium on which a bust of H F Verwoerd was mounted.

The secret lift, big enough to accommodate only one person, goes down two floors to the basement where it links up with the tunnel between Parliament and 120 Plein Street. The lift is still

See page 3



Parliament's secret bunkers

from page 1

there but no longer works.

A small cupboard in the same tunnel hides a mysterious concrete bunker.

Bending nearly double to enter the large concrete room through the door of the small cupboard, one is met by wide steps leading upwards.

The steps end abruptly at a blank wall, but it is rumoured that the wall used to hide a secret entrance to the office once occupied by Mr Vorster. Now the bunker room houses modern airconditioning ducts.

Parliamentary household chief Temba Nkosi said there were many secrets in the bowels of Parliament. "It is only when someone points out something mysterious that one begins to question the reason for it being there," he said.

Only metres from the old Senate building lies another secret hideaway. An underground tunnel, which leads into a large dungeon, is believed to have been built as an escape route during the Verwoerd era.

Entrance to the dungeon is gained by climbing down a steep steel ladder.

A tunnel then leads into a large underground room which at present is half filled with water

Parliamentary security officers told Saturday Argus that one of the side tunnels from the dungeon was believed to have led to the Castle. At the time of our visit the tunnel was under water.

Security officials said that during a dry summer workers had followed the tunnel for some distance but had to turn back because it was blocked with mud.

But, said parliamentary security official Dirk Genis, it was believed that many years ago the tunnel was indeed linked to the Castle.

A less sinister secret lies hidden two floors below 120 Plein Street.

It is a fresh water fountain that seeps into a large holding dam.

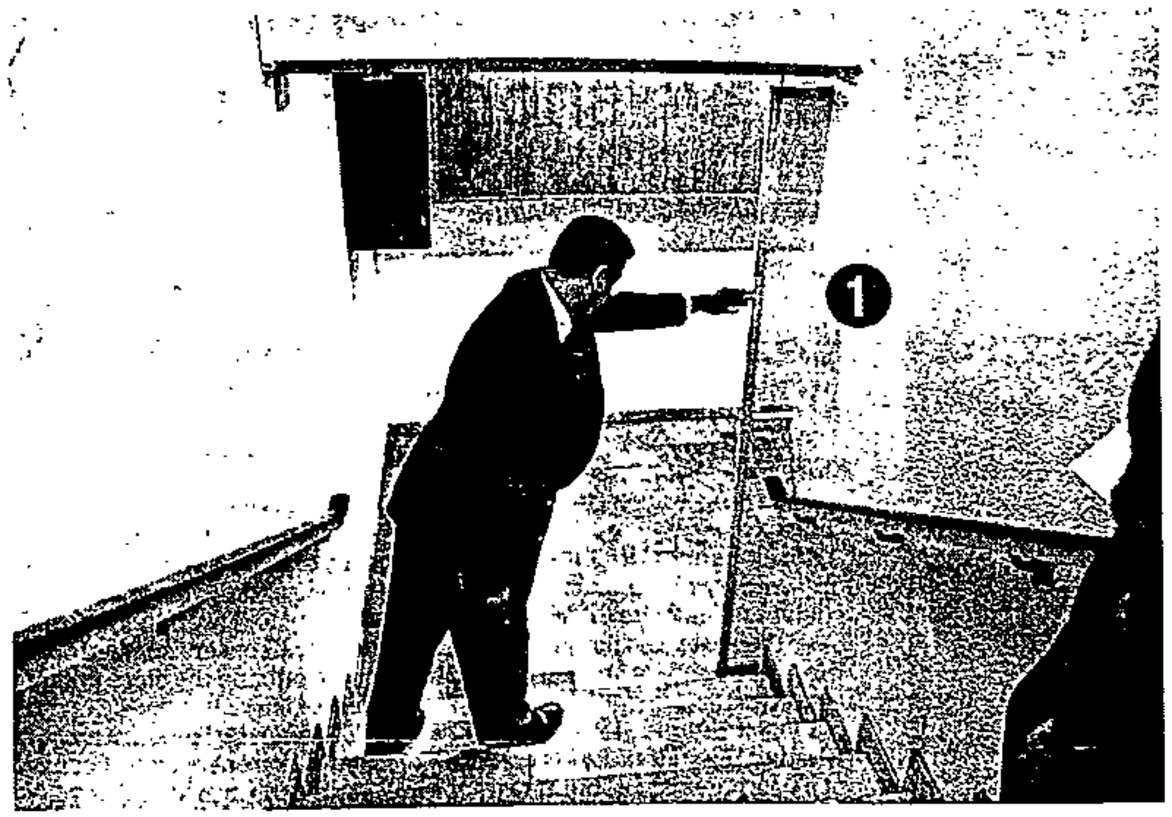
Officials said the water was so clear and fresh one could drink it.

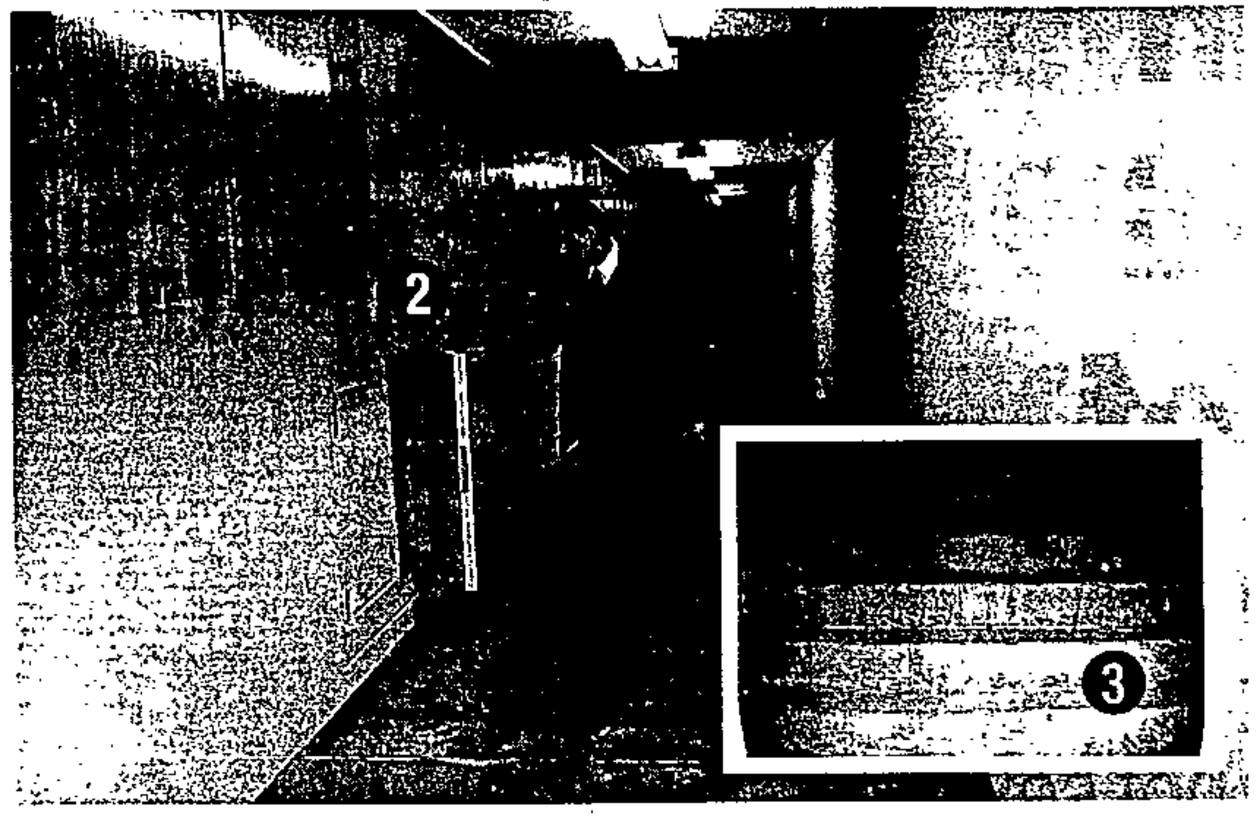
Mr Nkosi said the water was pumped to the parliamentary gardens to water the plants.

And in a storeroom in the same basement, half hidden by broken desks, chairs and other junk, stand the busts of white leaders of yesteryear gathering dust – images of Dr Verwoerd, D F Malan, J B M Hertzog and others.

A final decision on where they will end up has yet to be taken by the Government.

(304A) ARG 31/7/99









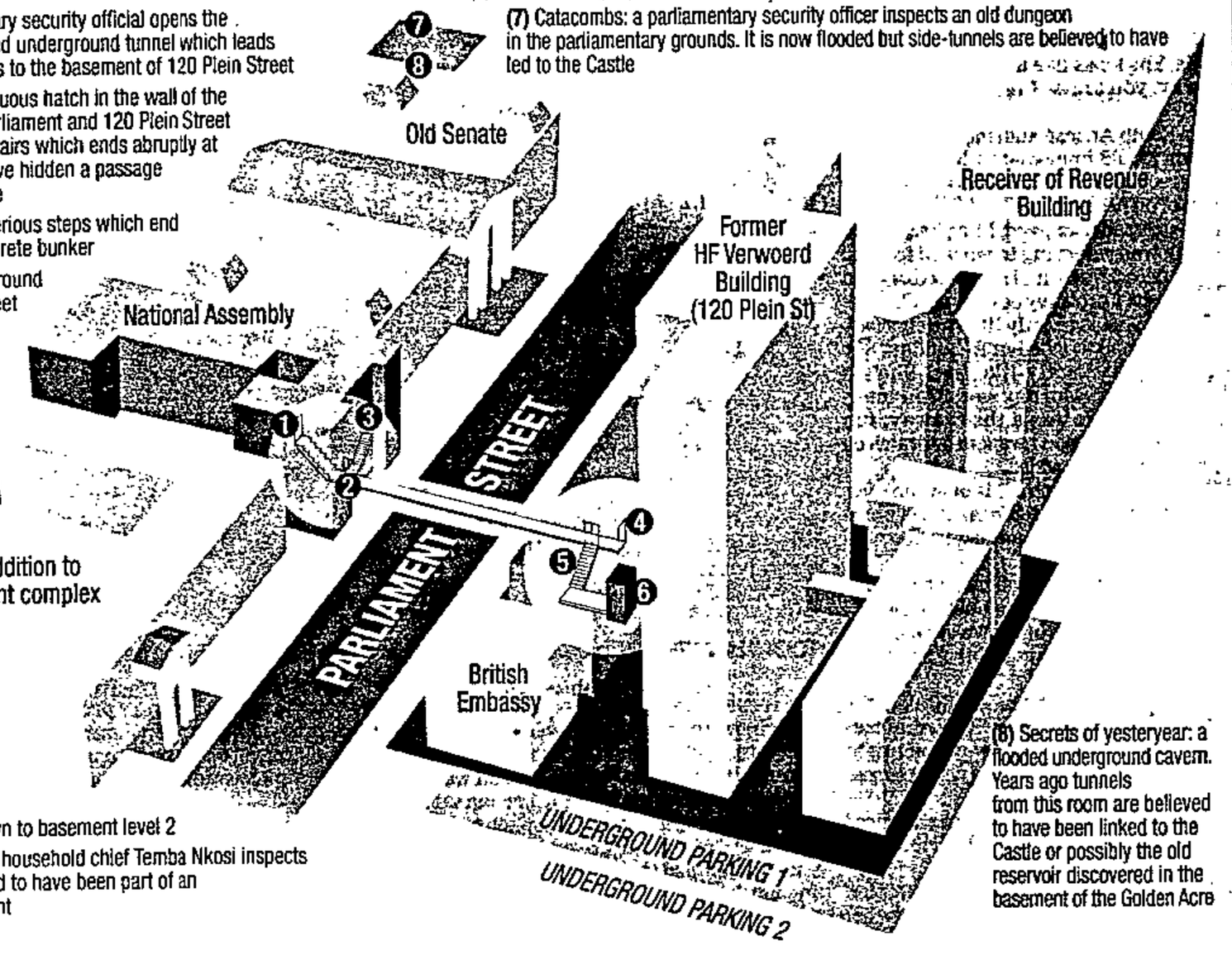
Pictures LEON MULLER

(1) Strict security: a parliamentary security official opens the steel mesh-door to the reinforced underground tunnel which leads from the parliamentary buildings to the basement of 120 Plein Street

(2) Escape hatch: this inconspicuous hatch in the wall of the reinforced passage between parliament and 120 Plein Street leads to a mysterious flight of stairs which ends abruptly at a blank wall once thought to have hidden a passage to the old prime minister's office

(3) Steps to nowhere: the mysterious steps which end abruptly at a wall in an old concrete bunker

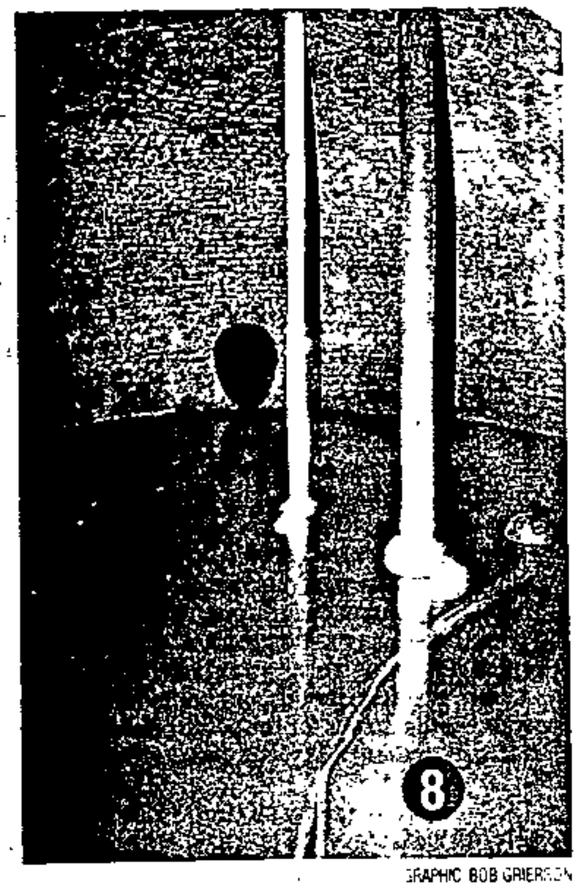
(4) Security entrance to underground parking level 1 of 120 Plein Street



(5) Door opens to stairway down to basement level 2

(6) One man lift: Parliamentary household chief Temba Nkosi inspects a one-man lift which is believed to have been part of an escape route from the basement

(7) Catacombs: a parliamentary security officer inspects an old dungeon in the parliamentary grounds. It is now flooded but side-tunnels are believed to have led to the Castle



(8) Secrets of yesteryear: a flooded underground cavern. Years ago tunnels from this room are believed to have been linked to the Castle or possibly the old reservoir discovered in the basement of the Golden Acre

GRAPHIC BOB GRIERSON

Cabinet clash over Mokoena

Fraser and Buthelezi go head to head over dodgy DG

~~237~~ (~~23~~6) (304A) ST 1/8/99

MZILIKAZI WA AFRIKA

PUBLIC Service and Administration Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi has clashed with Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi over his appointment of a controversial figure to head the misconduct hearing against his disgraced director-general, Albert Mokoena.

Four months after the Sunday Times revealed that Mokoena was using his office to run a professional basketball team, Buthelezi finally appointed someone to prosecute the case against him.

But the man he chose, Correctional Services Commissioner Khulekani Sitole, is also being investigated for corruption and misconduct. He allegedly runs a soccer team from his department.

Fraser-Moleketi's department investigated the Sunday Times expose and found that Mokoena should be charged with eight counts of misconduct.

At a meeting last week, Fraser-Moleketi appealed to Deputy President Jacob Zuma to intervene.

Zuma's spokesman, Mathula Magubane, said the deputy president was waiting for Buthelezi and Fraser-Moleketi to "sort out their differences over the appointment of Sitole. If they do not find a solution, then he will intervene."

The hearing against Mokoena, who was suspended as director-general in May, was to have started this week, but was postponed for the third time after he changed lawyers.

Among the matters being investigated are the appointments of Sitole's wife and Mokoena's ex-wife. Sitole's wife, Lungile Sitole, was made a deputy director at the Soweto office of the Department of Home Affairs in 1997. That year, Mokoena's ex-wife, Sara Mokoena, was appointed as a deputy director in the security directorate of the Department of Correctional Services, where Sitole is commissioner.

Sitole is also accused of spending at least R1,5-million in irregular travelling expenses on 15 foreign trips in two years. Auditor-General Henri Kluever said yesterday that his report into allegations against Sitole would be released in three weeks.

Buthelezi referred queries to his acting director-general, Khulu Mbatha, who was adamant that Sitole's appointment would not be reversed. Mbatha said: "The minister and I are not aware of any allegation pending against Sitole. Sitole was the only person available at the time we needed someone to prosecute at this hearing. The minister gave Sitole an official letter of appointment — two weeks ago."

But Fraser-Moleketi said yesterday she wanted another person appointed: "The question of the appointment of the prosecutor is being finalised between myself and the Home Affairs minister. Sitole is definitely not going to be one of the people appointed."



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

President Thabo Mbeki has appointed a former acting judge in the labour court, Puke Maserumule, as the hearing's presiding officer.

There are a number of similarities in the allegations facing Mokoena and Sitole:

- Mokoena is facing a charge of running a professional basketball team, Mecer Soweto Panthers, from his office without approval. Sitole allegedly runs a professional soccer team, Spartak, from his department without permission.
- Mokoena is facing a charge of using his department's telephones and fax machine to run his basketball business. Sitole allegedly used Correctional Services money to buy two sets of soccer jerseys for his team.
- Mokoena is charged with allegedly orchestrating South African citizenship for three Zambian-born basketball players. Sitole allegedly employed some of his players with no proof of academic qualifications at the Department of Correctional Services.
- Mokoena is accused of using government vehicles for private purposes, including transporting players to and from games. Sitole allegedly used a state vehicle to ferry his team.
- Mokoena is charged with using his Home Affairs office to run his basketball team. Sitole allegedly used Pretoria Central Prison as a home ground for his soccer team.

Barry Eksteen, a spokesman for Correctional Services, said Sitole would not deny or confirm his appointment as he had just returned from an overseas trip.

SA's cabinet has a spread of backgrounds

(304A) MD 12 18/99

Research finds that the new government is educated, pragmatic and mainly of Zulu descent

THE average member of President Thabo Mbeki's cabinet and his deputy ministerial corps is "politically moderate and pragmatic and has received a western academic training", according to research.

Also they are likely to have undergone military training for the African National Congress (ANC), have been in exile, be male, black and, curiously, come from a Zulu ethnic background.

Stephan Terblanche of the Africa-International Communications (AIC) research and information company based in Cape Town finds that while Xhosa speakers may still dominate the leadership structures of the ANC, this is not the case in the cabinet.

Mbeki has done away with the old myth of Xhosa political dominance in government and has actually appointed 16 ministers and deputy ministers of Zulu ethnic background.

There are only 10 of Xhosa ethnic background, six from other African ethnic backgrounds, four Indians, three coloureds and four whites.

Christians dominate the ranks of the cabinet and the deputy ministerial ranks as well. There are 13 (30%) who regard themselves as Christian, one Jew (2%), five Muslims (12%), and eight communists (19%) — apparently without religious affiliation.

Of the 43 government members — including the president, deputy president, presidential counsellor and 13 deputy ministers — 27 (63%) are men and 16 are women (37%).

AIC regards it as a "highly balanced" cabinet representative of the full spectrum of South Africans.

"By far the majority of government members are moderates, male and university graduates .... There are absolutely no specific tendencies or strains of any nature ... that dominate or pose any kind of threat to any particular sector, tendency, group or interest."

The broad political left, including communists, amount to 16 (37%).

While it lists members of the SA Communist Party (SACP) as eight, SACP secretary-general Blade Nzimande has publicly acknowledged that there are seven communists in the cabinet and two among the ranks of deputy ministers — a total of nine.

The AIC says there could be a further five but these are unconfirmed.

The six identified as being central committee members are: Essop Pahad (president's office); Charles Nqakula, (parliamentary comsellor, and while not a member of the cabinet certainly influential), Sydney Mufamadi (provincial and local government), Jeff Radebe (public enterprises), Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (public service and administration) and Ronnie Kasrils (water affairs and forestry).

Another two are ordinary members: Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin and deputy Defence Minister Nozizwe Routledge-Madlala.

Two, including Mbeki, are former members of the SACP. AIC says if any significance is to be read into membership of the SACP, it may be of concern only that there are central committee members who hold key cabinet portfolios.

However, the report states that Radebe, for instance, has already announced measures to implement "an accelerated policy of restructuring state assets around limited-period management partnerships and minority equity partnerships".

Joint ownership of state enterprise with the state holding the major share has been openly backed by the SACP rather than outright privatisation.

The AIC report says Mbeki can be expected to focus strongly on implementing his political agenda "of accelerated political and economic transformation, although he will be careful not to tamper too much with economic policy".

His theme of African renaissance will also feature within transformation and will form the basis of his foreign policy too, said AIC.

Mbeki can be expected to transform local government, make some changes to the quasi-federal system of provincial government, transform the public service — state spending has risen to more than half of the budget from 37% in 1994 — as well as deal with crime and accelerate delivery, especially in rural areas, the report says.

Moderates are regarded as making up 70% — or 30 members — of the broader government, while seven received eastern bloc academic training. A far more substantial 28 (65%) received western training.

Former trade unionists number six of the total and 11 (26%) served in the ANC military wing.

Altogether 14 (33%) belonged to the United Democratic Front/Mass Democratic Movement internal tradition of the former banned ANC during the apartheid era. They are outnumbered by the 19 members of the "former exiles group".

Four (9%) are former Robben Island prisoners.

University graduates make up 77% (3[illegible]d most ministers and deputy ministers are older t[illegible]50. One minister is 34-years old or below (Agri[illegible]re and Land Affairs Minister Thoko Didiza who[illegible]born in 1965), 18 (42%) are between 35 and 49-[illegible] old, 22 (51%) are between 50 and 65 and only t[illegible]5%) are above 65-years of age. — I-Net Bridge.

Poep bang

Apartheid's iron men cowered in their bunkers

ARG 14/8/99 (3044)

WILLEM STEENKAMP

Apartheid leaders like P W Botha were "scared of their own shadows" says the architect who helped build their underground bomb-proof chambers below Parliament.

He said they built the shelters to protect themselves with no regard for the cost and described the apartheid politicians as "poep bang" (s*** scared).

Cape Town architect Dirk Visser, of the now defunct firm Munnik, Visser, Black, Fish and Associates, disclosed that the firm had also been commissioned to install bullet proof glass in the offices of ex-president P W Botha's Tuynhuys office next to Parliament.

He said he was told to reinforce the roof of the underground parking garage at Stalplein to ensure it was bomb proof.

The firm was also instructed to build a private tunnel and lift to enable Mr Botha to step out of his car in the bomb proof parking garage, into his own private tunnel and to enter his office via a private lift in total safety.

Said Mr Visser: "Look, it was a different political era and to be brutally frank these people were scared of their own shadows. Botha told us the cost of the project was irrelevant. We were even told to incorporate an H-design in the paving on Stalplein to allow helicopters to identify the landing area in front of Tuynhuys.

"That was the style of the man. Money was no problem. This bomb proof underground parking garage was something similar to Hitler's bunkers, but obviously it did not go quite as far. The joke at the time was that the only difference was that PW did not have his own Eva Braun – but then of course he had Elize.

"We were also told to place huge reinforced concrete pillars at the gates to Stalplein. These pillars were specially designed to stop any vehicle packed with explosives from ramming into Tuynhuys," said Mr Visser.

"These guys were poep bang."

Mr Visser said his firm was asked to take over the project after architect Revel Fox had been sacked because he had dared to host anti-apartheid poet Breyten Breytenbach at his home. "At that time Breyten was persona non grata and because Mr Fox had dared to invite Breyten to his house, PW had him removed from the project. Our firm was then approached and instructed to do the development," said Mr Visser.

Two weeks ago Saturday Argus disclosed some of the subterranean secrets of Parliament, including other tunnels and a secret staircase leading to the office of former Prime Minister John Vorster. These disclosures led to a flurry of disclaimers, particularly in the Afrikaans press, who were frequent staunch supporters of the Nationalist Party in the era of apartheid.

One former top NP official went to great lengths to explain that there was nothing sinister about the construction of another underground tunnel linking the old H F Verwoerd Building (now 120 Plein Street) to the parliamentary complex. That costly project, said the retired official, was undertaken not so much with safety in mind, but rather to prevent MPs from getting wet in the rain.

Well-known Cape Town architect Gawie Fagan said that besides the secrets contained in the bowels of Parliament, a host of very old stormwater tunnels ran underneath the streets of Cape Town.

Years ago when excavations were done for the Golden Acre centre, several of these old tunnels were redis-covered.

Mr Fagan said there was also a tunnel linking the old Cape Town Post Office in Adderley Street to the railway station. It was believed that this tunnel was used to bring post from trains to the post office.

Architect John Rennie, who was closely involved in the Golden Acre project, said that in the 18th century the city was criss-crossed by grachts (canals). As the city developed many of these, some of which originated in the Gardens and ran past what is today Parliament, were covered or built over. Although now underground, many of them were still in place and in use.

Security officials at Parliament believe some of these old tunnels are linked to the Castle.

Mr Fagan, who is involved in the restoration of the Castle, said that recently a tunnel was discovered near the Castle in which an adult could walk fully upright. Believed to have been built under British rule, it had beautiful brickwork and was in a good state. "We believe it is just one of many old tunnels under the city," said Mr Fagan.

MPs back Parliament's new finance chair

Integrity, toughness, a sense of priorities and a willingness to be guided by ethics are Barbara Hogan's hallmarks, writes **Linda Ensor**

BD 16/8/99

(304A)

THE nomination by the African tional Congress of its MP Barbara Hogan as chairman of Parliament's influential finance committee has unified government and opposition benches and the senior civil service as little else could, if only briefly.

Unhappiness at the ANC's exclusion of opposition parties from the chairmanship of committees notwithstanding, coalition and opposition party finance spokesmen responded positively to the choice, as has the auditor-general. The endorsements auger well for the co-operation needed.

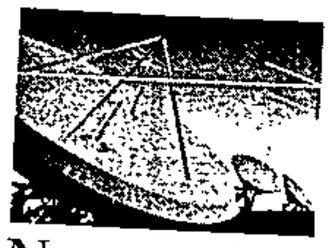
"I can't think of a better choice. She is bright, has a good sense of priorities and has integrity. When she disagrees with something, she says so," says Inkatha Freedom Party finance spokesman Gavin Woods. He has been proposed by the ANC to head the public accounts committee and is expected to work closely with Hogan.

Describing her appointment as "appropriate", the Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says: "She is very conscientious and thorough." Auditor-general Henri Kluever, who had close dealings with Hogan when she chaired the Audit Commission, says he has "the highest regard for her abilities. She has a calm but firm manner and is absolutely fearless. I really appreciated the way she handled the disputes with auditees and politicians."

Still, Hogan will be aware as she takes over at the helm of arguably one of Parliament's most important committees that she is treading in the footsteps of two politicians who went on to become deputy finance ministers. She may also occasionally find herself on opposite sides of the fence from her predecessors, Gill Marcus, now a Reserve Bank deputy governor, and deputy finance minister Mandisi Mpahlwa.

There is no question that Hogan has the necessary knowledge of financial affairs, knowledge acquired through studying for a BCom degree while serving a lengthy prison sentence for her political activities as a member of the banned ANC.

She also has a BA honours in development studies. Her grasp of issues facing the finance committee was deepened over the last five years through her participation in the finance and public accounts committees, as convenor of the budget subcommittee, and as chairman of the Audit Commission.



Newsmaker
Barbara Hogan
New parliamentary finance committee chair

The commission is a statutory body established to oversee the work of the auditor-general's office. While there Hogan gained a detailed understanding of the role of financial accountability mechanisms in government.

Sources say she has a total dedication to the job at hand, is hard-working, thorough, and supremely competent. She has an astute mind, informed by a deep sense of justice and fair play, is independent and is guided by a sense of ethical responsibility. Hogan is tough, talks straight and and cannot abide anyone trying to pull the wool over her eyes.

The latter trait was especially evident during public accounts committee hearings where she displayed little tolerance for evasion, incompetence and inefficiency, while at the same time remaining mindful of government's capacity problems.

Her independence came to the fore during the dispute between former minerals and energy minister Penuell Maduna and Kluever about Maduna's allegations that Kluever had failed to properly perform his duties. The Audit Commission passed a motion, expressing unqualified confidence in Kluever's integrity and competence.

It was this same complex of qualities that made Hogan fight against apartheid and helped her survive a lengthy prison sentence imposed in 1982 for underground work for the ANC. After her release in 1990, she was general secretary of the ANC in Gauteng and an institutional specialist with the Development Bank when she was seconded to the National Economic Forum in 1994.

Hogan would like to see the finance committee play a greater role as a forum for debate on economic and financial issues by all sectors of society — its heavy legislative load permitting — as it already does with the national budget, s role Hogan would like to see extended. She says she would like to strengthen the committee's relationship with the Reserve Bank. Former governor Chris Stals gave a few briefings on International Monetary Fund meetings and on the bank's monetary policies and Hogan says she would like to continue the practice with new governor Tito Mboweni.

She would like, with the national council of provinces, to strengthen links with the financial and fiscal commission, giving it a greater role in the parliamentary process. She feels this is important for intergovernmental fiscal relations to be refined, monitored and developed.

She believes the committee should keep an eye on implementation of the Public Financial Management Act and the capacity of departments to implement it.

Another significant area of committee activity will be budget reform. Hogan believes strongly in the role of the legislature, particularly in formulating budgets, and feels it can act as a useful sounding board for the executive's budget proposals. The issue will come to the fore when the committee deals with the Amendment of Money Bills Bill.

"Parliament must have more rights to pass and amend the budget," she says. This is a major issue for me, but we must be very careful about the way we go. We do not want to undermine the power of the executive to act. If Parliament imposes its own will, it could easily, albeit unintentionally, make very populist cuts that fundamentally impact on the ability of a department to deliver. One could go a very dangerous populist route which may sound good but is very dangerous to good governance. "Parliament cannot be expected to pass budgets without the power to amend them or make a statement on issues which it feels have not been properly addressed. Parliament must be able to flex its muscles when it wants to.

"Parliament should never have the right to veto the executive, but should be able to provide sensitivity checks and engage in debate, bringing a fresh, broader perspective to bear."



Barbara Hogan ... when she disagrees with something, she says so
Picture: TYRONE ARTHUR

GOVT BUILDINGS IN POOR STATE

R10bn needed for repairs

CT 17/8/99 (304A)

THE DEPARTMENT of Public Works is relying increasingly on private sector leases, says Minister Stella Sigcau. **PHINDILE NGUBANE** of the Parliamentary Bureau reports.

GOVERNMENT buildings are in serious disrepair, but the Ministry of Public Works cannot do much about them as it needs R10 billion for maintenance.

Minister of Public Works Stella Sigcau, who disclosed this while briefing MPs in Parliament yesterday, said the ministry was given a budget of no more than R1bn a year.

Because its budget was inadequate, the Ministry of Public Works was turning increasingly to the private sector to lease office accommodation for government departments.

"Since 1991, lease costs have risen by 186%," Sigcau said.

"For the current financial year the Department of Public Works has budgeted R775 million for leases with the private sector.

"This represents an increase of about R90m over the previous financial year.

"With the allocation of R564m for maintenance, this shows that there is an urgent need for intervention."

Sigcau said the department responsible for maintenance had looked at how other countries, such as Australia and Canada, had dealt with similar challenges.

Among other things, this department was also looking at the possibility of establishing an independent property agency that would deal with ownership and asset management.



BUDGETARY STRAINS: Minister of Public Works Stella Sigcau.

This option would be investigated jointly with the Departments of State Expenditure and of Finance.

The Ministry of Public Works was working tirelessly to root out fraud and corruption from its ranks, Sigcau said.

Seven officials were suspended two weeks ago after the Fraud Awareness and Special Investigations directorate found they had initiated fraud and corruption, or had co-operated with others who were guilty of these.

Among the special projects to be implemented soon by the ministry was the Youth Working Towards Environmental Accessibility, an initiative to make public buildings in rural and urban areas accessible to disabled people.

Unemployed youths would be trained to do this work, Sigcau said.

The project had been promoted by President Thabo Mbeki and would be undertaken jointly by the Ministry of Public Works, the Office of the President, the National Youth Commission and the Office on the Status of Disabled Persons.

SA has a role to play on the wider world stage

As chair of the Nonaligned Movement, Pretoria can push for UN reform, writes **John Stremlau**

IF YOU think the conflicts in Africa are bad, consider this: rebellion in Russia by Dagestan Muslims and President Lee Teng-hui's assertion of Taiwan's independence from China must be added to a growing list of mismatched states and nations that include the Balkans, the Congo, Angola and a host of other post-Cold War creations.

Russia, of course, is the world's biggest country. China is the most populous. Both are nuclear armed and permanent members on the UN Security Council. Yet neither possess the democratic structures that have become essential to preventing and resolving conflicts within and between culturally diverse countries.

Could either of these latest crises of national integration — Taiwan and Dagestan — lead to a major war? Is there a role for international preventive action, which SA could support?

Neither Russia nor China appears to be preparing for major war or harbours imperial ambitions. Their leaders lack also the ruthless resolve of a Stalin or Mao to quash domestic dissent. And dependence on foreign investment, trade, access to global information, and the existence of nuclear weapons fosters restraint.

The costs of war are so high these days and any gains so dubious that the odds are peace will prevail among the major powers.

Tensions over the Taiwan straits, though, could spin out of control. China's leaders face hard economic choices, and increasingly restive minorities. These include about 200-million Muslims, international pressures to grant greater autonomy to Tibet and last month's sudden protest by thousands belonging to the Falun Gong movement. Backing down in any confrontation with Taiwan has huge domestic political risks.

For Taiwan's President Lee, however, asserting independence helps his party's election prospects and takes advantage of the worst down-turn in US-China relations in 30 years by playing into the hands of right-wing US politicians who want more arms and recognition for the island.

Bill Clinton has already declared US determination to defend Taiwan's autonomy. The risks of miscalculation are real and rising.

The situation in Russia is less dangerous internationally despite the rising violence. Foreign powers will not openly challenge Moscow's right to retake Dagestan. Russian democracy, though, remains fragile.

Further domestic turmoil could ignite ethnic nationalism, including among Russians still in Ukraine. Any attempt by Moscow to exploit this would risk a confrontation with the west.

The UN was created to prevent major wars, not ones of this variety. Its primary aim was to deter aggression by a Hitler or Saddam Hussein. That goal has been largely met.

If the UN is to help prevent and resolve conflicts over self-determination ways must be found to hold governments more accountable for how they treat the people — and those people must have greater access to the UN. The UN must be given the mandate to protect the security and rights of people, not just states. This is exactly Kofi Annan's goal for next year's special UN Millennium Assembly.

Resolutions alone will not prevent wars, large or small. Agreeing on a new vision, though, could open the way for the UN to seek the mandates and means for playing a more effective role in brokering political solutions to domestic crises that could result in mass violence with dire international consequences. At the very least this requires a loosening of the reins that restrict the UN to dealing only with recognised states in most crises.

Can SA help? As a small country with big needs and scarce resources, it surely lacks the military and economic power to influence global events. However when interests are defined as values SA's voice carries special weight, for historic reasons and because building political frameworks to manage cultural diversity is increasingly seen as the key to peace.

In this regard SA is a world leader. As chair of the Nonaligned Movement SA can advocate UN reforms that support Annan's vision. Having failed to prevent costly conflicts in Rwanda, Bosnia, Kosovo and elsewhere, a fresh look at the UN's mission is clearly overdue.

Stremlau is professor of international relations and head of department at Wits university.



A world of complex challenges for UN chief Kofi Annan

Sanco into politics?

The civic organisation has failed as a watchdog – but what can it do to play a meaningful role in post-apartheid South Africa, asks Mcebisi Ndletyana?

ACCORDING to recent media reports, the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) is considering whether it should become a political party, a watchdog movement or a development agency.

Debates about adopting a new identity are not new within the civic movement. In fact, some of us thought it had overcome this dilemma when it resolved to become a watchdog movement in the early 1990s.

Civics cropped up as a response to an illegitimate local government and lack of proper social services. The democratic election of councillors and the African National Congress pledge to improve social service delivery in townships obviously forced civics to review their role in the new dispensation.

Instead of dying with the apartheid system, the civic leadership resolved to continue but assume a different role – a watchdog role.

In this new role, civics were not only to be bystanders monitoring the performance of councillors, but also exercise influence over policy issues through their alliance with the ANC.

Civic organisations hoped to make an input on policy-making through the leaders they released to stand for elections as ANC candidates. As watchdogs they envisaged engaging in mass protests to pressure the authorities when necessary.

Instead, civics spent most of the last five years fighting for survival. The post-apartheid era conjured up problems they found difficult to cope with.

The lure of co-option became too difficult to resist. With the deployment of civic leaders to government positions, leadership positions in civics came to represent a springboard to such lucrative posts.

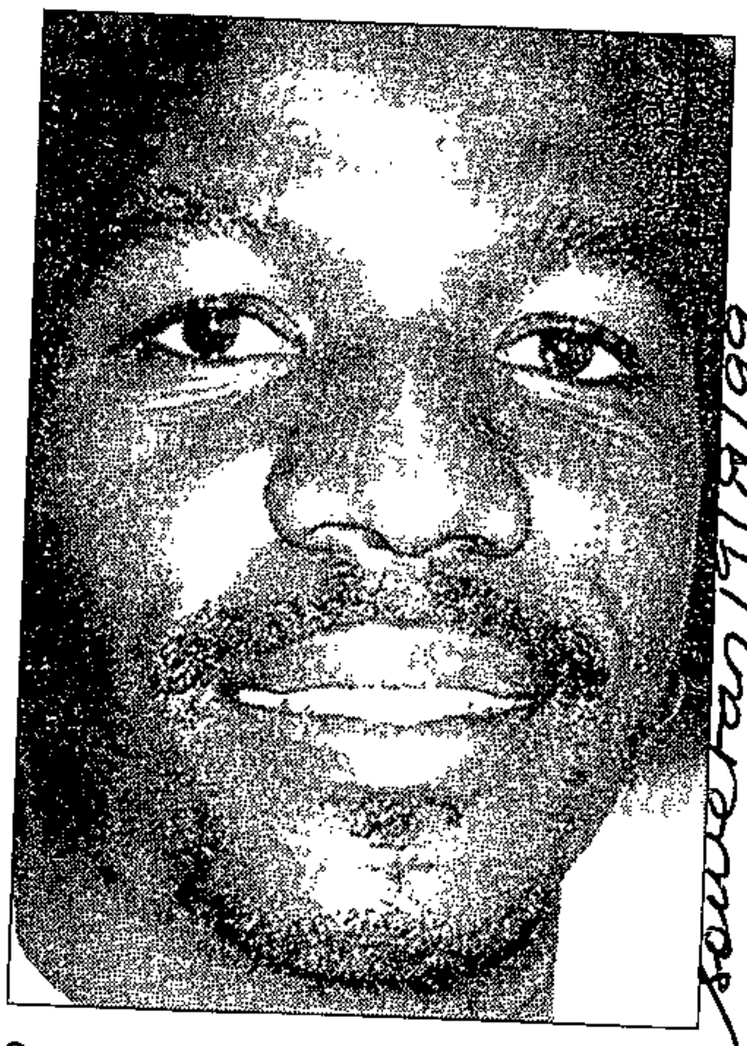
Commitment to the public good, which was normally cited as the reason for one's involvement in the civic movement, was substituted by the career calculations of leaders.

At Sanco's 1997 national conference, the national secretary reported: "Some people have agreed to be nominated and elected into positions but have never shown any outward or inward commitment to serve in these posts ... Persons elected seem to disappear after the elections."

Deployment of leaders to government positions created a shortage of skills in civic organisations. Civics could not make policy input nor could they count on their deployed comrades to make such contributions on their behalf.

These leaders were no longer accountable to their former organisations but to their new political masters – the ANC. Deployment was not accompanied by creating a mechanism to ensure continuous accountability to civics.

Lack of influence by civics over civic leaders-turned-ANC councillors was in fact symptomatic of their declining influence within the national liberation movement alliance.



Sanco president Mlungisi Hlongwane referred to differences with the ANC at the civic movement's national conference in 1997.

PIC: SHARON CHETTY

Tension within the alliance between the ANC and Sanco had developed to an extent where both organisations had to hold summits to improve relations.

At the 1997 summit the Sanco president remarked: "We fight over who should initiate or lead development. We fight over consultation... We fight over tariffs... We fight over recognition and respect..."

Despite feeling marginalised by ANC councillors, Sanco could not openly display its dissatisfaction in the form of mass protests.

As allies of the ANC, civics are constrained from publicly airing their differences with ANC councillors but are expected to do so within the alliance.

Even if civics had the will to mount mass protests against ANC, the odds were stacked against them. Lack of income for civics in the post-apartheid era pushed them into a state of near paralysis.

Without a specific role or a direct impact, civic leaders found it difficult to convince donors to fund the organisation. By the mid-1990s donations into Sanco had halved.

Membership dues were not generating enough income either. Even leaders had to be compelled to pay membership dues.

At branch level, financial constraints manifested themselves in staff reduction and withdrawal from certain developmental activities. As a consequence, the profile of civic organisations decreased drastically.

The bottom line, therefore, is that civics resolved early in the 1990s to become a watchdog. But they became ineffective. To be an effective watchdog, they will have to be independent of the ANC.

A watchdog role, however, may not be sufficient to convince ANC councillors to take them more seriously. So long as they do not pose an electoral threat to the ANC, the latter is likely to continue on the same path.

Conversion into a party could be exactly what is needed to promote better governance at local level. The threat of losing support to another party may just be enough to inject a renewed sense of urgency and enthusiasm into councillors in the execution of their duties.

But becoming a party may just spell the beginning of the end for civics.

Unlike trade unions, which are guaranteed a monthly income from their members, civics are in dire financial straits. Becoming a party may even rob them of the little income they are able to raise.

Civics are currently kept afloat by their investment arm, Sanco Investment Holdings. Investors contribute to the latter on the understanding that it promotes community development in a bipartisan manner.

Converting to a development agency is also unlikely to elicit broad acceptance among civic leaders. As a profit-making enterprise it may have to comply with the market demands of a lean and mean bureaucracy.

This would entail laying off thousands of its office holders currently on the payroll. This option is unlikely to even feature on the agenda.

Staying confused may just be the safest option. A new path may in fact be suicidal.

(The author is a policy analyst at the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies.)

Auditor-general details misuse of state assets

(3044)

LYNDA LOXTON
PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town – Staff shortages, a failure to adhere to accounting norms and standards and the misuse of state assets or privileges continued to dominate audits of the financial statements of government departments, the office of the auditor-general revealed yesterday.

Most of the 13 reports tabled in parliament yesterday highlighted shortcomings in the financial management in various departments or statutory bodies in 1997-98.

The report on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was particularly scathing. It lambasted the commission for its staff's continued personal use of TRC credit cards, while internal checking and control were found to be lacking.

The report also queried the possible conflict of interest between the TRC and the planned Institute for Change, Memory and Reconciliation.

Also heavily criticised was the Legal Aid Board, which was guilty of poor debtor control, unreliable bank and cash systems and poor computer systems. In one case an employee embezzled R1 million from the fund.

The land affairs department had been unable to account properly for loans worth more than R100 million to local authorities. Complete registers of housing guarantees had not been kept and various shortcomings in internal control were identified.

In the vote for the general improvement of conditions of service, the office of the auditor-general found "little reliance" could be placed on the integrity of the information supplied.

The environmental affairs and tourism department had suffered from poor asset registers and stores inventories and staff shortages as well as a lack of budgetary controls.

The office of the deputy president was found to have had no proper administration systems in place, while stock-taking at the National Youth Commission had been poor.

ET (BR) 19/8/99

[redacted]

New laws will keep MPs hard at work

(304A) ARC 20/8/99

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Parliament could postpone discussion of some of the new laws due to be put to it until next year as MPs assert their right to an annual holiday.

A list of legislation already in the works or due from ministers was forwarded to Parliament today, indicating about 60 bills would be put to MPs before December.

Parliament has scheduled a holiday for MPs from December 6 to January 9.

The concept of a holiday is a new one for Parliament, which has customarily gone into recess between sittings, although after 1994 "constituency weeks" were introduced to allow members to be away from the Houses to dedicate themselves to dealing with citizens.

National Assembly Speaker Frene Ginwala told a joint programming committee today that it was wrong to assume that when MPs were not "sitting in front of television cameras" they were not working.

Chamber debates, discussions in committees, constituency work, political work, and "thinking and planning" were all part of their duties.

"Public representatives are entitled to holidays," said Dr Ginwala.

President Thabo Mbeki was provisionally scheduled to give his opening-of-Parliament, state-of-the-nation speech on February 4, and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel planned to deliver his Budget in mid-February, rather than mid-March.

Dr Ginwala said that an adjournment date of November 19 was "achievable".

However, once the executive had indicated its priorities for planned legislation, some might be held over until early next year.

National Council of Provinces chairwoman Naledi Pandor said that if the NCOP amended legislation, further sittings might be necessary during December, or in January.

The post-election sitting of Parliament has been much delayed because of the protracted process of finalising committees, and of seeking information from the Cabinet about its intentions.

The list of legislation that could stand over until 2000 includes two items from the Ministry of Public Enterprises, the Facilitation of Restructuring and Privatisation Bill and the Eskom Succession Bill.

However, major legislation produced by ministries including education, constitutional development and justice stands a fair chance of approval before Christmas.

The Cabinet this week approved the Education Laws Amendment Bill, National Student Financial Aid Scheme Bill, Higher Education Amendment Bill and the Pharmacy Amendment Bill.

[redacted]

Mokoena refuses to give evidence at probe

(304A)

ST 22/8/99

MZILIKAZI WA AFRIKA

SUSPENDED Home Affairs director-general Albert Mokoena this week refused to take the stand during a disciplinary hearing into seven charges against him.

As the Public Service and Administration inquiry wrapped up its evidence, Public Protector Selby Baqwa submitted two further charges against Mokoena. Forwarded to President Thabo Mbeki and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi Baqwa claimed that Mokoena had prejudiced the public service code of conduct by:

- Failing accurately to assess and recover money allegedly stolen by an employee; and
- Employing two domestic servants at his home paid by Home Affairs.

Wrapping up the hearing in Sandown, Johannesburg, state prosecutor Barbara Adair recommended that the presiding officer, Puke Maseremule, "dismiss Mokoena from public service".

Mokoena was suspended on full pay earlier this year after the Sunday Times exposed him for allegedly running a privately owned basketball team, Mecer Soweto Panthers, from his Home Affairs office in Pretoria.

On allegations that Mokoena did not have the permission of his executing authority to earn money outside his post in the public service, the hearing learnt that the Premier Basketball League had paid more than R1-million into the bank account of the Panthers, of which Mokoena is the sole director.

League general manager Al Feinstein testified that the Panthers were paid R552 500 in 1997.

Of this, R370 500 was for appearance fees and R68 000 for travelling allowances, and R114 000 was prize money.

During the 1998 season, Feinstein said, the league had paid the team a total of R484 400.

Mokoena is also alleged to have contravened the public service code of conduct by asking Cenit, a computer company contracted to Home Affairs, to sponsor the Panthers.

Former Cenit project manager Joubert Snyman told the hearing that Mokoena had handed him a letter seeking sponsorship while Cenit had a contract with the department.

He also testified that Mokoena had also ordered him to design a logo for the Panthers on Home Affairs Department computers.

He said Cenit had refused to sponsor the basketball team because the company was about to bid for a new Home Affairs tender as its contract was due to expire.

In summing up, Adair told the hearing: "Mokoena made a gross breach of conflict as the most powerful person in the department and could influence who gets the tender in the future."

Maseremule is expected to submit his recommendation to Mbeki within the next two weeks.

Mbeki in hot water over Mahlangu

Baqwa hits out at 'politicians lie' statement

ARG 28/8/99 (3049)

JEAN LE MAY

President Thabo Mbeki has been put in a spot by Public Protector Selby Baqwa's strongly worded report of Mpumalanga Premier Ndaweni Mahlangu's statement that "politicians lie".

Mr Mahlangu was stoutly defended in Parliament by Mr Mbeki, who said that although his statements were "fundamentally wrong", he had admitted the "grievous error" and apologised to his comrades and the people of the province.

Mr Mahlangu's comrades had directed him to go back to work "to discharge his tasks with honesty and integrity", said Mr Mbeki.

Late yesterday African National Congress spin doctors were still working on a press statement after the publication of Mr Baqwa's report on Wednesday.

However, the report was welcomed by the official opposition.

The Democratic Party's Douglas Gibson said that Mr Baqwa's recommendations were "unprecedented, remarkable and praiseworthy".

"This is the first time anything of the kind has happened in South Africa and it will be difficult for the Speaker of the Mpumalanga legislature to ignore Mr Baqwa's recommendations," he said.

Mr Mahlangu, handpicked for the job by Mr Mbeki after the controversial departure of former premier Mathews Phosa, made his controversial "politicians lie" statement on June 22 when he was questioned about re-appointing provincial finance minister Jacques Modipane, a leading figure in an investigation by Judge Willem Heath's anti-corruption unit.

Mr Modipane denied that he had signed three illegal promissory notes worth over R340-million, which resulted in Mpumalanga's provincial reserves being used as collateral for massive off-shore loans. However, a forensic investigation by the Heath unit subsequently found the signatures were genuine.

Mr Mahlangu told the press conference in June: "Mr Modipone has already admitted, after he had denied before, that he did sign the promissory notes.

"I have heard many people, not only politicians, denying certain things and then admitting ... In a society you find that and even in politics you do find that. I am not saying that it is correct but it is not unusual to find such a thing."

Mr Baqwa recommended that the Speaker of the Mpumalanga legislature must ensure that Mr Mahlangu's statement was raised in the legislature "with a view to passing a resolution regarding the accountability of the premier and any possible sanction that the legislature considers appropriate, which should, at least, comprise a strong reprimand or a motion of censure."

He also recommended that Mr Mbeki's office and Parliament should finalise the Executive Members' Ethics Act "as a matter of urgency".

In his damning report, Mr Baqwa said Mr Mahlangu's statement was "unbecoming of a member of an executive council" and it "compromised the credibility and integrity of his office and of the government".

Mr Baqwa said the legislature had a constitutional responsibility to call on the premier to account for his actions.

Mr Mahlangu's apology, issued in a press release, did not in any way affect his accountability to the legislature, said Mr Baqwa.

MINISTERIAL HOUSES TO BE RENOVATED

R1,7bn for state repairs

CT 31/8/99(304A)

WITH a maintenance backlog of R10bn, the Department of Public Works plans to renovate "prestige residences" most in need of repair, reports **PHINDILE NGUBANE.**

RENOVATIONS to President Thabo Mbeki's residences in Pretoria and Cape Town have been budgeted at about R5 million and R4m respectively and plans to begin the projects are under way.

Public Works Minister Stella Sigcau said at a media briefing at Parliament yesterday her department planned to repair "prestige accommodation" which included Parliament, ministerial houses and parliamentary villages occupied by MPs.

In a press statement she confirmed that repairs to Mbeki's homes had been budgeted at R5m for Mahlamba-Ndlovu residence in Pretoria and R4m for Genadendal in Cape Town.

Renovations to Mbeki's residences and to "prestige accommodation" were budgeted under the department's planned maintenance programme of R1,7 billion for the next two financial years.

Public Works spokesperson Mariette Ebersohn said the department was busy identifying ministerial houses that needed repairs.

Sigcau said the department would have wished for a R1 billion allocation towards maintenance in the current financial year, but had instead received R617m.

Public Works had a maintenance backlog of R10 billion.

Although there are 120 government properties with a serious maintenance backlog, insufficient funds meant the department would, for now, focus only on buildings needing urgent attention.

Most of these were police stations, military bases and magistrate's courts. Sigcau said renovations on ministerial houses were essential as they had been neglected for years.

She said that Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele had been reporting for the past two years that the roof of her residence was leaking.

Sigcau also said at the briefing that a meeting would be held next week with provincial governments to discuss which state assets would be disposed of to reduce the maintenance backlog.

A total of 243 243 state assets were recorded on the national asset register, with an estimated value of R120 billion.

Sigcau said that, while proceeds from asset sales normally went to State Expenditure, discussions were under way to determine if they could be used to go towards addressing the R10bn backlog.

She added that a final decision on the matter would have to be taken by the cabinet.

"Prestige accommodation" has been identified by the department as part of prominent facilities in need of repairs.

Other prominent facilities identified as being in need of repairs include:

- Robben Island (various projects): R7,7m
- Pretoria central government offices: R50m
- Pretoria Laboria House: R36m
- Pretoria police station: R16,9m
- Johannesburg central police station: R37m
- Durban naval base: R2,4m
- Richmond's Zevonontein prison: R 2,4m
- Port Elizabeth military base: R 2,6m
- Pietersburg air force base: R3,2m
- Heidelberg army gymnasium: R18,7m.



FACE-LIFT: Genadendal, the Cape Town residence of the President, is to undergo a R4m renovation.

Mbeki's work ethic marks the presidency

(304A) BD 20/9/99

Urgency a hallmark of his first 100 days in office, write **Drew Forrest** and **Farouk Chothia**

A HALLMARK of President Thabo Mbeki's first 100 days in office has been the higher work rate, stronger sense of purpose and increased urgency of his ministers.

Mbeki has a pronounced puritan streak which lays emphasis on service and discipline. A workaholic whose ideal is a society of workaholics, he has infused new energy into the cabinet.

In domestic affairs, three ministers are at the centre of the new ethos — Public Service Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Education Minister Kader Asmal and Justice Minister Penuell Maduna.

They are promoting the Victorian values which form an important strand in Mbeki's complex make-up: make the best of what you have; work hard and improve yourself; avoid excuses, complaints and scapegoats; focus on what you can contribute rather than what you can get; learning is the key to success.

It is a message Fraser-Moleketi has been drumming into the heads of public servants, Asmal into the heads of students and Maduna into the heads of the judiciary.

When workers demand higher wages, Fraser-Moleketi asks them to scour the budget for the necessary funds. When students demand a separate matric examination for township schools, Asmal chides them for taking a soft, morally indefensible option.

Taking a tougher line than during Mandela's era, government has been strikingly unmoved by the protests of its allies. It appears confident that as unruly children finally accept the authority of the headmaster, workers and students will ultimately toe the government line.

A year ago, Mbeki publicly roasted the SA Communist Party — and by implication the Congress of SA Trade Unions — teachers and university students.

Now, he has handed over the whip to his lieutenants.

In contrast with Mandela, he has been careful to keep his person above the fray. This reflects his backroom political style and fastidious distaste for public controversy and mudslinging. But it may also be intended to enhance his authority, thereby removing himself from Mandela's shadow. It is politically useful too, allowing him to play the neutral referee when necessary.

Mandela's "feel-good" and morale-lifting role has also been delegated. Examples are Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete's decision to invite policemen to lunch, Maduna popping into dilapidated courtrooms and Defence Minister Mosiuoa Lekota taking a nap on a prison bed.

Evidence of the new climate is the speed with which the government launched the crime-busting "Scorpions" unit — not within two weeks, as Mbeki pledged at his inauguration, but well within the five years some officials had predicted. Despite the fact that legislation to seal its constitutionality has yet to come before Parliament, the unit is already in place.

Opposition parties tend to assume that racial transformation of the state, public service delivery and employment generation — Mbeki's key aims — pull against each other. Mbeki clearly does not see things this way.

Indeed, he tends to see white old-order officials as drones and obstacles to effective rule.

Hence the extraordinary rise of national prosecutions director Bulelani Ngcuka, a pocket dynamo whose office lies at the centre of anti-crime initiatives, cutting across Maduna and Tshwete's departments.

Ngcuka is Mbeki's man — as head of the Scorpions, he reports directly to the president.

His elevation to a kind of superminister points to Mbeki's hands-on style, taste for the unconventional stroke and absolute authority over his cabinet.

The African National Congress's priorities have shifted markedly since the immediate post-1994 era, when reconstruction and development were the only game in town and Asmal could suggest that crime was a white suburban bogey.

Crime now tops the government agenda, mainly because Mbeki sees foreign investor confidence as the prime engine of economic progress. But the issues of privatisation and parastatal reform express another, cautious and methodical, side of Mbeki's nature. He wants movement, but not at any speed or price.

Accused of "neo-liberalism" by left-wing critics, he clearly believes in an interventionist state where selected public enterprises will fuel development, not just at home, but in a resurgent continent. The likely pattern is private-public partnerships in which the state retains a controlling stake.

Jeff Radebe was appointed to the public enterprises portfolio not just because of his "toughness", but for his credibility on the left and his diplomatic skills. He has been notably circumspect over troubled Spoornet's plans to shed 27 000 jobs, and the Sun Air saga.

Politically, Mbeki has set out to create a consensus of the centre, slapping down both the left and what he conceives as the new right, the Democratic Party. The ANC's elevation of Freedom Alliance leader Louis Luyt to the Judicial Service Commission, in place of a DP candidate, signalled that he considers the traditional white right less inimical to SA's new political culture than the official opposition.

A similar dynamic can be seen in Mbeki's attitude to the courts. When Maduna attacked Constitutional Court judges Richard Goldstone and Johann Kriegler as unproductive, Mbeki reined him in — in part reflecting the view that the court is broadly in tune with the new democratic ethos. On the lower courts, where apartheid-era judges are numerous, and influential, it appears to be open season.

> Workaholic leader is hard to love, but difficult not to respect

Mbeki has an authoritarian bent, but his centralising approach to government is as much explained by his desire to get things done. He fears that without a strong helmsman, the ship of state will become becalmed or lose its way.

Central government continues to play an interventionist role in crisis-ridden provinces, indicating the minimal faith it has in premiers and MECs.

Asmal has deployed education department human resources chief director Duncan Hindle to act as Mpumalanga education department head, while Fraser-Moleketi has sent task teams to KwaZulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and the Northern Province to draft management plans and identify spending priorities.

Through Mbeki's iron grip on government and the party apparatus — seven regions are ANC-led and the party is coalition partner in another — the provinces are likely to become increasingly subordinate to the central government over the next five years.

One spin-off has been the slow stabilisation of the ANC at provincial level, for which secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe also deserves credit. The signs are that Mbeki's next target is SA's 800-odd local councils, still a viper's nest of infighting and mismanagement.

The Mbeki government's vigour in tackling domestic problems has been almost outdone by its approach to regional and continental problems. Foreign Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Lekota have been most active here.

Dlamini-Zuma spearheaded the campaign to oust SA Development Community executive secretary Kaire Mbuende as a first step towards revitalising the regional body. The striking feature of SA's intervention in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been its sheer persistence.

Mbeki's stature in Africa has grown. The hostility he and Mandela once faced, largely over perceptions that they were Western "lackeys", is evaporating. There are indications that other leaders are coming to accept the need to end wars through negotiation, move to multipartyism and embrace shifts in the global economy.

Together with Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika and Nigerian head of state Olusegun Obasanjo, Mbeki was a dominant figure at the July Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Algiers. A new OAU policy rejecting military coups bore his stamp.

In the region, he has moved quickly to improve SA's relations with Zimbabwe, which were strained in part because of the personal animosity between Mandela and Robert Mugabe.

Mbeki has the defects of his qualities. His almost mystical quest for an African renaissance, to restore the dignity of Africans and their proper place in world affairs, sometimes leaves the impression that he is more preoccupied with continental than domestic matters.

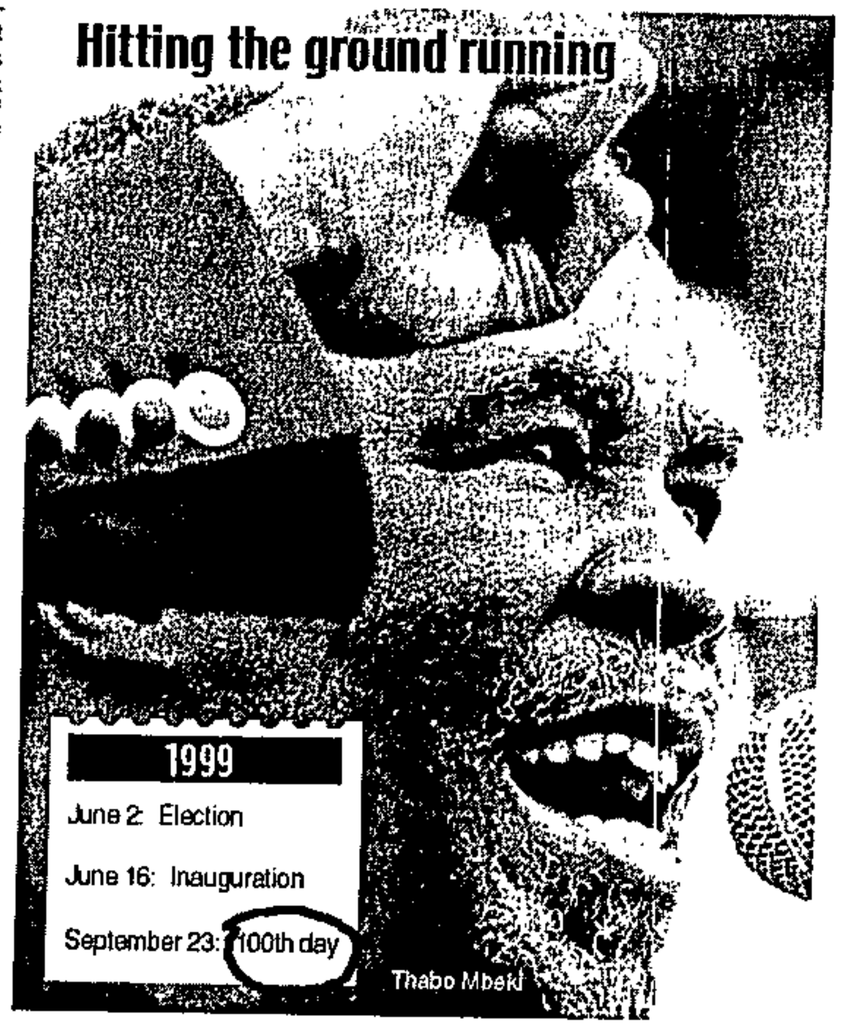
His emphasis on discipline and hierarchical submission may work against diversity of opinion and creativity in the ANC and government. There are also fears that in his urgency to rein in crime, human rights will be de-emphasised and democratic institutions may suffer.

Under pressure from some policemen, Tshwete appears to be retreating from tougher controls over police use of firearms. Amendments to the Prevention of Organised Crime Act were rushed through Parliament, with members of the justice portfolio committee not having time to study three High Court judgements critical of the legislation. This suggests Parliament could become a battering ram for the executive.

Another concern — raised by the DP — is that Mbeki is to appear in Parliament only once a month to answer questions. This is despite the fact that he is becoming increasingly involved in law-making and in setting the priorities of the various departments.

Mbeki can be both ruthless and pragmatically flexible to the point of expediency. His appointments on occasions seem to reflect a preference for compliant loyalists.

He is hard to love, but difficult not to respect. His opening spell in office suggests he has the right combination of toughness, energy and clarity of mind to steer a country where underlying conditions are still very far from normal.



Lack of input holds up code of ethics

A CODE of ethics to discourage government ministers and MECs from acting corruptly had not been finalised, because input was required from provincial MECs, Deputy President Jacob Zuma said yesterday.

He was responding to a question from Douglas Gibson, chief whip of the DP, as to what steps were being taken to implement the code of ethics envisaged in the Executive Members Ethics Act.

Zuma said that, after considering the views of MECs, the draft code would be finalised.

In terms of the act ministers would have to declare their business interests, any gifts they receive and would have to promote moral standards in government. — Parliamentary Bureau

CT 23/9/99 (304A) (34)

Apartheid to blame for corruption

BD 11/10/99 (304A) (34)

Pule Molebeledi

DURBAN — The existence for a long time of a political and social system that was "clearly morally and politically illegitimate" contributed to the spread and entrenchment of corruption in SA, President Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

At the opening of the ninth international anti-corruption conference in Durban last night, he said that many of the beneficiaries of that system understood that it was morally illegitimate.

The result was that the legal system and institutions of governance lost the ability to provide a set of norms for society that would be legally enforceable and morally justifiable. "This ... constituted an invitation to every individual to set his or her own norms of social behaviour," he said. "And indeed, people did set their own norms."

The conference, attended by Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, Botswana President Festus Mogae and World Bank president James Wolfensohn, ends on Thursday.

Other dignitaries expected to attend include the vice-president of Bolivia, Gorge Quiroga Ramirez, African Development Bank president Omar Kabbaj, International Chamber of Commerce secretary-general Maria Cattaui, Interpol secretary-general Raymond Kendall and former Bangladeshi foreign minister Kamal Hossain.

Former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere was also scheduled to attend but could not due to ill health.

Paul Setsetse, a spokesman for the justice ministry, said the conference was aimed at enabling the international exchange of experience between political leaders, the public and private sectors, nongovernmental organisations, the judiciary and the media on issues underlining common strategies for tackling corruption.

Mbeki said he hoped the conference would foster an understanding of the measures needed to boost the fight against corruption. "... All of us need to do everything in our power to give corruption in the public and private sectors no quarter whatsoever."

He said it seemed clear that, in many instances, material values had gained greater worth in the eyes of many people than spiritual values.

Success in the accumulation of material values had become accepted within the social value system as a pre-eminent goal to pursue, he said. It also had became a pre-eminent criterion by which to judge whether a citizen was a success or a failure.

Mbeki pointed to the argument by international financier George Soros in his book, The Capitalist Threat, that the root of the problem lay with the unhampered pursuit of self interest, (reliance) on money as the criterion of value and behaviour and the notion of the survival of the fittest.

He said that this issue needed to be examined by delegates attending the conference.

Mbeki said that a combination of the influence of the market economy on social conduct, the displacement of people from their traditional rural settings and the absence of a legitimate social and legal system underpinned the high levels of crime and corruption in SA.

A modest funeral for Verwoerd's assassin

ET 11/10/99 (304A)

KRUGERSDORP: Fewer than 10 people attended the funeral of Dimitri Tsafendas, the man who assassinated prime minister Hendrik Verwoerd, at the St Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church in Krugersdorp on Saturday.

The 81-year-old former parliamentary messenger died of pneumonia in the Sterkfontein hospital on Thursday.

Priest Dimitrios Zergitsis told the congregation, most of them from the Greek community who had arranged the funeral, that no one was without sin and no one had the right to condemn another.

"Tsafendas has fallen asleep in a place where there is no sorrow," he said.

Police were deployed outside the church as a precaution.

Mozambican-born Tsafendas spent about six years in Sterkfontein, to which he had been transferred from Zonderwater Prison near Pretoria.

Verwoerd, dubbed the architect of apartheid, was assassinated in the then-House of Assembly on September 6, 1966. The House was assembling for the afternoon session when Tsafendas walked up to Verwoerd, pulled out a sheath knife he had concealed under his clothing and stabbed him four times.

Members of Parliament pulled Tsafendas away from Verwoerd. A number of MPs who were medical doctors tried to save his life. Verwoerd was certified dead on arrival at Groote Schuur Hospital.

After a three-day hearing Tsafendas was declared insane and unfit to stand trial. It was not determined that the murder had been politically motivated.

Tsafendas was kept at Pretoria Central Prison for more than 30 years before being transferred to Zonderwater. He was later declassified as a dangerous person and moved to Sterkfontein.

Tsafendas claimed that a tapeworm inside him had told him to kill Verwoerd. — Sapa

MPs declare assets — and lack of them

BD 12/10/99

(304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Believe it if you will — Deputy President Jacob Zuma, Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma and Finance Minister Trevor Manuel own no property, while Freedom Alliance leader Louis Luyt owns only a flat in Durban.

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon also owns no property. However, he has received gifts of accommodation at a game reserve, two cellphones, and the benefit of the use of an aircraft during the election campaign.

This is according to the first draft of the declaration of MPs' interests, released by the joint parliamentary committee on ethics and members' interests. The code of conduct for MPs requires the declaration of all ownership and interests in properties, together with any shares and financial interests in companies, gifts from other than family members and remunerated employment outside Parliament.

The two Zumas and Manuel declare no interests in property, say they have no other remunerated positions, investments or pensions and have received no gifts or benefits.

At the same time, one of their junior colleagues, Pierre-Jean Gerber, declares an interest in no less than 250 properties.

Gerber, who defected from the New National Party to join the African National Congress shortly before the June election, owns farms in Caledon, George, Calvinia, Riversdal, Uniondale and Ceres, among others. He also has erven and residential properties in Karoo towns such as Touws River, Beaufort West and Victoria West.

Federal Alliance leader Louis Luyt declares that his property interests are limited to a flat in Durban while he has directorships of LLG International, Ballito Heights, Westwold Way Eighty One, and Ellis Park Stadium.

In a tale of two brothers, Environment and Tourism Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa had only the gifts of a suitcase, a jacket and a fountain pen to declare. His brother Mohseen, a member of the National Council of Provinces, declares about 30 000 shares of various kinds, the directorships of two companies and the ownership of three properties — one in up-market Camps Bay.

Asmal backs an ethical SA

(304A)

Pule Molebeledi

BD 14/10/99

DURBAN — The process of strengthening the democratic order required political will and extending adherence to public ethics to all levels of government, Kader Asmal, the minister of education, said yesterday.

Chairing the ethics, accountability and good governance session at the ninth international anti-corruption conference in Durban, Asmal said government had an obligation to create the right climate for this to happen.

"Corruption, maladministration and bad governance have to be given constant attention," he said.

This was not because they undermined a country's economy and stability. "They do more: they undermine government in the eyes of the people. They lead to a pervasive cynicism about politics and politicians, which is disastrous for a democracy," said Asmal.

"Shameless (people) triumph. Opportunities prevail. The self–enriched rule with insolence and the people tolerate it, many remaining silent because their slice is waiting." Asmal said ethics, which he defined as a code or standard of good behaviour, lay at the root of serious efforts to establish, maintain and deepen democracy.

He said such codes should be observed not only because they happened to be good morally, but because they were the best and most practical arrangements to an orderly society. "You hardly have to be the most shining example of goodness to seek to abide by these norms," he said.

REGISTER OF MP INTERESTS

TRANSPARENT IN PARTS (304A)

Is there a family loophole?

The 296-page tome detailing the financial interests of our MPs is as compelling for what it doesn't say as for what it does. *The Register of Members' Interests for 1999* lists the outside employment, directorships and shareholdings, among other details, of the batch of MPs sworn in earlier this year. But it excludes the interests of their families and doesn't place values on all such interests.

Publication of the register is, however, an accomplishment in a country where transparency isn't always apparent. And, says registrar Fazela Mahomed, who compiles the annual report, disclosure is coming more easily to MPs, who initially were reluctant. The register operates on "good faith": no MPs have their disclosures probed unless a complaint is formally lodged. "A big part of curbing corruption is about such political will," says Mahomed.

The register and a code of conduct are insurance against conflicts of interest. Gifts worth more than R350 must be declared. MPs must declare potential conflicts and may not lobby for remuneration.

Violations of the code are investigated by a parliamentary committee. It can impose a maximum fine of a month's salary.

But a cursory glance at the document shows that, however laudable, it sometimes seems improbable. Who would have guessed, for instance, that Freedom Alliance leader Louis Luyt's only property is a Durban flat?

Chances are then that the answers to questions like this lie in the confidential part of the register, to which only Mahomed and the MPs' ethics committee are privy. Because they are deemed private citizens, the interests of MPs' families (spouses, children) are not listed in the public register. Thus, it may be easy for an errant member to "hide" questionable proceeds or conflicts of interest by placing them in their family's names.

The confidential register also lists information such as how much MPs earn from secondary jobs, or the value of sponsorships earned by spouses or children.

Mahomed says no area of interest is blacked out from public scrutiny.

Since most of the corruption in recent years has been in the public service, it may not be a bad idea to expand the register to include top civil servants.

Ferial Haffajee

Govt defends R50m meeting

CT 19/10/99 (304A)

MARCO GRANELLI
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

PRETORIA: The government has defended the estimated R50 million price tag for the coming Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting, saying it will be "money well spent".

While admitting the government was trying to secure sponsorship to help carry the cost of hosting an estimated 3 500 delegates — from 54 countries, including at least 40 heads of state, 50 foreign ministers and hundreds of top government officials — Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad said yesterday the final cost was "little compared to the benefits" the summit would bring to the country.

"We don't think that, in the context of showcasing South Africa and putting the agenda of Africa onto the world stage, this is a very big sacrifice to make," Pahad told journalists.

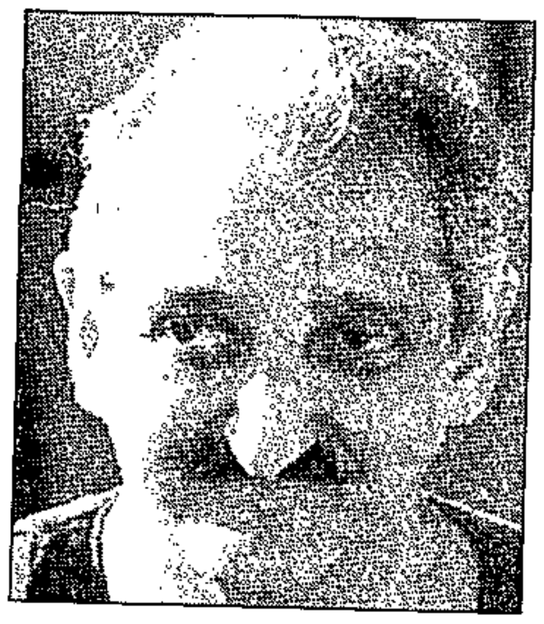
He said the event, at Durban's International Convention Centre, would boost both the South African and particularly the Durban economy.

"You are exposing the potential of South Africa to an international audience, who would not have been exposed had we not hosted the summit," he added.

Minister Nkosazana Zuma concurred that the event would have very positive spin-offs for tourism: "We found that most of the people who came to the Non-Aligned Movement summit didn't even know where Durban was before they came. Now they return for holidays.

"There are a lot of spin-offs for the city that you can never do through any advertising."

Pahad said the focus of the summit itself, which will run from November 12 to November 15, would be on "people-centred development and the challenge of globalisation".



JUSTIFIED: Aziz Pahad points out benefits of the meeting.

"The modern world is fast becoming a global neighbourhood and, in this context, it is imperative that globalisation should strive to improve the lives of people who need development in the political and economic lives of their countries."

He said the nature of the Commonwealth — a grouping of 54 nations including half of the world's 10 fastest-growing economies, and representing 1,7 billion people, responsible for 20% of all world trade and 58% of investment in its developing country members — made it a unique body to address these issues.

While economic issues are set to dominate the summit, Pahad confirmed the meeting — and particularly the two-day retreat of heads of government, before the summit — would provide an opportunity for leaders to discuss the latest political developments around the globe.

Chief among these will obviously be the recent military coup in Pakistan — which had just been suspended from the Commonwealth.

Leading by example

South Africa's chairmanship of the Commonwealth will help the country consolidate its influence in world politics and business, writes Francis Kornegay

(304A) Sowetan 8/11/99

WHEN South Africa takes over the chairmanship of the Commonwealth on November 12, it will have effectively rounded out its leadership role in Africa and the South.

South Africa also chairs the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

As chair of the NAM, Pretoria is coordinating a debt relief strategy with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), while reportedly embarking on international consultations aimed at enabling the developing world to hold its own with Europe and the United States at World Trade Organisation talks in Seattle.

Coming on the heels of Pretoria's European Union (EU) trade deal and its forthcoming ratification of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) trade protocol, South Africa has come a long way since 1994 in totally reorienting its foreign policy.

As South Africa steps into the chairmanship of the Commonwealth, it has effectively positioned itself to pursue a SADC-based, Africa-centred southern hemispheric strategy that places it in a position to act as a bridge between North and South.

The question, however, is how its Commonwealth role will add value to this positioning and what South Africa can bring to its chairmanship to maintain its relevance in the new millennium.

The Commonwealth's relevance has already been demonstrated through the impact that the Harare Declaration (1991) and the Millbrook Action Programme (1995) on democracy, good governance and human rights have had in Africa.

The key concern, however, is whether a "yellow card" against military coups and governments goes far enough in an environment of major conflicts that continue to wrack much of Africa – from Angola to Sudan.

The next step in the evolution of Harare/Millbrook would appear to be one that places political and diplomatic sanctions on member states in and outside Africa that resort to military solutions to internal political and security challenges and that resort to war against their neighbours as a means of settling disputes.

Depending on the circumstances of particular conflicts, inter-state war could be penalised with one or both state actors in a conflict being suspended from the Commonwealth and/or the OAU and other regional bodies.

Moreover such a sanction could serve as a political deterrent in the service of preventive diplomacy. This could apply to tensions between India and Pakistan, the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea as well as to conflicts in the Great Lakes, where both parties to that conflict warrant sanctions as a result of their continued pursuit of military victory.



An Eritrean soldier rests on the Elgar Mountain frontline of the disputed Eritrean-Ethiopian border.

PHOTO: REUTERS

Switching from Africa to the broader panorama of South-South relations, the Commonwealth offers an additional vehicle for building on Pretoria's current South strategy.

This commitment might be characterised as one that emphasises championing of the economic agenda of the South in various multilateral fora.

What is lacking is a complementary inter-regional cooperation thrust although a vehicle exists in form of the Indian Ocean Rim-Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC).

As major southern hemispheric Commonwealth powers, India and Australia as well as South Africa are members of the IOR-ARC. For Pretoria, regional and inter-regional cooperation has thus far translated into a northern strategy of engagement with its "South" neighbours in SADC and beyond Africa, and in Europe with the EU.

Does this portend an Eurafrican North-South alignment that marginalises inter-regionalism in the South?

In spite of the cynicism that the Indian Ocean Rim initiative has generated in some quarters in South Africa, there are those who argue that an IOR-ARC inter-regional commitment is a natural complement to SADC, much as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation complements the smaller Association of South-East Asian Nations (Asean).

Inter-regional trade and cooperation could interact with and reinforce intra-regional trade and cooperation to generate growth for the benefit of poorer countries.

While the Government is reported to have provided the framework for a more active South African role in the Indian Ocean, the business community is seen as being too caught up in parochial short-termism and a Eurocentric identity to play its role.

Here, within the context of its chairing the Commonwealth, the Government could draw upon the Commonwealth Business Forum as a vehicle for stimulating South African business interest in networking with their counterparts in other Indian Ocean countries, in the process giving momentum to the IOR Consultative Business Network.

In addition, there is an academic, think-tanking role that could unfold, especially in terms of exploring possible synergies between SADC and the IOR-ARC (or for that matter, between SADC and Asean, as has already taken place between SADC and the South American trade bloc Mercosur).

The question is whether or not Pretoria has the energy and will to expand its focus beyond SADC and the EU, coupled with a unity of purpose between the departments of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Industry to provide such momentum.

What is at stake is whether South Africa uses its chairmanship to promote inter-regional cooperation within the Commonwealth are prospects for developing a more coherent southern hemispheric state system.

A community of nations spanning the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic in a tricontinental framework of cooperation could work towards redressing the imbalance of power between North and South.

South Africa is geopolitically central to such a scenario which would, in turn, help reinforce the stabilisation of Africa and the continent's renewal.

In the process, the Commonwealth would complete its transformation from an old club of empire into an enduring pillar of the international system of the 21st century.

(The writer is coordinator of the National Policy Institute of South Africa. The article is written in his personal capacity.)

Parliament must stay in Cape Town if the Commonwealth Secretariat is to stay here

CT 10/11/99 (304A)

CAPE TOWN could lose the opportunity to be the future home of the Commonwealth Secretariat, if Parliament is moved to the Midrand or Pretoria.

This is acccording to Llewellyn van Wyk, the director of the Cape Town Partnership, an organisation that promotes Cape Town and is responsible for many community initiatives, including the installation of remote cameras and increased security. The Mother City has been suggested as the preferred home of the secretariat by the British Foreign Policy Centre (FPC). If Parliament is moved to the north, then Cape Town will lose out.

Responding to suggestions in the media that President Thabo Mbeki might sanction the move of Parliament to Midrand, Van Wyk said one of the most important reasons Cape Town was being considered was because Parliament was situated in Cape Town. This was borne out by the fact that other contenders were also capital cities.

"Numerous studies have conclusively proved that moving Parliament from Cape Town would have a disastrous effect not only on the central city, but on the Western Cape economy as a whole. The message that President Mbeki would convey by such a move could be construed as both negative and confusing.

"Potential international investors will interpret it as being a lack of faith in Cape Town by government. The international community will quite naturally ask themselves why they should invest in a city when it isn't highly rated by those in power. Why should the Commonwealth Secretariat move to Cape Town if it isn't good enough for our own government?" Van Wyk said.

The Commonwealth Secretariat, based in London, provides technical assistance to member governments and currently has a staff of 320. A spokesperson for the secretariat, known only as Misha, said that the London-based FPC had no authority over decisions to move the secretariat. It was an independent think-tank with British foreign secretary Robin Cook as president.

Van Wyk said the economic implications for the Western Cape if Parliament moved were immense.

"In the business property market alone, Cape Town will be flooded with thousands of square metres of unneeded office space currently used by government, embassies and actual parliamentary buildings for which arguably no plausible alternative economic use could be found.

"Ultimately, this flood of office space will cause downward pressure on office rentals, causing the market value of properties to drop. The drop in demand for domestic office space would result in a reduction in the market price for offices and lead to falling rentals.

Van Wyk said that the Partnership, with the SA Property Owners Association, would however do everything in their power to recycle vacant office space. — Staff Writer

PARLIAMENT

WHERE HAVE ALL THE MINISTERS GONE?

FM 12/11/99

Marching to Pretoria, almost every one (3044)

Eight gardeners at Tuynhuys, the President's Cape Town residence, primp the gardens to perfection. The walls of the estate gleam in the early summer sun. But it's all wasted, because there's nobody at home. President Thabo Mbeki does not move his office to Cape Town when parliament is in session, a decision which is grist to the mill of those who believe that power has shifted to the appointed officials in Pretoria and away from the elected representatives in Cape Town.

For them, Cape Town, as the seat of parliament, has been marginalised as Ministers take their cue from the President by being rare visitors.

"Where are the Ministers?" demanded MP Sheila Camerer during a recent debate on rape. The front rows of the National Assembly were empty.

They often are these days. The President and the Cabinet argue that they have a country to run, and that their time is not best spent sitting in at every session of parliament. And Mbeki has saved millions of rand by not moving his office. ANC MP Ben Turok says: "The executive is a lot more self-contained," because it faces presidential pressure to put its nose to the grindstone.

The absence of Ministers does strip the legislature of gravitas. On the other hand, ANC MPs say parliament is becoming more and not less powerful as MPs come into their own and begin to use the power of oversight they have over the executive.

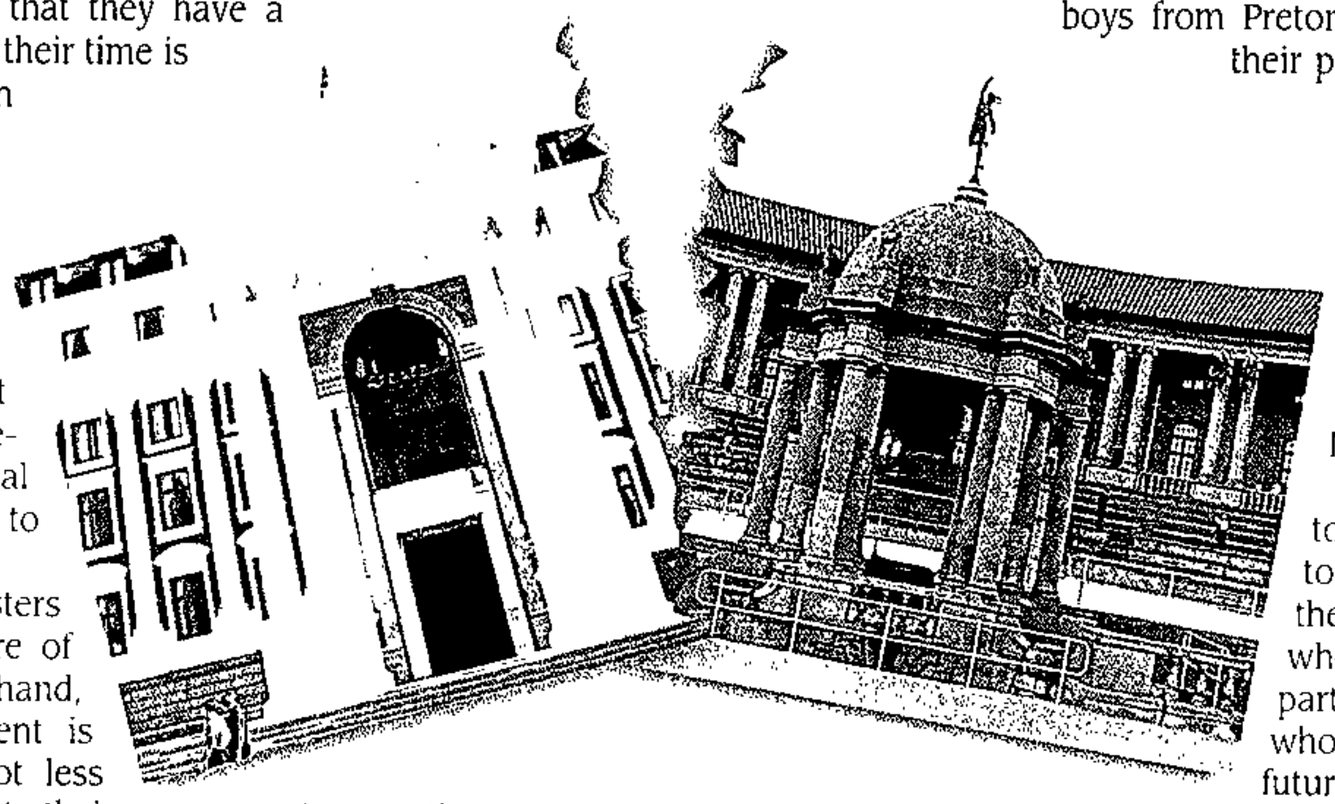
For example, parliament recommended that the megalomaniac Correctional Services Commissioner Khulekani Sitole be fired, and it scrutinised every angle of Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's budget policy statement last week.

But the official opposition is angry at the message Mbeki is sending. "We do not have a monarchical system where the king stays away from parliament," says Democratic Party chief whip Douglas Gibson.

The DP has no patience with Mbeki's defence — that he is not an MP and therefore does not need to be in parliament. Gibson says Mbeki is bound to answer to parliament because he is head of government as well as head of State. "There should be a regular opportunity for MPs to question the President."

Gibson is also angry about the flood of urgent legislation before parliament. The executive is disdainful of parliament, he argues, pointing out that the draft open democracy, administrative justice, procurement and equality legislation made a very late appearance in the legislature.

"We're now faced with committees having to deal with complicated legislation in a rush. What we'll end up with is half-baked legislation that will require substantial amendments," says Gibson. "The executive regards parliament as malleable and ready to do its will."



SA has not yet reached a level of political maturity where the separation of powers between the legislature and the executive is clearly drawn and exercised. A self-confident parliament could send back the legislation and let the executive find a solution to the February 4 constitutional deadline for the legislation.

In SA, where the civil service is highly politicised and where a party system is entrenched, there is a very real danger of parliament being a rubber stamp. "This can hamper effective oversight as MPs may be reluctant to call to account a government that is made up of leaders of their party," argues Prof Hugh Corder in a presentation on parliamentary oversight.

But there is a developing awareness within parliament of the role MPs must play in combating corruption, ensuring that policies are on track and budgets are correctly spent.

The Public Finance Management Act, when promulgated, will allow the public accounts committee to summon Ministers to account for misspending. Legislation to amend money Bills will give the legislature veto rights over budget programmes. "I think we're moving to a situation where parliament will really be the epicentre of the Budget," says ANC spokesman on Public Accounts Andrew Feinstein.

Thus, parliament is increasingly flexing its muscle in the direction of Pretoria. But its assertion is uneven: there are still many committees where civil servants and Ministers have an easy ride, because there is still a huge skills and education gap between some MPs and the civil service. However, one ANC back-bencher sums up a view that is taking shape on the parliamentary benches. "The days of those boys from Pretoria bamboozling us with their presentations are over. In the end we have to carry the can."

In an ANC-dominated parliament, the challenge to redress the balance between Pretoria and Cape Town lies largely with its own MPs.

The litmus test is how tough they are prepared to be on Ministers from their own party, many of whom double up as key party apparatchiks on whose say-so their political future rests.

In the coming months, will the welfare committee interrogate Welfare Minister Zola Skweyiya on a controversial new funding plan for welfare agencies? Will MP Johnny de Lange's Justice Committee keep the Scorpions in check by ensuring that the legislation governing their work doesn't ride roughshod over the Constitution, even though the unit reports to the President?

If the watchdogs of parliament stand up and bark, Mbeki may be forced to enjoy his gardens at Tuynhuys more often. **Ferial Haffajee**

MAIL & GUARDIAN
November 12 to 18 1999

Traditional leaders paid R600-million

MTG 12-18/11/99

(304A)

Barry Streek

South Africa's 739 unelected traditional leaders are being paid nearly R600-million a year in salaries — at an average of R65 071,84 a month or R780 853,68 a year.

This was revealed by Minister for Provincial and Local Government Sydney Mufamadi in reply to a question tabled in the National Assembly by the Democratic Party's Graham McIntosh.

Mufamadi said R48 087 573 is being paid out monthly to the 739 traditional leaders in salaries. On the basis of the payment of R48,1-million per month, the total annual salary bill for the traditional leaders is more than R577-million a year. And this excludes the salaries paid to headmen.

The six provincial governments of the Eastern Cape, the Free State, Mpumalanga, the North-West, the Northern Province and KwaZulu-Natal keep records or registers of these payments. They are regularly updated and an audit of these payments was done in April.

Mufamadi said there is no performance contract between these individuals and the state "as the law governing their designation/appointment does not provide for one".

He added that members of the house of traditional leaders are paid allowances when they attend official functions.

They are also paid travelling allowances as provided by government transport regulations.

"It should be noted that houses seldom meet," he said. However, in KwaZulu-Natal, R23 800 was paid out for each session and R22 800 for travelling allowances, while in the North-West an allowance of R7 750 per sitting was paid and R6 600 for travelling.

Mufamadi said in the Northern Province R13 350 was spent per sitting and a R10 800 travelling allowance paid out.

No sitting allowances were paid out in Mpumalanga, the Free State and the Eastern Cape, nor was there a travelling allowance in Mpumalanga or the Free State.

In the Eastern Cape, travelling allowances were paid out in accordance with civil service regulations, Mufamadi said.

BD 19/11/99

Govt more corrupt than Nats, says 39% of SA

(3049)

Bonile Ngqiyaza

MORE than a third, or 39%, of South Africans feel the new government is more corrupt than the apartheid regime, says an unpublished study on public perceptions.

At an Institute for Security Studies seminar yesterday, an Idasa researcher said the survey results were an improvement from previous ones conducted between 1994 and this year.

He said the organisation's first survey, late in 1995, found that already 46% of citizens felt that "almost all, or most" public officials were involved in corruption.

He said the previous three surveys — all from the Opinion '99 election project — showed that corruption as a public issue was increasing.

The researcher, who asked not to be named, said the 1995 survey found that four in 10 South Africans — 41% — felt their new government was more corrupt than its predecessor.

Another quarter, namely 25%, felt that it was no different than the previous regime.

However, in the last survey in April this year, 44% of citizens felt that the government was doing its job well or "very well" in controlling corruption.

This was up substantially from the "meagre 26% who had said so in September 1998".

By the end of the election campaign, 55% approved the job government had done in maintaining transparency and accountability compared to 31% in September the previous year.

He said that: "The degree to which these responses were a reflection on actual government performance or a successful African National Congress campaign, is uncertain.

"Public opinion on a wide variety of government performance areas reached the highest levels of the entire post-1994 period right before the actual election," said the researcher.

KEY DP OFFICES BUGGED

NIA challenged over 'SA's Watergate'

Political scandal erupted today as the Democratic Party revealed key parliamentary offices and national and provincial headquarters have been bugged – in what it is calling South Africa's Watergate scandal.

The DP revelations came hard on the heels of disclosures that secret cameras had been used to spy on the German embassy in Pretoria.

The DP said it had discovered bugging of the offices of its parliamentary caucus, the offices of its chief whip, Douglas Gibson, and of its national office and its Western Cape HQ in Roeland Street.

The 1974 Watergate scandal in the United States involved illegal surveillance, including burglary, of the US Democratic Party on the orders of Republican president Richard Nixon, who was later forced to resign.

Questioned at a news conference today about who he believed was behind the incident, Mr Gibson said he had a "pretty firm suspicion" that Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla knew more about the incident than the DP did.

Legislation requires the permission of a judge for electronic surveillance to be undertaken.

CLIVE SAWYER
Political Correspondent



The DP gave Mr Nhlanhla until 2pm today to provide a copy of the court order required by law to put the DP under surveillance, as well as copies of the application papers.

The DP, which appointed a private investigator to probe and confirm the surveillance, said it viewed the matter in a serious light.

"This sort of clandestine surveillance reeks of a state which is bent on ignoring the basic tenets of the constitution in order to protect itself and its political agenda."

In the event of the DP not getting answers to its questions, the party would conclude the surveillance had been done illegally, and would instruct its lawyers "to take whatever action is deemed necessary to seek appropriate relief for the breach of its rights".

The private investigator believed surveillance of Mr Gibson's office and the caucus room was being conducted from 120 Plein Street, headquarters of the executive, opposite Parliament.

The party has ordered sweeps of its other offices throughout the country to check for covert surveillance.

Ironically, disclosure of the electronic surveillance, which was discovered earlier this week, coincides with the final sitting of Parliament for the year.

This means any questions to the Government tabled by the DP could not be answered before Parliament resumes next year.

Spying by South Africa's intelligence agencies on legitimate political activity of political parties is forbidden by law.

Mr Gibson said the Government was in breach of the law because years after the relevant legislation had been approved, it had still failed to appoint an inspector-general of intelligence.

The investigation by the DP found that sophisticated external audio equipment was being used to monitor Mr Gibson's office and the caucus room, while equipment linked to Telkom was being used to monitor the party's national and provincial headquarters in Ruskin House in Roeland Street.

No telephone bugs had been found in the office of DP leader Tony Leon, nor had monitoring devices been found on Democratic MPs' private or fax lines.

NIA spokesman Helmuth Schlenter said today he was attempting to reach Mr Nhlanhla for comment on the allegations by the DP.

Earlier Mr Nhlanhla announced a special team would investigate the discovery of a surveillance camera aimed at the entrance of the German embassy in Pretoria.

Mr Nhlanhla said he viewed the incident in a serious light. It was disturbing that some people had seemingly jumped quickly to the conclusion that the NIA was involved in illegal surveillance.

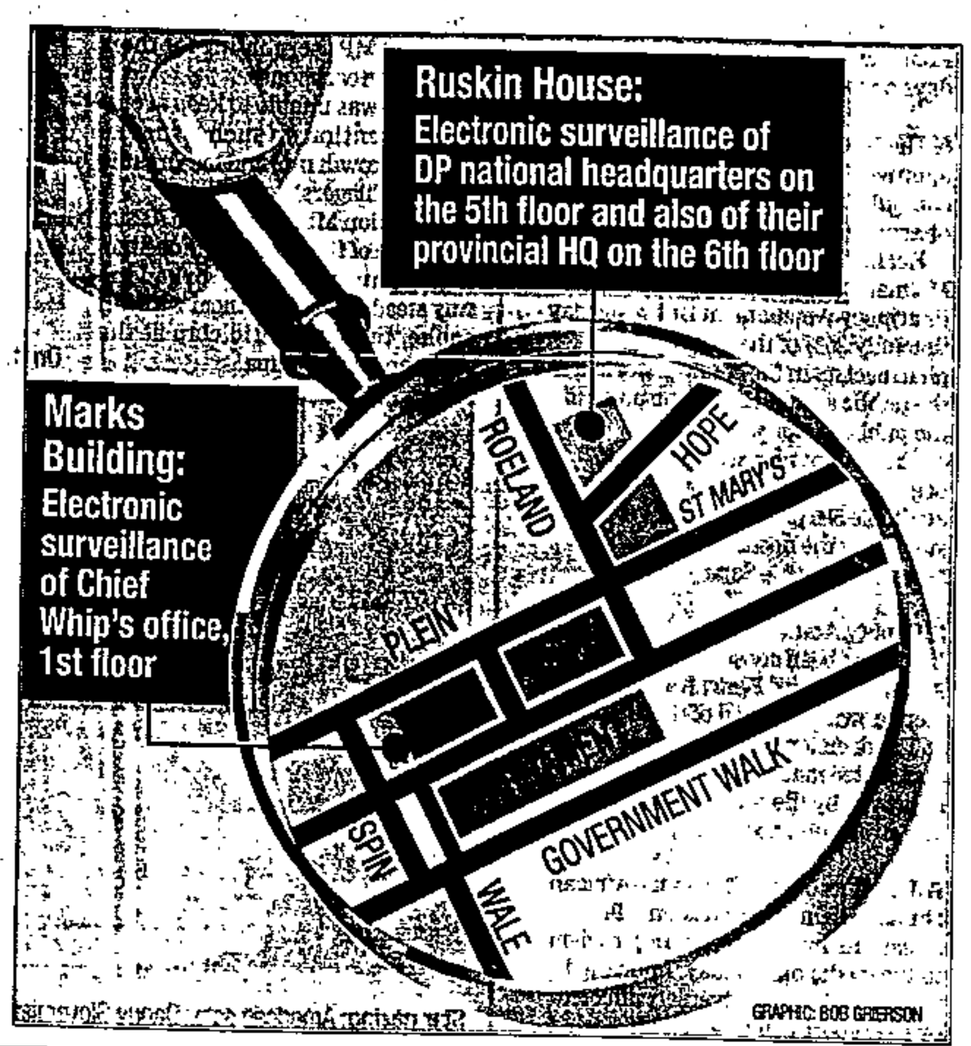
He said he would meet NIA officials in Pretoria today and was to request a meeting with German representatives.

German officials said they were aware that their embassy was not the only one being spied on in South Africa.

They claimed there had been a similar incident recently at the Israeli embassy.

The camera at the German embassy was discovered by the police bomb disposal unit after a security guard spotted wires leading from a dustbin to a tree in the grounds of a private home across the street.

Video equipment was found in the dustbin.



Campaigners call to cancel all debt

(304A) BD 28/11/99

Jonathan Katzenellenbogen and Reuters

CAMPAIGNERS from 33 countries yesterday called on developing country governments to collectively repudiate their external debt.

On the final day of a three-day conference in Midrand, organised by Jubilee South, 130 delegates called for debt cancellation for developing countries.

They called for "a new beginning with no room for immoral debt servicing at the expense of the poor".

The call for debt repudiation and a debtors' cartel is a new position for Jubilee South, which seeks to lobby developing country governments on the issue of debt. The group has previously called for countries not to repay "illegitimate debt". Jubilee South has called on the SA government not to repay debt incurred during the apartheid years.

Its call has been rejected by the finance department, which says debt incurred during the apartheid era accounts for a small proportion of total debt.

Jubilee South rejected the initiative to reduce the debt of highly indebted poor countries as inadequate and based on what it views as flawed "Washington consensus" policies.

The daughter of the late Tanzanian leader, Julius Nyerere, called for the rich north to cancel all Third World debt so the south could focus on providing social services to poor people.

"Wealthy countries of the north have a moral obligation to cancel (third world debt). The debt has already been paid over many times, and is still being paid because of the high interest rates," Rosemary Nyerere said.

Jubilee South said the debt of developing nations had risen to $2,3-trillion in 1997 from $610bn in 1980, despite large repayments every year.

"This debt is shared by all the people. Even infants must share this debt," Nyerere said.

"They pay for it because they are denied access to decent health care, education and other social services because their governments must pay to service their debts," she said.

"This interest is not charged on profit-making projects ... but on basic social services like health and clean water. How do you charge interest on someone's malaria treatment?"