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S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1998

JAN. — MARCH.

[redacted]

Corks pop as SA seals China link

(B04A) ARG 2/11/98

Pretoria – Amid speeches and champagne, mainland China launched diplomatic relations with South Africa as it opened its embassy only hours after Taiwan closed its own diplomatic mission.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen pledged a new era of co-operation between Beijing and Pretoria as he declared his embassy open yesterday.

The Chinese national anthem blared from loudspeakers as the country's red flag was raised.

Three blocks away, the flagpole in front of the pagoda-style Taiwanese embassy was bare, having been lowered for the last time the previous evening as the embassy shut down, becoming instead the Taipei Liaison Office.

Severing diplomatic ties with Taiwan was a condition imposed by Beijing in the agreement establishing relations with South Africa. It was the latest victory in China's effort to isolate Taiwan, which the communists consider a renegade province.

With South Africa having been the biggest and most industrialised nation recognising Taiwan, the embassy in Pretoria had been Taiwan's most important diplomatic outpost.

"This is very depressing," said Joe Kao, who until Wednesday was press secretary of the Taiwan embassy.

The number of countries maintaining diplomatic relations with Taiwan has plunged from about 100 in the 1970s to 29, most of them poor nations in Central America and Africa.

For Feng Tai, who opened the Taiwanese embassy in Pretoria in 1976 and until Wednesday was Taiwan's consul-general in Johannesburg, the closing ceremony was especially poignant.

"I feel very sorry about this," he said. "We did our best for 22 years. Now South Africa switches from Taipei to Beijing, and it's a pity."

Mr Feng said he doubted whether the Chinese embassy could do as much as Taiwan's embassy had.

"We opened 286 factories here," he said proudly.

"We created 40 000 jobs here. We'll see if the People's Republic of China can top that."

But South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo has described South Africa's recognition of the world's most populous country as "inevitable". – Sapa-AP

Static greets Omar's radio remarks

ARG 3/1/98

(304A)

ANDREA BOTHA

Controversy has greeted remarks made by Justice Minister Dullah Omar after an interview on a local radio station in which he linked an African National Congress victory in the Western Cape to the issue of Parliament staying in Cape Town.

But Mr Omar yesterday denied having said that people should vote for the ANC if they wanted Parliament to stay in Cape Town.

In the interview Mr Omar said: "People must not assume that Parliament is going to move to Pretoria. Everything depends on the people of the Western Cape and the direction that the people of the Western Cape choose to take."

He said that "from the point of view of the ANC here in the Western Cape, I think we have a very good chance of retaining Parliament in Cape Town".

When asked whether he was saying that people should vote for the ANC if they wanted Parliament to stay in Cape Town, he said: "I am not saying vote ANC, but I'm saying you cannot vote for apartheid parties and parties that keep apartheid in place."



Justice Minister: Dullah Omar

He said people of the Western Cape should choose whether they saw themselves as part of a transforming South Africa, or as "some part of the country going its own way".

The minister yesterday clarified this point and criticised the local National Party government for their lack of commitment to the national transformation process.

He said it was up to the people of the Western Cape to ensure that whatever party they voted for was committed to non-racialism, nation building and national transformation.

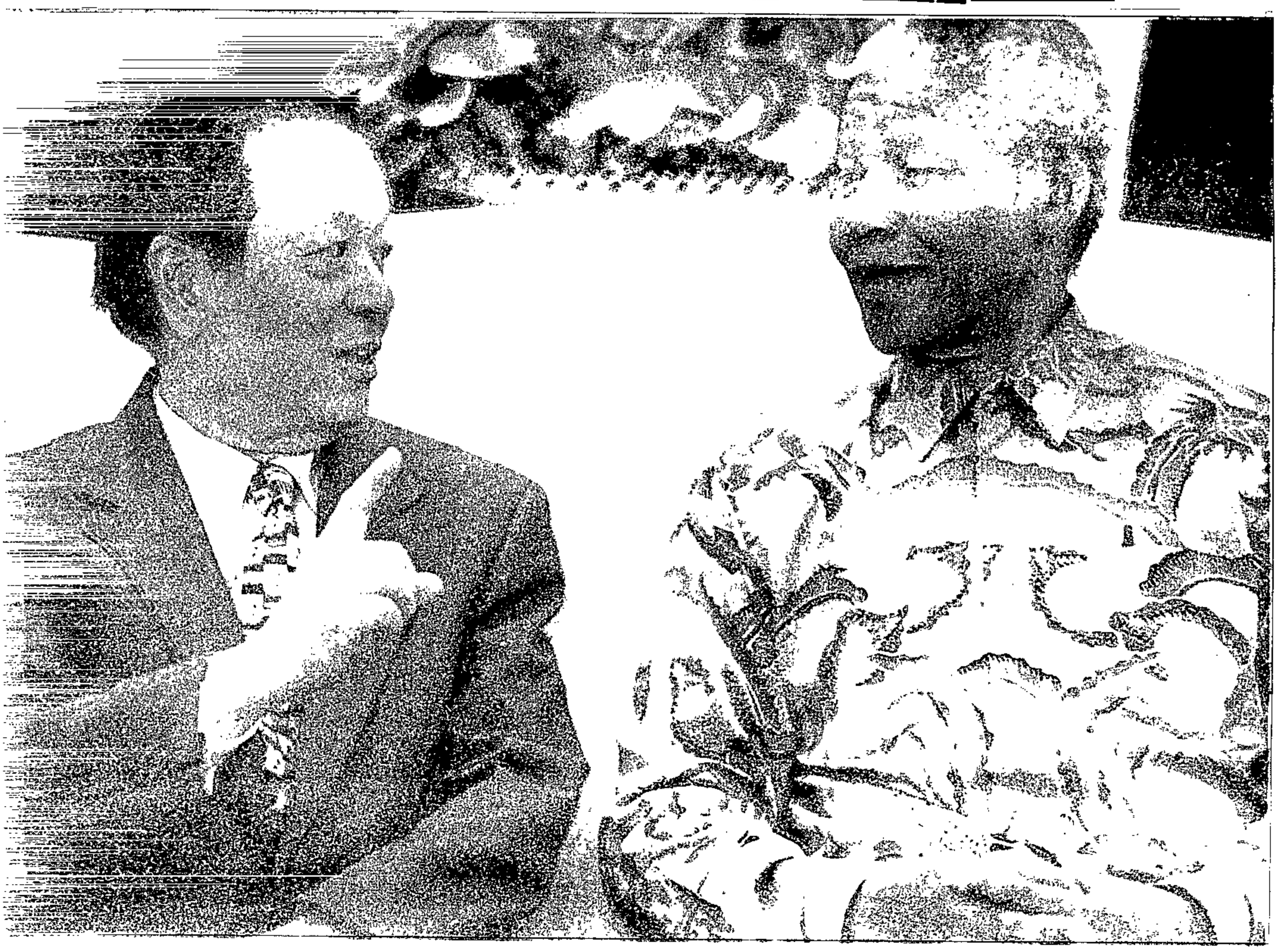
He said this was not the case in the Western Cape at present.

"There is a good chance that Parliament will stay.

"People in the Western Cape must make their voices heard," he said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa did not want to comment on Mr Omar's statements on radio, but said that the ANC had not yet taken any decision on if and where Parliament would be moving. "The ANC has decided on a process of drawing in the society as a whole in a rational and open debate.

"This is an emotional, national issue and the ANC wants everybody to engage in an honest debate," he said.



to know you: the Vice-Premier of the People's Republic of China, Qian Qichen, and President Mandela attend the opening of the Chinese embassy in Pretoria

Factors that prompted SA's decision to switch relations

ARG 5/1/98

LYNNE DUKE (3044)

Johannesburg – Until it decided to switch relations to mainland China last year, South Africa was the last major country to maintain diplomatic recognition of Taiwan, which Beijing has regarded as a renegade province since China's civil war in 1949.

Although Taiwan's ties to Pretoria extend deep into the old South African era, the African National Congress received millions of dollars of support from Taiwan for its 1994 electoral campaign and President Mandela had vowed not to abandon his latter-day Taiwanese ally. But, he made an awkward about-face last year.

Analysts said several factors prompted the change.

With 160 countries and the United Nations recognising China, Pretoria wanted to join the international line-up. It also was seeking greater influence at the United Nations, where China is a permanent member of the Security Council. And, not least, it wanted stronger trade and aid ties with the fast-growing economy of the world's most populous country.

Although China has historic economic ties with several African countries because of its support for black liberation during colonial rule, it has been challenged in recent years by Taiwan's aggressive courting of African allies.

Senegal switched allegiance from Beijing to Taipei in 1996, as Gambia had done the previous year – both with millions of dollars in aid as the incentive.

But the Taiwanese infusion of a reported $10-million (R49-million) into Mr Mandela's 1994 campaign coffers did not bind the relationship. With the loss of South Africa, Taiwan's remaining allies number fewer than 30, and those are mostly small nations in Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America.

After months of progressively downgraded relations and deep bitterness, Taiwan closed its embassy in Pretoria last Wednesday. It transformed the building into a liaison office through which unofficial relations will be maintained.

Beijing's embassy followed a South African-Chinese communique in which Pretoria said it recognised that "the government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing the whole of China and recognises China's position that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China".

Pretoria also pledged non-interference in China's internal affairs, which include, on the one hand, the political monopoly of the Communist Party and policies condemned by world human rights organisations, but economic reforms and fast growth, on the other.

At a Johannesburg celebration attended by hundreds of Chinese visitors and residents, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen pointed up Beijing's historic support for the old anti-apartheid struggle. But he did not mention that China had supported a black movement that was a rival to Mr Mandela's ANC, which received Cold War support from China's rival, the Soviet Union.

China and South Africa, as important countries in their own regions and beyond, will be partners in international forums and in "safeguarding the rights and interests of developing countries", said Mr Qian.

South African Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo hailed what he called China's success in carrying out the deepest poverty reduction campaign in human history, which he said was an inspiration "for the economic liberation and renaissance of Africa".

South African trade with China has boomed over the past several years, with Pretoria a source of minerals and raw materials and China a source of manufactured products.

But South African industry has complained of Chinese dumping of cheap shoes, which has depressed the local footwear manufacturing sector.

Including Hong Kong, which was reintegrated with China earlier this year, overall two-way trade between South Africa and China stands at nearly $3-billion (nearly R15-billion), from a base of only $14-million (R68-million) six years ago. China is South Africa's sixth-largest trading partner.

South African trade with Taiwan was worth about $1,8-billion (R8,8-billion) a year, but whether it will remain so "is a question mark", said Michael Chen, a spokesman at the Taiwanese embassy in Pretoria as it prepared to lower the flag. – Washington Post

Awkward alliance may just be possible

With growing talk of an ANC-IFP 'merger' before the next election, **Farouk Chothia** in Durban looks at how such a political union could be achieved

THE African National Congress (ANC) appears to be a waging a shrewd campaign to win political power in KwaZulu-Natal in the 1999 elections.

The key element of the campaign is the removal of one of the Inkatha Freedom Party's (IFP's) most obvious mobilising tools by suggesting a merger of the two parties. The ANC has not defined the term "merger", but an obvious implication would be that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should dissolve his party and bring his followers into the ANC.

A merger could also take the form of the two parties continuing to exist as separate entities, but sharing a single election list. The big question in KwaZulu-Natal then would be: which of the two parties would dominate the provincial list — and provide the premier. The ANC could demand the premiership, in exchange for placing Buthelezi second on the national list, given that it is said to be considering elevating him to SA's deputy presidency.

The strategy of co-option is consistent with the strategy the ANC has adopted towards several other homeland and tricameral parliament parties in the run-up to the 1994 elections.

For example, the Labour Party dissolved to throw its weight behind the ANC. Labour MP Llewelyn Landers is now an ANC MP, chairing the trade and industry portfolio committee.

The ANC has revived this strategy in relation to Buthelezi, and — at a lower level — with Amichand Rajbansi, who has a significant following among Indian voters in KwaZulu-Natal.

But it is questionable whether Buthelezi will succumb to enticements at this stage, particularly in the light of the ANC's reaffirmation at its recent national conference of the principle of elected local government in rural areas, and the rejection of customary practices which perpetuate gender inequality.

Nevertheless, the ANC will probably raise the idea of a merger consistently, as it believes it is gaining ground by merely making the proposal.

For one thing, the merger talk has led to sharp divisions within the IFP. This affects the IFP's public image negatively, and sows confusion among its supporters.

When ANC MP Peter Mokaba raised the merger idea in the run-up to the ANC's recent conference, IFP national deputy chairman Sipho Mzimela supported it publicly. Buthelezi condemned Mzimela — and hinted that he would be expelled from the party later this month. In such an eventuality, Buthelezi would have to replace Mzimela in the national cabinet, where he has built a high profile for himself as correctional services minister.

Following secretary-general Ziba Jiyane's withdrawal from politics, MP Walter Felgate's defection to the ANC, and Frank Mdlalose stepping down as national chairman and KwaZulu-Natal premier, Mzimela's departure would continue the "brain drain" from the IFP.

BD 8/1/98



BUTHELEZI

(3049)



MBEKI

The idea of a merger is also part of a strategy to win support among voters in rural parts of the province. Many of the older generation of IFP supporters once belonged to the ANC — or had a deep affinity with the movement.

After all, Zulu King Dinizulu was a founding member and chief Albert Luthuli a president of the congress.

Hence, the elevation of Jacob Zuma, who projects himself as a traditionalist, to the ANC deputy presidency. He plays on the emotions of the rural populace — and even Buthelezi — when he says that "we come from the same stem". He hopes that this will revive the "congress spirit" latent in their hearts.

By using such words, Zuma makes it more difficult for the IFP to stress its differences from the ANC, or to claim that the latter, as the national ruling party, is bent on destroying the Zulu monarchy.

This robs the IFP of a mobilising tool, which proved effective — and triggered violence — in the 1994 elections.

Suggestions of an impending merger affect negatively the IFP's standing among white voters, as the suggestions feed perceptions that the IFP is no longer willing to serve as a strong opposition.

The ANC invited Buthelezi to attend its conference. He declined, but sent Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali instead. Mtshali's presence was a boost for ANC efforts to secure a climate of free political activity in the run-up to elections, as it sent a simple message to IFP supporters: if Mtshali can attend an ANC conference, they can attend an ANC rally.

The IFP is likely to reciprocate by inviting an ANC representative to attend its national conference later this year — a move which will make it easier for the party to canvass for support in the ANC's urban strongholds.

Parties usually send representatives to each others' conferences when they want to forge close ties, knowing they cannot succeed on their own.

This is the stage the ANC and IFP have reached, with central government facing the reality that it cannot achieve a 4% deficit target this fiscal year without the co-operation of the KwaZulu-Natal l government. At the same time, the province realises it cannot overcome its budget woes without national intervention.

The interdependence of the ANC and IFP will be highlighted further during the 1999 elections, as neither party is expected to win more than 50% of the vote in KwaZulu-Natal. This will force them to continue governing the province jointly — a process which could start with the drafting of a single election list.

At the same time, the ANC is offering Buthelezi a position "befitting his stature" at national level. This strategy, which started last year when he was made acting president on several occasions, will be carried forward in the new year when he accompanies ANC president Thabo Mbeki to meetings with representatives of the white community to calm their fears about majority rule. It is likely to culminate in a new position in the next government.

This scenario rules out the possibility of the IFP forming an alliance with other opposition parties in the run-up to the elections, and a coalition government with them — rather than with the ANC — in KwaZulu-Natal post-1999.

Buthelezi's presence in an Mbeki-led government would be consistent with the approach the wily chief has followed most of his political life: participating in government structures while projecting himself as both an ally and opponent of the ruling party.

It is a difficult balancing act, but it is one which the IFP has attempted before. Last year, for example, it voted in favour of education and health bills in Parliament but expressed reservations about their content.

6 DWELLINGS AND SERVICES AVAILABLE FOR DWELLING
6.4 AVAILABILITY OF DOMESTIC WATER IN URBAN AND NON-URBAN AREAS

GAMBLING COMMITTEE MEMBER EXPOSED

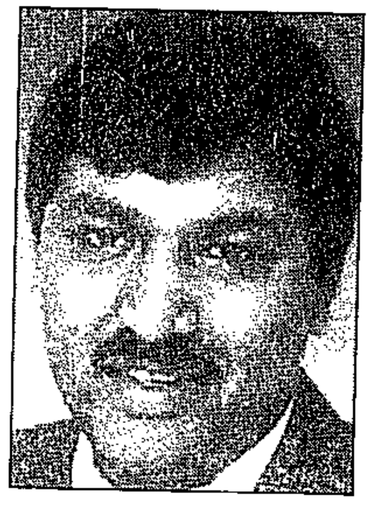
MP's one-arm bandit deal

ET 9/1/98 (2nd) (304A)

THOUGH BROKERING a deal in illegal gambling machinery is not an offence in itself, one would not expect someone like an MP, who is in a position of trust, to do so, a policeman says. **KARIN SCHIMKE** reports.

AN Inkatha Freedom Party MP this week brokered a deal in the illegal gambling trade — despite his being a full member of the parliamentary ad hoc committee on gambling and lotteries.

Mr Hemanthkumar "Lity" Neerahoo — who is also a member of the parliamentary correctional services committee, the public enterprises committee and an alternate member of the housing and safety and security committees — earlier this week made arrangements for a private investigator posing as an illegal gambling operator to buy illegal gambling machinery.



POSITION OF TRUST: MP Lity Neerahoo

The Cape Times is in possession of tapes recording conversations between Neerahoo and Mr Anthony Hall, an ex-policeman turned private investigator.

Neerahoo put Hall in contact with a man prepared to sell 10 gaming machines at R4 500 each and gambling tokens for the machines at 25 cents each.

Neerahoo also claims during the conversation that he can organise a roulette table for Hall, which, Neerahoo says, he has in Durban.

Having, moving, distributing, servicing or doing anything at all to any gambling machine in the Western Cape is illegal, the Western Cape Gambling and Racing Board has confirmed.

Neither Neerahoo, nor the person selling the machines, is licensed for gambling machines. Since manufacturers' and distributors' licences are not yet available, neither of the two men has a licence to trade in any way with gambling machinery.

Mr Derek Auret, chairperson of the gambling board in the province said: "For anyone to own gambling machines, the machines must meet with SABS requirements. They must have a valid storage permit. The machines must be under lock and key, they may not be used and the public may not have access to them."

The machines Neerahoo referred the private investigator to were stored at a tattersall premises at the Cape Town station. Gambling board officials and police yesterday raided the premises and found 34 machines.

The possession of illegal gambling machines carries a maximum sentence of 10 years' imprisonment or a R2 million fine or both.

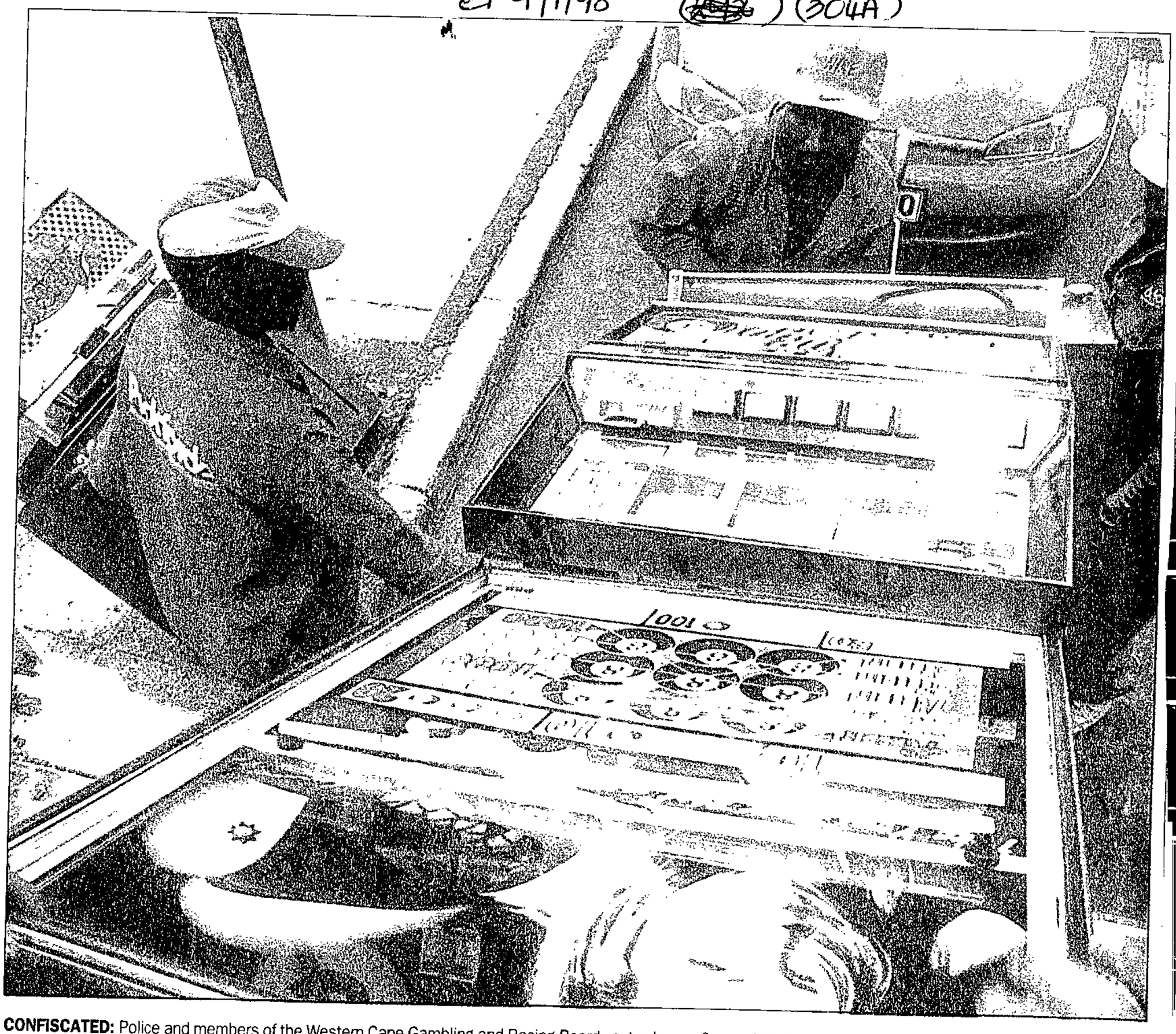
Police provincial commander of general investigations detective services Director Andre du Toit yesterday said brokering a deal in the illegal gambling trade was "not an offence in itself, but one would not expect a person in a position of trust to refer anyone to someone who is selling illegal gambling machines". He said the fact that the machines were confiscated yesterday made it clear they were illegal.

Several attempts to reach Neerahoo failed yesterday.

This is a first-hand account of how the deal went down:

● It's sticky hot inside the flat, even now at six in the evening. From outside we can hear the faint splashing and shouting of residents of Acacia Park parliamentary village in Goodwood dipping in the communal pool.

side



CONFISCATED: Police and members of the Western Cape Gambling and Racing Board yesterday confiscated 34 illegal gambling machines from a ote at the Cape Town station. MP "Lity" Neerahoo brokered a deal that led to a raid of the premises.

1999 ELECTIONS

9/1/98 (304A)

Zuma, Lekota, emerge in race for deputy presidency

With Mangosuthu Buthelezi recoiling from the offer of the deputy presidency, a new leadership contest has begun within the ANC

With only 16 months to the next election, no clear heir to the deputy presidency of SA has emerged. The reluctance of Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to bite at the carrot of a deputy presidency, publicly dangled by the ANC, has opened the door to another leadership contest in the ruling party.

The two leading candidates now are ANC national chairman Patrick "Terror" Lekota and ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma.

Buthelezi has ruled out the possibility of a merger with the ANC. He says the idea of a combination styled on the Zimbabwean Zanu-Zapu merger in the Eighties is inappropriate since conditions in the two countries are dissimilar.

On the question of the deputy presidency, Buthelezi says he will wait for a formal offer and only then will he respond. But his utterances hint that he may only agree to a government of national unity-type arrangement rather than a joining of the two parties.

Based on its experiences with the National Party, the ANC is likely to shy away from this.

Asked if a mechanism had been found to fill SA's deputy presidency, the newly elected ANC president, Thabo Mbeki, says: "The deputy presidency of the ANC does not automatically mean the deputy presidency of the country. Selection of the Cabinet, including the deputy president, remains the prerogative of the President."

Who, then, will he appoint?

Both Zuma and Lekota say they are prepared to accept "any deployment" the ANC assigns them. Zuma says he has no objection to Mbeki making such a choice. "Why should it lead to a problem? If we thought this policy would lead to a problem we would have changed it. This matter will lead to absolutely no problem."



Lekota (left) and Zuma . . . frontrunners for the deputy presidency

At the ANC's 50th national conference held last month, the party passed constitutional changes that automatically make the organisation's president and provincial chairmen the heads of those respective levels of government wherever the ANC is in power. The positions of deputies were not clarified.

However, the overwhelming ascendancy of Lekota, a United Democratic Front (UDF) activist in the Eighties, who trounced Sports Minister Steve Tshwete in elections for the national chairmanship, has strengthened the possibility of his candidacy for the deputy presidency of SA.

Lekota was deposed from the premiership of the Free State and made chairman of the National Council of Provinces last year. His surprising emergence in the ANC's central leadership appears to mark a resurgence of UDF-aligned power within the organisation.

Lekota's supporters cite as his strongest achievements his success in furthering racial harmony in the Free State and his emergence as a clean and efficient administrator.

Zuma's strength, however, could also serve to act against him. He is a close confidante of Mbeki, evidenced by his candidacy and eventual victory over Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in the contest for ANC deputy presidency. Yet many believe Mbeki will shy away from appointing him precisely because this closeness might be misconstrued as nepotism.

Mbeki has yet to make known his choice, but the ANC has a tradition of anointing heirs long before their enthronement — as in Mbeki's case, and with others who rose to leadership at Mafikeng.

In the next few months, before branch delegates draw up lists for parliamentary candidates, a new heir will emerge. Whether that choice is Lekota or Zuma will say much about Mbeki's style of leadership.

Justice Malala

GRAHAM HATTON

Former *FM* Editor dies in the UK

The *FM's* third Editor, Graham Hatton (58), died recently in London.

Maritzburg-born Hatton studied at the universities of Natal and Cambridge, and worked as an economist for Nedbank and JCI for about five years before joining the *FM* as an assistant editor in 1968.

He took over from the legendary George Palmer in March 1978, and was Editor for just under 15 months. While he was an incisive thinker, his views were perhaps ahead of the time, and it was during this period that several disaffected senior staff broke away to form *Finance Week*.

Hatton left the *FM* to join newsletter publisher Business International in London, and worked for it and its successor, the Economist Intelligence Unit, until his death. He was succeeded at the *FM* by Stephen Mulholland.

In trimming its foreign missions, SA mustn't be penny wise and pound foolish

(3049) Star 10/11/98

By GREG MILLS

The Department of Foreign Affairs is earmarked for a big budget slash – 25% in real terms over the next four years.

This raises serious questions as to how money might be saved while still retaining effective missions abroad.

According to figures being circulated privately, the department's 1998/9 budget will remain the same as the past year at R1 289-million. This will decline to R1 184-million in 1999/2000, to R1 143-million the following year, and R1 089-million in 2001/2.

At current domestic inflation rates, this amounts to a 25% overall cut.

But with the devaluation of the rand against foreign currencies, this cut could be considerably higher.

South Africa currently has 100 representations (embassies, high commissions and consulates) in 75 countries, plus four multilateral missions (the International Monetary Fund, the European Union, and the United Nations, in New York and Geneva). One obvious method of cutting costs would be to place a moratorium on the opening of new missions abroad, along with a careful assessment of those currently operating with an eye to making closures.

But the department should arguably avoid the knee-jerk reaction of shutting down some missions altogether. A downscaling in the size of overseas assignments, along with reorganisation of the relationship between the department and the Department of Trade and Industry, could be a better strategic option.

Other countries have been down the same road. As one Latin American diplomat has observed: "We decided to close missions to save costs. Then we discovered that we had to open them again. Rather downscale and first see what the effects are."

A downscaling in the size of missions requires a clear prioritisation, categorisation and description of the functions of overseas assignments.

Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade has recently completed a similar exercise, with interesting results.

Australia has ranked five categories of overseas posts by function (and hence size), so as to make better use of resources.

This Australian model might provide a useful template for South Africa. Category 1 denotes those required to perform the full range of functions of a diplomatic mission to a high degree on a daily basis: a staff of between eight and 25 officers.

Only missions in this category are expected to undertake regular reporting on third countries to which they are accredited.

> *'We decided to close missions to save costs. Then we discovered that we had to open them again'*

Category 2 missions, staffed by between five and eight officers, are expected to prioritise their functions to a greater extent by, for example, sustaining only a limited cultural and public affairs programme. Australia's category 3 missions trim their functions and staff down further, with between three and five personnel.

Category 4 missions are expected to perform only the "mandatory" tasks, and to a varying degree. Staffed by between one and three officers, these tasks involve the assessment of key players; the promotion of Australian interests in the fields of security, trade and commerce; making important representations; arranging visits for dignitaries; and providing consular services to Australians.

Finally, multilateral affairs are handled in category 5.

Australia's recently released foreign and trade policy white paper, "In the National Interest", acknowledges that while Australia's international reputation is important, it is not a sufficient commitment in itself to certain international issues.

As a result, they expect, as one Australian foreign affairs employee has put it, "a much lower priority to multilateral matters, and a cutback in the resources devoted to the United Nations".

Placement of South Africa's missions into similarly organised categories could prove the first stage in a process of rationalisation and cost-cutting. Rather than close missions outright, Pretoria might be well advised to establish so-called "micro-missions", similar to Australia's category 4, although staffed by just one foreign affairs officer.

This would undoubtedly place a premium on professional skills, however, given the wide range of tasks and duties expected. What the effect would thus be on the trend of making political appointments to head-of-mission posts remains to be seen.

This process would probably also demand closer co-ordination between the Department of Foreign Affairs and Department of Trade and Industry in the staffing of overseas posts.

Again, Australia's amalgamation of its departments of foreign affairs and trade 10 years ago provides useful lessons. Such a move is arguably inevitable given that, in the words of one analyst, "the logic of mixing economics and trade is today impeccable".

Chile has a similar number of overseas offices with less than half of SA's foreign affairs budget. Uruguay has 60 representations abroad with a budget of just R250-million. A prioritisation of mission functions and the establishment of micro-missions would be a step in the right direction. – Independent Foreign Service

■ *Dr Greg Mills is national director of the SA Institute of International Affairs. He is currently a visiting fellow at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University in Canberra.*

(304A)
FM 16/11/98

ANC-IFP MERGER TALK

Just whispered sweet nothings

Ndlovu says talks are no more than kite-flying; Mzimela faces reprimand

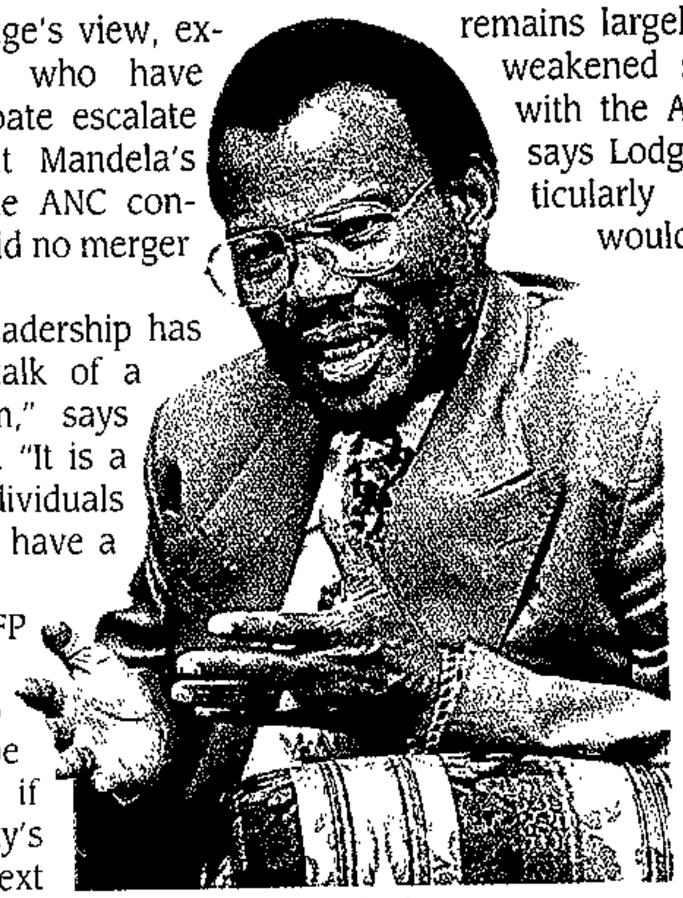
Talk of a merger between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), denied by both parties while senior leaders individually issue strident calls for such a move, has reached the level of farce. But amid the heated words of assent and denial, is there a likelihood that the two erstwhile foes will bed down together in the near future? And if so, why?

"I suspect there will be talks about talks, and further talks and more, but at the end of the day nothing will come of it while (IFP president) Mangosuthu Buthelezi is still around," says Wits University political analyst Tom Lodge.

Adding weight to Lodge's view, exasperated IFP leaders who have watched the public debate escalate — fuelled by President Mandela's praise of the IFP at the ANC conference last month — said no merger is possible before 1999.

"No-one in the IFP leadership has any idea where this talk of a merger emanates from," says IFP MP Velaphi Ndlovu. "It is a kite being flown by individuals in the ANC who do not have a mandate."

Party insiders say IFP leader and Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela is likely to be severely reprimanded, if not expelled, at the party's national council next week for suggesting that the two parties merge.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

This has not stopped ANC leaders individually promoting a merger, a move which has the blessing of Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC deputy president Jacob Zuma.

Why has the ANC leadership suddenly become so enamoured of a merger?

ANC KwaZulu-Natal leader Dumisani Makhaye and Zuma say the need for a merger stems from the fact that the two parties share the same constituency — the rural poor and the working class. In their view the only reason for two parties, instead of one, is that there are forces which profit from the violence between them.

"If leaders of both organisations are genuine in saying that we do not represent our own egos and interests, but represent that constituency, then we can find a way to come together," says Makhaye. He says the two parties are co-operating in the provincial and national government, signifying what could be achieved by a merger.

A high-ranking ANC source says the push for greater accommodation of the IFP is a need to ensure that violence does not erupt in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

As a result of this, one of the top priorities on Mbeki's agenda is a summit with Buthelezi, he says. Makhaye confirms that a summit is being prepared.

Ndlovu says the IFP is going full steam ahead with plans for the 1999 elections.

"We are concentrating on ensuring visibility in all provinces and winning the 1999 elections. A merger is not on our agenda," he says.

Lodge says the IFP's prospects for the 1999 elections are not as bright as they were in 1994. This is because of the rapid rate of urbanisation in SA. The IFP remains largely a rural party. In its weakened state, it could merge with the ANC in the long term, says Lodge. The ANC, and particularly several key leaders, would like to see a better relationship with the IFP, but not at any cost, he adds.

He dismisses the contention by Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, that differences such as provincialism are surmountable.

"Provincialism is very important for Inkatha, and as it stands the ANC would probably like to curtail the power of the provinces. This would be a major point of difference, among others," he says.

Lodge dismisses speculation that the ANC's overtures towards the IFP portends a move to one-party Statism, saying other parties in SA are better custodians of multipartyism. "It would be a pity if the ANC corrupted its own principles in order to merge with the IFP. It would become a corrupt, careerist, bourgeois and reactionary party," he says.

The parties' spin doctors have been at pains to distance the two parties from each other this week. This time, we can probably believe them.

Justice Malala

UDM roadshow starts in US

FOREIGN SERVICE ARG 21/1/98 (BOLA)

Washington – Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer have embarked on a week-long fundraising drive in US legislative and financial capitals , vowing to accept any financial assistance or ideas to boost their United Democratic Movement.

The UDM co-leaders, who said their party would elect one leader in June, told a meeting here that after the Government passed legislation providing that no parties outside Parliament would get financial assistance to contest the 1999 elections, they had no alternative but to seek outside financial help.

Mr Holomisa said they had chosen Washington and New York because that was where they could find all formers of decision and opinion at once.

They would also visit the United Kingdom, the Far East, Germany and the Netherlands to sell the UDM's vision and appeal for financial help.

Ex-SAAF chief to guide UDM in poll dogfight

Meyer, Holomisa in US to raise 1999 campaign funds

ARG 24/1/98 (BOHA)

PAUL OLIVIER

Former Air Force chief James Kriel has been appointed United Democratic Movement national defence strongman as the party prepares for the 1999 general election.

The UDM was launched late last year by Bantu Holomisa, who was kicked out of the African National Congress, and Roelf Meyer, who left the National Party.

Lieutenant-General Kriel's appointment was announced in the wake of a visit by the UDM's co-leaders to the United States, where they lashed out at the Government's affirmative action policy.

They are visiting Washington to raise funds for the party's election campaign.

Western Cape UDM spokesman Alan Phillips said this week that General Kriel would co-ordinate the defence subdivision of the UDM's policy commission on civil order.

General Kriel, who has been described by colleagues as "extremely competent and a new broom that never stopped sweeping clean", was hospitalised with flu this week and was not available for comment.

Mr Phillips, however, said the general would encourage contributions from grassroots level and was working closely with defence and security experts to streamline the UDM's defence policy.

Mr Phillips, who is also the UDM's national environmental co-ordinator, said the party was encouraging contributions from all sectors of the population in its drive to make the UDM "truly representative" of South African demographics.

"We are not yet in a position to challenge existing Government policy issues, but we are busy putting together UDM policy and management principles to challenge the ANC in the coming elections."

Mr Meyer and Mr Holomisa hope to woo Congress, top US business leaders and high-profile members of the media to support the UDM's election campaign.

About 30 appointments are scheduled for the week-long visit.

The UDM is not represented in Parliament and cannot therefore rely on financial assistance from the state in its campaign.

The party is hoping that democratic institutions in the US will help establish the UDM as a force in South African politics.

The two leaders told the Freedom Forum and the African Correspondent's Association in Washington that the UDM offered the most viable political alternative to the ANC.

Mr Meyer cited job-creation, education, foreign investment, restoration of law and order, the creation of a moral authority and effective steps against crime as the items highest on the UDM's agenda.

Mr Holomisa told a news conference that the ANC was "arrogant" because it had too much power and that it covered up corruption.

He said education was suffering because the Government's education policy lacked a strategy and because teachers with the necessary experience had been forced to resign.

Said Mr Phillips: "We believe the Americans are very interested in political developments in South Africa.

"The two leaders will be looking for funds to continue the UDM's drive to restructure the racial mould in which South African politics has been stuck, and to make the party a home for all South Africans.

"The UDM believes that South Africans are tired of being placed in racial moulds and that the UDM is an attractive alternative because it is the only all-inclusive party born out of the new South Africa."



Top gun: former SA Air Force chief James Kriel has been appointed to formulate the new UDM's defence policy

ANC ratings dive in Sacob review

(3044?)

Lisa MacLeod
and Reneé Grawitzky

BD 28/1/98

THE African National Congress (ANC) government remains the most sophisticated SA has had, but it is constrained by overly ambitious and inconsistent policies which are difficult to implement, says Prof Lawrence Schlemmer.

Schlemmer made his comments in a review of the operating environment of business in SA commissioned by the SA Chamber of Business (Sacob).

The review downgraded the operating environment during the second half of last year to 40% from 52%. The previous review had shown a rise from 48% to 52%. The drop in ratings was based on what Schlemmer referred to as an economic "relapse" from the previous review which covered developments during the first half of last year.

Schlemmer said despite perceived inconsistencies surrounding government policies, government remained committed to fiscal discipline.

In terms of the economy and its management, Schlemmer downgraded the rating from 60% to 40%. One of the main reasons was that the growth, employment and redistribution strategy (Gear) was not being implemented or defended within the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance with "sufficient determination". In addition, while government was sincere and committed to Gear, it did not co-ordinate and manage it in a sufficiently coherent manner.

He said the three-year rolling budget was a positive development and its targets were more realistic than the initial Gear policy. However, these were unlikely to be met unless there was an improvement in economic performance.

He criticised the pace of privatisation, claiming that the cabinet had not grasped the need to put the economy on a new course.

Referring to the quality of administration, he adjusted his initial rating from 55% to 45%, largely due to rising corruption within central government and the provinces.

"Various departments and provinces did not have the capacity to introduce the controls which could turn the tide," he said. Local government continued to be constrained, with 38% of local authorities being financially crippled.

His crime rating remained low at 35%, largely because crime in general had stabilised, while his education rating dropped dramatically from 43% to 29% due to the collapse of "overambitious and overzealous" plans by the education department. These plans included a failed attempt to restructure teacher-pupil ratios through teacher redeployment.

Mandela shrugs off harsh criticism by UK television

BD 4/12/98

(304A)

PRETORIA — President Nelson Mandela shrugged off a British television documentary yesterday describing him as incompetent, amateurish and feckless, saying criticism was useful to dispel misconceptions that he was a saint.

"We live in a free world where people are entitled to make an assessment of any individual," he said after receiving credentials from four ambassadors and a high commissioner.

"Such criticism tends to dispel the misfortunate conception that you are a saint. It helps to make you human."

Mandela said it had always bothered him that some individuals were elevated to the position of a demigod.

When treated as an ordinary human being, he said, one was prone to do fairly well in one's work. If treated like a saint, one was likely to disappoint.

Brian Walden, a senior BBC political commentator, reportedly described Mandela as incompetent, amateurish and feckless.

Earlier yesterday the president received credentials from five foreign envoys, including Wang Xuexian, China's first ambassador to SA.

Wang said the establishment of formal ties between SA and China formed the basis for the development of all-round friendly relations.

The two countries shared common views on a range of international issues, he said.

Mandela said it was a great honour to welcome Wang to the country — China had contributed much to the struggle against apartheid.

He was looking forward to a visit to SA by Chinese President Jiang Zemin.

Mandela and Wang committed themselves to do everything in their power to strengthen relations between the two countries.

On January 1 SA officially switched diplomatic ties from Taipei to Beijing.

Mandela also welcomed Liberian ambassador Lorenzo Llewellyn Witherspoon, Polish ambassador Zofia Kuratowska, ambassador Gedeon Magete from Burundi, and Indian high commissioner Lakshmi Chang Jain.

The ceremony was scheduled for last week, but cancelled when Mandela was ordered by his doctors to rest. He suffered pain in his right leg and hip caused by fatigue. Mandela said he had rested well and was feeling fine. He resumed his duties on Friday. — Sapa.

APPEAL TO THE NATION

Mandela: Roll up your sleeves

(JO4A) CT 6/2/98

"ROLL UP YOUR SLEEVES to build the nation", is the message expected from the president at Parliament. **JOVIAL RANTAO**, Parliamentary Bureau, reports.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is expected to use his penultimate opening-of-Parliament speech today to call for a new patriotism from South Africans, to prove their loyalty to the country by giving back through voluntary community service.

Although Mandela is not expected to announce any volunteer programmes, he will urge South Africans to give up their time to assist in nation-building exercises — without expecting payment.

And Sapa reports that Mandela is also expected to urge South Africans to eschew the pervasive culture of entitlement in favour of a new spirit of entrepreneurship.

Addressing a function at Fernwood last night, when he presented the President's Award for Community Initiative, Mandela said community participation was fundamental to the success of the government's efforts at reconstruction and development.

"As we face the challenge of meeting our people's basic needs with limited resources, those who roll up their sleeves and take the initiative to uplift their conditions in the spirit of Masakhane ... set an example for all of us to follow. The government on its own cannot provide what is needed, nor should it try to do so," Mandela said.

In Parliament today, Mandela is expected to repeat his call for communities to embrace entrepreneurship as a crucial part of economic development.

He is likely to use the state-of-the-nation address to frankly assess the ANC's successes and weaknesses over the past four years, and to set the tone for the last parliamentary year before the next elections.

Mandela is to be accompanied to the opening of Parliament by his daughter, Ms Zindzi Mandela-Hlongwane. They are scheduled to arrive at 10.30am.

On the steps of Parliament, Mandela will be met by 60 people with various disabilities, forming a civilian guard of honour. The disabled will be joined by women defence-force members, making up the military guard of honour.

Mandela's speech is to be shown in sign language during the live television broadcast. A choir of blind people will provide the musical entertainment for the day's proceedings.

At 11, Mandela will deliver his address to a joint sitting of the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces. The speech and ceremony that accompany it will be broadcast live by M-Net's parliamentary service and the SABC.

Sapa reports that with next year's general election looming, Mandela will also try to counter criticism that his government has failed to deliver on its socio-economic promises, that crime is spiralling out of control and that education and social welfare are in crisis.

He is expected to be frank on whether the socio-economic targets, set out in last year's opening address, have been met.

In an upbeat state-of-the-nation address last February, Mandela said the South African economy had turned the corner towards consistent expansion and that a robust industrial revolution was in the making. But the economic growth has not resulted in job-creation and Mandela will have to focus this year on how his government intends to curb unemployment.

The president said yesterday his speech today would contain no surprises. However, the National Party has called on him to use the occasion to fire several members of his cabinet.

Market rumours have even suggested that he may step down as president — which sources in his office have dismissed as laughable.



OPENING DAY: Members of the air force battalion rehearsing yesterday for the opening-of-Parliament ceremony today. President Nelson Mandela will pass a guard of honour made up of disabled people before addressing the country.

PICTURE: GARTH STEAD

kaans safe, says Mbeki

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Mbeki.

s speaking at the launch of
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pact of technology on
nation in Africa.

Mr Mbeki said the Government had no intention of discriminating against Afrikaans, which was a popular means of communication.

Turning to science and technology, he said: "The tragedy of our country is that the majority of our people have been left out of such important activities in the past – especially black youth, black women and the rural poor."

Reconstruction could happen only if people were empowered to take advantage of the advances in science, engineering and technology.

president waved to her as he went by.

Cobbled Parliament Street was festive as brightly dressed MPs and dignitaries arrived for the opening.

Women MPs were not afraid to make a fashion statement with bright reds, screaming oranges and lime greens among the favourite colours in their designer garments.

Speaker Frene Ginwala's flowing orange sari with gold embroidery was a show stealer, while Minister of Health Nkosazana Zuma was in lime green.

And the men were not backward in coming foward. New ANC national chairman Patrick Lekota wore a striking traditional outfit in the colours of the South African flag, rounded off with a straw hat and

past by Air Force helicopters carrying the South African flag and a 21-gun salute from Signal Hill also marked the occasion.

The first procession into the building included Deputy-President Thabo Mbeki and members of the National Council of Provinces and National Assembly.

They were followed shortly afterwards by Mr Mandela, formal in a dark suit, accompanied by his daugther Zinzi Mandela-Hlongwane and Ms Ginwala.

Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, who normally commands attention with her head-turning outfits, slipped in almost unnoticed this year, evading the hordes of photographers and reporters.

The Government would deal wit fraud and corruption in the civil se vice "with ruthless determination".

Mr Mandela said the Governmer would look for resources in the cor ing financial year to increase old ag pensions and eliminate fraud.

Among the Government achiev ments he listed:

■ The supply of clean and acces ble water from 700 000 to 1,3-millio South Africans.

■ A total of 500 clinics had bee built and the primary school feedi scheme reaches 4,9-million children

■ At least 400 000 electricity co nections have been made.

■ At least 400 000 houses had bee completed and 700 000 subsidies all cated.

to page 2

calling for a new patriotism, Mr Mandela challenged those whose past privileges afforded skills that were in high demand in the public service to volunteer them to help improve the lot of the nation.

"What this emphasises is that we need a campaign of moral regeneration.

"As we reconstruct the material conditions of our existence, we must also change our way of thinking, to respect the value and result of honest work and to treat each law of

ldn't save his 'baby'

Concerted coverage of politics

Huge cuts in public sector jobs, warns Mandela

From page 1

the country as our own.

"To find a lasting solution to all these challenges requires a community spirit among all of us, a new patriotism which is finding root within the populace. We must be ready to give back to society part of what we gain from it," Mr Mandela said.

South Africans should also actively involve themselves in the fight against crime: "We could do more if each South African of integrity consciously ask themselves every day whether they may have assisted in the commission of crime..."

The Government would deal with fraud and corruption in the civil service "with ruthless determination".

Mr Mandela said the Government would look for resources in the coming financial year to increase old age pensions and eliminate fraud.

Among the Government achievements he listed:

■ The supply of clean and accessible water from 700 000 to 1,3-million South Africans.

■ A total of 500 clinics had been built and the primary school feeding scheme reaches 4,9-million children.

■ At least 400 000 electricity connections have been made.

■ At least 400 000 houses had been completed and 700 000 subsidies allocated.

Mediocre, lacklustre, predictable, unconvincing, say opposition

Star 7/2/98 (304A)

By MARCO GRANELLI and ESTELLE RANDALL

Political parties have slated President Mandela's "state of the nation" address as mediocre and lacklustre but the country's largest union federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, welcomed it as a balance of successes, failures, and challenges to guide the nation's transformation.

"The president took time to indicate the challenges we all face for transformation. It's the responsibility of all of us to pull together in one direction if transformation is going to succeed," said Cosatu general-secretary Sam Shilowa. "As a federation we are willing to play whatever role we have to bring about transformation."

Responding to Mandela's warning that public service jobs would have to be shed this year, Shilowa said the issue of restructuring the public service had been addressed at an alliance summit in August.

He said a task force had been established to examine transformation of the public service, including personnel.

"We must look at whether we should reduce employment in the public service from the lower levels, who are often at the cutting edge of delivery, or at the top end," Shilowa said.

He said issues of privatisation and the jobs summit, which the president had also dealt with in his address, were similar to policy positions taken by Cosatu.

He said the federation was heartened by the president's statement that restructuring state assets was not "driven by ideology", that privatisation would occur where necessary and that the Government would set up new state enterprises where there was a failure to deliver on social programmes.

> *'He skirted the real issues of crime, housing and education'*

Inkatha Freedom Party chief whip Koos van der Merwe described the address as "mediocre".

"The president skirted the real issues of crime, housing and education. It was disappointing but it seems to have been more of an electioneering speech," Van der Merwe said.

"Predictable," was how the Pan Africanist Congress's Patricia de Lille summed up the speech.

"He referred to some achievements, which we all acknowledge, but he amazed us with his remarks about crime having dropped."

De Lille said that while the president had referred to the National Crime Prevention Strategy, he did not elaborate enough on what was occurring with the strategy.

"I thought he was a bit off the mark and away from the general public," she said about the president's comments on education and the poor matric results.

He had attributed the low pass rate to exam papers which were of a higher standard, tighter security around the exams, and that inconsequential subjects which had been taken in the past simply to get a certificate had been done away with in last year's exams.

"Yes, he was right," said De Lille, "but we failed to ensure that the education programme was geared to the exam."

National Party leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the speech was "lacklustre".

"It lacked focus, plans and a clear commitment on the part of this government to deal with the real issues," he said.

"It reflects a government out of touch with the real needs and feelings of the people of South Africa."

He criticised Mandela for claiming credit for limited successes, making excuses for not fulfilling 1994 election promises, and for an absence of plans to address key problem areas.

Van Schalkwyk said the speech "proved conclusively that this government lacks the political will to govern this country effectively".

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon called the speech "unsatisfactory and unconvincing", saying Mandela had offered no new solutions to the problems facing the country.

"The president had a chance to announce new measures to ensure delivery in education, crime and unemployment and a retreat from the politics of polarisation.

"Instead he chose to deflect attention from the ANC government's failures by exaggerating its successes and blaming the failures on others," Leon said.

Highly critical of Mandela's claim that crime had declined since the ANC came to power, Leon said "anybody can juggle with statistics".

He also knocked the absence of any measures to speed up privatisation, reduce taxation or dispose of "restrictive labour legislation".

While welcoming Mandela's announcements of public service retrenchments and his commitment to job creation, Leon said these promises had been made in the past and had not been kept.

> *'Rhetoric aimed at advancing the ANC's election campaign'*

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said the speech was "propagandist rhetoric" aimed at advancing the ANC's election campaign.

"Particularly the light in which crime and education were cast does not fit with the daily experience of South Africans."

But Viljoen welcomed Mandela's announcement that the Government had moved closer towards establishing the Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities, saying this was a "step in the right direction".

However, he said announcements of successes in providing water, electricity and telephones to people was "merely a smokescreen behind which the larger problem of economic growth and job creation was hidden".

Expelled ANC member Bantu Holomisa, who together with former NP member Roelf Meyer has formed the United Democratic Movement, was largely supportive of the speech.

In a joint statement the two UDM leaders said they supported Mandela in his effort to narrow the gap between rich and poor.

"We have noted with appreciation his promises to address these areas. He also emphasised the necessity for the transformation of our society, although a clear vision in this regard is still outstanding."

In his 90-minute speech, Mandela called on the people of South Africa to enter a partnership with the Government to help it achieve transformation and improve the quality of life.

"We know too well that on our own we cannot succeed," Mandela said. Particularly in tackling crime, he urged all citizens to pitch in to help.

"This spirit of community, of partnership and of hard work is required when dealing with problems of crime and corruption.

"To find a lasting solution to all these challenges requires a community spirit among all of us, a new patriotism which is finding root within the populace.

"We must build our nation into a community of citizens who appreciate their civic duty as each one of us improves our well-being."

He said this civic duty included each person asking themselves daily if they were contributing to the crime wave by turning a blind eye to crime, particularly petty crime.

Mandela said the Government would play its part in combating crime by launching special programmes in the six major metropolitan areas of South Africa aimed at reducing violent crime.

"Let us once more underline to those who choose to live a life of violent crime that, as recent incidents regarding cash heists have shown, we shall, with the combined might of the security services, return fire with overwhelming fire."

SA may close six foreign embassies

Stephen Laufer (304A) BD 11/2/98

CAPE TOWN — SA was considering the closure of six embassies or consulates abroad in an effort to optimise foreign representation, a parliamentary briefing heard yesterday.

acting foreign affairs director-general Tutu Mazibuko said the locations of the missions would be made public once host governments had been informed. The closures were likely to be in Europe and South America.

At the same time, new missions could be opened if it made economic and political sense to do so. SA had recently closed its embassy in Bahrain in favour of a new mission in Kuwait.

It is understood that most closures are likely in eastern Europe, where SA opened a number of missions after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the unbanning of the African National Congress in 1990. Staffing levels could also be cut in several overseas posts as foreign affairs absorbs a spending cut expected to be as high as 7% in the three-year cycle beginning with next month's budget.

Foreign affairs insiders say low levels of bilateral trade, investment, and political contacts have meant that the cost of some of the missions cannot be justified.

Among those likely to close are the SA embassy in the Slovak capital Bratislava, and the embassy in Belgium. The transformation of the consulate general in Hamburg into a trade mission is also understood to be under discussion.

Bratislava is less than an hour's drive from Vienna, where SA has an embassy already accredited to several countries and the United Nations. The functions of the Brussels embassy would be taken over by SA's mission to the European Union in the same city, allowing foreign affairs to abolish one ambassador's post there.

It is understood a new consulate in China's economic capital, Shanghai, is among possible new missions to be opened this year.

small and micro enterprises. Small enterpri
labour regimes: international precedents.

GOLDING, M. *Freedom of association and unio*

we're negotiating a deal so bizarre, it doesn't seem real.

What is bizarre about it, is not that it is illegal. This kind of thing probably happens all over the city all the time.

What is bizarre is that one party is a Member of Parliament, another an ex-cop turned private eye and the third is a journalist posing as the wife of the ex-cop.

Anthony Hall is the private investigator. I am his "wife". Lity Neerahoo is the Member of Parliament.

Hall is telling Neerahoo he needs 10 gambling machines. He wants to go in on a 50/50 deal with Neerahoo, like they did last time, but Neerahoo is not interested in this arrangement.

The last time he had a 50/50 deal with Hall, in which Neerahoo supplied 10 machines and took half the takings, he lost out, he says. Hall's Parkwood casino was broken into and the machines were destroyed.

Neerahoo is implacable. He keeps his body and his face still and only his eyes move. They rove our bodies. He looks suspicious and my stomach knots. But the talking continues.

Neerahoo says he knows a man trying to sell machines and calls him from his cellphone. The best price he can get Hall is R5 000 per machine.

"What do you think, babe," Hall asks me. As though we're used to having these conversations. As though I'm used to being called "babe" by a man I hardly know.

Neerahoo and Hall set up a meeting for the next day. At the station. Ten o'clock.

Answering to 'babe', Schimke pretended to be the wife of an ex-cop buying gaming goods.

All of this because I was sceptical when Hall told me that corruption and crime had infested every layer of our society. I looked sceptical when he told me he had bought 10 illegal gambling machines from a Member of Parliament less than a year earlier and to prove a point he had called Neerahoo immediately and set up a meeting for this Sunday evening, shortly after New Year.

The next day, Monday, Hall — having missed the 10am meeting — calls Neerahoo just after 11.30am. This is an edited version of their conversation:

H: Howzit, Anthony here, howzit. did you organise?

N: Well, I spoke to the guy there now and he said we must come back at 2pm.

H: And how much is he going to giv[redacted]e the machines for?

N: Five grand.

H: Not four-and-a-half?

N: You know maybe he ... I told him he must give it to you at four-and-a-half and he said, "Look here, you come here with the cash — we talk again".

H: Where can I meet him?

N: At the tote.

H: And who do I ask for?

N: Mohammed.

H: Mohammed. Ja, and then give him the money?

N: Ja, just do the whole deal with him.

H: And then he'll spe[redacted]u afterwards?

N: Ja. and he's got coins there as well.

H: How many tokens has he got?

N: Oh, he's got about 60 000.

H: Okay. I'll go see him.

H: And if there's any problems, I'll let him call you.



N: Yes, call me from there. As soon as you get there, tell him to phone me.

H: Okay.

N: Before you start talking to him.

H: Okay.

N: And I'll negotiate everything for you and then I'll take it from there.

H: Okay.

Neerahoo, Hall and I go to a tote at Cape Town station. The musty, large space with smoke-stained walls is where we meet the man with the machines.

Mohammed tells us gambling is the biggest money-spinner of all. He bought around 40 machines and they cost him R10 000.

"But what can I do, it's illegal now." Mohammed mops his brow and shrugs his considerable shoulders.

He directs an employee to show us the machines. In a backroom, tightly packed in a corner and covered by scraps of wood, cardboard and old doors, stand the dusty machines. The employee leaves Hall and me for a short while to "discuss" things.

Quickly, and with an old camera, I take a picture of Hall with one of the machines.

We go back to Mohammed to discuss a price. He tells us to bring the money: R45 000 is the negotiated cash price. Mohammed will see to the rest. We'll talk about the tokens when we come and pay for the machines.

Back at the Cape Times office, Hall calls Neerahoo one more time. This was the conversation:

H: Hi Lity, Anthony. I went to see Mohammed. (something unclear gets said).

N: What price has he given you?

H: Four-and-a-half.

❐ Turn to Page 3

P.T.O.

MP exposed

(304A)

❑ From Page 1

N: Okay.

H: What table have you got for me? B'CT 9/11/98

N: He's got the table there with him. Just ask him if it's a blackjack table.

H: And he said he bought the tokens from you.

N: Ja.

H: Haven't you got tokens that I can buy from you?

N: He's got tokens there.

H: Won't it be cheaper going through you?

N: I don't have any more left Anthony.

N: How much does he want for the tokens?

H: He said he had 60 000 thousands' worth.

H: And what did he pay you?

N: Uh, I think it was 28 cents per piece.

H: Ja. and have you got any roulette tables?

N: Roulette tables, uh, ... (the rest is unclear)

H: Okay, so when can I organise that?

N: This afternoon.

H: Okay, and these gambling machines, are they working?

N: Yes yes yes, all our machines are working.

N: Okay. tell him to phone me.

H: Alright. Okay. Okay Lity.

The undercover investigation stops there.

Considering all the events I try to find a way in which what Neerahoo has negotiated is okay. But I can't.

And I remember what a Gambling Board staff member once told me long ago:

"You cannot move, make, keep, sell, use — you just about cannot dust a gambling machine, without first going through the board's processes There is no legal gambling in the province."

,er on honesty, not fiction

(~~HB~~) (304A) MHCT 13-19/2/98

:om the side of the ANC have been tempted to :write Inkatha's recent history. Inkatha was :ablished, Mankahlana tells us, "to pursue the :ruggle against apartheid", at a time when the ANC was banned. Insofar as there was any sub-:quent conflict with the ANC, this was inject-:ntirely from the outside — "the doctrine of low-intensity war propounded by the military junta of PW Botha".

Back in 1985, ANC president Oliver Tambo had a very different view. Tambo told the ANC Kabwe conference there had been a failure to mobilise effectively around building Inkatha. "The task therefore fell on Gatsha Buthelezi himself, who built Inkatha as a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised. Gatsha dressed Inkatha in the clothes of the ANC, because he knew that the masses were loyal to the ANC. Later when he thought he had a sufficient base, he also used coercive methods against the people to force them to support Inkatha."

I am sure Tambo would have accepted that organisations and individuals can change. But if there is to be any sustainable co-operation with the IFP (and there must be), it has to be built on honesty, not historical fiction.

Inkatha has been several different things. If, as Tambo observed, it originally sought to clothe itself in ANC colours, in time it defined itself primarily in opposition to the ANC. When meeting Western politicians, the IFP liked to present itself as a Helmut-Kohl-Does-Ulundi act, a centre-right Western-style party, opposed to sanctions and deeply committed to free-market liberalism.

To woo Raymond Parsons and Natal sugar barons, Zulu ethnicism was dressed up as non-racial federalism, the only counterweight to an impending ANC one-party regime. But, in its deep rural and hostel bases, the glue that held Inkatha together had very little to do with federalism or laissez-faire liberalism.

Mankahlana is right to observe that the IFP's mass constituency is no different from much of the ANC's core constituency — the rural black poor and migrant workers. However, it was a constituency that the IFP mobilised on the basis of a narrow ethnic nationalism, through the control and dispensing of bantustan patronage, and (as Tambo noted) by coercion. Obviously, it is a constituency that can be organised around another, nation-building, development programme.

Is the IFP, and its present leadership, capable of moving towards this different trajectory? Or does our best hope lie with the steady erosion of the IFP, as patronage resources dry up, as warlord networks are uncovered, and as democracy reaches into rural areas? Opinion polls show that there is, indeed, a very substantial erosion of IFP support. However, this does not mean the IFP is about to expire.

There are no easy predictions. Recent experience with many elected IFP representatives suggests there are possibilities of co-operation between the IFP and ANC. This is especially the case where the desperate needs of a shared constituency come into play — water, health, education.

On the other hand, the IFP will continue to be convulsed by the contradictory pull of its self-interested ex-bantustan elite. It is a stratum that represents (to evoke Mahmood Mamdani's memorable phrase) not so much the force of tradition as the tradition of force. The IFP's future trajectory will depend on the outcome of its own internal dynamics, and also on how external forces, not least the ANC, are able to engage with its better instincts.

Talk of a merger is clearly premature. The priority needs to be the consolidation of peace in KwaZulu-Natal. Peace will help to release energies for co-operation around development, and, then ... who knows?

Over the longer term, the parties may start to converge on the basis of a principled and progressive programme (and an honest understanding of the past). We should, however, avoid the impression that it is either war or merger. There very many ways in which parties can work together constructively.

If advocates of a hasty merger have cut corners, I am even less impressed with certain arguments against a merger. A merger, we are told, would be a threat to multi-party democracy. It might, and this needs to be thought about carefully. But those who are most loudly whinging, about a resultant reduction in electoral choices, are often those most complacent about other, anti-choice realities in our country.

Our present multi-party dispensation is one of the institutionalised arrangements we have developed, since 1994, to manage and negotiate the tension between a transformation agenda and the persisting powers of significant elites from the apartheid past.

The National Assembly reflects, in its way, this particular dynamic balance of forces. Besides the ANC, most of the other parliamentary parties represent real constituencies, whose numbers are limited, but whose powers are substantial.

The Democratic Party, the National Party, the Freedom Front and the IFP (in its complex way) all speak for old elites, defending ill-begotten powers and privileges in the face of a transformation agenda. (The Pan Africanist Congress is a different case again: wild libido of the liberation movement, it has lived since 1959 without plan or strategy, but in the hope that the ANC will some day lose its constituency.)

Yes, multi-partyism can be an important means to ensure a ruling party is held accountable. But it is not the only means. In the past few years, social movements, a campaigning press and robust democracy within the ANC and its alliance have been more effective in fostering answerability than the efforts of Tony Leon and Marthinus van Schalkwyk.

Multi-partyism is not a timeless formula to be foisted abstractly on to a social reality. In South Africa today, vast numbers of the historically oppressed remain unemployed, unsheltered, unskilled, semi-skilled and under-nourished. What they do have is numbers, organisation and the possibility, in being a political majority, of sustaining ongoing transformation.

To call for the electoral splintering of the ANC along more "conventional" ideological lines, or to howl at any mention of an ANC-IFP merger in the name of plurality of choice, might seem reasonable. But, as long as three-quarters of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange is controlled by five interlocking conglomerates, this free-choice argument is, intentionally or otherwise, disingenuous.



Peace in our time? President Nelson Mandela dances with Mangosuthu Buthelezi at a peace rally. PHOTOGRAPH: GREG MARINOVICH/PICTURENET AFRICA

M+G 13-14/2/98

(304A)



Base ANC-IFP merg



Jeremy Cronin
CROSSFIRE

During the past months there has been kite-flying around the idea of a merger between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Peter Mokaba, in the flurry of interventions he made prior to the ANC annual conference in December, punted the idea. The IFP's Mangosuthu Buthelezi slapped down the proposal, on the grounds that Mokaba was "too junior" to be making a serious offer.

However, fellow IFP Cabinet minister Sipo Mzimela leapt at the idea — rather too warmly. He was rebuked by the rest of the IFP leadership. There have also been cautionary statements from the ANC to say merger talk is premature.

But the idea has not disappeared. Last month, Parks Mankahlana, the presidential representative, writing (he was quick to qualify) as an executive member of the ANC Youth League, penned an extensive article in a Sunday newspaper. Mankahlana passionately argued the case for a merger.

What are we to make of all this? With 1999 around the corner, some of the kite-flying is, I suppose, related to electoral calculations. But beyond the tactical manoeuvres, the debate, provided we approach it honestly, goes to the heart of some crucial questions.

Sadly, some of those advocating a merger

STAR 13/02/98

HOW we can join the battle for honesty

ere are many options SA can follow, writes Lala Camerer

n the light of the South African Govern-ment's stated purpose of overcoming in-herited profligacy and corruption, the efforts which characterise international ms are considered.

central task of any anti-corruption is to reform, modify and professionalise blic sector to enhance public confidence integrity and impartiality of the ser-

countries, such as Uganda which inher- weak, underpaid and overstaffed civil e, including thousands of ghost workers, s to clean up government included ved remuneration, training of staff, and ing a code of ethics.

tionalising the public sector to improve es is a necessary reform as public offi-re less apt to succumb to illegal induce- if they are paid well, and in proportion ir duties. Magistrates in Imperial China said to have been paid an extra ance to "nourish their honesty". pore and Hong Kong carry on this ion to discourage wrongdoing. These mies have not only grown well but rank rably low in comparisons of corrupt ce. So the challenge is to structure pub-ministration to provide appropriate in-es to maintain a civil servant's honesty. des of conduct for public servants have instituted in several countries. Such provide for the following: declaration of cts of interest and disclosure of assets vestments above a certain threshold (in-g those of dependants).

r such codes to operate successfully, all of the body politic must subscribe to development and adherence to the code ld be strictly enforced.

here must be mechanisms which provide access for complainants and accommo-e those who may report or "blow the stle" on corrupt public officials. The n Democracy Bill, to be discussed during parliamentary session, has a whistle-er component which addresses these is-. There are a number of conditions, but main thrust is to protect complainants

In Tanzania a committee headed by President Benjamin Mkapa has been reviewing government tendering procedures and disbursements of foreign aid in a determined new effort to close loopholes against corruption. The Warioba Report on Corruption found that awards were going to unqualified and undeserving companies at very high costs – with an inflation of contract prices in some cases by as much as 300%. Also, tenderers were taking advantage of the lengthy process – which ranged from 180 days to a year – to peddle influence and corrupt officials at various levels.

In Argentina all big public procurement deals are televised to guarantee a transparent process.

Improving service delivery is the key to good governance. In a number of countries – Uganda, Tanzania, Ukraine and Nicaragua – Service Delivery Surveys (SDS) which assist in evaluating a programme's effectiveness and making it more accountable to government



The President's word

"A spirit of community, of partnership and of hard work is required when dealing with problems of crime and corruption ... we need a campaign of moral regeneration.

As we reconstruct the material conditions of our existence, we must also change our way of thinking, to respect the value and result of honest work, and to treat each law of the country as our own.

although such legislation impacts little on underground informal banking networks.

Specialised anti-corruption authorities are used throughout the world to advance the cause of integrity in public life. For instance ombudsmen/public protector offices, independent anti-corruption commissions, vigilance commissions, special police and intelligence units and inspectors-general pursue alleged abuse of power by public officials.

The establishment of independent entities detecting, investigating and prosecuting corrupt activities in the public sector helps to ensure proper, effective and reliable action, while making certain influences which may corrupt governmental officials are removed.

There are numerous examples in Hong Kong, Singapore, Botswana, New South Wales (Australia) to name a few – each of them characterised by their well-resourced and independent nature.

Civil society, which includes a free and independent media, an active grassroots sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), is a crucial control-mechanism to call public figures to account.

The media has many roles to play. In publicly exposing corruption through investigative journalism, the free press is a vital check on abuses of power, especially in countries which lack other means of restraining politicians and bureaucrats. The media must also raise public awareness of citizens' rights to government services and programmes.

Citizens groups can play an active role in promoting an anti-corruption agenda. An NGO, which has concentrated on fighting corruption, is Transparency International – a non-profit organisation set up in 1993 to counter corruption in international business. With 70 chapters around the world, including South Africa, it encourages governments to establish and implement effective laws, policies and anti-corruption programmes to enhance public transparency and accountability in international business and public procurement.

Elections are important in democracies so citizens can vote officials out of office if they believe them to be corrupt - an incentive for

STAR 13/02/98

WHY societies are cleaning up their acts



By Lala Camerer

The increasing concern about corruption as an issue in governance is apparent from the number of administrations round the globe which have recently collapsed after allegations and investigations of high-level corruption.

The unexpected elevation of a domestic corruption scandal to the level of a national crisis with international implications involving regional powers such as Japan, China and the US (as was the case in South Korea) points to corruption as an issue to be placed firmly on the agenda of an international community concerned with good governance and common security.

Another indication of this growing concern is reflected in attendance figures at forums such as the International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC). Last year, at the IACC meeting in Lima, Peru, there were more than 1 000 delegates from 93 countries. South Africa will be hosting the next IACC conference next year.

While the problems of corruption in government at the administrative and political levels are universal – and recognised to have particularly deleterious effects on nations with vulnerable economies – the corruption issue has rarely been higher on the agenda of governments, international organisations and international business.

Since corruption is by no means a new phenomenon, the question is why is it now such a key issue internationally? Reasons include:

- The global impetus towards democratisation which has uncovered large-scale abuses of power in previously authoritarian regimes.
- Citizens everywhere demanding greater probity and accountability from elected representatives.
- The phenomenon of globalisation and resultant trade liberalisation where new transparency in domestic and global markets brings corruption more quickly to the fore.
- The unknown threats and fears of organised crime.
- The fact that corruption affects everyone in a negative way and "we are all victims".

Good governance depends on a number of factors. These include the extent to which the general citizenry perceives a government to be: legitimate, that is, committed to improving the general public welfare through public service delivery; competent to

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rom victimisation or reprisal following their disclosures, and so encourage public servants not to turn a blind eye to misconduct.

Experience has found, however, that incentives may be necessary to make people change their behaviour.

In the US, the moral obligation to report wrongdoing has been marginalised in favour of what some might consider a distasteful, but in reality far more effective, incentive-based scheme. The provisions of the statute permit a citizen with knowledge of a violation of the statute to receive up to 30% of the recovered money, with the average share around 18%. The monetary reward provides a financial incentive to "do the right thing" particularly for those who cannot afford the risk to their careers and livelihood that becoming a whistleblower might entail.

The requirement for sound modern financial management systems within government, both central and local, is being recognised as essential. In South Africa, the auditor-general has noted that unauthorised expenditure by government departments is a time-bomb waiting to explode and has emphasised that public accounts committees must hold state departments and institutions accountable.

Tender procedures need to be adhered to. The legacy of badly built roads, semi-finished building sites and industrial enterprises situated in the wrong area is well known to those who have witnessed corrupt bidding practices.

> This is our call to all South Africans to firm up the moral fibre of our nation. It is a call to artists and musicians and sports persons, to religious leaders and traditional institutions, to intellectuals, to the media and to all those who should give leadership as we establish new symbols and role models: all of us to join hands in a New Patriotism; not because the Government says so, but because it is in our common interest to do it. ”

have been undertaken. The objective of such surveys is to glean information on the access of citizens to basic services such as education, health and water as well as their perception of the quality of service delivery.

An example indicates the type of information captured. In Nicaragua an SDS found 90% of the transport users were paying fares well above the recommended official rate.

In addition to reforming the civil service, an integrated institutional reform process needs to examine the legal and judicial systems and review the adequacy of legislation and sanctions to deal with corruption.

Since corruption mainly involves significant economic benefits for perpetrators, sanctions against it are not effective without measures to deprive offenders of such benefits. With a range of anti-money laundering legislation, it is becoming increasingly difficult to conceal illegal profits of criminal activity,

[illegible] to remain honest. Globally there have been reform efforts to both regulate election finances for political campaigns and introduce legislation to fund political parties from state coffers. These efforts are intended to reduce undue influence of business and to support opposition parties, thereby promoting multiparty democracy.

Good government reforms to control corruption need to include preventive, administrative, investigative and legislative measures. These should be a top priority and be planned, monitored and, where appropriate, implemented by a specialised body.

The success of national anti-corruption efforts depend primarily on the political resolve with which they are pursued and the economic policies and institutions that underpin them. For governments intent on reform, a central part of controlling corruption is getting the basics of public policy and management right.

Essentially, the public determines the level of corruption it will tolerate. Public resentment towards corruption, which manifests itself in a variety of ways, is thus the key to the success of reform initiatives. What is ultimately needed is a change in the attitudes and behaviour of the public, for unethical conduct in government is largely shaped and conditioned by such behaviour in society.

■ *Lala Camerer is a senior researcher and programme co-ordinator of the Safety and Governance Programme at the Institute for Security Studies.*



[redacted]

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policy environment for productive activities; equitable in its conduct, favouring no special interests or groups. Good governance includes integrity, service delivery and capacity building.

Reasons for good governance reforms are numerous but to a large extent rest on the economic efficiency argument: economic growth can only be achieved effectively and for the long term if decision-making is soundly based with institutions in which investors and ordinary people can have confidence.

Many countries lack the basic institutional foundations for markets to grow. They fail to provide law and order and predictability of policy. High on the list of deterrents of potential (foreign) investors is the fear of dealing with countries where the rule of law is undermined, where democratic institutions are weak, where the accountability of the public service is non-existent and where petty corruption is endemic.

There is increasing empirical evidence to show that investors, especially foreign ones, choose to go elsewhere rather than become caught up in costly projects which squeeze profits.

As such there is little investment and less economic growth. There is thus a hard-headed economic case for good governance reforms which also serve to tackle corruption.

Cleaning up government is a complex and lengthy process, requiring political commitment and a determination to see the process through. Much effort needs be directed to institutional capacity building and the establishment of institutional safeguards, particularly in societies emerging from an authoritarian past.



PICTURE: ANDREAS VLACHAKIS

Institutions and initiatives for combating the scourge in SA

- The South African Police Service
- Office for Serious Economic Offences
- The Auditor-General
- The Public Protector
- Commissions of Inquiry
- Code of conduct for public service
- Code of conduct for all MPs and to a limited extent for their spouses
- Transparency International
- SAPS anti-corruption units
- Independent Complaints Directorate

Information provided by the Institute for Security Studies

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3074

Fraud, maladministration, bribery lead litany of crimes costing billions

Corruption on a national level (excluding the provinces) involved between R10,2-billion and R14,3-billion during the period July 1994 and June 1997.

This implies that, conservatively speaking, between R3-billion and R5-billion could be involved per year at national level alone. Alleged fraud accounted for 50,6% of all cases of corruption. This was followed by maladministration (26,19%), bribery (13,69%) and embezzlement and nepotism with just over 4% each.

The misuse of state assets accounted for nearly 1%. Of the 168 cases of corruption categorised during the period July 1994 and June 1997, alleged fraud accounted for more than half of the cases (85), followed by maladministration (44), bribery (23), nepotism (8) and embezzlement (7).

Corruption on national level involved between 75 000 and 102 790 people. These included the "ghost" workers, public servants promoted without proper authorisation and those involved in pension scams.

■ During 1994/1995 many of those promoted were not aware that they had risen in the ranks without authorisation and one can therefore argue that, on a provincial level, these people were unwittingly involved in the scams.

■ With the relevant commission of inquiry initially dragging its feet before investigating these cases, but proving successful later on, most of the people involved should eventually have known that they were not entitled to the salaries they were receiving.

■ With some provincial governments slow to implement suggestions made by the commission and with investigators of the commission in some instances being wilfully obstructed in their duties, it was argued that in these instances, the people involved became part of a prevailing culture of entitlement.

■ *This information was taken from a report issued by the National Party's Department of Research and Strategy last year entitled, Evaluation of Public Sector Corruption.*

OFFICIAL'S WIFE'S FIRM GOT CONTRACT

R1,69m 'wasted' on Mandela's report to nation

(304A)
CT 17/2/98

THE THEN-HEAD of SA Communications Services awarded a contract to the company for which his wife worked.

ERIC MEIJER

THE auditor-general has criticised SA Communications Services, the government service that is being closed, for overspending on President Nelson Mandela's mid-term report to the nation and distributing it inefficiently.

In a parliamentary report dated February 6, the auditor-general says SACS was allowed to suspend the careful state tendering process so it could arrange for the report to be published and distributed quickly.

Instead, hundreds of thousands of copies were printed and then held in storage for months.

It cost R1,69 million more to have the report printed privately than it would for the Government Printer to have done the job.

Mr Sam Kotane, then head of SACS, could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Mr Joel Netshitenzhe, who is to head the government's revamped communications office, said he had not seen the report.

However, he said he would implement in full the recommendations of the committee on public accounts.

The SACS awarded a contract on April 9 last year to Quality Printers, a black-owned company not then approved as a government supplier.

The contract required the company to print and distribute quickly a million copies of the document.

A few copies were distributed quickly, but most of the copies arrived only in May.

By August, 800 000 copies were still in storage at SACS headquarters in Pretoria.

Mandela presented the mid-term report on February 7.

The auditor-general's report said Kotane had failed to disclose that his wife worked for Quality Printers.

He had also failed to disclose that a chief communications officer at SACS, Mr David Raphadu, was a brother of the company's managing director, Mr Thomas Billy Raphadu.

Kotane said he was not aware that the Raphadus were brothers.

He said his wife was a professional printer and worked where she could.

His decision to award the contract to Quality Printers "had nothing to do with my judgment to select Quality Press".

The auditor-general's report said that David Raphadu did not have provisioning responsibilities at SACS and probably had not been aware of the contract's being awarded.

"Evidence indicating that he was involved in the transaction relating to the awarding of the tender to Quality Press (Pty) Ltd could not be found."



GROUND BREAKING CEREMONY: Work on the R3,5 billion Capricorn Technology and Industrial Park in Muizenberg got under way this week after Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's official ground breaking ceremony. With him is Capricorn's managing director Raven Naidoo.

Strong links needed between civil society and govt

(304A)
Star 17/2/95

By Rich Mkhondo
in Washington

There is a widening gap between members of civil society and their governments, and it is still an open question whether the current electoral system of proportional representation is appropriate to the needs of the country's emerging democracy, five prominent researchers said in an assessment of South Africa in the run-up to the 1999 elections.

In a frank 38-page assessment of South Africa since 1994, Steven Friedman, Chris Landsberg, Khehla Shubane, Claude Kabemba, all of the Johannesburg-based Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), and Professor Joel Barkan, a political science lecturer at the University of Iowa, called "for the narrowing of the gap between state and society and building institutions of countervailing power which will ensure a wide dispersal of power across society".

"There is a substantial disconnect between political elites at the centre and citizens on the periphery," said the report prepared for the US Agency for International Development (USAid) democracy and governance assistance programme and its relevance to the attempt to consolidate democracy in South Africa.

"Vertical links between state and society remain tenuous, threatening the emergence of a state 'suspended' over those it purports to govern, a pattern typical of much of Africa. This is enhanced by the national elite's preference for centralisation and South Africa's electoral system, closed-list proportional representation," the five academics said.

The report commissioned by USAid comes barely two months after President Mandela lambasted some aid agencies for acting as the political ears and mouthpieces of local and foreign interests acting against his Government.

Addressing the ANC's 50th national conference in Mafikeng, Mandela cited a US House International Relations Committee report which accused USAid of not being involved in the more mundane development projects it carries out in other countries, but "in American political terms, USAid has chosen all the wedge issues of South African politics."

As if heeding Mandela's stinging rebuke, USAid officials called for the deletion of some pages from the CPS' assessment report which may have offended the ANC leader and his colleagues.

"A section of this report has been deleted at the discretion of USAid/South Africa in accordance with USAid's programme needs. The analysis and views expressed in it are those of the authors and should not be construed as a statement by either USAid or the US government," the report said in a disclaimer.

USAid is the main channel through which the US government funnels American foreign aid. But critics of the agency have said it has overstepped its bounds in South Africa. For its part, the agency stoutly rejects the claim, pointing out that its projects and grants have been carried in close consultation with South Africans, particularly the Government.

The agency will make nearly 400 grants a year from its $2-billion (R9,8-billion) budget over the next three years.

If USAid has its way, until the year 2001, its operations in South Africa will focus on the strengthening of democracy and governance and reforming the country's education, health system, economic policy, improving housing, urban development and the country's private sector.

But, in their assessment of USAid involvement in SA, the researchers said the agency staff was not in touch with members of civil society, and had not been easily accessible to those NGOs who needed it. "USAid is perceived as increasingly inaccessible and overly formalistic. Most grantees report considerable difficulty in establishing or sustaining contact with USAid personnel responsible for programmes directed towards civil society."

After interviewing 50 leaders of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or civil society organisations (CSOs) the researchers said USAid and other agencies played a crucial role in the consolidation of democracy in South Africa and made the following observations:

- The chief threat to the consolidation of democracy in South Africa is the limited capacity of the state to govern – and, more particularly, to cement a social contract with society in which government protects the rights of citizens who, in turn, meet their obligations to democratic government.
- To overcome the gap between the Government and civil society, and to ensure that the former is accountable to the latter, it is necessary to strengthen the relationship between state and society.
- On the surface, South African democracy has ushered in competition between well-established parties ... but there are threats to vigorous competition with implicit threats or actual threat of force against those in the area who support minority parties or positions.
- Voters identify less with policies than with the sense that a party represents their group. This problem is enhanced by the fact that the majority party (ANC) presents itself as a broad liberation movement ... This not only limits competition, it also has severe potential effects on the link between the Government and citizens. The governing party's incentive to respond to members of racial minorities is greatly reduced since it does not rely on their votes.
- Although elected provincial and local governments operate in South Africa, there are strong pressures from the centre to ensure that their march is in step with national Government's objectives. One consequence is the creation of the National Council of Provinces which offers provinces greater potential say over national laws, but less opportunity to pursue diverse paths.
- The electoral system is also an obstacle. Legislators are not directly accountable to voters, despite a synthetic constituency system in which law-makers are assigned particular geographic areas to represent – they cannot be removed from office by their presumed constituents. It is therefore rare for parliamentarians to base their assessment of public wants on intimate knowledge of particular electorates.

The CPS recommended that to overcome the gap between members of civil society and the SA Government, USAid should pursue programmes that strengthen the links between civil society, particularly community-based organisations and local government. – Star Foreign Service

S Africa does it right

SA's foreign policy and the country's consistent refusal to take its cue from the United States is beginning to pay off. **Zondi Masiza** explains why...

(SOWA) Sowetan 18/2/98

THERE are diplomatic indications suggesting that Iran and the United States are now thinking about mending their relations, which have been hostile since the fundamentalist Islamic revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini overthrew the Shah's regime in 1979.

It is the election of the moderate Muhammad Khatami as president of Iran that has brought the change of attitude on the part of US government officials.

At present Washington brands Iran a rogue state because of its support for the militant Palestinian political organisation, the Hezbollah (Party of God). Tehran, on its part, regards the US as Satan.

The thawing of relations between Tehran and Washington will have a positive impact on South Africa's foreign policy, especially as it pertains to relations with the two countries.

The rapprochement will certainly clear the suspicion with which the US regards the close diplomatic relations Iran enjoys with South Africa.

So far Pretoria has dealt with Washington's disapproval by asserting its right of sovereign independence – a move seen as an act of defiance by many analysts.

The US has long feared that the African National Congress would, once in power, use South Africa's nuclear technology to pay off political debts to Iran and Libya by helping them acquire weapons of mass destruction (biological, chemical and nuclear).

In the post-Cold War era the underlying assumption of the US non-proliferation policy is that "rogue" countries like Iran are intent on acquiring nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them at whatever cost.

Compelling evidence

In May 1995 then US secretary of state Warren Christopher said at a press briefing: "Based upon a variety of data, we know that since the mid-1980s, Iran has had an organised structure dedicated to acquiring and developing nuclear weapons."

Although there is no compelling evidence to support such claims, US officials think it is through these activities that Iran "could position itself to manufacture nuclear weapons on relatively short notice".

Not surprisingly, therefore, US policy is to discourage nuclear suppliers from exporting civil (dual-use) nuclear technologies, regardless of the fact that International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards may be in place because it lacks confidence in the commitment of these states to these safeguards.

For instance, the US has successfully stopped the German construction of the Bushehr nuclear power reactor in Iran. Similarly in 1995 the US pressured the Russian government not to sell nuclear reactors to Iran.



Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo ... South Africa is a responsible possessor of advanced technologies.

Last year a press report alleged that during then Iranian president Ali Rafsanjani's official visit to South Africa, President Nelson Mandela's office arranged for a high-ranking official of the Iranian Atomic Energy to meet his South African counterpart, Waldo Stumpt.

The Iranian reportedly presented Stumpt with a shopping list of restricted nuclear materials and technologies for manufacturing nuclear weapons.

The implication here is that Mandela's staff was contriving to circumvent the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which bars South Africa from producing nuclear weapons or assisting other non-nuclear countries to do so.

Not only did the report question South Africa's nuclear nonproliferation credentials, but it sought to accentuate the US fears that Iran might exploit these ties to advance its (suspected) nuclear weapons programme.

However, the report itself betrayed a sense of ignorance about South Africa's nuclear weapons nonproliferation policy – in particular, with regard to exporting nuclear technology to non-nuclear states.

As Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo put it: "Democratic South Africa is a responsible possessor of advanced technologies."

Given South Africa's ardent support for universal adherence to the NPT, it is mischievous to insinuate that the ANC-led Government is assisting other non-nuclear weapon states to acquire nuclear weapons.

As an emerging nuclear supplier, South Africa is a member of nuclear and missile export regimes, namely the nuclear supplier group (NSG), Zangger Committee and the missile technology control regime.

The US exercises a strong leadership role in these regimes, which have a set of guidelines that regulate and restrict trade in sensitive nuclear and missile technologies.

The majority of the Nonaligned Movement (NAM) countries regard nuclear export regimes as being too keen on enforcing the prohibitory aspects of the NPT to the detriment of dismissing the promotional ones.

That is one of the divisive issues among the NPT parties. This controversy poses enough of a foreign policy challenge to make our Government, if it is not careful, seem to be running with the hare and hunting with the hounds.

South Africa is in a historically unique position of being the first NSG member to assume the leadership of the NAM. A point to bear in mind regarding nuclear export controls is to maintain a reasonable balance between the prohibitory and promotional aspects of the NPT.

Technologies for development

Already, in August 1994, the South African Cabinet affirmed that approach when it urged the Government to "utilise its position as a member of the suppliers group and of the Africa Group-NAM to promote the importance of non-proliferation and to ensure that these controls do not become the means whereby developing countries are prevented from obtaining advanced technologies which they require for their development".

In conclusion, had the Government been taking foreign policy cues from Washington, it would now find itself in the unenviable, if not embarrassing, situation of having to reorient its stance towards Iran.

Thus, Mandela's irresolute stand of not allowing Washington to dictate who South Africa's friends should be has paid off well.

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

hares Unit Trust, R72 000, Old
utual; 10 Year Investment,
60000, Norwich Life;
and and Property Lot 3368,
elvedere, Tongaat, 638m2;
ttery, Cape Town, 600m2;

brahams, Clement – NP
and and Property Dwelling,
ersterust; Erf, Delmas;

brahams, Lizzie – ANC
lothing disclosed

ckermann, Cornelius – NP
ravel NDI Delegation to India
nd Malaysia paid for by Parlia-
ent

lant, Theodorus – NP
hares Abacus: 5 000 @ 0.1c each;
enbel: 500 @10c each; Orion: 2
00 (No certificate issued yet);
and and Property Three adja-
ent farms in Free State, 2300ha.

lbertyn, Jacobus – NP
lothing disclosed

lly, Ahmed – IFP
and and Property Lot 573, Umz-
nto, 1 000 m2
ravel Wipo – Geneva paid by
nited Nations

Andrew, Kenneth – DP
Shares Propcor: 625; Sondor: 800;
Iscor: 5 802
Appelgryn, Marthinus – NP
Shares De Beers Consol Mines
100; Samancor: 100; Minorco: 100;
ABSA: 14; PAG Ltd: 400; NSA In-
vestments: 2 500; Rembrandt: 600;
SFW: 1 500; Sun International
(SA): 3 300; Ceramic Industries
Ltd: 1 000; M-Cell Ltd: 4000; Di-
mension Data Holdings Ltd: 2
000; Media Network Ltd: 2 128; Na-
sionale Pers: 303; Edgars Stores:
100
Land and Property Stand 707,
Birchleigh; Stand 67, Terenure
Extension 6; Stand 313, Westdene;
flat, Mangrove Beach Centre,
Durban

Arendse, Jonathan – ANC
Land and Property Zeekoevlei,
erf no 530

Asmal, Kader – ANC
Shares Sanlam unit trusts,
R100000; 2 Sanlam assurance poli-
cies
Gifts and Hospitality Minister of
Forestry Indonesia (Wooden
carved lizard and Ceremonial
sword ± R700); Agfa Wildlife
Foundation (Painting of SA ±
R350);Umgeni Water (6 Wine
glasses ± R350); Minister of Agri-
culture Chile (Silver Bowl ±
R350); Minister of Environment
Saxonia (Pen set ± R350); Air-
ports Authority (Fountain pen ±
R350)
Land and Property Private resi-

Land and Property ... a... resi-
dence, Durban North.

Benjamin, Jean – ANC
Shares 2500 Pep Stores;
Directorships and Partnerships
Jean's Jazz Club
Land and Property House, Bel-
lville, 500m2; House, Bellville,
600m2

Bester, Ben – NP
Remunerated employment out-
side Parliament National Party,
Director of Training
Directorships and Partnerships
Pamodzi Services CC; Ithuthuko
Investment CC; Consultancies
Trustee, Finlor Educational
Trust, IPL Trust, no remunera-
tion for either
Travel Study tour to Europe; trip
to Namibia, both paid for by the
National Party of South Africa
Land and Property Private resi-
dence, Roodeplaat District, Preto-
ria, 9 ha; flat/office, Middelburg,
Mpumalanga, 60 m2; Office,
Kwamhlanga, 40m2

Beyers, Andries – NP
Shares 1 000 Richemont, @ R40,00
each; 1 327 ABSA, @ R21.00 each;
Travel Visit to South America
paid for by Parliament
Land and Property Residence,
Lichtenburg; two weeks in flat,
Margate

Bhabha, Mohammed –
Shares Roshgold, 100 @ R1 000;
Travel Visit on behalf of Minis-
ter of Constitutional Develop-
ment to Germany, paid for by the
Republic of Germany; visit to
USA – White Paper on Local Gov-
ernment, paid for by NDI
Land and property Residential
Property in Sybrand Park, Cape
Town

Bhengu, Fezile – ANC
Land and Property Private resi-
dence, erf 21, Ezibeleni Location,
Kokstad

Bhengu, Geoffrey –
Nothing disclosed

Bhengu, Mfuniselwa – IFP
Directorships and Partnerships
Director International Con-
vention Centre, Durban
Land and Property Private resi-
dence 2 000 m2.

Bikitsha, Pule – NP
Gifts and Hospitality Birthday
Presents – 2 watches R800

Biyela, Bhekizwe – IFP
Shares NBS 1000 shares valued at
R1 000; Sundumbili Plaza 1000
shares;
Remunerated employment out-
side Parliament KwaZulu/Natal,
Dept of Traditional Affairs:



Sheila Camerer ... nothing disclosed

Trust valued at R75286.04
Land and Property Site D1546
Kwasishwile, undeveloped,
1516m2

C

Camerer, Sheila – NP
Nothing disclosed

Capa, Rosemary – ANC
Shares Tran Sun 600 shares nom-
inal value R700; Intra Share 500
shares nominal value R500

Carelse, Glen – NP
Nothing disclosed

Carrim, Yunus – ANC
Shares Subscription R120 per
month
Land and Property Family resi-
dence, Pietermaritzburg

Cassim, Farouk – IFP
Shares Cape Town Investments
(property investment co with 15
members): 5 shares @ nominal
value of R100000;

Chait, Esme – NP
Travel Public Works Portfolio
Committee – Singapore and
Malaysia, paid for by parliament;
Land and Property Private resi-
dence, Newlands, Cape Town, 250
000 m2;

Chalmers, Judy – ANC
Shares Guardbank: 13.55 shares;
Syfrets; 109.899 shares
Land and Property Private resi-
dence

Foundation
Land and Property Timeshare, 3
weeks in a Durban spa; 34 pts
equal to 1 week timeshare, holi-
day resort, Margate

D

Dalling, David – ANC
Shares Sage Financial Services:
Unit Trusts, 100 units, nominal
value at R1 445.81; Guardbank:
Unit Trusts, 200 units, nominal
value at R157.54; Syfrets Prim Se-
lect: Unit Trusts, 22900 units,
nominal value at R236.27; Boe
Growth Fund: Unit Trusts,
57791.91 units, nominal value at
R415.52
Directorships and Partnerships
Rand Water Board
Land and Property Private resi-
dence, Stellenbosch, 250 000 m2

Davhana, Mavhuthu – ANC
Shares Smart Centre (Venda): 60
shares, value R1 777,90.
Remunerated employment out-
side parliament Northern
Province govt, headman for
younger brother working or act-
ing on my behalf
Land and property Land 15ha,
house 1/2 ha, garage

Davies, Robert – ANC
Gifts and hospitality Nampak,
Return airfare to JHB, cufflinks,
tie; SA Institute of International
Affairs, Travel and accommoda-
tion to JHB; Trade and Industry
Policy Section, travel and accom-
modation to Pretoria; UNESCO
Club, Model of sailing boat
[illegible] to Kuwait and ac-

Consultancies De Wet Caravan
Park, R2000 pm
Land and Property Land used as
part of caravan park, Margate,
3500 m2; Holiday Apartment Let-
ting Unit, Margate, 160 m2

Dexter, Phillip – ANC
Shares Alliance Union Invest-
ment, 1 share @ R1; Settapart In-
vestment, 1 share @ R1
Directorships and Partnerships
Director, UAI; Director, Settapart

Diale, Nelson – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Didiza, Angela – ANC
Land and Property House, Bryn-
ston, Johannesburg

Direko, Isabella –
Shares Metropolitan: Unit Trust,
nominal value at R10 000; Metro-
politan: Dev. Share, nominal
value at R100 000; Perm: Car Fi-
mands, nominal value at R32000

Dlamini, Bathabile – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Dlamini-Zuma, Nkosazana – ANC
Gifts and hospitality Mitshu-
bishi, Leather Bag, R350;
Travel official travels only
Land and property Durban, flat;
Durban, house

Dlulane, Beauty – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Doidge, Geoffrey – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Dowry, Jacobus – NP
Land and property Tulbagh,
Small Holding, 3.5 ha

Duna, Mabone – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Du Toit, Dirk – ANC
Travel Study tour re Local Gov-
ernment in Germany, paid for by
F Ebert Siftung
Land and property Camps Bay,
Town House

Dyani, Malcolm – PAC
Nothing disclosed

E

Ebrahim, Ahmed – PAC
Nothing disclosed

Ebrahim, Ebrahim – ANC
Shares Investec: Investec Share
Block, 3 share blocks, nominal
value at R32 000; Guard Bank:
Unit Trusts, 248 units, nominal
value at R11 391

Eglin, Colin – DP
Shares De Beers: 1 000; Property
Corp of SA: 22000; Anglo Ameri-
can: 1 000; Barlows: 1 000; Mi-



Peter Mokaba ... nothing disclosed

Land and Property House, Rowal-
lan Park, Port Elizabeth: house,
Kabega Park, PE; flat, Central, PE

Fihla, Nkosinathi – ANC
Land and Property Own house

Fisher, Stanley – NP
Nothing disclosed

Foster, Joseph – ANC
Land and Property House in
Kraaifontein

Fourie, Andrew – NP
Land and Property Stand, Wyn-
berg, Cape Town, private resi-
dence

Fourie, Willem – NP
Directorships and Partnerships
Haarhoff, Fourie & Butler attor-
neys; Santa Clara Landgoed;
Palm Grove Landgoed; Aquaval
Landgoed; Impunzi ranch; Mart-
inco Landgoed, estate companies
Land and Property Stands in Pre-
toria, n/a Nisel

Fraser-Moleketi, Geraldine – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Watch (ap-
prox R300)
Land and Property (illegible) pri-
vate residences, details in confi-
dential section

G

Gandhi, E – ANC
Shares ABSA: 272 shares, value
R3000; Southern Life: 200 shares,
value R2000
Travel US International Confer-

Trust managed by Ismail Ayob
(Lawyers)
Gifts and Hospitality various
gifts received when attending
meeting and lectures abroad
Travel to GCA; Oxford Uni-
versity; Commonwealth; Olympic
Bid Pres; PE Technikon; IIDEA;
UNHCR; Awepa, all paid for by
the various organisations
Land and property London Flat,
which is leased, and a house of
1/3 acre; Johannesburg, flat;
house in Pretoria

Gogotya, Ntsiza – NP
Nothing disclosed

Goniwe, Terence – ANC
Land and Property Residence,
Lingeuhle, Cradock

Goosen, Alwyn – ANC
Land and Property Private resi-
dence, remainder of 876 in the
municipality of Uitenhage,
3153m2

Gordhan, Pravin – ANC
Shares South African Druggists:
approx 500 shares
Travel Conference on Conflict
Resolution, paid for by the Com-
monwealth Parliamentary Asso-
ciation; Annual General meet-
ing/conferece on Local
Government in UK, paid for by
the Society of Chief Executives
of UK; Study Tour to US for
White Paper on Local Govern-
ment, paid for by NDI
Land and Property Duplex, 92m2

R500 000
Directorships and Partnerships
Oranje Bestuurdienste Volkstaat
Beleggingsfonds
Land and Property Noord-Kaap:
Farm, 400 ha

Groenewald, Pieter – FF
Land and Property House in Pre-
toria

Groenewald, Petrus – FF
Shares Housechem Products BK
(dormant)
Directorships and Partnerships
Housechem Products BK

Groenewald, Rudolph – NP
Shares Eersteling Gold Mining:
500; Vaalauto Ltd: 5000; Justians
(Pty) Ltd: 100%, Domani Belegg-
ings (Pty) Ltd: 16%
Remunerated employment out-
side Parliament Groenewald At-
torneys
Directorships and Partnerships
Directorships: Justians (Pty) Ltd,
Domani Beleggings (Pty) Ltd;
Roelhe & Ferdie BK, petrol;
Groenewald CC, Harmonie Eien-
domme CC, River Nile Properties
& River
Land and Property Plot Gauteng,
area; erf River East 5098m2

Grové, Stefanus –
Shares Panorama Fresh Product
(Pty) Ltd: 30 shares @ R1.00;
Rural Construc Corp (Pty) Ltd:
100 shares @ R1.00; MST (Pty)
Ltd: 75 shares @ R1.00
Directorships and Partnerships
Partner: Heferman-Grove: Attor-
neys: Panorama Fresh Produce
(Pty) Ltd; Nelspruit Ext 20 (Pty)
Ltd: Property development; Rural
Conservation Corp. (Pty) Ltd:
Game Farms (dormant)
Land and property Nelspruit:
Portion 1 of erf, 1600m2; Sabie
Park: erf, 10 000m2; Milnerton:
Unit, 150m2; Nelspruit: Nelspruit
Ext 20, 8.5 ha

Gumede, Archibald – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Gumede, Donald – ANC
Travel Conference in Johannes-
burg, July 1997 paid by WIPO and
October 1997 paid by USIS

Gxowa, Nonkumbi ANC
Nothing disclosed

H

Hajaij, Fatima – ANC
Sponsorships FGD – Workshop
on Conflict Resolution – R140;
USIS – 3 week seminar on For-
eign Relations at Princeton Uni-
versity US $9000
Gifts and Hospitality 2 T-shirts
received from Culture Afrika
Princeton University @ R25 each

owned jointly with spouse; Official residence (not acquired), Brentyrion, Pretoria; residence for son in Observatory, Cape Town, owned by Asmal Family Trust
Travel Geneva, sponsored by International Conservation Union and World Bank

B

Badenhorst, Maretha – NP
Nothing disclosed

Bakker, Dirk – NP
Shares Adutech: 3000 @R3.00
Land and Property 50 % share in private dwelling, Helderkruin, 1600 m2

Balfour, Bryce – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Baloyi, Sponono – ANC
Land and Property Residence in Nelspruit; Residence in Kanyamazane township – Nelspruit (part used by daughter for consulting rooms)

Bam, Nomancube – ANC
Consultancies South African Breweries, Regional Trustee, Honorarium R1 000 per meeting attended
Land and Property Erf 290 & 286 Butterworth; erf 3203 Butterworth

Beesham, Anoop – NP
Shares 100 new ordinary shares R1500
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Old Mutual insurance
Land and Property Residence in Stanger, KwaZulu/Natal 800 m2

Bekker, Hendrik – NP
Shares 50 A J Murphy flowers; 50 Lagune Riviera CC
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Financial Advice Self employed consultant utilising about 15-20 hours per month
Directorships and Partnerships AJ Murphy Flowers (Pty) Ltd (Land Owning – Township development); Lagune Riviera CC (Sea Side Property Holiday Home); Riviera Lawns and Lapa (Farming instant lawn & lapa for rental) Consultancies Hennie Bekker, Financial and Property Consultant
Travel Only on official Parliamentary tour: Parliamentary training in Democracy – 5 day visit to Ghana; Official training of Ghana Members of parliament – No remuneration both paid for by NDI
Land and Property Stand 4224, house 220m2 , land 500m2 Plettenberg Bay; flat Mouille Point

Belot, Sakhiwo – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Land and Property Business facility, Nkandla, 952m2
Biyela, Nokwethemba – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Blaas, Adriaan – NP
Travel Labour Port Folio Committee – Visit to Australia, paid for by Parliament
Land and Property 1/3 shareholder of flat in Cape Town, 150m2; residence Newcastle 400m2

Bloem, Dennis – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Booi, Mnyamezeli – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Botha, Cornelius – NP
Shares M-Net: 20 000 @ 1c each; Naspers: 3 000 @ 2c each; Datatec: 2 500 @ 1c each; Macadam: 3 000 @ 1c each; Tigon: 14 000 @ 1c each; Seadana: 50 @ R1,00 each; Vestacor: 10 000 shares; Perskor: 480 shares; Supergroup: 3 000 shares;
Travel Visit to WIPO Head Office, Geneva and Aripo in Harare of Parliamentary Sub-Committee on Intellectual Property, paid for by WIPO
Land and Property Flat, Milnerton, 134 m2; Flat, Durban, 82 m2

Botha, NGW
Land and Property Residence east london 1146m2

Botha, Ntombazana – ANC
Land and Property erf, 1146 m2; private residence, East London

Botha, Willem Abraham – FF
Remuneration outside Parliament Livestock farming
Land and Property Private residence, Bloubergrand, Cape Town, 100 m2

Botha, Willem Jacobus – FF
Nothing Disclosed

Bruwer, Andries –
Directorships and Partnerships Governor of South African Chamber for Agricultural Development in Africa; Director of SACADA
Land and Property Eureka – Part 14, Letaba, Northern Province, 222 ha

Bunting Brian – ANC
Shares Allied Lyons Domecq PLC: 500 ordinary shares @ (UK)25p each
Land and property House, Highgate, London; House, Rondebosch

Buthelezi, Mangosuthu – IFP
Shares MIB Aidec (Pty) Ltd: 125 ordinary shares nominal value R125000 Khulani Holdings Ltd: 1 000 ordinary shares nominal value R590; Old Mutual, Unit

Nothing disclosed

Chiba, Laloo – ANC
Shares Syfrets: 339 units, value R1 646,30; Community Growth: 912 units, value R1 643,26; BOE: 543 units, value R1 741,37; Metboard: 784 units, value R3 129,86; Investec: 2022 units, value R3 508,85 (as at 8/10/96)
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Audit Commission: monitoring operations of Office of Auditor General
Travel Housing study tour to Singapore and Malaysia, paid for by the Portfolio Committee on Housing
Land and Property Residential home owned jointly by wife and daughter; four-bedroom house, Lenasia

Chikane, Moses – ANC
Gifts and hospitality Republic of China, ornaments, watch and stamp book
Land and Property Home, Mamelodi, Gauteng.

Chiole, Joseph – FF
Shares Kloof: 100 nominal value R2000
Land and Property Residence, Pretoria; duplex, Cape Town
Chohan, Fatima – ANC
Consultancies F Cohan Consultants, Legal Consultancy
Travel 3-day workshop on decentralisation in Abidjan, paid for by the Frederick Erbert Stiftung

Chuenyane, Lerate – NP
Nothing disclosed

Coetzee, Mietha – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Coetzer, Pieter – NP
Nothing disclosed

Cronje, Pierre – ANC
Shares Sanlam Trust, Growth Fund, R500 monthly investment
Gifts and hospitality Taiwan Government, CD, Walkman, Clock, carving, valued at R1 200
Travel Study tour, paid for by the Taiwanese government
Land and Property Private residence, Natal, built 1981; 2 holiday investment house, Stilbaai, acquired 1994, 50% share with spouse; 1/3 share in holiday cottage

Cupido, Paulina – NP
Nothing disclosed

Cwele, Siyabonga – ANC
Shares Sanlam Trust, ordinary shares valued at R30 000
Travel Invited as chairperson of HJ Kaiser Family Foundation to a Seminar on Equity on Health provision in South Africa, paid for by the HJ Kaiser Family

seminar, paid for by the University of Kuwait – UNESCO club
Land and property Family home, Mowbray, Cape Town, 1/2 ha

De Beer, Samuel – NP
Land and Property Brooklyn, Pretoria, house, 1000 m2;
Hermanus, house, 680 m2; Pretoria, flat, 77 m2; Blue Hills, Midrand, House, 3.7 ha

De Lange, Johannes – ANC
Shares BOE Emerging Focus Fund: Unit Trusts, 639, nominal value at R4122; BOE Growth Fund: Unit Trusts, 2232, nominal value R8536; Coronation International: Unit Trusts, 600 units, nominal value at R6022; Investec Growth Fund: Unit Trusts, 5466 units, nominal value at R5587; RMB Strategic Opportunities: Unit Trusts, 5258 units, nominal value at R6138; Coronation Spacialist Growth: Unit Trusts, 182 units, nominal value at R1876; OM Small Companies: Unit Trusts, 783 units, nominal value at R1955; RMB Strategic Opportunities: unit trusts, 1704 units, nominal value R1786
Travel Tour with Commission of the TRC, paid for by the SA High Commission in Canada; Study tour of portfolio committee of Justice to Canada and USA, partly paid for by the USIS

De Lille, Patricia – PAC
Nothing disclosed

De Ville, Jacobus –
Shares O.T.K.: Ordinary shares, 2608 shares, nominal value of R15; Henville Pty Ltd: Ordinary shares, 1 share, nominal value at R50; Rosmon Pty Ltd: Ordinary Shares, 1 share, nominal value at R50; ABSA: Ordinary shares, 254 shares, nominal value at R25 410; Old Mutual: Effective Trust, 2860 and 243 shares, nominal value at R12 328
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Part-time practice as Advocate
Directorships and Partnerships Director: Henville Pty Ltd, Property Investment Company; Director: Rosman Pty Ltd, Farm Property; 50% share in JR de Ville, Flat; 50% in Thorne & De Ville, Property
Travel Official trips as Member of Parliament only

De Wet, Johannes – NP
Shares Amalia, 630 shares, nominal value at R680; Ascan: 2600 shares, nominal value at R650; Bell: 400 shares, nominal value at R1400; Benco: 300 shares, nominal value at R900; Corpgro: 1500 shares, nominal value at R4300; HCI: 400 shares, nominal value at

NAIL: 10000; Tolaram: 15000; Fedsure 5 363; Automakers: 10000; African Life: 5000 Iscor: 42000; BOE Unit Trusts Growth Fund: 58000
Directorships and Partnerships Property Corporation of SA, property holding, director; Bernard James & Partners, quantity surveyors, partner
Travel UK & Holland, June 1996, meeting of Liberal International, sponsor, H F Oppenheimer
Land and Property flat, Clifton

Ellis, Michael – DP
Shares Unit trusts only
Directorships and Partnerships Cester Trading (Pty) Ltd (TA Fabcote Manufacturing), manufacture of wooden products especially coffins, director; Ellis Publishing Enterprises CC.
Land and Property Private Residence, Kloof, Natal, property registered in wife's name; Yellow Wood Park, home in which business partner resides

Erwin, Alexander – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Gifts Received: B. Richards Watch, Bone Hand Knil; Patric Mavros Sculpture, Bohemia Vase, Sentinel Jacket, Suitcase, Parker Pen & Pencil Set, Seiko Watch, Vining Bag, Vase. Vase, Jewelry Box, Pewter Plate, Sheaffer Pen, Oriental Rug, 3 x Brandy, 1lt Hennessy Cognac, Silver Tray. Hospitality Sun City, Eau De Rochas Pour Homme; Received From: French Trade Minister, Simbabwe Corn Farmer's Union, Cape Union Mart, Saitex (SA), Denel, Japan and Korea Corporation, Kuala Lumpur, Iran, Van Ryns. Bangladesh High Commissioner, Chair: Eskom, Nedcor Chairman, High Commissioner Pakistan
Land and Property House in Saxonwold; flat in Woodstock

F

Fani, Litsile – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Fankomo, Felix – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Fazzie, Ethesian – ANC
Shares in Eastern province super alliance; in Western region's Women's Investment

Fazzie, Henry – ANC
Shares in Eastern province super alliance
Land and Property 3 houses

Fenyane, Sentle
Land and property House in Potgietersrus

Ferreira, Elred – IFP

bet, paid for by the Tibet Support Group; Calcutta International Women's Alliance, paid for by the International W.A. (USIA)
Land and Property Personal flat, Durban, 73 m2

Gcabashe, Sipho – ANC
Shares Univest (financial management and investment co); Nation Investment Co-op
Directorships and Partnerships Univest
Land and Property House, KZN-Pinetown, 5 roomed

Gcina, Cikizwa – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Geldenhuys, Barend – NP
Land and property Private residence and 2 flats

George, Cyril – NP
Nothing disclosed

George, Mluleki – ANC
Directoships and Partnerships Sasani Limited, Investment company
Land and Property House in King William's Town; house in Qongqotha, King William's Town
Gibson, Douglas – DP
Shares Cullinan: 3500 shares, nominal value at R500; Old Mutual Investors Fund: value R32 000; Macmed Ltd: 2500 shares, nominal value at R1200
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Moss-Morris Inc Attorneys
Directorships and Partnerships Moss-Morris Inc Attorneys
Gifts and Hospitality Bell Helicopter, leather writing case and flight from Washington DC to Dallas and accommodation and meals; Boeing, pen set
Travel Safety and security Study Tour to USA, paid for by the USIS;
Land and Property Flat, Sandy Springs, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, small; residences, 2 bedroom flat Sea Point, Cape Town, house Parktown North, Johannesburg, 1 300 m2

Gillwald, Cheryl – ANC
Remunerated employment outside parliament Freelance bookkeeping to primarily parliamentarians

Gininda, Mabhuza – ANC
Travel Portfolio Committee on Agriculture, Water Affairs & Forrestry to Saudi Arabia, Israel and Palestine, paid for by the government
Land and Property Farm, Badplaas, 550866 ha

Ginwala, Frene – ANC
Shares All investments in a Blind

Shares Finabel, 5400; Senwes – busy acquiring
Directorships and Partnerships Finabel, directorship
Land and Property House (Bothaville) normal plot; farm Bultfontein, 211.5634 ha

Gous, Sarel – NP
Shares Springs Private Hospital Group: 1 unit with a nominal value of R45 000; PTMC Ltd: 1 share with a nominal value of R5000; Roger Barnies: 12.5 shares @ R1 each, R125
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Surgery session, Dept of Health, Gauteng; private medical practice
Directorships and Partnerships Gousdry Estates CC – Farming; Kusidilique CC – Letting of flats
Land and Property Dal Fouche, House, 1000m2, Karee, Flat, 128m2

Govender, Devagie – NP
Land and Property House inherited by me, remainder of 1423, 638m2

Govender, Pregaluxmi – ANC
Travel Leader of SA Delegation to IPU Conference, paid for by parliament; Swedish-Africa Partnership Conference, paid for by the Swedish Government; UNDP/IPU Meeting at the UN, paid for by UNDP; Brazil, VS & SA in 21st Century – Presented a Paper on Gender, Race and Class, paid for by IDASA
Land and Property Residential House in Cape Town; Flat in Durban for parents

Graaff, David – NP
Shares Groenvlei Farm (Pty) Ltd: 352 000 ordinary shares @ R1 each; Lushoff Farms (Pty) Ltd: 600 000 ordinary shares @ R1 each; Unifruco Ltd: 34 357 no par value; Milnerton Water Park (Pty): 40 000 ordinary shares @ R1 each; De Doorns Wynkelder Koop Bpk: 5 340 shares; Hexvalei Koelkamers Koop Bpk: 134 672; KWV: 100 ordinary shares; Noord-Boland Koop: 59 944 bonus shares & 50 ordinary shares
Directorships and Partnerships Milnerton Estates Limited, property developers

Green, Louis – ACDP
Land and property Durbanville, House, 1.500 m2

Greyling, C – NP
Remunerated Employment outside Parliament NP Federal Council – Secretary
Gifts and hospitality JVC Video Camera (R3000) from NP Western Cape
Land and Property Private home in Brackenfell; beach house in

Gifts and hospitality KWV Brandy valued at R1000 from KWV; Van Rhyn Brandy valued at R500 from Van Rhyn Cellars

Hangana, Nomatyala – ANC
Land and Property House in Monte Vista

Hani, Limpho – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships Q-Data Board, Director (resigned 1/11/97);
Land and Property Residence: house, Sandton; house

Hendrickse, Peter – ANC
Shares Old Mutual unit trusts purchased monthly
Land and Property Private residence, Cape Town

Henry, Michael –
Land and property Malvern, private dwelling, 1820m2;
Queensburgh, flat and erf, 772m2

Hlangwana, Nomvula – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Hlengwa, Mhlabunzima – IFP
Land and Property Umbumluvu District, agricultural (not used),8.9 ha; Umbumluvu District, 2 plots, 5000m2; Ulundi, House; Umbumluvu District, two houses on tribal land

Hofmeyr, William – ANC
Travel Paid train and airfare from New York to Boston – Speak at Seminar – Paid by Boston College, Boston
Land and Property Private residence in Cape Town

Hogan, Barbara – ANC
Shares Investec Emerging Fund, Unit Trusts, nominal value at R4490
Directorship and Partnership Chair of Audit Commission, oversees work of the Audit
Gifts and hospitality Wrist watch from Anand Sharma (personal friend)
Travel Trip to Boston to deliver paper: Budget Reform in SA, paid for by Anglo American Chairman's Fund and Dr S Phelps; Fund-raising trip to USA to raise funds for ex-political prisoners, paid for by Artists for a New South Africa; Trip to Peru to attend conference "The State and Civil Society in the Fight Against Corruption" paid for by Transparency International SA
Land and Property Flat, Yeoville, Gauteng; 1 bedroomed flat, Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

Holomisa, Sango – ANC
Nothing disclosed

J

Jana, Devikarani – ANC

...rom ...erkom ...
...ting; tracksuit top (R80), from ...BC first board meeting; sweat...t with logo (R150) addressing ...ildren's b/cast summit; Nokia ...l phone, personal use (R900), ...kia cell phone, office use ...00), from Vodacom;
...ickson cell phone, office use ...00), from Erickson; tracksuit ...250), from M-Net; sweatsuits ...d pens (R170), from Vodacom; ...ter jug with glasses (R250), ...om Plessey; wind-up radio ...180), from Liberty Life Founda...n; Vitria crystal vase (R200), ...om Erickson; crystal ornament ...300), from Telia; leather bag for ...per (R100), from Stet; cravat ...75), from Telecom, France; ...lock (R90), from Ericsson; plate ...100), from Landsorganisajonen Norge; plate (R100), from Fin...nd; portable radio (R400), from ...eutsche Telecom; statue (R380), ...rom Indonesian Ministry of P & ...; statue, man on horse (R550), ...rom Texan SBC; leather book ...nd crystal
...rnament (R200), from Texan SBC; pictorial history book of Mexico (R200), from Telemex Mexico; KWV 10 year old wine (R80), wine book (R70), from SFW; tie (R50),card holder (R30), from Orbicom; Japanese cultured pearl necklace (R150), from Maribandi; clock (R180), from Sentech launch; old fashioned phone (R400), from Telkom; pen (R100), from Australian Post; iron carving (R100), from Dutch Minister of Economic Affairs
Land and Property Residence, Rivonia, being sold

Nair, Billy – ANC
Land and Property Flat in Tongaat

Nash, J H – ANC
Travel Netherlands, with dept of Mineral and Energy Affairs delegation paid for by USAID; visit to Brazil, Argentina for Public Works, paid for by Parliament
Land and Property Private residence, East London

Ncinane, Z I – ANC
Land and Property House in Cata Village near Keiskammahoek, house in King William's Town, value R150 000

Ncube, Bernard – ANC
Land and Property Townhouse in Germiston

Ndawonde, David – ANC
Land and Property Home in Umzimkulu

Ndlovu, M C – ANC
Land and Property Private residence, KwaMashu, Durban

...microwave oven and R1 000, from (illegible) Primary School, and St Boniface school donated R500 to me
Travel Istanbul, 31/03-2/4/96, on parliamentary committee on housing
Land and Property Permanent property in Middelburg, Cape

Nhlanhla, J M – ANC
Shares Unit trusts
Travel UK, Zimbabwe and Malawi, official visits as Deputy Minister
Land and Property Official govt house in Rondebosch; own house, see Confidential

Nhleko, N P – ANC
Land and Property Residence in Pietermaritzburg

Niemann, J J – NP
Shares Lenco Holding Ltd: 6000, worth R24 000
Land and Property Erf 195, De Kelders Gansbaai, erf 1 481, Sandbaai, Hermanus, erf 495

Njobe, M A A – ANC
Land and Property Private residence in Stutterheim

Nkomo, A S – ANC
Shares SA Organic Fertilisers Holdings Ltd: 20 000 nominal shares; Malopi Holdings: 5-B shares, each nominally worth R400
Directorships and Partnerships Director of the Board of the Gauteng North Division of ABSA Bank, receive R1 500 per meeting attended, 4 per year; Louis Pasteur Medical (illegible) (Pretoria); R1 000 per meeting attended Consultancies Chairperson of the Council of the Technikon Northern Transvaal; retainer fee of R950 pm
Gifts and Hospitality Gifts and mementos received from various govt depts during visit to Republic of China, value R600
Benefits Received gifts for myself and Mrs Nkomo in Republic of China valued at approx R600; leased out 2 surgeries at R1 500 pm each; these payments have yet to be honoured
Travel London, Nov 1995 at the invitation of Outreach Africa in the Borough of Lewisham; Taiwan, at invitation and expense of govt of ROC.
Land and Property Own residence in Atteridgeville valued in 1985, R160000; undeveloped property in Port Edward, value in 1992, R18 000
Pensions Old Mutual retirement annuity

Nkosi, D M – ANC
Land and Property House in ...

...lantis

Oliphant, Gaolatlhe – ANC
Refer to Committee Section – Portfolio Committee – Mineral and Energy Committee

Oliphant, Reginald – ANC
Land and Property Private home in Oudtshoorn

O'Malley, Patrick – IFP
Nothing disclosed

Omar, Abdullah – ANC
Travel All visits in capacity as Minister
Land and Property Residence, Rylands Estate, Athlone, 750 m2

Oosthuizen, Gerhardus – NP
Shares Witnibel: 1 000 shares, value R1 000
Consultancies Self employed, consultant, nothing disclosed
Land and Property House in Pinetown

P

Padiachey, Desmond – NP
Land and Property House in Lenasia, 1 047 m2

Pahad, Aziz – ANC
Nothing disclosed
Pahad, Essop – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Egyptian Olympic Com and Engraved Tray, M A Alid (1st Vice President); Leather Attache Case, Egyptian Minister of Information; Moroccan Craft Vase, Silver plated Tray and Tea Set, Two leather puffs, Morocco; 6 Handcrafted Cutlery set, Ambassador of Lebanon; Malyasian Handcraft Box, Disk of Nerei, Malaysian Business Delegation; Silver & Copper Replica, Deputy Speaker of Greek Parliament; Jewelry Box, Prime Minister of India
Land and Property Private House in Johannesburg, 3 000 m2; Plot in Simonstown, 600 m2

Pandor, Naledi – ANC
Shares Standard Bank Unit Trust, R300 p.m.
Sponsorships USIS, Airfare for US Trip, attend Course at Harvard
Travel JHB to Boston: Attend Course on Development, paid by USIS
Land and Property Mortgage 3-bedroom house in Kenwyn

Phakathi, Nomasonto – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Phenethi, Malefane – NP
Remunerated employment outside parliament Owns Private Taxi's
Land and Property House in Roodepoort



Trevor Manuel ... "gifts itemised on separate list"

Verulam

Ratho, Mamodupi – ANC
Travel Sweden: Attend Partnership Africa Conference, paid by Swedish Government
Land and Property House in Soshanguwe

Ratshitanga, Tendamudsimu – ANC
Shares Launset Mining, Zimbabwe: 30 over 100, value at 3 000 dollars; Margret Mine, Zimbabwe, 20 over 100, value at $2 000
Directorships and Partnerships Launset Mining, Gold and Gem Mining; Margret Mine, Gold-mining
Land and Property Stand & House, Northern Province; Vacant stand in Northern Province

Ratsoma, Maggie – NP
Travel Air tickets paid for by Parliament
Land and Property House in North West; Rent House in Soshanguve

Reeves, Anthony – NP
Nothing disclosed
Rhoda, Rodney – NP
Land and Property 12 Shops (Rhodas Centre), 2 000 m2; Factory (Rhodas Factory), 600 m2; residence, 400 m2

Richards, Ismail – ANC
Travel Attend Conference in Tehera, paid by Iranian Embassy
Land and Property Residence, Newclare, Jhb, 480 m2

Ripinga, Selby – ANC
Shares Alas (Pty) Ltd, 5 ordinary shares, value R5 000
Directorships and Partnerships Director: Alas (Pty) Ltd; Director: The Computer School, Nelspruit
Land and Property 5 bedroom private residence in Nelspruit; 4-bedroom private residence in Low's Creek

Robertson, Marius – NP
Directorships and partnerships Member of Farming CC

Rockman, Gregory – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Routledge, Nozizwe – ANC
Sponsorships British Common Wealth: African Regional Semi-...



Jay Naidoo ... a long list of gifts, mostly small

September, Reginald – ANC
Shares Unit Trusts with Standard Bank, Sanlam, Old Mutual, Southern Life
Land and Property Family Home in Crawford, 500 m2

Serote, Mongane – ANC
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Once a year in December a flat is let in the Cape
Gifts and Hospitality Bronza Lion, R300, Swedich Delegation; Jewelry Box, R350, Indian Delegation; China Plate, R300, Taiwan; Clock, R300, Taiwan
Travel Travelled abroad in capacity as a Writer. Will travel to Belgium for language and interactive colloqium per invitation of Belgium NGO
Land and Property House in Jhb, flat in Cape Town,

Shabangu, Susan – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Shandu, Eileen – IFP
Gifts and Hospitality Framed Painting, R950, Department of Public Works – Mpumalanga; Nuance Perfume Spray, KwaMachi Tribal Authority; Beige Three Piece Suit, Belgrade Women; Navy Blue Afro Suit, Department of Public Works Mpumalanga
Land and Property Land and House in Uundi, 94 m2

Shilubana, Tinyiko – ANC
Shares Via Afrika bookshop: 2000 @ R0.01
Land and Property Trust Property, Northern Province, 33ha; House in Nkowankowa

Shope, Ntiti – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Shope, Ntombi – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Sigcau, Stella – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Sigcawu, Alice – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Sikakane, Mdumiseni – ANC
Travel Only Parliamentary work as committee member

Simmons, Stanley – NP
Shares Johnnie's Industrial Corporation Limited, 50 shares, ...

...
Land and Property House 192 m2, flat 84 m2, land 10 ha (all unknown)

Smuts, Mudene – DP
Gifts and Hospitality P... committee on Communications visit to Jhb, joint hosts SABC, M-Net, IBA, Orbicom
Travel USA, 29/7-9/8/97, portfolio committee on Communications, sponsored USIS
Land and Property Semi-detached house Kenilworth, Cape Town

Solomon, Gasan – ANC
Travel Brussels, Turkey, Germany – Participation in MUSA ANTER Peace Train to Diydrbaker in Kurdistan to participate in Peace Rally in Germany, paid by Kurdish Parliament in Exile
Land and Property House in Grassy Park, Cape Town, 600 m2

Sonjica, Buyelwa – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Sosibo, Jabu – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Steenkamp, Pieter – NP
Shares Engen, 300 shares, value R6 000; Sappi, 100 shares, value R3 000
Land and Property Residence in KZN, 1 200 m2; Residence in Western Cape, 700 m2

Streicher, Daniel – NP
Shares JJ Streicher (Saagmeule) Eiens Bpk: 5 000 @ R1 each; Liebeek Motors (Pty) Ltd: 3 000 @ R1 each (sole owner); Deelbon Beherend (Eiens) Bpk 1000 @ R1 each
Directorships and Partnerships JJ Streicher (Saagmeule) Eiens Bpk: sawmill, farming, earth moving, Cheese Making, transport; Liebeek Motors (Pty) Ltd: farming on property of Riebeeck Motors; Deelbou Beherend (Edms) Bpk: property development (dormant)
Land and Property Silvermist, Durbanville, area 4 ha; Skuilhoek, Swellendam, area 25 ha; Cape Infanta, Swellandam, 2 properties, no's 64 & 66; Swellendam: 5 properties erven 28, 30, 33, 39, 40

Sulliman, Ahmed
Shares I M Sulliman, 56%, nominal value R3.00
Travel Study Group Tour – Argentina, Paid by NDI
Land and Property Private Residence in De Aar

Surty, Enver
Shares Yskor: shares with a nominal value of R5 000; Zinrus Development: 12.5% Members In...

...
...s and ...ospitality Buou (African Suit), R500
Land and Property House in King Williams Town

Turok, Ben – ANC
Shares Liberty Investors: 500 ordinary shares, value R10 300; SA Breweries: 200 preference shares, value R23 230; Eskom: value R45 791.64; Hoechst SA: 2 500 shares, value R8 125; Liblife Strategic Investment, 2 000 ordinary shares, value R26 300; Liberty Investors: 1 000 ordinary shares, value R9 700; Liberty Investors: 500 ordinary 1c shares, value R10 525; Hoechst SA: 2 500 R1.00 ordinary shares, value R8 125; CG Smith: 500 x 10c ordinary shares, value R23 050; Hoechst SA: 61 ordinary shares, value R200; Eskom: 8.25% Stock, value R200 000
Directorships and Partnerships Institute for African Alternative, section 21 company (non profit)
Gifts and Hospitality Watch, IMF Conference
Land and Property House in Johannesburg

Turok, Mary – ANC
Shares Liberty Investors: 500 ordinary shares, value R10 300; SA Breweries: 200 preference shares, value R23 230; Eskom: value R45 791.64; Hoechst SA: 2 500 & 61 shares, value R8 125 & R200; Liblife Strategic Investment, 2 000 ordinary shares, value R26 300; Liberty Investors: 1 000 ordinary shares, value R9700; Liberty Investors: 500 ordinary 1c shares, value R10 525; Hoechst SA: 2 500 R1.00 ordinary shares, value R8 125; CG Smith: 500 x 10c ordinary shares, value R23 050; Eskom: 8.25% Stock, value R200000; UAL Merchant Bank: 2556.4 units, Value R30 984; Dept of Finance: Registered Stock – R195 000, value R5 8000; Eskom: 11% Stock Loan 168 - R598, value R598 000

Twala, Ntombikayise – ANC
Nothing disclosed
Vadi, Ismail – ANC
Shares AVGOLD: 14 shares, value, R100; BOE Emerging: Unit Trust, 97 Units, value R650; Investec Emerging: Unit Trust, 283 units, value R675
Consultancies History workshop, Univ of Witwatersrand, History Curriculum Development Research, R3 500 pa;
Travel Public Service Expo – conference, Canberra, Australia 1997, paid by Australian Aid

V

Van den Heever, Randall – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Table Lamp, R120, Mandlenkosi High School; Conference Bag, R80, SADTU OFS Province
Land and Property 3-roomed pri...

Land and Property 5 Plots Betty's Bay (Bought 1994 – Sold 1996)

Vilakazi, Bavumile – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships Uhuru Tyres Corporation
Travel Visit to Taiwan – All expenses paid, paid by Taiwanese Government
Land and Property Residence in Germiston 19/2/98

Vilakazi, Jeanette – IFP
Shares Sanlam Unit Trust, R300
Land and Property Private Residence, Empangeni 3044

Vilakazi, Mthunzi – ANC
Land and Property Private property (house) Witbank

Viljoen, Constand – FF
Shares Orighstad Spice Co, nominal value R50 000; OTK bedryfmaatskappy
Directorships and Partnerships Orighstad Spice Co
Travel trip to Belgium, Netherlands, Bonn, Prague, received R2000 towards cost from friends of SA in Flanders
Land and Property Farm, Orighstad 1070ha

Viljoen, Valerie – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Vos, Suzanne – IFP
Shares Guard Bank: Unit Trust, R540 p.m.; Old Mutual. Unit Trust, R300 p.m.
Directorships and Partnerships Suzanne Vos Communications (Pty) Ltd, MD, dormant
Land and Property Semi-detached townhouse, Rondebosch, 250 m2; Freestanding House, Sandton, 300 m2

W

Watson, Armiston – NP
Directorships and Partnerships Parlco Real Estate, Property Estate
Land and Property Small Holding. 8.6 ha; Residential Stand, 2 000 m2

Waugh, J C N NP
Travel Germany and England, sponsored by Institute for Defence Policy, for members of Defence standing committee

Williams, Abraham – NP
Sponsorships Rugby trip to UK/France – SA Parl Rugby Club
Travel Rugby trip to UK/France
Land and Property 2 Plots, St Helensbay; Erf in Paternoster; Erf, St Helena Bay; 1 Flat, Blaauwberg Strand; 2 fisherman's cottages in Saldanha

Williams, Noel – ANC
Shares Johnnic, 500 ordinary shares, value R36 000

Shares National Sorghum Breweries: 300 ordinary at R1 each

Ndou – A J D – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Ndou, Ratshivhanda – ANC
Shares Standard Bank Manager Fund 200 shares @ 1.67c; International Fund 200 shares @ 1.47c, growth Fund
Land and Property House in Meadowlands, Gauteng

Neerahoo, Hemanthkumar – IFP
Directorships and Partnerships Mishka Investments – property development

Nel, Adriaan – NP
Shares 200 in Rembrandt Group, 200 in Translux, 100 in Imperial, 800 in McCarthy Retail, 5 000 Benco, 1 000 in Beatrix, 500 in Gensa
Directorships and Partnerships Director at BKB
Travel Study tour of India, Belgium and England paid by Chamber of Mines – IPC and Minerals and Energy portfolio Committee
Land and Property 2 800 ha farm in Calvinia; 3 400 ha farm in Calvinia

Nel, Andries – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships ANCYL Trade Investment Company
Land and Property Flat in Pretoria 188 m2

Netshimbupfe, M A – ANC
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Traditional leader's stipend, R3 000
Land and Property House in Vuwani Township, Northern Province

Ngcuka, Bulelani – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships Ngcuka and Mutana – Law Firm Consultancies SAB – Western Cape Regional Trust, to promote development in the province – R3000; Zakhems Consultant – Consulting Firm
Land and Property House in Milnerton, 700 m2; Erf in Port Owen, 560 m2; House in Rondebosch

Ngubane, H – IFP
Land and Property Bonded house in Rondebosch, Cape Town

Ngwane, L B – ANC
Shares Vision 2 000: 25 shares, no value, company dormant
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Ngwane & Ngwane Attorneys
Land and Property Business offices, East London

Ngwenya, M L – ANC
Ntaopane, T C – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Watch, CD player, leather bag (all worth more than R350) from Taiwan
Travel Taiwan, as guest of Taiwanese govt
Land and Property See confidential list

Ntsizi, T C – NP
Land and Property Stands 4 114 and 4 612, Potchefstroom
Pensions Closed pension fund from Dept of Education and Training

Ntuli, B M – ANC
Travel Taiwan, agricultural study group, sponsored by Taiwianese govt; Germany, sponsored by Frederich-Ebert-Stiftung; America, Afri-Care

Nwedamutswu, M J – ANC
Land and Property Shop at (illegible) village inherited; flat Berea, Jhb; flat Pietersburg

Nxumalo, S D – ANC
Pensions Multi-Data Pensions 054624l; Sanlam claims Matured Police pension 00018; Multi-Data claims 00018.

Nyembe, Nomzani – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Nzimande, Boninkosi – ANC
Travel RDP: Portfolio Committee Study Tour of Brazil and Mexico, paid for by Parliament
Land and property House in Pinetown, 1 700 m2
Gifts and Hospitality Wrist watch (approx. R800), camera (±R2000), CD system (R1800), suit (± R1500) all gifts received during trip to Taiwan as part of a Presidential delegation in 1996

Nzimande, Buyisiwe – IFP
Land and Property Residence in Pinetown

Nzo, Alfred – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Marble Tea Set, Foerign Minister of Kazakstan; Bottle of Collection Wines, Mayor of Kiev; Ericsson 8110 Cell Phone, Finnish President; Dagger, Ambassador of Republic of Yemen: Tea Set, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs; Portable Radio, Mr O M Muntasar; Brief Case, Minister of Foreign Affairs – India; Pewter Bowl, Mrs W Christopher; Brief Case, OAU; Liberian Carpet, Liberian Embassy
Land and Property Privare residence in Randburg, 1 200 m2

O

Odendaal, Willem – NP
Shares Saambou: 2 ordinary @ R10 each

[illegible], Stephen – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Pretorius, Izak – NP
Shares Saambou: 705 ordinary @ R1 each; M-Cell 1 000 ordinary @ R0,01 each; Odmhold: 1 000 ordinary @ R0.01 each; Forbes: 600 ordinary shares @ R0.01 each; PSG: 700 shares @ R0.01 each; Datatec: 200 ordinary shares @ R0.01; Prime-N: 300 shares at R0.01 each; Pepgro-N: 600 shares @ R0.02 each
Directorships and Partnerships Garden Cities, Section 21 company
Land and Property Private residence in Parow area 1 189 m2

R

Rabie, Jakobus – NP
Shares Olympus Park (Pty) Ltd: 11 ordinary shares; Rayswan (Pty) Ltd, 11 ordinary shares; Nail: 5 000 ordinary shares
Land and Property Residence, Boksburg, 2 000 m2; 1-bedroom flat, Sunnyside, Pretoria

Rabinowitz, Ruth – IFP
Shares Barplats: 300 @ 44c each
Land and Property 1/8 acre empty stand, Paradise Beach, Eastern Cape; 5/8 acre private residence, Sandton, Gauteng
Radebe, Jeffrey – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality Van Ryn Collection Reserve Brandies, ± R500, Van Ryn Wine & Spirit Co. Ltd; Glass, ± R350, Train; Ornaments, Silk Tie, Silver Plate, R650, Armscor; Wall Clocks, M-Net & SABC; Wooden Ornaments, +- R1 000, Letaba Comm – Northern Province
Land and Property Private House, Houghton, +- half acre

Rajoo, Kirsten – IFP
Shares KwaZulu/Natal Development Co (Pty) Ltd: 60% share, nominal value R100; Med, Sc & Tech Co: 60% share, nominal value R100; Household Credit Union: 70% share, nominal value R100
Land and Property House in Durban, 2 200 m2; family home in Isipingo, 2 000 m2

Ramabulana, Vhambelani – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Ramaremisa, Nyambeni – NP
Land and Property Private residence in Venda

Ramgobin, Mawalal – ANC
Shares Southern Life: Unit Trust, value R60 000
Directorships and Partnerships Director: Mewa Ramgobin (Pty) Ltd,Financial Consultant
Land and Property Vacant plot, Avoca, Durban, 1/2 acre; f[illegible]

sion making & Peace Process; Assistant for West European Parliaments: Travel & Accommodation to Finland – Study Tour
Travel African Regional Seminar for Women in Political Decision making & Peace Process, paid by British Common Wealth Secretariat; Study Tour of Women MP's to Finland & Conference on Women in Politics, paid by AWEPA
Land and Property Four-bedroom house in Kenilworth, Cape Town

S

Saloojee, Ebrahim – ANC
Travel US: Welfare Study Tour: Travel & Accommodation paid by USIS; Canada: Welfare Study Tour: Travel & Accommodation paid by CIDA
Land and Property House in Crown Mines

Schoeman, Emanuel – NP
Shares All shares transferred to family trust
Land and Property Seaside house in Eastern Cape, 300 m2

Schoeman, Renier – NP
Directorships and Partnerships Uitzicht & Zeezicht Eiendomme (Property)
Travel 5 Days – Manilla: Education Foundation, paid by W.H.A.T. Schoeman, Stefanus – NP
Land and Property Residential House in Pretoria

Scott, Mpho – ANC
Shares Univest: 9%, investments; National Endowment Corporation
Directorships and Partnerships National Endowment Corporation, Investments; Universal Web (Uniweb), Web Printing; Univest, Investment Company
Land and Property 7 room House in Mobeni Heights

Seaton, Sybil – IFP
Shares ABSA Units: 500; nominal value R1 000
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Sybil Seaton Estate Agents (Not functioning), Real Estate; Sybil Seaton Business & Insurance Brokers, Broker; Anyway Corporation, Distributor
Sponsorships Vodacom, free monthly subscription
Travel USA: Correctional Service Study Tour, paid by Parliament; Multiparty Democracy Workshop in Pretoria, paid by IDASA

Sekgobela, Priscilla – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Seperepere, Mittah – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Travel Bucharest, Romania: Attend conference on Democracy and Development, paid by Portfolio Committee: Mineral and Energy Affairs
Land and Property Private Residence, Belhar, Western Cape

Singh, Heera – IFP
Shares N.I.T.S.: 5 shares, value ± R500
Land and Property Lot 1258, Silverglen, 2862 m2; Lot 1259, Silverglen, 7122 m2; Lot 1260, Silverglen, 7352.8 m2

Singh, Lalitha – IFP
Nothing disclosed

Sisulu, Max – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships St Pauls Insurance Company Olympia Limited
Travel Study tour to Argentina – organised by NCOP, paid by NDI; Un Sponsored Conference on development – New York, paid by UNDP; Visit to UK – Mobolise Investments for SA, paid by Action for Southern Africa
Land and Property House in Kensington, Gauteng

Sisulu, Nontsikielo – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Sisulu-Guma, Lindiwe – ANC
Sponsorships Palestinian Authority, Paid accommodation on trip to Palestine
Gifts and Hospitality Ornament, R700, from Yassar Arafat

Skhosana, Mlomabo – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Skosana, Ben – IFP
Shares Guard Bank: 4778.32 shares, Unit Trust Prosperity Fund, value R5 600
Travel All trips taken overseas since 1994 were paid by Parliament

Skweyiya, Zola – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Slabbert, Jan – IFP
Shares Southern Life: 400, nominal value R110; Fedsure: 100 value R400
Travel Rio & Miami, Portfolio Committee – Public Works

Smit, Frans – NP
Land and Property Residence, Port Elizabeth

Smit, Hendrik – NP
Shares SFW: 100, value R1 000; Bolwear: 100 value R1 500
Travel Visit to Canada; paid by Parliament; Security visit to US, paid by parliament and US Government
[illegible]nd and Property House in Cape

Casbah Cinema: 30 of 100 par value shares with a nominal value of R300; Safari Tuine CC: 25% with a nominal value of R100
Directorships and Partnerships Casbah Cinema (Pty) Ltd – Director (Property Investment Co.
Consultancies Ad Hoc Consultancy – Legal
Gifts and Hospitality 3 medallions, R250, Directorate of Police; Book, R75, Senate of France; Book, R75, Senate of Italy
Travel New Zealand – delegation of legislation, paid by parliament – Safety, Security and Justice; Paris, Rome & Naples – investigate organised crime, anti-mafia legislation, and appropriate conditions of detention, paid by parliament; Mafikeng – workshop on NCOP, paid by NDI; Israel (Jerusalem & Bethlehem delegate in workshop on constituency work and legislative capacity to assist Palestine Legislative Council, paid by NDI
Land and Property portion 15 of Erf 1892, Zinniaville, Rustenberg, 1 000 m2

Swanepoel, Daryl – NP
Remunerated employment outside parliament NP Federal Council – Political Party
Directorships and Partnerships Afinvest CC – Investment Consultancy (dormant)
Land and Property Townhouse in Benoni

T

Tambo, Adelaide – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Thabethe, Elizabeth – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Thompson, Barbara – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Tiry, Moosa – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Tolo, Lekoba – ANC
Land and Property 4-bedroom Residential House in Sekhukhune

Tsenoli, Solomon – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships NHFC – Housing Finance Mobilisor; TNDT – NGO Funder

Tshabalala-Msimang, Mantombazana – ANC
Shares Kensani Holdings, value of R20 000
Land and Property 3-bedroom flat, Durban; 3-bedroom house, Pretoria; 1 1/2 bedroom flat in Durban

Tsheole, Ntshadi – ANC
Travel USA – Portfolio Committee on Welfare, [illegible]id by USAID

East

Van der Merwe, Albertus – NP
Shares Eiendomstrust: 1 900 @ R1 each; Voltex: 100 @ R1 each; Sprescom: 200 @ R1 each; Clover Bpk: 51 600 @ R2 each
Land and Property Land in Senekal, 2 530 ha

Van der Merwe, Jacobus – IFP
Shares J H Van der Merwe Ingelyf: one issued @ R1
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Self employed as attorney Directorships and Partnerships J H Van der Merwe Ingelyf, a firm of attorneys
Land and Property Private residence, Alberton, area ± 2 000 m2; Flat in Cape Town, 198 m2

Van der Merwe, Susan – ANC
Shares Syfrets unit trusts: value R300 000; Vaal unit trusts, value R80 000; Guardbank unit trusts: R176 000; Hayward Young & Co.: 825 shares, value of R400 000

Van Deventer, Frederick – NP
Remunerated employment outside parliament National Party Fed Council – director, elections
Land and Property Private residence, Durbanville, 2 000 m2; plot, Betty's Bay, 700 m2; private residence, Oudtshoorn, 600 m2; House in Betty's Bay, 700 m2

Van Heerden, Frederick – NP
Travel Visit to Argentina to investigate Co-operative Government, paid by NDI
Land and Property Residence, Bloemfontein

Van Schalkwyk, Marthinus – NP
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Leader of Largest majority party
Travel London – Meeting of African Political Parties – paid by Westminster Foundation; Brussels - Meeting of African Political Parties with the EPP, paid by European People's Party
Land and Property Private residence

Van Wyk, Anna – NP
Shares Old Mutual unit trusts: 1834.52, value R35 000
Land and Property Family house, Cape Town, 1 067 m2; Holiday Cottage, Hermanus, 595 m2

Van Wyk, Jacobus – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Van Zyl, Isak – NP
Shares Koster Boerdery Bestuurs Groep (Edms) Bpk, value R1 138

Verwoerd, Melanie – ANC
Gifts and Hospitality A free night

side parliament Atlantis and District Contractors – Building
Directorships and Partnerships Atlantis and District Contractors Rite Brick Sales – brick manufacturing
Travel Tendering (Airfare to JHB), paid by Atlantis & District Contractors
Land and Property House in Atlantis, 900 m2; Plot in Atlantis, 1 100 m2; House in Atlantis, 465 m2

Woods, Gavin – IFP
Land and Property Plot of Land & House, Kloof KZN; Private Residence, Oranjezicht, Cape Town

Wyngaard, Christiaan – NP
Nothing disclosed

X

Xingwana, Lulama – ANC
Directorships and Partnerships Director of Malibongwe (no remuneration)
Gifts and Hospitality Seat in Soccer Suite for MP's, SAFA
Travel Lausanne – Switzerland, Olympic Bid/SAA
Land and Property Private Residence in Pretoria

Y

Yengeni, Tony – ANC
Land and Property 4-room residential house in Guguletu

Z

Zitha, Dingaan – ANC
Remunerated employment outside Parliament Rental from own business – Dingaan Supermarket
Directorships and Partnerships Liquor Town - director (company closed last year)

Zondi, K – IFP
Remunerated employment outside Parliament mandla-Matla Publishers – newspaper publishing and general printing
Directorships and Partnerships Umalusi Investment (holding company); Umalusi Cleaning Services (industrial cleaning); Umalusi Trading Co (general trading)
Consultancies Thwalisanani Development Network – dormant
Travel Air ticket to Brussels to attend a Windhoek dialogue session on behalf of IFP
Land and Property 3 stands in Ulundi (1550m2; 1200m2; 1200m2)

Zondo, Ramalepa – ANC
Land and Property 4 Bedroom Residential House in Pretoria

Zulu, Mcwayizeni – ANC
Nothing disclosed

Zulu, Nhlahla – IFP
Land and Property Residential Unit in Mandeni

PROPELLING PENCIL FOR PALLO

99% of MPs disclose interests

CT 19/2/98

ONLY FOUR MPS have failed to disclose their assets to Parliament's Register of Members Interests, three of whom have given reasons for their non-disclosure, reports **ANDRE KOOPMAN.**

PARLIAMENT'S Register of Members Interests is published today (Pages 8 to 11) listing MPs' assets and some of the surprising gifts they have received in the past year.

In rules instituted in 1996 all MPs are required to disclose in the Register of Members Interests their financial interests such as directorships in companies and shares they own.

Revenues received from extra-parliamentary sources have to be listed and gifts valued at more than R350 also have to be noted. The register is intended to reveal when MPs' interests are in conflict with their political activity.

The Parliamentary Information Service of the Institute for Democracy in SA (Idasa) issued the register last night. (304A)

Not all MPs have made a full disclosure of their financial interests, but only one MP has failed to disclose his or her interest without good reason. The other three have provided reasons for their non-disclosure such as illness and death in the family.

Professor Kader Asmal, chairperson of the Committee on Member's Interests, which administers the list, said at an Idasa function last night at which the list was published, that 99% of MPs had disclosed their financial interests. "This is a reflection of the commitment that members have to open and transparent government."

He had asked the Office of the Registrar to follow up on disclosure forms that were outstanding.



TRANSPARENT GOVERNMENT: Kader Asmal



CONFIDENTIAL LIST: Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi

Later this month the parliamentary committee monitoring the register, chaired by Asmal, will decide whether any penalty should be imposed on members who do not complete their disclosure forms.

Some MPs such as Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi have made "confidential disclosures" on another list which is open only to MPs.

The gifts and financial interests of some political leaders are as follows:

Mrs Winnie Madikizela Mandela received $40 000 (R200 000) from boxer Mike Tyson, and Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan received a tray of canned goods and a propelling pencil.

Mr Douglas Gibson of the DP was awarded a helicopter trip from Washington DC to Dallas by Bell Helicopters, and Labour Minister Tito Mboweni was presented with a cartoon.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, president of the ANC, lists among his gifts: a pipe and leather wallet, two squatter cushions, a T-shirt and a peaked cap. He lists no remunerated employment outside Parliament, directorships in any corporate body, or land and property.

Leader of the IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has 125 ordinary shares in MIB Aldec which have a nominal value of R125 000, 1 000 ordinary shares in Khulani Holdings with a nominal value of R590 and an Old Mutual Unit Trust valued at R75 286,04.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

Revealed: MPs lift lid on assets, gifts

Star 19/2/98 (304A)

List includes Winnie's $40 000 cash from Mike Tyson, a pipe and poncho for Thabo Mbeki and Jay Naidoo's wind-up radio

By Patrick Bulger
Political Editor

South Africa's professional politicians have lifted the lid on their vast – and sometimes bizarre – array of gifts, property and share holdings.

From disgraced heavyweight boxer Mike Tyson's cash gift of $40 000 (about R200 000) to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, to impressive share portfolios owned by South African Communist Party husband-and-wife team, Ben and Mary Turok, the list provides a unique insight into the wealth of public-office holders.

The full list of assets held by Members of Parliament and Cabinet ministers – the second list to be released since the MPs took up their seats in Parliament in 1994 – is published inside The Star today.

It was released in Parliament yesterday as part of a continuing drive to ensure that MPs' assets are public knowledge, to prevent possible conflicts of interest.

The list is not exhaustive. The full values of assets in property and shares are listed in a confidential section of the register that is not made public. Nor are MPs obliged to list the assets of immediate members of their own families.

Nonetheless, the list of assets – acquired either before the MPs made themselves available for public office, or during the course of their service to the people – makes fascinating reading.

President Nelson Mandela, whose assets are listed even though he is not an MP, owns a stand in Umtata, and three other properties in Houghton, Johannesburg and Qunu in the Eastern Cape. His numerous gifts have been listed on a separate sheet.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki vies with Telecommunications Minister Jay Naidoo for the most gifts received.

Blue-chip shares popular with all parties

Among Mbeki's gifts are a pipe, a poncho, a stamp collection and an embossed gold plate. No property is listed.

Naidoo's gifts include a jade vase from China, three cellphones and a wind-up radio worth R180.

He also owns a property in Rivonia, Sandton, which was being sold at the time the list was being compiled late last year.

Although only gifts with a value over R350 have to be listed, some MPs have listed items that could not have played much part in any attempt to bribe them to take certain decisions.

For example, Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan would not have been much swayed by receiving "one tray of canned goods".

The list indicates that MPs' assets, especially shares, are closely tied to those interests with which they are traditionally associated in the public eye.

Members of the Democratic Party, traditionally the party of big business, seem to prefer De Beers and Anglo shares.

DP MP Colin Eglin has 1 000 De Beers shares and a further 1 000 in each of Anglo American Corporation and Barlows.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has 125 shares in Khulani Holdings; National Party MP David Graaff has shares in Unifruco and Jordan has 4 500 shares in empowerment group Hosken. The Turoks have shares in Liberty, Eskom, Hoechst, CG Smith and Eskom.

Other surprises include ANC MP Mabhuza Gininda who has a large farm at Badplaas, and DP leader Tony Leon who was paid R2 000 for a private speaking engagement.

▶ The full list of MPs' gifts and assets
Pages 8, 9, 10 and 11

MPs declare their gifts, shares and trips

Mandela, Mbeki and Modise score big while others, such as Nkosazana Zuma, can fit their list of gifts on to a postage stamp

(304A) Straw 19/2/98

Since November 1996, all National Assembly MPs are required to disclose their financial interests – such as shares and directorships – in a Register of Members' Interests under the provisions of the Code of Conduct in Regard to Financial Interests. They also have to declare gifts of R350 or more they received over the past year.

Information provided by the Registrar's office shows that at least 33 MPs in the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces have not disclosed anything despite repeated reminders. Others failed to adequately disclose their assets.

The register's central purpose is to inform the public when MPs have potential conflicts of interest between their public duty and their private interests.

What we publish here, though, reveals only half of what MPs disclosed to the Registrar – the rest is kept in a confidential file.

By Gareth Newham

It may or may not come as a surprise to some that several of our members of Parliament are quite gifted.

One way of determining who has had what bestowed on them is to glance at the Register of Members' Interests.

All gifts that exceed the value of R350 have to be declared.

"From the bizarre to the sublime" pretty much captures the nature of what some of our MPs are bombarded with from their various travels and engagements.

Kader Asmal was given a wooden carved lizard from the ministry of forestry in Indonesia, while Tito Mboweni was presented with a cartoon (of what, is not revealed) from the Cape Town Press Club.

For some MPs, Christmas seems to come around many times a year, but others are not as fortunate.



Modest haul ... Tito Mboweni received only a cartoon from the Press Club.

President Mandela finds that he does not have enough space on the register to declare all his gifts and has to attach a separate sheet. Thabo Mbeki gets a range of gifts, from "sculpted gold and silver balls" to T-shirts.

It has clearly been a rough year for some, though.

Nkosazana Zuma received only a handbag from Mitsubishi, as did Nat Kekana from Telkom.

All that the IFP's Themba Khoza could muster was a file holder from Bell Helicopters.

Some MPs could be encouraged to pursue certain hobbies with what they were given – Rob Davies with his model sailing boat bestowed on him by the University of Kuwait, and Ronnie Kasrils, who is now the proud owner of a ship's chronometer from Spain.

While these MPs were given reminders of the allure of travel to far-off places, others were more fortunate and got the real thing.

Someone was kind enough to help Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile avoid further motoring difficulties by giving her a ride on the Blue Train.

For those who like a bit of sport, there was also something in the bag. Patrick Lekota was flown to England by SA Breweries to watch Bafana Bafana play and Andrew Feinstein was given two Test rugby tickets from Chase Manhattan Bank.



Cupboard was bare ... NP leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk got absolutely nothing.

Colin Eglin, on the other hand, had to stay at home to watch rugby, but was provided with his own guest box at Newlands between March and October last year.

Some gift givers, however, try to give what they feel are gifts suitable to the portfolio of the member.

Although she may be struggling to achieve the ANC's 1994 election promise of a million new houses, Housing Minister Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele was given "six Dutch houses" to add to her tally, courtesy of Holland, and a "framed picture of a housing project" as well as a doll from the mayor of East London.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Penuell Maduna received a painting of the Moonstone diamond and Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was shown there are no hard feelings from welfare organisations and charities. After their spat with her last year over the new child welfare benefit policy, they gave her flowers for her Portuguese vase.

Joe Modise must find completing the register a drawn-out process. He has done well in the past year, and after work you might find him reclining in the armchair he was given, sipping Russian vodka or perhaps champagne from Togo out of his Sri Lankan teapot.

From there he could swat at moths with his "coral sword" while surveying his "model ships, carpets and dates".

Modise might need the rest, though – according to the register, he somehow managed to pick up "a glass plague" on his journeys. With Modise's collection, Sydney Mufamadi could be forgiven for fastidiously recording all six gifts he was given, none of which was over the R350 price mark.

He went as far as to declare a free March issue of Art Culture – a minister with a nice sense of irony, perhaps. He shouldn't feel too bad, though. Marthinus van Schalkwyk didn't get a single thing.

Traditional leaders want title deeds, rights over tribal land

CT 20/12/98

(304A)

CHARLES PHAHLANE

TRADITIONAL leaders said mineral rights together with title deeds for tribal land should be transferred to traditional authorities as part of the government's land tenure reform programme as contained in the White Paper on South African Land Policy.

Traditional leaders from the Northern Province, North West and Mpumalanga said unemployment in the rural areas was high and those tribal lands which contained valuable minerals could be used to benefit of the community. A case in point was the Bafokeng tribe which had built schools and clinics for their tribe.

"Our view ... is that communal tribal land belongs to the tribes and not to the central government.

"Traditional leaders, in council, hold the land in trust for the tribal communities and for use in accordance with their needs and interests," Chief Shilungwa Mhinga of Northern Province told the portfolio committee on land affairs.

The provinces said there was no need for tribal communities to register as a communal property association as envisaged under the White Paper since they viewed tribal authorities as legal entities.

The White Paper seeks to develop a policy which will deal effectively with the injustices of the past, the need for a more equitable distribution of land ownership, the need for land reform to reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth, security of land tenure and a land management system which will support the sustainable use of land.

There is still a lot to be done to empower women to actively participate in arenas previously seen to be the preserve of men.

The issue of participation by women was a sticky one, with some provinces arguing that there was no discrimination against women while others admitted that there was still a lot to be done to empower women to actively participate in arenas previously seen to be the preserve of men.

Mpumalanga argued that many decisions in rural areas were taken in consultation with women since the men were in labour centres outside the community. Education programmes were needed to encourage women to participate in more decision-making structures.

On land restitution Northern Province called for the extension of the claims deadline of December 1998 by two years.

The government has already extended the deadline for lodging claims to December and there is a five-year period for the Land Claims Court to finalise all claims and a 10-year period for the implementation of all court orders.

Chief Mhinga said land claims from before 1913 should also be entertained and criteria for such land claims should be that the appropriation of land was clearly due to racist practices.

Wider disclosure of assets urged

(304A) Star 20/2/98

Business leaders and editors should state exactly what they own, too, says Asmal

By Paddy Harper
Cape Town

The publication of a register of financial interests by members of Parliament has opened up debate as to whether business leaders who wield "social power" in the public domain should also be asked to disclose exactly what they own.

At present the register – complied by Parliament's committee on members' interests and published by the Parliamentary Information Service of the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) – details the outside financial interests and gifts worth more than R350 received by members of the National Assembly and the permanent members of the National Council of Provinces.

But, believes committee chairman Kader Asmal, other individuals who wield the same kind of "social power" – such as directors of corporations and newspaper editors, and who, like politicians, operate in the public domain – should also be part of this culture of openness.

Addressing the launch of this year's register – which only one MP who is in Cape Town has failed to complete – Asmal says the private sector should also undertake to join the process of openness which was now growing in the public sector.

"What about the great captains of industry, leaders in the private sector, where social power is also wielded," asked Asmal. "Why should they hide behind arguments for privacy when this is out of step with the age of disclosure in which we now live?"

Asmal believes that creating a culture of honesty and transparency among political leaders and ensuring that their financial interests do not clash with their role as public representatives is essential if South Africa is to be governed cleanly and effectively.

He views the register as a major step towards clean government and preventing corruption among those who, as he puts it, wield an enormous amount of "social power".

Disclosure, says Asmal, has resulted in members approaching the committee for advice before accepting gifts, before becoming involved in business initiatives, and so on – an attitude which he describes as a key part in the overall campaign for "moral rejuvenation".

Asmal is adamant that disclosure of financial interests should not stop with MPs.

A code of conduct for the national and provincial cabinets – which will also include disclosure of economic interests – is in the process of being drafted, as is a similar code for members of the civil service.

The nine provincial legislatures will also be "encouraged" to follow suit, says Asmal, who concedes the lack of a clear line-function department with responsibility for enforcing disclosure of interests does make it more difficult to enforce such a code among public representatives.

Councillors at municipal level should also be drawn into a code of conduct, a step which, he says, is essential, given the history of corruption in tendering at local government level during the days of apartheid and during the transition to democracy.

The SA Local Government Association, the co-ordinating structure for local government, should be engaged in discussion, drafting and implementing a regulatory code for its members, Asmal believes. – Parliamentary Bureau

had accused him of robbing his car in Dobsonville yesterday. The stolen car was not found.

■ **Elandsfontein:** Traffic officials arrested one of the two foot after he slipped on wet grass on Wednesday. S W Lewis was admitted to Linksfield Park Clinic, where his condition was described as stable.

MPs did disclose assets

Star 20/2/98 (304A)

A small group of MPs were red-faced – perhaps as much from frustration as embarrassment – when it was claimed they had failed to declare their financial interests in an official parliamentary register. But the omission was caused by a combination of computer hassles and late submission of forms.

Details of the register were released through the Institute for Democracy in SA and published in full in newspapers yesterday. The overwhelming majority of MPs declared their assets in accordance with guidelines set by Parliament.

Among those incorrectly said to have made no declaration were Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Foreign Minister Aziz Pahad, Deputy Arts and Culture Minister Brigitte Mabandla, and MPs Willem Botha, Sheila Camerer, Gora Ebrahim, Adelaide Tambo and Glen Carelse.

In other errors, Speaker of Parliament Frene Ginwala was described as owning a house in Pretoria, when in fact her properties include a third of a lease of a house in London and a flat in Johannesburg.

Fazila Mohamed of the office of parliamentary members' interests said the information had been provided to the institute on a computer disk which the body had had trouble converting to its system. Efforts had been made to verify all information but mistakes had slipped through. Well-placed sources also indicated that some of the confusion had been caused by MPs who had submitted information after the agreed deadline. – Parliamentary Bureau

Unravelling the Rietbok mystery

Plane disaster points to dirty tricks

ARG 21/2/98

DEON MAREE

Grahamstown - The official version of the aircraft incident on March 13, 1967 in which Johan Bruwer's father, Professor J P Bruwer, died, was that the SAA Vickers Viscount disappeared without a trace while preparing to land at East London airport on its way from Port Elizabeth to Johannesburg.

Officials went out of their way to make sure the disappearance of the Rietbok really was "without a trace".

In spite of the fact that according to the pilot's last recorded message he was nearing the runway and would be landing in about four minutes – which meant the plane had to be very close to the shoreline – officially no piece of it was ever found, nor were any bodies recovered.

The night after the disaster, Professor Bruwer's other son, Piet Bruwer of Piketberg, was telephoned. He was told that several bodies had washed ashore near Kayser's Beach and was asked to come and identify the body of his father.

He drove through the night and reached Kayser's Beach the next morning – only to be told it had all been a mistake and no bodies had been found.

Mr Bruwer, who holds a private pilot's licence, then tried to hire a plane to fly over the scene of the disaster.

He was told this was not possible, as the airspace above the area had been sealed off on orders of then Minister of Defence P W Botha.

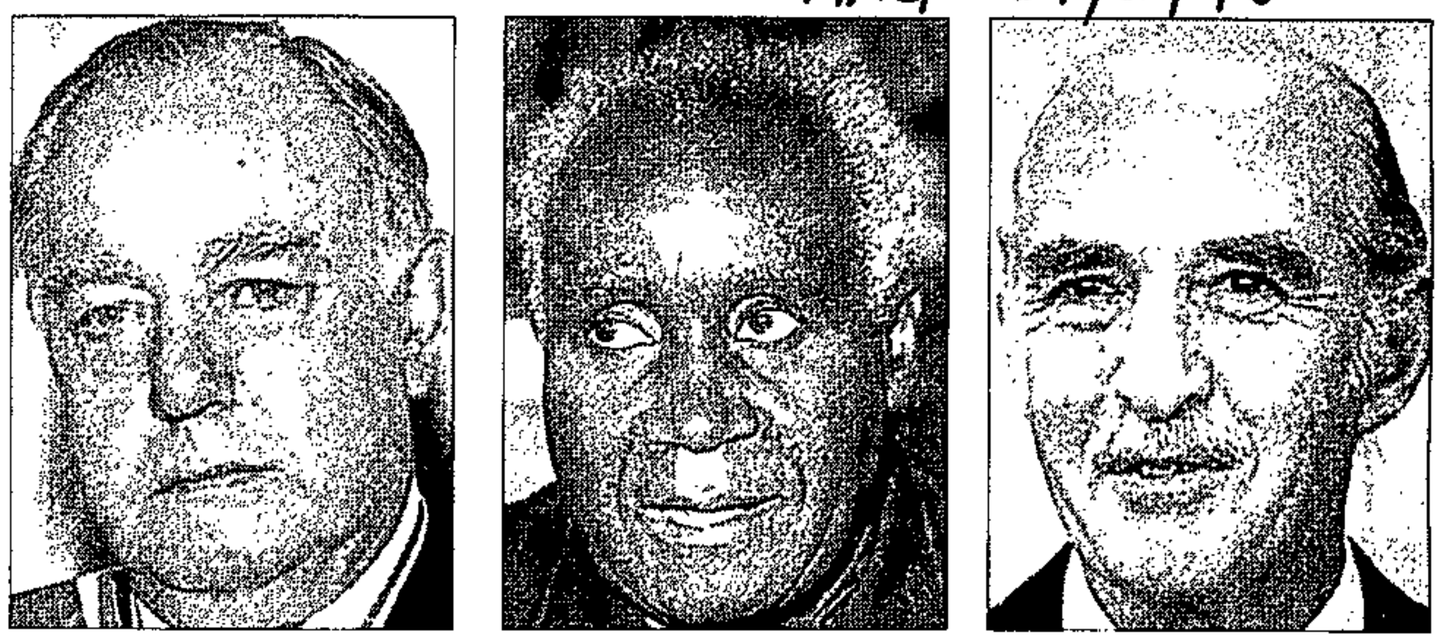
He then tried to hire a boat to search the sea, but ran into the same problem. He was not even allowed to put a wreath on the water in memory of his father.

According to Helen Brown, the niece of victim Julie Venturas, Ms Venturas's mother was contacted about a week after the disaster and was asked to come and identify her daughter's body. The caller described in detail what Julie was wearing.

But Ms Venturas's mother was also then told that it had been a mistake and no body had been found.

The morning after the incident, the media widely reported that 21 bodies had already washed ashore. The newspaper Dagbreek added that the Rietbok had been found in 23m of water.

However, the next day the reports were denied by officials.



Plans sunk?: detente moves by Vorster, Kaunda and Muller could have been sabotaged

(304A)

Personnel on board two navy minesweepers, SAS Mosselbaai and SAS Johannesburg, who searched the area immediately after the disaster, saw at least three bodies, wreckage and an oil slick.

The commanders of the two vessels, Captain Des Reaper and Captain David Forsight, last month confirmed this to reporters.

Captain Reaper said he "personally saw two bodies among the wreckage".

He said several pieces of floating wreckage were recovered – including "a piece of the pilot cabin to which the plane's licence number had been affixed".

Every scrap of wreckage that washed ashore in the weeks after the disaster was confiscated by the police.

Die Oosterlig and Dagbreek newspapers reported in 1967 that they had reliable information that the wreck had been found by divers – but that this was being kept secret by the Department of Transport.

Why would agents of the government so badly want to get rid of Professor Bruwer?

At the time of his death he was vice-rector of the University of Port Elizabeth as well as acting chairman of the Broederbond, but was considered controversial in Afrikaner circles as he strongly criticised fundamental aspects of apartheid.

Johan Bruwer says that shortly before the plane crash, his father had pointed out major contradictions in apartheid ideology in several newspaper articles and speeches.

Professor Bruwer had said that in practice it was proving not to be based on the benign promotion of indigenous cultures but on racial discrimination and that it could not be enforced for long.

He believed that the segregation of white and coloured Afrikaans-speaking citizens could not be justified on the basis of "cultural differences".

Shortly before his death certain extraordinary circumstances arose. Premier John Vorster, who had been in office for about six months after the assassination of Hendrik Verwoerd, and then Foreign Minister Helgard Muller, approached Professor Bruwer to take up an unprecedented post as a roving ambassador to African states.

He was to be based in Zambia, with the approval of then President Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr Bruwer believes Mr Vorster, after Dr Verwoerd's death, may have seen an opportunity to reconsider apartheid and that the appointment of his father as roving ambassador would be part of a brief attempt at "detente" and re-establishing contact with the Frontline states.

Two days before the plane disaster, Dr Muller went to Port Elizabeth to discuss the post with Professor Bruwer.

When Professor Bruwer boarded the Rietbok on March 13, he was on his way to a final meeting with Mr Vorster in Pretoria before the public announcement of the new post the following week.

But that night the Rietbok disappeared and the plan was never made public.

■ Last month, the Minister of Transport, Mac Maharaj, referred the matter to the Chief Directorate of Civil Aviation for recommendations after Mr Bruwer and other family members of victims requested his help in clarifying the incident. - ECN

A coincidence, or was the head of the investigation team silenced?

Grahamstown – Immediately after the Rietbok disaster on the night of March 13, 1967, South African Airways dispatched its own investigating team to the scene.

The team was headed by Captain Jimmy Boyd, a former pilot and well-known at the time as an amateur golfing champion.

By March 17, he had reportedly finished his preliminary investigation and was due to fly back to Johannesburg that morning to report back to SAA.

However, that morning there was no reply to knocks on his hotel room door in East London.

When the door was opened, Captain Boyd was found dead.

It was presumed he may have died in his sleep of a heart attack, but the circumstances around his death remained uncertain.

The coincidence of him dying as he was about to report to the SAA is striking.

Was Captain Boyd silenced? As a former pilot he would have noticed anything untoward about the crash.

We catch cheating MPs

Members of Parliament fail to disclose perks including a junket to Texas

(304A) ST 22/2/98

HENRY LUDSKI

THE chairman and six members of Parliament's influential joint standing committee are to be called upon to explain why they failed to disclose perks worth tens of thousands of rands.

MP Tony Yengeni and the six MPs neglected to mention — among other glaring omissions — a free trip to Texas in the 1998 Register of Members' Interests, published this week.

The register, the result of a parliamentary decision in November 1996 that members of the National Assembly disclose their financial interests, has been trumpeted by the government as a reflection of MPs' commitment to open and transparent government.

However, the Sunday Times is in possession of a photograph showing Yengeni and members of his committee enjoying the hospitality one of the world's largest avionics companies, Bell Helicopter, at its headquarters in Fort Worth, Texas.

Although the junket, in August last year, cost well in excess of R350 for each MP — the limit after which they are required to disclose their interests — only two committee members declared it in the register.

They are Douglas Gibson of the Democratic Party and Thabang Makwetla of the ANC.

Those who did not declare the trip are: ANC members Yengeni and Joseph Mashimbye; the Freedom Front's Piet Groenewald, the chairman of the parliamentary defence committee; Themba Khoza of the IFP; and Johan Marais and Gerhard Koornhof of the National Party.

Yengeni, Marais, Makwetla and Groenewald also neglected to record that, in June, Daimler-Benz Aerospace paid for them to attend an air show in Paris and spend a few days in Germany.

The issue of transparency is being taken seriously at the highest level of government.



THE WRONG STUFF: Only two of the defence committee MPs seen here enjoying the hospitality of US avionics giant Bell Helicopter listed the excursion in the 1998 Register of MPs' Interests. They are Douglas Gibson, second from right, and Thabang Makwetla, first on the left. The rest, MPs for the ANC, IFP, NP and Freedom Front, will be called on to make a full disclosure

In his opening speech to Parliament two weeks ago, President Nelson Mandela announced that his office would draft legislation on a code of conduct for members of national and provincial executives.

Yengeni's non-discolure has been cited as an example of why the government needs to enact legislation to tighten control over MPs' conduct.

As chairman of the joint standing committee, he wields considerable influence over the government's defence policy.

Although cabinet will decide later this year whether to spend billions of rands of taxpayers' money on major defence procurements such as corvettes, helicopters and tanks, the register is aimed at removing any suggestion MPs might have used their clout to influence the outcome.

The government is awaiting tenders from Britain, Canada, Italy, Germany, Spain and France.

Cabinet is expected to make the controversial decision in June.

Water Affairs Minister Kader Asmal, who chairs the committee on members' interests, said this week the MPs would be asked to rectify the omissions.

"The forms are quite intimidating so it's understandable that some people might have experienced difficulty completing them," he said.

MPs may also have "inadvertently" neglected to disclose facts because of a "lack of understanding that a freebie is a benefit in kind", he said.

MPs would face censor, possibly including suspension from Parliament for up to a month, only if they refused to provide information requested by his committee.

"It is only through the co-operation of MPs and their commitment to accountable government that the register can work," he said.

"It is our task to be role models on good and honest human behaviour."

In his opinion, all "wielders of social power should subject themselves to arrangements which require appropriate disclosure of financial interests and rigorous ethical rules".

Judging from the responses to the register, he said, MPs had taken "the issue of disclosure seriously".

However, the names of only 416 out of 490 MPs appear on the register.

Among those names left out is that of the chairman of the National Council of Province's justice committee, Mosheen Moosa, who declared his interests last year.

He failed to declare that he had Guardbank and Standard Bank unit trusts, and African Bank shares. He also receives rent worth R7 000 a month from three properties.

DP leader Tony Leon warned this week that the register would amount to "ornamental window dressing" unless there was sanction against MPs who did not take it seriously.

All MPs who failed to disclose should be brought before the committee on members' interests to explain themselves, he said.

Leon said he was staggered by the "slapdash" manner in which certain MPs had approached a register being taken "seriously" by other members.

MPs had to "show that they have nothing to hide", he said.

Another area of concern is a provision in the register's rules allowing MPs to list entries in a confidential section kept under lock and key.

However, Yengeni said yesterday: "When I go on these trips I'm not going to a Greek island to lie on my back. It's work and I don't see any reason why I have to declare it.

"I don't even enjoy these trips because it means that I have to be away from my family and children."

Mbeki offers olive branch to Afrikaners

ET 23/2/98 (3044)

JOVIAL RANTAO
PARLIAMENTARY BUREAU

THE ANC has emerged from its crucial three-day lekgotla (conference) yesterday with a programme of action to expedite the country's transformation and place the organisation in a strategic position in the run-up to the polls next year.

The organisation again extended an olive branch to the Afrikaner community by endorsing efforts led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki to engage the Afrikaner leadership in dialogue about the community's role in nation-building, reconciliation and peace.

"The Afrikaners deserve special attention because they feel that they're an endangered species. We believe that it will be incorrect of us not to address that particular perception," ANC secretary-general Mr Kgalema Motlanthe said yesterday.

ANC national chairman Mr Patrick Lekota said there was also a need to address destructive and divisive elements in the Afrikaner community. "There are elements within that community who claim that they speak on behalf of the community and utter sentiments which are against the democratic order. These elements don't act in the interests of the country. Afrikaners are permanent and critical members of this society," Lekota said.

In identifying key areas of focus for the next year, the ANC chose those in which the national and provincial governments had not performed well — and which might cost it votes next year.



ENGAGING IN DIALOGUE: Thabo Mbeki

The ANC's national working committee, elected at the weekend, is expected to produce a plan for the implementation of the programme of action, which focuses on education, the effort against crime, housing, jobs, Aids awareness and corruption.

The ANC has acknowledged there are problems and has been strongly criticised by opposition parties about problems with education, crime, the delivery of the promised one million houses, corruption in the civil service and the slow progress in job-creation.

On efforts to fight corruption, Motlanthe said the ANC would take a leading role in monitoring, investigating and acting against corruption.

The lekgotla also committed the ANC to the government's macro-economic Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy. "The view that carried the day was that we needed not only to pay attention to the budget deficit, but to look at social deficits," Motlanthe said.

The ANC would embark soon on a voter registration campaign and nominations conferences to draw up its electoral list.

NEWS NATIONAL

Jo'burg has more child labourers

Sowetan 23/2/98

High unemployment for adults and poverty send children to seek work

By Charity Bhengu

JOHANNESBURG had by far the highest rate of economically active 10 to 14-year-olds and Soweto was the second in Gauteng, according to a survey by research group Bosch and Gordon's.

The survey found the number of working children remained extremely high.

Bosch and Gordon's 1996 survey also indicated that about 63 000 children aged between 10 and 17 were working in South Africa because of widespread poverty and high adult unemployment.

The Johannesburg Child Welfare Society found most child labourers in greater Johannesburg in the following work categories:

- Child vendors were found selling fruit, vegetables and newspapers on street corners;
- Children were found on farms, where they were subjected to hard labour;
- Children were used by the taxi industry as cleaners;
- Some children were prostitutes, working in Johannesburg's inner-city; and
- Others were entertainers and models being kept on the set for very long hours.

Sowetan recently visited coalyards in Zola, Soweto, after claims that there were children working there. The residents said they were only found in winter, and moved to Hillbrow in summer.

Ludwe (14) who was found on the streets in Hillbrow had left home because he could not tolerate beatings by his stepfather. Rough hands and a continuous cough revealed he was a child labourer. Ludwe spent his days looking for food and a place to sleep. He sought relief in alcohol, sniffing glue or taking other harmful drugs.

Norway-S Africa relations flourish

Sowetan 23/2/98 (304A)

By Simon Zwane

RELATIONS between South Africa and Norway will be strengthened this week when Norwegian King Harald V and his wife Queen Sonja arrive in Cape Town on an historic state visit.

The king, who does not have executive powers but enjoys enormous popular support among Norwegians of all political persuasions, will be accompanied by a high powered trade and political delegation when he arrives in Cape Town tomorrow.

The Norwegians, whose international support for the liberation struggle has influenced many aspects of our new dispensation, have shown a keen interest to strengthen economic ties with South Africa.

Speaking in Oslo, Norwegian trade and industry minister Lars Sponheim said they regarded South Africa as "a potential hub for Norwegian activities in the Southern African region".

"We see a considerable interest from the Norwegian business community for increased involvement in South Africa," said Sponheim who will accompany the King.

About 20 Norwegian companies are already directly doing business in South Africa while 150 have indirect interests.

IN BRIEF

Women's summit

THE upcoming Masakhane National Women's Summit, to be held in Johannesburg from February 27 to

Toy gun robber killed

A 60-year-old Johannesburg businessman shot dead a robber who held him up with a toy pistol and

'Display out of context'

6T 24/2/98 (304A)

THE ANC did not call for the removal of the P W Botha display from the George Museum, but that the display be put into the context of South Africa's apartheid history, according to secretary of the ANC's Southern Cape Region Mr Ismail Lavangee.

"He's portrayed as our saviour, which obviously is offensive to many people," said Lavangee. He said the ANC had been told by the provincial authorities that the museum was to be transformed, with input from local residents.

A spokesperson for the Western Cape Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs said Botha had indicated that he wanted to remove his memorabilia from the museum. — Staff Writer

Viljoen guarded, NP spurns Mbeki offer

CT 24/2/98 (304A)

ANDRÉ KOOPMAN

NATIONAL Party leader Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk yesterday spurned Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's outreach to Afrikaners, calling the gesture an attempt to isolate Afrikaners and divide whites.

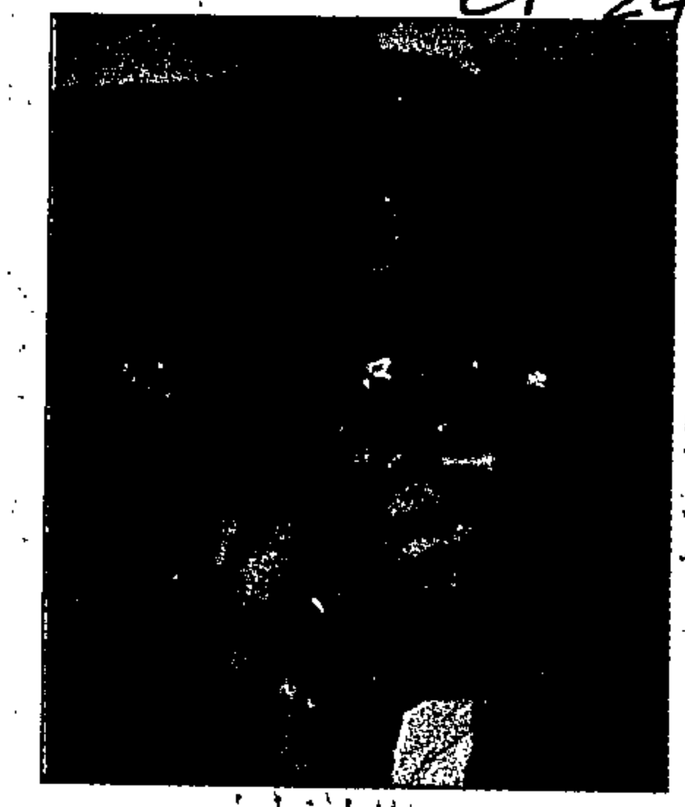
But the leader of the arch-conservative Freedom Front, General Constand Viljoen, responded to the "toenadering" (approach) with guarded optimism, saying the new leader of the ANC and the Afrikaner should co-operate in the future to create an atmosphere of tolerance.

Speaking after its first strategy meeting under new ANC president Mbeki, the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) said at the weekend it wished to reassure Afrikaners of their future in South Africa.

The NEC said it supported Mbeki's outreach to Afrikaners for talks on how they could contribute to nation-building, peace and reconciliation.

ANC secretary-general Mr Kgalema Motlanthe said Afrikaners deserved special attention because they felt themselves to be an "endangered species".

Reacting to the ANC's statements, Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that while the NEC and Mbeki's approach to the Afrikaners was welcomed, it would lead to greater division if it consisted of "mere empty words".



THABO MBEKI



CONSTAND VILJOEN

This attitude of the ANC's two "highest role-players" was not reflected in government policy, Viljoen said.

"In short, on every terrain the Afrikaner and his culture are being marginalised ... It is therefore good that the NEC as a decision-making body is offering to address this situation.

"It is also emphasised that Mr Mbeki as the new leader of the ANC and the Afrikaner should form a partnership in future."

Viljoen said that co-operation from both sides was important. He called on Afrikaners to meet urgently in an "inclusive Afrikaner conference".

"Through this the planned bilateral negotiations with the ANC can be approached with a unified viewpoint," Viljoen said.

Van Schalkwyk said he was "sceptical" about the real agenda of the ANC.

"My perception is that the political agenda behind these talks is not inclusion, but to isolate the Afrikaner from the rest of South Africa.

"I am concerned that what is behind (ANC) president Mbeki's talks may be an attempt to isolate Afrikaners or whites, which may in the end just be a recipe for divide and rule."

Mr Hennie Bester, DP leader in the Western Cape, welcomed the initiative and said there was a perception in the Afrikaner community, particular around events at the TRC and affirmative action, that they were being alienated.

"They are a critical constituency in South Africa and it is very important to encourage them to become positive contributors," Bester said.

"If the ANC is to engage the Afrikaners, it must be with a truly representative group. They shouldn't go to a right-wing group and assume it represents Afrikaners. The DP also represents a section of Afrikaners," Bester said.

United Democratic Movement co-leader Mr Bantu Holomisa accused Mbeki and the ANC of hypocrisy, and dismissed the outreach as an electioneering ploy.

"When we worked with Roelf Meyer and other Afrikaans-speaking people, the ANC was hellbent on discrediting us."

The UDM had already achieved what the ANC wished to do, not only with Afrikaners, but with other minorities, Holomisa said.

Corruption an obstacle – Asmal

(304A)

By Ido Lekota
Political Reporter

CORRUPTION remained a major obstacle to the Government's efforts to deliver on basic things such as water, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Professor Kader Asmal said in Parliament yesterday.

"We have to deal with the corrosive effect of corruption," Asmal said. "This is about people using their power to change the rules of the game and in the process subverting the Government's aim to deliver."

Asmal also said the various ministries should find innovative ways of ensuring that delivery was sustainable within the constraints of limited resources.

Meanwhile, chairman of the United Nations committee on economic, social and cultural rights Professor Phillip Alston told Parliament that there was a need to set core standards to be used to judge how committed countries were in effecting economic and social rights.

The standards would, for example, address instances where countries use lack of resources as an excuse for not effecting the rights.

Alston was critical of the United States' economic sanctions against countries such as Cuba, because in essence that negated the economic and social rights of the most vulnerable, the women and children.

He said the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund must recognise human rights implications when effecting their austerity plans.

Sowetan 24/2/98

Heath probe has exposed 'only the tip of the iceberg'

Kevin O'Grady

THE special investigating unit established to root out corruption, fraud and maladministration involving state assets and public money had uncovered 834 cases involving R9,17bn, its head, Judge Willem Heath, said yesterday.

Many of the cases had been fully investigated and the unit was "ready to prove them and get orders issued for the funds to be repaid".

Heath told a meeting of the British Chamber of Business in Southern Africa that corruption was rife in SA. "You don't know the extent of it, the politicians don't know and we have only just started to discover the extent of it. What we have uncovered is just the tip of the iceberg."

Heath said the theft of government cheques was a major problem. "In any government department you can pick up as many cheques as you want. There is no control," he said. Other types of irregularities included nepotism, bribery and corruption and corruption in feeding schemes.

Investigations in which funds had been recovered or were in the process of being recovered, included:

- About 10 000 cases of housing subsidy fraud in the Northern Province each of about R15 000;
- A number of cases in the former Ciskei in which government officials and politicians sold state-owned farms to themselves for as little as R7 000 and resold them for as much as R750 000;
- Sixteen cases in which district surgeons wrongly enriched themselves by claiming to have driven up to 200 000km a year and seen more than 1 000 patients a day; and
- More than 100 Transkei schools had yet to receive furniture for which payment had been claimed from the provincial government by suppliers.

Heath said that if it was not for budget constraints and the resulting staff shortages, irregularities uncovered by the unit "would have been much, much more than that". BD 25/2/98

Picture: Page 2

Minorities have little esteem for government's performance

(304A) ET 25/2/98

DONWALD PRESSLY

A SURVEY carried out on behalf of *Rapport* newspaper shows that there is a very negative evaluation of the government among coloureds, Indians and whites.

In a telephone survey of 600 respondents countrywide, carried out by UniSearch's Dr De Wet Schutte between February 9 and 15 across the age groups of 20 to 89, a total of 26% of respondents believed the government was not good at anything. The respondents were mainly drawn from the minority groups.

The highest score for good government went to the housing ministry, where 9,5% of respondents believed progress had been made.

A cynical 2,7% believed that the government had been good at "making promises". A further 25,7% did not know what the government was good at.

Asked what first came to mind when assessing the performance of government, 83,45% of the respondents had negative associations. Topping the list of responses were chaos (31,83%), corruption (15,29%) and crime (14,8%).

A further 5,15% of responses associated the government with the bad economy, 4,52% with unemployment, 3,9% with education problems, 1,72% with health problems, 1,56% with the shortage of houses, 1,25% with black apartheid and 0,47% with welfare problems.

Only 3,59% of the respondents said that the performance of government was good, while 2,65% associated the government with democracy and 1,56% with a better economy.

● There was a big problem with finding a Moses who could lead South Africa to emancipation, according to the *Rapport* survey.

More than half of respondents — 55,8% — said they did not know who they would like as a political leader.

The most popular leader was President Nelson Mandela, who notched up support of 7,2%, with former state president F W de Klerk and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki each notching up 6,3%.

Graft inquiry recovers R10bn

CT 25/2/98 (24) (304A)

BRENDAN TEMPLETON

Johannesburg — The Heath special investigating unit, which investigated government maladministration and corruption, had recovered R10 billion from fraudulent schemes, Judge Willem Heath said yesterday.

An additional R9 billion of corruption and maladministration was still under investigation, but this was "just the tip of the iceberg", he told members attending a British Chamber of Business in Southern Africa lunch.

Heath stressed that the seeds of a large proportion of the corruption and maladministration had been planted during the reign of the National Party before 1994 and had continued to grow under the new government.

The unit was investigating cases stretching back to 1976, chosen as the cut-off year because that was when the Transkei received its independence, and the pattern of corruption was unchanged over the years.

Of special concern was corruption in apartheid's former homelands, which had left a criminal legacy which was still flourishing under the guidance of sophisticated syndicates.

His unit had established 400 categories of graft in the former Transkei. This made up part of the 788 categories identified in the Eastern Cape which accounted for more than R3 billion in graft. Another 18 had been identified for KwaZulu-Natal worth more than R12 million; 11 in Northern Province (R5 billion); three in the Northern Cape (R17 million); two in Gauteng (R40 million); 11 in Mpumalanga (R622 000); and one in the Western Cape (R4 million).

He said his unit regarded maladministration in the same light as corruption and officials who were grossly negligent in their duties were as liable as those helping syndicates.

He believed his unit had produced a success story in the battle against government corruption because it was not only uncovering graft, but was also recovering the proceeds of corruption. "Our success isn't because we arrest people; the effectiveness is that the government is getting back a small percentage of what we are losing," he said.

English the language for records

(304A)

CT 25/2/98

ANDRÉ KOOPMAN

ENGLISH, the most widely used language in Parliament, should be used regularly as the language of record for internal business of Parliament together with one of the other 11 official languages on a rotating basis.

This was proposed yesterday in the Proposal for Language Policy for Parliament before the rules committee of Parliament.

This means that Afrikaans would no longer serve as the second official language of record in Parliament. Legislation will still be in English and Afrikaans. But parliamentary papers such as Order Papers, minutes, Question Papers and the parliamentary record, *Hansard*, would be published in English and the language of the month, which would be one of the other 11 official languages.

This would mean that English and Xhosa would be used one month, English and Setswana the next month and so on, member of the committee Mr Shepherd Madladlana explained.

The proposal said that use of only two official languages in Parliament does not conform to the Constitution, which states that the state "must take positive and practical measures to elevate the status and advance the use" of indigenous languages.

Hansard would be published in English with insets in the home languages of the MPs.

Speeches would be recorded and published in the language of delivery.

All other languages would be translated into English, the proposal notes.

After debate, the committee resolved that the various parties should discuss the matter and come forward with proposals on recognising the 11 officials languages.

Madladlana said that ANC members who came from diverse backgrounds had complained about the current language policy and felt uncomfortable that their home languages were never reflected in parliamentary papers such as the order paper.

"At present I must give 24 hours' notice to speak my language, Xhosa, in Parliament, whereas Constand Viljoen (leader of the Freedom Front) can get up and speak Afrikaans at anytime."

While English and Afrikaans interpreters were always present in Parliament, other language speakers did not enjoy this privilege.

"We feel this is unfair," Madladlana said. He said Afrikaners were complaining about the new proposed language policy when they were "already advantaged".

Reacting to the language proposal, the Freedom Front said yesterday that the ANC's decision "to proceed with suggestions that Afrikaans should be downscaled in Parliament was in direct contrast to the reconciliatory talk of the ANC's national executive committee towards Afrikaners".

● FF leader Viljoen said yesterday he had been assured by Arts and Culture Minister Lionel Mtshali that the 1898-1902 Anglo-Boer War would not be renamed.

The FF urgently sought a meeting with Mtshali after ANC MP Dr Wally Serote raised the possibility of the name being changed.

Other issues affecting the Afrikaans language and culture were also discussed, and several suggestions were made to the minister, Viljoen said.

Relationship matures

The Norwegian royal couple's visit to South Africa strengthens the special relations the two countries have had for many years, writes **Simon Zwane...**

(304A) Sowetan 25/2/98

WHEN then African National Congress (ANC) president Chief Albert Luthuli accepted the Nobel Peace Prize in Norway in 1961, the event marked the beginning of a special relationship between the Norwegians and the oppressed people of South Africa.

These relations were to last more than three decades and sustain the liberation movements, particularly the ANC and, to a lesser extent, the Pan Africanist Congress, in their struggle against white domination.

For about 15 years the relationship was mainly confined to moral support and international advocacy within the United Nations and other forums to isolate the apartheid regime.

In 1977 the Norwegians began opening their purses and financial support started flowing into the coffers of the liberation movement, mainly in the form of scholarships and funds to run refugee camps in South Africa's neighbouring states.

Assistance expanded rapidly as the struggle gained momentum in the 1980s and by the early 1990s about R80 million had been distributed to the liberation movements, churches, trade unions, non-governmental and community-based organisations.

This week's visit to South Africa by Norwegian King Harald V and Queen Sonja will therefore mark the maturing of this relationship built in hard and difficult times.

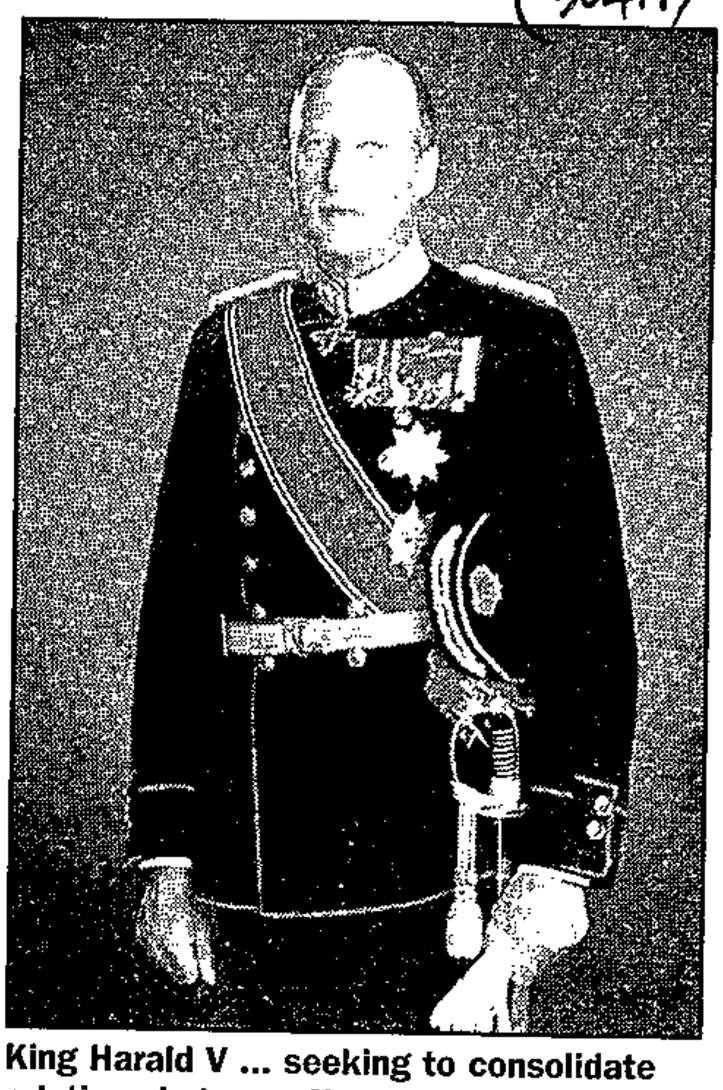
The king is a father figure with no political powers but he enjoys popular support among his people and is regarded as a unifying figure.

The Norwegians are therefore seeking to consolidate these relations and to take the relationship from the level of dependency and handouts to economic cooperation between their country and ours as equal partners.

The inclusion of Norwegian foreign minister Knut Vollebaek – a man reputed to have gone to extraordinary lengths to provide financial support for the struggle – in a delegation with a strong trade and business focus is a further indication of how much Norway cherishes its relations with South Africa.

Stories abound of the central role he played in channelling funds to the anti-apartheid forces, including a daring trip he undertook to South Africa with thousands of rands stuffed into his pockets to donate to anti-apartheid organisations.

However, the composition of the delegation – 30 business people and only three politicians (one of them trade and industry minister Lars Sponheim) in a delegation of about 40, including members of the media and technocrats – indicates that Vollebaek's role will not be a major one during this visit.



King Harald V ... seeking to consolidate relations between Norway and South Africa.

It seems that he will spend a great deal of his time renewing old friendships and perhaps receiving feedback on how Norway's five-year R400 million aid package to the Government has been utilised.

This package was designed to support the development of a stable political and economic dispensation in South Africa.

Respect for hman rights

The presence of Hilde Frafjord Johnson, Norway's international development and human rights minister, seems designed to underscore how important Norway regards respect for human rights in countries with which it does business.

This is a policy which SA also claims to adhere to, but from which economic imperatives sometimes force it to deviate.

This was the case when it forged ties with China, a country with a less than impeccable human rights record.

Similarly Norway has been unable to resolve this question in dealing with Nigeria.

Statoil, a Norwegian parastatal involved in extracting and selling crude oil, continues to do business in Nigeria, although General Sani Abacha's military regime doesn't bother to respect the rights and dignity of Nigerians.

It is obvious that the visit is about business – not politics.

Norway's business people will be seeking to protect the investments they already have in the country and looking for more opportunities and seek partners for joint ventures.

It is expected that a joint venture will be announced before the visit is concluded on Saturday.

The venture will probably bring to about 21 the number of Norwegian businesses with direct interests in South Africa.

About 115 other Norwegian companies have indirect interests in the country as part of multinational consortiums have invested in South Africa.

Statoil, Borregaard and Norsk Hydro are the flagships of Norwegian investments in the country so far. Sponheim is scheduled to visit as well.

Statoil has established a partnership with Sasol in Secunda to use Sasol's synthetic fuel technology for the conversion of natural gas to synfuel products.

The company is also engaged in a transportation-based project with South African parties in the private and public sector for the shipping of crude oil from the North Sea to local refineries at a favourable rate.

Borregaard has invested about R113 million in a 50/50 joint partnership with Sappi Saiccor for the production of lignin products at Sappi's plant in Umkomaas, outside Durban.

The investment is expected to have a positive environmental spin-off as it will cut the dumping of lignin, a binding agent in wood which is released as a by-product in pulp milling, into the Indian Ocean.

It is estimated that Sappi dumps 10 tons of these products into the ocean daily.

Norsk Hydro and Pietermaritzburg-based Hulett Aluminium have come together to form Hulett-Hydro Extrusion, a joint venture which is expected to play a leading role in the local extrusion market.

Norwegians, however, are not satisfied with the amount of business they are doing in South Africa and wish to expand it.

'Vast disparities' in leaders' pay

BD 25/2/98

Linda Ensor (0308) (3044)

CAPE TOWN — There were vast disparities in the salaries paid to members of provincial houses of traditional leaders, particularly in the Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga where some traditional leaders earned higher salaries than more senior people in other provinces, a provincial development and constitutional affairs official told Parliament's portfolio committee on constitutional affairs yesterday.

The committee heard that there were problems with the definition of traditional leaders such as headmen who could receive salaries in terms of the Remuneration of Public Office Bearers Bill.

The committee appointed Yunus Carrim of the African National Congress as chairman to replace Pravin Gordhan, now deputy commissioner of the SA revenue service.

Meanwhile, Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Jay Naidoo asked Parliament to approve an extra R15m for the post office — R5m for the human resources fund and R10m for the universal service fund.

The portfolio committee on finance was briefed on proposed double taxation agreements between SA and other countries including Australia.

Quest for ethical governance

CT 26/2/98 (304A)

RICHARD CALLAND
Weighing the conflicts of interest

ANALYSIS

WINNIE MADIKIZELA-MANDELA has an extraordinary knack for distraction. Such is her media allure that invariably more critical matters are neglected.

In Mafikeng in December, for example, the domestic and international media were waiting with bated breath — would she or wouldn't she stand for deputy president of the ANC? Meanwhile, the battle for the ideological soul of the congress movement meandered quietly on, undisturbed by such frenetic scrutiny.

So, too, with the register of members' interests. It is, admittedly, interesting that Madikizela-Mandela should choose to accept $40 000 (R200 000) from a convicted rapist. But the danger here lies in people focusing on what the register is not about — namely wealth — instead of its central purpose: conflict of interest in government. The principle that underlies the disclosure system, which requires those with power over the laws and policies that shape our lives to declare their outside financial interests, is the ability to judge whether MPs have the capacity to live up to the public duties conferred on them by their election, rather than ministering to the private interests which they hold.

While the register remains an important mechanism because it has set a standard for ethical guidance that must be extended to other parts of government, there are features of the system which weaken its ability to achieve its goal. At the moment, for example, MPs have to disclose that they own shares, but only the nominal value rather than the market value of the shareholding. It is the weight as well as the existence of the private interest that is a problem and which is crucial in determining the extent of the potential conflict of interest.

The fact that several MPs have failed to disclose the companies in which they hold shares only serves to compound this.

The other area that needs to be looked at, sooner rather than later, is the question of legislation. Mr Kader Asmal, chairperson of the ethics subcommittee of Parliament's Rules Committee, is in agreement on this. The existing code of conduct for public figures only applies to MPs — like the rules of any "club". Real power, however, extends far beyond the legislative arm of government. The real test, in terms of inculcating a new culture of accountability, is to find a way of holding members of the executive to account. The reality of modern government is that it is the ministers' advisers and senior civil servants who hold and exercise more profound levels of public power.

> We must focus on the fact that the register of members' interests is not about wealth, but about potential conflicts of interest.

Hence President Mandela's speech at the opening of Parliament a fortnight ago was encouraging. He said that "in a proactive measure to improve good governance, and in accordance with the constitution, the president's office will this year start drafting legislation on a code of conduct applying to members of the executive at national and provincial levels".

The shape, form and scope of the legislation remains to be seen. It is to be hoped that it will take a broad view of the issue because, as Asmal argues, "all wielders of social power should subject themselves to arrangements which require appropriate disclosure of financial interests and rigorous ethical rules". In other words, the broad panoply of anti-corruption apparatus should, ideally, extend to those in the private sector who also wield social power in that their decisions and conduct affect the well-being and quality of life of large numbers of citizens.



Winnie Mandikizela-Mandela received gifts from odd people.



Kadar Asmal wants more transparency in disclosures.

This is likely to be a fascinating, though difficult, debate. It is hard to imagine the captains of South African industry prostrating themselves happily before the altar of substantive transparency. But perhaps not; perhaps they will respond to the challenge of the age, the challenge of addressing corruption, which can so easily spread like a cancer across all sectors of society.

The other question is: who will drive this process? Having taken the lead, there is a strong argument that the national parliament's sub-committee on ethics should now be given a wider remit to build the intricate array of mechanisms necessary to achieve good ethical governance and a "new morality" in public service.

The Madikizela-Mandela revelation may serve the process well, by giving greater public attention to a system that needs civil society to give it life. As Asmal says: "It is only through constant vigilance, commitment and co-operation that ethical standards can be achieved and maintained over a wide front."

Later he implored nosy neighbours, friends, colleagues and constituents to look at the register and to report doubts about the truthfulness of its contents to the Registrar, Ms Fazila Mahomed (who can be reached on (021) 403-2477).

More specifically, the media and civil society organisations need to do what they failed to do last year, which is to scratch beneath the surface to find out what activities the companies, in which MPs own shares or are employed as directors or consultants, are engaged in. This information can be set alongside the portfolio of the parliamentary committee or committees on which the MP sits to see if a conflict of interest exists. This is an example of the hard work that is still to be done.

The register is a reminder of what can be done and of the fact that the national parliament has taken the lead. Now is the time for everyone else to follow.

● Richard Calland is programme manager of Idasa's Political Information & Monitoring Service.

Public vigilance is needed to control govt corruption

With the publication of the declarations of MP's interests and the disclosures of the Heath Commission, ethics and corruption have had their place in the headlines recently. The ANC's record in government is examined by political correspondent Wyndham Hartley

(304A) BD 27/2/98

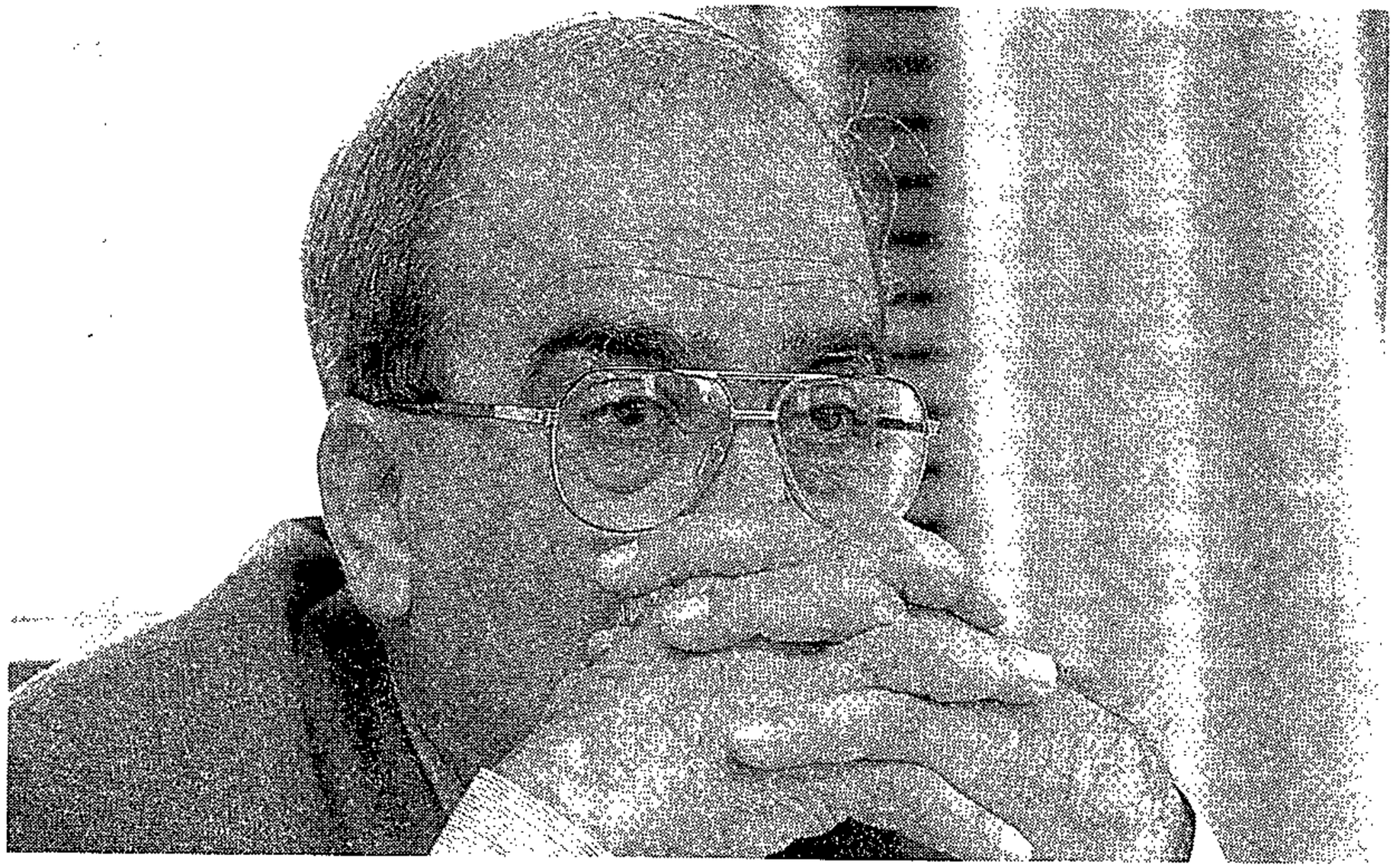
JUDGE Willem Heath felt compelled to say this week that his team's investigations showed that, contrary to popular perception, corruption was not a post-1994 phenomenon. While all the smoke and mirrors of opposition politicians might have conveyed this impression, one would have been foolish to have believed that public service shenanigans began only with an African National Congress (ANC) government.

The National Party governments threw money at the homelands to keep them safely co-opted as bulwarks against the revolution. What they did with the money was not of particular concern so long as they kept up the separate development pretence. It was an invitation to corruption.

Even outside the homelands there was endemic corruption, particularly in the departments designed to look after the interests of black people who could not be shoved into the homelands. The departments of co-operation and development, and education and training immediately spring to mind. An example was the mire of nepotism and corruption in the supply of books and material to black schools. Remember Pietie du Plessis?

But the opposite view, that all corruption is an apartheid inheritance, is also not true. Indeed the generous interpretation of the behaviour of Alan Boesak's Foundation for Peace and Justice as "struggle accounting" is simply not good enough. It is an indication that part of the inheritance was bequeathed by the struggle.

Indeed there are signs that some in the new power elite are puzzled by the intense scrutiny of their actions. There is almost an attitude of "I came through the struggle. I have a right to the personal use of state resources" in some quarters. The frequency of members of executives in the provinces, and on occasion at national level, being accused of maladministration, if not corruption, is a little too high for comfort. For example, there is the unusual situation of the Gauteng premier, under investigation by a commission of inquiry, ordering an inquiry into his safety and security MEC and being called on to set up a probe into his housing MEC. The cup runneth over.



The ANC's 'Mr Ethics' — Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal

However, even the ANC's most virulent critics have to concede that it has taken some action to bring transparency to MPs' ethics. The committee on members' interests, chaired by the ANC's Mr Ethics, Kader Asmal, has designed a system whereby MPs list their investments, assets, directorships of companies and so on.

Asmal released the latest declarations last week and it produced some interesting information. For example, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela was given $40 000 by convicted rapist, former heavyweight boxing champion Mike Tyson. Just who Madikizela-Mandela is comfortable accepting donations from is not really the point. If the list of the 490 MPs is scrutinised, it can be ascertained, for example, which companies a member is associated with. This can then be compared to the committees on which the MP serves to see if there is a pattern which potentially produces a conflict of interest. In terms of going some of the way to ensuring ethical behaviour from MPs, the declaration is a vital instrument.

It must also be recorded that the ANC in Parliament, to its credit, created the post of a registrar of members' interests.

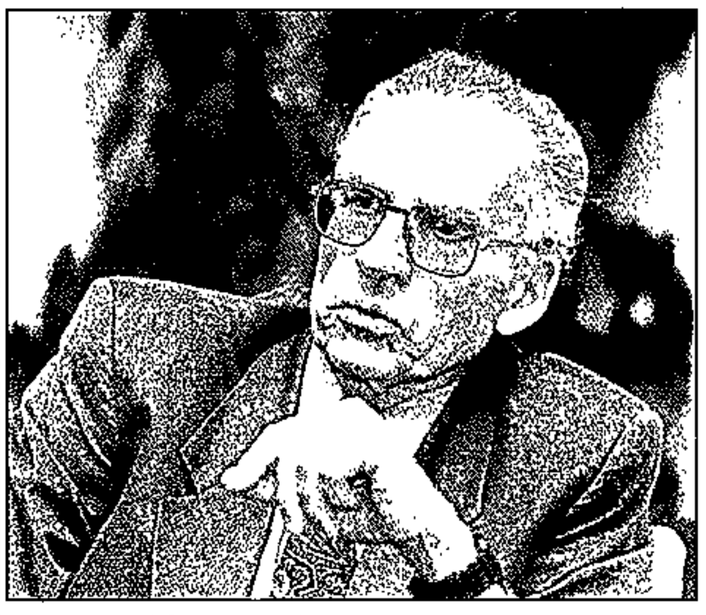
It would have been a worthless exercise if the declarations were left unscrutinised to gather dust on some inaccessible shelf in Parliament, but this has not been the case. Asmal has said that because complaints from the public are the trigger for investigations into conflicts of interest, publication of the information is a key issue. The full set of declarations was released through the Institute for Democracy in SA.

Some MPs were a little aggrieved at the publication process because their names were left off the list, leading to criticism that they had failed to declare their interests. Others said they were unfairly labelled cheats by the media because they failed to declare official working trips overseas. Essentially these were minor glitches in an important process.

It is of great importance now for the voluntary nature of the declarations to be changed to a statutory requirement. The ANC has made it compulsory for its members but it would be better if the law forced the issue. The declarations also do not cover senior bureaucrats nor provincial representatives. Their inclusion is important. Certainly senior officials are in a far better position to abuse the system than the politicians, while members of provincial legislatures are also in many ways closer to the action.

Asmal has said that the president's office will produce legislation to govern the ethical behaviour of ministers and their deputies this year. When legislation is added to the important spadework already done we will hopefully be in a much better position to detect the errant representative or public servant. But the key will always be transparency and public vigilance.





Patrick Lekota and Lawrence Schlemmer *. . . addressing Afrikaners' concerns*

AFRIKANERDOM

Measure of concern in ANC's haste to reassure

FM 27/2/98 (304A)

Old fears give rise to a new Afrikaner *'bond'*

An African National Congress mission to engage the "Afrikaner establishment" in discussions on nation-building has scant chance of resolving Afrikaner anxieties over the future, however sincere its motivation, warns sociologist Lawrence Schlemmer.

The mission, led by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and endorsed by the ANC national executive after a three-day indaba, comes at a time when many Afrikaners feel they are — in the words of ANC secretary-general Kgalema Motlanthe — "an endangered species".

Affirmation of Mbeki's quest to reassure Afrikaners they are — as ANC national chairman Patrick Lekota puts it — "a permanent and critical part of our society" comes after exhortations by former president P W Botha to Afrikaners to unite in defence of their nationhood.

One sign of Afrikaner anxiety over the future of their language and culture, and thus of their existence as a separate sub-national entity, is the formation of an umbrella cultural organisation, the *Tussentydse Afrikaansberaad*.

Formed last weekend, even as the ANC's national leaders were deliberating on the "Afrikaner question", the new organisation consists of 26 Afrikaner organisations stretching from the centrist *Federasies van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereenigings* to the rightist *Afrikaner Volkswag*.

As if in response to the emergence of the new body, an ANC statement on the national executive committee's deliberations assures Afrikaners their destiny is "inextricably linked to the future of all South Africans".

But Schlemmer, arguing that the ANC's respect for minority rights is secondary to its commitment to a unitary State, says the ANC's approach is part of the problem — many Afrikaners are unhappy at the prospect of being subsumed into the emergent SA nation.

He says they resent the new status of Afrikaans as one of 11 official languages in a country in which English has rapidly become the lingua franca.

Afrikaner resentment at the downgrading of their language — even though Afrikaans is no lower in status than the nine indigenous African languages — will almost certainly become more acute, Schlemmer predicts, except perhaps in conditions where it is blunted by economic growth and prosperity.

Referring to a survey conducted by Mark-Data last year after a conference of Afrikaner notables in November 1996, Schlemmer says it points to "extensive disquiet" among white Afrikaners.

Repeated assurances by President Nelson Mandela that Afrikaners have no need to be fearful for the future of their language — with which their identity is inseparably bound — have had little or no impact. More than eight in every 10 Afrikaners believe the ANC government does not do enou to protect their language or, worse st either neglects or undermines it.

The National Party — which represents sizeable proportion of Afrikaans-speak South Africans from the coloured as well white communities — is, however, sceptic of the ANC's motives. Its leader, Marthin van Schalkwyk, says the ANC mission motivated by an undeclared politic agenda.

Freedom Front spokesman Pieter Mulde is similarly wary. While fine sentiment about Afrikaans and Afrikaners are ofte expressed by the ANC, many Afrikaner have had different experiences, he says.

Mulder refers to the downgrading of Afrikaans on SABC television, the loss by formerly Afrikaans universities of their distinctive cultural status under the pressures of demography and transformation, and the threat to deprive Afrikaans of its status as one of two written languages of parliament.

He quotes the vice-chairman of the Pan SA Language Board, Neville Alexander, on the ANC government's need for greater awareness of the explosive potential of the language question.

He insists self-determination for Afrikaners, including a "national home for the Afrikaner", is part of the solution, not par of the problem. Comparing the Afrikan quest for self-determination with that of th Palestinians, Mulder says "the governme cannot stop it. They can only delay it o decide to make it part of the solution."

Cape Town University political studies professor Herman Giliomee refers to Afrikaner perceptions of ANC leaders as "black Englishmen" dedicated to the promotion of English as the de facto national language and, by extension, "the systematic removal of Afrikaans as a national language".

He thinks it is naive of the ANC to think that it can soothe Afrikaner distress by making charming and bland reassurances. What is needed is a federal policy which will afford Afrikaans the status of an official language in the two provinces where it is the most widely spoken language — the Western and Northern Cape — thanks largely to the numerical strength in those provinces of Afrikaans-speaking coloureds.

On a more positive note, Giliomee records that when Lekota was Free State premier he took an important practical step by providing for the translation of official documents from English to Afrikaans and Sotho in the platteland. He describes it as a positive act of language empowerment from which black and white South Africans benefited.

Patrick Laurence

GOVERNMENT

. benchmark
:ourt ruling

:o justification for service boycotts

FM 27/2/98

a watershed judgment the Constitu- onal Court has described the culture of onpayment of municipal service charges as a feature of the past which cannot be ustified in post-apartheid SA.

The judgment means that people who are aggrieved about the conduct of public officials or local authorities cannot "take the law into their hands" by withholding payment for services rendered.

Constitutional Court deputy president Judge Pius Langa says in a 70-page judgment on a Pretoria dispute that payment boycotts have "no place in a constitutional State in which the rights of all persons are guaranteed and all have access to the courts to protect their rights . . . That conduct carries with it the potential for chaos and can therefore not be appropriate."

Those who believe their constitutional rights have been contravened should seek elief through the courts against govern- ent officials or institutions, instead of mbarking on nonpayment campaigns, anga states.

The judgment — which overturns an earlier verdict of the High Court — relates to the refusal of Pretoria resident Johan Walker, a member of the *Besorgde Belastingbetalersgroep*, to pay for water and electricity provided by the Pretoria City Council from July 1995 to April 1996.

His refusal to do so relates to alleged unfair and thus unconstitutional discrimination by the city council against the residents of Pretoria (most of them white) and in favour of residents of the historically black Atteridgeville and Mamelodi.

While Pretoria residents had to pay a consumption rate measured by meter, their counterparts in the townships — where meters were still being installed — paid a flat rate.

Walker's case contains another important element: the contention that payment of consumption rates by Pretoria residents meant they were subsidising ratepayers in Atteridgeville and Mamelodi.

In his judgment — with which seven judges, including Constitutional Court president Judge Arthur Chaskalson, concurred — Langa takes account of the history of poor services to, and neglect of, the two townships during the apartheid era.

He concludes that the differential policies applied by the city council to Pretoria and township residents did not amount to unfair discrimination, especially since it was seen as a temporary measure pending the installation of meters in the townships.

But, in a critical corollary to that conclusion, Langa's judgment contains another salient finding: the council's policy of taking legal action against defaulters in Pretoria while not acting similarly against householders in arrears in the townships amounted to unfair discrimination.

Langa prefaces his finding with a general observation: "No members of a racial group should be made to feel that they are not deserving of equal concern, respect and consideration . . ."

Two important conclusions can be drawn from the judgment:

- There is no legal justification for withholding service payments because of differentiation by a local authority in its policy towards historically segregated areas, though aggrieved parties will be able to seek redress through the courts if they can prove the differentiation is tantamount to unfair discrimination; and
- Local authorities will face court injunctions if they squeeze residents from historically white suburbs while adopting a lenient policy towards ratepayers in traditionally black townships.

As payment levels are still generally higher in the once whites-only areas, the challenge for local authorities is to press for payments across the board, even if it means losing votes for the majority party in next year's general, provincial and — if they can be organised simultaneously — local government elections.

Patrick Laurence

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SEVEN MISSIONS TO CLOSE

Foreign Affairs faces huge (304A) cut in budget

CT 27/2/98

THE DEPARTMENT of Foreign Affairs will shift its focus to South America and Asia. **ANDRÉ KOOPMAN** reports.

THE Department of Foreign Affairs is facing a budget cut of 20% that could seriously hamper diplomatic initiatives, politicians and foreign affairs officials confirmed yesterday.

The department is expected to announce the closure of seven foreign missions in a cost-cutting exercise and to move the focus of its initiatives to South America and Asia. The missions to be closed are mostly in eastern Europe.

Mr Tom Moir, Foreign Affairs Chief Director of Finance, said yesterday that while the nominal budget cut could be about 8%, it would be closer to 15% if the exchange rate impact was considered. If inflation was factored in, the real percentage cut would be about 20%.

Highly placed foreign affairs officials and some politicians described the budget cut as "frightening" and "very gloomy". South Africa has increased its foreign representation more than a hundred fold (35 to 97) after the post-apartheid isolation period with no appreciable increase in staff.

Mr Boy Geldenhuys, NP member of the foreign affairs portfolio committee, said yesterday that while all government departments faced cuts, "when it comes to foreign affairs the situation is very gloomy".

"It is very difficult for them to fulfil their functions because of the severe budget cut. In real terms they are getting less and less since the exchange rate has an enormous effect on the foreign affairs budget".

He described the budget slash as "frightening" and said he doubted whether the department could fulfil its mission with reduced funds.

Geldenhuys said he thought there was "absolute agreement" among the parties represented on the committee that future budget cuts should be avoided.

The Department of Foreign Affairs has played an invaluable role in securing new trade and investment after the years of apartheid isolation.

The budget cuts could also seriously affect the leading role South Africa has taken in international forums and in Africa. South Africa is due to become chairman of the non-aligned movement this year when we host this body.

We also play a leading role in African moves to secure a security council seat.

Foreign affairs portfolio committee chairman Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim was less pessimistic about the effects of the budget cut, saying that Africa, the non-aligned movement and the UN initiative would remain a priority in foreign policy.

The budget slash would "to a limited extent, affect our foreign relations in that we may not be able to open diplomatic offices or representations in quite a lot of countries that we had in mind".

Some missions would have to be closed while others would have to be scaled down.

"It may also affect our role in some of the multilateral organisations internationally," he added.

Ebrahim said that no mission would be closed in Africa and that South Africa would continue to aggressively pursue diplomatic ties with Asia, "because we think it is an important player."

"We will cut diplomatic representation in areas where we think it is not absolutely important to have missions. We may not expand and open new offices for the time being," Ebrahim said.

Moir said: "Management is considering closing missions, it has frozen posts and it has reduced the establishment of missions."



STEVE TSHWETE: His Sports Ministry could face the chop

Two ministries must go, report proposes

(304A)

Two government ministries and their departments have been earmarked for the scrapheap by the Presidential Review Commission in its report on transformation in the public service.

And several more of the 27 ministries and 34 departments should be amalgamated in an effort to create a leaner, more efficient public service the commission said yesterday.

"We believe that a substantial reduction in ministries and departments is possible without compromising the work of the Government," commission chairman Dr Vincent Maphai said.

While the commission has kept the identity of the two portfolios secret, Stella Sigcau's Public Enterprises Ministry yesterday emerged as the front-runner in the numbered-days stakes.

Other ministries which face a few uncomfortable weeks of speculation include Steve Tshwete's Sport Ministry and Pallo Jordan's Environment Affairs and Tourism Ministry.

The recommendation to abolish two ministries and their departments is one of several major proposals in the report signed and sealed by Maphai and his committee in Pretoria yesterday.

The report is the culmination of eight months of investigations by the commission set up by President Mandela.

While not willing to disclose specifics contained in the report, which stemmed from 38 public presentations to the commission by national and provincial government departments, the Presidential Review Commission did reveal certain broad findings.

These included a proposal for the overhaul of the president's office, the creation of a new ministry, scaling back of the public service, and intervention in two provinces facing financial crisis. – Own Correspondent

Star 28/2/98

Two ministeries should be phased out – PRC

CP 1/3/98 (304A)

TWO OF the country's 27 ministries and their respective departments should be phased out, the Presidential Review Commission recommended on Friday.

Several others should be amalgamated in an effort to create a leaner, more efficient public service, PRC chairman Dr Vincent Maphai told reporters in Pretoria.

These were among a number of recommendations contained in the PRC's report on the transformation of the public service, which is to be presented to President Nelson Mandela next month.

"We do not recommend that people should lose their jobs as such," Maphai said.

"We are only facing the reality of supernumary posts in government and how this impacts on the delivery of reconstruction and development. We are suggesting ways and means of dealing with that reality."

The PRC said its proposals would in the long term not result in significant changes to the number of public servants employed.

Asked if the affected offices had been notified of the PRC's recommendations, he said: "Some know and some suspect. Many will be surprised."

Maphai said the commission did not recommend a massive reduction of staff in key areas such as education, health and security.

The commission proposed that national government take over some functions delegated to certain provinces, which were unable to carry them out.

The PRC named two provinces; the Eastern Cape and Northern Province.

The situation in the two provinces had deteriorated to such an extent that national government might consider invoking section 100 of the constitution, Maphai said.

"However, I would not like that decision to be taken lightly."

Section 100 allows the national government to intervene where provinces are unable or unwilling to execute their obligations relating to, among other things, national standards and security.

The Eastern Cape was accused of paying out social benefits late to pensioners last year and the Northern Province's books show a R69-million deficit from failed property dealings and over R500-million lost from not following the correct tendering methods.

The PRC said too little had been done by government departments and ministries to remedy the inequalities of the past.

"Although all departments claimed to be engaged in some form of transformation, few seem to have adopted the holistic and integrated approach to transformation advocated in the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service."

Maphai said only one department managed to balance internal transformation with delivery capacity.

The commission's report proposes methods of rightsizing with a view to achieving a smaller, professional, highly-skilled and well-paid public service.

If the PRC's recommendations were accepted, it would save government a lot of money in the long term, Maphai said.

He commended government for subjecting itself to such a rigorous examination so soon after assuming office.

The report was unanimously adopted by all commission members. – Sapa

Mixed response to proposals by Presidential Review Commission

(304A)

POLITICAL STAFF AND SAPA

Opposition political parties had mixed reactions to the announcement by the Presidential Review Commission that at least two ministries should be scrapped and that the Government might have to intervene in two provinces to ensure continued service provision.

The commission also recommended that several more of the 27 ministries and 34 departments should be amalgamated in an effort to create a leaner, more efficient public service.

The commission said it was concerned that in two provinces the situation had deteriorated so badly that the Government may have to invoke section 100 of the constitution, which allowed the national Government to intervene if the provinces were unable to carry out certain delegated functions.

The proposals also included an overhaul of President Mandela's office and the creation of a new government ministry.

National Party spokesman Daryl Swanepoel said the commission's findings "vindicate the NP's position with regard to policy which will result in smaller and more efficient government".

But the party could not support proposals that would "reduce the powers of the provinces, and care should be taken that in attempting to rectify the administrative disasters in the provinces they are not solved by centralising power at national level".

PAC MP Patricia de Lille welcomed the recommendations and called on Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa to intervene where provinces were unable or unwilling to execute their obligations.

United Democratic Movement co-leaders Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer also called on the national Government to implement section 100 of the constitution, especially in the Eastern Cape and Northern Province.

Presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the Government would undertake the recommended move only as an emergency procedure until the provincial governments were able to provide the services and functions effectively again.

Star 2/3/98

Critics question effective anticorruption unit's key powers

SA has a unique anticorruption unit. Senior assistant editor **Michael Acott** looks at its driving force

BD 2/3/98 (304A)

JUDGE Willem Heath is recovering more public money, and preventing more losses of state assets, than anyone in this country's history. Yet a debate is brewing about the broad powers which enable his special unit to act quickly against official corruption.

Heath, whose energy, dedication and integrity are unquestioned — even by his critics — is frustrated by the requirement that each investigation must be authorised by a specific presidential proclamation. He wants authority to investigate and act against corruption anywhere in the country.

One of Heath's objections is the "laughable" situation that an investigation has to be done to justify the proclamation for the investigation, resulting in accusations that the unit sometimes operates without a legal mandate. Another is that instead of proclamations being issued within days, the unit can wait six months, by which time its investigations can be nearing completion.

Proclamations are due in the next few weeks which Heath predicts will immediately be followed by some "grand slam" crackdowns on official corruption.

Some senior lawyers, however, believe Heath's unit already has too much power. They object to what they see as an increasing tendency to bypass the courts, and believe that if fast-track procedures are needed to deal with corruption they should be implemented within the legal system.

They also question the procedure that has been adopted by Heath of stretching a small budget by negotiating, wherever possible, payment of his unit's expenses from funds recovered on behalf of the public administrations.

NEWS MAKER

Heath has left for Germany, where he will be given the input of legal experts in a revised draft of the Special Investigating Units and Special Tribunals Act.

His proposed amendments will start a new debate on whether special powers are warranted in the fight against corruption and, if so, how they should be applied.

There will also be a national spotlight on the 53-year-old judge, until now little known outside the Eastern Cape, which is where his unit is based.

Heath has no doubt that special anticorruption measures are needed and successful. He says the Heath commission, set up in 1995 to investigate corruption in the Eastern Cape, recovered or prevented the loss of at least R10bn in public assets. A further R10bn is under investigation by his special unit, which was established in 1996 to investigate corruption in all the public administrations in the country.

Not all of his colleagues agree with these figures, and Heath says the unit is undertaking an exact calculation of the amounts involved. He argues, however, that the unit's successes justify a bigger budget — at least double the R16m he is likely to get for 1998/99, and if possible R30m more. Additional staff would recover additional billions, he says. He wants government to see his unit as a business venture: in the fight against corruption you have to spend money to recover money.

Heath strongly denies the special powers given to his unit are unfair to the people against whom it acts. The unit has wide powers to enter and search premises, to seize documents and to subpoena witnesses in support of its investigations. It then presents this evidence to a special tribunal, which can make a ruling on the seizure of assets or the repayment of money to the state.

The tribunal can also issue an urgent interdict preventing an action, which Heath says has resulted in huge savings by halting corrupt practices.

Heath, who has a reputation for some landmark judgments on human rights, is hurt by the suggestion that the fast-track procedure of the unit and the related tribunal could infringe the civil rights of those it investigates. He is offended by the suggestion that it might be a kangaroo court: one of the unit's prime functions is to uphold section 33 of the constitution, which guarantees the right to fair administrative action and clean government.



HEATH

The shortened procedure relates only to documents, Heath says, and defendants have the right to see everything — unlike a high court action where a discovery procedure is necessary. "There is no hampering of rights. We are completely transparent and we play open cards."

While Heath says that his unit is one of 13 with special powers, including water, taxation and expropriation courts, a critic sees both legal and constitutional dangers in the increasing use of tribunals which are appointed by the executive.

"In the old days government said special measures were needed to combat terrorism. If special measures are needed now to combat corruption, we should speed up the courts, not bypass them. We should not fall into the trap of saying the end justifies the means," he says.

Peter Hodes, chairman of the general council of the bar, is another opponent of special tribunals in SA.

He believes there should be a review of the legislation setting up Heath's unit, including its possible disbanding. Hodes wants an investigation into whether anticorruption measures should be dealt with in the courts using fast-track procedures such as those in Western Australia.

In the coming debate, Heath will have support from Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa and Peter Miles, chairman of the Border-Kei chamber of commerce. Both say Heath is forthright, fearless and effective, and that the country needs people like him to tackle corruption.

They also say he has a tendency to step on official toes, which does not make his task easier.

One critic says Heath "thinks he is a crusader sent from heaven"; a supporter says Heath's problems include the "sensitivities, jealousies and egos" of other lawyers and government officials.

The debate about how the country tackles corruption clearly involves the personality of the man at the forefront of the battle.

Govt shake-up to see three ministries go

(304A)

OD 2/3/98

David Greybe

CAPE TOWN — The Presidential Review Commission has recommended greater powers for the president's office, including overseeing the public service, as part of a shake-up which will see the departments of sport and public enterprises scrapped.

Details of the year-long investigation into transforming the public service are contained in a confidential nine-volume report, completed last week, to be handed to President Nelson Mandela by the month-end.

The commission found the situation in the Northern Province and the Eastern Cape had deteriorated to such an extent that central government might consider taking over the running of certain functions.

However, such a decision should not be taken lightly.

With the scrapping of public enterprises, the commission recommended that privatisation "be handled by several line functions" under the overall control of the finance ministry, a source said yesterday.

While the commission recommended that the ministries and departments of public enterprises and sport be scrapped, it proposed scrapping the public service ministry but transferring the department itself to the president's office.

Sources said the report proposed the establishment of three executive agencies — information (similar to the defunct information department), public service and information management, systems and technology — in a revamped president's office.

"The public service department is not being phased out, but moved to the office of the president," the source said.

The commission recommended a new ministry — also in the president's office — to oversee "one of the executive agencies", another source said. It is believed that if this recommendation is accepted, the head of government's communications and information department, Joel Netshitenzhe, could be in line to become a minister.

Its proposal to "strengthen" the president's office was because of a "substantial lack of co-ordination and direction at the centre of government", the source said.

The commission further proposed a "reconsideration" of the structure and location of certain units within the office of the deputy president. The proposed strengthening of the presidency would result in president-elect Thabo Mbeki effectively wielding more power than Mandela does.

The cabinet should be more directly involved in policy formulation and co-ordination across government as a whole, the commission said.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Mandela would consult with the cabinet before making any decisions.

Mankahlana scoffed at suggestions that the report might be buried. "We set up this commission as part of a process to perfect government."

Public Service Minister Zola Skweyiya said if the recommendations resulted in a more efficient and effective government, he could see no reason why they should not be adopted.

Commission chairman Vincent Maphai warned that many of the recommendations would not be effectively implemented if "certain questions" surrounding the role of the offices of the president and deputy president

Continued on Page 2

Govt shake-up

(304A)

Continued from Page 1

OD 2/3/98

were not first resolved.

"A radical reappraisal of the functions, structures, personnel and management of the office of the president, as well as the strengthening of its organisation and design is therefore recommended," Maphai said.

He has said there was a "black hole" in government when it came to co-ordinating departments' activities.

The report focuses on four key issues: transforming the structures and functions of government; human resources management; budgeting, financial management and accountability; and information management, systems and technology.

Maphai said the commission recommended the "reorganisation and reconfiguration" of 10 ministries and agencies and their associated departments.

"We believe that a substantial reduction in ministries and departments is possible without compromising the work of government," the commission said. It would also create a leaner and more efficient public service.

"Our review of the public service has brought home to us vividly how fundamentally flawed the machinery of government was which the first democratic government of SA inherited in 1994," the commission said.

The commission commended government for subjecting itself, "so soon after assuming office, to an independent and rigorous examination". However, too little had been done to remedy the inequalities of the past.

Although the constitution specified a maximum 27 ministries, it was not convinced of the necessity to fill all of them. It proposes methods of achieving a smaller, professional, highly skilled and well-paid public service without recommending a particular size.

Some of the main problems found to have impeded the reform process included a lack of: clear vision and strategic direction; skills and capacity; effective organisational arrangements; an appropriate communication strategy; co-ordination within and between the different spheres of government; and effective monitoring and evaluation systems to measure performance and policy outcomes.

ARCHBISHOP 'PICKING A FIGHT' WITH MANDELA

Attack on Ndungane denied

CT 2/3/98

JOHANNESBURG: The Anglican Diocesan Council of Cape Town has thrown its weight behind its archbishop in the war of words with President Mandela. **XOLISA VAPI** reports.

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela's office has denied weekend reports that the president had attacked the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Winston Njongonkulu Ndungane, at a meeting with senior Anglican clerics last week.

Presidential spokesperson Mr Parks Mankahlana launched a counter-attack yesterday on church leaders who have come out in support of Ndungane, whom he accused of picking a fight with the president to get "public fame".

The war of words between Mandela and Ndungane intensified at the weekend with the Diocesan Council of Cape Town throwing its weight behind Ndungane, who has criticised the government for being oblivious to the plight of the poor.

Irked by Mandela's attack, which they claim was aimed at "trying to drive a wedge" between their archbishop and his followers, the council passed a resolution on Saturday assuring Ndungane of its "continued support and prayers as he seeks to discern the will of God for the moment, and to speak out with conviction".

Mandela is believed to be particularly incensed by Ndungane's persistent criticism of the government's failure to house the poor, its treatment of Eastern Cape pensioners and its reluctance to come to the rescue of disadvantaged students faced with financial difficulties at tertiary institutions.

Exasperated by the universities' refusal to admit students who were unable to pay their fees, Ndungane called on institutions of higher learning and the government last week to create a special Jubilee 2000 fund to aid students who had been denied proper education in the past.

The council resolved to support Ndungane as its "elected leader and spokesman ... in his role in addressing various issues pertaining to our common life", and to speak with conviction.

'To say the government does not care for the poor is a lie.'
— Mandela's spokesperson

"We hereby wish to affirm the statements made by our archbishop on issues such as the sales of arms, the eradication of violence and the pension payout problems in the Eastern Cape.

"This has always been the Anglican stand against all forms of evil and injustice, regardless of the government of the day," the council said.

(304A)

A Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rev Duncan Buchanan, had warned other church leaders about Mandela's intention to hold similar meetings with them to attack Ndungane "without any chance for discussion or reply".

Mankahlana denied this report and said Mandela met church leaders every week.

"There are so many things that the president is concerned about other than Ndungane. A person can't say Mandela's government does not care about the poor and not expect a response to (it).

"To say the government does not care for the poor is to lie," Mankahlana said.



SPEAKING OUT: Winston Njongonkulu Ndungane has fallen foul of Nelson Mandela for criticising the government. *FILE PICTURE*

CALL FOR ANC TO ENFORCE CODE OF CONDUCT

Crackdown looms for lax ministers

ET 9/3/98 (304A)

AS EARLY as November cabinet ministers were informed of a crucial session of Parliament. Ten did not pitch up. **JOVIAL RANTAO** reports.



THE ANC Parliamentary caucus is expected to crack down this week on ministers who embarrassed the party by their absence from the National Council of Provinces (NCOP), forcing the postponement of Finance Minister Trevor Manuel's Adjustment Appropriation Bill.

ANC MPs are expected to call for the party's strict code of conduct and discipline to be implemented along with better co-ordination between the legislatures and the cabinet to avoid a recurrence of the last week's postponement of the debate.

The code of conduct was announced towards the end of last year by ANC chief whip Mr Max Sisulu.

Sisulu announced at the time that the ANC would crack down on ministers and MPs who showed contempt for discipline through unauthorised absence from the legislatures.

Guilty ministers and MPs would face dismissal from committees or Parliament, fines, blocking of promotion, loss of leave and travel privileges, reseating in the chamber and censure.

They also face being reported to President Nelson Mandela or Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

The crackdown would be part of major reforms aimed at improving the efficiency of ANC MPs in Parliament.

He said cabinet ministers would be forced to attend the questions and interpellations sessions, unless they have permission from Leader of Government Business Steve Tshwete.

The ministers also have to give explanations to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC).

Opposition parties have called for tough action against the guilty ministers. The Freedom Front has proposed that ministers who were absent from sittings without acceptable excuses should be fined 10%of their monthly salary for every offence.

NCOP chairman Mr Patrick Lekota last week expressed his unhappiness after 10 cabinet Ministers — nine from the ANC — ignored his order to be present to take part in the debate on the Adjustment Appropriation Bill. He said the NEC would call on the ministers to account.

"Once a report of this is tabled, the NEC will be entitled to demand explanations on why they are not performing as they are expected to. The leadership will decide on the right manner to deal with the issue," Lekota said.

Almost all of the 23 ANC ministers are members of the 70-member NEC.

He said that at government level President Nelson Mandela, to whom he has turned for help, had the "full might" to deal with the matter.

"He can order a more serious approach to work and impose a strict regime," he said, adding that Tshwete would also have to elicit answers from ministers.

Lekota said he could not understand why the absent cabinet ministers had not made arrangement to attend the crucial sittings of the NCOP when they knew as early as November when the NCOP's plenary sessions would be held.

"I can't think of business that can supersede attending to the work of Parliament. When Parliament requires a member's presence, they have to oblige. Not even the President can tell Parliament to wait. Last week's image has clearly dented the image of Parliament. Voters will have the right to ask how come Parliament is not operating as it should."

The cabinet has appointed Provincial Affairs and Development Minister Mohammed Valli Moosa to convene a meeting to discuss co-operation between the National Assembly, the NCOP and the executive.

Cabinet ministers who were absent but offered apologies are:

- Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma. She was called away to the Eastern Cape.
- Environmental Affairs and Tourism Minister Pallo Jordan. He was overseas.
- Correctional Services Minister Sipo Mzimela was in hospital.
- Welfare Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi was "out of the country".
- Arts Minister Lionel Mtshali was "attending a ministers' meeting in Pretoria".

Other ministers who were supposed to have been there for questions were Dullah Omar (justice) and Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele (housing).

Mohammed Valli Moosa (constitutional affairs), Jay Naidoo (telecommunications and broadcasting) and Sibusiso Bengu (education) were to have been present for the appropriation.

'I can't think of business that could supersede attending the work of Parliament. Voters will have the right to ask how come Parliament is not operating as it should.'

Plea for more researchers, 'system not viable'

CT 10/2/98

(304A)

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE eight researchers who serve Parliament cannot cope and chairperson of the research unit, Mr Firoz Khan, has appealed for more people to be appointed.

In a report tabled before the forum of chairpersons of committees in the National Assembly, Khan said the lack of personnel and resources impeded the unit's ambition to produce quality work.

He said one researcher worked with three to five committees, a system he described as "not viable". As a result, researchers were unable to serve committees in the National Council of Provinces. Heads of committees yesterday said they've had to depend on voluntary student researchers to do the work.

"We have eight researchers in comparison to 490 in the United States congress, 145 in Japan, 83 in the United Kingdom, 60 in both Australia and Canada," Khan said, before being rebuked by ANC deputy chief whip Mr Naledi Pandor for comparing South Africa to Western countries.

Heads of committees complained to Mr Ndundubela Mokoena, chairperson of parliamentary committees, that they had no say in the appointment of researchers appointed to work for them.

"The relationship between committee chairpersons and researchers is unclear. We need to be clear about who is accountable to who. I would suggest that a sub-committee be established to work with the research unit," said Dr Blade Nzimande, chairperson of the portfolio committee on health.

Dr Mongane Serote, chairperson of the portfolio committee on arts, culture, science and technology, was unhappy with the situation.

"It's five years down the line and I'll be hard pressed to find a chairman who says he was happy with the service. There's no way that someone can work for a chairman while the selection is done by someone else. I have to be the employer and work out the priorities."

McBride held in Mozambique

Star 11/3/98 (304A)

Foreign Affairs director arrested on suspicion of contacting gun runner

STAFF REPORTERS AND SAPA

Senior Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride, the former MK cadre who planted the Magoo's Bar bomb, has been arrested in Mozambique on suspicion of trying to arrange an arms deal with a suspected Inkatha Freedom Party gun runner, officials have confirmed.

"He is being held on suspicion of trying to make contact with a person that Mozambican authorities suspect of having been involved in arms deals with the IFP in the past," Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, who is dealing with the matter on behalf of the ANC, told The Star early today.

It is understood that McBride was not on official business, but had taken leave.

Phosa was engaged in negotiations with the Mozambican authorities this morning.

The South African High Commissioner in Maputo, Mangisi Zitha, said McBride was arrested on the border as he was preparing to leave Mozambique on Monday.

Zitha said the South African Mission had not been aware McBride was in Mozambique until they were contacted by the Mozambican government.

"He has been taken to a place of safety. There is nothing that we can do about the situation at the moment, except check on his condition to see if he needs any medication."

Zitha denied reports that McBride had been in possession of illegal firearms. He said according to the Mozambican police McBride had been "about to start negotiations" on an arms deal.

Phosa said as far as he could ascertain McBride was arrested in the Mozambican town of Ressano Garcia, which borders on SA, and taken to Maputo.

McBride was sentenced to death for an attack on a Durban beachfront pub frequented by police in which three women were killed in June 1986. The death sentence was later commuted and he was released in terms of a deal between the National Party government and the ANC. He has applied for amnesty from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

McBride's wife Paula last night said she had no information on her husband's arrest.

McBride holds the rank of director, and runs SA's Asian desk. He is not a diplomat.

Inspector Louis Fourie at the Lebombo border post said he was not aware of arrests at the border, but he had heard that somebody had been arrested "further down the road".

The Freedom Front last night said relations between SA and Mozambique could be soured by the arrest.

Leon calls Yengeni 'liar' — ejected

(304A) CT 11/3/98

JOVIAL RANTAO

DP leader Mr Tony Leon has become the first leader of a party since 1994 to be kicked out of Parliament.

He was ejected from the National Assembly yesterday after he had called ANC MP Mr Tony Yengeni a liar.

The drama started when DP MP Dr Bukelwa Mbulawa was tabling a notice of motion and DP whip Mr Douglas Gibson rose and objected to "a sexist and racist statement from Yengeni, who described Mbulawa as a token black".

When Yengeni denied calling Mbulawa a token black, Leon said he had heard the comments and called the ANC MP a liar and accused him of misleading Parliament.

The DP leader refused to withdraw the remark and was asked to leave the House.

In a statement later, Leon said: "It is a matter of deep regret that today I was forced, for the first time, to leave the chamber. The plain fact of the matter is that in the middle of attempting to interrupt and sabotage a motion by Dr Mbulawa condemning the ANC's attempt to create no-go areas for other parties in the Eastern Cape, Yengeni shouted across to me that Dr Mbulawa was a 'token black'."

"The fact that he denied using these words, just moments after trying to justify them, proves both his lack of respect for democracy and his complete lack of courage in defence of his own perverse convictions. Yengeni's conduct, and the fact that he was aided and abetted by the ANC backbenchers, has once again degraded this Parliament and brought democratic practices into contempt."



TALE OF TWO TONYS: Tony Leon and Tony Yengeni

Through the motion, Mbulawa called on the ANC to make an unequivocal statement to all Alliance members that statements and actions which tried to create no-go areas would not be tolerated. This follows recent action by ANC members in the Eastern Cape who allegedly threatened DP members trying to hold meetings.

Yengeni said last night that Leon had "got it all wrong — he must have heard someone else make that remark".

Leon's refusal to withdraw the insult was "testimony to the utter contempt he holds for Parliament and its rules", Yengeni added.

Now SA taxpayers will bankroll political parties (304A)

ARG 11/3/98

POLITICAL FUNDING

For the first time, taxpayers will fork out millions of rands for direct funding of political parties.

In terms of legislation approved last year, the funding will go only to parties represented in Parliament and provincial legislatures.

The Funding of Represented Political Parties Act provides for a formula to be devised to share out the money.

The act was inspired by a constitutional provision for funding to keep multiparty democracy alive.

This year funding will total R53-million.

Estimates are that it will rise to R56,5-million in 1999-2000 and to R61-million in 2000-01.

The Act sparked an outcry from parties outside Parliament, including the United Democratic Movement led by Bantu Holomisa and Roelf Meyer.

The UDM leaders said the direct funding of political parties gave an unfair advantage to parties already ensconced in Parliament.

Further legislation on support for parties outside Parliament is expected later.

As for individual politicians, there is good news for Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his successor, to be appointed after the 1999 elections.

While the medium-term spending estimates peg the salary of the President at R552 000 a year for the next three years, they say the Deputy President's salary, currently R538 000 a year, will rise to R573 000 next year and R610 000 in 2000-01.

Budget for the salaries and allowances of office bearers and members of the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces is set at R351 000 for this year, R375 060 next year, and R463 554 in 2000-01.

Row over 'token black'

ARG 11/3/98 (3044)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Democratic Party leader Tony Leon, banned from Parliament for a day for refusing to withdraw a statement that African National Congress MP Tony Yengeni was a liar, said Mr Yengeni's conduct had degraded Parliament.

The row began after Yengeni was allegedly heard calling the DP's newest MP — Dr Bukelwa Mbulawa – a "token black", while she was giving notice of a motion.

Dr Mbulawa proposed a motion, based on reported statements by ANC leaders that it would not be acceptable for opposition parties to canvas in "ANC areas", calling on Parliament to condemn attempts by parties to create "no-go" areas.

Mr Leon claimed Mr Yengeni had interjected that Dr Mbulawa was a token black, a claim which Mr Yengeni rejected.

When Mr Leon refused to retract his claim, Deputy Speaker Baleka Kgositsile ordered him to leave the chamber.



Verbal spat: Tony Leon, left, accused Tony Yengeni of degrading Parliament

Mr Leon said it was a matter of deep regret that for the first time in his career he had been obliged to leave the chamber.

"The fact that (Mr Yengeni) denied using these words, just moments after trying to justify them, proves both his lack of respect for democracy and his complete lack of courage in defence of his own perverse convictions," said Mr Leon.

"His conduct and the fact that he was aided and abetted by ANC backbenchers has once again degraded this Parliament."

Foreign affairs department to tighten its belt

BD 12/3/98 (304A)

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — The foreign affairs department will have to close missions abroad and rationalise staff following a cut in its budget of more than 7%.

In terms of the medium-term expenditure framework the department faces more stringent belt-tightening.

Further decreases in the foreign affairs budget are in the pipeline for 1999/2000 and 2000/2001 financial years.

The budget review said: "These allocations require a rationalisation of several international missions and reduced numbers of transferred staff and locally recruited staff at remaining embassies."

The department's actual expenditure for the 1997/98 financial year, including additional appropriation and improvement of conditions of service, was R1,303bn. This has been reduced in the new budget to R1,211bn — a reduction of R92,209m, or roughly 7%.

With inflation, this means a real decrease of more than 12%. In the 1999/2000 year it is expected the department's allocation will fall still further to R1,197bn, and to R1,154bn in the third year of the framework.

The cuts come at a time of more SA international activity, including Non-Aligned Movement chairmanship, access to the Lomé convention and membership of the African, Caribbean and Pacific nations as per the Georgetown accord. These events will put more pressure on the foreign affairs budget.

McBride 'ran from Mozambique police'

Pearl Sebolao and Pule Molebeledi

SA FOREIGN affairs director Robert McBride was arrested on Monday afternoon while reportedly trying to flee Mozambican police on foot after allegedly trying to clinch an arms deal with a gun-runner, government sources said yesterday.

The Mozambican police, insiders said, had been monitoring the syndicate which was dealing in illegal weapons for more than a year. Sources said McBride was allegedly involved in a police trap after he held negotiations with a Mozambican middle man.

Mpumalanga premier Mathews Phosa said on SAFM radio yesterday that McBride was not found to be in possession of weapons.

"He may have been involved in negotiations for arms ... this I picked up from my own sources ... if this is true, the Mozambican government will have to act within its own law."

A senior foreign affairs delegation was dispatched to Mozambique yesterday to try to establish the circumstances surrounding McBride's arrest.

Foreign affairs spokesman Marco Boni said the delegation was due to meet Mozambican authorities and McBride last night and today.

McBride was arrested in the small town of Ressano Garcia near the Lebombo border post.

The National Party and Democratic Party (DP) raised concerns yesterday about the involvement of the African National Congress (ANC) in the affair, saying the matter would be handled better by foreign affairs as it was inappropriate for political parties to get involved in an international incident.

They condemned the involvement of Phosa in his capacity as ANC legal department head, questioning whether McBride was on an ANC mission when he was arrested. "The ANC owes SA an explanation as to why it is involving itself in this matter," the DP said.

Phosa said he was not sent by the ANC to investigate the matter, but by the deputy president's office. He was asked to investigate because of his proximity to Mozambique.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) rejected statements attributed to Phosa which sought to link McBride's "illegal activities" to the party. The IFP said it was not surprised about McBride's arrest as "the ANC had for years smuggled arms from Mozambique for the express purpose of murdering its political opponents".

BD 12/3/98 (304A)

Less gravy will sweeten the pot

M+G 13-19/3/98 (304A)

William Makgoba *advocates streamlining government operations by slashing the number of ministries*

The proposed increase in the executive powers of the presidency, the stripping of two ministries and the assimilation of some functions of 10 other ministries awaiting restructuring (as reported in the *Financial Mail*, March 6), are welcome small steps in transforming the government bureaucracy into a leaner and meaner machine.

However, these steps are not deep and fundamental enough to radically alter the cumbersome and outdated government structure that is totally unsuitable for our country. Government rationalisation needs a sharp axe that will lead to fewer ministries with coherent but concentrated programmes.

With the rising costs of servicing the civil service — 27 ministries —South Africans should ask one critical question: Do we really need all our current ministries, or was the current structure and organisation of government conceived for the transformation agenda and programme of the new South Africa or not?

If the answer is no, what are we doing to change this state of affairs, or is it going to be another case of "looking up to the hills whence the answer shall come"? Are there not many areas of convergence and complementarity that can be used as a basis to organise and restructure our government fundamentally, so that it becomes lean, mean, efficient, effective and appropriate to our set of constitutional principles and national priorities?

One does not need to be an Einstein to notice that a number of ministries or offices of government are more or less doing the same things, and there is much redundancy, duplication, cost and inefficiency within the system.

Some people would argue that we need more ministries in order to devolve and decentralise power. The history of ministries is that each tends to concentrate rather than devolve power; each tends to create a little empire and guard its territory jealously. As a result of this diffusion of power, loss of focus on the part of government becomes inevitable. On the other hand, some would cogently argue with supporting research evidence that too much bureaucracy is costly, inefficient and ineffective. Large governments in today's environment are poor at delivering.

Both arguments are acceptable and have some logic until you dig a little further below the surface. How are government ministries conceived? Why does a nation need to have a ministry of defence, health or finance, for example? Even further, what are the specific needs of each society so that it organises its citizens for its unique challenges?

The answer to these questions is that government ministries firstly are born out of need (necessity is the mother of invention) and that each society should construct its ministries in accordance with its unique, but essential, needs.

If this line of reasoning is followed, one comes to the sobering conclusion that most of our ministries in South Africa are not what the country needs. They are redundant, unnecessary and simply an imitation of what happens somewhere else. They are a result of a compromise deal rather than a well thought out structure for a new beginning; a new country with a new agenda and programme.

As a result, some of our current ministries have become a problem and a contradiction rather than a solution to our national strategy and transformation process. As a nation, we have not sat down to conceptualise our ministries according to our national imperatives and agenda. We simply accepted the logic of the past regime and fitted it with names of our own.

While this fitted the logic of reconciliation during transition, it does not fit the major transformation agenda sweeping through the nation. Transformation of South African society in its entirety is the *raison d'ëtre* for the existence of this government.

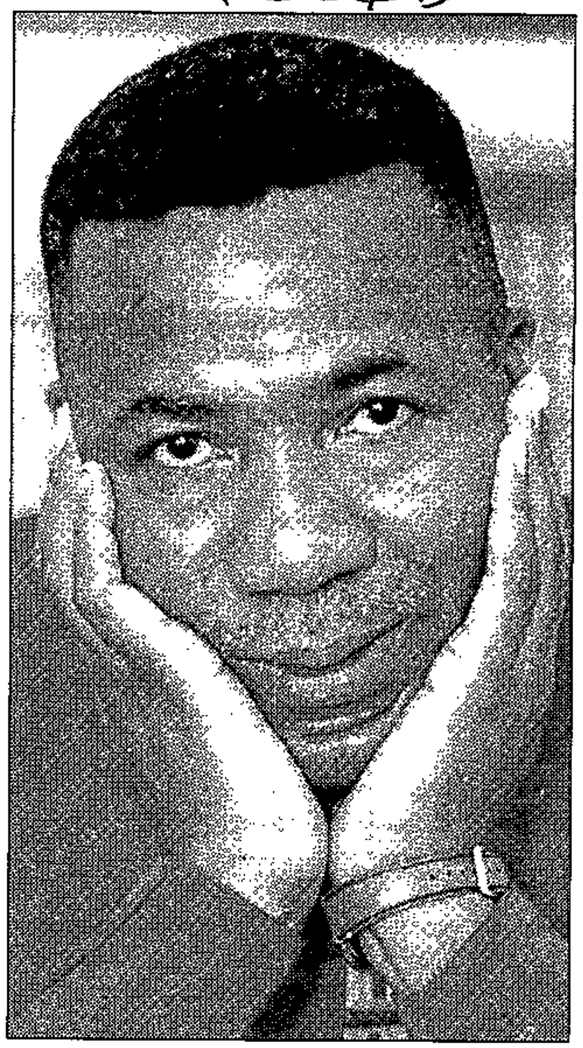
Societies needed defence in the past because of imperialism. Nations needed to defend their territories and secure their citizens. Do all countries need this today? Certainly not, for the era of military colonialism is diminishing, to be replaced by information imperialism. So today's national defence is no longer simply military but also information and knowledge power.

Equally, nations needed education as a ministry as it was central to participatory democracy, development and good citizenry. Do all countries need this today? They all certainly do. This leads one to the conclusion that there are primary and secondary ministries in any government.

Which are the ministries that are primarily needed in present-day South Africa, taking into account its needs for transformation, non-racism and non-sexism within a competitive global economy?

South Africa needs two types of primary ministries: those that are universal and those that specific to our context and developmental needs. All the other ministries would be secondary and should occupy levels of directorates within the primary ministries.

The universal primary ministries are education, health, finance, agriculture, justice and foreign. The local specific ministries for South Africa would be transformation, non-racism (human rights), non-sexism (gender) and quality assurance (co-ordination and monitoring). On this basis, our country would only have at least 10 ministries.



William Makgoba: 'Cluster the ministries'

However, restructuring the present "white elephant" would be best done using the concept of clustering. A group of ministries would find a common core value that they all share. This would define the *primary* ministry.

Deputy ministers would not be necessary in such a model. The various components that share or are associated with the core value or competency would then become directorates within this new primary ministry. For example, under the Ministry of Health, health, welfare, housing and population development become directorates.

Obviously, in the process of rationalisation, jobs, portfolios, lines of responsibilities, new capacity and accountabilities will be redefined and changed so that they are guided by the national imperatives, coherence, focus and co-ordination. Many of the current positions and responsibilities will fall by the wayside. Using this concept of clustering by core values/competencies, this is roughly how the future government of South Africa may look.

Twelve ministries and 15 deputy ministers could be immediately rationalised if departments were clustered in the following way:

- defence, safety and security, correctional services and justice form a common cluster whose core value is the maintenance of a just society;
- education, science and technology form a cluster whose core values are education and innovation;
- labour, trade and industry, minerals and energy, public enterprises, tourism and finance whose core value is wealth creation;
- foreign and home affairs;
- health, housing, welfare and population development form another cluster whose core value is the well-being or health of the citizen;
- agriculture and land affairs, water affairs and forestry and environmental affairs form a cluster whose core value is protection of the environment;
- provincial affairs and constitutional development, public service administration and public works - core values national governance and assets;
- transport;
- posts, telecommunications and broadcasting;
- sports, recreation and arts.

This rationalisation would bring the total number of primary ministries to 10.

The four new ministries (transformation, non-racism, non-sexism and quality assurance) already exist within the current government structures either as commissions or offices of co-ordination of government policy. Depending on how these four local specific imperatives are organised, South Africa would have at most 14 ministries and at least 12.

Obviously, by conducting a detailed analysis based on the core values and competencies of each ministry, such as that which has been conducted by the presidential review commission, one should arrive at a better informed clustering and reorganisation. The fact that the commission suggested the rationalisation of only two ministries, indicates that either the process of review was not deep enough or we should wait to read the full report.

The advantages of clustering are:

- streamlining, coherence, co-ordination, cost-effectiveness, and are consistent with trends worldwide that cut costs, bureaucracy, duplication and inefficiency;
- defining competencies that are aligned to our national strategy;
- providing impetus for articulating new rules for the operations and functions of government ministries. These will bring coherence and much-needed co-ordination to each cluster and ultimately into government.

The need to reconfigure government as we transform society, approach the millennium, face our unique social and national imperatives and enter the global information society could not be greater. By concentrating the gravy, making it sweeter, but for fewer officers, we are more likely to end with a cost-effective, appropriate and relevant government model.

William Makgoba is professor of molecular immunology at Wits University and chair of the Medical Research Council



Robert McBride: 'Gets personally involved'

McBride's double life

(BOLA) M+G 13-19/3/98

Robert McBride was allegedly investigating the highway heists when he was arrested in Mozambique this week.

Wally Mbhele *and* **Stefaans Brümmer** *report*

Robert McBride, who was arrested in Mozambique this week for alleged gunrunning, was apparently on a special undercover mission to investigate supply routes feeding the highway heists.

Senior African National Congress and government sources say McBride, a director in the Department of Foreign Affairs, was recruited into the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) late last year to help unmask the kingpins behind the robberies, which have resulted in losses of more than R100-million.

He is believed to have been on a mission investigating the heist gangs' supply routes when he was arrested on Monday near the Ressano Garcia border post.

For some time now McBride's position at foreign affairs, where he was responsible for South-East Asian matters, has been a cover for other activites. Early this year, the department seconded him as its representative to the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc), which co-ordinates the country's intelligence agencies.

McBride's usefulness to the heist investigation stems from his previous contact, as an ANC operative in the early 1990s, with Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres and ANC self-defence unit members on the East Rand, some of whom are now involved in heist gangs.

He trained self-defence unit members after he was released from prison — where he was facing a death sentence for the 1986 Magoos Bar bombing in Durban. He was released from prison after negotiations began between the National Party government and the ANC.

The country's intelligence agencies, often accused of being in a state of chaos, have come up with little of substance to establish what lies behind the heists, which have become one of the country's priority crime problems in recent months. There have been a number of arrests of suspects, including some former MK operatives.

However, the identities of the ringleaders still elude the police and intelligence agencies. The Inkatha Freedom Party and Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla have made wild claims of either the third force or the ANC itself being involved, but no hard evidence has emerged.

The arrest of McBride has fed the suspicions of those in the IFP, who have been claiming that the proceeds of the heists have gone into ANC coffers.

Senior ANC sources speculated that McBride's arrest could have been a set-up. McBride has complained recently of hostility against him by old-guard members of foreign affairs, who dislike him because of the Magoos bombing. McBride is thought to have feared for his life and carried a side-arm to work.

Before he drove to Mozambique, where he allegedly negotiated with a gunrunner linked to the IFP, he is said to have met intelligence operatives in KwaZulu-Natal. The meeting was held to gather more information on the Mozambican gunrunner.

McBride's wife, human rights lawyer Paula McBride, told the *Mail & Guardian* that she knew her husband had been involved in a number of investigations since 1993, but that she did not have details.

She said she was very angry at media reports linking him to heists, and that she could also "not imagine" he was involved in supplying arms to Fretilin, the East Timorese independence movement. She and her husband were both close to East Timorese leaders, though, as they feel passionately about the struggle in that country.

She said she would travel to Maputo on Friday in an attempt to see McBride and establish the true facts, and found it "incredible" that South African officials have not had access to her husband, a diplomat in a foreign country.

A foreign affairs official confirmed on Thursday that the Mozambicans had not allowed access to McBride yet — the only brief contact was when South Africa's high commission in Maputo was asked to identify him after his arrest. The official said the Mozambicans did not respect "constitutional niceties" when it comes to security matters.

McBride travelled on his diplomatic passport. Although his position at foreign affairs was not diplomatic in the strict sense of the word, he was entitled to the passport as a senior member of the department.

The passport gave him no diplomatic immunity in this case, though, as immunity only applies when the passport is used on official diplomatic business.

A foreign affairs official this week questioned McBride's judgment in using the diplomatic passport to enter Mozambique, saying it makes the bearer "stand out like a red light".

News reports said McBride tried to flee the scene before his arrest. Mozambican police claim to have caught him red-handed with AK-47 rifles as well as an unspecified amount of United States dollars.

McBride's friends have pointed out his tendency to be "impatient" and get personally involved in matters when — because of his high profile — he should rather work from behind the scenes. If he was transporting arms on his arrest, it may imply he got involved in a more hands-on way than would have been prudent for an intelligence operative.

Email: fmproperty@tml.co.za

THE SEAT OF PARLIAMENT

We are marching to Pretoria (304A) FM 13/3/98

There are signs that the city is preparing for parliament

The mystery surrounding the ANC's reluctance to announce the relocation of parliament to Pretoria is beginning to clear.

It has less to do with the 1999 elections and being popular in the Western Cape than with writing new legislation and raising money. The Gauteng legislature has to pass a provincial Act to allow the province to toll roads so it can raise about R1bn to finance the proposed PWV9, to the west of Pretoria and central to the proposed Mabopane-Centurion corridor, intended to promote small and medium enterprises.



Robbie Tshabalala

***Corridor planner Kleynhans** . . . provincial departments may want to return to Pretoria*

Moving parliament and stimulating the local economy before improving transport links would worsen the congestion.

The new highway would provide an alternative link between Pretoria and Johannesburg and reduce the congestion along the M1 by 15%-20%, in what Gauteng Department of Public Works & Transport calls an "acceptable" solution in the medium term. Public transport and spatial development planners are working on a direct rail link as a long-term solution.

Most provincial and local officials in Pretoria are convinced that only a "formal" announcement of the move is awaited. A national Minister was recently quoted as saying it's only a question of whether parliament moves "in or after 1999".

Developer E G Chapman Group CEO Greg Swemmer says parliamentarians have been buying residential stands in its high-security estates in Centurion and Irene, south of Pretoria. One is Centurion Residential & Golf Club Estate, where stands, though "sold out", can be bought from speculators for 30% more than the original prices.

Swemmer says Pretoria will become southern Africa's Washington DC. "We're looking at a lot of stock east of Pretoria as well as in Centurion and Irene. People want to be closer to the city, owing to traffic congestion — as well as to Midrand and the northern suburbs of Johannesburg."

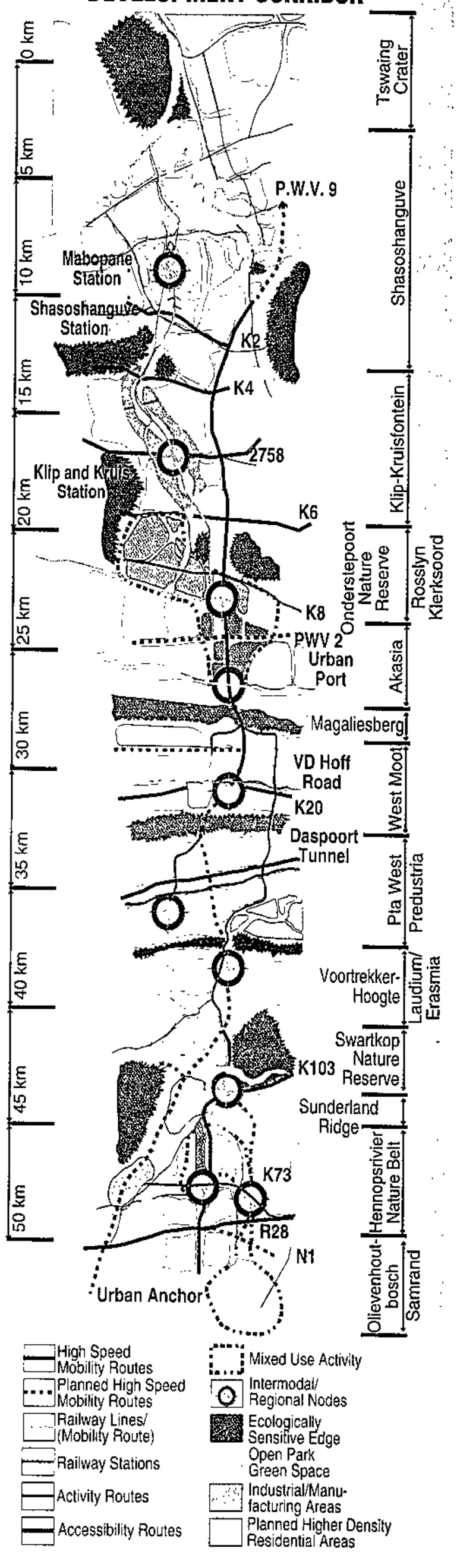
Swemmer reports "much quiet investment" in the city itself. He expects that as soon as the decision is announced, developers will target B- and C-grade buildings for companies that want to be near parliament. These buildings offer attractive yields of 17%-18%.

Shares in listed property companies with large holdings in the Pretoria area also deserve monitoring. They include those in the old Pretoria-based Tomkor group, which is heavily invested in the CBD, and Stocks & Stocks, which bought land from Sanlam in the Rosslyn industrial area, at the northern end of the corridor, three years ago. Samrand's industrial estate southwest of Centurion stands to make huge gains because the corridor runs through it.

Factors investors must consider are:

- ❑ The perceived preference by commercial and residential tenants for areas east and south of the city;
- ❑ Forthcoming announcements by motor and other industries, which will test Pretoria senior planner Henrik Kleynhans's ability to draw investors to support the industrial, public transport and public housing plans along the Mabopane-Centurion development corridor;
- ❑ The new provincial Act, now in its initial stages of preparation. Construction of the PWV9 could start at the end of 1999, ac-

MABOPANE - CENTURION DEVELOPMENT CORRIDOR



cording to Gauteng Transport & Public Works chief director Hartmut Hoffmann;
❑ A forthcoming PWV9 public participation exercise and environmental impact study;
❑ An imminent policy statement by (national) Cabinet, inspired by the Public Works Department, to ensure government administration offices remain in or relocate to CBDs;
❑ A decision by Pretoria City Council on whether to rebuild and occupy all of the old Munitoria Building or continue to lease an estimated 40 000 m² of privately owned A-grade office space beyond March 2000; and
❑ The possibility that Johannesburg-based provincial departments will want to return to Pretoria when parliament moves.

"That could be Johannesburg's death-knell unless it comes up with an economic agenda as opposed to a political one," says Sanlam Properties CEO Banus van der Walt. "But it will no doubt increase efficiency." In the same breath, he says if parliament moves, "it'll be the best day of my career" — in Pretoria he will be able to dictate rentals rather than beg tenants to fill his buildings.

Alison Goldberg

HUDDLE PARK GOLF COURSE

That R49/year lease again

Will the latest scheme succeed?

Accusations of poor transparency and a lack of public consultation continue to dog the National Sport Council (NSC)'s involvement in Johannesburg council land. New proposals by the NSC for Huddle Park have received a wary response.

Residents have seen two earlier, grandiose schemes for the city's only municipal golf courses fail. Both were based on a R49/year lease for 99 years and contained a residential component, hotel and casino.

Residents say the problem is the council's divided approach to land privatisation. It seems to want it both ways — retain control, but avoid expenses. The council and the NSC say they want to turn Huddle Park into a golf centre that attracts tourism and promotes local golf development. The NSC's Mvuzo Mbebe says the council has accepted his organisation's proposals in principle.

The council would grant the head lease to the NSC, which would sublet to a group composed of Malaysia's Namfatt Berhad and local consortium Samsoinke, led by developer Vivian Reddy.

The project would cost R400m-R600m.

Locals fear the council will ride roughshod over their views. Raymond Druker, chairman of Huddle Park Environs Anti Degradation League (Head), says his committee insists on being consulted but the city council "ignores" them. "As far as we are concerned, the plan is a disguised housing development of about 340 units."

Head's counterproposal includes a 400-bed hotel and retaining the three golf courses as a public amenity.

Roger Manning, who has run the Pro Shop at Huddle Park for more than 20 years and is also a Head representative, says residents plan to raise money through debentures. Their scheme would ensure a return of 7% of the gross income to the city council, in the range of R350 000-R500 000/year.

Manning contends there is no need for more elitist golf courses. There are already plenty in Gauteng, and many are underused. "At weekends Huddle Park is crowded with enthusiasts who can have a round of golf at R35. All three courses are full," he says.

Melissa Whitehead, head of sustainable development planning at Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council, says that under a prior agreement negotiated by metro CEO Nicky Padayachee, the NSC proposals have priority. The council, she says, has requested an independent financial assessment of the Malaysian proposal. "Only if it falls flat will council look at other tenders," she says.

The proposals put forward late last year by the consortium include the upgrading of existing facilities at a cost of R1m. The council stipulates Huddle Park must remain an affordable public facility. A golf academy would be subsidised by the facility and open to disadvantaged communities. The council would continue to benefit from the increased rates and receive a percentage of the profits.

The council would keep control over the land and the NSC would maintain it.

Whitehead suggests the residents' counterproposals are amateurish. She points out that the developer has undertaken to upgrade roads near Huddle Park and confirms the housing is aimed at low- and medium-income earners and land for it sold.

Head's Druker says: "We don't want any sort of housing. The council's criteria do not accord with those of the local community." He also says the tender process has not been followed.

Local ward councillor Ray Wolder has arranged a public meeting to discuss the issue later this month. She is concerned about traffic that would be generated by the mooted housing development.

But Mbebe says residents' concerns have largely "been taken care of" and that "many support us. We scrapped the casino licence application, and the hotel will have 240 beds with a housing component on the east and west sides.

"We intend to explain the scheme to locals when it is given the green light," adds Mbebe. Too late, some would say.

Margot Cohen



Russell Roberts

***Manning** . . . the Golf Federation, not the National Sports Council, should be the headlessor*



Russell Roberts

***National Sports Council's Mbebe** . . . reluctant to talk about the lessee and the NSC's part of the deal*

Comparing corruption

(304A)

FM 13/3/98

New report challenges some myths

Despite its reputation, Africa is by no means the most corrupt region in the world, says academic Daniel Kaufmann in the World Economic Forum's 1998 *Africa Competitiveness Report*.

"In comparison with other regions ... Africa does not deserve to be singled out. The evidence of corruption in the former Soviet Union appears to be higher, as possibly does Central America. Africa is on average one notch below; on a par with Eastern Europe, South America and Asia."

Kaufmann says Botswana has the lowest levels of bribery, and SA fares "relatively well overall". He believes the most corrupt African states are Nigeria, Cameroon, Mozambique and Kenya.

Ugandan and Tanzanian respondents said there had been a fall in corruption over the past five years. But those polled in Ghana, Zambia and Morocco said they had seen a marked deterioration.

The good news is that reforming countries can start to control corruption "relatively quickly". The key is "a focus on fundamentals: strengthening rule of law, reducing State intervention, reforming trade, tax and exchange rate regimes". ■

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***Terror Lekota and Steve Tshwete** . . . conflicting views on parliamentary power*

PARLIAMENT

MPs watch as power drifts away

FM 13/3/98

Cabinet is where it is all happening these days

(3044)

Only four years after the inauguration of SA's first nonracial, democratic parliament, the institution is under strain and facing credibility problems as power subtly shifts to Cabinet.

The final straw was drawn last week, when exasperated National Council of Provinces (NCOP) chairman Patrick "Terror" Lekota and opposition party members protested that Cabinet members were treating the chamber as a rubber stamp.

In a dramatic move that went against the wishes of his fellow ANC members, Lekota postponed debate on the Adjustments Appropriations Bill of Finance Minister Trevor Manuel to a later date because six Ministers failed to arrive to answer questions in the chamber.

Reasons for the absences varied from illness to forgetfulness. Lekota was not amused: "When Ministers respond by coming to this house they are not doing me a favour. They are fulfilling their obligation under the Constitution.

"Certainly, none of us is prepared to be part of anything that appears to be a circus at the expense of the taxpayers' money," he said.

The crisis became even more pronounced this week when the Congress of SA Trade Unions, an ally of the ruling ANC, announced it would not participate in this year's Budget hearings organised by parliament's finance committee.

In terms of the Constitution, an act of parliament must provide for a procedure to amend money Bills presented to parliament. No such procedure is yet in place because Manuel's proposed legislation in this regard (the Money Bills Amendment Procedure Bill) was rejected by the Standing Committee on Finance, on the basis that it did not confer effective amendment powers to parliament.

"Cosatu questions whether the tabled legislation could have been considered to be in line with the letter and spirit of the constitution as it proposed to severely curtail — both procedurally and substantively — the role of parliament in overseeing money Bills such as the Budget," the trade union federation said in a statement.

These are not the first indications that things are not running as well as they should be between the executive and parliament. Last year, Ministers made a habit of not turning up in parliament, to the point that opposition parties threatened to boycott the traditional question time. At one point, nearly the whole Cabinet was overseas and there was no Minister to answer questions in parliament.

The Centre for Policy Studies' Steven Friedman says what "doesn't work terribly well are the formal institutions of parliament, like question time, sittings and procedures.

"This is simply because you have one party occupying 62% of the seats and, more importantly, everybody knows that the opposition is not going to win the next election."

Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Michael Muendane agrees. "There is a sense of complacency on the part of the ANC. They feel that 'we have arrived', and thus they don't take these institutions seriously enough."

The 90-member NCOP has shown the most weakness. Says Friedman: "The Senate in apartheid days was a place where old and useless politicians were sent to become voting cattle. Then we had the post-1994 Senate which turned out to be the same as the old one.

"The NCOP was supposed to be an improvement on that but it is not," he says.

Friedman believes the real potential of the NCOP could lie in its ability to transform itself into a chamber where members vote not on the basis of party position and directives, but on the interests of the provinces they represent.

There is more confidence in the committee system. On several occasions parliament's committees have displayed remarkable independence and have stood up against Ministers bent on ramming through legislation. This happened last year when the Welfare Committee forced Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi to increase welfare grants to children.

Muendane, however, is sceptical about the committee system, saying that while outside organisations often make strong inputs, most MPs do not work hard enough to make meaningful contributions. He says most meetings are dominated by a few highly educated MPs while others doze off or wait for lunch breaks.

And the committees' work may become more difficult in the future. This year's Budget will lop R80 000 off each portfolio committee's budget.

In the National Assembly, sights of backbenchers staring down a long line of empty seats where Cabinet Ministers should be sitting are common. On Monday, for example, only three Ministers were present in the National Assembly. On days when Ministers do turn up, debate is mostly drowned in loud heckling that degenerates into chaos. Moments of probity and brilliance are few and far between.

13/3/98
(504 words)

Friedman says Cabinet has now become where it is all happening, and the two houses are no longer relevant to the Ministers.

But parliament's Leader of Government Business & Sports Minister Steve Tshwete says there is absolutely no tussle for power between parliament and the executive.

"There has never been any serious hitch between the two arms of government. The ANC is in the majority in the National Assembly, in the NCOP and in Cabinet.

"Therefore you do not have a conflict of interest between them, they all pursue the same goals. The ANC fought for the sanctity of parliament and will protect the institution," he says.

With regards to last week's standoff in the NCOP, he says the problem was co-ordination. "The one major problem is that the NCOP is a new body and its cycles are not the same as those of the National Assembly," he says, citing the fact that National Assembly members were doing constituency work last week while the NCOP had plenary sessions. "It could have been arranged better."

He dismisses opposition party criticisms of the failure of Ministers to appear as no less than a manifestation of their agenda to see an increase in provincial powers.

Whatever the strengths and merits of the National Assembly, this year's extraordinary amount of proposed legislation will test its abilities.

There are 150-170 Bills planned for this session, which ends in September. It is becoming increasingly doubtful that MPs will be able to deal with them all adequately.

In a *Mail & Guardian* interview last month, Martin Schonteich of the SA Institute of Race Relations warned the load of Bills and the short time in which to pass them was bad for the legislative process.

Tshwete says the legislative year could be extended beyond September. He says the NCOP will also institute a programme to fast-track certain Bills.

Friedman believes the parliamentary system could be improved through several structural changes, for example enforcing question time and other mechanisms.

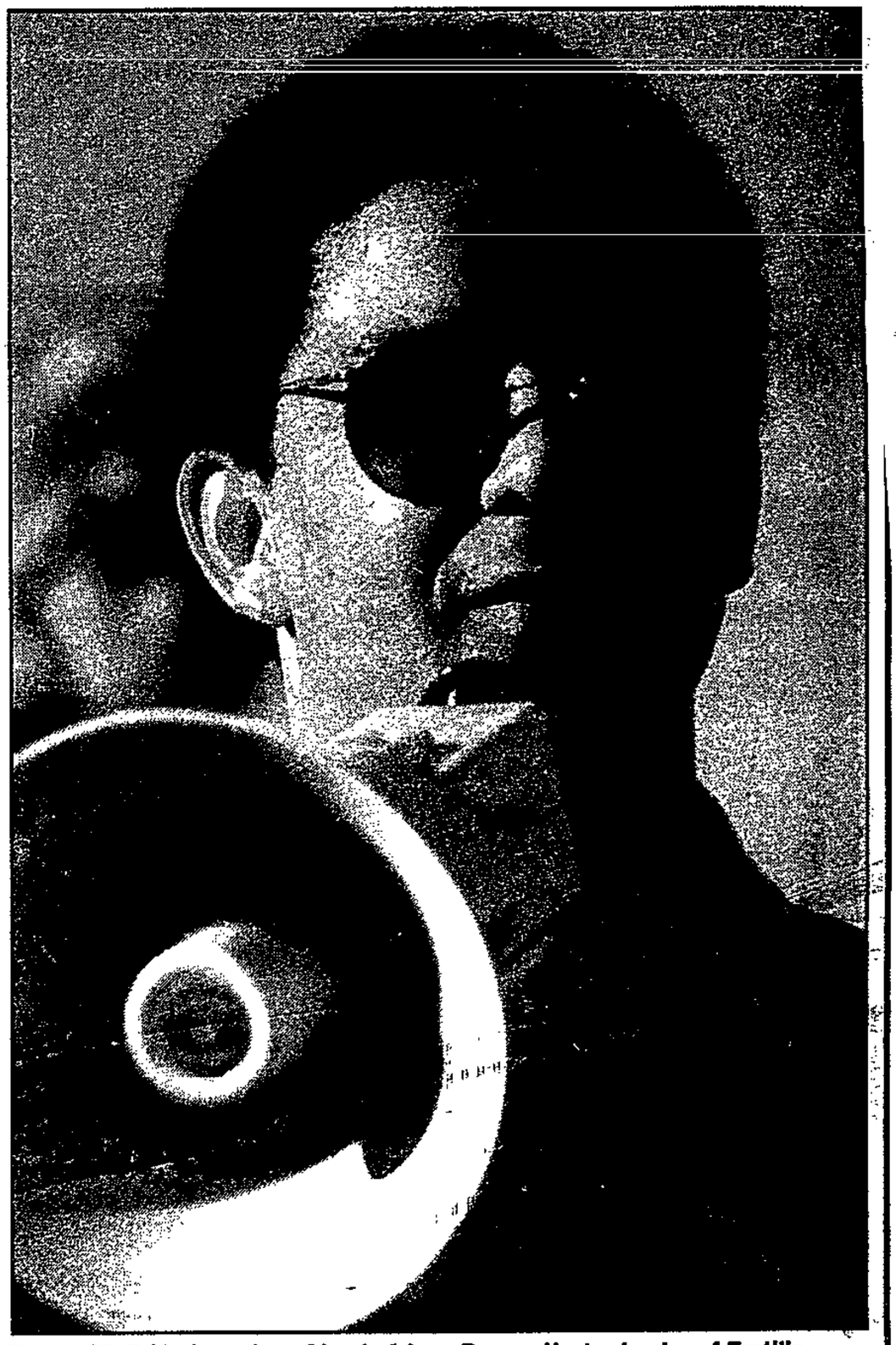
He proposes scrapping the no-defection clause and allowing MPs more leeway to vote according to their beliefs rather than along party lines.

With the clock fast ticking to next year's election, MPs will be looking towards the election campaign. So it is unlikely that parliament will soon regain the vociferous role it was expected to play only four years ago.

Justice Malala

McBride ‘supplied arms to guerrillas’

Sowetan 13/3/98 (304A)



Robert McBride is a close friend of Jose Ramos Horta, leader of Fretilin.
PIC: PICTURENET

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

SPECULATION is rife that former MK soldier and a Ministry of Foreign Affairs director Robert McBride has been arrested for procuring arms in Mozambique for the East Timorese resistance movement, Fretilin, but this has been flatly denied by the movement itself.

According to sources in Mozambique, Fretilin representative in Maputo Mr Maria Alkatire denied that McBride, who was arrested in Ressano Garcia on Monday, was negotiating to buy arms for his movement.

It is believed McBride, in charge of the Asia desk in Foreign Affairs, is a close friend of Fretilin leader Jose Ramos Horta and that he greatly sympathises with the movement's cause.

Mozambican police were investigating the alleged involvement of McBride in an arms deal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said in Pretoria yesterday.

It said McBride had been using his diplomatic passport on an unauthorised visit to Mozambique when he was arrested on Monday afternoon. He was on leave at the time.

In a statement the ministry said Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo was shocked at the news of McBride's detention.

McBride is being held in police custody in Maputo. The ministry said deputy director-general Mr Abdul Minty visited Maputo on Wednesday to investigate the matter and reported to Nzo on Wednesday night.

"The legal process in Mozambique will take its normal course, during which the South African Government will maintain regular contact with the Mozambican government," the ministry said.

McBride was on leave from Monday to Wednesday and was apparently on a private visit to Mozambique. "His visit was not authorised or known to the ministry."

The outcome of a departmental investigation would be reported once it was completed, Foreign Affairs said.

Police spokeswoman Senior Superintendent Sally de Beer said earlier in the day that senior police officers left for Maputo on Wednesday to gather information about McBride's arrest.

Describing this as a fact-finding mission, she said the police forces of the two countries had been in contact since the arrest. "As a result Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz was sent to Mozambique on a fact-finding mission from a police perspective."

Britz is the national head of murder and robbery, illegal firearms and special projects. De Beer said Britz was accompanied by a senior member of his team. It was not known when they would return.

Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday he would comment later.

Asked about the matter after signing an agreement with Russian Federation deputy chairman Mr Anatoly Kulikov in Pretoria, Mufamadi said: "I would be willing at some point to talk to you about the issue."

The African National Congress said yesterday that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the appropriate agency to deal with the matter as McBride was one of its employees.

In a statement in Johannesburg ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said if a crime had been committed, the legal process should run its course.

"Yet, those accused of any wrongdoing must also be presumed innocent until proven guilty," he said.

During the struggle against apartheid McBride was sentenced to death, which was commuted to life imprisonment, for a bomb that killed three people in a Durban bar frequented by police.

He was granted amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission for a full disclosure of his role in the attack and those who ordered it.

McBride was promoted to the rank of director in charge of the Asian desk in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs last year.

directly on people's livelihoods. The continued denial of opportunities to

weni said.

Millions in taxpayers' money will be used to support political parties' administration

(704A)

By Donwald Pressly

Cape Town – Taxpayers will pay out altogether R170-million to fund the administrations of political parties which are represented in Parliament and the provincial legislatures.

According to the Budget Review, a total of R53-million will be allocated to the eight political parties this financial year.

This will be followed by R56,5-million in the next financial year and R61-million in 2000/2001.

Parliament passed legislation last year to enable political parties to maintain their administrative capacity as part of "democracy-building".

The parties in Parliament and the provincial legislatures are the ANC, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Freedom Front, the Democratic Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the African Christian Democratic Party and the Minority Front.

Parties not represented in the legislatures do not qualify. United Democratic Movement co-leader General Bantu Holomisa said: "I don't think this augurs well to promote multiparty democracy if it excludes parties outside of Parliament.

"There must be criteria agreed upon for those parties," he said, pointing out that polls showed that the UDM was now the fourth largest party. "This system gives the other parties an unfair advantage."

Holomisa added that, in the longer term, foreign funding of political parties should be stopped to prevent undue influence. He pointed out that governments were particularly sensitive to this during the process of privatisation.

All parties in Parliament supported the legislation last year. – Parliamentary Bureau

13/3/98

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McBride: smuggling probe

Staff Reporters and Sapa

South African policeman also arrested in Maputo: Fivas awaits report from Brits

(304A)

Star 13/3/98

South African and Mozambican police are investigating the possible involvement of more South Africans in arms smuggling following the arrest of senior Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique earlier this week.

According to reports from Maputo, a South African policeman, identified as Vusi Mbatha, was arrested with McBride. Superintendent Sally de Beer, a spokesman for National Commissioner George Fivaz, today confirmed Fivaz was awaiting a report from Commissioner Suiker Britz.

Britz, who heads the police's special investigations units, visited Mozambique to investigate the circumstances surrounding McBride's arrest.

McBride was arrested near the border town of Ressano Garcia on Monday. Mozambican police have been investigating his possible involvement in illegal gun-running activities for the past two years, it was reported yesterday.

South African Government officials said yesterday the arrest was seen by Mozambican authorities as a breakthrough.

Political and intelligence sources said the arms dealer McBride had apparently made contact with could have been a man known as Rosario – who allegedly had contact with both military intelligence and ANC operatives who were bringing in weapons during the conflict between the ANC and IFP.

Intelligence sources said yesterday that even the National Intelligence Agency had no knowledge of McBride's mission, thereby quashing the theory that he was investigating arms-smuggling routes.

ANC sources earlier also

NIA denies McBride was on a mission

discounted the possibility that McBride was involved in an investigation. Mathews Phosa, who investigated the incident on instructions of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office, said he had clearly been involved in an arms deal.

SA's high commissioner to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, has warned that McBride could stay at Mashaba prison for an indefinite period if the judge investigating his arrest overrode a law requiring that detainees appear in court within three days of their arrest.

McBride was to have been interviewed by a magistrate yesterday. Zitha said that as far as he knew, he did not yet have a lawyer.

McBride is an assistant director in charge of the Asian desk at the Department of Foreign Affairs. He was sentenced to death for his role in planting a bomb outside Magoo's Bar in Durban that killed three people in 1986, but his sentence was commuted and he was later released in terms of an indemnity deal between the NP government and the ANC.

McBride's wife Paula said from her Pretoria home last night: "There are 305 different stories going around ... I'm bored with all the hysteria from the media – if it were based on facts, I could understand."

She would fly to Maputo over the weekend to clarify the situation, she said.

Opposition parties in the National Assembly yesterday demanded McBride be suspended and that President Mandela appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate his alleged illegal arms dealing.

Giving notice of a motion in the National Assembly, NP foreign affairs spokesman Dr Boy Geldenhuys said McBride's arrest was causing great international embarrassment.

widens

R170 m state funding for political parties

(304A)

DONWALD PRESSLY

ET 13/3/98

TAXPAYERS will pay out R170 million to fund the administrations of political parties represented in Parliament and the provincial legislatures. According to the budget review a total of R53m will be allocated to the eight political parties in this financial year. This will be followed by R56,5m in the next financial year and R61m in 2000-01.

Parliament passed legislation last year to enable political parties to maintain their administrative capacity as part of "democracy-building".

The parties in Parliament and the provincial legislatures are the ANC, the National Party, the IFP, the Freedom Front, the Democratic Party, the PAC, the African Christian Democratic Party and the Minority Front.

Parties not represented in the legislatures do not qualify. United Democratic Movement co-leader General Bantu Holomisa said: "I don't think it augurs well to promote multi-party democracy if it excludes parties outside Parliament.

"There must be a criterion agreed upon for those parties."

He pointed out polls showed that the UDM was now the fourth largest party. "This system gives the other parties an unfair advantage."

The general said in the longer-term foreign funding of political parties should be stopped to prevent undue influence. He pointed out that governments were particularly sensitive to this during the process of privatisation.

All parties in Parliament supported the legislation last year.

Star 14/3/98

Unit will help ensure better government

(304A)

By ESTELLE RANDALL

With so many new policies coming out of different departments and ministries, a special unit has been established to make sure government programmes are implemented effectively.

The Co-ordination and Implementation Unit (CIU) was established in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office in January with a broad brief to "enhance policy co-ordination across Government", says the unit's head Pundy Pillay, former head of the Finance and Fiscal Commission.

Pillay says the unit has defined this to mean three broad policy functions: information, co-ordination, and evaluation of policy implementation.

He says the unit, which will comprise 15 people when fully staffed, is small compared with what exists in other countries: Malaysia has 350 such advisers.

Pillay says of the CIU's size: "It will stay small and use resources that exist in Government, in the academic world and among non-governmental organisations."

He is adamant that the unit is not another layer of bureaucracy, there to police government departments.

"We're not Mbeki's watchdogs," he says, although the unit will report directly to the deputy president, who will then decide what information to convey to the Cabinet.

"The unit has the potential to make a contribution to Government working better, to make more effective use of limited resources," says Pillay.

The idea of the CIU came to light in early 1996 when Mbeki appointed a team, headed by his economics adviser Moss Ngoasheng, to establish whether there was a need for some planning and co-ordination capacity across the Government.

The consensus was that there was such a need.

"The Cabinet looked at the report and suggested that what was not needed was a large central-planning agency because a lot of policy development was happening in departments, and departments were very good at developing policy," Pillay recalls.

During the first half of last year, the Cabinet approved the establishment of a small unit to enhance policy co-ordination across the Government.

Besides its tasks of co-ordinating and evaluating government policy, the CIU will boost capacity in Mbeki's office.

"We will be providing an information flow to our political principals, in the first instance the deputy president," says Pillay. This routinely involves the analysis of cabinet memoranda.

"The deputy president is overloaded and he has a small policy team," Pillay adds.

Besides the CIU, the deputy president has four advisers – Ngoasheng on economics, Vusi Mavimbela on politics, Mojanku Gumbi for legal issues and Mavivi Manzini for parliamentary issues.



Don't get me wrong. I am not an adherent of political correctness. I do not lack a sense of humour, nor do I propose that we falsify our speech to hide everyday experiences and "realities". I am merely recording that racism is entrenching itself deeper and deeper into everyday life in South Africa. And because the grand nonracial counter-punch of the anti-apartheid struggle is no longer available, racist thinking is having a much greater impact among ordinary South Africans.

One reason for the racism of everyday life is that the political economy the Government is sponsoring is entrenching racial and class divides and thus giving greater credence to those who think in racial terms. We are all aware of the arguments of the Democratic Party, which criticises the ANC for "re-racialising" South Africa by introducing "racial quotas" into sports teams, the labour market and public service.

I do not agree with this analysis. It is superficial, and interested in maintaining racial caveats in society. If there is no radical Employment Equity Bill or affirmative action plan, matters in the country will be allowed to remain racially the same. Which, perhaps, suits the DP.

Yet what I do share with the DP's analysis is that government policies are at the heart of the new racism. This is because its macro-economic policies are going to widen the divide between rich and poor in South Africa.

Of course, there will be a new black fat-cats to ostentatiously love the reverse, but the descent into poverty of the majority of South Africa's working-class and poor population (which is also, not accidentally, black) under Gear is going to widen racial divisions.

The sad thing is that this may well suit the new government which, Mugabe-style, will have easy (and possibly worthy) scapegoats on whom to deflect its misgovernance.

One way of distinguishing my criticism of the Government from that ordered by the DP is that while the DP is angered by the minor steps taken to redress past imbalances as an instance of "re-racialisation", I believe the Government's failure to seriously do what the DP accuses it of doing – that is, redistributing the wealth and productive resources in the country – lends itself to the pro-racialisation of South Africa.

For me, the token measures taken in the interests of the lucky few black corporate climbers – real beneficiaries of affirmative action and the Employment Equity Bill – are far outweighed by the thousands of retrenched mine, metal and textile workers, who are victims of the ANC's neo-liberal economics.

The trouble with the ANC's racialisation of the labour market is that it does not go far enough. It does not robustly protect the jobs of black workers at the expense of white profits, nor does it enable a better life for the disadvantaged by increasing social spending.

In being half-hearted and tokenistic, the ANC's legislative affirmative action smokescreen does more harm than good. It disallows and confuses precisely the kind of fightback from workers that one might ordinarily expect under conditions of capitalist advancement.

So the ANC technicises macro-economic debate when this is precisely the effective level at which sociological and political positions should prevail, and it politicises legislative issues when the effectiveness of these measures has been circumscribed by past economic decisions.

It is this technique, common to most populist regimes, that gives rise to racial thinking. In this way the new black elite may obscure the class foundations that enable its emergence, and employ instead a racial, legal language to legitimise its quest for material wealth and adornment.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Mzi Khumalo, Nthato Motlana dress up their entry into the business world as "black empowerment". What is ignored by the media and themselves is that they conduct their business in the same way as the white man does, and often at the latter's behest.

For every Motlana who is empowered, thousands of black people become disempowered. Motlana might take over a mine or two, but thousands of black miners are retrenched by him to make the operation a financial success. And because it suits the black elite to label its ascension into monopoly capitalism as racial empowerment, it covers up these aspects.

But, as any reader of psychology knows, whatever is repressed always returns to haunt you. Having elevated race to a level worthy of administrative notice when an Mzi Khumalo fails it cannot be seen in any

STAR 14/3/98 BOOK

By ASHWIN DESAI

In a recent cricket test between South Africa and Pakistan, a banner was flashed across the TV screen. Poking fun at Pat Symcox, it read "Symmo the Missing Link", and above these words an image was drawn of an ape, then a forward-bending Neanderthal, then Symcox, then a black man with a bat followed by a white man with a bat as the most advanced end of the chain.

The racism inherent in the banner was stark, but it was shown without any criticism.

Earlier, during the cricket tour to Australia, Shaun Pollock was asked about life in Australia: "It's a great place to tour. It's like home," he said. And Jonty Rhodes said: "I like the orderliness of the place, the cleanliness and the fact that everything runs on schedule. There's no such thing as African time! Everything happens the way it's supposed to happen."

These comments were made directly after the South Africans visited India and Pakistan, where the complaints about almost everything were endless – bad conditions, icky water, difficult living and gamesmanship were the usual refrain.

Certainly not like home. For Pollock, home would have been the private school, the fancy house in the suburbs, five-star hotels and restaurants – the cocooned First World of white South Africa. For Pollock there is no other South Africa. And when he says Australians are "pretty much like South Africans", he obviously means white Australians and white South Africans, as if the rest don't exist.

Rhodes, too, is most revealing about his place in the class hierarchy of the new South Africa. What exactly does African time signify for Rhodes? The maid coming late for work?

As for efficiency, it appears this compliment is reserved for the First World. In one of the test matches in Australia, when the sightscreen could not be moved for left-hander Mark Taylor, the game had to be stopped for a while. That was a mere mishap. The same incident on the subcontinent provoked exasperated sighs, connoting something deeper about habits, decay and inefficiency.

The list of double standards in (social) commentary is endless. Imagine if the hit-wicket incident had happened in Pakistan?

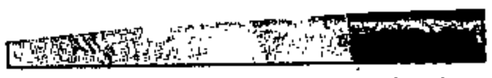
Of course there is South Africa's first new international cricketer, Makhaya Ntini, to complicate proceedings. He is black and from an underprivileged background. Perhaps he is the exception to the rule? Not so. "He needs time to fit in ... finally he has fitted in," says Cronje of the black protégé – and he wasn't referring to Ntini's cricketing form.



Would H D Ackerman need time to fit in? Surely not ... his father was a top player, his pedigree secure.

I am pointing here to something many of my friends and colleagues sense about the new South Africa. That is, the level of racism in our country, overt or unexamined, is higher than ever.

During the days of the anti-apartheid struggle, in general, and the sports boycott in particular, there was a lot less tolerance of attitudes such as these and a greater consciousness, if not in the Pollocks of the world themselves, then in wider society, that something was wrong on the racial front. Nowadays these ways of evaluating other people are gaining acceptance in everyday life, and not only in sport.



NO CHANGE: For Jonty Rhodes, South Africa is still lily-white

Sometimes this stereotyping is unbelievably grotesque. Recently, a Mr Singh, accepting a cheque from the KwaZulu Natal MEC for education in Durban, promised the assembled crowd: "Us coolies know how to look after money." Apart from a few embarrassed laughs, this "truism" clearly accorded with the worldview of the assembly, who duly nodded assent. Few seemed to be aware at that moment that this same perception of stinginess and tight-fistedness among "Indians" played such a crucial role in the Indian/African riots of 1949 and 1985.

Or take the frighteningly common-sense logic of Michael Thabete of the Tongaat Taxi Association, who objects to an Indian policeman investigating a crime against another Indian: "How can a Govender investigate a Govender or a Naidoo investigate a Naidoo?"

Few honest inhabitants of KwaZulu Natal will deny that this utterance carries considerable colloquial appeal and that racial explanations of this kind abound.



WORSE OFF: For every Ramaphosa there are hundreds more jobless

things to their fellow countrymen.

In the new South Africa, subtle variations of old prejudices still permeate our lives. Just as poverty, unemployment and the black elite grow, so will racism. When a white person buys a quart of Castle he calls it an Umlazi dumpie. In the coloured township of Wentworth, an "Indian-giver" is someone who gives and takes at the same time. And in Lamontville, Lion Lager stands for "let Indians own nothing".

Among Indians the latest is "Muslims bury the same day, Hindus the next and Africans after a week because they have to find the other leg in the bush".

Funny at times, one must concede. But these "jokes" are spawned by government policy which allows a few previously disadvantaged folk to trickle up while the majority must be content to subsist on the margins with their situation deteriorating by the day.

Very quickly, quirky, beerhall stereotypes will become general racial assumptions. And because a few have made it, therefore the rest are lazy, stupid or have an entitlement mentality. Minorities will blame affirmative action. The majority will blame minorities. The Government will, in all likelihood, be off the hook.

■ *Dr Ashwin Desai is a senior lecturer in the department of sociology at the University of Durban-Westville.*

other way but through racial lenses.

Unlike the individual failure of a white man, this is a failure of blacks in general, giving rise to jokes and stereotyping. The same is even truer lower down the hierarchy, where race is foregrounded in public discourse.

The Government, espousing a rhetoric which proclaims it has done so much for black people in particular – it has granted subsidies, upgraded roads, laid on water, drawn up employment laws – but which then fails to create the conditions for their real collective advancement – to create jobs, build schools, and provide hospitals and bursaries – places those who are struggling in an invidious position.

Because they are the recipients of formal advantages (legislative) but are forced to operate in a hostile terrain in which these advantages can seldom be realised, the inability of most South Africans to attain the "better life for all" is going to be a matter of great ambivalence. They will be the ones to blame, and not the Government.

What is reprehensible about this situation is not only the stereotyping of blacks as lazy, incompetent, prone to poverty, and unable to hold down jobs or benefit from government patronage, but it also removes big business from any complicity or responsibility for the poverty and marginalisation endemic to township life.

Other minority groups, forced to think of themselves as minorities more and more, as racial categorisation increases both formally and informally, will also use race as the prime explanation for their woes or successes. It is also probable the difficulties experienced by black people will be projected on to these minorities.

The first time Makhaya Ntini gets whacked for 70 runs in an international, people are going to wonder: is it his failure as a cricketer, is it blacks being let into the side too soon, was it the good batting of the opposition? The answer will depend on your take on race politics.

What is sure, however, in contrast to the DP's line, is that the affirmation of Ntini is undesirable, not because the ANC is reintroducing racism but because the ANC is not creating the conditions for a hundred Ntinis to advance, in their own properly resourced schools.

And when Ntini "fits in", it is only because he has received the tuition only the elite can afford. This is the current model of empowerment that keeps race in play while keeping race at bay.

It is incredible that in the last bastion of institutionalised racism there is so little focus on this phenomenon. In South African academia there is an embarrassing silence on racism as if no one wants to draw attention to the fact that baas is still wearing the nicest clothes. Even the Truth and Reconciliation Commission explains the past overwhelmingly in terms of individual, evil, psychotic men who ran amok.



It does not reveal the true workings of the apartheid system, which so twisted our psyches that ordinary people were able to do the most extraordinary

Racism is alive and well in SA

(3044)

Cape Argus 14/3/98

riminal or hero – was it childhood trauma that catapulted obert McBride into acts of crime and violent resistance?

Star 14/3/98 (304A)

ntroversy is his middle me. And once again bert McBride has landed the public eye with legations of gun-running nging around his neck. ho is this man who courts trage by one sector of ciety and heroism by nother? We investigate

bert McBride has led a life dogged y controversy and collects labels at he just cannot shake off.

As a teenage rugby player from hat he calls "the slum of Went-orth", he was derogatorily called a bushy" by whites in his club. He hated being given this racial slur hat it spurred him to fight against artheid – a decision that set his life on the path of violent resistance.

And although nearly 12 years have passed since he made the bomb that killed three people in a Durban bar, he has never been able to shake off the tag that he was "the man who planted the Magoo's bomb".

Now he has another label that he has to fight: "Gunrunner".

He was allegedly caught red-handed with a cache of AK-47s at a squatter camp inside the Mozambique border after taking leave from his position as head of the Asian desk in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

His controversial history is rooted in South Africa's turbulent past and it is useful to explore the context and environment in which he was forged.

"A perfect country with a madman in it," is the way he thinks the media saw him, but to understand McBride one has to rewind the tape of history to the South Africa of the mid-80s.

A state of emergency had been declared, clamping down on all forms of legitimate political activity in the country. Many of McBride's friends were detained indefinitely in solitary confinement. South Africa's human rights record was an abomination to the world.

The declaration of the state of emergency had a profound mental effect on McBride, who saw it as a declaration of war upon his people. He felt compelled to make a statement to say: "We are in a situation of war, people are being detained and killed."

McBride's anger had deep roots. He first became aware of inequality in the country as a young child. His wife Paula reportedly said: "Robert is a quiet person, but there is a terrible anger in him. Once he told me his first memory was of hatred. He was just a little boy. It was at the Zoo Lake. There were a whole lot of goldfish in buckets and he saw other little children looking at them and twirling their fingers in the buckets. So he went and did the same. Then this big Afrikaner youth came and kicked him and screamed at him that he was not allowed to do that because he wasn't white. Robert says his memory was of complete shock. If you can create anger at that age, this did it."

It was the rejection by whites that made him embrace the black liberation struggle. He had a history of non-violent political activism before he turned to violent struggle. Then he slipped across the border to Botswana where he received explosives training and became a member of the ANC special operations division.

He built up a large cache of arms and explosives in Durban and took orders from Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing.

Although he has reported to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, it has never come to light who gave him the order to attack a soft target with the intention of causing civilian casualties.

He was 22 years old when he made the Magoo's bomb.

His original intention had been to attack the Hyperama in central Durban. But he said he was persuaded by an accomplice, Matthew Lecordier, who later turned state witness, to rather focus on the Magoo's bar, which he knew was frequented by policemen and soldiers and was therefore a "military target", in his view.

He bought a car and parked it, loaded with 50kg of explosives laced with bullets and iron bars as shrapnel, outside a packed beachfront hotel on a Saturday night. The explosion killed three young women – Angelique Pattenden, Marchelle Gerrard and Julie van der Linde – and injured about 100 people.

A month later McBride was arrested and sentenced to death. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment during the negotiations that led up to South Africa's democratic elections.

FW de Klerk released him as "a bold gesture of reconciliation" before the peace summit with Nelson Mandela in October 1992. McBride was later granted amnesty by the TRC after making a full disclosure of his part in the bomb attack and those behind it.

After his release on indemnity, he became the head of the ANC peace desk in Gauteng, but he argued that the hand of reconciliation was never handed to him. His reputation clouded his ability to wipe the slate clean.

When it was mooted that he should get an ambassadorial position, an anti-McBride campaign was launched by survivors of the blast.

But while he was seen as a destructive force by one sector of society, another sector regarded him as a hero for his contribution to changing the country. In Gauteng his popularity was reflected by a high ranking on the ANC's list of candidates, and he was elected as an MP to the regional parliament for a year before moving to the National Assembly.

He resigned as an MP to undergo diplomatic training and was appointed as deputy director-general in the Department of Foreign Affairs. This also caused waves and a campaign was started afresh by victims of the blast to have him sacked.

His promotion to the rank of director last year also drew sharp criticism from opposition parties.

For some of the victims, the pain of the blast has not been lessened by the passing of time. The sister of Marchelle Gerrard, Sharon Welgemoed, said her opinion of McBride's moral stature was vindicated by the news of his arrest.

"He has allegedly committed another crime. He's not a hero, he's a criminal. He took innocent people's lives and got blanket amnesty in a deal with the National Party. Now he has allegedly been involved for two years in gun-running."

Welgemoed said she opposed McBride's amnesty application, which is due to be heard later this year.

Her views are diametrically opposed to those of Farid Esack of the Gender Commission.

He said: "At this stage we don't know the truth or otherwise of his involvement. There is nothing intrinsically wrong in weapons smuggling as long as the cause is just.

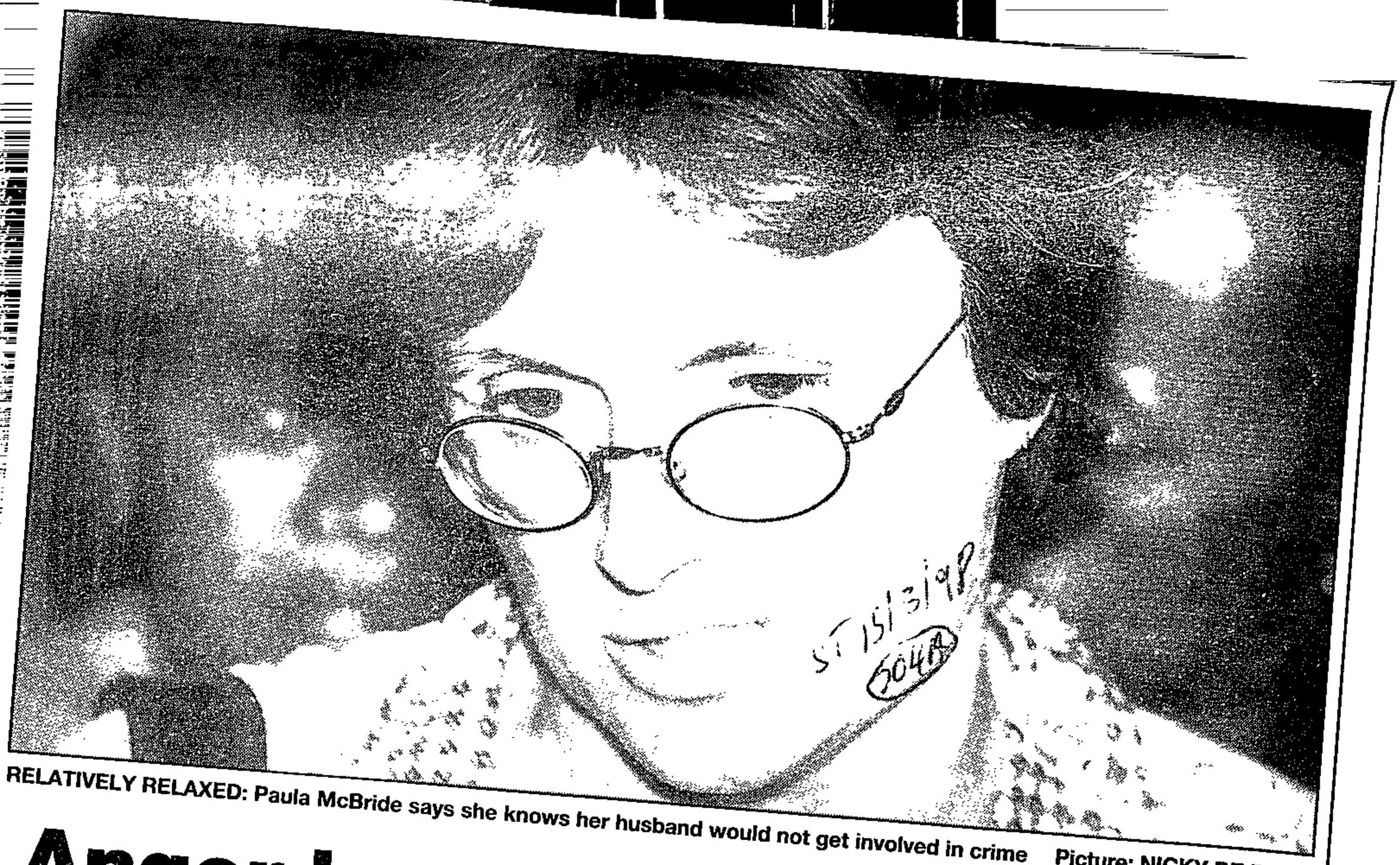
"He may have broken the law in his action but if he was compelled by the conscience to assist a just cause, there is nothing wrong.

"I don't think that any irregularity he may have breached in the department should allow people to forget his enormous contribution in the struggle."

Esack added: "Unfortunately we live at a time when memories are short and knives are long."



ROBERT McBRIDE: Twelve years after the Durban beachfront attack, he still can't shake off the label he earned as "the man who planted the Magoo's bomb"
PHOTOGRAPH: THEMBA HADEBE



RELATIVELY RELAXED: Paula McBride says she knows her husband would not get involved in crime Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

Anger born out of hard times

MICHAEL SCHMIDT

ROBERT McBride was born 34 years ago in the impoverished coloured suburb of Austerville in southern Durban.

His father, Derek, is a former activist and a fiery critic of the ANC he used to belong to, and which his son has joined.

The family home is a humble brick building identical to its neighbours.

He has two sisters, Bronwyn and Gwyneth, who work in Johannesburg.

As a teenager, McBride's anger at injustice was fuelled by the detention of several of his friends during the states of emergency in the 80s. He became a United Democratic Front activist, later joining Umkhonto weSizwe and undergoing training in Botswana.

He developed a reputation among his comrades for calculated aggression and returned to Durban, where he prepared arms caches.

He was only 22 when he led the MK cell which bombed the Why Not and Magoo's bars on the Durban beachfront on June 14 1986. The bars were frequented by off-duty soldiers and policemen, but three civilian women — Julie van der Linde, Marchelle Gerrard and Angelique Pattenden — were killed instantly.

McBride was arrested a month later and spent four months on death row. The sentence was then commuted to life.

On May 22 1989, he married his wife, Paula Leydon, a human rights lawyer, behind bars. They were allowed only 40 minutes together after their wedding — under the eyes of a warder. They now have three children: twins aged four and a two-year-old daughter.

Paula McBride, who led the campaign to free her husband, now begins a second battle for his freedom. But she faces a much sterner task as he could be detained for months without a charge being laid.

It is not known how long McBride will be detained in Maputo. Mozambican police say "investigations are continuing".

Days before McBride was released from Westville Prison in September 1992, white prisoners tried to kill him, but he escaped unharmed.

After his release, he worked on the ANC's PWV peace desk and as a bodyguard.

He was elected as a Gauteng MPL, before moving briefly to Parliament. He resigned as an MP to join the diplomatic corps and was appointed director of the Department of Foreign Affairs' Southeast Asia desk.

McBride and former members of his cell, like Greta Apelgren, are expected to testify at the truth commission's amnesty hearing on the Magoo's bombing, at a date to be set.



WORRIED: Doris McBride, Robert's mother

Dad in 'bad mood' but mother calm

MICHAEL SCHMIDT

ROBERT McBRIDE's fiery former activist father, Derek, was in a "bad mood" this week and refused to talk about his son's arrest in Mozambique.

Speaking from the family home in Austerville, Durban, Doris McBride said her husband was "refusing to speak to anyone at the moment; he is in a very bad mood".

McBride snr, who has a strong dislike for the media, resigned from the ANC in a huff shortly before the 1994 elections after claiming the party had sidelined him.

His wife said the family had been expecting her son in Durban on Tuesday, March 3, to visit a cousin who was in hospital.

"But he never turned up. We weren't worried because we know he is very busy. I had no idea he visited Mozambique.

"We don't know any more than what we've heard in the news. We are waiting for Paula," she said, referring to McBride's wife. "We have faith that she will leave no stone unturned.

"We've read all sorts of things about Robert's arrest, but I don't think this is a trap set by his old enemies — don't ask me why. He would never do anything against the ANC. He's too loyal."

She said she was concerned about her son's welfare in a Mozambican cell and was not convinced he would get a fair trial in that country.

"There, if you just look at a gun, they say you are dealing in arms."

McBride has asked officials for an asthma pump. His mother said he had contracted the ailment while in jail for the Magoo's Bar bombing.

Before meeting her husband in Maputo on Friday afternoon, Paula McBride said: "I know my husband. I know what he will do and what he won't do.

"He is very politically driven and would never get involved in any criminal activities — and that is the reason I feel relatively relaxed about all this."

She said she had not yet spoken to the ANC's legal department, but had chatted to Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, an old family friend.

The official caught on 'unofficial' business

(304A)

Police lay in wait after monitoring repeated visits to Maputo

ST 15/3/98

PETER MALHERBE: Maputo

ROBERT McBRIDE is no stranger to the dusty streets of Maputo. Using his diplomatic passport, he has passed through the Mozambican capital three times in the past three months.

Not once was South Africa's high commissioner in Maputo aware that the high-ranking foreign affairs official was in the city. But it emerged this week that Mozambican police had been secretly monitoring the former Umkhonto we-Sizwe commander's movements.

His visits to the city of peri-peri prawns and crumbling apartment blocks were being closely watched.

He first visited in December. In January he was back, supposedly to attend a meeting of the Southern African Development Community, but the police never saw him at the gathering.

Last Saturday he returned. But on Monday police set a trap that would net him and another South African, Vusi Mbatha.

The police lay in wait at the apartment of a Mozambican allegedly linked to gun-running, Alexandra Mamba.

McBride arrived in his swanky Nissan 4x4, followed by Mbatha in a taxi.

According to Mozambican police investigators, Mbatha told a man who answered the door of the apartment that he wanted to buy weapons "for the man in the car", pointing across the road.

The police swooped, arresting Mbatha and the taxi driver. When McBride saw this, he allegedly fled to the South African High Commission in central Maputo.

If he had been on official business, he could have had his passport endorsed, granting him diplomatic immunity. But he only left a message for a close friend who works at the commission, Thando Nyawoza.

McBride then set off on the hour-long trip to the South African border, where he had built up a friendship with officials. But police were waiting for him at the Mozambican border town of Ressano Garcia.

When they asked if he had anything to declare, he showed them the $11 000 (nearly R55 000) he was carrying.

He was arrested and held at the town overnight, and was sent back to Maputo on Tuesday. Before notifying South African diplomats of their sensational arrest, police took a high commission official to identify McBride.

South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs said McBride was on leave at the time of his arrest and was not on official business in Maputo.

The lack of information about the alleged deal and the circumstances surrounding his arrest has sparked off a number of theories. Mozambican investigators believe the arms were to have been shipped to Kwazulu Natal, but the burning question remains: if McBride was buying arms, for whom were they destined?

Claims that he may have been involved in an undercover operation to probe the supply of arms to heist gangs have been denied by South African Police Commissioner George Fivaz and National Intelligence's Joe Nlanhla.

Another theory is that he may have been buying the arms on behalf of the East Timorese resistance movement, Fretilin. McBride, who is in charge of the Asia desk in foreign affairs, is a close friend of Fretilin leader Jose Horta, but the organisation's representative in Maputo, Maria Alkarire, has denied any link to the alleged arms deal.

All that Mozambican police are prepared to say is that investigations are continuing and that other South Africans could be arrested.

Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz, who heads up the national team investigating illegal firearms, and a three-man team left Maputo yesterday.

Britz declined to discuss his investigations, but the high commissioner to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, said Britz had been invited by Mozambican police to co-operate in the investigation.

Zitha said he did not believe McBride's arrest would affect South Africa's relationship with Mozambique.

Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo ordered an investigation into the case soon after McBride's arrest and Abdul Minty, the deputy director general of the department, was sent to Mozambique to reassure the Mozambican authorities that South Africa was prepared to work with them "until the truth comes out".

● Mbatha (aka Vusi Madida) claimed to be a South African policeman, but this has been denied by the police service.

McBride: I'm on i

CP 15/3/98 (3044)

Denies smuggling weapons to anyone

CHARLES MOGALE
Maputo, Mozambique

DELEAGUERED Robert McBride has spoken out for the first time since his arrest on allegations of illegal gun running.

Speaking from his tiny cell at puto's Mashaba Maximum ison on Friday night, McBride logised for bringing shame to his untry and declared: "I was acting my own."

South African high commissioner Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, nt to the prison to visit McBride, companied by McBride's wife la and a lawyer.

Zitha told City Press yesterday t McBride had denied smuggling apons "to South Africa or any her country".

Zitha said:"He said he was on a t-finding mission to prove that a own gun-runner was still operat- in spite of him being arrested in aziland recently. He apologised embarrassing the country."

McBride told Zitha he had been paring a report for the forthcom- conference of the Southern Afri- n Development Co-Ordinating ference (Sadec) to be held in puto on March 23.

"He said he was doing the investi- tion on his own," Zitha said.

Zitha was "very relaxed" as he left id in high spirits. He had been in viewed by a judge who would re- se his findings soon.

McBride was arrested in a dra- tic police sting operation on nday. His alleged accomplice, bo- s cop Vusi Mbatha, travelled in a i while McBride drove his Nissan 4. The two went to the home of no- ious drug runner Alex Mambo.

McBride remained in the car hile Mbatha went up to the door d knocked. The police opened the door and arrested him.

When the police went for McBride, he drove off to the South African embassy where he asked to see a diplomat friend.

Security personnel told him the friend was on leave, and McBride sped off to the Ressano Garcia border, where he found the police waiting to arrest him. They spent a night in a local hotel, and drove back to Maputo the following day.

According to the police, they found R55 000 in US dollars in his possession.

Police last week also found a large consignment of illegal arms and drugs in a docked ship destined for KwaZulu/Natal. The haul has not been linked to the McBride arrest.

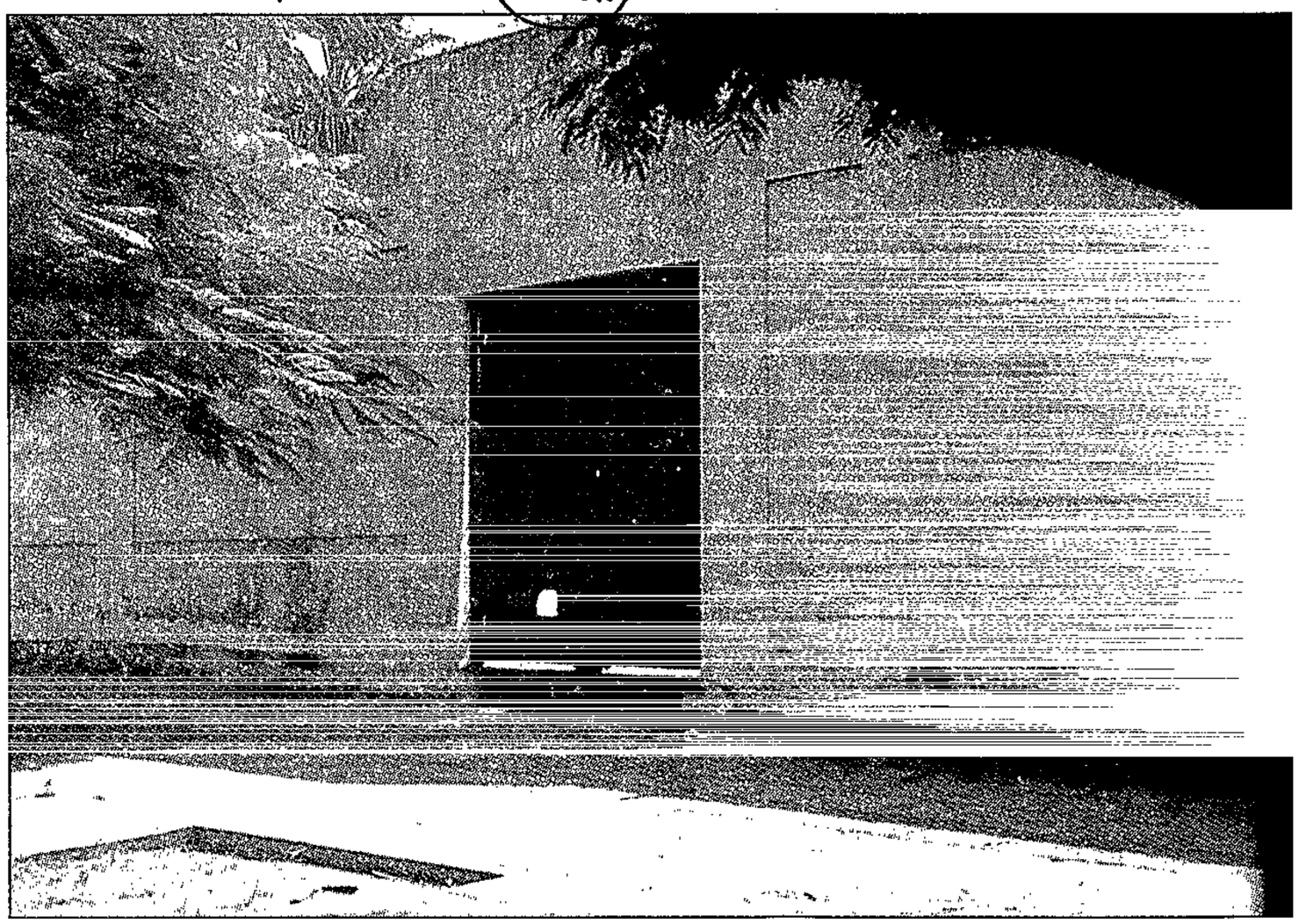
South African and ANC officials have distanced themselves from McBride, who will need more than a miracle to resuscitate his political career - even if he is not convicted. Throughout the saga, the South Africans made it clear that the former guerilla, now a deputy director in the Foreign Affairs Department, is on his own.

ANC legal advisor and Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa went as far as urging the Mozambican and South African law to "take its course."

National Intelligence chief, Joe Nhlanhla dispelled whatever hope there might have been of a possible governmental intervention when he said McBride was never an intelligence operative.

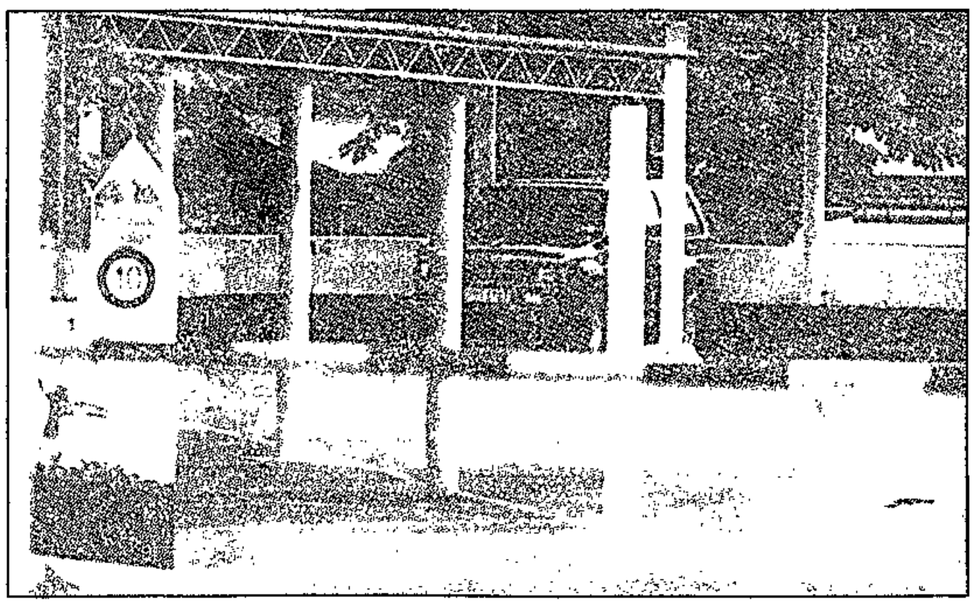
Opposition parties in South Africa seized the opportunity to wade into the ANC, calling for McBride's immediate suspension.

A conservative newspaper editorial said whatever the merits of the allegations, the arrest confirmed the newspaper's "held view that he is not diplomatic material."





HIGH DRAMA ... *South Africa's High Commissioner Mangisi Zitha sheds light on the issue at a press conference in Maputo on Friday.*



WHEELING AND DEALING ... *Robert McBride's 4X4 vehicle in a parking bay at the Mozambican ministry of the interior in Maputo, and above, the green doors of the Mashaba jail behind which Mcbride waits for his fate to be decided as the diplomatic wrangle plays itself out.* ■ **PICS: BEELD**

ny own

(304A) CP, 15/3/98

'Struggle hero' out on a limb in Mozambique

By CHARLES MOGALE

ROBERT McBRIDE must be the loneliest man in Mozambique this week.

After his arrest on Monday, he has been allowed only one visit – a late night Friday call by his wife, Paula, a family lawyer and South African High Commissioner to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha.

Earlier in the week, the South African government washed its hands of him and made it clear that he was on leave and on his own when he was arrested.

There was no governmental intervention, and not even an attempt to see him, until Friday night's visit which was apparently timed to give the press the slip.

In a surprise move, the High Commissioner's Consular Eben Jordan giving a radio interview was interrupted by a telephone call from the Department of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria instructing him not to talk to the press.

Radio 702's crime editor Yussaf Abramjee was ordered to switch off his tape recorder and asked to leave. This un-New South African move was a case of doing in Rome as Romans do.

Local police chiefs too have hardly been helpful.

On Thursday Beeld photographer, Lee Warren was held by the police for about 45 minutes, interrogated by several police chiefs, for taking a picture of McBride's impounded Nissan 4x4.

It was only after Abrajee's impassioned plea of ignorance of local laws that Warren was released.

For McBride, the future looks gloomy. After his December 1986 bombing of Magoo's Bar, he became a "struggle hero" while most white South Africans considered him a cold-blooded murderer.

McBride was convicted and sentenced to death, which was later commuted to life imprisonment. He was later released in a Nat government deal with the ANC on the release of political prisoners.

McBride has since apologised profusely for the bombing, saying he had targetted the bar because it was frequented by apartheid security force members.

He was elected to parliament on an ANC ticket, but later relinquished his seat for a more glamourous career in the Foreign Affairs Department.

As he rose in the ranks, he was not ruled out for a future career as a fully fledged diplomat – or even Minister of Foreign Affairs.

That was until he tried to play super detective in his spare time – when he should have been at home.



McBride was playing "super-sleuth" in Mozambique when he was arrested. Page 3☞

McBride: Mystery call to top cop

elligence agent said foreign affairs man wanted meeting with heist-probe chief

ST 15/3/98 (304A)

CRAIG DOONAN, PETER MALHERBE and CAROL PATON

A NATIONAL Intelligence agent told "supercop" Bushie Engelbrecht that Robert McBride wanted to meet him shortly before the foreign affairs official was arrested for alleged gunrunning in Mozambique this week.

The agent contacted Engelbrecht, who is investigating the multi-million-rand cash-in-transit heists, to say that McBride had information about Collin Chauke, a former Umkhonto we-Sizwe guerrilla who is an alleged member of the heist gang.

McBride's information is understood to have concerned Mozambican contacts who had previously been involved in the supply of weapons to self-defence units and



INSIDE CONTACT: Paula McBride says her husband, Robert, made a mistake probing gunrunning on his own Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

Mission mystifying

Engelbrecht would neither confirm nor deny this yesterday.

However, intelligence sources said Engelbrecht had tried twice in the past 10 days to meet McBride, but on both occasions the foreign affairs official did not turn up.

The arrest of McBride — who was sentenced to death for the Magoo's Bar bombing in Durban in 1986 but subsequently released in an amnesty deal — has sparked a political outcry and myriad rumours, most of which have been emphatically denied.

McBride told his wife, Paula, and the South African High Commissioner to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, that he was on a personal mission to investigate arms smuggling from Mozambique to South Africa when he was arrested this week.

They spent about 30 minutes with him in his small prison cell in Maputo on Friday evening.

Paula McBride, who returned to South Africa yesterday afternoon, explained that the man arrested with her husband, Vusi Mbatha, had given evidence about gunrunning to the Goldstone commission.

She said her husband had made an error in conducting an investigation into gunrunning on his own. He had done so because he had felt he could get the cooperation of people who were not prepared to speak to the police.

Earlier, Zitha said McBride had told him that he was not involved in gunrunning and had had no criminal intention when he visited Mozambique.

McBride, who Zitha said appeared relaxed and in good health, had denied he had been fleeing police when he was apprehended near the border.

"He said the visit was in his private capacity and that he was investigating arms smuggling by a convicted arms smuggler," Zitha said.

McBride had explained that he had met arms dealer Alexandra Mamba (for whom a warrant of arrest has been issued) to confirm that the illegal arms deals were continuing.

McBride told Zitha his investigation was in preparation for a Southern African Development Community meeting on cross-border crime to be held in Mozambique on March 23.

"He said he wanted to make an input into this meeting."

McBride said he was operating independently of the South African authorities but within a structure set up in South Africa. Zitha could not, however, recall the name of the structure.

He said McBride had explained his rushed visit to the South African high commission on Monday after allegedly being trapped by Mozambican police during the alleged arms deal.

"He said he went to the commission to look for his friend, Thando Nyawoza, but left a note when he discovered Nyawoza was on leave."

Zitha said McBride had apologised for bringing South Africa into disrepute and for the problems his arrest had caused.

The prisoner had told him he had been visited on Friday by a Mozambican judge who had interviewed him and taken statements.

The judge has 40 days to investigate McBride's involvement in the alleged illegal purchase of weapons before a decision is made on whether to lay charges against him.

McBride's denials and version of events contrast strongly with claims by Mozambican police, who are investigating his alleged involvement in a bid to buy a consignment of AK47 rifles and other weapons. They say he was arrested after fleeing from the scene of the alleged sale.

Joseph Ngobeni, spokesman for Police Commissioner George Fivaz, said yesterday that he was not aware of the attempts to arrange a meeting between Engelbrecht and McBride.

Engelbrecht's boss, Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz, was sent to Maputo this week and Ngobeni said he was on a general investigation. However, intelligence sources said Britz's visit was connected to McBride's arrest.

Britz was quoted in Rapport newspaper as saying that there was little doubt that McBride was a gunrunner.

He said he had seen the information the Mozambican police had on McBride. "In a South African court that would be more than enough to put a criminal behind bars for a long time," he said.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Aziz Pahad yesterday requested a meeting with the Mozambican government to discuss the McBride issue.

● How they caught McBride: Page 4

There has been a different story for each day of the week since Robert McBride's arrest by Mozambican police

■ FIRST it was said that McBride was buying arms for his good friend, 1996 Nobel peace prize laureate José Ramos Horta, who has been fighting for East Timor's independence from Indonesia.

A representative of the East Timorese resistance movement Fretilin denied reports that McBride may have been buying arms for the movement.

■ THEN it was said he was doing a little moonlighting for the National Intelligence Agency.

But Helmut Schlenter, a spokesman for Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla, said yesterday: "The minister is saying that McBride never was, and is not, working for either of the two intelligence services. We put our heads on the block on this."

An intelligence source said: "If McBride was working for an agency, the ministry would have left the door open in some way and not made such a categorical denial.

"In an operation involving such a highly placed official, the minister would have to be informed personally."

■ WAS McBride on a Foreign Affairs mission?

Foreign Affairs official Abdul Minty said yesterday McBride took leave from March 9 to 11, and was in Mozambique on a "private visit".

When the high commissioner visited him in prison on Tuesday, Minty said, McBride told him he was "carrying out investigations of his own accord".

A Foreign Affairs source said McBride had committed no breach by using his diplomatic passport to get into Mozambique.

■ YESTERDAY there was speculation McBride may be linked to factions in the IRA. But a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said he had heard nothing about the allegation that McBride may have been supplying arms to the IRA.

"I cannot comment on speculation — and, at the moment, this is no more than speculation. I know nothing about it," he said.

McBride accompanied Gerry Adams, the head of the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, on a visit to the grave of South African Communist Party head Joe Slovo while the Irish delegation was in South Africa in 1995.

ST
15/3/98
304A

Damage control by Government

Big hope for McBride's release

Sowetan 16/3/98

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

A MAJOR damage control exercise by the South African Government is afoot over the international fallout caused by the arrest of senior Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique last week.

A high-powered delegation consisting of Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Aziz Pahad is due in Maputo within days as Government moves to resolve the issue go into top gear.

The visit follows a lightning visit by Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Mr Abdul Minty on Wednesday during which Mozambicans were assured of South Africa's support for their investigation.

McBride's wife Paula told *Sowetan* yesterday after seeing her husband in the Maputo jail on Saturday that she had also pledged her cooperation with the Mozambican authorities "because I know what he was doing".

She was full of praise for the way in which the Mozambicans were treating her husband and said South African prison officials could learn from them.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alfred Nzo, who last week expressed shock at McBride's arrest, is expected to address Parliament this Wednesday to stem the tide of opposition parties' criticism of Government.

He will explain to the nation what one of their top officials was doing near known gunrunners in a neighbouring country.



Robert McBride

McBride was arrested by Mozambican police on Monday afternoon on suspicion of involvement in gunrunning. He has not been charged and may remain in jail for at least 49 days in terms of Mozambican laws.

Last hope

Mufamadi and Aziz's visit is seen as particularly significant as McBride is supposed to have been investigating gunrunning from Mozambique to South Africa. Many see the visit as the last hope for McBride to get out of jail.

Mufamadi's spokesman Mr Andre Martin said no date had been set for the meeting in Maputo.

"We are waiting for the Mozambicans to come back to us with a date and time," he said.

However, confusion still reigns over what McBride was doing in Mozambique and for whom.

His wife maintains that he was making investigations into gunrunning in the region in preparation for a conference on gun smuggling and money laundering within the Southern African region.

He did the investigation "alone but with the knowledge of a South African structure". However, Paula refuses to say which structure this was.

There are at least two possibilities that have been bandied about:

- That as a member of the National Intelligence Coordinating Committee representing foreign affairs, McBride may have come across information about gunrunning which he decided to follow up on his own without sanction from any official body.

But if this was for the Southern African Development Community (SADC) conference as Paula says, it would suggest that this was official. It would also suggest that his ministry would have known about the investigation as he would need their sanction to attend and provide a report to a conference dealing with issues not related to his Asia desk; and

- As a member of the ANC security department, he may have been sent by the organisation to investigate the gun smuggling routes following the links drawn between the organisation and the heist of large sums of money by armed gangs.

The arrest made it impossible for the ANC to admit the links, but the organisation will now use Government structures to extricate their man out of the logjam, hence Mufamadi's visit.

The fact that McBride has also said he was acting on his own is seen as indicative of the impossibility of mentioning the link.

Government silence on McBride draws fire from the media

(304A) Star 17/3/98

By Gasant Abarder

The Government's handling of the story of Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride's arrest in Mozambique came under fire from editors and journalists at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Various speakers at the Meet the Media conference, aimed at improving the relationship between the media, the Government and the public relations industry, said the state's failure to comment on the case had spawned many rumours and fuelled speculation.

The conference moderator, radio current affairs anchor Tim Modise, said he was still waiting for government comment on the McBride arrest in Mozambique on allegations of gun-running, seven days after the incident.

The comment, which Modise initially made in jest, sparked a flow of sentiments from the media delegates, who all used this as an example of how the Government should not conduct its communications.

Sunday Independent editor John Battersby said the more information was withheld, the more speculation would arise.

"After the arrest, McBride was linked to cash-in-transit heists and East Timor. The journalists are here to smell a rat and tell the truth. It reflects badly on democracy when information is withheld," Battersby said.

Delivering the keynote address, the state's new head of communications, Joel Netshitenzhe, warned of the dangers of ownership of media institutions influencing reports.

Netshitenzhe, who recently took up a post as head of the Government's Communication and Information Systems, said there was a need for greater diversity of media ownership.

"Diversity in a business of ideas such as the media should enrich that business. When appointments become an old boys' club there is the danger of ownership influencing content. Being a watchdog and serving the public means protecting openness."

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SA pledges to help Mozambican authorities with McBride case

(3044A) BD 17/3/98

Farouk Chothia

DURBAN — Government yesterday pledged to provide Mozambican authorities with whatever assistance they required in their gunrunning investigations of foreign affairs department official Robert McBride, saying it was "just as interested" in the outcome of the case.

A top-level delegation of Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, SA's ambassador to the Organisation of African Unity Welile Nhlapo, SA Secret Service director-general Billy Masetla and SA Police Service (SAPS) commissioner George Fivaz spelt out SA's position at a meeting in Maputo with Mozambican government representatives yesterday.

A statement issued after the meeting said SA confirmed the two governments were of "one mind" on the need for a thorough investigation into circumstances surrounding McBride's arrest. SA would "willingly give" Mozambican authorities whatever assistance they needed, but would not interfere.

McBride's wife Paula said there was nothing "startling" in the statement and she was not "particularly worried". Mozambican law had to take its course, and both she and McBride had pledged their co-operation.

She reiterated that McBride was not involved in gunrunning, but had been investigating "illegal gunrunning in the region as a whole".

McBride was arrested last Monday in the border town of Ressano Garcia on suspicion of gunrunning.

His claim that he was innocent differed from statements by SAPS special investigative unit head commissioner Suiker Britz, who flew to Mozambique after the arrest. Britz said witnesses and the "evidence shows me that he was not investigating gunrunning but that he was probably involved in an arms deal".

SAPS special investigative team spokesman Martin Aylward said yesterday Director Bushie Engelbrecht had planned to meet McBride last Monday but had not because of McBride's arrest. Engelbrecht did not know what McBride, who set up the meeting, wanted to discuss. McBride had failed to attend an earlier meeting.

Engelbrecht had been involved in investigating two major cases of political violence in KwaZulu-Natal, and was probing the much-publicised armed heists in Gauteng.

Sapa reports that Sinn Fein negotiator Gerry Kelly denied allegations that McBride was running guns for the Irish Republican Army.

Comment: Page 15

SA must take a closer look at Germany's experience

President Roman Herzog's visit to SA last week was designed to strengthen ties. Antoinette Handley looks at relations between the two countries

BD 17/3/98 (304A)

LAST week German President Roman Herzog concluded his five-day visit to SA. Leading the most senior German delegation to SA since the launch of the new democracy, his visit has been interpreted as an affirmation of the value placed by Germany on its association with SA. For South Africans, the significance of the visit may lie not only in the opportunity to build ever closer ties with the state at the heart of Europe, but also in the chance to learn from Germany about the economic and political changes which that country is facing.

Politically, it is clear that they have much in common. Both have gone through difficult but internationally applauded political transitions: SA in its moves toward democracy and Germany in dealing with the euphoria and harsh realities of reunification.

Both countries are dominant role players in their respective neighbourhoods, at times distrusted and envied by their neighbours, but also called upon to play a leadership role. Both have in the past been instrumental in the military destabilisation of their regions and have had to work hard to regain the confidence of their neighbours — a task which in both cases remains far from complete. In a similar way to which the Southern African Development Community (SADC), designed originally to reduce the dependency of frontline states on SA, was refashioned precisely in order to incorporate SA, the process of regional integration in Europe after the Second World War was viewed as the means to fashion a European Germany, rather than risk another war and the prospect of a German Europe.

Despite their vastly different developmental status, both have experienced growing levels of unemployment and sluggish growth in recent years, attributed by some to their rigid labour markets. Critiques of the German economy will sound familiar to South Africans. A recent press report described the German system as consisting of "some of the world's most expensive workers, longest holidays, highest taxes and thickest regulatory jungle". There are calls to reform the collective, sector-wide wage bargaining system.

At 12,6%, the German rate of unemployment may not seem too terrible to South Africans, inured by loose talk of statistics closer to 30% or 40% at home, but when one considers that this is the highest recorded unemployment in Germany since the Second World War, the political significance of the problem becomes clearer. Prospects are particularly bad in the east where almost one in five workers is unemployed. German unemployment has however been blamed precisely on the attempt to bring about parity between the halves of this formerly divided country. Analysts criticise the wholesale adoption of western labour practices and regulation in the east, where high wages are not rewarded with anything like the same levels of productivity.

As with SA's own redistribution and development programme, the financial demands posed by German reunification have been considerable as billions of Deutschmark have been employed to try to even out conditions between Germany's halves. Subsidies from the west to the east will no doubt be necessary for years to come. Both countries are discovering that it may take decades to redress the effects of disastrous social engineering.

As SA attempts to cut government spending, the Germans too are battling to meet the 3% public deficit limit imposed by European monetary union preconditions. The country's ability to provide extensive social services to its citizens is threatened by necessary cuts in spending, alongside the demographics of an ageing population and rising unemployment.

The importance of Germany to SA goes beyond common experiences however. Politically, SA has pledged its support to Germany in that country's bid for a seat on the UN Security Council. As a leading state in the European Union, Germany will continue to be of undeniable political import to SA for decades to come. SA's importance to Germany is less obvious but no doubt lies in the potent symbolism of its transition and the person of the president, the hopes that the country will serve to regenerate southern Africa and the country's leading role within the SADC, the Organisation of African Unity, and the Non Aligned Movement. German aid levels to SA are substantial and were recently increased by R160m, in addition to their contributions to EU aid.

Economically, Germany continues to do battle with the UK for the position of SA's most pre-eminent trading partner, and ranks fifth in terms of foreign investment into the country. We remain Germany's largest trading partner in Africa — but that is not saying much, as SA is now the 36th largest exporter to Germany. By contrast, Germany consistently ranks among the top three of SA's trading partners. SA's trade deficit with Germany is of concern to SA despite early indications that German exports to SA are levelling off while SA exports to Germany continue to increase. Moreover, it is disturbing that SA exports continue to be dominated by semi- and unprocessed goods.

German companies have been relatively slow to open in SA. What German presence there is is mostly made up of large companies. Crime has persistently been cited as an explanation for this. A survey by the SA-German Chamber of Commerce last year indicated that 15% of German companies in SA froze significant new investment in the country, citing crime.

There are initiatives under way to strengthen relations: the Southern African Initiative of German Business was launched during President Nelson Mandela's visit to Germany in 1996 to promote German investment in the region. Also, the SA/German Binational Commission was launched in October — significantly, the only commission which Germany has with any country. However, on their own, such measures will be insufficient to restore investor confidence.

The objectives of Herzog's visit were designed to build on already warm and close relations. SA would do well to pay some attention to the signals being sent, not only by abandoning its traditional diplomatic bias towards the English-speaking world, but also by paying close attention to the political and economic lessons being learned in Germany as it moves towards European monetary union.



HERZOG

☐ *Handley is the director of studies at the SA Institute of International Affairs. She writes in her personal capacity.*

Getting to know Nam

ET 17/3/98
(304A)

ANDRE KOOPMAN

AS South Africa prepares to take the chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (Nam) in September, the parliamentary foreign affairs portfolio committee is to run a workshop on the international movement this week.

South Africa will be hosting a conference of Nam in Durban over August/September this year and is the leader-designate of the organisation. South Africa will fill the position for the next three years.

Nam was formed after World War II when developing countries in Africa, Asia and South America refused to align themselves with Eastern or Western power blocs.

Chairperson of the portfolio committee Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim said yesterday that the workshop on Thursday and Friday would be open to the public.

It will be held in room 265 at Parliament.

Ebrahim said the workshop had been convened because the committee needed to be informed on Nam — its history and origin — and the role it played in the period of struggle against colonialism.

"We also need to look at Nam's role in the post cold-war era," Ebrahim said.

A ministerial conference of Nam held in New Delhi last year identified the following issues of immediate importance:

- The Reform of the United Nations, particularly the security council;
- Nuclear and conventional weapon disarmament;
- Economic and social development, with particular reference to poverty eradication and environmental conservation, and
- Enhancing the strength and role of Nam.

Suspension for McBride

Sowetan 18/3/98 (304A)

By Themba Molefe

SENIOR foreign affairs official Robert McBride was suspended on full pay from his public service post yesterday, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said.

McBride was arrested on allegations of gun running in Mozambique last week.

The suspension effectively means that the fate of McBride, a foreign affairs director in charge of the Asian desk, is in the hands of the Mozambican authorities.

More ominously, McBride, who spends his nineth day behind bars in Mozambique today, may have to stay in jail for the entire statutory 49 days before being charged.

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

The Foreign Affairs statement came after President Nelson Mandela was briefed at his Johannesburg home by Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi yesterday.

Mufamadi headed a delegation to Maputo to discuss the circumstances of McBride's arrest with Mozambican authorities on Monday.

The statement said: "Due to the gravity of the allegations against Mr McBride and consistent with public service procedures and the Labour Relations Act, a communication was conveyed to Mr McBride informing him of the intention to suspend him from duty in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"Mr McBride has since responded saying he understood why this procedure needed to be followed, given the serious nature of the allegations against him, and he regretted the embarrassment caused to the South African Government.

"It should be emphasised that, apart from the departmental investigation, which is continuing, a separate criminal investigation is being conducted by the Mozambican authorities whose sovereignty should be respected.

Cross-border crime

"As was stated by Mufamadi, who was accompanied by South Africa's ambassador to the Organisation of African Unity Mr Welile Nhlapo during their visit to Maputo yesterday, the South African Government recognises that the due process of law in Mozambique must take its course.

"Naturally the South African Government will provide assistance in the investigation if so required within the framework of the bilateral agreements between the two countries to combat cross-border crime."

Presidential spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana told *Sowetan* yesterday that the Mozambican authorities had begun investigations into the matter but would not indicate the duration the investigation might take.

And while the Government has confirmed it will not interfere in the due processes of Mozambican law, unconfirmed reports say South African authorities are trying to secure a deal that will have McBride either immediately charged or released.

Mankahlana also emphatically denied reports that Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Aziz Pahad was to travel to Maputo to secure the deal. This has also been refuted by Pahad himself.

"These reports are not true. We are waiting for the Mozambican authorities to finish their investigation," said Mankahlana.

Sapa reports that Mankahlana also rejected perceptions of double standards in the way South Africa was reacting to McBride's arrest, as opposed to the arrests in January of five South Africans in Angola on suspicion of smuggling mining supplies to Unita in contravention of a United Nations arms embargo.

A relative of one of the men was quoted in a Johannesburg newspaper as saying: "What has really hurt is the fuss made about Robert Mcbride's arrest in Mozambique. A bunch of ministers, policemen and top diplomats have intervened, but the South Africans in Angola are just left to rot."

Mankahlana said that although the two cases were completely different, the Government had also investigated the circumstances surrounding the arrest of the five South Africans in January.

The man whom nobody sent

(304A) Sowetan 18/3/98

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

ROBERT McBride is no stranger to controversy. After joining Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the then banned African National Congress (ANC), he committed an act for which white South Africa will not forgive him.

He placed a car bomb outside a Durban bar frequented by the police – but, unfortunately for him, only civilians were killed. He was sentenced to death, which was later commuted to life imprisonment and freed after the ANC was unbanned.

But he has never known peace because the media have kept on harping on his bombing past, dogging all his efforts at leading a normal life.

The same media and white community that heaped praises on President Nelson Mandela for forgiving his jailers and oppressors, could not find room to understand McBride.

When he joined the peace desk in Gauteng, he was ridiculed as a bomber playing peacemaker.

When he became a member of the Gauteng Legislature, his membership of a lawmaking institution brought a fresh spate of reminders of his past activities.

But when he became a trainee diplomat at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (DFA), the condemnation reached a crescendo.

This led him and his wife Paula to fight back, saying they were targets of a white campaign – from which other MK operatives were excluded – because his bomb had killed whites.

And so McBride, the son of a KwaZulu-Natal couple that had been at the centre of the struggle in their own right, has lived in a fishbowl ever since. His every move is under scrutiny by a white media bent on reminding him of his past and, if possible, bringing him down. With that type of background many would have thought he would bear this in mind in his activities.

But not McBride, who was described by his wife as a "hands-on man" and very "passionate and committed" to the organisation he loves, the ANC.

It seems to have been this overzealous commitment, and a seemingly low regard for Mozambique's police and security structures, that saw him drive his 4x4 to Maputo about 10 days ago looking for gunrunners.

He apparently parked his very conspicuous vehicle in a city of moving scraps outside the house of a known gun smuggler in Maputo, and sent former gunrunner Vusi Madida into the house to look for guns.

But the Mozambican police, to their credit, had picked up the scent and were waiting. Madida was arrested and the story becomes difficult from there. One version is that McBride was approached and drove off to the South African high commission, where he looked for a friend who was not there. He then headed for the border, where police were waiting for him.

They found US$11 000 (about R50 000) in cash in his possession, arrested him and thereby unleashed another storm over McBride's head.

This also started a flurry of activity by senior Government officials, which saw at least three delegations – from the Foreign Affairs, Police and Intelligence Ministries – knocking at the door of the Mozambican interior ministry, ostensibly in an effort to understand what was going on.

But is that all there is to these visits? McBride, a member of the ANC security department under Mpumalanga Premier Mathews Phosa, is also the DFA representative in the national intelligence coordinating committee. Many see his position in the DFA as nothing more than a paypoint and that he is, for all intents and purposes, an intelligence operative.



Robert McBride ... living in a fish bowl ever since his release from jail in 1993.

McBride said through his wife that he was involved in a gun smuggling investigation on his own in order to prepare a report for a conference in two weeks – in Maputo, of all places – to discuss smuggling and money laundering in Southern Africa.

Refuses to name

Paula said while her husband had been acting on his own for a report that would be used for official purposes, he was working with a "South African structure" which he refuses to name.

Besides the wild stories being circulated about McBride supplying arms to East Timor guerrillas, the Irish Republican Army and goodness knows what other grouping, various questions have arisen:

● Soon after his arrest Phosa was roped in by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office, apparently because he was close to the scene. However, the closest government official was at the high commission in Maputo, which is at present the organ handling the matter.

Phosa's involvement raises the possibility this may have been an ANC mission to investigate how their own people, now involved in high-profile crimes such as cash-in-transit heists, were being armed and supported from neighbouring countries.

The theory is that once the ANC realised how bad the situation was, they pulled back Phosa and pushed the DFA forward to handle the matter.

Hence the almost daily and Government-funded trouping of senior delegations to Maputo to understand what is officially the arrest of an ordinary South African caught in unauthorised and illegal activity on foreign soil.

For the record, every South African arrested on foreign soil is entitled to consular assistance but the level of seniority, intensity and frequency of the attention accorded McBride has no precedent.

● The second theory is that as a member of the intelligence community he was sent on an investigative mission but handled it badly and flouted all the spying rules.

So because officially and at least publicly the Government cannot admit its involvement, everyone has denied any knowledge of why McBride was in Maputo.

This has however not stopped the Government from throwing in all kinds of resources to talk to the Mozambicans and find a speedy resolution to a very embarrassing episode in a friendly and neighbouring country.

● The third possibility is that it could have been both of these. But that he was not acting on his own is undisputed, as he would need a well-resourced source to acquire the dollars found in his possession.

The assistant police commissioner in charge of gun smuggling, Suiker Brits, said the evidence he was shown by Mozambican police against McBride would have been enough to send him to jail in South Africa.

He had accompanied Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi, Police Commissioner George Fivaz, secret service chief Billy Masetla and a senior DFA official to Mozambique.

They had been on a whirlwind visit for a private meeting with McBride. All these efforts for a man not sent by anyone?

Budget cuts maul Foreign Affairs Department

(304A) Star 98/3/98

Cape Town – Severe cuts in its budget over the next three years would make it impossible for the Department of Foreign Affairs to discharge its responsibilities, it was said yesterday.

Ebrahim Ebrahim, chairman of the parliamentary foreign affairs portfolio committee, said that if the steep cuts mapped out in the medium-term expenditure framework were realised, the department would not be able to function with the money allocated to it.

The budget cuts would result in the closure of at least seven foreign missions and rationalisation of staff at others. The department would also have to place a moratorium on staff recruitment.

It was learnt exclusively yesterday that the budget cuts mean that the following missions will have to be closed: Bratislava in the Slovak republic, Bucharest in Romania and Sofia in Bulgaria.

Ebrahim said the committee had been given the assurance that no missions in Africa would be closed, "but our feeling is that some missions will have to close".

He said it was "unfortunate" that the budget cuts had come at a time when South Africa had been asked to play an important role in African and international affairs.

The department's budget has been slashed by more than R105-million this year.

The projected budget allocated in the medium term expenditure framework is as follows: R1,211-billion in 1998/9, R1,197-billion in 1999/2000 and R1,154-billion in 2000/1. – Parliamentary Bureau

Foreign affairs on the ropes

(304A) ET 18/3/98

ANDRE KOOPMAN

VICIOUS cuts in the foreign affairs budget over the next three years will make it "impossible" for the department to discharge its responsibilities.

Chairperson of the parliamentary foreign affairs portfolio committee Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim said yesterday the department had "been cut to the bone" in this year's Budget and "may be able to survive" with a "lot of rationalisation".

In a dire warning on the future of the department, he said if the steep cuts mapped out for the next three years were realised, the department would not be able to function.

The following missions will already have to be closed under the new Budget: Bratislava in the Slovak Republic, Bucharest in Romania and Sofia in Bulgaria. At least another four missions are to be closed shortly.

The department's budget had been cut by about 10% this year, but the effect of this would be more in the order of 15% if the foreign exchange factor was considered, Ebrahim said.

In 1999 the budget cut would be in the region of 14%, without taking foreign exchange into account.

In the year 2000, the budget would decrease by nearly 18%, he said.

These cuts would result in the closure of at least seven more foreign missions and the rationalisation of staff at others. The department would also have to place a moratorium on recruitment.

Ebrahim said he was concerned that the moratorium would mean that people who were moved from closed missions abroad would have to be given other posts in the department and that this would affect the transformation of the department.

He said it was "unfortunate" that the budget cuts came at a time when "South Africa has been asked to play an important role in African and international affairs".

" We are going to host the Non-Aligned Movement this year and chair it for the next three years.

"We are chairing the Southern African Development Community and will be hosting the Commonwealth conference in 1999."

South Africa has also assumed the chair of the United Nations Human Rights Commission this week.

Another far-reaching effect of the budget cuts is that missions and officials needed urgently in several countries, and which would reduce costs in the long run, will have to be shelved.

"Only the chancery (mission) in Berlin, which has been prioritised, will be funded," Ebrahim said.

Money was not available to build official residences and diplomatic compounds in New Delhi and Moscow or to upgrade the mission in Washington, he said.

A project to buy mission buildings in Kinshasa had also been put on hold.

President Nelson Mandela had recommended that an official residence be purchased in Geneva, but this had also had to be shelved.

Ebrahim said the committee had been given the assurance that no missions in Africa would be closed "but our feeling is that some missions will have to close".

The foreign affairs budget has been slashed by more than R105 million this year.

The projected budget allocated to foreign affairs in the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework is as follows: R1,211bn in 1998/99, R1,197bn in 1999/2000 and R1,154bn in 2000/2001.

[redacted]

tion under wraps."

THE CLINTON VISIT AND US-SA RELATIONS

Trade ties will shade foreign policy issues

CT(BR)18/3/98 (3044A)

RICH MKHONDO

At the end of their forthcoming talks, Presidents Mandela and Clinton will declare that relations between South Africa and the US are very good, emphasising that while they tried to look for problems they could not find any.

For the two leaders, a little personalisation has gone a long way. They seem to like each other, with previous meetings peppered with words of respect and friendship. But when they have contacted each other by phone, there have been potential irritants just below the surface.

The two governments are pursuing diametrically opposed foreign policies, with Mandela hugging leaders Clinton regards as sponsors of international terrorism or violators of human rights.

Foreign policy conflicts include Mandela's attack on the US for having many representatives on UN weapons teams in Iraq, saying Washington should not interfere in regional conflicts.

There are also trade disputes. Until recently, Washington refused to approve the sale of jet fighters to South Africa until the US embargo on arms deals with Pretoria was lifted. The embargo, prompted by a smuggling case dating from the apartheid era, was lifted last month, but the sale of the jets has yet to be revived.

Then there is the anti-dumping dispute between South African steel companies and the US government, threatening the closure of two plants and a loss of 7 500 jobs.

There is also the request by the US drug industry asking the Clinton administration to declare South Africa a major violator of intellectual property rights, unless the South African government agreed to amend the Medicines Control Act.

The US industry saw the act as giving Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma carte blanche to void its patent rights in South Africa. The US pharmaceutical industry claims the new act is a violation of South African obligations under World Trade Organisation agreements.

Mandela has castigated the US's foreign policies in public, but Clinton has never done so, leaving criticism of South African policies to his senior government officials.

As for trade and other related disputes, Mandela and Clinton have never dramatised their differences in public, although they have spoken about them privately. These issues have best been handled by private diplomacy or in committees in the US-South Africa binational commission, the centrepiece of the two nations' trade and development programmes.

In essence, disagreements between the two countries over these issues and others before them indicate their relationship has matured enough not to unravel if South Africa sets out its own foreign policy priorities.

So of Africa's 53 countries, South Africa is currently the only one that can call the US's bluff.

The two countries are too entangled politically and economically for either to want to rock the boat.

South Africa's transition from a pariah state into a democracy is the symbol of what Washington says it wants for the rest of Africa and throughout the world, democratic and capitalist.

The Clinton administration has been overly enthusiastic about South Africa's handling of the transition from apartheid to democracy and macroeconomic policies. Clinton has often drawn parallels between US and South African attempts to end racial segregation.

Also, both Washington and Pretoria are using the clout of their relationship to mediate in other troubled African countries.

But the mutual need and dependence is most obvious economically. The US is South Africa's biggest trading partner, with bilateral trade worth around $5 billion a year, South African imports from the US accounting for $3 billion.

With Nigeria, Africa's most populous and oil-rich country, in political and economic turmoil, South Africa has emerged as Washington's largest market in Africa since 1994. South Africa accounts for 49 percent of all US exports to sub-Saharan Africa and is the US's biggest trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa.

The US has also outstripped European nations as South Africa's biggest trading partner. Pretoria hopes to negotiate further access to US markets, particularly for agricultural products.

Although in total trade South Africa remains dwarfed by Nigeria, mainly because of oil, the composition of US-South African trade is more balanced. Machinery, primary produce and technical expertise flow between the countries, making neither unilaterally dependent.

The mutual dependence is even more evident in investment. South Africa is the only African country the US commerce department has designated as one of the top 10 emerging markets. This is a signal to US investors that money is to be made in South Africa, although US companies have been hesitant to make major investments until reassured on security, labour relations and finance.

With billions of dollars in trade and reputations at stake, Mandela and Clinton are not going to allow their foreign policy differences to interfere with their trade and development programmes. — Independent Foreign Service, Washington, DC

Strong evidence against McBride

CT 18/3/98

304A

RYAN CRESSWELL AND GASANT ABARDER

TOP police Special Investigation Unit Commissioner Suiker Britz and his team of four detectives are not discounting even the wildest claims following the arrest of Department of Foreign Affairs official Mr Robert McBride in Mozambique.

McBride was arrested last Monday by Mozambican police in the small town of Ressano Garcia near the Lebombo border post between South Africa and Mozambique with a man identified as Vusi Mbatha for allegedly buying illegal arms.

Britz said yesterday that allegations against McBride included suggestions that he was procuring guns for an attempt to overthrow the government, running guns for the Irish Republican Army, obtaining weapons for the East Timorese and smuggling weapons for cash-in-transit heists.

"There has been a lot of information and many different stories. We are sifting through all of them," Britz said.

McBride was suspended yesterday because of the seriousness of the allegations he faced, the department announced.

"Any action which does serious harm to the image of the department is grounds for a suspension," spokesperson Mr Magiel van Niekerk said.

Britz felt there was strong evidence against McBride.

"I have not spoken to McBride," he said, "but I am on record as saying that if I had the same evidence they have in Mozambique, he would be convicted for arms smuggling in this country."

Van Niekerk said McBride had applied for leave from March 9 to 11 and that his use of a diplomatic passport while on leave did not breach regulations.

Foreign affairs would continue an independent investigation, he said.

Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party spokesperson on foreign affairs, said the fact that the government had suspended McBride indicated that the situation was serious.

Eglin said that the DP was worried the incident could "cast a pall over the integrity" of the department. "This type of thing has a very negative effect on the reputation and integrity of a foreign service," he said.

S Africa scales down foreign missions

(Sowetan)

SOUTH Africa will close down its embassies in Romania, Bulgaria and the Republic of Slovenia in the face of severe financial constraints.

Department of Foreign Affairs officials told Parliament in Cape Town on Tuesday.

These countries had been informed of South Africa's decision to close the embassies by June 30 at the latest, the Foreign Department's chief director for Europe, Mr Gerrit Grobler, told the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Responsibility for South Africa's diplomatic relations with those countries would now cede to SA's embassies in nearby Greece, Austria and the Czech Republic.

Grobler said the South African Embassy in Brussels and its mission to the European Union in that city would also be amalgamated this year.

He said the department planned to reduce embassy personnel by 10 percent and the majority of the foreign missions targeted would hire locally.

An eight percent cut in the Foreign Affairs Department's budget for the 1998-99 financial year had slashed its allocation to R1, 183 billion rand, leaving a shortfall of required spending of R140 million, said the director of finance, Mr Tom Moir.

Foreign affairs would be able to survive the coming year but would be in dire straits in the following two years, Moir said.

According to budget details released last week, the department will face a budget cut of 12 percent in 1999-2000 and 16,6 percent in 2000-01.

The department was also looking at close missions in Africa and would scale down its missions in Nordic countries, Grobler indicated.

South Africa last year closed down its embassy in Bahrain to open an embassy in Kuwait. — *Sapa-AFP.*

Govt distances itself from McBride's actions

Star 19/3/98 (304A)

Mufamadi says suspended Department of Foreign Affairs official was in Mozambique in his private capacity

By Jovial Rantao
Cape Town

The Government, which yesterday came under intense pressure in Parliament to divulge more information on Robert McBride's arrest in Mozambique, has officially distanced itself from the actions of the suspended Department of Foreign Affairs official.

The Government also distanced itself from statements made by an official who made "judgmental and controversial" statements on circumstances surrounding McBride's arrest.

Although he did not name any official, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi is believed to have been referring to Superintendent Suiker Britz.

In a special address to the National Assembly on behalf of the Government, Mufamadi also accused other, unnamed officials, who have spread information that McBride might have been involved in a plot to overthrow the Government, of being part of elements in state security bent on undermining peace and stability.

Mufamadi said the Government would do nothing to feed the current ill-intentioned frenzy and offensive.

He emphasised that McBride, who is being held in a Mozambican jail while being investigated on gun-running charges, was in Mozambique in his private capacity.

He restated South Africa's readiness to co-operate with the Mozambican authorities to facilitate their investigations.

To criticism that the Government was economical on information about McBride, Mufamadi said: "The Government will only make further statements on the McBride affair to the extent that new information becomes available, consistent with the objective of ensuring that such statements do not compromise the investigations being carried out by the Mozambican authorities.

"In this regard, we firmly reject the insinuations that the Government has not made available information which it has and which it could legitimately release to the general public. Such information has been made public.

"Indeed, we believe Mr McBride has not been charged because the relevant Mozambican authorities are still investigating the various matters relating to his presence and activities in that country," Mufamadi said.

Opposition parties were not content with the Government's statement. The National Party and IFP said that despite Mufamadi's statement, many questions were left unanswered.

Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party said the Government had not said whether McBride was "a loose cannon" or was acting on behalf of a government structure.

Mike Muendane of the PAC said the Government should follow the suspension of McBride by suspending all officials suspected of corrupt behaviour. "Perhaps we should start with Jessie Duarte (Gauteng MEC for Safety and Security)," he said.

The African Christian Democratic Party called for a multiparty parliamentary committee to investigate McBride's arrest.

Britz last night shrugged off criticism of his statements regarding McBride and allegations of gunrunning.

"I still stand by my statement that the evidence would be strong enough in South Africa to get a conviction. That is our job, we get convictions," he said.

...e have the plan, now we have got to deliver," said public works deputy director-general Sivi Gounden, ad- documents as well as a standard contract, he said.

...ld be standardised per-

...lic works department, the National Exhibition Centre, First National Bank (FNB) and Shareworld were holding

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A BDFM publication

Govt accused of secretly selling off oil reserves at cut-price rates

(#83) (304A) BD 19/3/98

Linda Ensor

CAPE TOWN — Government was accused by the United Democratic Movement (UDM) yesterday of secretly selling 25-million barrels of strategic oil reserves at well below market prices.

This follows the disclosure by Minerals and Energy Minister Penuell Maduna at a news conference yesterday that sales in January had realised far less than the expected R2bn.

He said that after deducting an undisclosed sum to be be retained by the Central Energy Fund for cash-flow purposes, R800m would accrue to the state in the 1998/99 fiscal year. "We did not reach our earlier estimate of R2bn — it was below this," Maduna said.

Finance director-general Maria Ramos said the R800m had not been included as part of ordinary revenue in last week's budget and would be used to reduce the borrowing requirement of R39,5bn to R38,7bn. Finance Minister Trevor Manuel said: "We need to put to bed any notion that this was done quietly to balance the budget."

But UDM co-leader Roelf Meyer remained dissatisfied with Maduna's replies. He said even if the sale of 25-million barrels had realised R2bn, they must have been sold at less than the prevailing price in the first two weeks of January when they were negotiated.

Meyer said this corroborated his view that government hurriedly sold off the oil reserves to boost the funds available in the next fiscal year. He also asked why the crude oil was not sold to SA companies so that local fuel consumers could have benefited.

"The government's response confirms the UDM's claim that coastal oil reserves were sold without cabinet approval. The information given raises more questions — for instance, there is a huge discrepancy between the amount reflected for the sale and the actual value of the reserves sold. We will be making further inquiries."

Strategic Fuel Fund acting CEO Brian Casey disputed Meyer's claims, saying the stocks were "certainly" not sold at below $10 a barrel. "We never sell below market value — we do not speculate with taxpayers' money."

Maduna said he did not think government could have made a better decision. He justified the deal on the grounds that the buyer agreed to rent SA storage space while SA had first option to repurchase the oil if necessary. He did not disclose the buyer's identity.

Meyer responded: "If a foreign buyer bought it at this price and was prepared to rent storage space, they must intend to sell the oil at a higher price at a later stage. The questions remain unanswered."

Explaining the history of the transactions Maduna said his department, which constantly monitored oil price movements, noted towards the end of last year that the price was on a downward slide, hitting $11,50 a barrel. He had decided that it was advisable to reduce stocks to release money. As the

Continued on Page 2

Oil

(304A) (#83) BD 19/3/98

Continued from Page 1

cabinet had already held its last meeting of the year, he approached President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki. Discussions were also held with Manuel, Trade and Industry Minister Alec Erwin and Transport Minister Mac Maharaj.

Maduna told them up to R2bn could be raised if oil stocks were sold, whereas a delay might mean less revenue.

Approval was obtained and the go-ahead was given to the Central Energy Fund to proceed with the sales at its own discretion.

Casey confirmed on Tuesday that "instructions to sell sufficient crude oil to raise approximately R2bn for the fiscus" were received at the end of last year. He said that in the first two weeks of January SA's crude oil stockpile was cut from 35-million barrels to just above 10-million barrels.

Maduna said SA was cutting its huge reserves in line with international trends. As the world was awash with oil, it was no longer necessary to have such a large stockpile.

Affirmative procurement of up to 90% is planned

Vuyo Mvoko BD 19/3/98

CAPE TOWN — Government is to implement a programme over the next 18 months to ensure that 90% of public works department contracts at national and provincial levels conform with "affirmative procurement" policy.

At least 50% of all other national and provincial departmental projects, 25% of all local government projects, 15% of all parastatal projects and 10% of all private-sector projects will also be implemented in terms of the policy.

"We have the plan, now we have got to deliver," said public works deputy director-general Sivi Gounden, addressing Parliament's portfolio committee yesterday.

The procurement policy's key objectives are to provide jobs, and to develop small, medium and micro enterprises, particularly those owned by previously disadvantaged individuals.

The policy was developed by a task team appointed jointly by the ministries of public works and finance. It targets the construction and associated industries, including public and private-sector client bodies, consultants, contractors and suppliers. It encourages those not previously disadvantaged to form "structured joint ventures" with "affirmable" partners.

Gounden said documentation would soon be made available laying down systems and procedures.

These included anticorruption programmes; a framework for deregistration of contractors; information packs for user groups; risk assessment and management procedures; a standard format for the compilation of contract documentation; and a code of conduct for suppliers, service providers and contractors.

Documentation in respect of goods, for example, would contain a guidance manual for officials preparing tender documents as well as a standard contract, he said.

There would be standardised performance specifications on design and construction requirements for building and civil engineering works and specifications on issues such as repair of defects, strength, stability, durability and serviceability.

Gounden said during a pilot project conducted between August 1996 and July 1997, 2 206 building and civil contracts totalling R670m had been awarded. Of that, contracts valued at R206m went to affirmative procurement beneficiaries including prime contractors on smaller projects or joint venture partners, subcontractors and service providers on larger projects.

Govt plans 280ha leisure, business node

Robyn Chalmers

GOVERNMENT plans to redevelop more than 280ha of land south of Johannesburg, including recreation and exhibition centre Nasrec and the FNB soccer stadium, into a new leisure and commercial node.

Proposed land uses include a centre for national and international sports events, a sports academy, a skills training and production centre and a mix of commercial and business facilities, including hotels, restaurants, pubs and retail facilities.

However, analysts said one of the issues to be resolved was ownership of the site. Representatives from the public works department, the National Exhibition Centre, First National Bank (FNB) and Shareworld were holding talks to iron out legal and financial problems relating to ownership.

The total area in question was 280ha, with Nasrec, the FNB soccer stadium and other related buildings occupying about 180ha. Development of the remaining 100ha is under consideration.

Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe said government's development proposals would be thrashed out at a workshop next week. "Strategically positioned within the proposed development thrust of Baralink, Crown City

Continued on Page 2

Umthetho wokuqala ukubhalwa ngesiXhosa

(304A) BD 19/3/98

Wyndham Hartley

CAPE TOWN — Justice Minister Dullah Omar made history yesterday by becoming the first minister to table in Parliament a bill in Xhosa — but earned the wrath of some opposition parties for doing so.

The Judicial Matters Amendment Bill, or Umthetho Oyilwayo Wofakelo Silungiso Kwimibandela Yasenkundleni, is a three-page piece of legislation of little significance. It makes technical amendments to a number of existing laws.

National Party (NP) chief whip Izak Pretorius said the action by Omar made a mockery and was in contempt of Parliament as a final decision on the new language policy was scheduled for a meeting next week.

He said the NP welcomed the first bill to be published in Xhosa, but condemned the downgrading of Afrikaans in the process.

This view was echoed by Freedom Front chief whip Joseph Chiole, who said the practical reality was that the African National Congress had already decided on the language policy for Parliament in spite of the planned meeting of the rules committee on March 25.

He said it demonstrated that the decision had been made to make English the effective language of Parliament and that Afrikaans was being downgraded. He warned Afrikaans-speakers that "this step" was one of the most important of the past four years in the attempts to establish English as the nation's official language. It was time for all who spoke Afrikaans to stand together before their language became third-rate, he said.

The proposal before the rules committee is that the practice of publishing bills only in English and Afrikaans be changed. It suggests that all bills be published in English and that the other 10 official tongues take turns as "language of the month".

Changing colour with the times

People who got themselves classified coloured in the old days are switching back — to black, writes **Angella Johnson**

M+G 20-26/3/98 (3049)

Once upon a time in the old South Africa it was considered infinitely preferable to be coloured rather than black. At least that was what Frank Makoba's family thought when they opted to fake their racial classification.

But times have changed. Today many former "coloureds" are racing to reinvent themselves as black because they think it will make life easier.

"When I was a boy I was black. Then I became coloured, but now I'm black again," declares Makoba (48). Confused? Well, it is all about fitting in with the system of government. Different regime, but same pigmentation principle, they cry.

Makoba's Xhosa parents pretended to be coloured and changed their surname to Mocoba — thinking it was a Muslim surname — because it meant they could find jobs easier "and we could get into good schools", he says in fractured English.

He laughingly tells the story of how a white employer in Cape Town once remarked that he looked pretty black for a coloured. "He said, 'Are you sure you're not a kaffir?'" chuckles Makoba.

"I had to listen to them telling jokes about black people and sometimes even joined in because it was expected. I feel ashamed about this now, but I had to make a living."

He and several friends from Murraysburg in the Western Cape survived under apartheid by changing their names and forsaking isiXhosa or seSotho for Afrikaans. They denied their heritage, stopped eating mielie pap and sometimes even disowned their families to masquerade as coloureds, who had more opportunities for better education and jobs — particularly in the Western Cape, which was legislated a preference labour area for coloureds.

Isaac Dokter, a Karoo community worker, started faking when he was 16. "The situation was that as a coloured you were reserved a better place in life economically and socially."

So he forsook his seSotho name, Palamang Mosotho, and used the identity number of his Xhosa mother's coloured friend to re-register.

Dokter remembers it was a painful decision. "My parents had 12 children, but I was the only one alive and it upset my father very much that I was prepared to disown them. He wanted to know why I could not take the punishment of apartheid like he had." Dokter replied that he, like hundreds of other people in the Karoo, was not prepared to suffer.



Shifting allegiances: Isaac and Mareld Dokter of Murraysburg became coloured.
PHOTOGRAPH: GUY TILLIM

His friend Willem Awkes (40) explains that after the death of his Xhosa father, his mother changed his surname to Jantjies so he could get into the coloured Karoo High School.

Local pastors helped families like his by signing false baptism certificates. "At first the authorities refused [to accept] my ID, saying I was black. So I went to court and the magistrate asked me questions in Afrikaans."

In the spirit of racial madness that existed at the time, Awkes was also told to write a paragraph in Afrikaans. "After I did this the white magistrate said, 'No way are you a Xhosa. You're coloured,' and I got my ID."

Now he wishes he could speak isiXhosa because it would serve him better in the present political climate of affirmative action. "Being black is better now."

The men have started a campaign to reclaim their identities, motivated, says Dokter, by emotion. "Personally I always knew who I was, but I want my children to be proud of where they come from."

He also cites a strong desire to appease his ancestors for any slight they may have felt because of his betrayal.

It's not just coloureds who want to be black. Dokter claims he walked into his office recently to find a woman he knew applying for a job. "She was calling herself Thandi, but I've always known her as Lorna. And she's white."

McBride's Maputo sting

M+G 20-26/3/98 (304A)

Wally Mbhele

The arrest of Robert McBride on charges of gun-running in Mozambique seems to have been a well-co-ordinated police trap, planned with the man he was captured with, Vusi Mbatha, Mozambican gun-runner Alex Mamba, and the South African security forces.

There is concern that old-guard elements of the South African military and police assisted the Mozambicans in setting up McBride because his investigations into arms smuggling to criminal syndicates in South Africa, including the highway heist gangs, had unearthed links to the security forces.

It has now emerged that Mbatha himself has a long history of working with the former South African military intelligence (MI) as well as being a police informer, while Mamba is also a police agent. The *Mail & Guardian* has the name of Mbatha's MI handler.

Mbatha, who it is believed may emerge as the chief witness against McBride, is actually not a South African as widely reported, but a Mozambican holding a South African identity document. The other potential witness is Mamba who, the police allege, has since escaped. But they have not explained how were they able to set a trap inside his house without his knowledge.

A former official of Lawyers for Human Rights, Aubrey Lekwane, who has been working with McBride since they first met Mbatha — alias Madida — in 1993, spoke out publicly this week against what he sees as a plot against McBride. In an exclusive interview with the *M&G*, Lekwane said he is prepared to become McBride's witness against Mbatha's allegations and that he has conveyed his concerns to Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi.

Lekwane revealed that Mbatha has made conflicting statements about the Third Force since 1993 to, among others, Lawyers for Human Rights, human rights lawyer Steven Goldblatt and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. In all instances he was found to be an untruthful witness.

The reason why McBride took him to the truth commission last year, according to Lekwane, was to tell the commission during the "Winnie hearing" how he was used to infiltrate Winnie Madikizela-Mandela's household with the purpose of conducting a smear and disinformation campaign against her.

It was during a meeting with one of the commission's international investigators that Mbatha began making fresh allegations that gunrunning was continuing — and even went further to claim that the Mozambican gun-runners were now supplying South African criminal syndicates. The commission confirmed this week that they had taken a statement from him.

Lekwane, who worked for Lawyers for Human Rights for eight years, says when he heard of McBride's arrest, he was almost certain that "he had been arrested while making a follow-up on Vusi's claims. I contacted [Mpumalanga Premier] Mathews Phosa immediately and informed him that I believed that I had information which would be useful in this matter."

Although the exact status of the structure within which McBride was operating has not been established, the former Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) guerrilla was not on a personal mission. It has been established that he made an official requisition for money (in the form of $11 000) before he left.

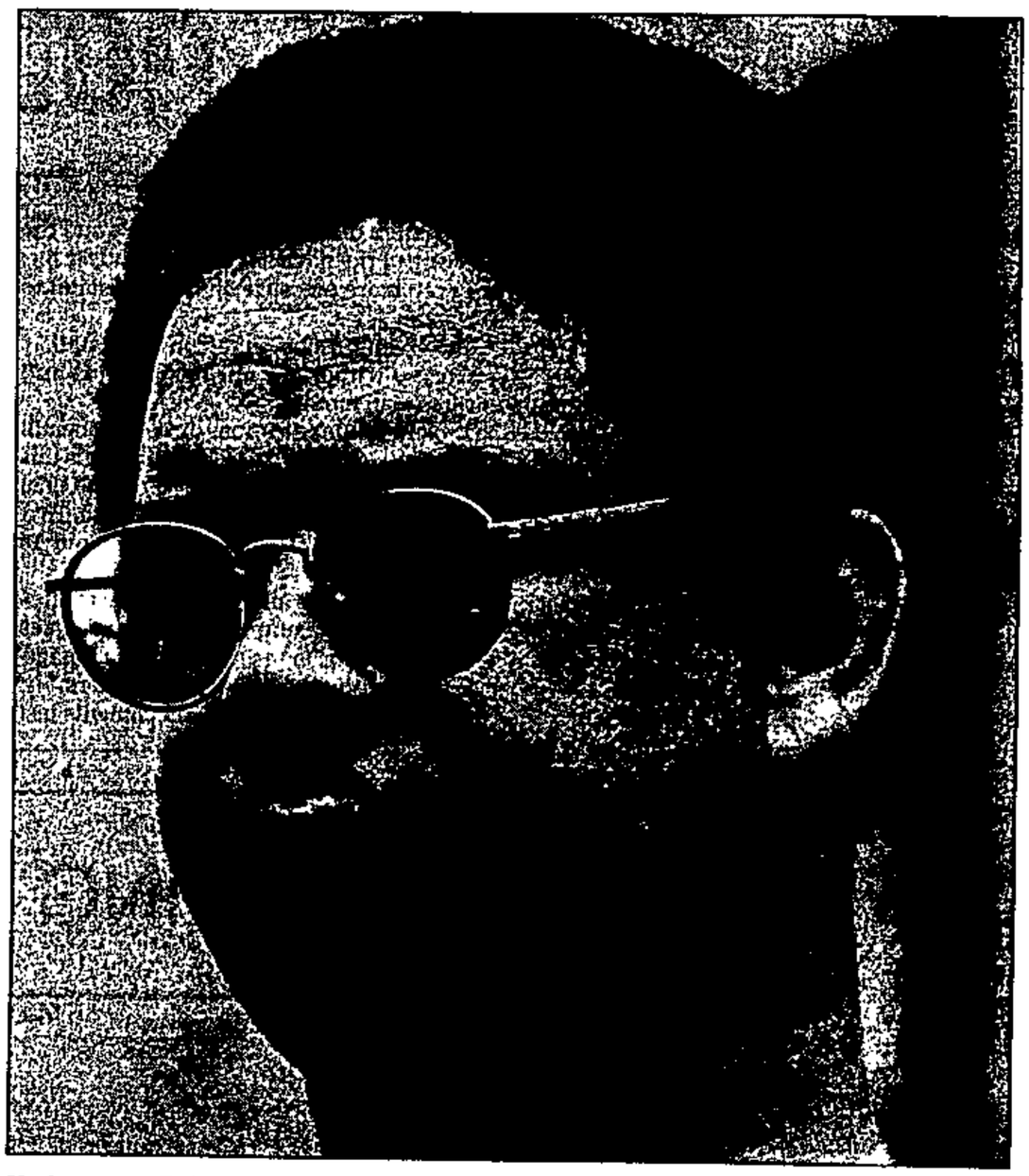
The *M&G* has established he was working with a "special operations unit", understood to have been established late last year after word filtered out that organised gangs with apartheid links were planning to destabilise the government through crime.

The unit was allegedly created to feed data to the National Intelligence Agency on destabilisation forces and is under the management of a former MK commander. The reason why both the ANC and the government are unable to come into the open about this unit, sources said, is because it is too embarrassing for the government to be seen to be running parallel intelligence structures.

The initiative flows out of the failure of conventional intelligence units to provide the high-grade information that the government needs. The unit has also probed the movement of South African arms with the alleged connivance of security force operatives to Zambian bases of the Angolan rebel movement Unita and to other countries in the region such as the Democratic Republic of Congo. A report on this was being prepared for the upcoming Southern African Development Community conference.

The reason why McBride is unwilling to speak about this structure, said a source, is because he does not want to betray anyone. However, a senior government source indicated this week that McBride's arrest was being dealt with at two levels. At the official level, they are denying the operation was authorised but the source said "some of our guys" — intelligence operatives — had gone to Maputo to deal with the issue through the back door.

Meanwhile, the government this week began a shift in its approach to the saga. After a week of silence in the face of growing criticism, Mufamadi told Parliament this week that there was a clear "disinformation" campaign against McBride by elements within the security forces.



Undercover: Robert McBride was apparently on a mission. PHOTO COURTESY THE STAR

This followed a series of statements issued by assistant police commissioner "Suiker" Britz, who implied that McBride was guilty of gunrunning. Having been linked to among others, the Irish Republican Army, Britz went further by revealing that MI has information that McBride was involved in a plot to destabilise the government.

A senior government official working closely on the McBride matter said this week although the government did not want to be seen to be disturbing the Mozambican probe, he suspected that "Britz has naughty motives. With an old mindset, he has seen an opportunity to sow confusion as if his views reflects those of the government."

Britz rushed to Mozambique once McBride was arrested. On his arrival in Mozambique, he was not interested in speaking to McBride, and demanded to see Mbatha.

A South African police officer who was asked to identify McBride in a Mozambican jail described him as "a very dangerous man".

"For a government employee to describe a senior government official in that manner is most telling about their attitude to McBride," McBride's wife, Paula, said this week.

She also questioned some of the dates for when police say her husband was in Mozambique. She said the first time McBride went to Mozambique was in January this year.

The second time was on March 11 when he was arrested. According to Paula McBride, he was on a "follow-up investigation", unaware that a trap had already been set for him. She described reports that McBride has been in Mozambique in 1993 as a "lie", arguing that the police have even attempted to suggest that he was in Mozambique during the ANC's conference in Mafikeng last year in December.

In some of his confessions to human rights institutions, Mbatha claimed to have participated in alleged Inkatha Freedom Party attacks on the ANC, have fought for Frelimo and joined the ANC mission in Angola, said Lekwane. Lekwane said he first met Mbatha after he mysteriously infiltrated ANC structures on the East Rand. Mbatha has on numerous occasions taken him and Robert McBride on a "wild goose" chase to the scenes of alleged massacres.

Lekwane is making a sworn affidavit for Mufamadi. He has handed the *M&G* his preliminary unsigned affidavit.

Police representative Reg Crewe said he did not know whether Mbatha was a spy. "It's not our policy to reveal the names of informers. Whether it was a joint set-up between Mozambique and the SAPS [South African Police Service], I can't comment as the investigation is in the hands of the Mozambicans."

A cobra in the closet, PAGE 22
(Mc)bridling at the myths, PAGE 27

THE CLINTON VISIT

Uncle Sam courts Mother Africa with trade

(704A)

Or is it sexual harassment?

FM 20/3/98

The last time Uncle Sam called on Mother Africa was 20 years ago when Georgia peanut farmer and US President Jimmy Carter tacked on a couple of stopovers in West Africa at the end of a trip to key Washington allies Venezuela and Brazil.

The West African ports of call were Liberia, which then housed the Central Intelligence Agency's biggest listening station on the continent, and Nigeria, then ruled by a jovial military leader, General Olusegun Obasanjo, who had pledged to hand over to civilian rule.

So much has changed since then.

Liberia is now ruled by Charles Taylor, who was arrested in the US on fraud charges and broke out of a Massachusetts jail in 1985. Nigeria is ruled by a dour military leader, General Sani Abacha, who shows no signs of handing over to anybody other than himself. He has jailed General Obasanjo.



***Bill Clinton** . . . why exactly is he coming here?*

This time, the US President's visit to Africa is a grander affair. It is set to be Bill Clinton's longest and biggest official foreign trip of his presidency. Since he told President Nelson Mandela that he wanted to visit Africa, Clinton's Africa sojourn has been subjected to the most detailed forward-planning; not just for the logistics of moving more than 800 people across Africa in three jumbo jets but also for the economic, political and military fall-out and benefits of the trip.

Now the pieces are in place. There's a trade policy — articulated in the African Growth & Opportunity Act now being passed through Congress — and there's a security policy in the shape of former Secretary of State Warren Christopher's African Crisis Response Initiative, which provides US military training for selected African armies engaged in peace-keeping operations.

Washington has assembled an impressive *dramatis personnae* to pursue this agenda. At the helm of its Africa force is Assistant Secretary of State Susan Rice (34), a striking and energetic African-American who has quickly become one of the most listened-to advocates for US engagement with Africa.

She is backed up by two Deputy Assistant Secretaries: veteran diplomat Johnny Carson and southern Africa specialist Whitney Schneidman.

And for the past year various American notables have been circling Africa.

Last December it was Rice's boss and godmother, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and this February it was preacher politician Jesse Jackson, now appointed as Clinton's democracy envoy. Then there is the well-regarded Africa director at the President's National Security Council, Joseph Wilson.

Most important was a visit by Hillary Clinton, whose own "good news" tour of Africa last year was a pathfinder for her husband's voyage.

Yet behind all the elaborate preparations and earnest press briefings, there is a nagging question that many Africans are asking: Why? and Why now?

Visitations by large numbers of white men with loud voices have rarely been good news for Africa. Clinton pointedly is visiting two sites of Africa's holocaust — the Atlantic slave trade — in Ghana and Senegal. But White House spokesman Mike McCurry has already warned that no Presidential apology for the slave trade will be forthcoming.

Clinton is also going to visit Rwanda, to pay respects to those slaughtered in the 1994 genocide. Significantly at the time, *The New York Times* carried a report that US diplomatic missions had instructions not to refer to the mass killing in Rwanda as genocide lest this increase pressure for a UN intervention force. Just weeks ago the Canadian commanding UN forces in Rwanda, General Romeo Dallaire, wept publicly when giving evidence at the war crimes tribunal in Arusha when he recalled getting orders from UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali, with the Security Council's backing, to withdraw UN forces and let the genocide continue.

No doubt the Presidential safari will be full of contradictions. Not least for most Americans who spend little time thinking about Africa. Washington wiseacres assure visitors that at least 50% of all American foreign policy is really domestic policy in disguise. If that's so, the Africa lobbyists must have much greater powers of persuasion than we know about.

Neither does commercial self-interest explain it all: trade with Africa accounts for about 2% of the US Export-Import Bank's credit lines. Cynics suggest the President simply wants a break from Washington's political heat.

If so, Africa's own heat will not prove much more accommodating. Clinton's 12-day schedule looks demanding.

It's probably the lengthiest and most heterogeneous trip to Africa by any Western leader to date. In SA, the bilateral meetings with Mandela, the latest of several encounters in person and over the telephone, should go well.

But there are real policy differences between Washington and the African country it regards as its closest ally. Trade & Industry Minister Alec Erwin, and some local firms, are not particularly impressed by the US Trade Bill for Africa; and neither are Defence Minister Joe Modise and his generals much taken with Washington's attempts to bring SA into a continental peacekeeping training programme.

A senior Washington official describes his government's relationship with Pretoria as "good but complex". Which is a sea-change from the "bad and complex" relations between the two capitals prevailing during Carter's Presidential trip to Africa in March 1978. Then the apartheid SA government was a global skunk while, up in West Africa, Nigerian Head of State General Obasanjo's government was a doughty fighter for freedom. Perhaps, as he sits in solitary confinement, Obasanjo may wonder who will be demanding his release.

Patrick Smith in London

ANC distances itself from Robert McBride

(2041)

CT 20/3/98

JOHANNESBURG: The African National Congress has also now distanced itself from senior party member and suspended Foreign Affairs official Mr Robert McBride's actions and arrest in Mozambique in connection with gun-running.

Yesterday, the ANC said it wished "to put on record that the organisation had no knowledge of, or was in any way involved with, McBride's trip to Mozambique".

ANC spokesperson Mr Steyn Speed said that nobody from the organisation had made contact with McBride in Mozambique in any official capacity and it was unlikely anybody would in the future.

"Robert McBride is a valued member of the movement and has been for many years, so we can't shrug things off and say we don't care. But this is not something with which the ANC feels it should get involved," he said.

The ANC said it respected the sovereignty of the Republic of Mozambique and wished to re-affirm its commitment to the rule of law and the due judicial process.

Most young people say SA is on right track, poll finds

ARG 20/3/98 (304A)

Johannesburg – Most young South Africans are positive about the direction the country is taking, according to the findings of the 1997 Gallup end-of-year-poll.

The poll, conducted by Markinor research company, indicated that 59% of respondents between the ages of 16 and 24 felt the country was heading in the right direction. By contrast, only 43% of people over 50 felt that South Africa was on the right track.

The poll found a significant difference between rich and poor.

Only 30% of respondents whose households earn more than R10 000 a month thought the country was heading in the right direction as opposed to 60% of those households earning less than R1 000 a month.

It reported that 75% of respondents whose households earn more than R10 000 a month said standards were deteriorating while only 11% in this income bracket felt standards were improving.

The opposite view was expressed by most respondents whose households earn less than R1 000 a month, with 43% feeling that standards were improving, while only 14% believed standards were deteriorating.

When asked how they would describe economic, moral and educational standards in the country, 39% said standards were improving and 28% said they were deteriorating. The youth again displayed a more positive outlook in this regard, with more than 48% saying that standards in the country were improving.

Only 43% of the respondents felt 1998 would be better than last year, representing a 9% drop in optimism levels from 1997 and 15% from 1996.

However, only 23% of respondents felt 1998 would be worse than 1997.

A third of respondents said they felt their sense of personal safety had improved over the last year.

This view was held more strongly among the youth, with 41% of 16-to-24-year-olds indicating that their sense of personal safety had improved. – Sapa

Suiker in pickle over remarks on McBride

Star 21/3/98 (304A)

By ESTELLE RANDALL

Controversial assistant police commissioner Suiker Britz is under investigation after his comments on the arrest of Foreign Affairs Department director Robert McBride.

The investigation, confirmed by National Police Commissioner George Fivaz, will determine whether Britz's remarks were made with malicious intent.

In statements this week, Britz said there was enough evidence to make a case of arms smuggling against McBride. A newspaper also reported that Britz (who did not meet McBride in Mozambique during his investigation) had said he was approached by an SANDF general who wanted to urgently meet him to discuss McBride.

In Parliament on Wednesday, Minister of Safety and Security Sydney Mufamadi warned that statements which impacted on the merits of the allegations against McBride were misguided and should be discouraged.

In a veiled reference to Britz, he said it was clear that information which had neither been "properly processed nor verified" was being fed to the media by people within the state's security forces to "undermine peace and stability".

Britz survived an earlier investigation in 1995, when he was appointed to his current position. At the time, there were doubts about his suitability for this top job, given his failure to crack the murders of several prominent anti-apartheid activists he had been given the task of investigating during 1993.

An inquiry appointed by Secretary of Safety and Security Azhar Cachalia found there was insufficient evidence to take departmental action. But the inquiry report noted that investigators had been denied access to dockets and that certain police members were reluctant to assist investigations.

Advocate Neville Melville, head of the investigation, said he had gained the impression that Britz was "disinclined to believe the allegations of police involvement – and there was a possible bias in favour of the police".

Sally de Beer, a spokeswoman for Fivaz, said Britz had been sent to Mozambique by Fivaz to gather information on McBride's arrest because Britz was the "obvious candidate". He was in charge of murder and robbery, illegal firearms possession and special projects.

During his mission to Mozambique last week, Britz did not see McBride, only Vusi Madida, a Mozambican who has been living in South Africa and is a self-confessed informer for the former security forces. He gave evidence to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission last year that security forces had conducted a smear campaign against Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

McBride's arrest has also exposed tensions between military and police intelligence operatives and the rest of South Africa's intelligence establishment. It also raises the possibility that forces active during the apartheid era are still pursuing covert agendas to destabilise South Africa's transformation.

The National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (Nicoc) – comprising heads of the National Intelligence Agency (NIA), the SA Secret Service, Military Intelligence (MI) and SA National Police Service Intelligence – says it knows nothing of the intelligence surveillance under which McBride is said to have been for the past two years. The Cabinet instructs Nicoc on security issues to be investigated.

The NIA was also surprised to learn that McBride had contact with an MI operative who was trying to arrange a meeting for McBride with Engelbrecht.

Engelbrecht is said not to have seen or met the MI operative, despite media reports that he is said to have done so.

Questions also remain about the role of Vusi Madida (also known as Vusi Mbatha) who was arrested with McBride.

Aubrey Lekwane, a former employee at Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), who is finalising an affidavit for sending to Mufamadi, told the *Saturday Star* of his extensive contact with Madida, who approached LHR in 1993 claiming to be an ANC refugee.

After investigation, Madida admitted he was not a South African, but a Mozambican who had links with the former security forces. He claimed he knew about illegal weapons entering South Africa from Mozambique and that he knew Alex Mamba was a weapons smuggler.

Mamba, a Mozambican, is being sought by the Mozambican authorities. He is said to have been involved in supplying weapons to hostel dwellers on the East Rand in the early 1990s.

According to Lekwane, LHR briefed Mo Shaik, a former senior ANC intelligence official, about Madida.

This year, Lekwane says, McBride told him he had arranged to meet Madida. Lekwane was unable to attend the meeting, but asked McBride to brief him afterwards.

"Robert said Madida had given him information related to illegal weapons smuggling and heists. I wasn't able to meet Robert to get further details.

"Robert was correctly concerned about the ongoing violence and was correct to follow up the lead. I would have done the same. I would be very surprised if he worked alone."

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CPR00115

The man who refused to sit in an office

CP 22/3/98 (304A)

Many incidents testify to Robert McBride's deep commitment to the cause of the ANC and black people in general. He spoke to **GOMOLEMO MOKAE** about this.

THOKOZA was the last place on earth to be in the early 1990s. Especially for someone who had recently cheated the hangman's noose.

But this is where Robert John McBride found himself on January 9, 1994, when ANC leaders Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa were touring this violence-ridden East Rand township.

As a member of the ANC's peace desk, it was McBride who had to literally place himself between these ANC leaders and the bullets which threatened to end their lives.

SABC-TV, SKY-TV and CNN captured this dramatic incident "live" for the whole world to see. Even as photo-journalist Abdul Sharrif went down nearby after being hit by a bullet, many photographers' cameras stayed focused on McBride, awaiting the crucial moment when the black man white South Africa loved to hate took the bullet.

That is the extent of McBride's infamy in the eyes of many whites in this country. This notoriety was brought upon him by unforgiving white media which named him "The Magoo Bomber" after, as a 21-year old MK cadre, Robert placed a car bomb outside a popular sea-side bar in Durban.

McBride and many of his supporters have always rejected this appellation and argue that, had the three victims of the bomb been black, the media would not have demonised him so much.

The Thokoza incident is one of many proofs of McBride's deep committment to the cause of the ANC and black people in general. After four years on Death Row at the Pretoria Maximum Security prison, his sentence was commuted to life. He was finally released on September 28, 1992.

"The ANC wanted me to choose between research and field work," McBride said in an exclusive interview with me on December 18, 1997, part of research for a book and film on him. "I said I could do both. I couldn't imagine myself not in the field."

Though his wife Paula was pregnant at the time, McBride said: "I told her that I can't be sitting in the office when people are dying."

Paula, who fell in love with Robert on Death Row, remembers how her husband used to come back home late at night after work in Thokoza, Duduza, Katlehong, Thembisa and other violence-torn townships. She had gone on to initiate a relentless campaign to save McBride's life.

When her husband was released, Paula would have appreciated more time with him to make up for the 40-minute contact visit – the first between them – on their wedding day on Death Row.

But she understood that with McBride, the nation's interests came first.

She had also come to know that he was "the fall guy" who did not mind putting his neck on the block for others.

He had done exactly that during his trial when he claimed he was not acting on his organisation's instructions when he placed a car bomb outside the Magoo and Why Not bars in Durban.



STANDS BY HER HUSBAND . . . *Once again, Paula McBride is fighting for Robert.*

The ANC was catching a lot of heat from the international community and the white press for its deviation from the policy of avoiding "soft" targets.

McBride claimed he was acting alone, incensed by the state of emergency declared two days before – on 12 June 1986.

McBride also went out of his way to cover for his co-accused and then lover Greta Apelgren (now Zahranh Markeden). He would not let her take the stand lest she implicated herself in a number of missions he had carried out while she was the driver of the vehicle he was travelling in. As a result, while Robert received three death sentences, Greta got 18 months, the shortest sentence ever handed out for terrorism.

Interviews with McBride's sisters suggest that Robert is actually a "carbon-copy" of his deeply political father Derrick.

On May 4 1986 Derrick and Robert McBride staged what the ANC has come to call "probably one of the most daring missions ever carried out by units of MK" when they freed Robert's fellow cadre and friend Gordon Webster from a hospital. Father disguised as a priest and son as a doctor, the McBrides wheeled Gordon to freedom on a hospital trolley.

The recent developments in Mozambique seem destined to lumber Robert with another appellation: "Gun-runner".

Already, white animosity towards him has reared its head before he has even been brought to court.

An official at the SA embassy in Mozambique, when asked to identify McBride in jail, reportedly told the Mozambicans he was "an extremely dangerous man who goes around planting bombs."

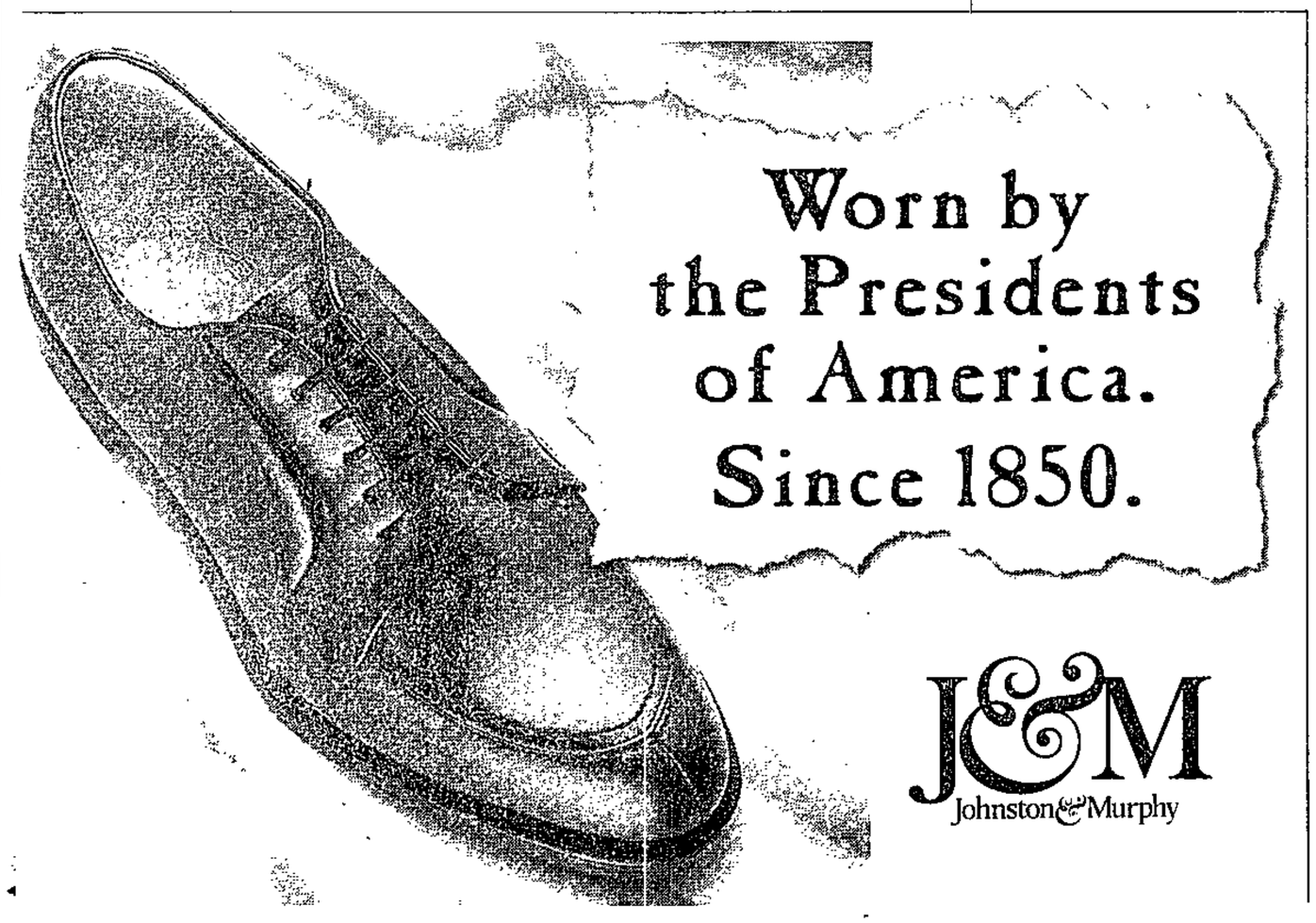
Back home, commissioner Suiker Britz has already found him guilty and told a newspaper: "There is no doubt that Mr McBride, if he had been arrested in SA under similar circumstances, would probably be sent to jail for very long time". (*The Citizen,* March 16, 1998).

McBride has claimed he was acting alone in investigating gun-running between Mozambique and SA, acting on information supplied by contacts he established in the early 1990s when he was working in the East Rand as a member of the ANC's peace desk.

Paula has corroborated these claims, saying McBride's sources felt they could not trust the powers-that-be in the police force.

For Paula it is déjà vu as, once again, she has to start a virtually lone battle to free her husband from jail.

Of course, in time, the truth will be out.



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Thanks for nothing . . .

CP 22/3/98 (304A)

By CHARLES MOGALE

THE FAMILY of suspended foreign affairs director Robert McBride is angry at the ANC and his colleagues in the government for turning their backs on him in his hour of need.

Robert's father Derrick, a former Robben Island prisoner, said he felt insulted by the ANC's failure "to even contact us".

The father, who was reluctant to speak to City Press because "black reporters think like their white masters", said the family was horrified at the treatment his son was receiving after sacrificing his life for his organisation.

"You can never question Robert's loyalty to the ANC. Some mes he even went against me when I disagreed with him on ANC matters. I was disgusted to read he was planning to overthrow the government. They do not know him. It is just lies, lies and lies. That is my son. I know him very well. He is more than just a son," he said.

Since his arrest two weeks ago, the family has not even received a phone call from the ANC.

"It is hardly surprising, though. They never came here even while he was on death row. Words fail me," McBride said. "What is more insulting and hurting is that when all these lies are repeated over and over in the media, nobody stands up to say no, Robert is not like that."

But McBride's father excludes President Nelson Mandela from the sweeping condemnation of the ANC – "he is a good man"

The McBride family suffered immensely during the struggle. At one stage Robert languished on death row while his father was serving a sentence on Robben Island. As a result, Robert's mother Doris suffered three strokes and is now wheelchair-bound.

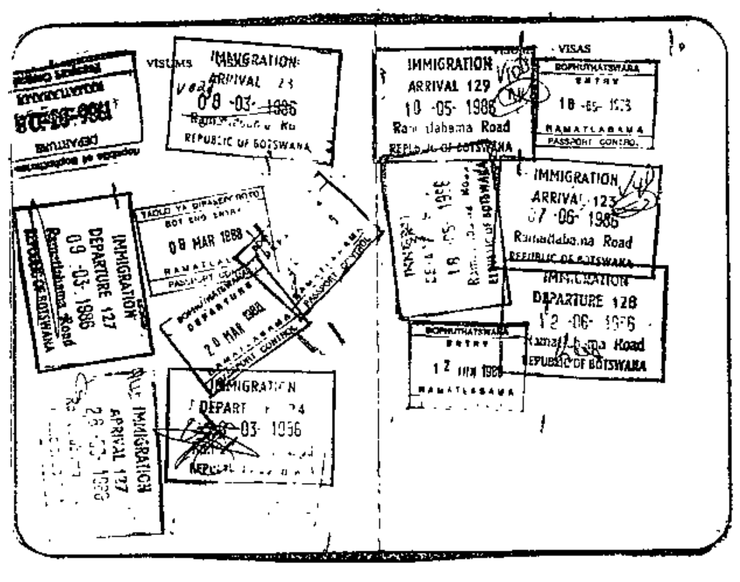
A glimpse of life in the McBride family is detailed in a book by Bryan Roston, *Till Babylon Falls.* It tells the story of a boy who rose from humble beginnings, was consumed by love for his country and hatred for apartheid until he ended on death row for planting the Magoo's Bar bomb.

He discloses his role in procuring arms from the ANC in Botswana, transporting them into South Africa and establishing caches.

During his trial, Robert McBride distanced the ANC from the explosion because three civilians had been killed. But in a book being compiled by Gomolemo Mokae, McBride makes it clear it was an ANC mission. He produces his passport, which proves that he left Botswana, where he was in regular contact with the ANC, on June 12. Magoo's Bar was bombed two days later, on June 14.

McBride said he did not agree with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and Deputy Minister of Tourism Peter Mokaba's definition of Africanism because it excluded coloureds and Indians.

"I am even more African than Thabo Mbeki, because I never left this country " he said



'IT WAS AN ANC MISSION' . . . *Robert McBride's passport shows he left Botswana on June 12 1986 (last entry on right), two days before the Magoo's Bar bombing.*

The fiery struggle hero who's now getting the cold shoulder from his comrades

McBride: The fall-guy?

CP 22/7/98 (304A)

Recorded interview reveals his role in violence-torn East Rand townships

Has Robert McBride, a loyal, fearless leader who fought when called upon, been abandoned in a cold prison cell by the party he risked his life for?



By Charles Mogale

AS THE hysteria over Robert McBride reached fever pitch this week, a contrasting image emerged of the former ANC guerrilla who risked his life for his country.

McBride is sitting in a Maputo, Mozambique, jail, virtually disowned by his party and derided by opposition politicians who have the backing of sections of the media.

He was arrested in a police sting operation in Maputo on March 9 while allegedly trying to clinch an illegal arms deal with a known dealer.

The South African high commissioner to Mozambique, Mangisi Zitha, accompanied McBride's wife, Paula, and a family lawyer to the Mashaba high security prison five days after his arrest.

Sources close to McBride believe his motives were honourable. They decry the ANC's "cold" treatment of a cadre who spent time on death row for the movement, but is now left out in the cold of a prison cell.

City Press is in possession of a recorded interview with McBride in which he details his role in protecting East Rand communities against attacks by IFP-backed hostel dwellers at the height of the violence of the early 1990s.

The interview with McBride, conducted by his biographer, Dr Gomolemo Mokae, sketches a fiery and fearless leader who led from the front, even in the face of bullets.

Reliving his experiences in the violence-torn East Rand townships, McBride relates how, after his release from prison, he was asked by the ANC to choose between research and field work.

He told Mokae: "I decided I could do both. I could not imagine myself sitting in an office while people were dying."

And there started what was to become life on the edge of death.

"One thing that sensitised me was when I drove into Mavimbela section (Katlehong) and saw about 3 000 women and children running away from shots.

"Among them was a lady in a blue dress and blue shoes, with a child.

"Cowards (men) with guns were running faster than the women. I said to myself: 'God, this is not right.'

"There were police and they were doing nothing. I said f***! This is not how it should be. That is when I decided not to go into violence monitoring, but to teach people how to defend themselves," McBride said.

He started working with the self-defence units, and when word spread that he was helping out, he would often be called in by concerned parents to mediate in conflicts.

"The comrades would call me in, and I would teach them discipline, teach them about violence, what its significance was, put the whole thing in perspective. My main message was that the violence was to prevent democracy. I (preached) that we should not be stuck in violence, because it was going to end. We should be thinking about the time after that," he said.

The youngsters in the area were not interested in political speeches; their mothers and sisters were being raped and killed.

"You must lead from the front sometimes," he said. McBride began to take youngsters out on patrols, "to teach them how to cover one another, but most important, to break the psychological fear of Inkatha".

He taught the units "disciplined fire", which meant firing as few bullets as possible.

At that time, he said, Inkatha was taking advantage of the fact that the people were not trained, and they (IFP) had trained people.

He recalls an incident one day in Thokoza when he was in a group of people standing outside a church. Shots rang out and, as was already custom in the area, all the people flung themselves to the ground.

A youngster next to McBride then raised his head to see where the shooting was coming from.

"They hit him right between the eyes. Just like that. He was gone. There was very little blood – just a small hole," he said.

He commended the people of the East Rand for keeping a secret that could have sent him back to jail.

"You can't just arm people, train them, go uncontrolled to them, without the risk of exposing yourself to informers. There were about two or three informers that we found out about, except at one stage, when the ANC gave us about five people to work with at the joint operations centre.

"It emerged that three of them were agents," McBride said.

The parents of the youngsters he was training "knew very well" what they were up to.

McBride also relates how he moved to Duduza in Nigel shortly after the IFP had separated Zulu-speakers from the rest of the inmates and were beginning to terrorise the community.

"I asked to see the civic people, who told me that the IFP attacked them. I told them they could either fight back, or pack and go," he said.

When he asked to see MK operatives, he was shown a youngster, a very young woman and a former exile with an alcohol problem.

Shortly afterwards, the local hostel was attacked, the IFP supporters fled "and we had peace."

Mokae interrupts to ask if the community was ready to co-operate with him.

"People would take instructions from me, much more than they would from (Defence Minister Joe) Modise. They would say: 'Where is Modise? Where is Tokyo?' "

Former Gauteng premier Tokyo Sexwale knew of his work, said McBride.

His wife Paula was pregnant then – but, he says, "I was too involved with what I was doing.

"I knew how to fight, I knew how to get weapons, I knew how to hide them, and I knew how to lead people. I am not scared."

'I knew how to fight, I knew how to get weapons, I knew how to hide them, and I knew how to lead people. I am not scared.'

About four months before the elections of 1994, when violence on the East Rand was out of control, McBride and another ANC member approached the then president-in-waiting, Nelson Mandela, and asked him to do "something political" about it.

Chief ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP leader Joe Slovo then paid a much-publicised visit to the East Rand to see first-hand the plight of the displaced people and the effects of the violence in the area.

The visit was marred by wild shooting and the death of photographer Abdul Sharrif.

On the morning of the planned visit, SABC journalists approached IFP leaders in the area and said: "The ANC is coming into the hostels today, what are you going to do about it?"

When the ANC and SACP leaders arrived, they found gunmen positioned at vantage positions, even where truces had been clinched.

McBride, who showed the high-profile officials around, recalls that he told the entourage: "There are worse places, but this one is relatively safe. . . "

At the mention of the word "safe", shots rang out.

"Slovo and Cyril's bodyguards ran away. There was madness. People threw themselves to the ground.

"I kept my cool, grabbed Cyril. . . I felt embarrassed. I said: 'Chief, lie down.' "

"He looked at me and said: 'Comrade, are you suggesting I should lie on the ground?' Bullets were flying."

A woman in the crowd grabbed Ramaphosa and threw him down. They then rolled to safety.

"And the f*** journalists had their cameras focused on me, waiting for me to be shot.

"They did not focus on the people who were shot. It was there – on SABC, CNN, Sky TV," McBride said.

Through it all, he said, he was cool, and was later teased by his comrades in the ANC, who said: "Who does he think he is? Does he think he is bullet-proof? Mr Bullet-proof."

McBride said in about five minutes, the shooting was over. None of the guards in the entourage had fired a shot.

Whatever the merits of the case of his alleged dealing in illegal arms – and his suspension from his job as foreign affairs deputy director after being cold-shouldered by his party even before establishing the facts – there is no questioning that Robert John McBride is a fighter who fought when called upon.



OW BLOW . . . *Even 'Mr Bullet-proof' was not immune to being suspended from his job as deputy director for foreign affairs.*

CP 22/3/48

3048



WHITE HOUSE MISCHIEF . . . *Clinton's visit may be overshadowed in the American media by his amorous adventures, but for South Africa it is the most important state visit yet.*

Bill Clinton road show comes to the Mother City

CP 22/1/98 (304A)

Parliament gears up to receive a presidential contingent of 800

THE FIRST American president to come to Africa in 20 years, Bill Clinton's visit signals a willingness to correct US imperceptions of the continent and to reinforce America's faith that Africa will sufficiently grow in democracy and development.



By Chiara Carter

Political Correspondent

UNITED STATES President Bill Clinton's visit to Africa may be overshadowed in the American media by allegations of the president's amorous adventures, but South Africa is gearing up for what is the most important state visit yet.

Clinton is scheduled to arrive in South Africa next Thursday at the tail-end of the longest and biggest foreign trip of his presidency.

He is the first US president to call on Africa since two decades back, when Jimmy Carter tacked a visit to Liberia and Nigeria onto a South American trip.

The Clinton safari, which kicks off in the West African state of Ghana, includes some 800 Americans, among them veteran diplomats, members of congress, business chiefs and investment experts, security personnel and aides as well as First Lady Hillary Clinton, who visited South Africa last year.

Leading the troops is Assistant Secretary of State Susan Rice, an African-American who is a strong advocate of US engagement in Africa.

While Washington cynics are saying Clinton's Africa trip is an escape from the heat of the philandering saga which has bedevilled him at home, the trip has in fact been planned for a long time.

A White House briefing this week said the trip had a twofold aim: to change the US's often negative perceptions of Africa and to signal to Africa America's faith that the continent would see growing democracy and development and become a full participant in the global economy.

Clinton's visit comes shortly after its African trade policy framework, the African Trade and Investment Act, has been passed by the US House of Representatives.

The US approach to security on the African continent was drawn up by former Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who formulated an "African Crisis Response Initiative", which allows US training for African peacekeeping forces.

Although there is a warm relationship between Washinton and South Africa it is not all plain sailing.

Both US policy on security and trade in Africa are not without their critics in the SA government, while some of South Africa's friends abroad, such as Libya and Cuba, are no favourites with the US government.

Some of these issues are likely to be raised in closed-door meetings, while Clinton's public engagements include a historic address to Parliament on Thursday afternoon, a visit to Robben Island with President Mandela and a state banquet in Somerset West outside Cape Town.

His visit will see high security the order of the day, with sections of the city closed off.

Convoys of identical vehicles and helicopters will prevent the US presidential transport from being identified.

Parliament has been gearing up since January for the visit, while local hoteliers and shopkeepers are ready and waiting for the Americans to come to town.

On Wednesday Clinton visits Uganda, the country cited by the international community as having the most consistently successful economic policies.

A summit of regional leaders in Uganda will see Clinton meeting with, among other heads of state, Kenya's president Daniel Arap Moi, who is likely to be quizzed on plans for reform in his country. Also likely to attend is Laurent Kabila of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in dire need of help in rebuilding infrastructure and attracting investment.

Intrigues surround McBride

The McBride issue has thrown up all kinds of doubts about the intelligence agencies

By CHIARA CARTER

JUST WHAT is going on in the country's security establishment is a question likely to linger long after Robert McBride has been charged or released.

This week's briefing of Parliament on the McBride saga by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi amounted to little more than a valiant attempt to close the stable door after several horses had bolted.

Despite the shuffling of officials to Maputo since McBride's arrest, Mufamadi said little of substance – aside from dire references to "elements" within the state who were feeding rumours with an intention of destabilisation.

He told Parliament there was an "ill-intentioned frenzy and offensive which sought to construct a sensational story and arrive at bizarre conclusions".

Extraordinary they certainly have been, with organisations mentioned including the ANC, the IFP, Sinn Fein and the IRA, Fretilin of East Timor and a left wing group said to be planning a coup.

Equally extraordinary is that many of these rumours, encouraged by the government's silence, originate from state officials.

So far, the prime culprit singled out has been the very policeman tasked with investigating the matter, Assistant Police Commissioner Suiker Britz.

Given his track record on failing to solve cases like the Motherwell bombing, Britz seems an unlikely choice to deal with so sensitive a matter.

Stung by Britz's as yet unsubstantiated utterances, Mufamadi sent a strongly-worded letter of complaint to Commissioner George Fivaz, and the detective has been told to shut up.

But that is not the end of the problems in safety and security.

Alex Mamba, the arms dealer who set up McBride, was a long time informant for the South African and Mozambican police and is said to have told the SAPS about the impending meeting with McBride a week before McBride walked into the trap.

If this is indeed the case, the SAPS need to explain what was done about the tip-off.

Meanwhile over at the ministry of intelligence, Deputy Minister Joe Nhlanhla has a headache or two of his own.

His spooks have been hard at work checking out the multitude of new claims, for example that McBride was acting for a shadowy unit which fed information to the National Intelligence Agency (NIA)

Nhlanhla has repeatedly placed his neck on the line by saying not only did McBride not work for NIA or the SA Secret Service, but he also was not passing on information to either organisation.

As a former ANC intelligence chief presumably, Nhlanhla would know if McBride was acting for a group which had its genesis in the formally disbanded ANC's intelligence structure – one theory which has been doing the rounds.

If McBride was working for a parallel intelligence structure with official sanction, not only would such a structure be unconstitutional, it would also turn out to have been a dismal failure – nobody with any sense would use such a high-profile figure as McBride for so sensitive an operation.

On the other hand, if there was any doubt about weaknesses in the information-gathering capacity of NIA and SASS, their seeming lack of any foreknowledge about the looming debacle is an indictment.

Then there is the military. National Intelligence Coordinating Committee (NICOC) head Linda Mti has said he knows nothing about a military intelligence investigation into allegations that left wing generals were planning a coup. The inquiry is said to have included a two-year-long surveillance of McBride.

MI, like all intelligence agencies, is not supposed to set its own agenda; instead it has to carry out tasks assigned to it. If this report does in fact exist it begs questions: who authorised the investigation and for what purpose? Was the report provided to the SAPS without the knowledge of the country's intelligence co-ordinating structure?

Both the gun-running Mamba and McBride's companion Vusi Mbatha have long histories of being police informers. Mbatha also had linkages with the old military intelligence establishment.

Not only does all of this lend credence to the theory that McBride was set up but also to the view that there are forces at work within state structures to destabilise the government.

Cops 'tipped off' about McBride

By CHIARA CARTER

SOUTH AFRICAN police were allegedly tipped off about Robert McBride's assignment with a Mozambican arms smuggler about a week before the Foreign Affairs official headed for Maputo.

It is understood the tip-off came from arms dealer Alex Mamba, a long-time informant for both the South African and Mozambican police, who disappeared after McBride's arrest.

This claim by a top police source is but one of several puzzling aspects to the McBride saga which raises questions about the role of members of South Africa's security structures in the McBride saga.

The government has denied that McBride was acting in an official capacity when he entered Mozambique while on leave.

Deputy Minister of Intelligence Joe Nhlanhla has refuted claims that McBride was performing a task for a shadow investigative unit feeding information to the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) saying McBride had never been either an agent or a source for NIA or the SA Secret Service.

Should there turn out to be such an intelligence gathering structure with official sanction it would be a major embarassment for the government as it is unconstititutional.

A theory gaining ground is that McBride was led to believe he would be supplying information on the arms trade to government intelligence structures.

If this is so, just who set up McBride and where did he get the money allegedly intended for the purchase of arms?

■ Last year McBride introduced Vusi Mbatha, the man arrested with him, to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a potential witness for the Winnie Madikizela-Mandela hearing.

Mbatha, who is alleged to have been not only a police informer but also an MI informant, told a TRC investigator that he had been a police informant in Madikizela-Mandela's house and made allegations about gun smuggling from Mozambique.

The TRC took a statement but apparently viewed him as a discredited witness.

Top team to probe McBride's case

(304A) Sowetan 23/3/98

By Themba Molefe

A SPECIAL South African police team will go to Maputo to join their Mozambican counterparts in investigations into the arrest two weeks ago of foreign affairs official Robert McBride.

The team, comprising top police investigators, will be named early this week and is being assembled after a meeting last week between Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi and his Mozambican counterpart Alviro Mancnje.

Mufamadi has rejected speculation that top cop Suiker Britz would be dropped from an investigating team probing McBride's activities. He said there was no such team and Britz therefore, could not be dropped from a non-existent body.

But it seems unlikely that Britz will form part of the team being assembled because he is currently under investigation for making "irregular" comments about McBride's arrest.

And if Britz is found to have acted outside of police protocol, he could face tough action from the Ministry.

Britz said earlier last week, after a visit to Maputo, there was enough evidence to make a case of arms smuggling against McBride.

Weekend reports said senior government officials believe they have now pieced together how McBride came to be arrested in Maputo.

Meanwhile, Joel Netshitenzhe, the chief executive officer of the new Government Communications and Information Service, reportedly confirmed that an investigation was under way into the activities of a "sinister group" involved in attempts to destabilise the Government by means of a concerted disinformation campaign.

ANC is long-term guardian of democracy

The internal politics of the ANC could be the key to the shape of democracy in the future SA, writes Steven Friedman

SA DEMOCRACY is on a bit of a roll right now. Can its good form last? Signs that democracy may be more robust than we think come in several incidents which suggest that the principle of holding government to account for its actions is being taken more seriously than we might expect, given the divisions in our politics.

The indications began a few weeks ago when a parliamentary committee, with an African National Congress (ANC) majority, insisted that Minerals and Energy Minister Penuell Maduna account for accusations he made against the auditor-general.

Then National Council of Provinces (and ANC) chairman Patrick Lekota, at the request of opposition parties, refused to put the Additional Appropriation Bill to the vote — denying government funds needed — as ministers were not in the chamber to explain why they needed more money.

Days later, union federation Cosatu walked out of Parliament's finance committee, complaining that the elected legislators had no power to amend the budget. Equally significantly, it backed Lekota's action.

The first two incidents suggest that the parliamentary system is, at least to a degree, doing one of the things it is meant to do — holding government ministers to account. In both instances, this was possible because representatives of the governing party insisted on accountability.

In the third, our biggest union movement, an ANC ally, demanded that elected representatives decide on the budget — rather than rubber-stamp it — and was willing, at least indirectly, to side with opposition parties on this point.

The common thread between the three cases is that there clearly are pressures for democratic accountability within the governing alliance. Given its large majority — which is likely to persist — this makes it far more likely Parliament will work as it is meant to do.

Last week brought another, fairly dramatic, example of democratic health: the president's willingness to account for his decisions in a court, despite his opposition to the ruling which brought him there. Also, despite the fact the judge could have been labelled a relic of the old order if Mandela was set on ignoring his ruling.

It would be easy to minimise the importance of the events. We do not yet know whether Maduna will be called to account — if he deserves to be. The ANC majority in the Council of Provinces will no doubt vote government its money if the ministers do appear before it. For the moment, provinces seem to be voting on party lines in the council, rather than — as they should do if it is to serve its purpose — on an assessment of their provinces' interests; Lekota's ruling seems not to have enjoyed ANC councillors' backing. As long as this goes on, the council is likely to endorse government decisions.

Cosatu's view may well be ignored and some could see its endorsement of Lekota and the opposition parties as merely a rhetorical flourish designed to bolster its bid to appeal to ANC parliamentarians over the heads of the cabinet. We still have no case in which the SA legislature has acted against a government minister or official accused of corruption or mismanagement.

Despite this, the incidents do show at least a partial independence among legislators and interest groups in the majority alliance suggesting that, despite a large and possibly enduring ANC majority, our democratic institutions may not become rubber stamps.

Mandela's action falls into a different category. It stemmed from a personal decision rather than from internal ANC pressure. Second, it is harder to dismiss the importance of a head of state appearing, for the first time in our history, to defend his actions in a court which (unlike the electorate) might rule against him.

Yet, precisely because it was an individual decision, we could dismiss it as a fluke — the result of one man's commitment to constitutional rule which is not necessarily shared by his colleagues or by future presidents.

Despite the hype about the precedent set by Mandela, it is not at all clear yet whether he has bound himself to appear in court again should the need arise — let alone any future president. Indeed, some reaction to the event suggests it may never happen again. Again, however, he has sent a powerful message which might raise prospects of more accountable government in future.

Is there, then, a firm trend towards accountability and will it last — and grow?

On the first score, it is realistic to expect the trend to be limited. Even if it does strengthen, there will be many cases in which the majority alliance will band together to defend its leaders.

The ANC is not, however, a monolith. Its internal politics are more complicated and more sophisticated than many outside it believe. Its leaders cannot, at least for now, take the approval of its entire camp for granted.

On the second, it is a safe bet that the ANC leadership — or important sections of it — will work overtime to nip the trend in the bud. That was certainly the tenor of the presidential speech at the party's December conference.

No one, least of all politicians, likes being held to account if they can possibly avoid it.



(304A) BD 23/3/98

National Council of Provinces chairman Patrick Lekota, right, seen here with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, has shown that democracy is in a healthy state.

The leadership may succeed in limiting pressure for accountability from within the movement by appealing for closing of ranks in the face of a common "enemy".

What these events do suggest, however, is that this might not prove as easy as many might expect. If it was, none of the incidents would have happened — and ANC leaders would not find it so hard to get their chosen candidates elected at party congresses.

Indeed, an attempt by the leadership to put a stop to shows of independence could strengthen the current trend — at least some ANC public representatives may feel obliged to show they will not simply follow instructions.

Although Mandela's action was not a result of internal ANC politics, trends inside the movement may decide whether the willingness to account which it implies becomes a precedent.

At first glance, this seems to depend purely on whether his successor feels as strongly about submitting to the rule of law as he does. But not necessarily. Over the longer term, whether presidents or other government leaders feel obliged to account for their actions — in the courts or anywhere else — depends as much on politics as personal preference.

Presidents who feel this is expected of them, by voters and other politicians, are more likely to do it — and whether they feel this depends, at least in part, on pressure for accountability in their parties and the wider political system.

If, therefore, sections of the ANC press harder for accountability, a future president may also feel obliged to explain actions in public. All this means that internal ANC politics are now of the utmost importance — not only or mainly in deciding who will lead and what policies will be implemented, but perhaps also in shaping the health and prospects of democracy in SA.

This does not mean opposition parties are irrelevant: on the contrary, those who understand trends within the ANC and are therefore alive to possible alliances on particular issues with sections of the majority movement may well ensure that they are not reduced to political spectators.

Analysts and citizens who do not belong to the ANC have a similar need to understand its workings. Politics in the majority alliance are both more complicated and more important than much of the media or dinner-table talk would have us believe.

Understanding our immediate future therefore requires those outside the ANC to take its internal politics far more seriously than they often tend to do.

□ *Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies.*

Clinton's Africa trip 'significant'

(304A)

DONWALD PRESSLY
CT 23/3/98

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton begins his 11-day six-nation tour of Africa today — being touted as the most significant by a United States president to the continent and the first to include South Africa.

Clinton will join a long list of political luminaries to have addressed Parliament. He meets President Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys on Thursday shortly before speaking in the National Assembly.

The visit reciprocates a state visit to the US by Mandela in 1994. Mandela, as ANC leader, also met then president Mr George Bush during a visit to the US before the party came to power.

Mandela's office said the tour was significant "just from the point of view that it is the first time that an American head of state is visiting South Africa". Presidential spokesperson Mr Parks Mankahlana said: "That in itself is a major development ... no (US) president has ever been here."

The last US president to visit Africa was Mr Jimmy Carter in 1978.

Clinton, who will be accompanied by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and their daughter Chelsea, starts the trip in Ghana's capital, Accra, today. He will also visit Uganda before heading for SA. He will then move on to Botswana, Senegal and Rwanda.

Mankahlana also said that the tour, on which Clinton will be accompanied by an entourage of 800 business people and journalists, showed that the US "takes Africa seriously" and his three-day stopover in South Africa indicated the importance of this country on the American agenda.

He said the visit was significant from the point of view of improving relations "not only from a political point of view" but also from an "economic and trade point of view".

National Party executive director Mr Renier Schoeman said South Africa had moved from a tense period of international isolation during apartheid, which had seen "a very negative" period under Carter from 1977 to 1981.

Schoeman, who was deputy foreign minister up to 1994, said he had regularly called on the great powers, who were "very involved" in destroying apartheid, to demonstrate their obligation to "play a role" in the building of a new South Africa.

Through the US-SA bi-national commission, which he described as a very formal diplomatic link, the US was demonstrating the importance it attached to South Africa.

Democratic Party leader Mr Tony Leon said that while he suspected the visit was more symbolic than substantive, "it is far more significant than just public relations".

He hoped that those who met Clinton would "make the most of it" by demonstrating South Africa's commitment to "core beliefs" such as free markets, world trade, respect for international competition and the willingness to play a role in international affairs.

Pan Africanist Congress leader Dr Stanley Mogoba said the visit was "long overdue". He hoped that the US would desist from "dictating terms" about whom SA should relate to.

But he said he hoped that the US would use its capitalist clout to help correct the wrongs of apartheid.

City faces Clinton chaos

ARG 24/3/98 (304A)

Row over shutting of key routes

CLIVE SAWYER AND SHARKEY ISAACS
STAFF REPORTERS

Cape Town is bracing itself for a Clinton cavalcade which is threatening to bring the city to a standstill.

In the early hours of Thursday, President Bill Clinton's 1 000-strong entourage, including wife Hillary, cabinet members, Congress representatives, business people and 150 members of the White House press corps hit town.

They will be taking over almost every top hotel and causing traffic delays and disruption unprecedented even by Cape Town standards.

Try to stay calm, was the advice to Capetonians from Dumisani Khumalo, Department of Foreign Affairs director for the Americas.

"Bear with us during this trip," he urged.

Apart from the sheer size of the entourage, the disruption will be caused in part by security considerations.

Mr Khumalo said the US was sensitive about the security of its first citizens, having lost presidents to assassins' bullets.

People were reminded that Mr Clinton was South Africa's guest. "In the African tradition, we want him to have the best of times available," said Mr Khumalo.

Among benefits of the visit, in part because of the international media attention, was that it would provide a showcase for Cape Town and South Africa.

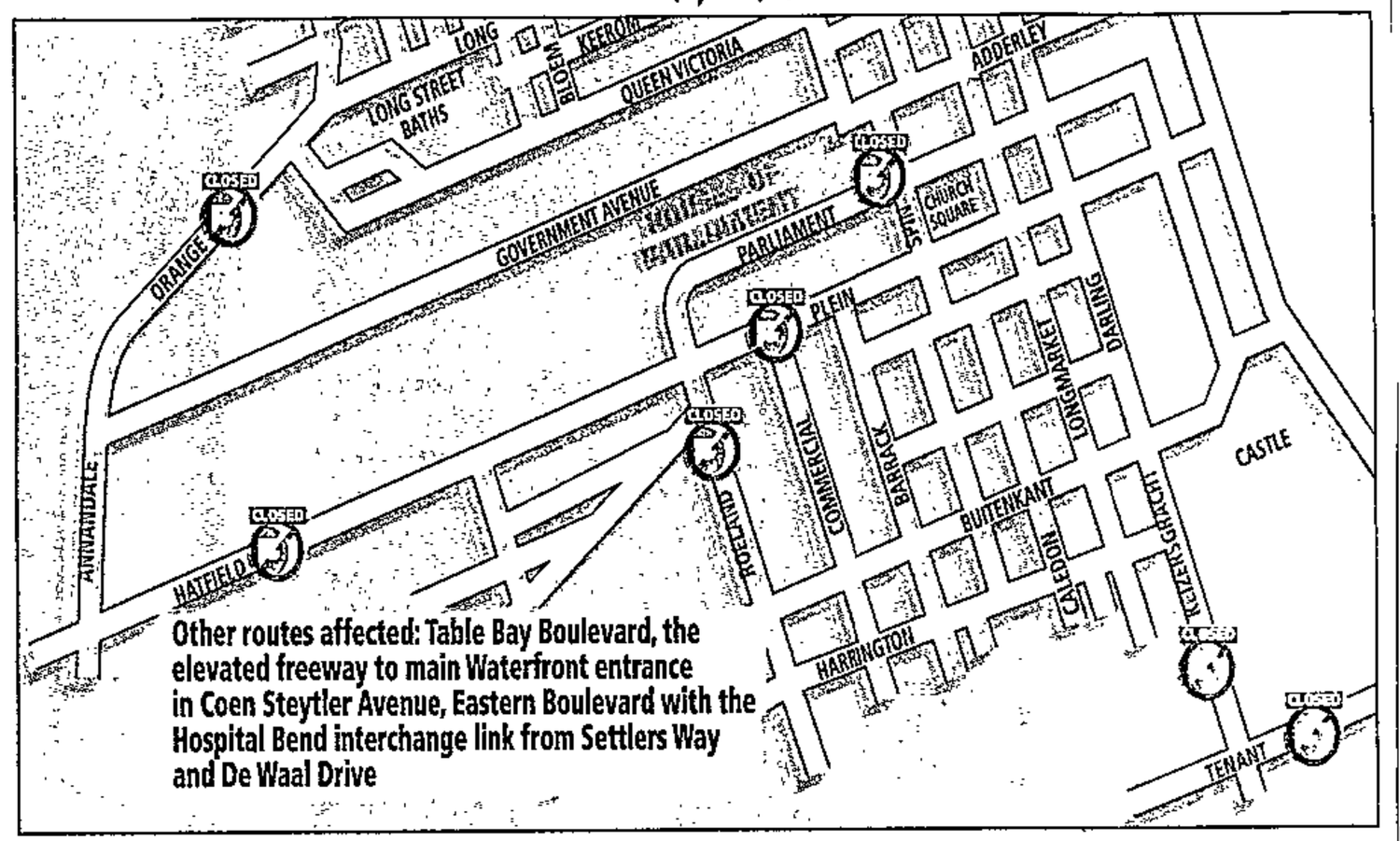
National protection services head André Kruse said that, based on intelligence reports of monitoring of groups from gangs to "Muslim extremists", security for Mr Clinton's visit would be in order.

Western Cape provincial head of national safety services Flip Nel said he was aware of only one group, a Muslim one, that had applied for permission to hold a poster demonstration during Mr Clinton's visit.

The group wanted to demonstrate against "global oppression" during Mr Clinton's address to Parliament on Friday, he said. Only 15 people at a time would hold placards so there was no chance of the demonstration getting out of hand.

Meanwhile, a row has erupted over a proposed shutdown of key routes at certain peak periods. Routes affected will be the Table Bay Boulevard stretch of the N1 freeway and the elevated freeway leading to the main Waterfront entrance in Coen Steytler Avenue, and Eastern Boulevard with the

To page 2



Other routes affected: Table Bay Boulevard, the elevated freeway to main Waterfront entrance in Coen Steytler Avenue, Eastern Boulevard with the Hospital Bend interchange link from Settlers Way and De Waal Drive

End of road: these Cape Town streets will be closed to parking and traffic at various times on Thursday

President's 'army' to shut roads

ARG 24/3/98 (304A)

From page 1

Hospital Bend interchange link from Settlers Way and De Waal Drive.

Although neither senior police nor traffic officials were prepared to say just where or when traffic would be held up, Cape Town residents want to know in order to make alternative arrangements.

A stream of disgruntled motorists telephoned the Cape Argus about being kept in the dark.

Alternate routes leading to the city are Klipfontein Road, Lansdowne Road, Swartklip Road, Voortrekker Road, Koeberg Road and Main Road from Muizenberg.

Various access roads to Parliament, including Plein, Hatfield, Orange, Spin, Roeland, Keizersgracht and Tennant streets, will be closed at certain times, and parking is prohibited in these streets from 6am to 7pm on Thursday. A parking ban in the same areas will be enforced from 6.30am to 12.30pm on Friday.

In addition, 300 guests attending a South African Red Cross Society fund-raising lunch on board the liner Rotterdam VI have been advised to leave home early to avoid being caught up in any traffic snarl-up.

It is believed that Mr Clinton will stay at the Cape Grace Hotel at the V&A Waterfront.

New socialist party is launched in SA

By Joe Mdhlela

SOUTH Africa saw the birth of another political organisation with the formation of the Socialist Party of Azania (Sopa) at the weekend.

The new party, which resulted from the Black National Conference of Review, was launched with about 1 500 delegates and observers in attendance at the Gauteng Youth College in Johannesburg.

Delegates from as far as Cape Town and Messina in Northern Province resolved to fight the "machinations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank tooth and nail and not to allow our continent to be colonised for the second time".

They accused those institutions of being responsible for the "plunder, famine, and destruction of Africa".

They said the forthcoming visit to South Africa by United States president Bill Clinton signalled a "seal of approval on what the IMF and World Bank have done".

The party resolved that the Government should reconsider servicing the apartheid debt of R320 billion.

The repayment of the debt was not only immoral, but was a betrayal of the oppressed people of the country as the previous regime incurred it to oppress them, Sopa said.

Speakers said Sopa would align itself with other socialist parties in the country and abroad "so that collectively, we can strike a mortal blow to capitalism which continues to enslave our people".

Newly elected honorary president of the party Mr Drake Koka implored the membership to work "tirelessly to deliver black people from both economic and mental bondage".

Koka said it was not surprising that the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had failed to cover the "historic founding congress of the people".

"In 1972, when I was coordinator of the Black Consciousness Movement, the same SABC ignored us. When we were an established force and they tried to cover our events we chased them away," Koka said.

Messages of support were received from political parties, trade unions and leading South African personalities, including Mr Salim Vally of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action and former president of the Azanian People Organisation Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

Among those present at the conference were BC veterans Dr Gomolemo Mokae, Mr Kehla Mthembu, Mr Pule Pule, Mr Kelello Lengane and Ms Poppie Buthelezi.

Those elected to the new national executive committee included Mr Lybon Mabasa (president), Mr Dusty Nkoana (deputy president), Mr Patrick Mkhize (general secretary), Mr Tshepo Sibusi (deputy general secretary), Mr Asraf Jooma (publicity secretary) Ms Kedibone Moremoholo (gender affairs), Mr Khehla Nkonyana (student wing) and Mr Brand Nthako (youth wing).

Tall order for new unit

The Coordination and Implementation Unit is faced with the enormous task of finding solutions for Thabo Mbeki and the Cabinet. **John Seiler** explains...

THE NEW Coordination and Implementation Unit (CIU) in Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's office started work on January 1 with four of its allotted five senior officials, two secretaries, a refrigerator and an erratic computer – but no modem.

Located in the President's wing of the Union Buildings in marginally functional offices, with high ceilings and inadequate lighting, close to the seat of power, the CIU (despite its modest staffing) already suggests a number of questions about the assumptions and intentions of executive power now and especially after Thabo Mbeki is elected as President next year.

Why the preposterous acronym, with its hint of subversive and uncontrolled use of power. Why the unit, whatever its name? Are the patently obvious problems of coordination and implementation aided in their resolution by this strengthening of Mbeki's impact on national and provincial government?

The unit grows out of a task team appointment by Mbeki almost two years ago. That task team, whose report is not available publicly, recommended a body with broad responsibilities for planning the entire gamut of Government policy and for overseeing the implementation of that policy.

Its report was presented to the Cabinet in June last year. The planning recommendation was turned down by the Cabinet, whose members pointed to the work of Cabinet clusters which provided for informal discussion among small groups of Cabinet members on specific issues, growing planning capacities within their departments and a modest development of interdepartmental planning and programme coordination structures.

Planning responsibility

Some of them might have been wary of tying planning responsibility to Mbeki's staff after 1999, providing an impetus for the disintegration of the Cabinet system into a *de facto* presidential system.

With Mbeki giving way to his colleagues on the planning issue, the unit was left with broadly defined responsibilities for ensuring the coordination of both policy making and implementation. No one on the unit's present staff knows where the name came from.

It did not even fit the mandate given it by Cabinet: coordination was appropriate, implementation was clearly not to be its responsibility.

Words like "monitor" or "facilitator" are used a lot now. "Programme evaluation" and "policy oversight" are also rhetorical stock in trade. Given the ill-fitting name and the off-putting acronym, it is not surprising that one official involved with CIU's preliminary planning discussions in the latter half of 1997 reported considerable "flak" in the Government about its potential role.

An advertisement for senior staff of the CIU in a Sunday newspaper on June 29 said the director was to hold the rank of deputy director-general with overall responsibility to ensure "policy and programme alignment with Government policies".

Working with him or her would be four chief directors, each responsible for coordinating policy and programmes across the entire range of Government activity: the social sector (health, welfare, education); the economic and development sector (finance, state expenditure); the justice system sector (safety and security, justice, home affairs); and international relations (only trade, investment, and foreign relations are mentioned in the advert leaving as a question whether defence was intentionally omitted).

Only the justice system chief director remains to be appointed. A second advertisement on February 8 seeks five more staff: an assistant to the unit's head (at the rank of deputy director) and one "research assistant" for each sector chief director – the one for the social sector holding the rank of deputy director, the other three at the rank of assistant director.

In the few weeks since its inception, the unit staff has met with all the departments of national Government and intends to hold similar introductory meetings with the provincial governments.

First, and centrally, it will provide Thabo Mbeki with a more coherent flow of work-in-progress and formal reports from the Cabinet, departments, commissions, and parastatals. This mundane sounding task has enormous implications.

For the small staff involved, even making optimal use of the "research assistants" to be hired, it will be an enormous burden just to track, summarise and point to areas where the Deputy President or his senior advisers might need to become directly involved.

To do this task well, the CIU staff will need to keep a close watch on both policy-making and on programme implementation.

In practice, certainly over time, the CIU will hold enormous power as "gatekeeper" to the Deputy President.

Two linked dilemmas come into play. At least two of the present four senior staff come from outside the national Government. They will need time to build their networks of contacts and to determine whose judgment to trust. In the meantime, the departmental contacts hold the balance of power, because their views cannot easily be tested.

The CIU staff can reduce this dependency by setting a single over-riding priority that demands immediate concerted attention and justifies the resort to Mbeki's "clout".

A critical choice: the strengthening of provincial financial management to break the cycle of deepening budget deficits, ineffective service delivery and continued corruption.

Strenuous effort

This priority would demand strenuous effort by the CIU to help optimise efforts under way by most national Government departments, the nine provincial governments, and existing mechanisms between the national and provincial governments.

Even with the bulk of CIU attention given to this single priority, getting the facts and recommending hard but feasible choices for the Cabinet and Mbeki will take extraordinary effort.

The fieldwork that went into the Ncholo Report on provincial governance provides considerable usable information but it also suggests the political difficulty and the costs in energy, time, and money to pin down further specifics prerequisite to recommended solutions.

This self-imposed concentration will prove difficult to maintain. The Unit is already perceived as an entrepot to Mbeki or his senior advisers and some national agencies have already pitched their cases for making their concerns more central in overall Government policy.

All of this is useful towards the overall goal of enhanced coordination. But for a small staff finding its way and given the destructive potential of provincial maladministration, the CIU staff must resist such overtures. Nor should it, despite its commitment to enhancing Mbeki's effectiveness, let itself be drawn into being utilised by his senior staff or by him in capricious initiatives of any sort.

Helping to make provincial government effective would in itself justify having the CIU – if only its name could be changed.

(Dr John Seiler is a political analyst who writes about political transitions)

FW, Pik and PW were on AWB's death list

(304A)

Truth Commission is told that tight security was all that prevented top Nat politicians from being killed

Star 24/3/98

By Simon Zwane and Robb Northey

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging would have killed F W de Klerk, Pik Botha and even P W Botha if given the chance, a former AWB brigadier told the TRC amnesty committee in Pretoria.

Testifying in support of murderer Cornelius Lottering's application for amnesty, Dries Kriel said the three leaders had been too closely guarded for the AWB to try to kill them.

Lottering is currently serving a prison sentence for murdering taxi driver Potoko Makgalemele in Johannesburg on August 29 1989, robbing a bottlestore to raise funds for his terror campaign and setting explosives outside the home of journalist Jani Allan.

He was also convicted of attempted escape.

When the crimes were committed, Lottering had left the AWB for the Orde van die Dood, a secret group aimed at forcing the government to declare a Boer state. "We had lost all confidence in (AWB leader) Eugene TerreBlanche because of his affair with Jani Allan."

Lottering said the underground movement's first objective was to eliminate National Party leaders.

"We later decided that ANC leaders had more power, and that we should rather focus on them," he said.

Daan Mostert, an attorney representing Lottering, told the amnesty committee that he intended to call TerreBlanche to testify in Lottering's favour.

This came after Pretoria mass murderer Barend Strydom and Kriel had testified in support of Lottering.

Lottering testified that he and his colleague Fanie Goosen, who has since disappeared, hijacked Makgalemele in Johannesburg in August 1989 and later stabbed and shot him to death near Daleside Ski Club.

The AWB and the Conservative Party were allegedly plotting the assassination of De Klerk and members of his cabinet at the time in order to overthrow the government.

Lottering was then ordered by Dawie de Beer, a leading member of the order in Vereeniging, to kill a black person as a trial run to ascertain if he could carry out the planned assassinations.

"We wanted to put pressure on the National Party to heed calls by the boer nation for a volkstaat," he said.

Strydom, who was wearing a maroon tie embroidered with a "vierkleur" flag, told the committee that the AWB viewed anyone who did not support their ideals as an enemy.

"People who were not with us were against us", he said.

Kriel, who resigned from the AWB, said members of the military wing Aquila, to which Lottering also belonged, were instructed to kill black people, to rob, and to escape from custody when possible.

He said the AWB leadership allowed the Orde van die Dood to function as a splinter group so that the AWB would not be blamed when murders were committed.

CAPE TIMES
TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1998

Cape Town pulls out all the stops for Clinton's visit

CT 24/3/98

DONWALD PRESSLY (304A)

UNCLE SAM is set to hit town, but just where he is going to stay remains the big secret.

What we do know is that President Bill Clinton will be accompanied by a dream team of 1 000 fellow Americans, including 150 members of the cream of the world power's most influential media — the White House Press Corps.

The rest will be made up of members of his cabinet and top businessmen and women.

Police spokesman Captain Karel Breytenbach, who is based at Parliament, and national protection services spokesperson Andre Kruser were reluctant to spell out just how many streets would be closed off.

But foreign affairs official Dumisani Khumalo called on drivers in Cape Town's increasingly congested streets to reduce the expected traffic chaos by "leaving 15 minutes earlier for work and going home 15 minutes early" on Thursday.

Mr Khumalo said the Americans would be bringing in "millions of dollars" into Cape Town and called on Capetonians to be nice to the foreigners.

He said South Africans should give President Clinton "the best of times" in the true African tradition.

While 120 tickets to the public gallery were randomly selected by computer from 260 applications, about a third of those will be in the national assembly with the rest in an "overflow room".

Asked where Clinton would be staying, foreign affairs officials said only that "1 000 hotel rooms" had been booked by the Americans. Pressed on how many presidential suites had been booked, Kruser said not even his staff knew this.

Responding to questions about whether operational glitches which marred the visit of Vice-President Al Gore last year, Kruser said "every site" to be visited by Clinton had been checked out by both the American and South African security teams.

PROVIDE PROTECTION — OR ELSE ...

Mayor takes on Clinton

CT 25/3/98 (3049)

THE PRESIDENT of the most powerful nation on earth and his huge entourage arrive in Cape Town tomorrow, with predictions of major traffic jams and a stern warning from the city's "first lady". Metro Editor **CLAUDIA CAVANAGH** reports.



FEISTY: Cape Town mayor Theresa Solomon won't be shoved around and is demanding the respect accorded any city's first citizen.

FILE PICTURE

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton's army of secret service and security agents should mind their step or incur the wrath of Cape Town's feisty mayor Ms Theresa Solomon, who is ready to take them on single-handed if need be.

Solomon, who is not shielded by the national VIP Protection Unit, said yesterday that she'd experienced several state visits to the city before and "was shoved around like a sack of potatoes".

This was particularly true when American first lady Ms Hillary Clinton visited Cape Town last year.

"The US VIP Protection Unit, the CIA, FBI, the army, the navy and, in fact, the troops, pushed me around and showed me a lot of disrespect," an angry Solomon told Cape Town's executive committee.

She appealed to the council to fax the relevant authorities and request protection for her — or else.

"At twenty past midnight on Thursday I'm expected to meet the president of America at the airport and portray a vibrant city by being a vibrant mayor."

But in order to do that she needed support, she said. "So when the FBI privy to his movements.

While we can expect, and should tolerate, traffic delays of up to an hour, throughout the city, says Cape Town's city manager Mr Andrew Boraine, it remains a closely-guarded secret where these will be.

"Please don't ask me where, I really don't have a clue," he told the exco meeting yesterday.

"The Department of Foreign Affairs and the national security forces have requested that none of the routes be discussed in public forums or at meetings.

"This is probably the biggest visit our city has ever seen and the first time a US president has visited South Africa — so we should really weigh up the problems of disruption against the real advantages this visit will hold.

"The picture that top journalists and TV crews beam back to the US of a vibrant, dynamic city is worth millions of dollars in advertising."

The closest the *Cape Times* came to seeing a map of Clinton's itinerary was arriving in a Civic Centre office after one had been rapidly shredded. "It's a top, top secret," said public affairs manager Ms Leonora da Sousa. "You'll get nothing from me."

But by asking around, we managed to establish that both major highways out of the city will be closed just before and during peak afternoon traffic, so expect some chaos on your way home tomorrow.

Eastern Boulevard will closed to outgoing traffic from 3.10pm to 4.15pm and Table Bay Boulevard, around the Oswald Pirow link, from 3.10pm to around 4pm.

The streets around Parliament will be shut to ordinary traffic for most of the day, so it's probably wise to stay well away from there if you don't want to become part of a traffic snarl-up.

Boraine said that over the past weeks the city had systematically sealed manhole covers along the route to be travelled by Clinton and trimmed trees lining the roads "for cosmetic purposes".

The route had also been generally "cleansed", said Boraine.

So if your street has come in for some unseasonal attention from the council, perhaps you'll get a glimpse of Clinton.

One hopes though, that he and his entourage go nowhere near the N1, said National Party leader in the Cape Town council Mr Clive Justus.

"It's one route in the city that seems to have received no attention and is lined with plastic bags and cardboard boxes," he said.

And since most costs would be met by the government and the White House, another councillor quipped: "Couldn't we arrange a trip through the poorer areas, which have no manhole covers at the moment?"

The elaborate plans being made exclusively for the 200-strong White House media contingent are no secret. They are to be set up in the Civic Centre's large exhibition hall with state-of-the-art satellite and media equipment.

"But there's no way that you guys (local journalists) will be allowed to go in there," explained a Civic Centre source.

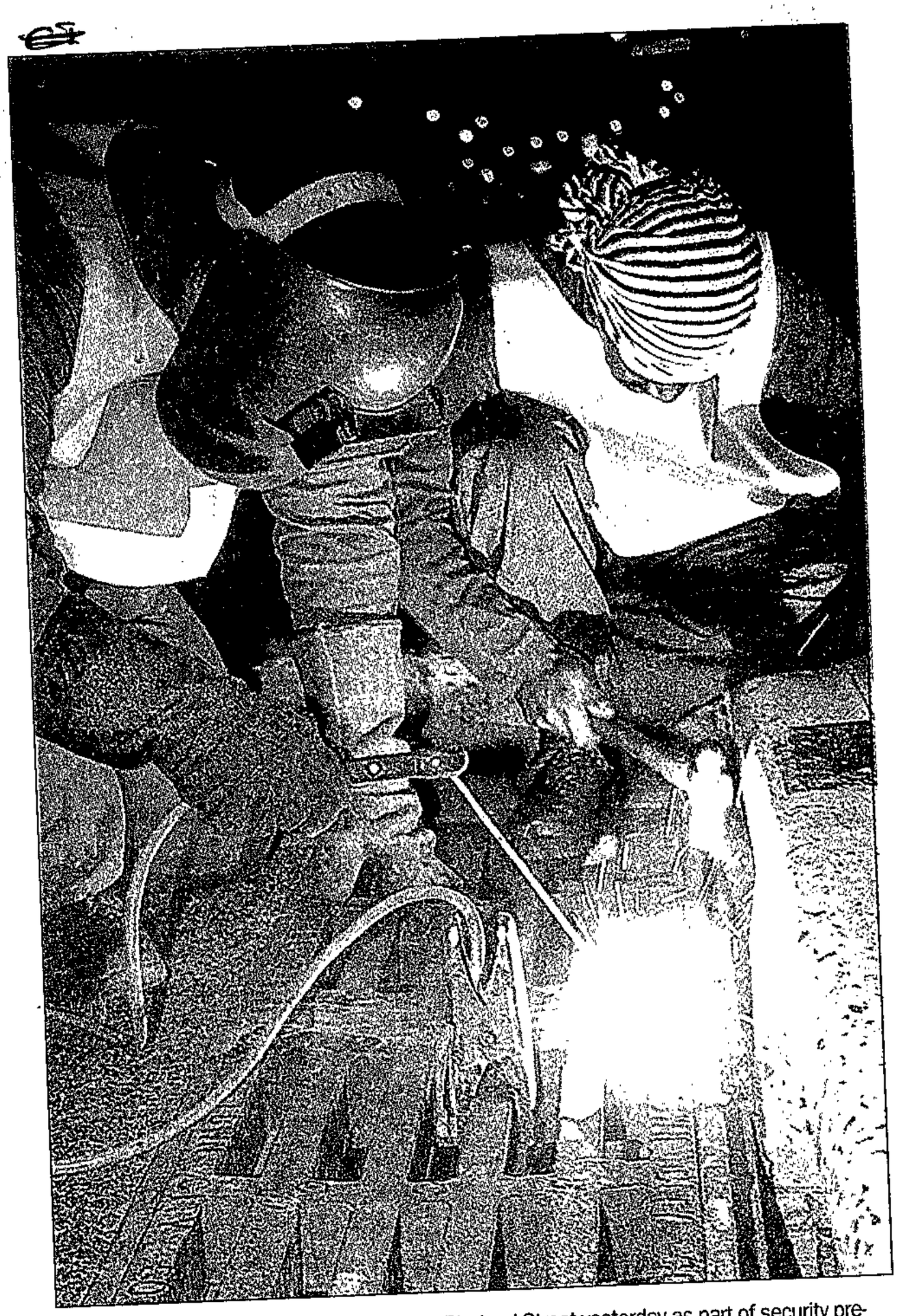
On arrival, visiting journalists will be presented with a city information package and on Friday they'll be treated to a tour of Manenberg, Guguletu and Nyanga, ending at the Spier Wine Estate in Stellenbosch.

"At least that will get them out of this building and looking at parts of the city they'd normally not see," explained Boraine.

● See Page 4

CT 25/3/98 (304A)

roadshow



NO CHANCES: Welders seal drain covers in Roeland Street yesterday as part of security precautions for President Bill Clinton's arrival tomorrow. *PICTURE: THEMBINKOSI DWAYISA*

25/3/98 (504M)

and company start to shove the mayor around, the mayor, herself, doesn't have to shove back."

Her fears are not unfounded.

When American Vice-President Al Gore visited Durban last year, the behaviour of his "bullying" staff reportedly "failed to conquer the hearts and minds" of locals. Traffic chaos became the theme of his visit.

And while the insensitivity and high-handedness of US state security staff are no secret, Clinton's movements around the city certainly are.

When he arrives tomorrow with an incredible 1 000-member entourage, 15 cargo planes, a fleet of bullet-proof stretch limousines and several helicopters, we'll all know he's here by the ensuing traffic jams. That is, somewhere in the city at least. Because nobody, it seems, save the real insiders, is



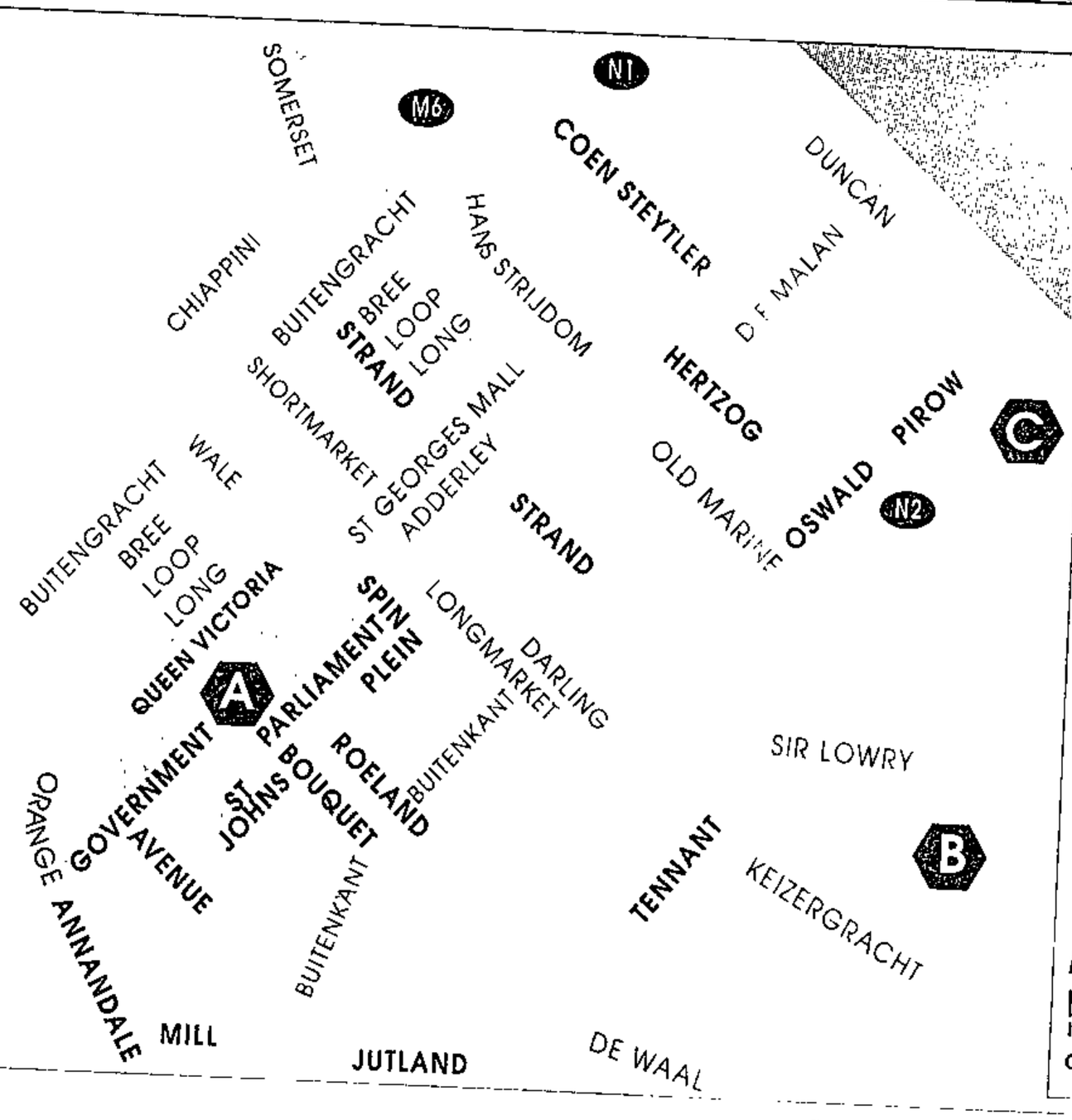
ALL EARS: President Bill Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton react to singing children from the Kisowera school at the rural village of Mukono, 60km from the Ugandan capital Kampala yesterday. ***PICTURE: AP***

STREETS AFFECTED

A All streets around Parliament will be closed for most of the day

B Eastern Boulevard - Closed to all incoming traffic from 3.30pm to 4.15pm and to outgoing traffic from 3.10pm to 4.15pm. (All the way from Coen Steytler, including Strand Street and Hertzog Boulevard.

C Table Bay Boulevard - Closed at the Oswald Pirow link to outgoing traffic from 3.10pm to 4.00pm and from 5.45pm to 6.10pm for incoming traffic



GRAPHIC: MATTHYS MOSS

BILL CLINTON'S ENTOURAGE TO CAPE TOWN:

200 Whitehouse journalists

800 officials, politicians and businessmen



'Airforce One', the Boeing 707 carrying the President himself



15 Giant military cargo planes



Marine One - The President's personal helicopter, with 3 identical prototypes to confuse any onslaught.

Madiba takes Bill's limelight

ARG 25/2/98 (304A)

Everywhere Bill Clinton goes with Nelson Mandela this week, he will be reminded of his 79-year-old host's suffering during his years of imprisonment on Robben Island.

Mr Clinton, as US President probably the most photographed man on Earth, will for once not have to squint into the glare of 1 000 flashguns.

Press photographers are under strict instructions not to use flashes around Mr Mandela, whose tear ducts were destroyed by 18 years of chiselling into limestone rock in Robben Island's dusty quarry.

The accumulated burning dust endured during hard labour means he has to undergo regular routine corrective laser surgery, the latest only last Sunday.

Mr Mandela will return to the island on Friday to give Mr Clinton an unmissable photo-opportunity – beamed back to the home of the free – with black American voters particularly in mind.

The lure of Robben Island, its history of abject misery, cruelty and suffering, have proved irresistible for Mr Clinton, as for many a world leader before him.

He was preceded there by his Vice-President, Al Gore, in February last year.

The last head of state to visit was German President Roman Herzog two weeks ago.

Clinton aides see the Robben Island tour as one of the most important parts of the trip. For photo-ops and public relations, this is as big as it gets.

The administration, smarting from a stream of presidential sex scandals back home, has left nothing to chance.

Among the advance team dispatched to South Africa by the White House two weeks ago was Mort Engelberg, an ex-Hollywood movie producer who "produces" all of Mr Clinton's trips. It was Engelberg who directed Mr Clinton's successful 1996 re-election campaign.

National security adviser Sandy Berger said the tour of Robben Island should be "quite a special moment".

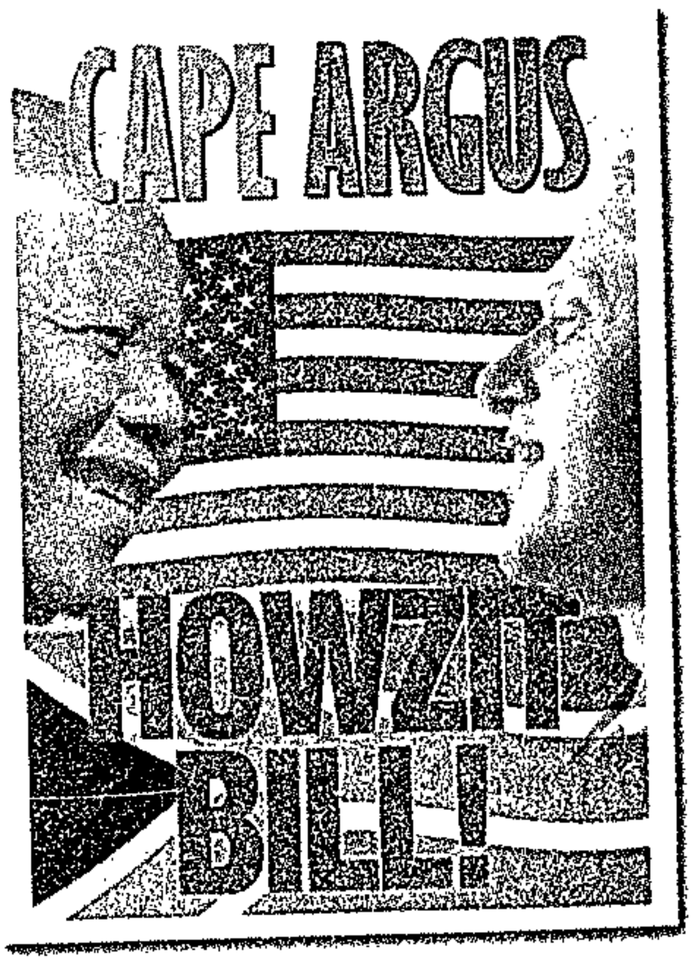
To spare his eyes from the glare, Mr Mandela will wear dark glasses when he shepherds Mr Clinton around the limestone quarry. – Sapa-AFP

Bus strike will add to road chaos, page 2

Civic Centre goes hi-tech for media, page 2

Graphic: the Clintons come to town, page 3

Defusing Rwanda genocide threat, page 3



Traditional greeting: the Cape Argus decided to give Bill Clinton an authentic South African welcome by sending our teams out overnight to blanket the city with these posters. Be sure to look out for them tomorrow

Special flight for US flag

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A special ceremonial United States flag has been flown from Washington to Cape Town to fly over Parliament during President Bill Clinton's visit.

The special flight was necessary because there was no ceremonial US flag in the country, said parliamentary media liaison manager Barry Streek.

Special security measures begin coming into effect today and will peak tomorrow and on Friday when Mr Clinton will address Parliament and visit Tuynhuys.

All journalists covering Mr Clinton's visit to Parliament will be thoroughly searched.

In a departure from normal practice, in which accredited parliamentary journalists are allowed to roam freely, it is expected that the newsmen who will sit in the gallery during the speech will not be allowed to roam.

Photographers inside the chamber will also not be allowed to move from their allocated spots during the speech.

An American pool camera inside the chamber will provide a live feed to CNN and the address will also be carried live on SABC television and radio.

US civil rights man joins tour

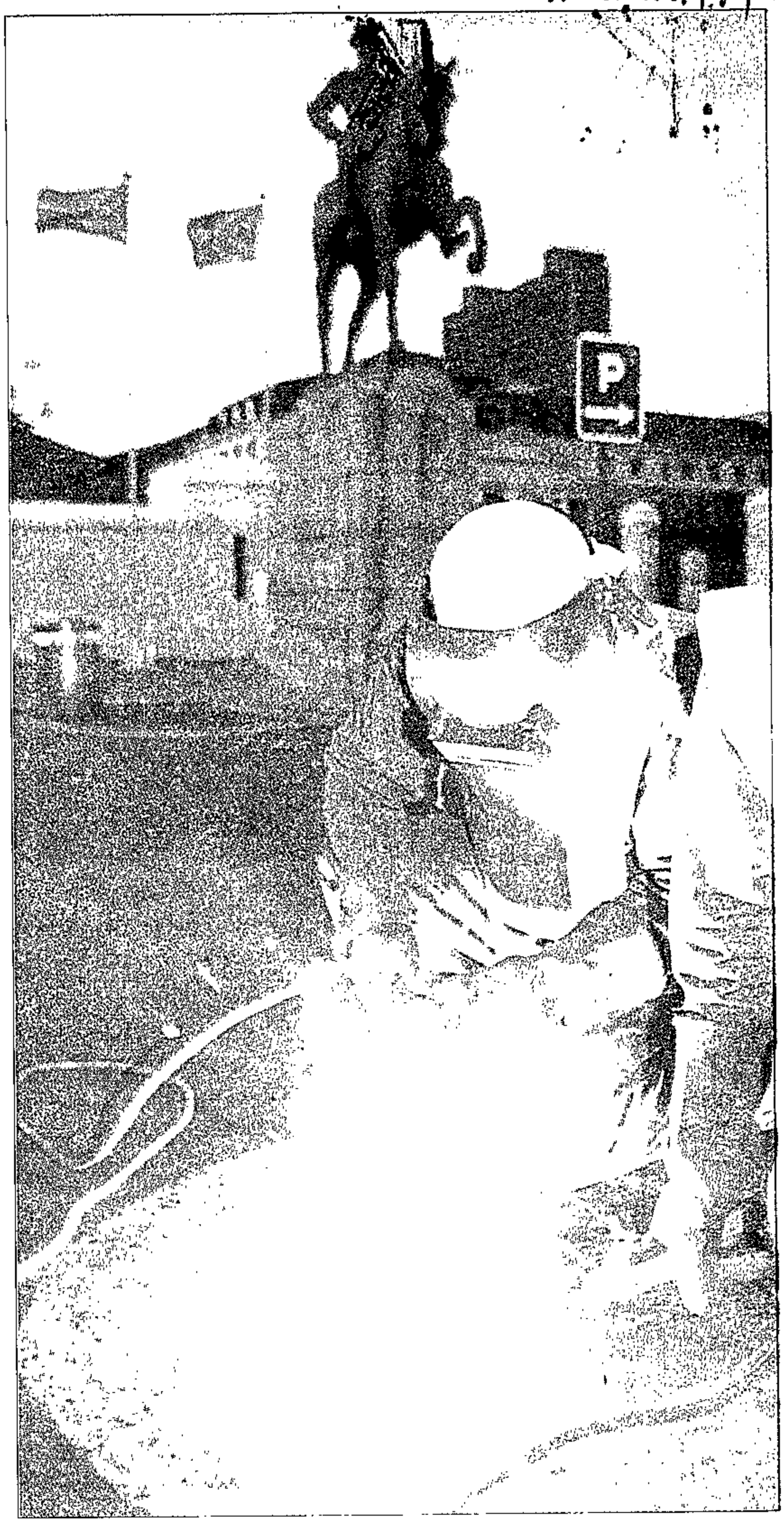
Baltimore – Civil rights leader Kweise Mfume, a strong critic of South Africa's former apartheid system during Mr Clinton's tenure in Congress, will join the president on his trip to South Africa.

Mr Mfume was scheduled to join the president today, said a spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. Mr Mfume has said it was important that the US redefine its relationship with South Africa and other African nations. – Sapa-AP

Bus strike spells C

Long delays loom if commute

ARGUS 25/3/98



Secure: a drain cover is welded down near Parliament ahead of the Clinton visit

SHARKEY ISAACS
STAFF REPORTER

(304A)

The planned strike by Cape Town bus drivers will force many commuters to go to work by car tomorrow, aggravating traffic chaos when roads are closed for President Bill Clinton's visit.

The 1 000-strong Clinton entourage hits town just after midnight.

An advance contingent of American personnel arrived in Cape Town two months ago to plan security arrangements with police and the traffic department. The team made a detailed study of Cape Town and its people and and some are said to know the city better than most residents.



The Americans have brought their own fleet of vehicles, which will include at least 15 armour-plated cars. They were flown from the United States in huge transport aircraft.

Acting city traffic chief Malcolm Little said: "The sheer size of the entourage and its fleet requires a number of traffic shutdowns on highways for certain periods which are expected to disrupt normal traffic.

"If the bus strike goes ahead, the situation is going to be compounded with many commuters using their cars. This is going to cause further severe delays in an already disrupted traffic situation.

"If a settlement is not reached to avert a strike, we will have severe traffic congestion problems. I urge commuters to use public transport."

Drivers show

TRANSPORT REPORTER

A strike by Golden Arrow bus workers is due to come into effect at midnight if 11th-hour negotiations on a union demand for a 10,5% wage increase fail.

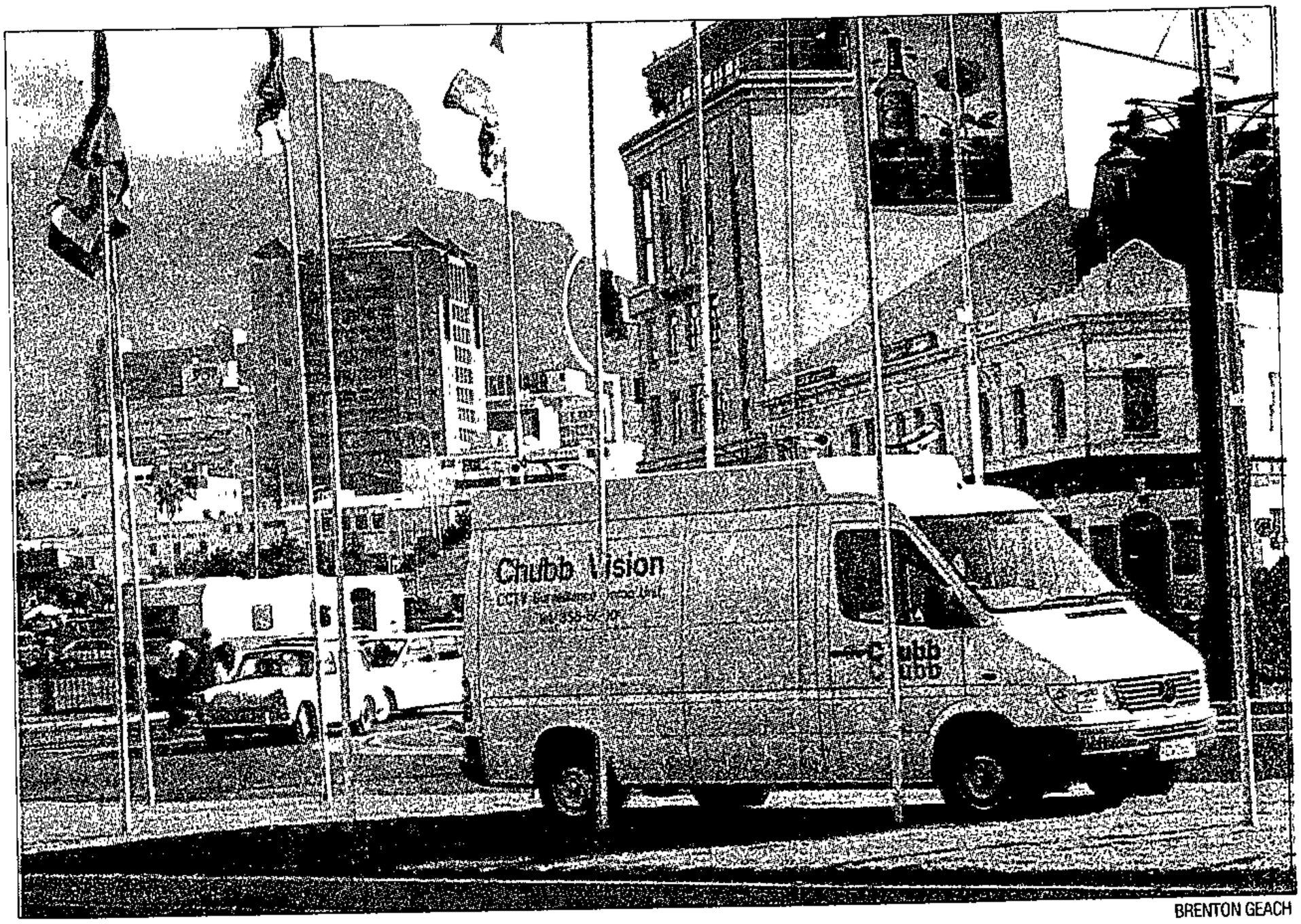
Unions postponed the strike from 3.30pm today to midnight on compassionate grounds so that they could ferry commuters home today.

The workers are set to join national strike after membe

25/03/98

linton road mayhem

rs take to cars, says traffic chief



BRENTON GEACH

Spy van: a security vehicle with video cameras mounted on its roof monitors vehicles and passengers entering the Waterfront area

He said the traffic department did not know specific details of the movements of the presidential cavalcade.

The traffic department would be notified only about 30 minutes before a trip was undertaken. Even then, they would be told to carry out plan A, B or C, indicating specific routes.

He advised drivers to depart early for destinations in case they were caught in snarl-ups..

Motorists could avoid routes that may be affected by using alternative roads to the city such as Klipfontein Road, Lansdowne Road, Swartklip Road, Voortrekker Road, Koeberg Road and Main Road from Muizenberg .

Mr Clinton will stay at the Cape Grace Hotel at the Waterfront.

compassion, delay stoppage

declined to ratify a new wage agreement reached between unions and the South African Bus Employers' Association.

Golden Arrow general manager Hannes Grebe said certain contingency plans would come into effect if the strike went ahead. These included an arrangement with Metrorail to honour bus clipcards on trains for the duration of the strike. He also said commuters in Atlantis would have to make their own transport arrangements because intimidation had forced taxi organisations to renege on a similar agreement.

Metrorail spokeswoman Riana Jacobs confirmed the agreement and said Metrorail had sufficient trains to carry the extra passengers.

Mr Grebe said the company intended to impose a lockout of strikers from midnight. "This means that only people who are not part of the strike will be allowed on company property for the duration of strike."

W Cape task team is in on the action

The Western Cape provincial crime task team is working in co-operation with the SA Police Services contingent involved with the security of US President Bill Clinton.

The task team was appointed by Premier Hernus Kriel on Monday.

The chairman of the task team, MEC for community safety and environmental affairs Gerald Morkel, said in a statement the team had identified certain problem areas.

He said aa special police contingent from the province had been assigned to support the American and South African security personnel tasked with protecting the American president. – Sapa

project had to be seen as a model for the rest of the world to show what could be accomplished with a small amount of money.

Earlier today, two unofficial and sharply contrasting receptions awaited Mr Clinton as he stepped off Air Force One to become the first United States president to visit South Africa.

As he came into view atop the stairway leading down to the windswept Cape Town International Airport cargo landing area where his jet had stopped, a cheer rose from a small group of airport staff on the late-night shift.

From a cordon some metres behind the press photographers' podium, the excited cluster of staff shot their souvenir pictures with instant cameras.

The other reception was kept far away from Mr Clinton.

Police barred a group calling itself Muslims Against Global Oppression from entering the airport premises.

Dubbing the president "Mr Evil", they chanted "Death to Clinton" and said he was not welcome on the soil of Africa.

Shortly before 2am the Clintons stepped from the aircraft to be greeted by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, mayor Ms Solomon, SA ambassador to Washington Franklin Sonn and US envoy James Joseph.

Also on the aircraft were Secretary for Labour Alexis Herman, Commerce Secretary William Daley, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater, and the US special envoy for democracy in Africa, Jesse Jackson.

Mr Clinton was due to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki before his official welcome by President Mandela at a Tuynhuys ceremony this afternoon.

He will then address a joint sitting of Parliament and meet opposition leaders.

South Africa is Mr Clinton's fourth stop on his six-country African safari. From here, he goes on to Botswana and Senegal.

A mandela's worker or Mr Security 3
Watertight security at Waterfront hotel 3
More cash for sex probe 3
I want it over, says Paula Jones 23

TOMORROW: Pages of reports and pictures, plus the full text of Bill Clinton's speech to Parliament

The bodyguard

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town mayor Theresa Solomon has got her way – a national protection service bodyguard has been assigned to protect her during Bill Clinton's visit.

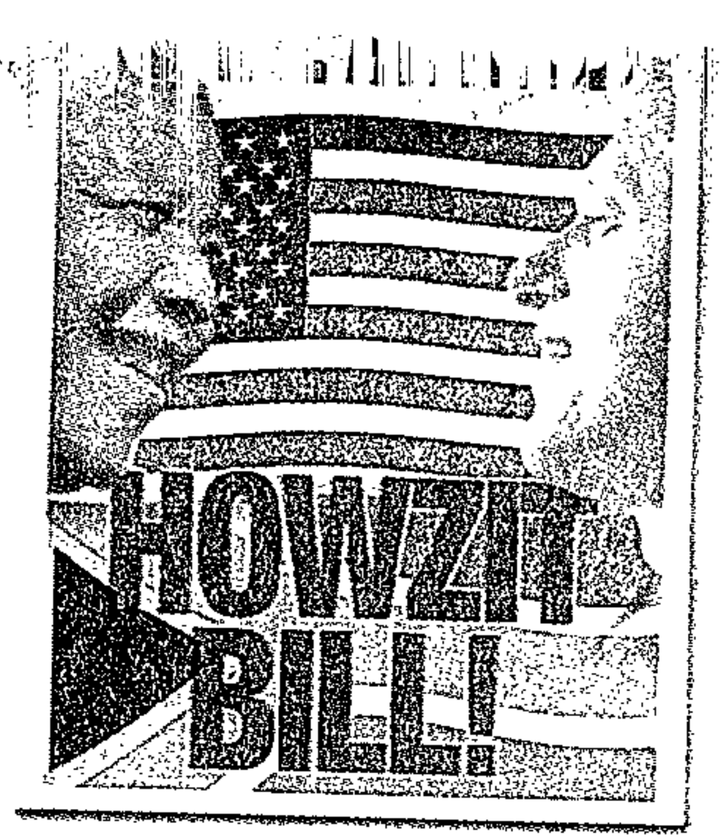
Not that the bodyguard is to protect her from Mr Clinton – rather, to avoid a repetition of the buffeting she says she received during previous VIP visits.

The mayor irked Foreign Affairs officials eager to be nice to the visiting Americans when she complained publicly about her previous treatment at the hands of bodyguards.

The feisty mayor warned she would "push back" if pushed.

Now her admission to the inner circle of the protected may outlast Mr Clinton's stay.

The mayor's office has asked national protection services to consider training a select group of council staff in the skill of bodyguarding.



A reply was awaited, a senior official confirmed.

■ US journalists are to be shown the charms of the Mother City, and offered a special kind of protection among gifts they receive as part of the welcome. Among the souvenir T-shirts and caps will be condoms wrapped in traditional African-pattern spectacle strings.



ROY WIGLEY

Street cred: Bill and Hillary Clinton with the sign for a street at Victoria Mxenge named after the First Lady

Muslim 'duty' to oppose visit

ARG 26/3/98 (304A)

Muslims in South Africa had a duty to oppose the state visit of President Clinton, a Muslim leader said today.

Abdulatief Abrahams, chairman of Muslims Against Global Oppression (Mago), whose members staged a placard demonstration at the airport before Mr Clinton's arrival early today, said their organisation was established solely to oppose the oppression of "believing people".

"We want to make all Muslims aware of the global onslaught against Islam by the Zionists and their allies in the west, especially America (the United States)," he said.

Meanwhile, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma held talks with United States Commerce Secretary William Daley in which she said her controversial medicines control legislation was not violating any international agreements.

The meeting, at the Cape Grace Hotel at the Waterfront, lasted about 45 minutes, said spokesman Vincent Hlongwane.

Mr Daley, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater and Labour Secretary Alexis Herman are with Mr Clinton in South Africa.

The US drug industry lobby believes the Medicines Control and Related Substances Act threatens its patent rights and has petitioned the US trade department to place South Africa on its "priority watch list" of intellectual property rights violators.

Transport Minister Mac Maharaj and Mr Slater covered a range of issues during informal talks today.

Mr Maharaj briefed Mr Slater on progress in his department's R20-million strategic planning project, Moving South Africa, and invited the US to send experts to South Africa to discuss some of the findings.

"As the US Transportation Department is also conducting a similar exercise, Secretary Slater responded positively to the idea," said the ministry. – Sapa

ARG 26/3/98

304A

Bill breezes in

JERMAINE CRAIG AND CLIVE SAWYER
STAFF REPORTERS

In Cape Town today, President Bill Clinton came face to face with one of the biggest struggles facing South Africa – providing housing – and committed millions of dollars to help.

He pledged $3-million (about R15-m) during a surprise visit to the famed Victoria Mxenge housing project in Philippi.

He unexpectedly accompanied his wife Hillary, who had been scheduled to visit the project on her own. It was his first public appearance since his arrival early today.

It was Mrs Clinton's second visit to the project, where women save up money and build their own homes. To date it has 280 members belonging to the Homeless People Federation, and 103 houses have been built.

Mrs Clinton said she was delighted to return to the project she visited during her trip to South Africa last year.

"I have been talking about what I saw here since I returned to the US last year. I've been telling my husband about all the work done in South Africa to build the country and what I have seen here in Cape Town.

"Of course he wanted to come to South Africa, to Cape Town and of course he wanted to come with me to see what you have done," Mrs Clinton told the women builders.

The Clintons were welcomed by mayor Theresa Solomon and hundreds of ululating Philippi residents. They inspected the home of Veliswa Mbeki, one of the founder members of the project. The Clintons then lent a hand to two women building their homes.

Mrs Clinton said her husband had spent a summer building houses about 30 years ago, to which the president replied: "I went into politics so I would not have to work as hard."

Mr Clinton praised the work of the women and said that USAid would pledge a further $3-million this year to build more houses in projects similar to the one at Victoria Mxenge.

"You have taken your hard work, your motivation to have a house and each of you has added something. Now you have houses and you are building a community. I hope everyone of you feels the pride that I have for what you have accomplished," Mrs Clinton said.



Builder Bill: Bill Clinton and his wife Hillary roll up their sleeves, to help women building their own homes, during a visit to the Vi[illegible]

Preparing for an indaba under African skies 2
Clinton seeks SA corruption pledge .. 3

Mayor gets

with R15m

(3044) ARG 26/3/98



ROY WIGLEY

ria Mxenge housing project in Philippi today. The president joked that he quit building and went into politics to avoid the hard work

SADTU TO CHECK ON RIGHTS

Visit blamed for ban on mass action

ET (IOR) 26/3/98 (304A)

THE BAN on Sadtu's protest action was as a result of a changed attitude by parents and officials to schools being disrupted, and not because of today's presidential visit, the Education Department says. **TROYE LUND** reports.

THE Education Department has pulled out all legal stops, and has stopped the country's biggest teachers' union from continuing with a two-day mass action plan that would have coincided with President Bill Clinton's visit.

The South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu) claim that the department, which has never gone to the lengths of applying for an urgent Labour Court interdict to stop protesting before, wanted to avoid negative attention while Clinton was in the country.

Before the interdict (which threatened teachers with dismissal on the grounds that they would have to be absent from work) was issued, the Cape Town City Council denied Sadtu permission to march in the city today because Clinton would be in town.

Sadtu spokesperson Mr Don Pasquallie, said: "Teachers have been marching and protesting this whole year, the government has never gone to such lengths to stop them. It is an attempt to make everything look hunky dory for Clinton when it is not."



National Education Department human resources director Mr Duncan Hindle denied Pasquallie's claim. He said using the law to stop the march had nothing to do with Clinton, it was "symptomatic" of a changed attitude among parents, taxpayers and department officials.

"There is a broad public mood that is tired of schools being disrupted and being used for socio-political protest.

"Taxpayers pay R3 000 a year each towards teachers salaries and have become less tolerant, especially because there are legal channels to solve grievances."

As far as Sadtu was concerned, teachers had eight hours a year to hold organised activity, and this week's demonstrations would be part of that — legal permission only had to be obtained for strikes.

However, the union said it would postpone its mass action plan until it had clarified its position on protesting during school hours, and then obtain permission to continue with mass action.

If the government did not meet its demands, which include a halt to teacher retrenchments and a concrete plan to redress conditions in poor schools, Sadtu would strike.

This would be over and above the strike against rationalisation in education that Cosatu plans for the Western Cape.

Beware the 'brutal capitalists' — Wosa

ERIC NTABAZALILA

THE excitement caused by the coming of the American president to the city is not seen by all Capetonians as an opportunity for US investment in the city and the country.

Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) said it wished to remind South Africans that the American government and the capitalist forces it represented were the single most lethal threat to the happiness of people across the globe and even to the survival of the human species.

"We will not forget the brutalities that these forces have committed. We think of the decades-long embargo against the people of Cuba, tightened recently by the Clinton regime," a statement by the organisation said.

It said South Africans should not forget Cuba's selfless support for the struggle against apartheid.

The real reason for this vulgar safari is the reconquest of sub-Saharan Africa for the benefit of the monopoly capitalists in the US who want to control the world, it said.

Mandela takes critique of his office to heart

CT (26/3/98 (304A)

PRETORIA: President Nelson Mandela yesterday acknowledged shortcomings in the functioning of his office, as outlined in a Presidential Review Commission report which he received on Tuesday.

"The President's Office has become a source of frustration," the report said.

Mandela said the commission had levelled harsh criticism against himself and his office. It quoted some directors-general as saying that the president's office was a source of frustration — not answering letters, among other things.

"That criticism is absolutely accurate and we acknowledge that weakness without qualification. We have to attend to that matter," Mandela said.

"The fact that the president's office should be the source of frustration is not healthy for the government."

Mandela cited two reasons for the problem. Firstly, he had resisted calls by Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya to appoint at least five or six more staff.

"(Skweyiya) has said to me there is no president's office anywhere in the world with so few members of staff. I have said that I have given instructions to the government and the country for belt-tightening, and I must set an example."

The other reason, Mandela said, was his extremely tight schedule.

"Like today, I will not be able to sit at my desk and attend to the affairs of government. I have so many engagements which take me away from the office."

This did not however, justify the president's office — which was supposed to be the driving engine of government — neglecting its work, Mandela said.

Mandela said the government had many weaknesses, partly caused by its inexperience.

"One of the things that is easily forgotten when we are assessing the work of this government is that we were taken from the bush and we were suddenly thrown into this immense responsibility of running a highly-developed country like South Africa.

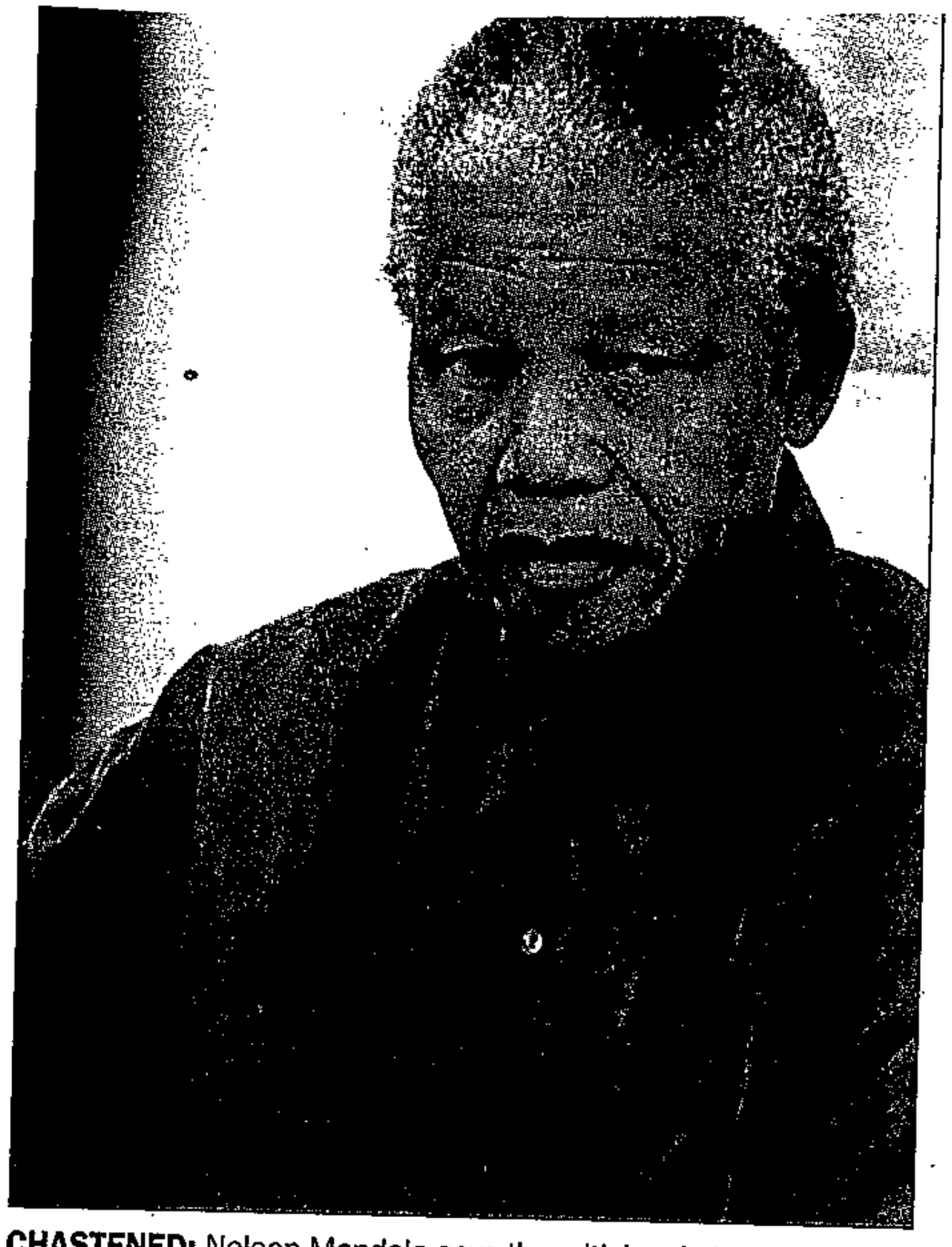
"We were taken from the bush, or from underground outside the country, or from the prisons, to come and take charge."

Many people in government were without school education, skills or expertise.

"Whatever criticisms you have, you must always bear this in mind: We are dealing with a government with this background," Mandela said.

However, no government in the history of South Africa had achieved as much in four years as the current one.

The Presidential Review Commission was set up by Mandela in April 1996 to make proposals on the transformation of the public service. — Sapa



CHASTENED: Nelson Mandela says the criticism is 'accurate'.

DP to thank Clinton in Parliament

THE African National Congress' monopoly on welcome rituals for foreign heads of state invited to address Parliament will be broken today.

National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Ginwala yesterday asked the Democratic Party's Dene Smuts to do the honours and formally thank President Bill Clinton after he addresses a joint sitting of the National Assembly and National Council of Provinces.

A spokesperson for the ANC chief whip's office said the issue was a matter for Parliament's presiding officer and had nothing to do with the party.

The ANC's monopoly on introducing and thanking heads of state has been a sore point with opposition parties, and was raised again in Parliament earlier this week by the National Party.

NP Leader of the National Assembly Sheila Camerer objected to the exclusion of other parties from introducing and thanking visiting heads of state. — Sapa

Clinton show sweeps in

Star 26/3/98 (~~3044~~) (3044)

US president greeted by fury of Cape of Storms, but misses protest group chanting 'Death to Clinton'

By Clive Sawyer
Cape Town

Two unofficial and different receptions awaited Bill Clinton in the early hours of this morning as he stepped off Air Force One to become the first United States president to visit South Africa.

As he came into view atop the stairway leading down to the windswept Cape Town international airport cargo landing area where his plane had stopped, a cheer rose from a small group of airport staff on the late-night shift.

From a cordon some metres behind the press photographers' podium, the excited cluster of staff shot their souvenir pictures with instant cameras.

The other reception was kept far away from Clinton.

Police barred a group calling itself Muslims Against Global Oppression from entering the airport premises.

Dubbing the president "Mr Evil" they chanted "Death to Clinton" and said he was not welcome on the soil of Africa.

As the hours wore on while VIPs, a strong security contingent, and the media awaited Clinton's delayed flight, the group abandoned its airport protest, apparently in the hope of getting their message to him at the Cape Grace Hotel where he will stay during his two-day spell in Cape Town.

It was shortly before 2am when Clinton, hand-in-hand with his wife Hillary, stepped from the plane to be greeted by Foreign Minister Alfred Nzo, Cape Town Mayor Theresa Solomon, South African ambassador to Washington Franklin Sonn and US ambassador James Joseph.

Also on the plane were Secretary for Labour Alexis Herman, Commerce Secretary William Daley, Transportation Secretary Rodney Slater, and the US special envoy for democracy in Africa, Jesse Jackson.

Awaiting the visitors on the landing strip were the president's stretch limousine and a fleet of other VIP vehicles, baggage buses and security cars which formed a cavalcade stretching more than 500m.

A police helicopter hovered close by, and snipers occupied a hangar roof to protect first Air Force One's most important passenger, and then, for the rest of the night, the plane itself.

In a chilling reminder of the power Clinton holds in his hands, his bagman – the bearer of the case with the codes to launch the US's array of nuclear weapons – made sure the case was close at hand before the president stepped into his limousine.

A series of official occasions await Clinton today.

He was due to meet Deputy President Thabo Mbeki prior to his official welcome by President Mandela at Tuynhuys.

Clinton was to address a joint sitting of the Houses of Parliament this afternoon, after which he will meet opposition leaders. South Africa is Clinton's final call on his six-country African safari.

His previous stop was Uganda, for talks with leaders of six countries on ways to prevent a recurrence of violence in the Great Lakes Region.

■ Meanwhile, Cape Town's mayor has got her way – a national protection service bodyguard has been assigned to protect her during Clinton's visit.

Solomon irked foreign affairs officials eager to be nice to the visiting Americans when she complained publicly about her previous treatment at the hands of US bodyguards.

Moving too fast to take it all in

Clinton's 12-day dash across six countries is moving so fast that information at one stop is difficult to absorb before he moves on. Yesterday he visited Rwanda, flew back to Uganda, took part in a summit and then flew to South Africa, all in about 18 hours.

Asked about Clinton's thoughts on going to South Africa, spokesman Mike McCurry said the president was still thinking about Rwanda. "I'll be honest with you, he is looking forward to going to South Africa but he has not processed that information yet." – Reuters

■ See pages 4 and 15

Vryburg High School told how to solve its problems

Star 26/3/98 (50)

By Tefo Mothibeli

A task team probing a spate of clashes at Vryburg High School in North West province yesterday released a report stating that blatant racism was the source of the conflict and recommended radical change.

The team found there was a lack of transformation at the school and that recommendations regarding transformation had not been implemented.

The school has been volatile since black students voiced dissatisfaction at the racist treatment meted out to them by the school management.

The team discovered there were "two schools" operating from the same premises, with two sets of time tables and two separate groups of teachers.

The team reported that the principal did not understand transformation, that he lacked vision and that he did not have empathy with the needs of black students and their educators. Black staff members were also completely left out of management and decision-making roles.

Black students were deprived of computer training facilities, technical facilities and second-language English teachers, among other things.

The following are some recommendations of the team: that the school governing body be restructured to be representative; parallel medium should continue; the option of English as first language to be introduced, and the transformation process must be started in accordance with the recommended action strategy.

TITANIC'S ... JOKERS WILD ... WORLD ... BUSINESS

Mandela agrees with report that his office isn't delivering the goods

(304A)

He says inexperience and lack of staff must be blamed for shortcomings

Star 26/3/98

SAPA

President Nelson Mandela yesterday acknowledged shortcomings in the functioning of his office, as outlined in a Presidential Review Commission report which he received the day before.

"The President's Office has become a source of frustration," he told reporters in Pretoria.

Mandela said the report levelled harsh criticism against himself and his office. It quoted some directors-general as saying the President's Office was a source of frustration – not answering letters, among other things.

"That criticism is absolutely accurate, and we acknowledge that weakness without qualification. We have to attend to that matter," Mandela said.

"The fact that the President's Office should be the source of frustration is not healthy for the Government."

Mandela cited two reasons.

Firstly, he had resisted calls by Public Service and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya to appoint at least five or six more staff.

"(Skweyiya) has said to me there is no president's office anywhere in the world with so few members of staff. I have said that I have given instructions to the Government and the country for belt-tightening, and I must set an example."

The other reason, Mandela said, was his extremely tight schedule.

"Like today, I will not be able to sit at my desk and attend to the affairs of government. I have so many engagements which take me away from the office."

This did not, however, justify the President's Office, which was supposed to be the driving engine of the Government, neglecting its work.

Praise for four years of achievement in country

He said the Government had many weaknesses, partly caused by its inexperience.

"One of the things that is easily forgotten when we are assessing the work of this Government is that we were taken from the bush and we were suddenly thrown into this immense responsibility of running a highly developed country.

"We were taken from the bush, or from underground outside the country, or from the prisons, to come and take charge."

Many were people without schooling, skills or expertise.

"Whatever criticisms you have, you must always bear in mind that we are dealing with a government with this background," Mandela said.

However, no government in the history of South Africa had achieved as much in four years as the current one.

The Presidential Review Commission was set up by Mandela in April 1996 to make proposals on the transformation of the public service.

cT 25/03/97 (304A)

Welcome, Mr President

Mandela's tribute



THE President described Clinton as one of South Africa's best friends.

"The support he gave the African National Congress was not only rhetoric, he backed it up with massive material assistance."

Mandela said he had asked Clinton to do certain things for South Africa, which he did "sometimes far beyond my expectations".

It would be one of South Africa's "proudest moments" to welcome a man who had been so generous, Mandela said.

He declined to speculate on what would emerge from the visit.

Mayor's message



EVERYONE in President Bill Clinton's 1 000-member entourage will be presented with this message from Mayor of Cape Town Ms Theresa Solomon:

"Welcome to Cape Town on this historic first visit by a US president to our country. The City of Cape Town is pleased to offer our visitors the warm hospitality traditional in this vibrant and dynamic African city of ours.

"This important visit is a wonderful chance for Cape Town to showcase its many opportunities for investment and promote increased interaction between our countries."



City braces for G-men

CLAUDIA CAVANAGH, WILLEM STEENKAMP and ANDRE KOOPMAN.

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton and his enormous entourage were due to be met in the early hours of this morning by Cape Town's mayor, a howling south-easter — and over 100 Islamic demonstrators outside the international airport complex.

As the city braced itself for what was described as "undoubtedly the biggest event in its history", mayor Ms Theresa Solomon stood by her warning to the council that she would not be pushed around by over-zealous US security personnel when meeting Clinton at the airport.

"Nothing has been retracted," said a civic centre spokesperson yesterday, despite some indignant flack from the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Capetonians expressed overwhelming support for their mayor, though, through countless telephone calls to the *Cape Times* yesterday.

Clinton's security staff were set to face the fundamentalist Islamic protesters, about a kilometre from the airport, chanting; "death to America, death to Bill Clinton".

The peaceful protestors on either side of the airport exit road were being tightly contained by a line of determined police.

Army and police vehicles lined the road leading to the airport's main terminal, where police sniffer dogs and bomb disposal units were deployed.

Ms Solomon, it seems, is not the only public figure taking a stand against Clinton's security staff.

The Speaker of Parliament, Dr Frene Ginwala, has apparently ordered that security in Parliament for Clinton be handled by South African, and not American, personnel.

According to a well-placed source at Parliament, Ginwala, apparently because of the high-handed behaviour of US security personnel during Vice-President Al Gore's visit here last year, had decreed that the US G-men were not going to run the three-day show — at least not in her legislature.

"There's no question — the American security people are not in charge and can't boss anyone about," the source, who did not want to be named, said.

Ginwala could not be reached for comment last night.

On Tuesday, an irate Solomon told the Cape Town council's exco that she "was shoved around like a sack of potatoes" by the "US VIP Protection unit, the CIA, FBI, the army the navy and, in fact, the troops" when Hillary Clinton visited the city last year.

She appealed to the council to arrange special protection for her so that when "the FBI and company start to shove the mayor around, the mayor herself doesn't have to shove back".

Her outburst, it seems, had the desired result.

"Naturally, the first citizen of Cape Town will be afforded all the security she requires," said spokesperson for the Department of Foreign Affairs Mr Marco Boni.

"We appreciate the mayor's concerns and those of the citizens of Cape Town.

"And it's precisely because of that and to minimise disruption to city life that we've gone to the most extraordinary lengths to involve all the relevant departments in Cape Town — from security to traffic and air movement control," he said.

Boni said his department had not "reprimanded" the mayor for her comments as reported in several radio broadcasts, but felt they should be put into perspective.

"This is a great opportunity for Cape Town to showcase its beauty and hospitality to not only the US president but also the White House's 160 member press corps — arguably the largest and most influential press corps in the world."

Meanwhile, hundreds of South African security personnel, in addition to the sizeable US contingent, will be deployed in the city to safeguard Clinton during his visit.

All possible security breaches have been taken into account in what has been described as "an enormous safety plan", right down to navy divers being positioned round the clock in the waters in and around the Waterfront and harbour.

Police Director Flip Nel, the co-ordinator of security for the Western Cape leg of Clinton's trip, said yesterday police, army, navy, air force, traffic, civil defence and Metro members would be deployed in task teams at all of the possible venues the presidential entourage may visit.

He said it would be "a thumb-suck" on his part to say exactly how many South African personnel would be involved, but it involved "several hundred" people.

Nel said the SAPS had overall control of Clinton's security arrangements, as the Americans had no legal jurisdiction on South African soil, but that the foreigners' requirements were being applied as far as possible.

"In this way we help each other," he said.

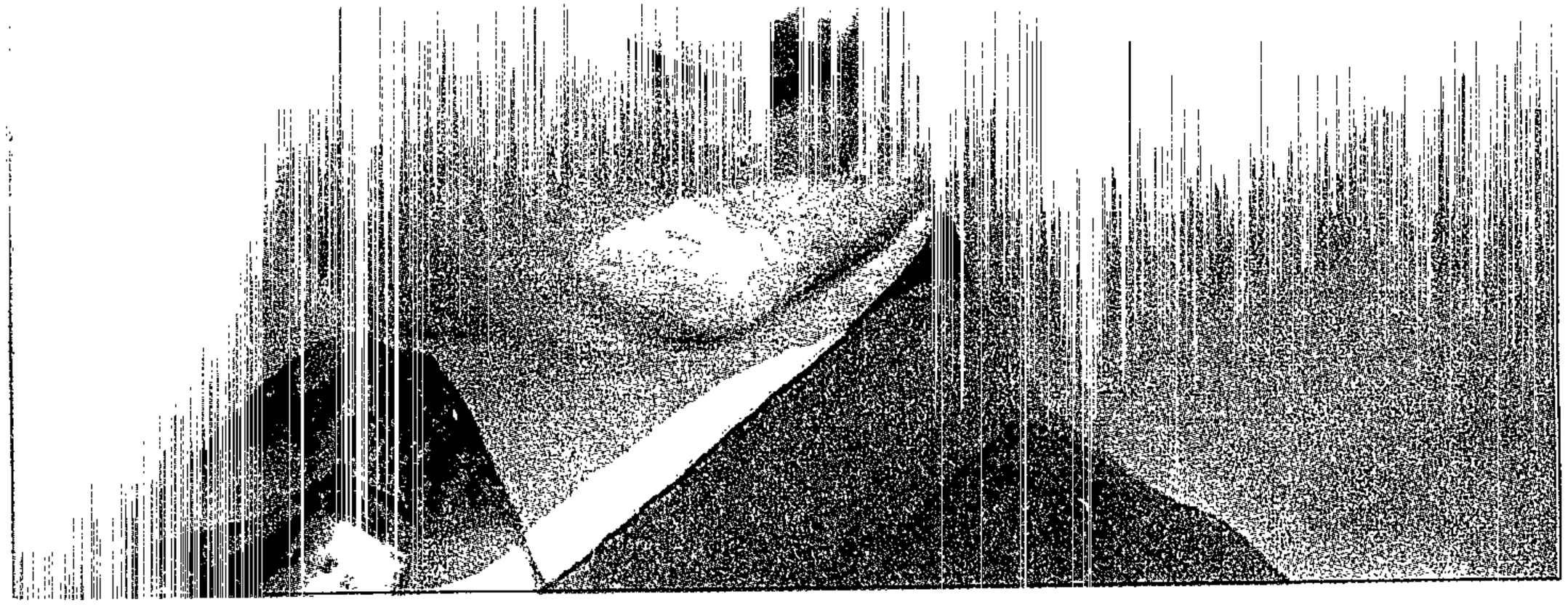
Navy spokesperson Sub-Lieutenant Lisa Hendricks said yesterday five Namacurra harbour protection launches, another patrol vessel and the mine-sweeper SAS Umzimkulu would be used. The Umzimkulu would also act as an alternative transport method for Clinton during his visit to Robben Island.

In addition, the navy was providing three diving teams and an underwater demolition team to monitor the waters around the harbour and Waterfront around the clock.

Yesterday two fire-fighting vehicles were sent over by cargo ferry. And the local golf course was manicured.

Colonel Koos Liebenberg, the senior staff officer for operations at WP Command, said the army was providing as many troops as possible for deployment along Clinton's road routes.

The Cape Doctor is set to blow continuously throughout Clinton's whistle-stop three-day tour.



UNDER AFRICAN SKIES: With a big straw hat to block the sun, President Bill Clinton smiles as Ugandan children welcome him with music and dancing to the Kisowera Primary School in the village of Mukono yesterday. ***PICTURE: AP***

(304A) CT 26/3/98



"Lovely bananas, three for a dollar!"

Trade, reforms high on the Clinton visit agenda

(304A) BD 26/2/98

Stephen Laufer

US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton's three-day visit to SA will go well beyond photo opportunities as he takes time to discuss a wide range of bilateral and multinational issues with President Nelson Mandela, SA foreign affairs sources said yesterday.

Also expected to participate in talks are Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, several US and SA cabinet members, and senior officials from both governments. Clinton is due to meet Mandela at Tuynhuys tomorrow morning, and it is understood that Mbeki and others could attend.

US sources said it was possible Mbeki would meet Clinton separately today or tomorrow. Mbeki is the leader of the SA side in the binational commission with the US.

Clinton's US-Africa Growth and Opportunity Bill would be high on the agenda during his visit, a source said. The measure seeks to open markets in Africa and replace aid with trade, granting better US market access for African exports. It also envisages debt relief and the creation of an African infrastructure fund linked to political and market reforms, as well as a high-level US-Africa forum.

Government was still divided on its potential effect on SA, the region, and the continent, and on how far to go in supporting it. Many elements of US policy towards Africa coincided neatly with SA's goal of consolidating democracy, ensuring higher sustainable growth and facilitating incoming investment capable of creating jobs, the source said.

The US had lobbied hard for greater access to SA markets, better protection of intellectual property rights, and protection of such industries as pharmaceuticals. Conversely, SA was keen to increase pressure on the US to open its markets to a wider range of South African goods.

The US would be looking for co-operation with SA in Africa, with the proposed multilateral African peacekeeping force high on its agenda. It was likely the US would want to consult on moving Nigeria towards democracy.

However, Clinton was likely to "rap SA over the knuckles" about its relations with so-called pariah states such as Libya, and was expected to explain an apparent easing of US policy towards Cuba.

Mandela and his aides would raise US policy in the Middle East and how it was not assisting the peace process.

Josey Ballenger reports a coalition of African campaigns to ban land mines has called for Clinton to sign the United Nations convention on the prohibition of land mines. All six countries Clinton is visiting on his African tour participated in the international anti-land mine campaign.

Dustin Chick reports that management at Cape Town International Airport denied operations were closed down during the early hours of this morning to facilitate Clinton's arrival. The airport's media relations officer Marlene Jacobs said traffic during the early hours of the morning was traditionally quiet, with the majority of flights being cargo flights.

Health department spending reviewed

Linda Enso

CAPE TOWN — The health department budgeted generously for vacant posts and yet each year surrendered millions of rand in unspent funds, Auditor-General Henri Kluever said in his 1996/97 report on the department tabled in Parliament yesterday.

He was concerned the trend could lead to over-budgeting and cited the large sums surrendered by the department annually during the past five years. These totalled R300m (or 24,5% of the department's total budget) in 1992/93, R716m (32%) in 1993/94, R421m (20%) in 1994/95, R989m (43%) in 1995/96 and R222m (25,3%) during 1996/97.

Generally, Kluever found financial controls and procedures had improved and the department was making "good progress" in establishing a sound administration.

A new tender committee and internal audit division had been set up and staff trained in procurement procedures. Compared with previous years when unauthorised expenditure totalled millions of rand, unauthorised spending for the year and miscellaneous items from previous years totalled only R400 326, most of which related to not following tender board procedures.

Sapa reports that in a separate audit by Kluever, it was found the correctional services department had paid out R880 208 in "fruitless expenditure" to its former commissioner, Henk Bruyn, after his employment contract was terminated prematurely.

The audit, carried out for the 1996/97 financial year, had also uncovered R2,9m in unauthorised expenditure, though the treasury later approved R1,8m of this.

BD 26/2/98

Court upholds rights of traditional leaders

(304A)

Deborah Fine

BD 26/3/98

THE KwaZulu-Natal local government and housing ministry has claimed a victory following a Constitutional Court judgment which upheld the right of traditional leaders to sit on the province's regional local councils by virtue of their status.

The court dismissed an application by the African National Congress (ANC) challenging the constitutionality of a 1996 provincial enactment which established seven regional councils and provided for the ex-officio membership of traditional leaders.

The ANC claimed the enactment violated the interim constitution, still in force when the provincial bill was promulgated. The application was opposed by the local government ministry, the KwaZulu-Natal traditional affairs ministry and the House of Traditional Leaders.

Delivering the court's unanimous finding, Judge Kate O'Regan said the entitlement of traditional leaders to membership of transitional local government structures was an acknowledgement of the potential tension between the institution of traditional leaders and democratic local government bodies.

Allowing traditional leaders membership of local councils ensured continuity and avoided dislocation during the transitional period.

The judgment in effect secures the position of traditional leaders on local government structures until next year's municipal elections. Their position on municipalities after next year is still uncertain.

Mandela acknowledges shortcomings

BD 26/3/98 (304A)

PRETORIA — President Nelson Mandela yesterday acknowledged shortcomings in the functioning of his office, as outlined in a presidential review commission report.

Sapa reports that he said: "The president's office has become a source of frustration." The commission had levelled harsh criticism against him and his office. It quoted some directors-general as saying the president's office was a source of frustration. "That criticism is ... accurate and we acknowledge that weakness without qualification. We have to attend to that matter."

Mandela cited two reasons for the problem. Firstly, he had resisted calls by Public Services and Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya to appoint at least five or six more staff members. "(Skweyiya) has said to me there is no president's office anywhere in the world with so few members of staff. I have said that I have given instructions to the government and the country for belt-tightening, and I must set an example."

The second reason, Mandela said, was his extremely tight schedule. This did not, however, justify the president's office neglecting its work.

Mandela said government had many weaknesses, partly caused by its inexperience. "One of the things that is easily forgotten when we are assessing the work of this government is that we were taken from the bush, or from prisons, and we were suddenly thrown into this immense responsibility of running a highly developed country." Many were people without school education, skills or expertise. However, no other government in the history of SA had achieved as much in four years.

David Greybe reports from Cape Town that Joel Netshitenzhe, head of government communications, said some of the commission's recommendations into transforming the public service might require immediate implementation.

"Government set up the commission to assist it in restructuring both the executive and the administration precisely because it was aware, based on its experience since 1994, that we cannot simply step into the structures of apartheid as we found them."

Continued on Page 2

Mandela (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 26/3/98

He said the copy of the report Mandela received on Tuesday was "pulled off the printing press" and that printing was continuing. Once completed, Mandela would make it public.

"The president will probably ask the public service department to prepare a memo for the cabinet on how to process the report," Netshitenzhe said.

Public service director-general Paseka Ncholo suggested that because the commission's establishment had been a political decision, a special cabinet subcommittee be set up to oversee the prioritisation and implementation of issues emanating from the report.

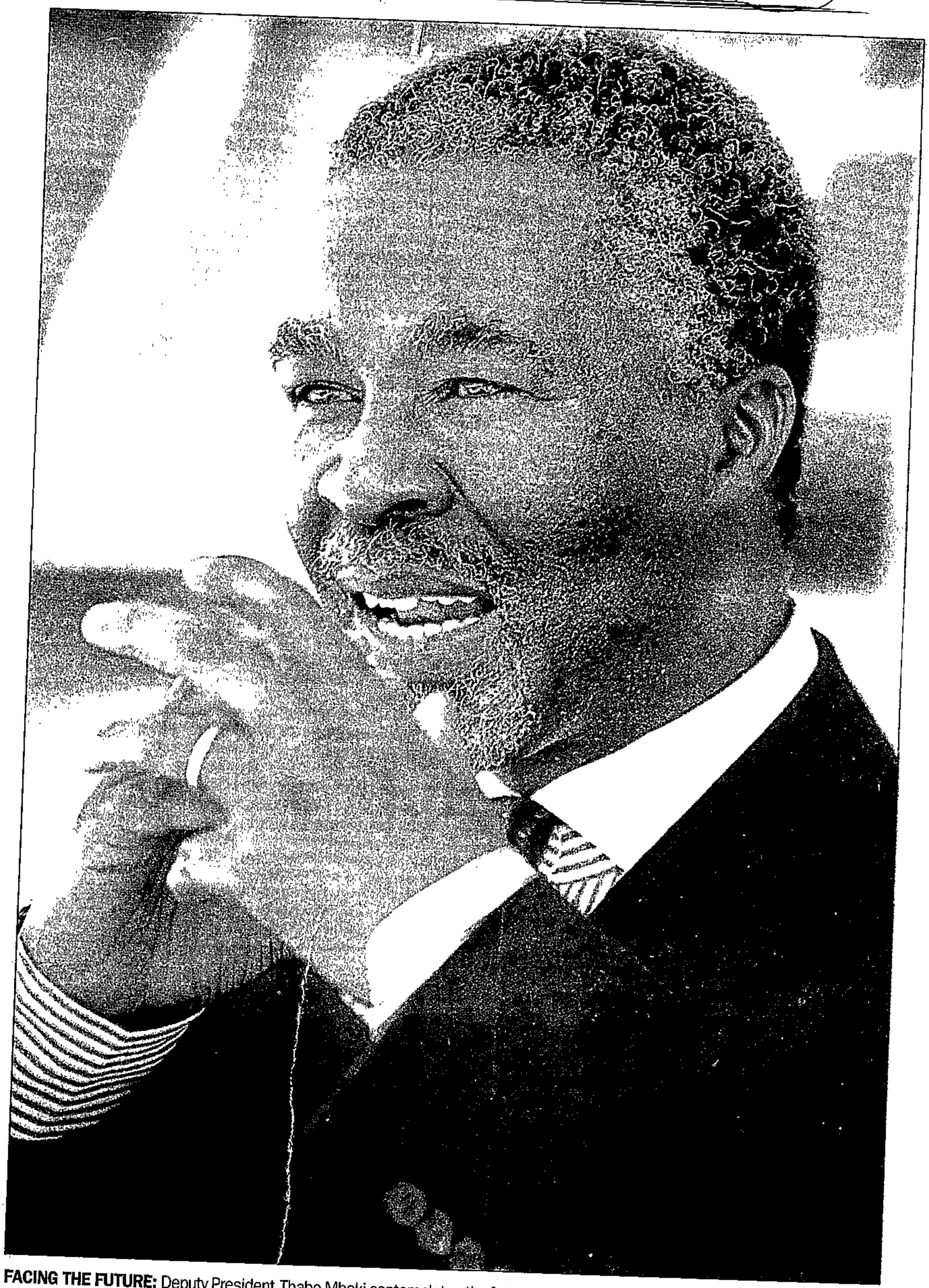
Sources familiar with the commission's work said recently the report recommended greater powers for the president's office, including overseeing the public service, as part of a shakeup which would see the departments of sport and public enterprises scrapped.

They said the commission also proposed the establishment of three executive agencies — information (similar to the defunct information department); public service; and information management, systems and technology — in a revamped president's office.

[redacted]

26/03/98

3044



FACING THE FUTURE: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki contemplates the future as the duties of his office grow. *FILE PICTURE*

[redacted]

OFFICE GROWS IN SIZE, RESPONSIBILITY

Mbeki plans super-presidency

AS DEPUTY PRESIDENT Thabo Mbeki prepares to succeed Nelson Mandela as president next year, their offices are being merged to avoid duplication of functions. **JOVIAL RANTAO** reports.

HOW do you run the government with fewer than 100 staff and do so efficiently? The answer is to be found in the office of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Mbeki's office is small compared with the White House. On his South African visit alone, President Bill Clinton travelled with twice as many staff as Mbeki has working for him.

But over the past two years, Mbeki's office has been growing, not only in staff numbers, but also in the importance it has assumed in the day-to-day running of the government.

After the ANC won the April 1994 general election, Mbeki was appointed deputy president along with former president Mr F W de Klerk. The role of the two was to handle assignments they were given by President Nelson Mandela.

In first weeks of May 1994, after Mbeki and the ANC's first cabinet ministers were appointed, the office had a staff of 10. The most senior staff member was Mr Tebogo Mafole, whose job it was to set up Mbeki's office.

Today, four years down the line, the staff has increased tenfold, but the office has remained a lean machine as the number and gravity of its tasks have grown.

The office has remained a lean machine as the number and gravity of its tasks have grown

As Mbeki became the de-facto head of state, with most decisions being left to him, new structures have had to be established in his office to handle the new tasks.

To date, the office has established structures to deal with the youth, gender equality, the disabled, children, HIV/Aids, non-government organisations, government communications and bi-national commissions with the United States and Germany.

This is in addition to a number of inter-ministerial and cabinet committees that Mbeki chairs.

The office has become the engine room of government, and moves to merge its activities with those of the Office of the President have laid the foundation for the establishment of a super-presidency.

Dr Frank Chikane, the director-general in Mbeki's office, put its simply. "This office is responsible for the executive management of government," he said.

In addition to attending to functions delegated by Mandela, Mbeki also chairs the Inter-Governmental Forum, which brings together leaders of government in the national, provincial and local spheres.

To be able to co-ordinate the work of government efficiently, the office has had to establish executive units, such as the co-ordination and implementation unit (CIU), a reaction or operational unit that can be dispatched to provinces or departments in need and a programmes unit which deals with cross-cutting programmes that no government department on its own can take on.

There's also a separate unit whose primary task is to run the lives of Mbeki and his wife Zanele.

Then there are the advisory services. Mr Vusi Mavimbela is the political adviser, Mr Moss Ngoasheng the economic adviser, Mavivi Myakaya-ka-Manzini the parliamentary adviser and Mr Mojankunyana Gumbi, the legal adviser.

Besides co-ordinating and monitoring the implementation process, the CIU — headed by Mr Pundy Pillay — also attends to departments that are experiencing problems and, as part of the cabinet secretariat, also looks closely at all issues that the cabinet is dealing with, to ensure that issues such as budget consideration are looked at more closely.

(304A)

In the light of the Ncholo reports on the administration of provinces, the unit also works closely with national departments to strengthen provincial financial management, to break the cycle of deepening budget deficit, ineffective service delivery and continued corruption.

The operational unit's most important assignment recently was resolving the pension crisis in the Eastern Cape when the provincial authorities ran out of money with which to pay the pensions.

'We prefer to empower people, instead of doing things for them'

"Our team went in there and worked with specialised staff to ensure that the problems were solved.

"We prefer to empower people, instead of doing things for them," Chikane said in an interview.

Chikane's role is to ensure that crucial parts of the engine remain well-oiled and serviced and in a condition to deliver.

"My role is to make major decisions in the light of broad strategic considerations and make diary entries. On a day-to-day basis we have to manage this company (the government)," he said.

"My responsibility is to manage our operations and to assist Mbeki to achieve the objectives and responsibilities set by the Constitution and those delegated by the president.

"The broad issues we deal with include developing the concept of consensus building. The issues of South Africa have to be taken beyond petty political debate to a broader national interest.

"Every country must have a bottom line, and in South Africa there must be a bottom line.

"The deputy president wants to deal with this, and we want to enable him to do that, and that has implications for how we deal with delivery mechanisms. We have lovely policies and the key challenge now is delivery.

"That's where the executive management of government comes in, and the needs of the historically disadvantaged get met in the process," he said.

Mr Essop Pahad, the Deputy Minister in Mbeki's office, focuses mainly on programmes such as the establishment of a new government information service, and the concerns of the disabled and the youth. Pahad also chairs some meetings on Mbeki's behalf.

After the ANC's 50th national conference in Mafikeng, discussions began on how Mbeki's and Mandela's offices could work together.

It was agreed that because Mbeki's office was increasingly taking on additional assignments, employees in the president's office would support them.

It was also decided that Chikane would be appointed deputy cabinet secretary, which means that Chikane, who has up to now relied on cabinet minutes for information, will be able to attend the meetings.

He will also take joint responsibility for the cabinet secretariat and be in position to influence it in accordance with the requirements of the deputy president.

The merging of the activities of the offices is also aimed at ensuring that Mbeki's office does not hire additional staff to handle additional assignments delegated by Mandela.

The administration of the offices, in particular the human resources and finances functions, and personal support staff for Mandela and Mbeki, will remain independent.

The CIU, which facilitates the co-ordination of government policy through promoting inter-departmental co-operation and evaluates and monitors the effectiveness of government policies and programmes, will be integrated into the cabinet secretariat.

Communications and legal advisory units from both offices have started to co-operate on a number of issues.

Chikane says the biggest challenge facing the office is to ensure that the executive management of the government was done efficiently and that local people were involved.

ET 26/3/98

Clinton wants SA pledge on corruption

Generic drugs row also on agenda for talks with Mandela

ARG 26/3/98 (304A)

BY PETER FABRICIUS
FOREIGN SERVICE

Johannesburg – President Bill Clinton is expected to try to persuade President Mandela to bring South Africa into an international anti-corruption initiative during official talks in Cape Town tomorrow.

Mr Clinton arrived in Cape Town early today from Uganda for a three-day visit to South Africa. He will be officially welcomed at Tuynhuys this afternoon before addressing Parliament.

He and his officials will hold talks with Mr Mandela and his team tomorrow morning. According to SA official sources, several potentially contentious subjects will be on the agenda of the talks.

The anti-corruption initiative was launched in Europe and requires participating countries to pledge to stamp out corruption. There have been some indications that SA is not keen on the initiative, possibly because it comes from the West.

The other subjects the US is expected to raise are its objections to SA legislation that permits doctors and medical authorities to use generic substitutes for patented medicines; its proposals to train African peacekeeping forces; its legislation to promote trade with Africa; and Mr Mandela's recent remarks criticising US policy towards Iraq.

Mr Mandela sharply rejected former Secretary of State Warren Chistopher's proposal for South Africa to accept US military training for an African peacekeeping battalion under the so-called African Crisis Response Initiative.

Mr Clinton and his officials are expected to try to establish what reservations SA has about the initiativeand about joining the anti-corruption intiative.



Touchdown: Jesse Jackson arrives

Part of the reluctance stems from South African resentment of the way the US "comes with a blitzkrieg and expects us to respond favourably", official sources said.

The Government believes that the prime purpose of Mr Clinton's trip to Africa is to increase US access to African markets.



BRENTON GEACH

Tight security: President Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton in their stretch limousine before being whisked away to the Cape Grace Hotel at the Waterfront

The importance the US places on the crisis response initiative is because it sees the peacekeeping force helping to provide the stability needed if economies are to grow.

Likewise it sees corruption as a deterrent to investment, which is why it will urge South Africa to join in the international initiative to curb it. This entails countries making a pledge to stamp out corruption.

On its side, South Africa is expected to raise objections to what it deems to be protectionist measures by the US to restrict imports of SA steel.

If the US raises Iraq, South Africa is expected to criticise US Middle East policy as too easy on Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

South Africa is expected to discuss the need to reform and broaden representation in the UN Security Council.



Arrival: limousines line up alongside Air Force One on the tarmac at Cape Town Airport

More to be spent probing Zippergate

Washington – Republicans have voted to spend more money investigating President Bill Clinton, while Democrats accuse them of a "partisan witch hunt" and lawmakers clash over the prospect of impeachment.

Republicans yesterday provided a $1,3-million (R6,5-million) infusion for the judiciary committee to help prepare for any impeachment evidence from independent counsel Kenneth Starr.

And an additional $1,8-million (R9-million) will help finance another committee's long-running investigation into alleged campaign finance irregularities.

Democratic representative Steny Hoyer of Maryland protested that the new funding was part of a "co-ordinated effort to harass ... to really undermine the ability of the White House to do the business expected of it".

Republican Henry Hyde, who would oversee any impeachment investigation, said earlier in the day that Democrats were resorting to "raw partisan politics," in an attempt to create "an adversarial aura" where none existed.

Some Democrats said it wasn't the chairman of the judiciary committee they were worried about, but Speaker Newt Gingrich, who has taken a prominent role in the planning for any impeachment inquiry.

Sources said Mr Gingrich had spoken two or three times within the past few days with Democrat leader Dick Gephardt about congressional business, but without broaching the subject of impeachment. – Sapa-AP

Small army sews up the V&A Waterfront

STAFF REPORTER

Security was watertight at the Cape Grace Hotel at the Waterfront today where the United States presidential party is staying.

Uniformed police, smartly clad American security personnel and a Casspir armoured vehicle guarded the entrance and all arriving vehicles were checked.

Waterfront security manned the entrance in West Quay Road where signs stated "No Public Access".

Waterfront security re-routed pedestrians via Bertie's Landing over the swing bridge and to the Pier Head.

Early this morning when Mr Clinton arrived police cordoned off all roads to Cape Town International Airport. Photographers were not allowed within range of the president who made his way to his car briskly and sped off with his entourage.

President's visit is all in a day's work for Mr Security

JOHAN SCHRONEN
CRIME CORRESPONDENT

President Clinton's visit is not the biggest security operation South African police have mounted, but it is one of the most sensitive.

According to the police's "Mr Security", Flip Nel of National Safety Services, sporting events such as the rugby World Cup and other world championships had been much bigger, in terms of sheer numbers.

Director Nel has become a veteran of national safety since getting involved in the planning of security around important events.

"The visit of President Clinton is different ... from sporting events such as the fencing championships held recently on the Foreshore. That attracted hundreds of international competitors, their support teams, and thousands of spectators.

"I found the incredible logistical back up of the Americans very interesting, but in Cape Town they are on our turf, and they have to keep pace with our arrangements. Teamwork and co-operation from both sides is imperative for success," said Director Nel.

Capetonians split down middle over Clinton visit

'Hero' and 'villain'

(304A) ARG 27/3/98

HANEEM MAJIET
STAFF REPORTER

(30 Mar)

Capetonians are divided on whether President Bill Clinton is a hero or a villain.

These mixed emotions surfaced yesterday among the hundreds of people who lined Adderley Street hoping to catch a glimpse of the president or protest against his visit.

Although the Clinton cavalcade was not due to drive that way, people waited on both sides of the street.

What attracted many of them was the demonstration by Muslims Against Global Oppression, who burnt an American flag, chanted slogans like "Death to America, Death to Clinton, Long live Hizbolla" and held placards bearing anti-American sentiments.

A spokesman for the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action said South Africans should remember that capitalism was "the most lethal threat to the happiness of people across the world".

He added: "Clinton gets the added racial dividend of more black votes because of his 'commitment' to the cause of Africa."

Francois of Johannesburg said: "He is the president of the world and I'm happy he's come to Cape Town." He thought Mr Clinton was a "real man because I heard he has more than one woman".

Douglas Wagenstroom of Retreat said he was not a fan of America or Mr Clinton and felt "America is always putting its nose where it does not belong".

Simon Buffler of Pinelands said: "I am very happy about Clinton's visit and, personally, I think he is good for our country, hopefully helping it economically."

Zola Mbatani of Khayelitsha said he took a day off work especially to see his "hero".

A demonstrator who was only too willing to share his views, but asked not to be named said: "Clinton is not welcome here, he never has and never will represent the people of South Africa."

Joy Welman of Retreat said: "To me, he's just another visitor to our country."

Election wake-up call for ANC MPs

Corruption worries supporters

ARG 27/3/98 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A survey by the African National Congress research arm shows 7% of those who voted for the party in 1994 have reservations about its ability to govern.

Dismay about this and declining numbers of branches have prompted the movement to order its MPs to begin election canvassing.

Senior figures are also soon to be redeployed from Parliament and provincial legislatures to work in Shell House and other structures on the election campaign.

The survey, by the ANC election advisory committee, found there was particular concern among those disillusioned with the movement's performance that it was not dealing effectively with corruption.

"Don't be complacent – that's the message," said Max Sisulu, ANC chief whip in the National Assembly.

The parliamentary caucus was briefed on the findings yesterday.

The notable decline in enthusiasm about the ANC was caused in part by a feeling of alienation – that while people felt the ANC's policies were sound, they did not feel sufficiently involved in their implementation.

On the eve of a four-week recess for the Assembly, national chairman Terror Lekota briefed the caucus on the movement's programme of action, with particular emphasis on the election campaign.

A particular need was to embark on a voter registration campaign.

Unlike 1994, next year's poll will be held using a voters' roll, with the electorate being divided into voting districts.

To be allowed to register and to vote, people will have to show post-1986 identity documents.

Getting supporters to register will be vital for any party's chances.

Mr Lekota urged the caucus to strengthen the ANC at grassroots level and emphasised the need to revive dormant branches.

Mr Sisulu said he expected the 1999 turnout would be less than in 1994.

He said there was nothing unusual about some branches becoming inactive, noting that issues like a provincial leadership contest tended to enliven them.

Also on the programme is a fundraising campaign.

To assist ANC MPs in the electoral drive, documents on education, crime and corruption, housing, jobs, health care and AIDS are being prepared to help them back up their arguments.

Mr Sisulu yesterday also lashed out at the National Party and Democratic Party for their performance in this week's Budget debate in the Assembly.

He said these parties were only interested in making political points with a view to the elections.

Row rages over McBride probe policeman

(3044) ARG 27/3/98

ARGUS CORRESPONDENT

Johannesburg – A South African policeman appointed to investigate the arrest of Department of Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique on gun-running charges was allegedly involved in the murder of at least six Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) cadres during the 1980s.

Mr McBride's wife, Paula, and his attorney, José Nascimento, reacted with outrage yesterday at the appointment of Superintendent Frans "Lappies" Labuschagne to the three-man police team sent to Maputo this week to help Mozambican authorities in their investigations.

Former Vlakplaas commander and convicted murderer Eugene de Kock identified Superintendent Labuschagne during his trial as one of two security policemen involved in murder and kidnapping MK cadres.

Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi would not comment yesterday on what he described as "untested and malicious allegations".

"We are not even 100% sure that Superintendent Labuschagne and the man accused by Mr De Kock are one and the same person," he said.

Deputy national police commissioner Zolisa Lavisa said Superintendent Labuschagne was "a detective with a credible professional name".

R500 000 for MEC's Olympic Games trip

M+G 27/2-6/3/98 (288) (304A)

Mukoni T Ratshitanga

Former North West education, sport and recreation MEC Mamoekoena Gaoretelelwe spent more than R500 000 to finance her trip to the 1996 Olympic Games — five times more than Minister of Sport and Recreation Steve Tshwete.

Documents in the possession of the *Mail & Guardian* show Gaoretelelwe took an eight-person delegation to Atlanta at the cost of R587 369. At the same time, her department was experiencing major backlogs in textbook delivery and the construction of schools.

Tshwete and his director general spent R95 480 on a seven-member delegation to the games.

Gaoretelelwe, whose delegation to the Games included her husband and a bodyguard, hired two executive cars for herself and her director general, Thabiso Mokoena, to ferry them from the airport and their hotel to Olympic venues — at the cost of R125 447 each.

Tshwete and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki used buses and shuttle services provided by the Olympic organising committee.

The North West Department of Sport and Culture was unable to provide details of the total cost incurred on the Atlanta trip.

Apart from the two executive cars, major items included R12 869 return airfares per person, R20 275 on accommodation per person and R25 163 on event tickets. Gaoretelelwe, her husband and bodyguard also extended their accommodation at the cost of R38 288.

It is not known why Gaoretelelwe took her bodyguard along to Atlanta. A senior North West official said: "I can only explain it from an assessment of her character and her lack of political maturity. She likes to feel important and she will do anything to have you notice her position."

The government's ministerial handbook, which provides guidelines for MECs and Cabinet ministers, forbids MECs from taking bodyguards with them on international trips.

North West Premier Popo Molefe fired Gaoretelelwe last November after months of strife between her and senior managers in her department. The provincial education department was racked by allegations of corruption and mismanagement.

Among them was the claim that since 1995 the department paid R74-million to textbook suppliers without proof of delivery. Half the books never reached the schools, and thousands are being stored at the Mafikeng district education office.

The books were not prescribed, but department officials with links to publishing companies allegedly bought them knowing they were outdated.

Molefe has instituted an independent investigation into irregularities in education department contracts worth more than R130-million.

Gaoratelelwe appointed her sister-in-law as an attorney in a department battle to dismiss more than 400 foreign teachers. Molefe also ordered an investigation into claims that her relatives stood to gain from a R6-million school wall-chart contract.

Mokoena, her director general, has since been suspended from the department on charges of corruption and maladministration.

Gaoratelelwe's spending spree in Atlanta contrasts sharply with that of other provinces. The Free State sent two athletes, but no officials, while the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga sent no one.

Molefe's office did not respond when asked whether he had authorised the size of Gaoratelelwe's delegation and the amount of money spent on the trip. Gaoratelelwe could not be reached for comment.



Self-important: Former North West MEC Mamoekoena Gaoretelelwe spent five times more than sport minister Steve Tshwete at the Atlanta Olympic Games. PHOTOGRAPH: ELMOND JIYANE

NATIONAL MONUMENTS

Putting a price on the past

(304A)

FM 27/3/98

Bigger penalties may be the only way to preserve heritage sites

Summercon's bulldozing of an historic house in Saxonwold, Johannesburg, calls into question the value of relics of the past and the appropriate penalties for their removal. Is a R10 000 fine for transgressing the National Monuments Act sufficient?

National Monuments Council (NMC) regional manager Johann Bruwer does not buy the argument of Summercon project manager Simon Buys that the house was "structurally unsound". He says the NMC "should have been allowed to investigate it first".

Bruwer has reported the property developer's transgression to the police. Summercon says it has acted in good faith at all times.

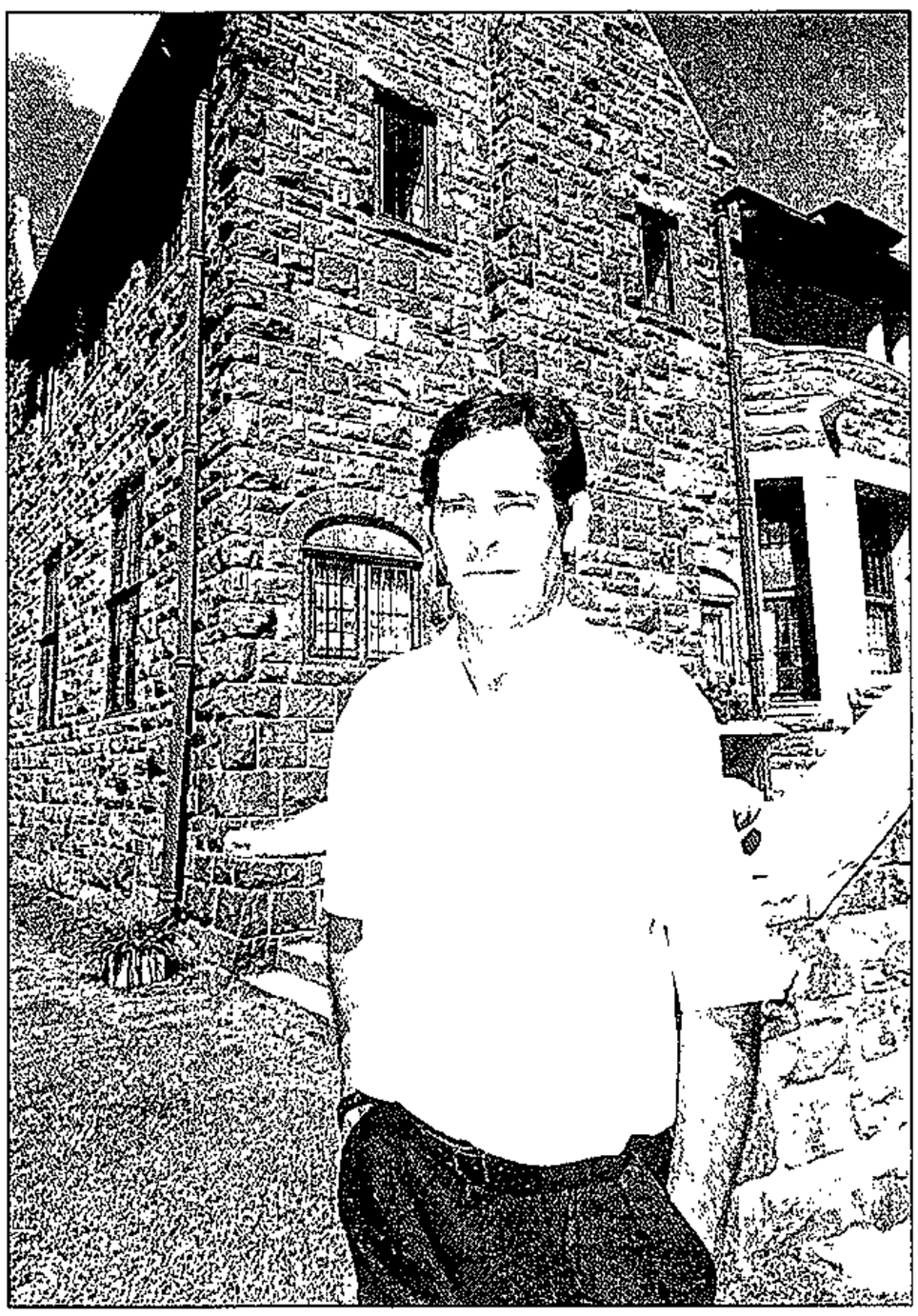
The area's city councillor, Mike Moriarty, hopes for more punitive action than just a fine. "I have written to the NMC asking them to force Summercon to reinstate the house at an estimated cost of R750 000."

Built in 1924 on the corner of Northwold Road and Jan Smuts Avenue, it was the first house in Saxonwold. Summercon director Bruce Peach says the house was substantially renovated in the early Forties and was, in his view, "of little architectural merit".



Russell Roberts

***Moriarty** . . . calling for more punitive action against Summercon*



Russell Roberts

***Bruwer** . . . if the house was structurally unsound, we should have been asked to investigate it first*

Moriarty says the developers were well aware of the conditions of building townhouses on the stand. He adds that the Townships Board had recommended that the structure should not be demolished without a permit. Summercon's original site development plan showed the house untouched, surrounded by new townhouses.

According to Moriarty, when descendants of the previous owner asked to acquire the staircase, Summercon refused, saying the house had to remain intact.

Peach denies this. "We told them to take whatever they wanted, including the fireplace and doorhandles, but they decided against it." Moriarty claims the daughter of the owner was compensated by Summercon for not being able to take the fireplace.

He says Summercon promised the council last year it would not tear down the house. Summercon denies this, saying it did not realise NMC consent was necessary.

Bruwer is confident that legislation likely to be promulgated next year will bring in stringent penalties for violators of the Act. "Provincial MECs will look into these. It will make fines stiffer and not a specific amount," he says

Is it all a storm in a teacup? Bruwer thinks not. "Though there is a distinction from declared national monuments such as Robben Island, all buildings older than 50 years are protected. As we are also focusing on redressing past imbalances and transformation, we have recommended other sites for national monuments."

These include Freedom Square in Kliptown (where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955), the site where Mozambican president Samora Machel's plane crashed in Mpumalanga and the late ANC/SACP leader Chris Hani's Dawn View home. The NMC considers Union Buildings in Pretoria and the Cape Town Castle as equally worthy. "Imbalances in terms of past heritage conservation are evident but we have to be seen to be fair to all communities," says Bruwer.

Surely an old house in Saxonwold is no great loss? "Not so," says Bruwer "It is still an integral part of our heritage."

Veteran conservationist Flo Bird says punishment for illegally demolishing a national monument should be more personalised. Magistrates should consider imaginative penalties such as sentencing offenders to community service over weekends. This could be of an environmental nature, such as removing illegal posters.

Bruwer retorts that this would work only if the community service involved restoration work. Well, why not? **Margot Cohen**

Clinton's journey to two Africas

(304A) M+G 27/3-2/4/98

Suzanne Daley

President Bill Clinton is spending 11 days on this continent, but he is really making two different trips: one to Africa and one to South Africa.

South Africa is of Africa, but different too. It is no financial basket case dependent on foreign aid and its citizens never grumble that their standard of living was better in colonial days.

Its economy dwarfs that of any other African country. Some 3 000 American companies do business here. And in Nelson Mandela, South Africa has a president whose global stature rivals perhaps even surpasses Clinton's.

While the United States may be able to tell Ghana's Jerry Rawlings or Rwanda's Paul Kagame what subjects will be on the agenda, the relationship with South Africa is, if not one between equals, one between a world superpower and a regional superpower.

Yet despite its status, South Africa remains a pretty touchy country. Clinton's visit will be examined carefully here for signs that the US is showing due respect to a nation that is wary about its sovereignty, doesn't ask for much outside help, does not owe the World Bank a cent and is unwilling to kowtow to a superpower.

The African National Congress government, which constantly hears racist local whites and visitors grumbling that the country will crumble into another African disaster area, is hypersensitive about being told what to do, especially by the Americans. They see the US as an essentially white country that repressed its own blacks for centuries and was a tacit ally of the old apartheid state and the chief foe of African liberation struggles.

South Africa's cautious relationship with the US is influenced by the shadow of American policy during the apartheid years. During the presidencies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, America was no friend to the ANC.

Many ANC officials remember America as the enemy during the Cold war era and have not taken the US into their bosom so easily.

All this is not to say that South Africans are indifferent to Clinton's attentions. US companies have already invested more than $2-billion here since 1994, according to Business Map. And the government would certainly like to see more US investment.

But if Americans ever expected an easy relationship with the new South Africa, they have by now learned otherwise. Mandela has proved feisty and independent, several times loudly and clearly rejecting US suggestions.

Last October, for example, when state department officials protested against his visit to Libya, saying it violated United Nations sanctions, Mandela made no secret of his fury. He went ahead with the trip, lashing out at the US at every stop. He said it would be immoral not to acknowledge the role that countries like Libya played in the struggle against apartheid, "one of the most brutal systems in the world".

"How can they have the arrogance to dictate to us where we should go or who our friends should be?" he said at one point. "Can you imagine if I said Boris Yeltsin should not visit Albania? They would say that I am the most arrogant black."

When former secretary of state Warren Christopher came here in October 1996 floating the idea of an all-African peacekeeping force his hope was that South Africa would take the lead. His appointment with Mandela was rescheduled so many times it bordered on rudeness, although Americans put this down to amateurish scheduling. Nevertheless, South Africa was cool to the idea and no such force has ever materialised. — *The New York Times*



Bill who? Graffiti in Cape Town reflects the mood of some locals as President Bill Clinton comes to town. PHOTO: RODGER BOSCH

'America needs a strong SA'

President Bill Clinton, the first United States president to visit South Africa, received tumultuous applause during an historic address to Parliament in Cape Town on Thursday as he called for an economic, strategic and moral partnership of mutual respect between the two countries.

Continuing the optimistic theme of strengthening democracy and building hope that he has pressed home at all ports of call on his safari, Clinton said: "America wants a strong South Africa. America needs a strong South Africa."

Clinton said that while South Africa and the US could not agree on all things, they agreed on the important things: democracy, peace, open markets and — to loud cheers — "elemental human rights as the birthright of every single child".

"As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger. We do not only need active consumers of our products from this continent but we need to take products from this continent to our markets," he said, re-emphasising the theme of free trade that he has continually repeated since he arrived in Africa.

Clinton was also cheered for his endorsement of the African Renaissance, and when he said, borrowing the phraseology of John F Kennedy: "We should no longer ask what we can do for Africa or what we can do about Africa, but what we can do with Africa." He called for the fulfilling of the promise of the African continent.

"Yes, Africa needs the world. But the world also needs Africa."

Clinton, who began by referring to the US legacy of slavery, said his country was seeking partnership and true friendship in overcoming the legacy of apartheid in South Africa and moving into a more hopeful 21st century.

ROBERT MCBRIDE (304A)

Few facts but lots of fiction

FM 27/3/98

A bewildering succession of contradictory images of former MK guerrilla Robert McBride have impinged on the public mind since his arrest in Mozambique on suspicion of gun running more than a fortnight ago.

The media speculation machine has gone into high gear over the arrest of the senior Foreign Affairs official.

The SA public can choose from a range of explanations: a misguided patriot; a government agent on a top secret mission; a fellow traveller of the Irish Republican Army or, alternatively, East Timorese(Fretlin) guerrillas; a victim of reactionary forces within SA's security establishment; or a commercial buccaneer motivated by profit rather than patriotism.

Government, incensed by a military intelligence report leaked to *The Citizen*, has initiated an investigation into what it believes is a disinformation conspiracy calculated to destabilise SA's fledgling nonracial democracy.

The IRA and Fretlin allegations can be dismissed. They have been persuasively refuted by a range of relevant actors, from McBride's wife, Paula, to his alleged collaborators in those movements.

Leaving aside the unprocessed and unverified military intelligence report — which implausibly links McBride to unnamed conspirators seeking to overthrow government — two broad trends can be distinguished in the speculative frenzy:

- Exoneration of McBride in advance, characterised by articles in successive editions of the *Mail & Guardian*; and
- Condemnation of him, even before he is charged, with Assistant Police Commissioner Suiker Britz leading the charge.

The central theme of the *Mail & Guardian* reports is that McBride was on an undercover mission for either the National Intelligence Agency (NIA) or a "special operations unit" at the time of arrest. His mandate is reported to have been to identify and expose the gun runners supplying the bandits behind cash-in-transit heists in SA.

But a spokesman for the NIA and its sister organisation, the SA Secret Service, emphatically denies that McBride is — or ever has been — a member of either organisation.

Safety & Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi is equally adamant: "McBride did not engage in any activities in Mozambique carried out at the behest of any structure of the SA government, including the intelligence services."

It is, of course, theoretically possible that McBride was on an official mission that went awry and that his hypothetical superiors — in the best tradition of spymasters — are denying that he is their man.

But in the absence of demonstrable evidence, that is tenuous speculation resting on the assumption that Mufamadi is wilfully misleading parliament.

Commissioner Britz, who heads the police special investigations unit, has pre-empted the outcome from a different perspective. Having seen evidence compiled against McBride by Mozambique police, he states that, if presented to a SA court, it would be sufficient to put him "behind bars for a long time". Britz has since repeated his initial statement to *Rapport* on television.

Britz's statements have been labelled "misguided". Mufamadi has taken another step: he has written to Police Services Commissioner George Fivaz, informing him that he considers Britz's statements to have been irregular.

These statements have led observers to ponder whether, as a member of the "old guard", Britz has an undeclared agenda against McBride, whose role in the 1986 Durban beachfront bombing won him many enemies.

His seemingly rapid rise in the Department of Foreign Affairs — he was a director for the South East Asia Desk — is a proverbial bone in the throat for those who see him as a wanton killer rather than a soldier in an undeclared war.

Britz is unrepentant, standing by his repeated statement. "There is nothing wrong with it because it is the truth," he says.

Paula McBride, who is confident that her husband will be proven innocent, proffers an explanation for his presence in Mozambique: he was investigating gun running on his own initiative, having acquired insights into the flow of guns to Inkatha hostel residents while working for the ANC in East Rand townships in 1992.

A variant of that explanation, one that imputes mercenary motives to McBride, is that his trip to Mozambique related to an attempt to found an arms company. His wife admits that her husband's support for black empowerment extends to the arms industry but denies that he personally wanted to launch a black-controlled arms concern. "He certainly would not have done it with illegally procured arms," she states.

The plethora of conjecture contrasts starkly with the scarcity of fact. Britz labels the spat of speculation invoked by news of McBride's arrest as "a madhouse of information".

What is known is that McBride was arrested in Mozambique on suspicion of gun running, that he was there on a private visit though travelling on a diplomatic passport, that he had US$11 000 on him when apprehended, that he has been suspended by the Department of Foreign Affairs and that government has denied that he was there on its behalf.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana makes a valid point amid the controversy: McBride, like all SA citizens, is entitled to a presumption of innocence until and unless he is proven guilty.

Patrick Laurence

Clinton calls for closer SA-US ties

(304A)

Sowetan 27/3/98



US president Bill Clinton with his wife Hillary Rodham Clinton after her speech yesterday during a visit to a housing project for disadvantaged women in the black township of Guguletu, outside Cape Town. The US president visited the violence-scarred Cape Town suburb on the first day of his visit to South Africa. PIC: AP

By Ido Lekota

UNITED States President Bill Clinton, in a historic address to a joint sitting of Parliament, has called for closer political and economic ties between South Africa and the US.

Clinton, who became the first US president yesterday to address the South African Parliament, said the US sought partnerships with South Africa based on mutual benefit.

He said the partnerships could be struck despite the reality that South Africa and the US would not agree on everything. "That happens even in family partnerships," he said.

To rounds of applause, Clinton said the US-SA Binational – chaired by President Thabo Mbeki and US vice president Al Gore – had formed a stronger foundation for increased cooperation between the two countries.

He pledged cooperation in information technology, transportation and fighting crime, for instance drugs.

"The US needs a strong South Africa and we're committed to work with you as you build a strong Africa. In the past, our focus was on aid and assistance, now we want to work as equal partners. Africa remains the greatest development channel in the world ... what we're seeing in South Africa is what Deputy President (Thabo) Mbeki refers to as the African renaissance. In coming to Africa my motive was to help African people see the United States with new eyes," he said, adding that US policy had changed from doing things for Africa to doing things with Africa.

The US president also called upon the various South African political parties to work together in strengthening their newly found democracy.

Clinton said despite their political differences, hates and fears these parties were obviously committed to building a common future that ensures that their children never suffer social injustice or poverty.

"Even in the preamble of your constitution you say South Africa belongs to all who live in it ..."

"Even in the preamble of your Constitution you say South African belongs to all who live in it ... in the context of your history and what you have achieved so far those simple words are a clarion call for all those committed to unity ... an assurance that those who build can triumph over those who break down."

Clinton's address to Parliament was preceded by a colourful ceremony outside Parliament where he was officially welcomed with a 21 gun salute. He then inspected the guard of honour.

Earlier in the day, he accompanied his wife Hillary to the Victoria Mxenge housing project in Philipi, outside Cape Town, where he pledged $3-million (R15-million).

His visit was also accompanied by protests. A group of about 20 demonstrators opposed to his visit gathered in Roeland Street, near Parliament, soon after the arrival of the cavalcade taking Clinton to address a joint sitting of Parliament's two Houses.

The protesters were prevented from reaching the gates of Parliament by a wire-mesh barrier and scores of uniformed riot police.

● See pages 2 and 3

Historic US presidential address in SA

(304A)

Sowetan 27/3/98

UNITED States president Bill Clinton received several prolonged rounds of applause from a packed Great Hall of Parliament as he delivered an historic address to a special joint sitting of the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces.

None was more thunderous than when he declared: "America wants and needs a strong South Africa, and we're determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa."

A murmur of laughter rippled through the chamber and the public galleries when he said – after extolling the similarities between the two countries' histories and interests – that "sometimes we differ, even in family relationships".

The parliamentarians on the floor of the House, as well as the dignitaries and members of the public in the galleries above, listened attentively as he spoke.

Mrs Clinton smiled proudly on a number of occasions during her husband's speech.

As Clinton and Mandela slowly led the procession out of the chamber at the end of the proceedings, Clinton made a point of shaking as many hands as he could and striking up brief conversations with, among others, Democratic Party national chairman Ms Dene Smuts, who had just delivered the thank-you address.

Later Clinton was given a first-hand account of the Afrikaner drive for self-determination when he met Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen. Viljoen was one of a group of opposition leaders who met Clinton for what were described as informal discussions after his address to Parliament.

Viljoen said afterwards he and Clinton had discussed the application of group rights throughout the world. Reference had been made to problems in East Europe, as well as the US, where the issue of group rights was becoming increasingly prominent.

Clinton is due to hold bilateral talks with Mandela today and several contentious issues are expected to be discussed, including Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma's controversial medicines control legislation, which the US drug industry believes violates their patent rights.

He will also reportedly try to persuade Mandela to bring South Africa into an international anti-corruption initiative.

Clinton spent last night relaxing at a private dinner, White House press secretary Mike McCurry said. He had not had much time for seeing the sights of Cape Town, but had remarked how beautiful the city was.

Having overheard some White House aides saying they were going to climb Table Mountain, Clinton had joked that he would like to miss a few meetings and join them.

He will visit Gauteng tomorrow and move on to Botswana on Sunday. – *Sapa*.

'America needs a strong So

STAR 27/03/98



GREG GIBSON /

State visit ... US President Bill Clinton and President Nelson Mandela at Parliament in Cape Town yesterday.

Soweto excited about Clinton's visit tomorrow

US President Bill Clinton will be confronted with stark images of the 1976 uprising when he visits Soweto tomorrow. He will visit the Hector Petersen Memorial precinct in Orlando West, housing hundreds of pictures of the uprisings.

Yesterday world-renowned lensman Peter Magubane, who took some of the pictures on show, was putting the finishing touches to his display. Other pictures shown were taken by veteran photographers Sam Zima and Alf Kumalo.

Sowetans were excited yesterday over Clinton's visit and said they would take their place along the route and at the memorial from early in the day.

Workmen were readying the Hector Petersen Memorial precinct and Regina Mundi church in Rockville, where Clinton will attend mass on Sunday.

– Staff Reporter

Details of Clinton tour

- Today – Clinton and Mandela have formal talks at Tuynhuys and a joint news conference. They then fly by helicopter to Robben Island. Tonight, Clinton and his wife attend a state dinner at Vergelen Wine Estates. Mandela will then hand over the Order of Good Hope privately.
- Saturday – Clinton leaves Cape Town for Johannesburg where he will visit Soweto and meet young community and business leaders.
- Sunday – Clinton attends mass as Regina Mundi, then leaves for Botswana.

Reuters Report

uth Africa'

Star 27/3/98

US president calls for pact based on mutual respect and reward

By Jovial Rantao (304A)
Cape Town

Trade agreements and an increased flow of US investments to South Africa are on the cards following the call yesterday by President Bill Clinton for partnerships based on mutual respect and reward.

In an address to a joint sitting of Parliament, Clinton said: "Let us work with each other, let us learn from each other to turn the hope we now share into a history we can all be proud of. We seek to be your true partners."

He is being accompanied on his visit by an entourage of more than 1 000, including his wife Hillary, US cabinet ministers, and businessmen hoping to strike partnership deals.

US and South African cabinet ministers today start negotiations which are expected to lead to agreements being signed within the context of the US-SA Binational Commission chaired by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and his US counterpart Al Gore. Today's meeting between President Mandela and Clinton is expected to be dominated by trade issues.

In his address, Clinton acknowledged that SA and the US differed on certain issues, but was confident both countries would build partnerships in trade and investment through incentives such as Opec's new Africa Opportunity Fund.

"We seek to expand joint efforts to combat the grave threat of domestic and international crime through our new FBI and customs office here in South Africa. I hope we can build together to meet the persistent problems and fulfil the remarkable promise of the African continent.

"Yes, Africa remains the world's greatest development challenge, still plagued by poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy and unemployment.

"Yes, terrible conflicts continue to tear at the heart of the continent, but from Cape Town to Kampala, from Dar es Salaam to Dakar, democracy is gaining strength, business is growing, peace is making progress."

His address to Parliament was preceded by a ceremony outside Tuynhuys, where he was given a 21-gun salute before inspecting a guard of honour.

Clinton said the US had an economic stake in South Africa's success: "In overcoming your past you offer a powerful example to people who are torn by their own divisions in all parts of this earth. Simply put, America wants a strong South Africa, America needs a strong South Africa and we're determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa."

Signalling a change in attitude towards Africa, Clinton said US policymakers no longer spoke of "what we can do for Africa" but "what we can do with Africa".

"As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger – through prosperous consumers on this continent and new African products brought to our markets, through partners to fight and find solutions to common problems."

Earlier in the day, he accompanied his wife to the Victoria Mxenge housing project in Philippi, outside Cape Town, where he pledged assistance worth about R15-million.

■ **Peter Fabricius** reports that the US and South Africa failed to reach agreement yesterday on the contentious issue of substituting generic medicines for patent medicines.

Officials said it seemed likely the dispute would go all the way to the World Trade Organisation.

► **Reports, graphic, full text of speech** ... *Pages 7 and 10*

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(304A)

America needs a strong South Africa

(304A) Star 27/3/98

This is the text of President Bill Clinton's address to the Great Hall of Parliament in Cape Town yesterday

[redacted]

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I am deeply honoured to be the first American President ever to visit South Africa, and even more honoured to stand before this Parliament to address a South Africa truly free and democratic at last. (Applause.)

Joining my wife and me on this tour are many members of our congress and distinguished members of my cabinet and administration – men and women who supported the struggle for a free South Africa, leaders of the American business community, now awakening to the promise and potential of South Africa, people of all different backgrounds and beliefs.

Among them, however, are members of the Congressional Black Caucus and African-American members of my government.

It is especially important for them to be here because it was not so long ago in the long span of human history that their ancestors were uprooted from this continent and sold into slavery in the United States. But now they return to Africa as leaders of the United States. Today they sit alongside the leaders of the new South Africa, united in the powerful poetry of justice.

As I look out at all of you, I see our common promise. Two centuries ago the courage and imagination that created the United States and the principles that are enshrined in our constitution inspired men and women without a voice across the world to believe that one day they, too, could have a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Now the courage and the imagination that created the new South Africa and the principles that guide your constitution inspire all of us to be animated by the belief that one day humanity all the world over can at last be released from the bonds of hatred and bigotry.

It is tempting for Americans of all backgrounds perhaps to see too many similarities in the stories of our two countries, because sometimes similarities which appear to be profound are in fact superficial. And they can obscure the unique and complex struggle South Africa has made to shed the chains of its past for a brighter tomorrow.

Nonetheless, in important ways, our paths do converge – by a vision of real multiracial democracy bound together by healing and hope, renewal and redemption. Therefore, I came here to say simply this: let us work with each other, let us learn from each other, to turn the hope we now share into a history that all of us can be proud of.

Mr President, for millions upon millions of Americans, South Africa's story is embodied by your heroic sacrifice and your breathtaking walk "out of the darkness and into the glorious light".

But you are always the first to say that the real heroes of South Africa's transformation are its people, who first walked away from the past and now move with determination, patience and courage toward a new day and a new millennium.

We rejoice at what you have already accomplished. We seek to be your partners and your true friends in the work that lies ahead – overcoming the lingering legacy of apartheid, seizing the promise of your rich land and your gifted people.

From our own 220-year experience with democracy, we know that real progress requires, in the memorable phrase of Max Weber, "the long and slow-boring of hard boards".

We know that democracy is always a work still in the making, a march toward what our own founders called a more perfect union.

You have every reason to be hopeful. South Africa was reborn, after all, just four years ago. In the short time since, you've worked hard to deepen your democracy, to spread prosperity, to educate all your people, and to strengthen the hand of justice. The promise before you is immense – a people unshackled, free to give full expression to their energy, intellects and creativity, a nation embraced by the world, whose success is important to all our futures.

America has a profound and pragmatic stake in your success because we, like you, need strong partners to build prosperity; a strategic stake because of 21st-century threats to our common security, from terrorism, from international crime and drug trafficking, from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, from the spread of deadly disease and the degradation of our common environment. These perils do not stop at any nation's borders. And we have a moral stake, because in overcoming your past you offer a powerful example to people who are torn by their own divisions in all parts of this earth.

Simply put, America wants a strong South Africa; America needs a strong South Africa. And we are determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa. (Applause.)

In the first four years of your freedom, it has been our privilege to support your transition with aid and assistance. Now, as the new South Africa emerges, we seek a genuine partnership based on mutual respect and mutual reward.

Like all partners, we cannot agree on everything. Sometimes our interests and our views diverge, but that is true even in family partnerships.

Nonetheless, I am convinced, we agree on most things and on the important things because we share the same basic values: a commitment to democracy and to peace, a commitment to open markets, a commitment to give all our people the tools they need to succeed in the modern world, a commitment to make elemental human rights the birth right of every single child. (Applause.)

Over the past four years, we put the building blocks of our partnership in place, starting with the Binational Commission, headed by Deputy President Mbeki and our Vice President Al Gore.

This remarkable effort has given high-level energy to critical projects, from energy to education, from business development to science and technology, cutting through red tape, turning good words into concrete deeds.

We are deeply indebted to you, Mr Mbeki, for your outstanding leadership, and we thank you for it. (Applause.)

The BNC brings to life what I believe you call "Masakhane", the act of building together. (Applause.) As we look toward the future, we will seek to build together new partnerships in trade and

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investment through incentives such as Opec's new Africa Opportunity Fund, already supporting two projects here in South Africa in transportation and telecommunications.

We will seek to expand joint efforts to combat the grave threat of domestic and international crime through our new FBI and Customs and Immigration offices here in South Africa. We will seek to strengthen our co-operation around the world, for already South Africa's leadership and its extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and creating an Africa nuclear-free zone have made all our children's futures more secure.

I also hope we can build together to meet the persistent problems and fulfill the remarkable promise of the African continent. Yes, Africa remains the world's greatest development challenge, still plagued in places by poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment.

Yes, terrible conflicts continue to tear at the heart of the continent, as I saw yesterday in Rwanda. But from Cape Town to Kampala, from Dar-es-Salaam to Dakar, democracy is gaining strength, business is growing, peace is making progress. We are seeing what Deputy President Mbeki has called an African Renaissance. (Applause.)

In coming to Africa my motive in part was to help the American people see the new Africa with new eyes, and to focus our own efforts on new policies suited to the new reality. It used to be when American policymakers thought of Africa at all, they would ask, what can we do for Africa, or whatever can we do about Africa? Those were the wrong questions. The right question today is, what can we do with Africa? (Applause.)

Throughout this trip I've been talking about ideas we want to develop with our African partners to benefit all our people – ideas to improve our children's education through training and technology, to ensure that none of our children are hungry or without good health care; to build impartial, credible and effective justice systems; to strengthen the foundation of civil society and deepen democracy; to build strong economies from the top down and from the grass roots up; to prevent conflict from erupting and to stop it quickly if it does.

Each of these efforts has a distinct mission, but all share a common approach – to help the African people help themselves to become better equipped, not only to dream their own dreams, but at long last to make those dreams come true.

Yesterday in Entebbe we took an important step forward. There, with leaders from Eastern and Central Africa, we pledged to work together to build a future in which the doors of opportunity are open to all, and countries move from the margins to the mainstream of the global economy; to strengthen democracy and respect for human rights in all nations; to banish genocide from the region and this continent so that every African child can grow up in safety and peace.

As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger. Through prosperous consumers on this continent and new African products brought to our markets, through new partners to fight and find solutions to common problems – from the spread of Aids and malaria to the greenhouse gases that are changing our climate. And most of all, through the incalculable benefit of new ideas, new energy, new passion from the minds and hearts of the people charting their own future on this continent.

Yes, Africa still needs the world, but more than ever it is equally true that the world needs Africa. (Applause.)

Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, at the dawn of the 21st century we have a remarkable opportunity to leave behind this century's darkest moments while fulfilling its most brilliant possibilities – not just in South Africa, nor just in America, but in all the world.

I come to this conviction well aware of the obstacles that lie in the path. From Bosnia to the Middle East, from Northern Ireland to the Great Lakes region of Africa, we have seen the terrible price people pay when they insist on finding and killing and keeping down their neighbours.

For all the wonders of the modern world, we are still bedeviled by notions that our racial, ethnic, tribal and religious differences are somehow more important than our common humanity; that we can only lift ourselves up if we have someone to look down on.

But then I look around this hall. There is every conceivable difference – on the surface – among the Americans and the South Africans in this great Hall of Freedom. Different races, different religions, different native tongues, but, underneath, the same hopes, the same dreams, the same values.

We all cherish family and faith, work and community, freedom and responsibility. We all want our children to grow up in a world where their talents are matched by their opportunities.

And we all have come to believe that our countries will be stronger and our futures will be brighter as we let go of our hatreds and our fears, and as we realise that what we have in common really does matter far more than our differences.

The preamble to your constitution says, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity."

In the context of your own history and the experience of the world in this century, those simple words are a bold clarion call to the future, an affirmation of humanity at its best, an assurance that those who build can triumph over those who tear down, that, truly, the peacemakers are blessed, and they shall inherit the Earth.

Thank you, and God bless the new South Africa.

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'I hope he stops the shoplifting'

TROYE LUND

MR Manuel Janse popped across the road to buy a latch for the new double-storey home he is building for himself in Philippi.

He came back to find the American president standing on his stoep.

"I come back and am told I cannot go near my house, but I am glad he is here. If he can, I am sure that he will create jobs and peace.

"I hope he will also stop the robbing and shoplifting that goes on.

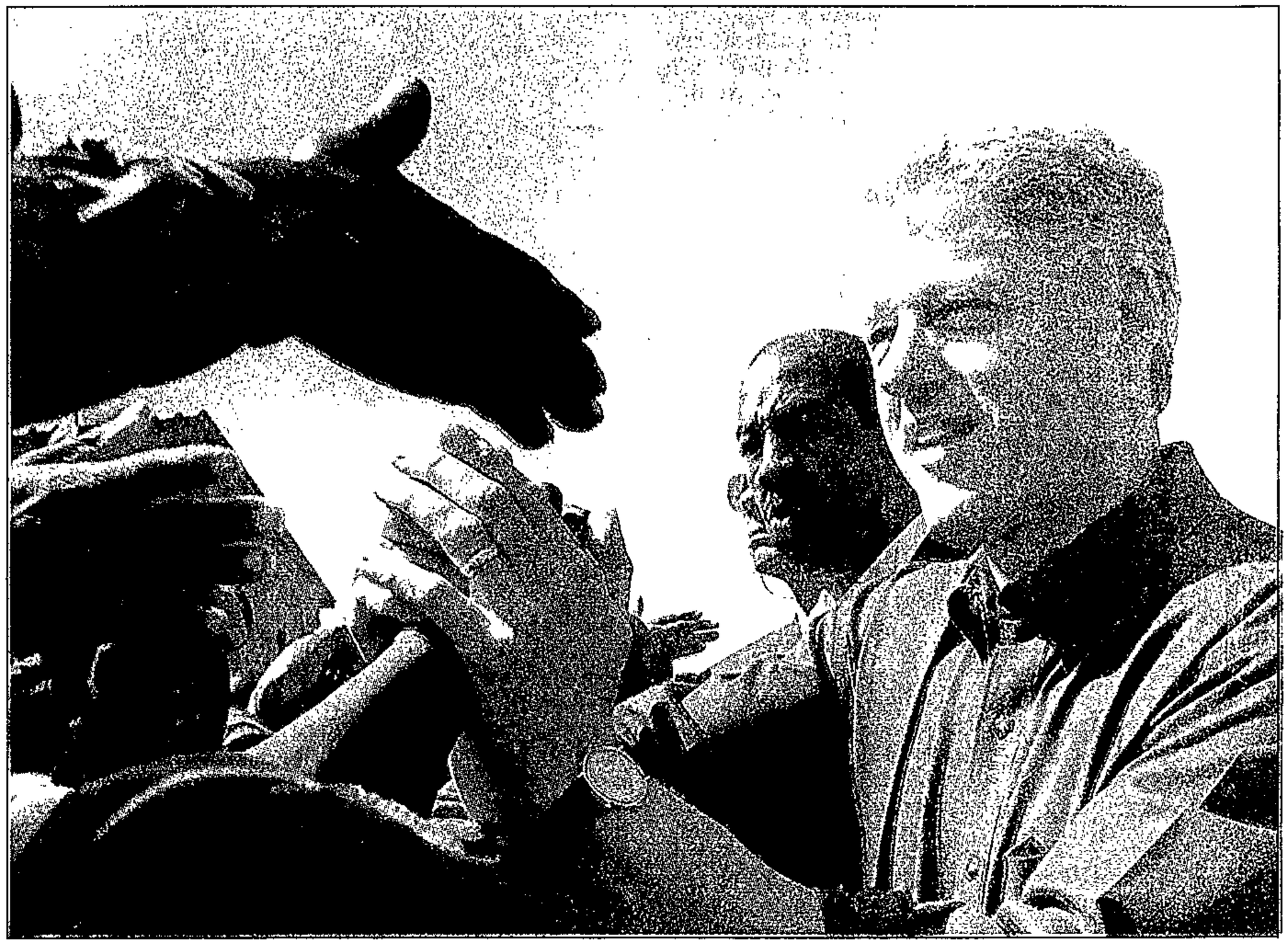
"Do you think he realised just how poor we in South Africa are? No, I think he is surprised. He thought everyone lives as good as they do in America," said Janse, perched on a mound of building rubble and straining to see what Hillary and Bill were doing.

They had moved from his porch and it was clear they were not going into his house, but Janse was sure it would be blessed with good fortune after those shoes had been near it.

When the novelty of staring at the first couple had worn off, Janse extended his gaze.

When he noticed the bodyguards with "telephone cords" plugged into their ears and the black armoured vans filled with stern looking men dressed in black gear, he said: "This man must have many enemies.

"But I suppose if he is important there are lots of people trying to make friends and get close to him."



MR PRESIDENT: As residents strained against barricades to touch Bill Clinton, who yesterday visited the Victoria Mxenge housing project in Philippi, bodyguards looked stressed. The crowds were impressed that he was a master of Africa's double handshake.

ROWS MAR CLINTON VISIT

Cuba embargo among key trade disputes

ARG 27/3/98 (304A)



LEON MULLER

Truly spoken: Presidents Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela applaud the speech made by DP MP Dene Smuts at the joint sitting of parliament

HUGH ROBERTON, ALIDE DASNOIS AND CHARLES PHAHLANE

Sharp differences between South Africa and the United States have come to a head during President Bill Clinton's historic state visit.

While the official talks between President Mandela and Mr Clinton yesterday and today were said to be cordial, the bilateral discussions at Cabinet level were marked by arguments – sometimes heated – over trade and investment.

Aside from South African reservations over the US-Africa Growth and Opportunity Bill now going through the US Congress, specific disputes have come to the fore.

They involve the relations with Cuba of leading South African chemical and industrial group Sentrachem, which was taken over by US group Dow Chemicals last year.

US legislation prohibits American companies from trading with Cuba – but the South African Government insists on not observing the US embargo and is actively promoting trade with the island state.

A Sentrachem official confirmed that Lawnclean, a subsidiary, had traded with Cuba and the issue was "still under discussion."

The Department of Trade and Industry could not be reached for comment.

Another point of dispute is the issue of South African companies using purportedly unlawful means to prevent competition from US companies, and revolves around the American company EMC Corporation.

This firm launched a lawsuit in the South African courts against a Persetel employee who allegedly "sabotaged" EMC equipment in order to present it as faulty and in the process is claimed to have cost EMC a multi-million-rand contract with Telkom.

Persetel, which merged with Q-Data to form PQ Holdings, is defending the civil claim by EMC and denies the allegations.

"We are defending this case absolutely vigorously," PQ Holdings chairman Roux Marnitz said.

Clinton pictures and reports, page 3

Speech to Parliament, page 8

Don't miss the four-page 'Clinton visit' supplement tucked into today's Cape Argus

Hugh Wason of EMC said the court action was not against Telkom but involvedd an incident that happened on Telkom premises.

He alleged that a Persetel employee had used a password submitted to him by Telkom to "sabotage" testing equipment – to present it as low-quality and unreliable.

But he said EMC felt the matter should have been tried as a criminal case rather than a civil matter.

There are other disputes being tackled at the current talks, involving protests from the US over the failure to protect copyrights and intellectual property rights in South Africa's new legislation on generic drugs.

South African officials are also known to be unhappy about some clauses in the Growth and Opportunity Bill.

The bill offers African countries better access to US markets, but under certain conditions, among them the removal of African tariff and customs barriers and the opening of African economies to investment and privatisation, especially in infrastructure and telecommunications.

In particular, South African officials are worried that the new access to US markets can be too easily withdrawn or amended, thus potentially causing huge disruption to fragile African economies.

At stake is the creation of tens of thousands of jobs in sub-Saharan Africa.

As an example, the Clothing Federation of SA has estimated that if clothing exports to the US were to rise from the present 0,1% of US clothing imports to just 1%, 30 000 new jobs could be created in South Africa.

Such matters are expected to be raised by Mr Mandela in his substantive talks with Mr Clinton today.

BILL'S HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

Americans dish out pots of cash, wisdom

CT 27/3/98

(304A)

BILL CLINTON once worked as a builder, but found the job too strenuous and became a politician instead. Yesterday he showed he could still lay the odd brick. **TROYE LUND** reports.

A THREE-LEGGED African cooking pot and R15 million is how residents, who poured out of every corner to see the "Izingwili zaAmerica" (rich people from America), will remember the presidential visit.

As the cavalcade screeched up to the famed Victoria Mxenge housing project in Philippi, talking heads nodded and agreed: Hillary and Bill had come to join their savings scheme, bring jobs, houses and a better way of life.

Women involved in the project save their money under the Homeless People's Federation to build their own homes. To date the scheme has 280 members, and 103 houses have been built.

After adding some bricks to one structure, the president said: "Some 30 years ago I spent time building houses. When I learned what hard work it was I went into politics where you do not have to work as hard."

When it was Hillary's turn to speak she produced the pot the women builders had given her on her previous visit with the instruction to cook her husband a meal in it.

"Unfortunately I live in a very big house with many cooks, who would be unhappy if their work were taken from them.

"I will save this pot to cook for my husband when he is not the president any longer."



The reason why she lugged the pot back was to explain why the Victoria Mxenge project reminded her of a story about a man with a pot but no food.

After filling the pot with water, the man lit a fire and put a stone in the water.

"Every passer by thought he was mad boiling only a stone and added something to the water like carrots, peas or potatoes. Pretty soon the pot was filled with a delicious stew that could feed the whole village," said Hillary.

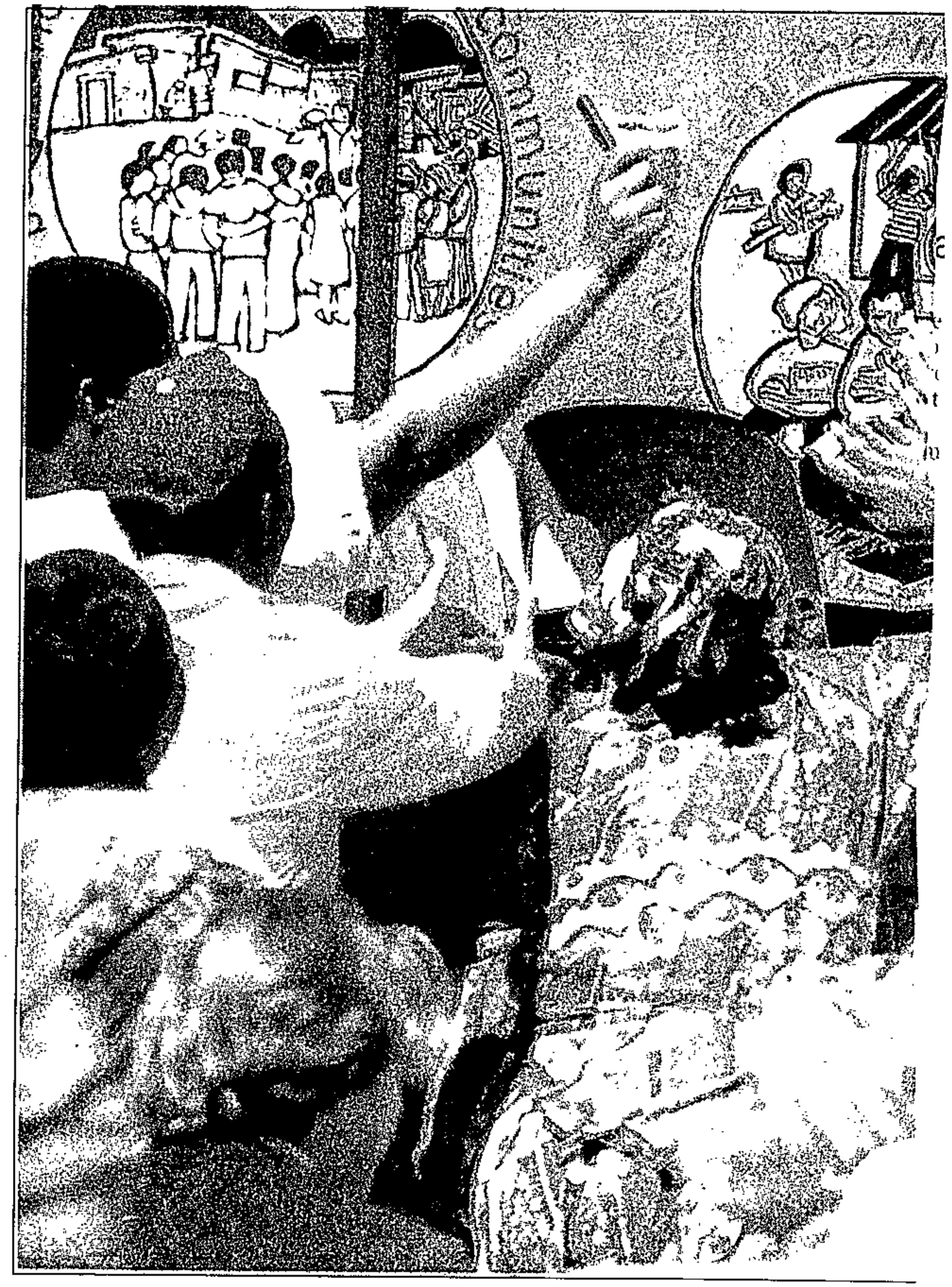
Like the people in this story, Philippi's women builders had worked together, contributed what they had and, brick by brick, turned empty land into a "beautiful suburb".

The first lady was then informed by Ms Patricia Matolengwe, a former domestic worker who spearheaded the scheme, that the women had bought more land nearby to build a second phase, and one of the new streets would be named Hillary Clinton Street.

After the president announced that he would be giving $3 million US dollars (about R15 million) to new housing in South Africa, Mr Zak Miubu turned to his friends and said: "You see, I told you this man is here to improve the way we live."

As true entrepreneurs, the women builders would not let the couple leave without having dipped into their pockets.

A R200 membership fee for Hillary to join the savings scheme and some R30 T-shirts later, the couple eased towards their limousine.



WARMEST AFRICA: First lady Hillary Clinton received an enthusiastic welcome from the people



Let us build together

27/5/48
304A

CT 27/3/98

PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON paid tribute to South Africa's "heroic sacrifice" and "breathtaking walk out of darkness ... into glorious light". **DONWALD PRESSLY** and **ANDRÉ KOOPMAN** report.

(3049)

ALTHOUGH terrible conflicts still tore "at the heart of the continent", democracy was growing and the boundaries of peace were expanding in Africa," President Bill Clinton said in his address to the South African Parliament yesterday.

Clinton's measured speech was reminiscent of British premier Harold MacMillan's "Winds of Change" speech made to the all-white old Assembly in 1960.

Paying special tribute to Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for his work with Vice-President Al Gore in establishing the US-SA bi-national commission, aimed at fast-tracking trade and investment, Clinton said: "We are seeking what Deputy President Mbeki calls an African renaissance.



"Africa still needs the world, but it is equally true that the world needs Africa."

The bi-national commission brought to life "Masahkane" the act of building together, Clinton said.

The first US president to visit SA said his nation needed a strong South Africa "and we are determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa".

"As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger," he said.

Clinton was earlier met at Parliament by a naval guard of honour, resplendent in their white uniforms, and given a 21-gun salute.

Any differences between South Africa and the USA were swept under copious lengths of red carpet laid out from Stalplein to Parliament.

Clinton and his wife Hillary were warmly greeted by President Nelson Mandela and his fashionably dressed companion Ms Graça Machel when they arrived at Tuynhuys after 4pm.

They then followed the red carpet to a specially constructed red podium surmounted by a white tent.

The two men looked impassively at Table Mountain as the two national salutes were played and a ceremonial American flag, made at the last minute by a Bellville firm, was unfurled.

They were watched by sharpshooters stationed on rooftops and scores of South African and American secret service agents.

Clinton said he was deeply honoured to be the first American president to visit South Africa, "especially" one that was now fully democratic.

The first to clap in the public gallery of the National Assembly when Clinton spoke of the need for a partnership between South Africa and the United states in which "America wants ... and American needs a strong South Africa" was the Rev Jesse Jackson.

"In coming to Africa, my motive, in part, was to help the American people to see the new Africa with new eyes, and to focus on new policies suited to the new millennium."

In the past it had been asked what could be done for Africa. "The right question today is to ask what can be done with Africa," he said.

Clinton said that for all the wonders of the modern world "we are still bedevilled by notions that our racial, ethnic, tribal and religious differences are somehow more important than our common humanity, that we can only lift ourselves up if we have someone to look down on".

"But then I look around this hall. There is every conceivable difference on the surface among the Americans and the South Africans in this great

❐ Turn to Page 3

g a visit by her and US President Bill Clinton to the Victoria
Picture: AFP

Clinton's visit may boost SA economy

BD 27/3/98 (3044)

US COMPANIES have rushed back to SA since apartheid ended and now President Bill Clinton is here too, to deliver a timely fillip to ailing confidence.

Clinton is the latest big-name American to join a stampede to SA.

Since democracy arrived in 1994, US firms have become the single largest direct investors in the country and now employ almost as many people as back in 1985.

Clinton's arrival could not have been timed better. "Safety and security issues, unemployment and the needs and skills shortages of the work place, slowing economic growth ... are all factors that have created an environment of some anxiety," says JP Morgan MD Ron Gault.

"Clinton can make a difference. He will focus attention on the whole continent and particularly those countries that he visits.

More than 275 US firms now have direct or indirect ties with SA and have invested close to R134bn since 1994.

The Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre estimates US companies now employ about 86 000 South Africans — close to 1985 levels when more than 280 US firms were represented in SA.

"SA is on the map and if you're interested in the continent, it's a logical place to set up shop," said Meg Voorhes, a director at the centre.

Clinton will be accompanied by a bevy of businessmen and his mere presence is likely to improve the outlook.

Jenny Cargill, a director of Johannesburg consultants Business Map, said US business until now had been largely replacing the production capacity surrendered during the years of disinvestment, but could be encouraged to do more.

"If US businesses sense that SA occupies a special place (with Clinton), it could create a mood back home that will encourage greater involvement," she said. —Reuter.

Clinton punts a US partnership with SA

BD 27/3/98 (304A)

Stephen Laufer

CAPE TOWN — The US wanted and needed a strong SA in the context of a strengthening African continent, and it was determined to work with South Africans as they built their country, US President Bill Clinton told members of parliament and the National Council of Provinces yesterday.

Speaking after President Nelson Mandela had officially welcomed him with full military honours in front of Tuynhuys, Clinton said the US had a "profound and pragmatic stake" in SA's success and example on the economic, security and moral fronts. It sought a partnership based on mutual respect and mutual rewards.

Punting a strong theme of mutual values and the potential for shared economic growth, Clinton said Africa still needed the world. "But more than ever, the world needs Africa."

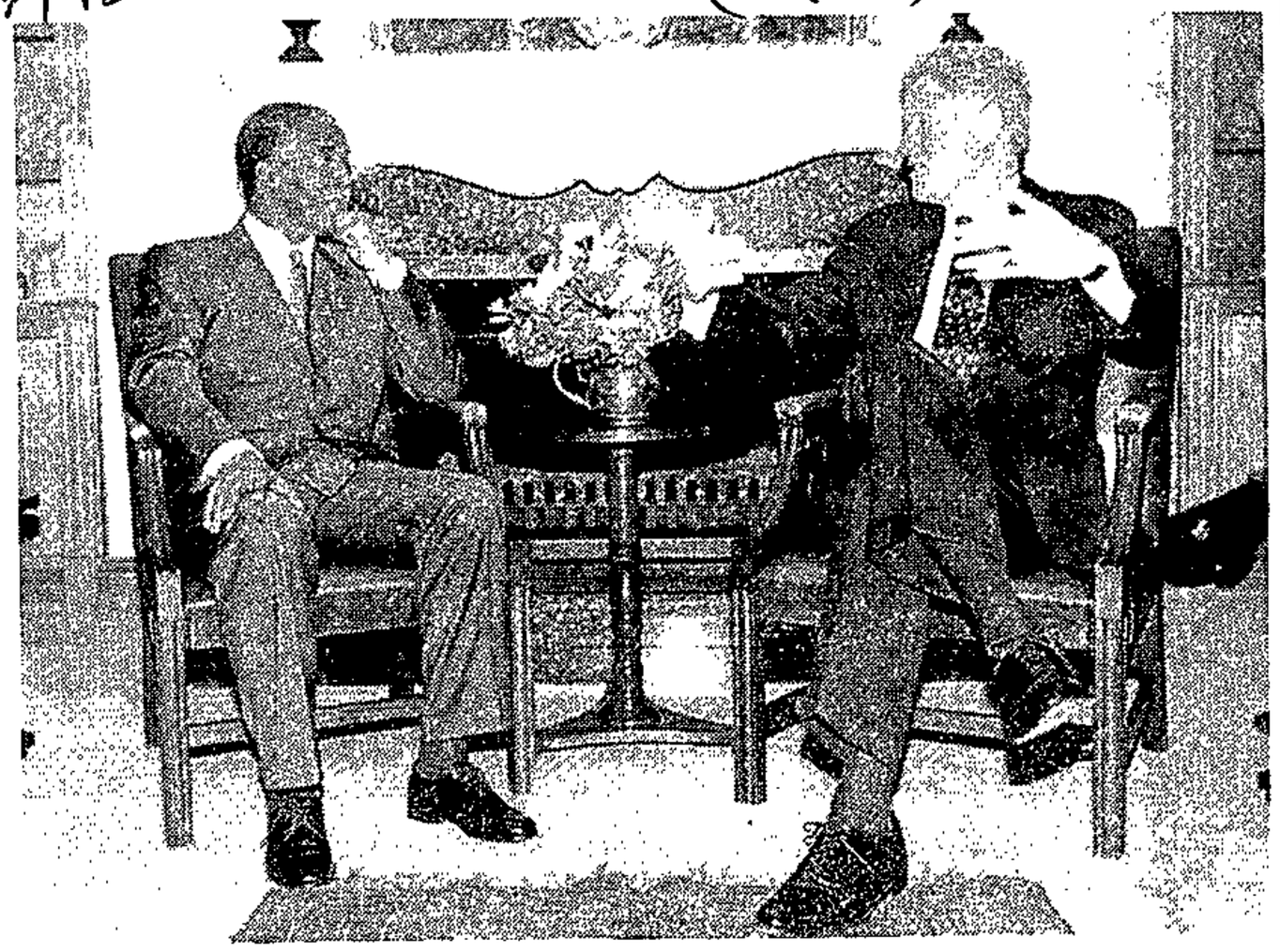
The US would seek to build new partnerships in trade and investment through incentives such as Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries' new Africa Opportunity Fund. The fund was already supporting projects in transportation and telecommunications in SA.

The US hoped to expand joint efforts at combating crime. It wanted to strengthen co-operation around the world, building on SA's successes in nuclear nonproliferation.

The US and SA should work with and learn from each other in order to turn hope for the future embodied in their constitutions into a history both could be proud of.

They need not agree on everything, but what they had in common mattered more than the differences. This included a commitment to democracy, peace, and open markets.

Both countries were committed to giving all their people the tools they needed to succeed in the modern world and to making human rights the birthright of every child.



Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and US President Bill Clinton hold talks yesterday at the Cape Grace hotel in Cape Town. Picture: AFP

The US, like SA, needed strong partners to build prosperity. It had a strategic stake in a strong SA because of threats to common security from terrorism, international crime and drug trafficking, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

SA's peaceful transition to democracy had set a powerful moral example to people torn by division around the world, Clinton said.

His late afternoon speech followed a morning during which he unexpectedly joined his wife Hillary on a visit to the Victoria Mxenge self-help housing project in Phillipi on the Cape Flats.

He later had an informal meeting with Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in his hotel near the Waterfront.

Clinton referred warmly to Mbeki several times in his speech, praising him for the energy he had brought to the leadership of the US-SA binational commission.

The commission was a "way of turning good words into concrete deeds", and brought to life Masakhane's spirit of building together.

The speech lasted 18 minutes, disappointing MPs who had expected a longer, more substantive statement on US policy towards Africa. Among the delegation listening from the gallery were US cabinet members, the special envoy on democracy in Africa, Jesse Jackson, and Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

Clinton told MPs the US sought "to be your partners in overcoming the legacy of apartheid and exploring the

Continued on Page 2

Clinton (304A)

Continued from Page 1

BD 27/3/98

promise of your land". Quoting Max Weber's statement that politics was about the patient boring of holes in hard boards, he said he was aware that change was not always easy, but "the promise before you is immense".

Africa remained the world's greatest development challenge, with a need to overcome poverty, malnutrition and conflict. But democracy and economic development were progressing and the world was seeing what Mbeki had dubbed the African renaissance.

Asking what could be done for or about Africa, US policy had in the past posed the wrong question. What should be asked was "what can we do together with Africa to our mutual benefit". Effort should go into building strong economies, expanding democracy and preventing or ending conflict.

Accompanying the Clintons from Tuynhuys to Parliament, Mandela was joined by his companion Graca Machel. Two SA officers led the group, which was followed by a US Marine Corps officer in dress uniform.

Clinton spent more than an hour in the parliamentary complex after his speech. After chatting to Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on his way out of the chamber, he greeted African National Congress and SA Communist Party leader Blade Nzimande, raising a cheer from many MPs.

In Speaker Frene Ginwala's office he met the parliamentary leaders of the ANC (Max Sisulu), the Freedom Front (Constand Viljoen), the Democratic Party (Tony Leon), and the National Party (Marthinus van Schalkwyk), and the IFP's Joe Matthews.

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Delicious irony: Page 18

NUM warns ANC of poll abstentions

BD 27/3/98 (304A)

Reneé Grawitzky

THE National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has warned of mass abstention by African National Congress (ANC) supporters at next year's elections.

NUM president James Motlatsi said at the union's congress in Johannesburg yesterday that ordinary people might be less disposed to vote for the ANC on the same scale as in 1994.

He also said the NUM would press the ANC to amend the constitution's property-rights clause; provincial powers; and strengthen workers' rights in the bill of rights if the ANC secured more than a two-thirds majority.

The NUM, he said, would work hard to ensure the ANC was voted in with more than a two-thirds majority so that it could make such amendments.

However, he said: "Our most difficult task is going to be to prevent mass abstention by voters who believe that the government has failed them in some way." It was crucial at this juncture to evaluate the ANC's performance and if necessary put pressure on government to "take remedial action" ahead of the elections.

Big business had won the struggle for control over economic policy and "our membership of the tripartite alliance has counted for very little". Government was "playing the tune composed by big business in the mistaken belief that if there were completely free markets" then employment and prosperity would rise. Concepts such as the Freedom Charter and reconstruction and development programme, "highly popular in one period", had been dropped because of what they meant to business and government.

NUM media officer George Molebatsi said although the bill of rights and the constitution favoured labour, there were problems in the wording of the property clause which effectively protected landowners.

Provincial powers had to be amended to grant central government greater powers as the provinces were impeding transformation. "Provinces should not have the right to fire teachers, it should be a central government issue."

In the bill of rights, employment should be a basic right.

Motlatsi said unless labour, government and business adopted a positive and co-ordinated approach to retrenchments in the mining industry, "we will not be able to contain the anger of our members" and could face strike action.

Motlatsi announced that he would not be standing for re-election next year. NUM acting general secretary Gwede Mantashe was unanimously elected as general secretary.

'As Africa grows strong, US grows stronger'

CT 27/3/98 (304A)

THIS IS THE full text of President Clinton's address to Parliament yesterday.

'THANK you very much, Premier Molefe, for that fine introduction. Mr President, Deputy President Mbeki, Madam Speaker, Mr Chairman of the National Council of Provinces, Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply honoured to be the first American President ever to visit South Africa, and even more honoured to stand before this Parliament to address a South Africa truly free and democratic at last.

Joining my wife and me on this tour of Africa, and especially here, are many members of our Congress and distinguished members of my Cabinet and administration, men and women who supported the struggle for a free South Africa, leaders of the American business community, now awakening to the promise and potential of South Africa, people of all different backgrounds and beliefs.

Among them, however, are members of the Congressional Black Caucus and African American members of my government. It is especially important for them to be here because it was not so long ago in the long span of human history that their ancestors were uprooted from this continent and sold into slavery in the United States. But now they return to Africa as leaders of the United States. Today they sit alongside the leaders of the new South Africa, united in the powerful poetry of justice.

As I look out at all of you, I see our common promise. Two centuries ago the courage and imagination that created the United States and the principles that are enshrined in our Constitution inspired men and women without a voice across the world to believe that one day they too could have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Now the courage and the imagination that created the new South Africa and the principles that guide your Constitution inspire all of us to be animated by the belief that one day humanity all the world over can at last be released from the bonds of hatred and bigotry.

It is tempting for Americans of all backgrounds, I think, perhaps to see too many similarities in the stories of our two countries, because sometimes similarities which appear to be profound are in fact superficial. And they can obscure the unique and complex struggle that South Africa has made to shed the chains of its past for a brighter tomorrow.



An African Renaissance

Nonetheless, in important ways, our paths do converge by a vision of real multiracial democracy bound together by healing and hope, renewal and redemption. Therefore, I came here to say simply this: Let us work with each other, let us learn from each other, to turn the hope we now share into a history that all of us can be proud of.

Mr President, for millions upon millions of Americans, South Africa's story is embodied by your heroic sacrifice and your breathtaking walk 'out of the darkness and into the glorious light'. But you are always the first to say that the real heroes of South Africa's transformation are its people, who first walked away from the past and now move with determination, patience, and courage toward a new day and a new millennium.

We rejoice at what you have already accomplished. We seek to be your partners and your true friends in the work that lies ahead overcoming the lingering legacy of apartheid, seizing the promise of your rich land and your gifted people.

From our own 220-year experience with democracy, we know that real progress requires, in the memorable phrase of Max Weber, "the long and slowboring of hard boards". We know that democracy is always a work still in the making, a march toward what our own founders called a more perfect union.

You have every reason to be hopeful. South Africa was reborn, after all, just four years ago. In the short time since, you've worked hard to deepen your democracy, to spread prosperity, to educate all your people, and to strengthen the hand of justice. The promise before you is immense; a people unshackled, free to give full expression to their energy, intellects, and creativity, a nation embraced by the world, whose success is important to all our futures.

America has a profound and pragmatic stake in your success; an economic stake because we, like you, need strong partners to build prosperity; a strategic stake because of 21st century threats to our common security, from terrorism, from international crime and drug trafficking, from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, from the spread of deadly disease and the degradation of our common environment. These perils do not stop at any nation's borders. And we have a moral stake, because in overcoming your past you offer a powerful example to people who are torn by their own divisions in all parts of this earth.

Simply put, America wants a strong South Africa; America needs a strong South Africa. And we are determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa.

In the first four years of your freedom, it has been our privilege to support your transition with aid and assistance. Now, as the new South Africa emerges, we seek a genuine partnership based on mutual respect and mutual reward. Like all partners, we cannot agree on everything. Sometimes our interests and our views diverge, but that is true even in family partnerships.

Nonetheless, I am convinced, we agree on most things and on the important things because we share the same basic values: a commitment to democracy and to peace, a commitment to open markets, a commitment to give all our people the tools they need to succeed in the modern world, a commitment to make elemental human rights the birth right of every single child.

Over the past four years, we put the buildin[illegible] blocks



HELPING HANDS: Bill Clinton in Parliament yesterday.

PICTURE: THEMBINKOSI DWAYISA

help themselves to become better equipped, not only to dream their own dreams, but at long last to make those dreams come true. Yesterday in Entebbe we took an important step forward. There, with leaders from eastern and central Africa, we pledged to work together to build a future in which the doors of opportunity are open to all, and countries move from the margins to the mainstream of the global economy; to strengthen democracy and respect for human rights in all nations; to banish genocide from the region and this continent so that every African child can grow up in safety and peace.

As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger. Through prosperous consumers on this continent and new African products brought to our markets, through new partners to fight and find solutions to common problems from the spread of Aids and malaria to the greenhouse gases that are changing our climate. And most of all, through the incalculable benefit of new ideas, new energy, new passion from the minds and hearts of the people charting their own future on this continent.

Yes, Africa still needs the world, but more than ever it is equally true that the world needs Africa.

Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, at the dawn of the 21st century we have a remarkable opportunity to leave behind this century's darkest moments while fulfilling its most brilliant possibilities not just in South Africa, nor just in America, but in all the world. I come to this conviction well aware of the obstacles that lie in the path. From Bosnia to the Middle East, from Northern Ireland to the Great Lakes region of Africa, we have seen the terrible price people pay when they insist on finding and killing and keeping down their neighbours.

For all the wonders of the modern world, we are still bedevilled by notions that our racial, ethnic, tribal, and religious differences are somehow more important than our common humanity; that we can only lift ourselves up if we have someone to look down on.

But then I look around this hall. There is every conceivable difference on the surface among the Americans and the South Africans in this great Hall of Freedom. Different races, different religions, different native tongues, but, underneath, the same hopes, the same dreams, the same values. We all cherish family and faith, work and community, freedom

a strong South Africa.

In the first four years of your freedom, it has been our privilege to support your transition with aid and assistance. Now, as the new South Africa emerges, we seek a genuine partnership based on mutual respect and mutual reward. Like all partners, we cannot agree on everything. Sometimes our interests and our views diverge, but that is true even in family partnerships.

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Over the past four years, we put the building blocks of our partnership in place, starting with the Binational Commission, headed by Deputy President Mbeki and our Vice President Al Gore. This remarkable effort has given highlevel energy to critical projects, from energy to education, from business development to science and technology, cutting through red tape, turning good words into concrete deeds. We are deeply indebted to you, Mr Mbeki, for your outstanding leadership, and we thank you for it.

The BNC brings to life what I believe you call "Masakhane," the act of building together. As we look toward the future, we will seek to build together new partnerships in trade and investment through incentives such as Opec's new Africa Opportunity Fund, already supporting two projects here in South Africa in transportation and telecommunications.

We will seek to expand joint efforts to combat the grave threat of domestic and international crime through our new FBI and Customs and Immigration offices here in South Africa. We will seek to strengthen our co-operation around the world, for already South Africa's leadership and extending the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty and creating an Africa nuclear free zone have made all our children's futures more secure.

I also hope we can build together to meet the persistent problems and fulfil the remarkable promise of the African continent. Yes, Africa remains the world's greatest development challenge, still plagued in places by poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment. Yes, terrible conflicts continue to tear at the heart of the continent, as I saw yesterday in Rwanda. But from Cape Town to Kampala, from Dar es Salaam to Dakar, democracy is gaining strength, business is growing, peace is making progress. We are seeing what Deputy President Mbeki has called an African Renaissance.

In coming to Africa my motive in part was to help the American people see the new Africa with new eyes, and to focus our own efforts on new policies suited to the new reality. It used to be when American policymakers thought of Africa at all, they would ask, what can we do for Africa, or whatever can we do about Africa? Those were the wrong questions. The right question today is, what can we do with Africa?

Throughout this trip I've been talking about ideas we want to develop with our African partners to benefit all our people; ideas to improve our children's education through training and technology, to ensure that none of our children are hungry or without good health care; to build impartial, credible and effective justice systems; to strengthen the foundation of civil society and deepen democracy; to build strong economies from the top down and from the grassroots up; to prevent conflict from erupting and to stop it quickly if it does.

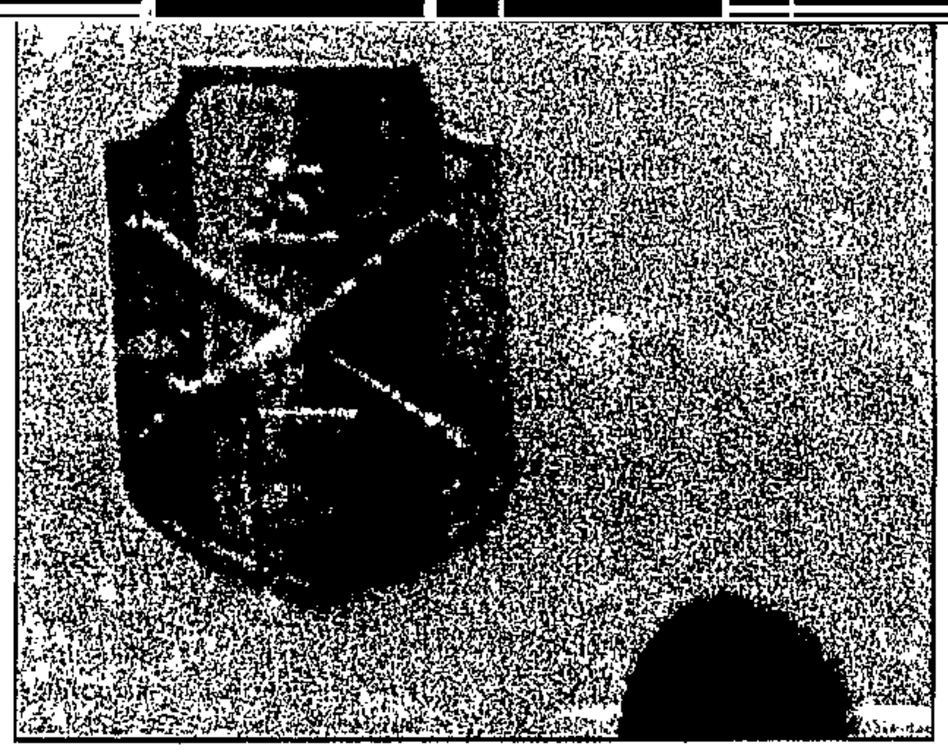
Each of these efforts has a distinct mission, but all share a common approach to help the African people that lie in the path. From Bosnia to the Middle East, from Northern Ireland to the Great Lakes region of Africa, we have seen the terrible price people pay when they insist on finding and killing and keeping down their neighbours.

For all the wonders of the modern world, we are still bedevilled by notions that our racial, ethnic, tribal, and religious differences are somehow more important than our common humanity; that we can only lift ourselves up if we have someone to look down on.

But then I look around this hall. There is every conceivable difference on the surface among the Americans and the South Africans in this great Hall of Freedom. Different races, different religions, different native tongues, but, underneath, the same hopes, the same dreams, the same values. We all cherish family and faith, work and community, freedom and responsibility. We all want our children to grow up in a world where their talents are matched by their opportunities. And we all have come to believe that our countries will be stronger and our futures will be brighter as we let go of our hatreds and our fears, and as we realise that what we have in common really does matter far more than our differences.

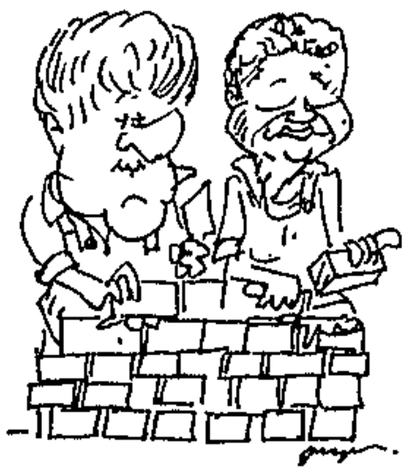
The Preamble to your Constitution says, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." In the context of your own history and the experience of the world in this century, those simple words are a bold clarion call to the future, an affirmation of humanity at its best, an assurance that those who build can triumph over those who tear down, that, truly, the peacemakers are blessed, and they shall inherit the Earth.

Thank you, and God bless the new South Africa.



HELPING HANDS: Bill Clinton in Parliament yesterday.

PICTURE: THEMBINKOSI DWAYISA



Building together

Poll jolts ANC into action

(304A) CT 27/3/98

JOVIAL RANTAO

THE ANC is to embark on an extensive campaign to increase its support, after an opinion poll showed that the party risked losing seven percent of those who voted for it in the 1994 elections.

The results of a survey commissioned by the ANC were tabled at the ANC's weekly parliamentary caucus meeting and used to urge MPs to use the winter parliamentary recess to work on projects to revive ANC structures.

Mr Thabang Makwetla, chairman of the ANC's parliamentary caucus, told a media briefing that the survey also found that seven percent of those who voted for the ANC had confidence in its policies, but had reservations about its ability to govern.

They were also not convinced that the ANC was dealing effectively with corruption.

"The survey showed us that the ANC will be largely responsible for its rise or fall. It also showed us that while our policies are correct, their implementation is a weakness the ANC must address," Makwetla said.

However, ANC chief whip Mr Max Sisulu said the ANC hoped to make up for any votes it might lose by winning the votes of young adults who did not vote in the 1994 elections.

Sisulu said that in addition to embarking on an extensive voter registration efforts would be made to strengthen the ANC/SACP/Cosatu tripartite alliance.

Also, senior officials would be redeployed from the national and provincial legislatures to ANC headquarters and provincial structures to boost its election campaign.

Sisulu said efforts would be made to ensure that Parliament finished its business in September or October to allow ANC members and other political parties to campaign for the elections, expected to be held in June next year.

He said that in addition to developing a communications strategy, the ANC would embark on a campaign to raise funds for the elections.

The ANC caucus also came out in support of the decision to go to theHigh Court of Appeals and the Constitutional Court to ensure that President Nelson Mandela or his successors were not dragged into to court to explain their actions.

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki yesterday briefed the caucus on the matter .

Sisulu said that if necessary the ANC would consider proposing a constitutional amendment to ensure that no head of state would be dragged into court by those unhappy with his executive decisions.

The ANC would require a two-thirds majority to pass the amendment.

NOTEBOOK

PARLIAMENT goes into recess from today. The next session opens on April 20 and ends on June 12.

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THE 'CIRCUS' COMES TO TOWN

Cheers and jeers for President Clinton

CT 27/3/98 (704A)

LOCALS showed their respect — and distrust — for Clinton and his entourage when they rolled into the city at the start of their South African visit yesterday. **MELANIE GOSLING** reports.

MANY Capetonians avoided the city centre yesterday in anticipation of traffic chaos surrounding President Bill Clinton's visit.

Businessmen who spoke to the *Cape Times* said they had cancelled or postponed appointments in the city to avoid "the circus" in town and, as a result, the traffic was noticeably thinner.

A few hundred spectators gathered in Adderley Street to watch the world's most powerful leader go by, but missed him as he entered Parliament from the top end of town.



Instead they crowded around to watch a group of protesters, called Muslims Against Global Oppression, burn the red, white and blue American flag and chant "death to America, death to Clinton".

Some of the placards carried by the 100 Muslim protesters read: "Clinton we hate your guts!", "One bullet, one Clinton", "Clinton murderer of innocents", "Clinton you are a political gangster".

One of the co-ordinators, Mr Moain Achmad, said the South African government had not asked the people if they wanted Clinton to visit.

"They had no mandate from the people. We don't want him here."

Another organiser, who did not want to be named, said: "Many of the Americans are wonderful people, but the US administration is evil. They have razed Iraq to the ground, left the country in smithereens. They are murderers."

The group had some trouble setting the American flag alight as it was made of nylon and melted without much flame.

But after several attempts with several lighters and bits of paper, they burned most of it, and then the group grabbed the smouldering remains and tore them apart, chanting "Death to America", moving off the pavements into the road.

A police officer then walked over to them and told Achmad that unless he controlled his followers, he would take action.

"I'll give you 10 minutes. If you can't control them in that time, then we must help you," said Superintendent Uys.

He formed his officers, carrying riot shields, into a human chain across Darling Street, in anticipation of the crowd moving closer to Parliament.

Most people who waited for a glimpse of Clinton appeared to be more curious than excited.

"I can't say I like him, but I want to see him all the same, just so I can say I was here," said one.

Businessman Mr Bob Hadley, who phoned the *Cape Times*, said: "I've made no appointments in town and am not going anywhere near the city centre. Lots of us have done so to avoid the whole bloody farce.

"Why the Americans have to turn the city into a fairground I don't know. Look at how the Queen sailed into Simon's Town so quietly, without fuss — and she's much more important than Clinton."

The only traffic jam was caused when an articulated truck broke down at the top of Adderley Street and, shortly afterwards a car broke down next to it, blocking both lanes. Some policemen pushed the car out of the way while others helped the truck driver get going.

Earlier, traffic officers on patrol ensured that several roads close to Parliament were cleared, and any vehicles that had disregarded the no parking signs along the streets were towed away by noon.

The meter maids said most of the motorists had been co-operative.

"But that lady in the red Uno, she just ran away when I told her she could not park here, she wouldn't listen. Well, if she doesn't come back before twelve o'clock she will find her car gone. It's her own fault," the meter maid said.

The handful of spectators in the Parliament precinct, mainly office workers, watched as President Clinton walked down the red carpet with President Mandela.

As a vehicle full of men in suits and sunglasses sped by to Parliament's underground parking, a woman said: "Yo, yo, yo! It's the FBI. You can tell it's them because they always have to wear those sunglasses."

Itinerary for today

10am — Meeting with President Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys.
11am — Question and answer session at Tuynhuys.
1pm — Leave by boat for Robben Island tour by Mandela.
4pm — Leave Robben Island and return to Cape Town.
(From 8am to about 8.30 and then again from 12 noon to about 1pm the elevated freeway to the Eastern Boulevard and the route via Zonnebloem Drive down Roeland Street will be closed.)
7pm — Vergelegen Wine Estate for state dinner.
11pm — Return to Cape Town.
(Evening travel to Somerset West is likely to be by air as traffic authorities have not been instructed to close any roads.)



'DEATH TO AMERICA': A group of protesters called Muslims Against Global Oppression burned the American Flag and chanted anti-American slogans in Adderley Street yesterday in a protest against the presidential visit.

PICTURE: KIM LUDBROOK

'Trade and US aid need to be addressed'

ARG 27/3/98 (304A)

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki yesterday responded to reports that he had criticised elements of US President Bill Clinton's US-Africa Growth and Opportunity Bill, saying both trade and aid had to be addressed.

A front page report in yesterday's *Business Day* said Mbeki, in an interview with the French political quarterly *Politique Internationale*, had said that Clinton's formula – trade, not aid — was wrong.

Speaking at an impromptu press conference, after paying a courtesy visit to Clinton, Mbeki said South Africa had received significant aid from the US.

However, there was a need to speed up development in South Africa and therefore both trade and US aid had to be addressed.

Clinton said he was attempting to increase trade with, and aid to, South Africa and the rest of the continent. Although the US had put more emphasis on trade over the past five years, it had certainly not abandoned aid. Trade and private industry were necessary to raise developing countries to mid-income levels.

He said one of the main purposes of his visit was for the people of the United States to see the new South Africa and the new Africa. It was important for the US and Africa to face the challenges of the next century together.

In the past, Africa had been seen to consist of game parks and opportunities for tourism. Not enough emphasis had been placed on concrete developmental partnerships. His trip would encourage this.

Clinton said he was thrilled to be in South Africa and had wanted to visit the country for a long time.

He praised President Nelson Mandela for the role he had played as a world leader in the campaign to ban landmines and said the US intended to increase the budget for landmine-clearing activities. — Sapa

THE CLINTON VISIT

'America needs a strong South Africa'

(304A) ARG 27/3/98

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

United States President Bill Clinton told a joint sitting of Parliament of his high hopes for a strong partnership with South Africa, and his confidence in the African Renaissance.

In a much-applauded address to the National Assembly, National Council of Provinces and crowded public gallery, Mr Clinton said: "Let us work with each other, let us learn from each other, to turn the hope we now share into a history we can all be proud of."

The US rejoiced at what South Africa had accomplished already: "We seek to be your true partners," Mr Clinton said.

South Africa had worked hard in the first four years of democracy to deepen that democracy and strengthen the hand of justice. America had an economic stake in this country's success, and would find common cause with South Africa on issues including the combating of drug trafficking, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

"America wants a strong South Africa. America needs a strong South Africa."

Mr Clinton acknowledged that sometimes the interests of South Africa and the US diverged.

This happened even in family partnerships, but the countries shared the same basic values, including a commitment to democracy and peace and to make human rights the birthright of every child.

He paid tribute to the successes of the US-SA Binational Commission, and in particular Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's role in making it work.

Mr Clinton called for new partnerships between the two countries in trade and investment.

He was confident that the problems of the continent could be faced and its promise realised: "From Cape Town to Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam to Dakar ... we are seeing an African Renaissance."

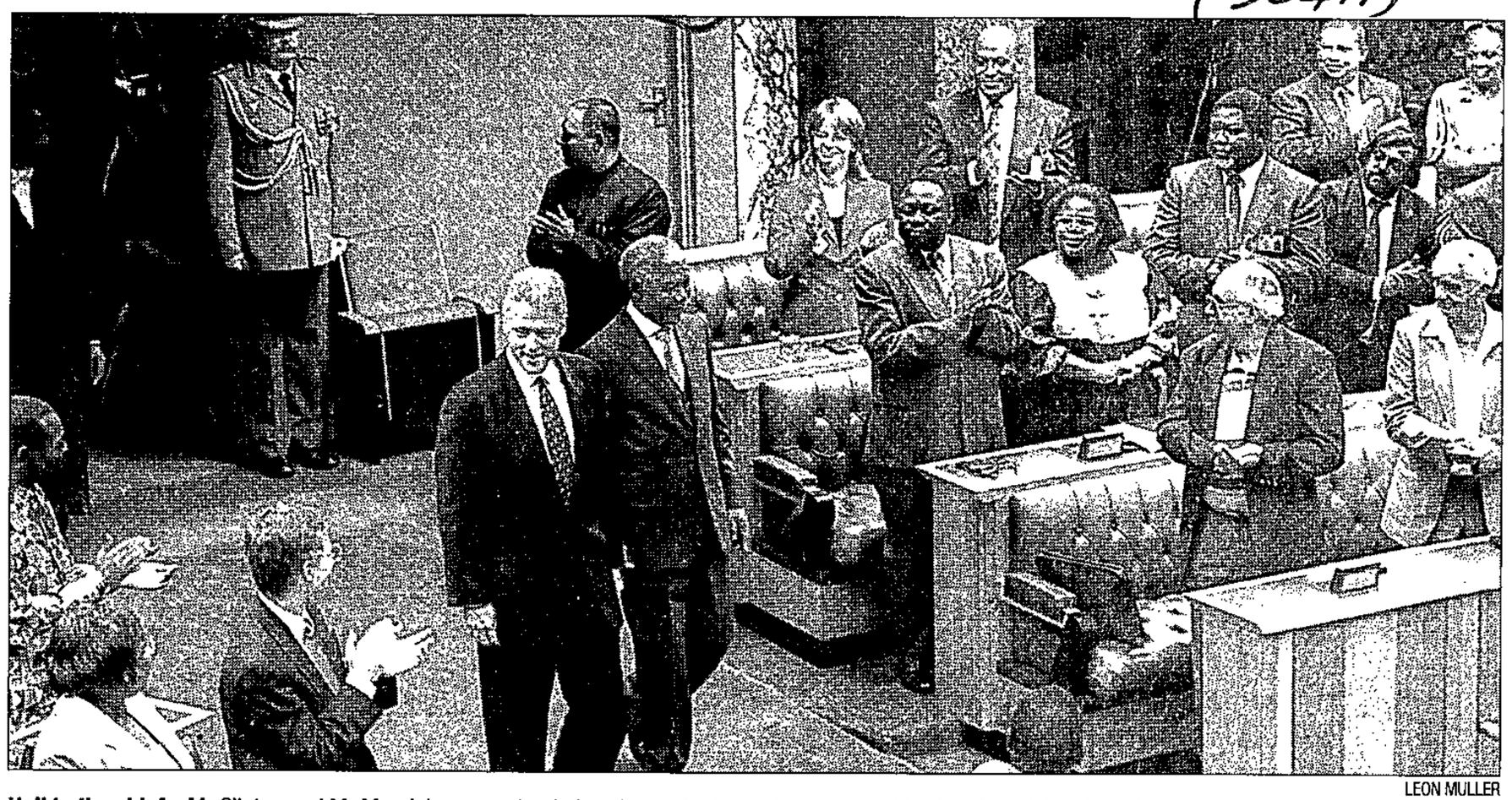
American attitudes to the continent had shifted from what the world's superpower could do "for or about" Africa to what it could do in co-operation with Africa.

On his arrival at Parliament, Mr Clinton received lavish red-carpet treatment, including an array of the full cabinet lined up to greet him.

Only a handful of protesters, kept far away by the customary severe security, marred the otherwise enthusiastic welcome for the visiting US president.

Earlier in the day, Mr Clinton departed from his schedule to accompany First Lady Hillary Clinton on a brief tour of the Cape Flats, including a stop at a low-cost housing project sponsored with American funds.

He also met Mr Mbeki to further outline his vision for a "trade over aid" plan for Africa. Mr Mbeki played down reports that he had been harshly critical of this approach, and the men said their differences were not as profound as reported.



LEON MULLER

Hail to the chiefs: Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela are applauded as they enter the National Assembly chamber, dubbed the Great Hall of Freedom by the US leader

Feel-good factor sweeps away the old acrimonies

CLIVE SAWYER

Bill Clinton dubbed it the Great Hall of Freedom, and with a masterly speech dispelled the bitterness and acrimony that normally surges in the National Assembly chamber.

His lingering departure, as he shared individual greetings and chats with leaders as diverse as avowed communist Blade Nzimande and Democratic Party leader Tony Leon, followed an eloquent praise-song to South Africa and the African Renaissance.

Although the past four years may have made MPs accustomed to visiting heads of state taking the podium in the Assembly, there was a perceptible excitement among the benches and galleries as the minutes ticked by to the delayed start of Mr Clinton's address.

The last group to arrive in the chamber before the presidential party was that of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who received a welcome which seemed to presage his coming days as president.

For President Mandela and Mr Clinton the welcome from the benches and public gallery was rapturous.

Bestowing the official welcome, North West premier Popo Molefe recalled another US president, George Bush, who had been on the phone to Mr Mandela within hours of the ANC leader's release.

Yesterday Mr Bush's successor sat in the Assembly alongside Mr Mandela, awaiting his turn at the podium.

When it came, he drew applause time and again for his earnest calls from South Africa to work with the United States on the African Renaissance.

There was a potent political tribute to Mr Mbeki for his work in co-chairing the US-SA Binational Commission: "We are deeply indebted to you for your outstanding leadership."

In her vote of thanks, DP MP Dene Smuts reciprocated Mr Clinton's admiration for South Africa's new constitution by noting how it had been inspired in part by the US's own founding document and principles.

As Mr Clinton made his way out of the chamber, it was clear that that American term "the feel-good factor" was at work.

Some other time, sometime soon, those he greeted would resume their battles over globalisation, Cuba, the honours bestowed on other world leaders by South Africa, and whether indeed this country's policies alienated the United States.

what Clinton told Parliament

ARG 27/3/98 (30UA)

Now the courage and the imagination that created the new South Africa and the principles that guide your constitution inspire all of us to be animated by the belief that at one day humanity all the world over can at last be released from the bonds of hatred and bigotry.

It is tempting for Americans of all backgrounds, I think, perhaps to see too many similarities in the stories of our two countries, because sometimes similarities which appear to be profound are in fact superficial. And they can obscure the unique and complex struggle that South Africa has made to shed the chains of its past for a brighter tomorrow.

None the less, in important ways, our paths do converge – by a vision of real multiracial democracy bound together by healing and hope, renewal and redemption. Therefore, I came here to say simply this: let us work with each other, let us learn from each other, to turn the hope we now share into a history that all of us can be proud of.

Mr President, for millions upon millions of Americans, South Africa's story is embodied by your heroic sacrifice and your breathtaking walk "out of the darkness and into the glorious light". But you are always the first to say that the real heroes of South Africa's transformation are its people, who first walked away from the past and now move with determination, patience, and courage toward a new day and a new millennium.

'Let us work with each other ... to turn the hope we share into a history that all of us can be proud of'

We rejoice at what you have already accomplished. We seek to be your partners and your true friends in the work that lies ahead – overcoming the lingering legacy of apartheid, seizing the promise of your rich land and your gifted people.

From our own 220-year experience with democracy, we know that real progress requires, in the memorable phrase of Max Weber, "the long and slow boring of hard boards". We know that democracy is always a work still in the making, a march toward what our own founders called a more perfect union.

You have every reason to be hopeful. South Africa was reborn, after all, just four years ago. In the short time since, you've worked hard to deepen your democracy, to spread prosperity, to educate all your people, and to strengthen the hand of justice. The promise before you is immense – a people unshackled, free to give full expression to their energy, intellects, and creativity, a nation embraced by the world, whose success is important to all our futures.

America has a profound and pragmatic stake in your success: an economic stake because we, like you, need strong partners to build prosperity; a strategic stake because of 21st century threats to our common security, from terrorism, from international crime and drug trafficking, from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, from the spread of deadly disease and the degradation of our common environment. These perils do not stop at any nation's borders. And we have a moral stake, because in overcoming your past you offer a powerful example to people who are torn by their own divisions in all parts of this earth.

Simply put, America wants a strong South Africa; America needs a strong South Africa. And we are determined to work with you as you build a strong South Africa.

In the first four years of your freedom, it has been our privilege to support your transition with aid and assistance. Now, as the new South Africa emerges, we seek a genuine partnership based on mutual respect and mutual reward. Like all partners, we cannot agree on everything. Sometimes our interests and our views diverge, but that is true even in family partnerships.

None the less, I am convinced, we agree on most things and on the important things because we share the same basic values: a commitment to democracy and to peace, a commitment to open markets, a commitment to give all our people the tools they need to succeed in the modern world, a commitment to make elemental human rights the birthright of every single child.

Over the past four years, we put the building blocks of our partnership in place, starting with the Binational Commission, headed by Deputy President Mbeki and our Vice President Al Gore. This remarkable effort has given high-level energy to critical projects, from energy to education, from business development to science and technology, cutting through red tape, turning good words into concrete deeds. We are deeply indebted to you, Mr Mbeki, for your outstanding leadership, and we thank you for it.

The BNC brings to life what I believe you call "Masakhane", the act of building together. As we look toward the future, we will seek to build together new partnerships in trade and investment through incentives such as OPEC's new Africa Opportunity Fund, already supporting two projects here in South Africa in transportation and telecommunications.

We will seek to expand joint efforts to combat the grave threat of domestic and international crime through our new FBI and Customs and Immigration offices here in South Africa. We will seek to strengthen our co-operation around the world, for already South Africa's leadership and extending the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and creating an Africa nuclear-free zone have made all our children's futures more secure.

I also hope we can build together to meet the persistent problems and fulfil the remarkable promise of the African continent. Yes, Africa remains the world's greatest development challenge, still plagued in places by poverty, malnutrition, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment. Yes, terrible conflicts continue to tear at the heart of the continent, as I saw yesterday in Rwanda. But from Cape Town to Kampala, from Dar-es-Salaam to Dakar, democracy is gaining strength, business is growing, peace is making progress. We are seeing what Deputy President Mbeki has called an African Renaissance.

'Democracy is strengthening, peace is progressing ... we are seeing an African Renaissance'

In coming to Africa my motive in part was to help the American people see the new Africa with new eyes, and to focus our own efforts on new policies suited to the new reality. It used to be when American policymakers thought of Africa at all, they would ask, what can we do for Africa, or whatever can we do about Africa? Those were the wrong questions. The right question today is, what can we do with Africa?

Throughout this trip I've been talking about ideas we want to develop with our African partners to benefit all our people – ideas to improve our children's education through training and technology, to ensure that none of our children are hungry or without good health care; to build impartial, credible and effective justice systems; to strengthen the foundation of civil society and deepen democracy; to build strong economies from the top down and from the grass roots up; to prevent conflict from erupting and to stop it quickly if it does.

Each of these efforts has a distinct mission, but all share a common approach – to help the African people help themselves to become better equipped, not only to dream their own dreams, but at long last to make those dreams come true. Yesterday in Entebbe we took an important step forward. There, with leaders from eastern and central Africa, we pledged to work together to build a future in which the doors of opportunity are open to all, and countries move from the margins to the mainstream of the global economy; to strengthen democracy and respect for human rights in all nations; to banish genocide from the region and this continent so that every African child can grow up in safety and peace.

As Africa grows strong, America grows stronger. Through prosperous consumers on this continent and new African products brought to our markets, through new partners to fight and find solutions to common problems – from the spread of AIDS and malaria to the greenhouse gases that are changing our climate. And most of all, through the incalculable benefit of new ideas, new energy, new passion from the minds and hearts of the people charting their own future on this continent. Yes, Africa still needs the world, but more than ever it is equally true that the world needs Africa.

Members of Parliament, ladies and gentlemen, at the dawn of the 21st century we have a remarkable opportunity to leave behind this century's darkest moments while fulfilling its most brilliant possibilities – not just in South Africa, nor just in America, but in all the world.

I come to this conviction well aware of the obstacles that lie in the path. From Bosnia to the Middle East, from Northern Ireland to the Great Lakes region of Africa, we have seen the terrible price people pay when they insist on finding and killing and keeping down their neighbours.

For all the wonders of the modern world, we are still bedevilled by notions that our racial, ethnic, tribal and religious differences are somehow more important than our common humanity; that we can only lift ourselves up if we have someone to look down on.

But then I look around this hall. There is every conceivable difference – on the surface – among the Americans and the South Africans in this great Hall of Freedom. Different races, different religions, different native tongues, but, underneath, the same hopes, the same dreams, the same values. We all cherish family and faith, work and community, freedom and responsibility. We all want our children to grow up in a world where their talents are matched by their opportunities. And we all have come to believe that our countries will be stronger and our futures will be brighter as we let go of our hatreds and our fears, and as we realise that what we have in common really does matter far more than our differences.

The preamble to your constitution says, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." In the context of your own history and the experience of the world in this century, those simple words are a bold clarion call to the future, an affirmation of humanity at its best, an assurance that those who build can triumph over those who tear down, that, truly, the peacemakers are blessed, and they shall inherit the Earth.

Thank you, and God bless the new South Africa.

27/3/98

B04A

God bless the new South Africa.

"I am deeply honoured to be the first American President ever to visit South Africa, and even more honoured to stand before this Parliament to address a South Africa truly free and democratic at last.

Joining my wife and me on this tour of Africa, and especially here, are many members of our Congress and distinguished members of my cabinet and administration, men and women who supported the struggle for a free South Africa, leaders of the American business community, now awakening to the promise and potential of South Africa, people of all different backgrounds and beliefs.

Among them, however, are members of the Congressional Black Caucus and African-American members of my government. It is especially important for them to be here because it was not so long ago in the long span of human history that their ancestors were uprooted from this continent and sold into slavery in the United States. But now they return to Africa as leaders of the United States. Today they sit alongside the leaders of the new South Africa, united in the powerful poetry of justice.

As I look out at all of you, I see our common promise. Two centuries ago the courage and imagination that created the United States and the principles that are enshrined in our constitution inspired men and women without a voice across the world to believe that one day they too could have a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Plot to topple Mandela probed

ARLT 28/3/98

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER AND ESTELLE RANDALL

A new chapter in the Robert McBride saga has unfolded, with President Mandela's appointment of an urgent judicial inquiry into a Military Intelligence report claiming there is a conspiracy to overthrow the State.

The report apparently alleges disaffected former members of Umkhonto weSizwe (known also as MK), the disbanded armed wing of the African National Congress, are behind the alleged coup attempt.

The inquiry, at an undisclosed venue, is being held in camera today. A statement by the president's office said Defence Force chief Georg Meiring was to feature prominently in the inquiry.

The commission of inquiry is to be chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed.

The appointment of the commission is the latest twist in a series of allegations which emerged after the arrest in Mozambique on gun-running allegations of top foreign affairs official Mr McBride. At the time newspaper reports, citing security force sources, alleged that a Military Intelligence (MI) report gave details of a plot to oust the Government. Mr McBride was said to have been linked to the investigation.

Sources indicated that the report, which at the time had not been circulated in other intelligence circles, was forwarded to Mr Mandela, who ordered a judicial commission of inquiry. The source of the allegations, and the motive for them having been made, are also likely to come under the spotlight.

James Selfe, Democratic Party spokesman on defence, welcomed the probe. South Africa's transition to democracy was vulnerable in a number of ways, and none more so than the threat that the Government could be overthrown by force, he said.

Even the perception that this could be possible undermined the civil order. Of the utmost importance was the faith and trust which should exist between the president, as commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and his senior commanders in the defence force, Mr Selfe said. "Unless this faith and trust exists, instability stares us in the face. This is a very serious situation and for this reason we welcome the commission."

Last weekend Saturday Argus reported that the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc), comprising heads of the National Intelligence Agency, the South African Secret Service, MI and South African Police Intelligence, knew nothing of the surveillance under which Mr McBride was said to have been for the past two years and which is said to have made allegations that Mr McBride was involved in a plot to overthrow the Government. The Cabinet issues Nicoc with instructions.

The president's office announced yesterday that Mr Mandela had appointed a commission of inquiry "into a report which he received from the SA National Defence Force on organised activities with the aim to overthrow the Government".

"The commission has been asked to report urgently to the president on the process relating to the compilation, verification and subsequent treatment of the report," presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said.



A SHARED MOMENT: US President Bill Clinton and President Nelson Mandela look out of the window of the jail cell where Mandela spent 18 of his 27 years as a political prisoner on Robben Island. The emotional visit took place yesterday PHOTOGRAPH: SCOTT APPLEWHITE

Madiba delivers sharp rebukes to the US

Star 28/3/98 (704A)



ARM IN ARM: But this cosy pose belied the harsh nature of President Mandela's public lecture to Bill Clinton

OWN CORRESPONDENT

The White House was astonished at the public lecture President Mandela gave to President Clinton yesterday about how the world's greatest power should conduct its foreign policy and how SA would continue to consort with so-called pariah states whether America liked it or not.

Mandela also spelt out bluntly his opposition or plain rejection of cherished initiatives or Africa launched by the US government, including its Africa trade bill, the selling of which is one of the main reasons for Clinton's five-nation African tour. "This is a matter over which we have serious reservations," he said about the trade bill.

While showing the utmost respect for Clinton, Mandela nevertheless dished out some direct fatherly advice. In an obvious reference to Iraq, which the US came close to bombing recently, Mandela called Clinton's attention to the United Nations charter which calls upon member states to try and settle their differences by peaceful methods.

"That is the position which has influenced our own approach towards problems," Mandela said. "And the US, as the leader of the world, should set an example to help eliminate tensions in the world."

The White House was also taken aback by Mandela's declaration that he would continue to meet whatever leaders he pleased, whether or not they were democratic.

Mandela responded more positively to American urging for SA to take part in the African Crisis Response Initiative, a US plan to help train African forces to participate in peacekeeping on the continent. Mandela said he supported the idea – but with the proviso that the peacekeeping force be commanded by an African.

SA's objections to the trade bill, known as the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, centre on its eligibility requirements. Only countries pursuing free-market economics and democratic politics will be eligible for the enhanced access to the US market which it offers.

Mandela apparently told Clinton that although SA would qualify, these provisions could harm African countries that had less institutional capacity. Clinton responded that the bill would offer all African countries greater access to the US market – but those countries which met the eligibility criteria would enjoy even greater access.

Plot to topple Mandela probed

(304A) Star 28/3/98

By ESTELLE RANDALL and PETA KROST

The Robert McBride saga has led to the appointment of a commission of inquiry into a plot to overthrow the Government.

And President Nelson Mandela has taken the matter so seriously that he has asked the commission to report back to him as a matter of urgency.

Mandela has instructed three top judges to begin the probe today at a secret venue.

Allegations of a possible plot surfaced in news reports after the arrest of senior Department of Foreign Affairs official McBride. The report apparently claimed that disaffected former members of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), the ANC's former armed wing, were behind the alleged coup.

It is expected that the Chief of the Defence Force, General Georg Meiring, will feature prominently in the inquiry. But, according to defence sources, Meiring will not attend today's hearing.

The President's Office yesterday announced that, in terms of the constitution, Mandela had appointed a commission of inquiry "into a report which he received from the SA National Defence Force on organised activities with the aim to overthrow the Government".

The military intelligence report was presented to Mandela before the arrest of McBride in Mozambique earlier this month on allegations of arms dealing.

Last week the *Saturday Star* reported that the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee (Nicoc), comprising heads of the National Intelligence Agency, the South African Secret Service, military intelligence and SA Police Intelligence, knew nothing of the intelligence surveillance under which McBride is said to have been for the past two years and which is said to contain allegations that McBride was involved in a plot to overthrow the Government.

The Cabinet issues Nicoc with instructions on security issues needed to be investigated. It is understood that one of the main concerns of the Government is who issued the order to compile the report, allegedly without the knowledge of the Defence Ministry.

"The commission has been asked to report urgently to the president on the process relating to the compilation, verification and subsequent treatment of the report," presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said.

The commission will be chaired by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed and will have two additional members – Constitutional Court deputy president Mr Justice Pius Langa and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, a member of the Constitutional Court.

Government sources said the report was compiled by military intelligence and related to a possible coup.

SANDF spokesman Major Louis Kirstein confirmed late yesterday that the military intelligence report, the basis for today's inquiry, was the same report handed to Mandela before McBride was arrested in Mozambique.

Guerrillas

"The army gathered information which was compiled and handed to the police (after McBride's arrest). This is serious business," he said

While the inquiry gets under way, there have been several new developments in the McBride investigation:

Mozambican police sources told the *Saturday Star* that McBride's co-accused Vusi Mbata had confessed that he and McBride planned to send firearms to Fretilin guerrillas fighting for East Timor's independence from Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Jose Nascimento, the lawyer who has been assisting Paula McBride with legal assistance for her husband, has clarified his involvement with the East Timorese liberation movement and his involvement in the McBride case.

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Star 28/3/98

Coup probe

(304A)

One of the earlier rumours about the McBride case was that he had been gun-running for Fretilin. McBride's wife and Nascimento have warned that, once the case is resolved, they are considering suing those who published unsubstantiated and untrue rumours.

"The evidence I've seen doesn't link Robert to criminal activity," Nascimento said. "He was not found in possession of weapons. He did not try to run away from the police." The popular perception in Mozambique was that McBride had been there on official business.

Nascimento said he made no secret of his sympathy for the independence of East Timor. But he was not involved in "anything closely related to" gun-running. He was involved in the East Timorese Support Group, a pressure group which lobbied for Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor.

In addition, Mozambican police revealed that, contrary to media speculation, McBride had not been set up in Mozambique – he was in fact caught in an elaborate police trap. They said police covertly supplied the firearms to an illegal supplier who did not have weapons at the time.

As far as Mozambican police were concerned, the two had walked into a trap by Mozambican counter-intelligence police, set because the men had allegedly bought weapons from the same source before.

Mozambican police are known to have been monitoring the arms dealer, who had apparently been arrested before on similar charges and may have been recruited as a police informer as a result.

The SA Police Service has also clarified that Assistant Commissioner Suiker Britz is not heading the three-man SAPS team which is working with Mozambican police on the allegations that McBride was involved in gun-running. The team was established on Monday in response to a request by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi.

Britz is being investigated by national police commissioner George Fivaz, after Britz's comments on the McBride case. The probe was prompted by a letter from Mufamadi.

"I took the view that Britz's statements on the merits of the McBride case were irregular," Mufamadi said.

The investigation will examine whether Britz's remarks on the case were made with malicious intent.

In statements earlier this month, Britz said there was enough evidence to constitute a case of arms smuggling against McBride.

McBride's co-accused tells police of East Timor plot

Lawyer has rebel sympathy

ARG 28/3/98 (304A)

BLACKMAN NGORO

Vusi Mbata, Robert McBride's co-accused, has told the Mozambican police that he and Mr McBride planned to send firearms to Fretlin guerrillas fighting for East Timor's independence from Indonesia.

And the East Timor connection turned up again this week when Mr McBride's lawyer, José Nascimento, confirmed he was a member of an East Timor solidarity group in South Africa. However, he said it was coincidence that he was representing Mr McBride.

Mr McBride and Mr Mbata were arrested in Mozambique earlier this month on suspicion of gun-running. Mr McBride has been suspended from the South Africa's Department of Foreign Affairs, where he is the director of Asian affairs.

Mr Mbata told the police in a statement that the AK-47s and Makarov pistols bought in Mozambique were to be shipped to East Timor via Portugal. East Timor is a former Portuguese colony.

In addition, a Mozambican policeman told Saturday Argus that, contrary to speculation that Mr McBride had been "set up", he was in fact trapped.

He claimed that Mr McBride and Mr Mbata walked into the trap when police secretly supplied the weapons to their contact.

According to the police, Mozambican counter-intelligence officers set the trap because the two men had allegedly bought weapons from the same source before.

The police trap was conceived after Mr McBride allegedly contacted fellow South African Mr Mbata, who also goes by the name Madida. Mr Mbata then got in



'Trapped': Robert McBride

touch with a third person in Maputo who in turn contacted Alex Mamba. Mr Mamba is suspected of being linked to former apartheid South African security agents.

The "third man", in whose house the trap was set, did not have weapons to sell to Mr McBride and Mr Mbata.

Mozambican police were monitoring the man, who had apparently been arrested before on similar charges and may have been recruited as a police informer as a result. Sources close to South African intelligence services say the man is a "turncoat".

After he was approached to supply weapons, the man, whose name is still unknown to Saturday Argus, contacted the Mozambican police and informed them people from South Africa were interested in buying guns.

The police gave him the go ahead to arrange the deal.

The police provided the guns which Mr McBride was alleged to have bought. The firearms were packed into at least seven sacks.

According to Mr Mbata's police statement, the guns were to be sent to an agent in Portugal, from where they would have been transported to Indonesia.

A Mozambican policeman close to the investigation told Saturday Argus that Mr Mbata had said the guns would have been packed in a container and covered in dried fish to disguise them before being transported to Portugal.

It is believed a contact in Portugal would have intercepted the guns and redirected them to Indonesia.

The policeman said Mozambican police were investigating the possibility that the gun deal may not have been the first conducted by Mr McBride.

They are investigating the possibility that, in previous deals, the firearms could have come from a Mozambican government munitions depot. They are also investigating whether the guns came from a private arms stash belonging to members of the former Renamo rebel movement.

Mr McBride allegedly paid an initial $1 500 (about R7 500) to the "third man".

"We are investigating the basis of gun-running. We want to know what the interest of someone like Robert McBride is in such a matter. We want to know what the profit of the business is. That raises the question of conspiracy," said Nataniel Macamo, Mozambique's deputy police commissioner.

"We are not going to be swayed in any direction, by anyone, on this question. We want to get to the bottom of the problem."

Leaders vow to work

But handshakes fail to mask shar

ARG 28/3/98 (304A)

CLIVE SAWYER
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A warm and prolonged public handshake at Tuynhuys symbolised the goodwill between President Nelson Mandela and visiting United States President Bill Clinton.

The two heads of state spoke of their mutual respect and commitment to working together on issues ranging from trade to security on the African continent.

But sharp differences on some of those issues, notably the US Africa Growth and Development Bill, could not be hidden, however warm the handshakes.

Mr Clinton said he had reaffirmed the USA's commitment to mutual trade and investment. America was South Africa's biggest investor and "we want to do more", he said.

At the same time, increasing trade did not mean ending aid, a clear reference by Mr Clinton to a major concern among Africa's leaders.

Mr Clinton said he was committed to working with the US Congress to keep levels of aid to Africa high.

The president briefed Mr Mandela on a regional security programme that emerged from a summit held by the heads of six African governments during Mr Clinton's visit to Entebbe.

Referring to the speech given by British prime minister Harold MacMillan in the 1960s and the gales that have plagued Cape Town this week, Mr Clinton said: "Together, the winds blowing through Cape Town and South Africa are winds of change and good fortune. I am deeply pleased we are committed to harnessing the winds of change together."

Mr Mandela, while warmly welcoming the US state visit as a "high water mark" of the past four years, was defiant about his government's continuing close relations with the Cuban, Libyan and Iranian regimes.

Those who criticised him about maintaining ties with the countries that helped with resources instead of mere rhetoric during the anti-apartheid struggle should "go and throw themselves into a pool". This prompted a chuckle from Mr Clinton.

Mr Mandela praised Mr Clinton for his impeccable political instincts. While the two countries had differed on certain issues, in the end their mutual respect had been enhanced because of respect for each other's sovereignty and good faith, he said.

Without referring directly to Iraq or Libya, Mr Mandela urged the US "as the leader of the world" to fulfil the United Nations charter by negotiating with its enemies to end tension.

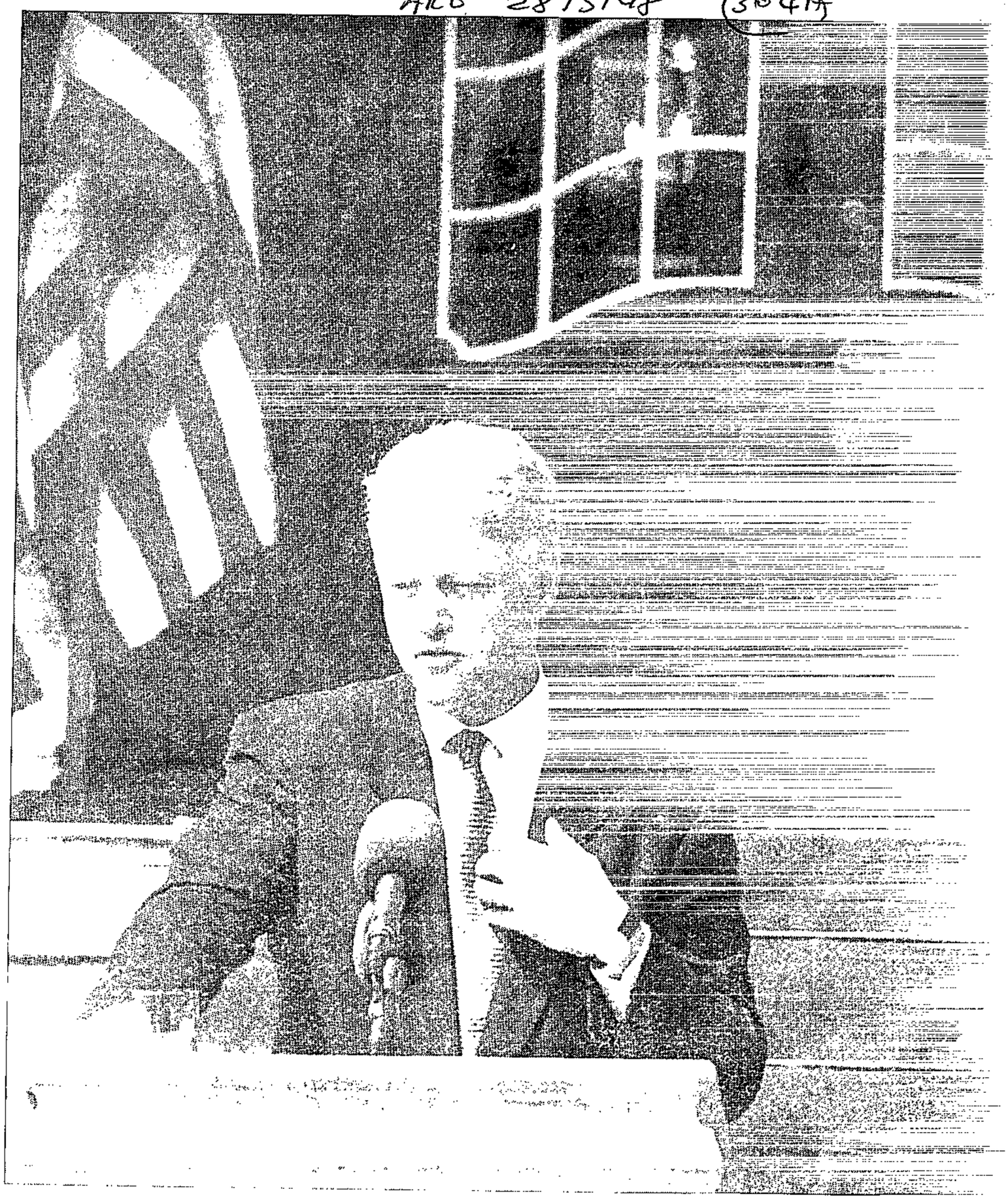
Turning to grasp Mr Clinton's hand, Mr Mandela said: "This is one of our proudest moments ... you helped us before you became president and continue to help us as president of the greatest country in the world."

But it was during question-time that sharp differences chilled the bonhomie.

Questioned about the Africa Growth and Development Bill, which provides for conditional promotion of American trade in Africa and has been criticised for tilting towards benefiting the US, Mr Mandela said the issue had been "fully discussed".

While cautioning that the bill was the subject of sensitive discussions, he said South Africa had "serious reservations" about the measure. "To us it is not acceptable," he said.

But Mr Clinton said a correct read-



Sweatshop: President Clinton and President Mandela during yesterday's media briefing at Tuynhuys. 'This is one of our proudest mom...

together

(304A)

p differences

ARG 28/3/98



OBED ZILWA

s ... you helped us before you became president and continue to help us ...'

ing of the bill would show that it would increase the access of all African nations to American markets.

Responding to another question, Mr Mandela said the proposed Africa Crisis Response, the US-proposed continental peacekeeping force, had not been discussed during the meeting at Tuynhuys. But he stood firm that South Africa believed any such force, which it supported in principle, should not be commanded by anyone from outside Africa.

Mr Clinton reiterated his support for a multinational force, details of which would have to be worked out through the UN.

Mandela 'lecture' stuns US

(304M)

From page 1

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Another trade dispute has arisen over the acquisition of South African chemical and industrial company Sentrachem by American giant Dow Chemicals. Sentrachem trades with Cuba, which is deemed to be in violation of US anti-Cuba sanctions.

"Only Mandela could have done that," one rather bemused White House official said of the South African president's comments during a press conference held by Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela after a two-hour meeting in Cape Town. While showing the utmost respect for Mr Clinton, Mr Mandela nevertheless dished out some direct fatherly advice.

In an obvious reference to Iraq, which the US came close to bombing recently, Mr Mandela called Mr Clinton's attention to the United Nations charter, which calls on all member states to try to settle their differences by peaceful methods.

"That is the correct position which has influenced our own approach towards problems," Mr Mandela said, noting that the African National Congress had sat down with "repugnant" people to negotiate a settlement. "And the United States as the leader of the world should set an example to all of us to help eliminate tensions throughout the world.

"And one of the best ways of doing so is to call upon its enemies to say, 'Let's sit down and talk peace'."

The White House was also taken aback by Mr Mandela's forthright declaration that he would continue to meet whomever he pleased, whether or not they were democratic leaders. He said one country he visited had one of the highest standards of living in the world, but no vote and no parliament.

Mr Mandela said he had invited Cuban President Fidel Castro, Iran's former president Rafsanjani and Libya's President Muammar Gaddafi to South Africa. "And I do that because our moral authority dictates that we should not abandon those who helped us in the darkest hour in the history of this country."

South Africa's objections to the trade bill centre on eligibility requirements. Only countries pursuing free market economics and democratic politics will be eligible for the enhanced access to the US market.

Mr Mandela apparently told Mr Clinton that although South Africa would qualify, these provisions could harm other African countries with less institutional capacity.

China sends top-class ambassador

(304A)

CP 29/3/98

By DESMOND BLOW

THE PEOPLE'S Republic of China has appointed one of its most experienced and capable diplomats as the first ambassador to our fledgling democracy.

And Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Wang Xue Xian's appointment is proof that although South Africa is only a developing country, it is highly regarded by the world's potentially greatest industrial and economic power.

The affable, 59-year-old ambassador has spent 34 years in the diplomatic corps – many of them in the Western world, where he was Chinese ambassador to the United Nations for several years and earlier was the Chinese consular general with ambassador status in Los Angeles. He also spent five years at the embassy in London.

The appointment in China last week of a new premier, Zhu Rongji (69) – known as "the economic czar" because of his overseeing of sweeping economic changes since 1992 when he became vice-premier in charge of economy – is expected to speed up economic reforms.

The last vestiges of the planned economy that controlled China from 1949 to 1979, when the late patriarch Deng Xiaoping launched economic reforms, will be swept away.

Among Zhu's major challenges will be the "privatising" or "abolishing' of uneconomic state enterprises and the reduction of the government service by four million workers.

This radical plan to slash bloated bureaucracy was approved at the present parliamentary session.

Zhu has pledged to maintain a strong, steady growth rate while keeping inflation down. Last year's consumer price increase was 2,8 percent, but growth, which is vital to soak up growing numbers of jobless, fell to 8,8 percent – the lowest since 1991.

The new premier will press ahead with a major ministerial restructuring designed to free businesses from state interference by closing 15 ministries, regrouping three and giving macro-economic control to one commission.

He has vowed to push through most reforms within three years.

He has also approved a 50-billion yuan ($6-billion) injection to wipe out state debts through the year.

South Africa has similar challenges to privatise state enterprises to help reduce government debt and to reduce the civil service by 300 000 over three years.

Ambassador Wang said that although unemployment was only 3 percent in China, it was growing However, he pointed out that before the economic reforms were introduced in 1978, 250 million lived below the poverty line. Over 20 years this figure had been reduced to about 50 million people – about one person in 24 – in a population now estimated at about 1,2 billion.

The ambassador explained that "this is based on our standard of living, not the standard of living in the Western world – if people have sufficient to eat, are dressed warmly and have shelter, they are considered to be above the poverty line in our society."

This too is something which South African society can also aim for.

The ambassador said: "The Chinese like to work. They believe work is good and that you get rich through your own efforts."

He said efforts were being made to help people start non-formal small and medium-sized businesses.

"People work a five-day week and women are given between three and six months maternity leave on full pay.

"Farmers can leave the land but are discouraged from flooding the cities as this would cause chaos," he said.

Appointment confirms the industrial and economic power of SA



ECONOMIC TIES ... *President Nelson Mandela with Ambassador Wang Xue Xian.*

Wang feels South Africa can learn from China and vice versa.

"For instance, you have the best deep mining technicality in the world," he said. "South Africa has minerals that China needs as well as paper pulp, while we can supply high quality goods such as electronics, electrical engineering, construction, chemicals and textiles."

Part of Wang's important diplomatic missions in the Western world has been to obtain foreign investment, and he sees trade and investment between South Africa and China increasing steadily.

Wang said trade between South Africa and China had already increased enormously since South Africa became a democratic country. In 1991 trade between the two countries was only $14-million. At the end of 1997 it had grown to $1,6 billion.

China has an annual foreign investment of $40-billion, second only to the United States.

There has been great criticism of China in the Western world because of alleged human rights infringements, but Wang discounts these criticisms as "political".

He says the Chinese are far better off now than when they were ruled by the Western countries.

"There were signs at public places in China that read: 'No Chinese or dogs permitted'," he said.

"Life is far better for the Chinese today. Before 1949 average life expectancy in China was 35 years. Today it is 72, more than double."

He also maintains his government's policy that both Taiwan and Tibet are part of China and cannot be independent.

"Tibet was part of China four centuries before America was colonised," he said.

Top general fails lie-detector test

SA COUP PLOT?

Mystery deepens as Mandela's judges step into . . . .

By JIMMY SEEPE and Sapa

THREE of South Africa's top judges sat down yesterday to try to establish why President Nelson Mandela was allegedly lied to through a false Military Intelligence report claiming that dissatisfied former Umkhonto we Sizwe members wanted to overthrow his government.

And they're looking at SA National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring as the man who might provide some of the answers.

City Press can reveal today that the appointment of the judges by Mandela was further strengthened after a senior defence force general had failed a lie detector test by the National Intelligence Services. The general was alledgedly among those behind the report.

Opposition leaders reacted with shock yesterday to the cloak-and-dagger intrigue surrounding South African politics while the country was playing host to the world's most powerful leader, US President Bill Clinton.

The identity of the SANDF general who was this week subjected to the lie detector test is known to City Press. The results are said to have prompted the president to check on the verification of the Military Intelligence report.

A highly-placed source, speaking on condition of anonymity, said yesterday: "We don't believe there was such a plot. We're trying to establish why the president was lied to by being given a false report."

The source echoed previous information that Meiring was to feature prominently in the inquiry which will probe "how, why, and when the report was compiled, the motive behind it, and the way it was handled".

Meiring yesterday welcomed the inquiry and said he had the fullest confidence in members of the commission. He also pledged the defence force's "maximum support" for the judicial probe.

He stressed that the MI report was given to Mandela on February 5, before the recent arrest of senior foreign affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running.

The commission of inquiry, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, follows a March 18 statement by Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi to Parliament on McBride's arrest. Mufamadi lashed out at "elements" in the security establishment, accusing them of trying to destabilise the country.

"The government is perfectly familiar with disinformation techniques used in the past to prepare for and to legitimise destabilisation programmes," he said.

☐ Meanwhile, Clinton's special envoy for democracy in Africa, Jesse Jackson, said he had discussed the inquiry with Mandela when he visited him yesterday to say goodbye.

"We talked about that . . . There are elements in this country that still have apartheid in their hearts. We have to hope that the forces of good defeat the forces of evil," he said.

Pan Africanist Congress president Dr Stanley Mogoba said the news of the inquiry had come "as a great shock".

"It is going to shake this country right to its foundations. We were negotiating a very delicate post-apartheid dispensation.

"If this is true, it will stir up emotions among the old enemies of apartheid, as well as radical white conservatives."

The Democratic Party spokesperson on defence matters, James Selfe, said the DP welcomed the inquiry and did not attach any significance to the allegation presented by the SANDF.

Selfe said the defence force's capacity to present reliable intelligence reports in the past was not good and there was still a need for a shake-up in the structure. "They (MI) have tended to exaggerate the situation in the past and there is no doubt they could do the same."

The National Party said allegations about a planned coup were always serious, but warned that "a government might use this as an attempt to divert attention from a country's problems to create sympathy for itself".

However, it welcomed the inquiry in view of the allegations made during the past few weeks.

"Such allegations must be thoroughly investigated and the air be cleared because rumours of this nature feed on the uncertainty of the allegation and only lead to even wilder ones," it said.



HEADING THE PROBE ... *Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed will look into the false Military Intelligence report.*



MAY HAVE SOME ANSWERS ... *SA National Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring.*



BRASSED OFF: President Nelson Mandela with Georg Meiring, whose 'ludicrous' report has prompted an official inquiry Picture: NICKY DE BLOIS

Mandela poised to axe military chief

ST 29/3/98

RAY HARTLEY

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela is set to fire SANDF Chief General Georg Meiring over a military intelligence report alleging that senior black officials were plotting with Winnie Madikizela-Mandela to overthrow the government.

In the report, which Meiring gave to Mandela early last month, the SANDF chief alleged that Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, alleged arms smuggler Robert McBride and SANDF Chief of Staff Lieutenant General Siphiwe Nyanda were plotting to overthrow the government. The head of the service corps, Lieutenant General Lambert Moloi, was also named.

Mandela is said to have dismissed the report as "ludicrous". On Friday, he announced a commission of inquiry into how Meiring compiled the report and why he bypassed official intelligence structures. The commission, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed, and including Justice Richard Goldstone and Justice Pius Langa, is to report to Mandela within two weeks.

The Sunday Times has been told by top government aides that Meiring is to be relieved of his duties if he fails to explain to the commission why:

- The report was based on the information of a single source — intelligence operative Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with McBride for suspected arms smuggling in Mozambique;
- No effort was made to cross-check or verify the information supplied by Mbatha;
- The report was not presented to the national intelligence co-ordinating committee, in keeping with official procedure;
- Defence Minister Joe Modise and his deputy, Ronnie Kasrils, were not shown the report or told of the investigation;
- Meiring, who is scheduled to retire in July, named his most obvious successor, Nyanda, as the key coup plotter; and
- The report was leaked to the media.

The commission sat yesterday to hear evidence from Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla, Kasrils and intelligence co-ordinator Linda Mti. All three are believed to have told the commission that the claims in Meiring's report were without foundation, and that the military intelligence investigation had not been verified or cross-checked by other intelligence agencies.

Yesterday, Meiring pledged to co-operate with the commission, but defended the compilation of the report in a public statement. "We would have been derelict in our duty if we had not taken this action," he said.

The commission, which is hearing evidence in camera, has been labelled an "urgent" investigation.

Government spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe would not say where the hearings were being held. But he stressed: "The investigation is looking at the process that the report went through, rather than the contents of the report itself."



LEND A HAND: US President Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary, meet children at an East Rand primary school **Picture: ADIL BRADLOW/AP**

Clinton sows symbolic hope

US PRESIDENT Bill Clinton has planted a new symbol of hope in the African soil, writes **HENRY LUDSKI.**

Paying homage to the thousands of South Africans who laid down their lives in the struggle against apartheid, he and First Lady Hillary Clinton planted a tree at the Soweto memorial of Hector Petersen, the 12-year-old who became a world symbol of resistance when he became the first victim of the 1976 Soweto uprisings.

Clinton's four-day visit to South Africa is seen as marking an important new chapter in trade relations.

Soweto residents took advantage of every conceivable vantage point to hear Clinton speak about what he described as a "symbol of new life".

The event was marred by protests from PAC supporters — demanding the release of jailed freedom fighters — who blocked entrances to the area around the Orlando West memorial, threatening to keep Clinton out.

A heavy security blanket was thrown around the event, one of the last public engagements in Clinton's hectic sweep of South Africa. The proceedings were delayed for more than an hour.

The protest was in sharp contrast to Clinton's earlier reception at the Maphanzela Primary School in Thokoza, on the East Rand, where a chorus of praise greeted him and his wife.

The school choir encapsulated the spirit of Clinton's 12-day Africa visit in the Zulu traditional song *Unzima lomphwalo*, which translates into "Heavy Burden", imploring the US president to assist South Africa in "lightening the heavy load of an African continent" yearning "for wonderful things".

Clinton said: "I didn't want to leave the country without having the chance to have a kind of an informal conversation with young people who are making the future of this country."

● See pages 3 and 19

ST 29/3/98 (304A)



STRATEGIC KINSHIP: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and President Bill Clinton want to break negative perceptions about Afr

A new wind foi

The US president's visit to Africa has been marked by his official endo
and RAY HARTLEY look at what the visit has meant for

(304A) ST 29/3/98

There weren't any, the White House and SA press agreed.

But the next day in Cape Town's Old Slave Lodge and in the humidity of the hot midday sun in the Tuynhuys courtyard, the symbolism and the profundity flowed thick and fast.

Before slavery was abolished in the Cape in the 1830s, the only trade ever discussed in the immediate vicinity of the lodge — now the SA African Cultural History Museum — was over flesh and bone.

On Friday, the topic of discussion in the "lodge of shame", where Clinton was briefed by his advisers before his joint press conference with President Nelson Mandela, was his vision for a "new partnership" with Africa, where millions of Afro-Americans have their roots. And at the press briefing in the Tuynhuys courtyard later that day, the hordes of waiting foreign and local media got their "winds of change" — Clinton style.

Spelling out his country's relationship with what he described as the "new Africa", Clinton couched in it a new, metaphorical context.

"For centuries the winds that blow around the Cape of Good Hope have been known for strength and danger. Today, the winds blowing through Cape Town and South Africa, and indeed much of this continent, are winds of change and good fortune."

Macmillan's a "wind of change is sweeping through Africa" speech drew attention to the failure by apartheid South Africa to sense the tide of change sweeping across the face of Africa.

In both his address to Parliament and to the Tuynhuys press conference, Clinton steered away from the two things journalists were searching for: "detail and substance".

His motive for coming to South Africa, he said, was to help the American people "see the new Africa with new eyes" and to focus US efforts on policies suited to the new reality in Africa.

So, was Clinton's visit just a symbolic side-show, a cacophony of nice-sounding sound-bites signifying nothing?

Aziz Pahad, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, takes a different view.

Speaking from an armchair in his parliamentary office shortly after Clinton addressed MPs, Pahad was philosophical.

More important than the details of any trade agreement or the ongoing spat over South Africa's insistence on remaining friends with Libya, Cuba and Iran, he said, was the fact that Clinton was "breaking negative perceptions about Africa".

What Clinton's podium-to-podium tour of Africa, from Ghana to Rwanda and South Africa had done, said Pahad, was to give potential US investors a demonstration of their government's faith in Africa as a trading partner and investment destination.

"They have a sense of a new type of relationship with Africa," he says.

It was this impression that Clinton underscored in his speech to Parliament, when he said: "The world needs Africa."

Significantly, said Pahad, the US sees South Africa as a strategic partner. This is partly to do with South Africa's dominant economic position and its growing diplomatic influence in sub-Saharan Africa.

But it is also to do with a strange kind of kinship that Americans — particularly Democrats like Clinton — have seen between the two countries. Both nations bear the burden of deep racial division and both have constitutions entrenching civil liberties and human rights.

In the South African "miracle" of transition, Clinton and many of his countrymen see an example of how race can be cast aside as the major fissure in a society. Clinton sees South Africa's reconciliation as an example for the US to follow.

Added to this is the deeper, more personal agenda that Clinton appears to be following. Being a two-term leader, he will not be eligible for re-election in the US and his mind has begun to turn to the question of the legacy he will leave.

Until his Africa trip began to turn around public perceptions, he looked like he was going to go down as the US president most beset by scandal and unable to resist the temptation of fondling women around him.

By embracing the idea of an "African Renaissance" — he acknowledged Deputy President Thabo Mbeki's authorship of the idea in his speech to Parliament — Clinton has sought to establish a new legacy.

He wants to be seen as the president who turned the tide of race hatred in the US and the man who turned around the fortunes of a beleaguered continent. But if Clinton was hoping for a polite endorsement from Mandela, he was mistaken.

Mandela chose to use the Tuynhuys media briefing to show that Africa would assert its independence from the US on key policy matters.

Turning to Clinton, Mandela called on him to "sit down with your enemies, talk peace". It was a bold and surprising criticism of the US's recent aggressive posture towards Iraq.

Turning to the US African Growth and Opportunity Bill, Mandela was again critical.

Africa, he said, wanted deeper debt relief, more aid and better trade terms.

Instead it got legislation which would limit benefits to those states on the continent who successfully implemented policies deemed acceptable to the United States.

What Mandela and the legions of officials who met their US counterparts behind closed doors were trying to achieve was, in the words of Pahad, "to use this unique opportunity to



ca and develop a new partnership between the US and South Africa Picture: Elizabeth Sejake

Bill Clinton

rsement of the African Renaissance. HENRY LUDSKI relations with the world's only superpower

make two or three very important points".

Clinton will return to the US with a clear idea of the foreign policy differences that separate the two countries and he will know that there is a great deal of unhappiness about legislation he is planning to pass to govern trade and aid with Africa.

What he will now have to demonstrate is that he is seeking a genuine partnership with Africa and not a one-way relationship in which the US dictates the terms. He will have to show how the US is prepared to accommodate African objections to its trade and investment agenda and to its foreign policy on the continent.

If he does not do so, the swelling pool of African goodwill towards the US could sour, with consequences for Clinton's legacy and for US influence on the continent.

Clinton must now know that if his legacy as co-author of the African Renaissance is to be secure, the winds of change must blow through his country's policies on Africa too.

AFTER US President Bill Clinton's historic address to Parliament on Thursday, journalists searched for symbolic comparisons with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's "wind of change" speech in the all-white House of Assembly 28 years ago.

304A

ST 24/03/98

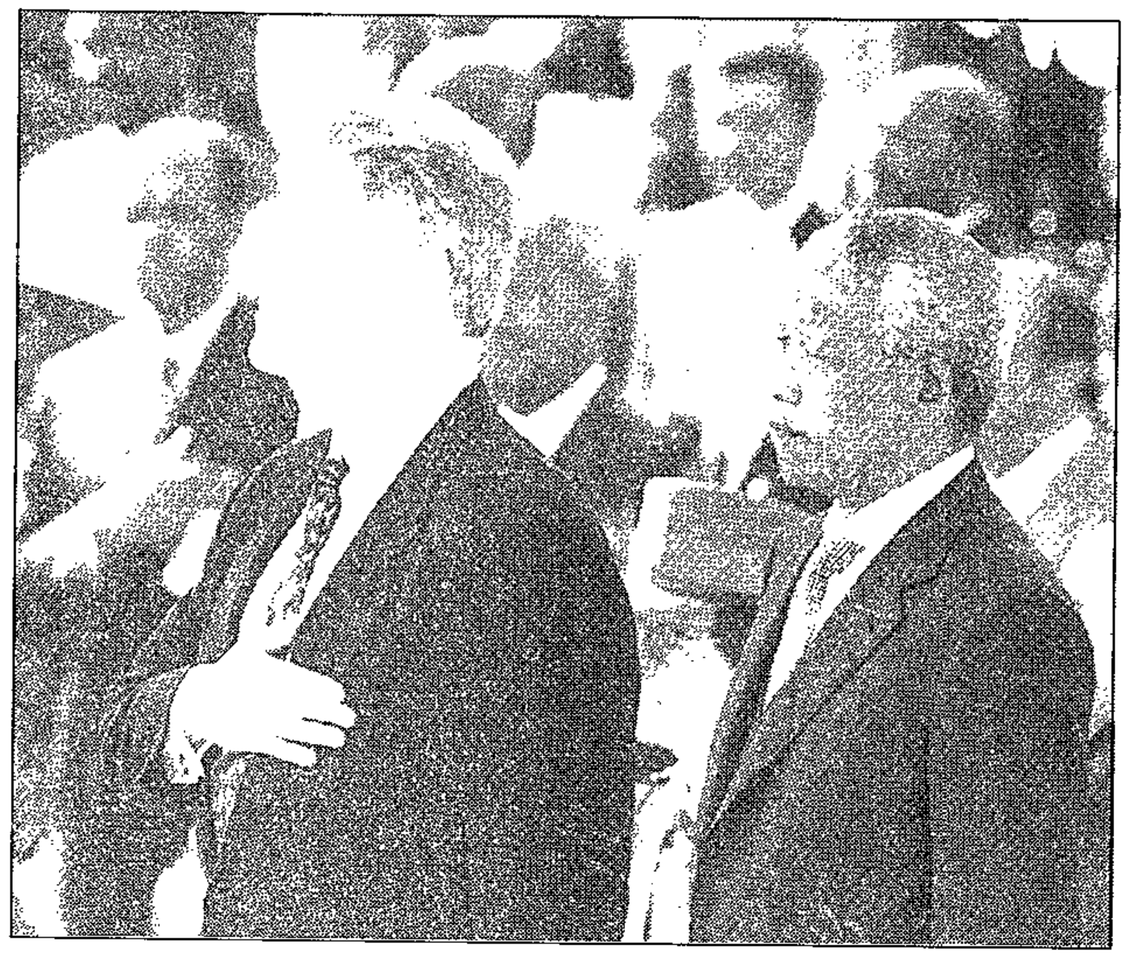
The world's most powerful president meets the world's most respected . . .



LENDING AN EAR . . . *US President Bill Clinton applauds remarks while sitting with President Nelson Mandela during a visit to Parliament in Cape Town on Thursday.*



ACTUALLY, IT WAS NO JOKE . . . *Clinton and Mandela joke with reporters while on a tour of Robben Island on Friday. Mandela showed Clinton where he was held for 18 years.*



PRESIDENTIAL SALUTE . . . *Clinton and Mandela listen to the anthems during the official welcoming ceremony in front of Parliament in Cape Town on Thursday.* ■ Pics: AP

(304A)

Clinton pays homage to the children

CP 29/3/98

AFTER TWO days of meetings with leaders of the new, apartheid-free South Africa, United States President Bill Clinton paused yesterday to pay homage to children who had suffered and died under the old, oppressive government.

"This burden is heavy. Come and help us to carry the burden," some three dozen school children sang in isiZulu as the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton arrived at the RP Mathanzela primary school just south of Johannesburg.

Outside the school's gated compound, a cheering crowd gathered in the muddy road that ran through Thokoza township.

"I didn't want to leave the country without having the chance to have this kind of an informal conversation with young people who are making the future of this country," Clinton said.

He and Mrs Clinton said they wanted to know how the United States could help South African youth.

"It's very important that your generation maintain its optimism and energy and . . . that the rest of us continue to make a constructive contribution," the president pointed out.

The Clintons next headed for Soweto.

Its poverty, isolation and need for infrastructure is a monument to the social challenges that South Africa will face – and need help with for years to come.

President Nelson Mandela reminded Clinton of the continuing need during a state dinner on Friday at the lavish Vergelegen Estates, one of South Africa's oldest wineries.

"We still face greater challenges than those we have overcome for our country, our continent and the entire world," Mandela said.

"We believe it is in the interest of the most powerful country in the world at the turn of this century to give such leadership as would propel all of humanity forward into a life without hunger, poverty, illiteracy and ignorance."

Clinton compared South Africa's social situation to a marathon that began when Mandela emerged from prison in 1990, and said the United States "looks forward to running that marathon with you".

"Now it is important that you not lose the conviction, the energy, the sheer joy of daily living which accompanied your freedom, for the challenges you face also require a marathon," he added.

Yesterday's events wrap up the only official State visit of Clinton's 12-day African tour.

He leaves Johannesburg today for two days in Botswana, then will conclude his tour in Senegal.

While in Soweto, the president visited the Hector Peterson Memorial, named after a schoolboy killed in a 1976 uprising that is widely considered the beginning of the movement that broke apartheid's back.

The uprising began as a demonstration by students from the Morris Isaacson high school who objected to a requirement that they learn their lessons in Afrikaans, the language of the white minority.

The children were marching to a nearby stadium when police in riot gear began shooting at them. Hector was the first to fall.

Mrs Clinton also stopped at the brown marble memorial when she visited the township last year.

After Soweto, Clinton helped dedicate a commercial centre in Johannesburg that is named in memory of Ron Brown, Clinton's late commerce secretary who was killed in a plane crash in Croatia two years ago while on a trade mission to Bosnia.

Brown was a staunch advocate for African trade.

He had given Clinton a report outlining possible trade avenues on the continent just weeks before his death.

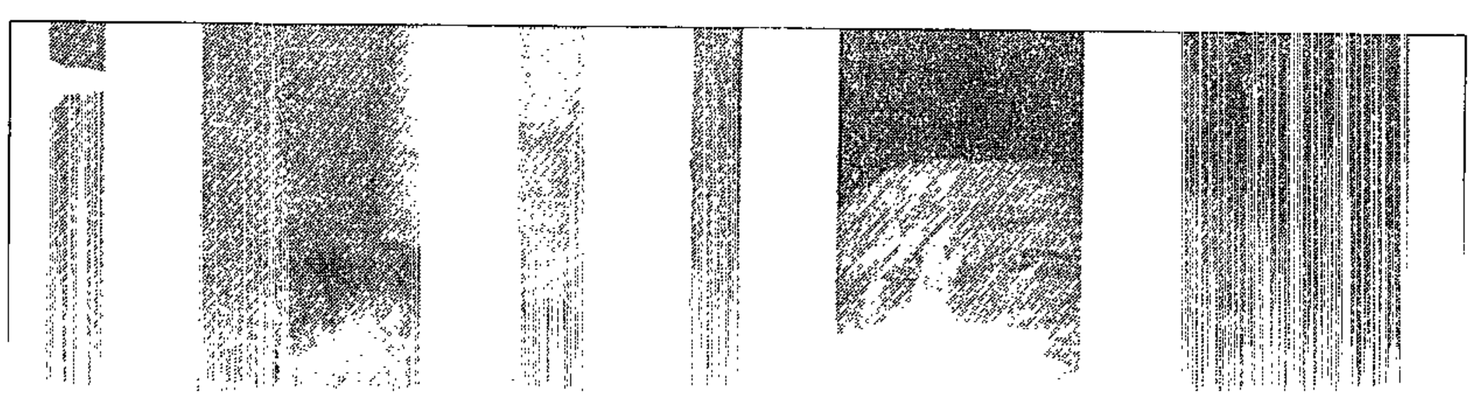
Among those present for the dedication were Brown's widow, Alma.

She is part of Clinton's official delegation. – Sapa-AP

A new image of hope for ravaged Africa . . .

HOPE – not famine or massacres – was the image

Not all the leaders Clinton met during his trip present an ideal



The memento of the decade on Robben Island

By MAPULA SIBANDA

With 14 months to go to the expected date of the next election, concern is mounting about whether minority parties will be able to seek votes in safety – and protect their interests at voting stations

Kriegler draws battle lines for 'long road to 1999 elections'

Star 30/1/98 (304A)

By Clive Sawyer
Cape Town

Plans are in place to repeat the "Operation Access" of 1994 which enabled parties to canvass votes in places they might otherwise have feared to tread – but the budget for the process was inadequate, according to Independent Electoral Commission head Johann Kriegler.

He said in an interview that political parties, and the national political liaison committee to be set up before the election, would be asked to agree to an electoral code of conduct.

"The difficulty is who will police it," Kriegler said.

At the same time, the Leader of the Opposition Marthinus van Schalkwyk said he would propose to other parties that they look after each other's interests at voting stations where opposition numbers were thinly spread.

The judge said the commission would have to rely on responsible behaviour from political parties.

He confirmed that a significant difference to 1994 was that the security forces which then played a major role in securing the poll now had reduced numbers and were involved in their own reorganisation.

The commission has not yet had discussions with security forces about their capacity to assist during the elections.

Kriegler said regulations on party political behaviour near voting stations were likely to be less strict than in 1994, when a ban on party colours and canvassing close to stations was firmly enforced.

"I don't think we will go for the wide perimeters (of 1994) which proved unrealistic in major urban areas."

Asked whether the media would have free access to voting stations to take pictures and conduct exit polls, the judge said this would depend on the feelings of political parties.

Election 1999 would probably also last only one day.

While the duration of the election would be up to the president to decide, the IEC would recommend that one day should be enough. This was because of the new voting district system, of 3 000 voters to a district in an urban area and about 1 000 in a rural area, which would enable faster polling.



IEC head ... Johann Kriegler.

Running into more than one day would push up staff costs and create security headaches because ballot boxes would have to be secured overnight.

A blow to parties with hopes for scooping up the votes of the thousands of South African dispersed elsewhere around the globe is that no citizen, apart from diplomatic staff, will be allowed to vote overseas.

This is likely to be a major blow to the National Party and Democratic Party, both of which are understood to have done well from the expatriate vote. Kriegler said the commission will recommend that no voting stations be set up outside the country. The stations abroad had been necessary in 1994 to create a sense of inclusiveness.

He was interviewed after a briefing to the portfolio committee on home affairs, during which he said the commission had concerns about finances.

The IEC would meet State Expenditure officials next week to sort out continuing obstacles to a go-ahead for the payment of salaries to commissioners and officials. "The salary of not one of our staff members has been approved."

Kriegler confirmed the IEC had run into difficulties with other parts of the state administration, notably the Department of Home Affairs, which also has a role in electoral affairs.

The IEC was "a strange plant that arose in the bureaucratic garden" and had been received with some resentment.

Relations were better and a series of issues regarding the election were to be discussed at a meeting between the commissioners and Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi next Tuesday.

Kriegler said the commission's technical work was "more or less" up to date but some work was behind schedule. Kriegler is to take three months' leave from the Constitutional Court next month to concentrate on IEC work. "We feel we've got to take this job by the scruff of its neck and get on with it."

Kriegler said this year's Budget did not provide money to the commission "commensurate with our needs" but there was no cause for alarm because the commission was confident the figure would be adjusted.

A significant difference to the 1994 election will be that ballot boxes will be opened and counted when voting stations close, instead of being moved to a central national point as happened in the first poll.

Asked whether the IEC would recommend the poll, which is scheduled to be held either in May, June or July, to be postponed, Kriegler made it clear there would be reluctance to do so.

"We will not be asking for a postponement if we have not done our work, don't you worry about that."

The president would decide the date of the election.

The IEC was obliged by law to advise the president to postpone the election if conditions in the country were not right.

Kriegler was also firm about another difference from the 1994 poll: the importing of costly ballot papers from overseas. This had been done at the request of political parties concerned about local security.

The system this time, of issuing a ballot paper after crossing a voter's name from the roll, obviated the need for such elaborate and hugely expensive precautions. In a presentation to the committee, IEC official Howard Sackstein said delimitation of voting districts had started this month and would continue until August.

Registration of voters was scheduled from October until January.

Voting districts were compiled after drawing electronic maps of the country and feeding in data including population numbers, geographical features and traditional political animosities.

The sophisticated computer system which drew the maps left no room for gerrymandering. Production of the voting maps was under way and the first maps would be distributed within two weeks.

People will have to register in the voting districts in which they are ordinarily resident. Door to door registration may prove inevitable, but will be used only as a last resort.

Registration will be done by officials rather than political parties, as was allowed before 1994, to prevent abuses. Promulgation of regulations for registering a party was expected this week. Regulations for setting up party liaison committees were expected next week.

Sackstein said legislation to be produced by the commission would represent a fundamental shift in such laws. They would have to be written in plain language, and the process for elections at national, provincial and local level would have to be identical.

The draft Electoral Bill is almost ready and will be submitted to Buthelezi within two weeks. After that, the minister will put it to state law advisers, then the relevant cabinet committee, then to the Cabinet, after which it will be tabled in Parliament for discussion by the portfolio and select committees before being voted on by the Houses.

Other legislation which has to be passed before the election includes the determination of how many seats the new National Assembly and provincial legislatures will have.

"The IEC is making significant progress, but the road to 1999 is long and many challenges still await the commission in the next 14 months," Sackstein said.

STEVE JAFFE / AFP



Press avoids asking sticky questions

STAR 30/3/98 BOGA

By Peter Fabricius

The White House managed to keep President Clinton's domestic sex scandals off stage during his four-day visit to South Africa, which ended yesterday – and the White House press corps' respect for President Mandela played a big part in ensuring that happened.

With about 200 White House correspondents and their support teams trailing him on his African tour, there were concerns by both the US and SA governments that local issues would be swamped by Clinton's continuing battle to keep one step ahead of the scandals that threaten to engulf him.

But they did not do so, and the US media has given a surprising amount of coverage to the real business and the symbolism of the first comprehensive visit to Africa – and the first to South Africa – by a US president.

Part of the reason is that Clinton's press handlers have skilfully deflected questions about the scandals. They were assisted by the American journalists' reluctance to embarrass Mandela by raising sordid matters in his presence.

At the press conference after their official meeting at Tuynhuys on Friday, Clinton was not asked a single question about Monica Lewinsky or any of the other women with whom he is alleged to have had sex.

Washington Post White House correspondent John Harris explained: "We were a bit reluctant to delve into the seamier aspects of the president's private life in the presence of Mandela."

A wormy treat

Gaborone – White House spokesman Michael McCurry tasted a typical Botswana delicacy yesterday, in the shape of dried caterpillars.

An American missionary offered McCurry a mopani worm. The grub had been boiled in salted water before being left to dry in the sun. McCurry swallowed one then another. "Tastes like a dead worm fried in oil," he quipped. – AFP

He said that although the White House press corps generally felt obliged to concentrate on the ostensible subject of a press conference, he felt there should have been at least one question at the press conference about the last issue in the scandal saga – and that is whether not only the president himself, but some of his officials, are entitled to invoke executive privilege to avoid testifying before the independent prosecutor investigating the scandals.

Harris said all the journalists on the trip had been pleasantly surprised by how much space and time their editors were giving to their reports on the African tour. "Sometimes you get back to Washington from a trip with the president and no one in the newsroom knows you've been gone because nothing has appeared in the paper".

Veteran ABC correspondent Sam Donaldson complained that the US journalists had not been given a real chance to ask domestic questions at the press conference.

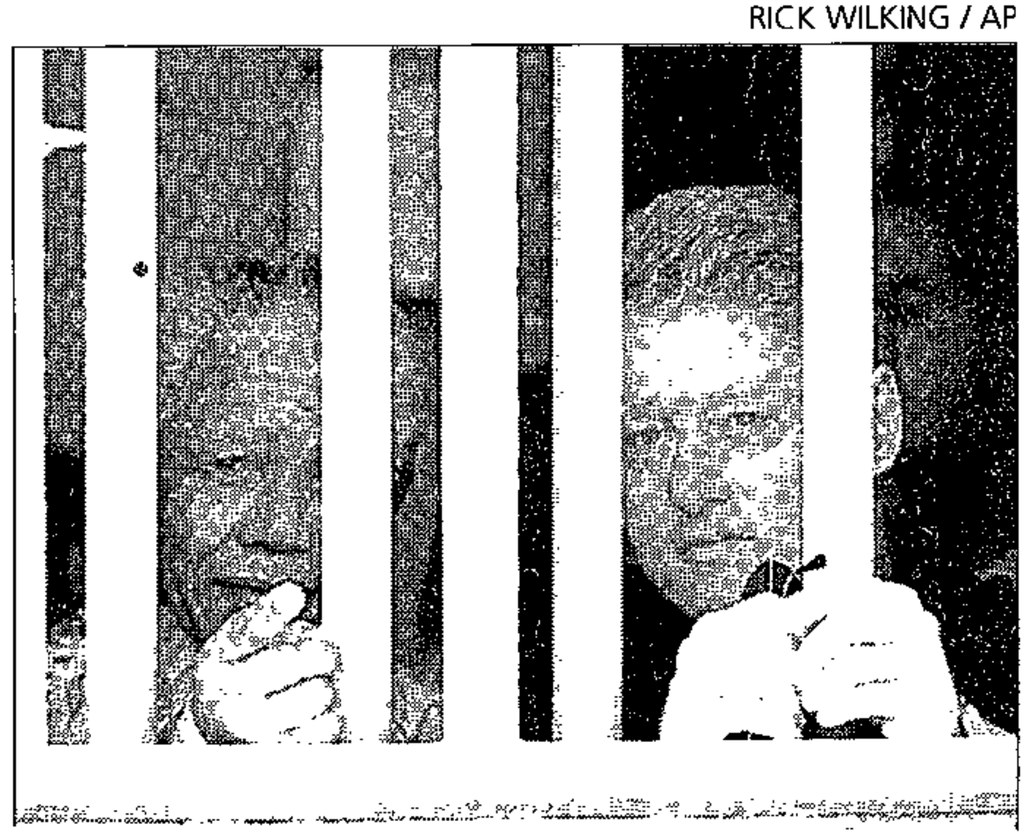
He said White House spokesman Mike McCurry had invited only three news agencies – AP, UPI and Reuters – and the New York Times correspondent to ask questions, and after that the press conference had been cut off.

Donaldson said the four US journalists might have been reluctant to ask questions about the scandals because of respect for Mandela.

Donaldson stressed that he was not insinuating that the four journalists who asked questions had done any deal with McCurry.

He said Clinton had not yet held a full-scale press conference since the scandal began – "and when he does we are going to really get him with all these questions".

RICK WILKING / AP



ANNA ZIEMINSKY / AFP



History revisited ... left: Bill Clinton and Nelson Mandela peer through the bars of the cell in which Mandela spent 17 years. Mandela showed the cell to Clinton during a tour of Robben Island. Right: Clinton and his wife Hillary lay bricks while visiting a housing project for disadvantaged women in Guguletu, near Cape Town.

Yankee visit v

STAR 30/3/98 (304A)



Solemn moment ... US President Bill Clinton receives the sacrament from Father Mohlomi Makobane a

Now that US President Bill Clinton's huge motorcade has been and gone, perhaps we can afford to admit his visit was a good thing for South Africa after all – despite the prevailing mood in SA beforehand of "who the hell are these Yanks to hit town like an invading army and expect us to be impressed?"

A typical reaction was that of the caller to Radio 702 who complained that after all the fuss about how much Clinton's convoy was going to interrupt the traffic, she went to look and was quite disappointed by the small motorcade that whizzed by her en route from Johannesburg International Airport on Saturday so quickly that she barely got a chance to see the president.

By skill and perhaps a bit of luck, the Americans managed to avoid much traffic congestion and other disruptions, or to cause much offence.

SA got millions of dollars worth of free, high-quality publicity from the huge White House press corps which accompanied Clinton. Out of respect for President Mandela, they avoided asking Clinton questions about his sex scandals back home, and that paid off for us because it meant most of their stories were about South Africa and not Monica Lewinsky.

South African officials, from Mandela down, managed to bite their tongues and not say anything too rude about the Americans, although Mandela did surprise the White House with a blunt and rather patronising lecture to Clinton about how to conduct foreign policy.

But the Americans swallowed their pride. White House spokesman Mike McCurry told US reporters later that Clinton was not bothered by Mandela's blunt opinions, even if this was not the way most heads of state acted at joint events with the US president.

"He's Mandela. He's entitled," McCurry said.

What else could he say? And Mandela had coated his stern and avuncular advice to the leader of the free world with some sugary flattery, praising him for having infallibly good instincts on foreign policy issues (even though his officials let him down sometimes) and saying Clinton's visit was the "high-water mark" of the many visits to him by foreign leaders. "It's hard to say more than that," said US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Susan Rice.

Clinton certainly helped to defuse any incipient criticism about Yankee imperialism and arrogance with a display of unprecedented humility about America's past role in Africa.

He was apologetic – though he never explicitly apologised – for the US's role in slavery; he apologised for the US role in propping up anti-communist African tyrants during the Cold War; he apologised for America's failure to intervene in time to stop the massacre of half a million Tutsis in Rwanda in

vas just dandy

Star 30/3/98 (304A)

DEBBIE YAZBEK



t Regina Mundi in Soweto yesterday. He sat through a sermon on adultery and forgiveness.

1994; and he apologised implicitly for US support for the apartheid government (while also stressing its later role in helping to bring apartheid down through sanctions).

Trips of this sort are perhaps most important for their symbolic and publicity value, rather than their substance. Which is just as well, because not much progress was visible in the hard bargaining – especially the US complaint that SA's new generic medicines legislation violates the intellectual property rights of US pharmaceutical manufacturers.

Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma and US Commerce Secretary William Daley failed to resolve this issue, and it now seems likely to go to the World Trade Organisation for arbitration.

There were no signs of resolution either of the problem of Sentrachem (now a subsidiary of US corporate giant Dow Chemicals) allegedly falling foul of US sanctions by trading with Cuba, or of the US EMC Corporation's complaint that the SA company Persetel tried to sabotage its chances of winning a contract with Telkom by damaging its equipment.

But US officials felt Clinton had dispelled some of the sharp misgivings and "misconceptions" Mandela had expressed about the new US-Africa trade bill and policy the promoting of which was an important aim of the visit.

Mandela had told Clinton that the eligibility requirements of the bill which would deny some tariff-free access to the US market to African countries not pursuing free-market and democratic policies – were unfair to some countries which lacked the institutional capacity to make the necessary reforms.

Clinton told Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in a separate meeting that the bill would improve trade benefits for all African countries – and in addition provide extra benefits to those that met the eligibility requirements. A senior US official said Mbeki, at least, seemed to accept this.

Mbeki publicly backed off from remarks, attributed to him earlier, criticising the bill for going too far in substituting trade for aid to Africa.

Mandela also pleased the Americans with his first public approval of the Africa Crisis Response Initiative, a plan for the US to provide training and other support to African troops to take part in peacekeeping on the continent.

"We support the initiative very fully," Mandela said, but with only one proviso: that any African peacekeeping force that came out of it should be commanded by an African.

US officials said this was no problem as they envisaged the trained African peacekeeping force only going into operations launched by the UN or the OAU.

"I'd give the visit a 10," said Rice shortly before departing for the next stop, Botswana.

Meiring faces the axe

(304A) (~~318~~) Sowetan 30/3/98



In hot water ... SANDF chief George Meiring.
PIC: COURTESY OF BEELD

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki have agreed to fire South African Defence Force chief General George Meiring over a report he handed the President alleging a coup plot by African National Congress members.

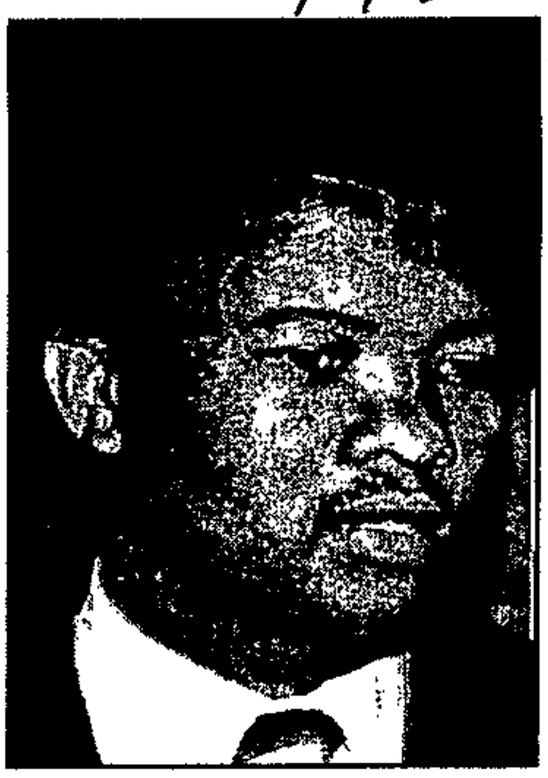
Senior Government sources told *Sowetan* that Police Commissioner George Fivaz is also likely to go as he was apparently involved in the dissemination of the report.

On Friday Mandela appointed a high-powered judicial commission of inquiry into the compilation and dissemination of the report. The commission is headed by Chief Justice Ishmael Mohamed, assisted by Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

It is to report back within days, according to Government spokesman Mr Joel Netshitenzhe.

Sources said Meiring had given Mandela a one-source intelligence report last month that indicated that a disparate group of ANC people, ranging from Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, General Bantu Holomisa, SANDF chief of staff General Siphiwe Nyanda, Deputy Defence Minister Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, were planning a coup.

It has since emerged that the report, that Meiring did not show to his political head, Defence Minister Mr Joe Modise, was compiled from information given by the now exposed military intelligence informer Vusi Mbatha.



Implicated ... General Bantu Holomisa.

Mbatha was arrested with Mr Robert McBride in Mozambique on gunrunning charges early this month.

"The matter is very serious as under other circumstances the President would have declared a state of emergency," the source said. "Meiring has to explain why an unverified report was rushed to the President, implicating among others the man who is tipped to succeed him (Meiring).

"It raises the question about whether he had wanted to besmirch the name of Nyanda so that he should then stay on, or had wanted to plot a coup himself and then blame it on those implicated in the report.



Implicated ... Mrs Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

"Mbeki was furious about the matter. He wanted Meiring to be fired. Safety and Security Minister Mr Sydney Mufamadi was briefed and when he met Fivaz, he spoke about the contents of the report without saying there was a report.

"He did not know that Sydney already knew. This meant that he had also been privy to the report," the source said.

The source said Mbeki had debated the matter with Mandela and had then written the statement read in Parliament by Mufamadi, blaming elements of the old order for a campaign to destabilise the country.

Mandela finally agreed that the two will have to go and the commission is the mechanism to do this publicly so that people can see how the generals have been behaving.

Speaking in a British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) interview in Durban yesterday, Mandela said the investigation would not look at the actual allegations made in the report but rather its compiler.

"Is it true that the source was tested on a polygraph as we were told, was the report verified, why was it not shown to the Defence Minister before it was brought to me," he said.

Mandela said there were elements "of the old order trying to destabilise the country. We cannot be complacent but we are in supreme command. If we find any attempt to destabilise the country, we will blot it out quickly and efficiently," he said.

The commission started hearing evidence on Saturday and Meiring has said he will cooperate.

He, however, defended the compilation of the report, saying it would have been dereliction of duty not to have done so.

It has been confirmed that Fivaz will also appear before the inquiry.

Clinton pledges to work with S Africa

(304A)

By Pamela Dube
Political Reporter

AMERICAN president Bill Clinton told thousands of Soweto residents in the Regina Mundi Church yesterday that his government was prepared to "work with you to ensure the gains of freedom are not lost".

Clinton, his wife Hillary, Reverend Jesse Jackson and the American delegation spent the last hour of their South African state visit yesterday at Regina Mundi in Soweto – a church known to many in the past as a home for the victims of the apartheid government.

Clinton told those present that Regina Mundi had earned itself the right to be the "shrine of freedom".

"We thank God for healing wounds of the past apartheid tragedies, turning hate into hope, hurt into healing, prisons into museums and prisoners into presidents"

Sowetan 30/3/98

After attending a quiet typical church service, Clinton said that freedom could not, however, be taken for granted.

Clinton spoke of the "triumph" of the new South Africa beyond political gains, reminding those present that the last gold medal awarded at the Olympic Games in Atlanta, US, in 1996 was to a "black South African, Josiah Thugwane.

"It was so fitting that the medal, the first to a black South African, came in a marathon. As you all know your fight for freedom was a marathon not a sprint."

Clinton said his country was committed to complete the marathon of freedom with South Africa. "We want to run the race with you so that the gains of freedom are not lost."

Earlier, Clinton and his delegation joined Soweto residents in taking holy communion.

After communion the church lived up to its old traditions of song and dance when Reverend Jackson took the pulpit to lead in prayer.

He dedicated the prayer to South Africans and sang the praises of both President Nelson Mandela and Clinton for working towards "building bridges of peace and reconciliation".

"We thank God today for healing wounds of the past apartheid tragedies, turning hate into hope, hurt into healing, prisons into museums and prisoners into presidents."

As the delegation left the church on their way to the Johannesburg Airport for the flight to Botswana on the last leg of their sub-Saharan African tour, the American president and his wife broke protocol, walking to the sidewalks to touch outstretched hands among the hundreds lining the streets.

Madiba is not worried by 'plot'

(Star) (304A)

President tells CNN he is aware of elements not loyal to his Government

Star 20/3/98

STAFF REPORTERS AND FOREIGN SERVICE

President Mandela said yesterday he was not worried about a coup but would deal swiftly and decisively with any disloyal or disgruntled members of the security forces who may try to destabilise his Government.

In an interview with CNN's *Late Edition*, Mandela said the Government enjoyed the support of the majority of members of the security forces. He blamed a report alleging that disaffected members of the army were planning a coup on "elements who are bitter that the minority in this country has lost power".

He added: "We are in complete command of the security forces. We are aware of elements which are not loyal to this Government, but we will be able to deal with them swiftly and decisively should they try anything. So I am not concerned."

The report, compiled by Military Intelligence on the basis of information received from an informant, Vusi Mbatha, became the subject of a top-level inquiry at the weekend.

The MI report alleged that Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, alleged arms smuggler Robert McBride and SANDF Chief of Staff General Siphiwe Nyanda were plotting to overthrow the Government.

The head of the service corps, Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, and surgeon-general General Davidson Masuka were also named.

Mandela's spokesman, Parks Mankahlana, said the inquiry was not on the contents of the report, but on "the process relating to its compilation and verification".

Defence Force Chief Georg Meiring answered questions behind closed doors yesterday by the three judges appointed to head the inquiry: Chief Justice Ismail Mahomed and Constitutional Court judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone.

▶ It's a plot – Holomisa
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The Star ... Monday March 30 1998

ANC draws up battle plan to 'crush all forces'

Star 30/3/98

Massive recruitment drive to be set in motion before election

(304A)

By Marco Granelli
Pretoria Correspondent

The ANC is to embark on a massive recruitment drive in Gauteng so it can "crush all forces of the counter-revolution" in next year's election.

In a speech brimming with election rhetoric at the end of the 7th ANC Gauteng conference in Johannesburg yesterday, re-elected chairman Mathole Motshekga warned opposition parties that ANC supporters were not for sale and not up for grabs.

"This conference has drawn up battle plans for the final onslaught against apartheid and the forces of the counter-revolution. Gauteng will never be the same again," the premier said to a chanting group of about 600 members who had attended the three-day conference.

"We feel recharged, rejuvenated and confident that the ANC will win the coming general elections in 1999 convincingly and we expect no less than a two-thirds majority. With all our battle plans, who can still doubt that this leadership will deliver a two-thirds majority with a good voter turnout next year?"

Among the plans adopted for the next 12 months is a massive recruitment campaign and intensified ID and voter registration drive which the party hopes will U-turn falling membership in the country's largest party.

This follows a report tabled at the conference on Saturday which showed membership had plummeted from nearly 120 000 in 1994 to only 44 000 currently.

Paul Mashatile, who narrowly beat fellow MEC Sicelo Shiceka for the position of deputy chairman by 301 votes to 299, said the party was not as strong as it should be: many of the branches are dysfunctional and some have virtually collapsed, he said on Saturday.

With only 14 months to go to the election, Mashatile said it was vital that special attention be paid to rebuilding ANC structures, and that branches be revitalised and a massive recruitment campaign be launched.

Mashatile, who is also Gauteng Transport MEC, expressed concern that certain ANC activists were aligning themselves to United Democratic Movement activities, probably because they harboured sympathetic sentiments for UDM co-leader Bantu Holomisa.

Holomisa was expelled from the ANC and Mashatile stressed that "he is no longer one of us. Holomisa and Roelf Meyer are not friends of the ANC, they are opposition and they had to be defeated together with the National and Democratic parties and other reactionary forces".

. "We must warn all our members: you can't belong to the ANC and at the same time hob-knob with the UDM. Anyone found to be associating with and pursuing the interests of the UDM will face disciplinary action with the possibility of being dismissed."

But yesterday Obed Bapela, who replaced Mashatile as provincial secretary after beating Mondli Gungubele by only six votes, said the decline did not mean support was down.

"I don't believe the membership decline is as terrible as suggested. Our registered members number 87 000 and our target is to reach 120 000 which is less than a 40 000 shortfall. Paid-up membership is where we have gone down to 45 000."

Motshekga called for a new activism from members, which carried with it responsibility.

"We need activists who are socially responsible, who are challenged by the plight of women and children, who are concerned with problems in our country and who are not just concerned with their own issues."

Other new office-bearers elected over the weekend were Mandla Nkomfe (deputy secretary) and Joyce Kgoali (treasurer).

Cuba, Libya and Iran will stay SA's friends

FOREIGN SERVICE (304A) ARG 30/3/98

Washington – President Mandela said in an interview yesterday he would forever honour South Africa's friendship with Iran, Libya and Cuba, while cherishing crucial and friendly ties with the United States.

"I have expressed my view on countless occasions that Libya, Cuba and Iran are my friends and I propose to honour that friendship while I welcome the friendship of the US and other western powers who, at the time we were struggling, were really helping our enemies," Mr Mandela told CNN.

Announcing he would visit Iran shortly, he defended his relationships with countries the US considers pariahs.

Asked whether Mr Clinton was surprised by his defence of ties with countries the US regards as rogue states, Mr Mandela said: "I will be visiting Iran shortly and I do not hide those things. I could not have surprised him (Mr Clinton), because my stand has been very clear right from the time of President George Bush.

"President Bush raised the question of Cuba and Libya when I visited him in June 1990 and I made my position very clear – that no leader with any normal moral authority can accept assistance from a country when that leader was all alone in his fight against apartheid, and on the eve of victory be advised by friends of my enemies that I should dump those who made it possible ..."

Mr Mandela repeated the call he made last Friday that the US, "as the leader of the world," should "call upon its enemies to say let's sit down and talk peace".

For his part, Mr Clinton has ignored the negative comments and lavishly praised Mr Mandela. "His emergence from his many years on Robben Island is one of the true heroic stories of the 20th century," he said last week.

At the time Mr Mandela defended his friendship with Libya's Muammar Gaddafi and Cuba's Fidel Castro and said those South Africans who disagreed with him "can go and throw themselves in a pool".

In the CNN interview, Sandy Berger, Mr Clinton's National Security Adviser, said: "I can understand Mr Mandela's sense of loyalty, but our position regarding Libya is also based on principle. We want to see justice brought to the families of the 270 people blown out of the sky over Lockerbie, Scotland, with compelling evidence that Libya is responsible."

CAPE TIMES
MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1998 ★

ALLEGED COUP PLOT PROBED

Meiring questioned behind closed doors

CT 30/3/98 (304A)

WAS President Mandela lied to in a report alleging a coup against his government? An urgent commission of inquiry spent the weekend trying to answer the question.

SA National Defence Force Chief General Georg Meiring was understood to be answering questions behind closed doors yesterday by three of South Africa's top judges probing a controversial Military Intelligence report into a left wing plot to overthrow the government.

At the weekend Meiring welcomed the inquiry and pledged the SANDF's "maximum support" for the judicial probe.

Claims that President Nelson Mandela was poised to axe Meiring should he not answer questions satisfactorily were played down by the President's Office.

"Any suggestion at this stage that the President is contemplating dismissing the Chief of the SANDF is speculative," presidential aide Mr Parks Mankahlana said.

Mandela said in an interview with a Sunday newspaper he believed the MI report, claiming certain former uMkhonto we Sizwe (MK) generals were disloyal to his government, was a "diversion".

Meiring handed over the report to the President on February 5.

Mandela said: "I want to stress that General Meiring was himself as shocked as we were ... Still there are elements that want to defend the old status quo and are not loyal to the new government."

However, speculation is rife in former MK and Azanian People's Liberation Army circles that there are indeed moves to get rid of Meiring in favour of a general aligned to the ANC-led government.

They point to similar attempts last year to oust national Police Commissioner George Fivaz.

Government sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, were forthright about Meiring, who is scheduled to retire in July, and said he would play a central role in the commission of inquiry.

'We don't believe there was such a plot. We're trying to establish why the President was lied to.'

The inquiry, announced on Friday by the President, would probe "how, why, and when the report was compiled, the motive behind it, and the way it was handled", the source said.

The government believes that right-wing elements in the security forces want to destabilise the country through disinformation.

The MI report alleged that Ms Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, United Democratic Movement leader Mr Bantu Holomisa, alleged arms smuggler Mr Robert McBride and SANDF Chief of Staff General Siphiwe Nyanda were plotting to overthrow the government.

The head of the service corps, Lieutenant-General Lambert Moloi, and Surgeon-General Davidson Masuka were also named.

Sources have stated categorically they believe Mandela was lied to.

One told Sapa: "We don't believe there was such a plot. We're trying to establish why the President was lied to by being given a false report."

Officials believe Meiring will be relieved of his duties if he fails to explain to the commission why, among other things, the MI report was based on the information of a single source, Mr Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with McBride in Mozambique.

Claims that Mbatha had passed at least three lie-detector tests could not be confirmed.

It was expected that the commission, which began sitting in camera at an undisclosed venue on Saturday, was to end yesterday, with a report presented as soon as possible to the President. — Sapa

Meiring rejects coup implication

By Mathatha Tsedu

TODAY IS D-day for SA National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring, as the high-powered judicial commission of inquiry into the compilation and verification of a military report alleging a coup plot, reports to President Nelson Mandela.

And as the embattled military chief faced what appears to be his last days, he fought back yesterday, denying that he had ever given the impression that the single-source report had been verified before it was given to Mandela on February 5.

Meiring also denied overlooking Defence Minister Joe Modise, saying the minister had "known of the report".

Mandela's office announced late yesterday that the commission, headed by Chief Justice Ishmael Mohamed and including Constitutional Court senior judges Pius Langa and Richard Goldstone, would report to him when he reached Cape Town on the luxury liner QE2 this morning.

Informed sources said late last night that although a decision to fire Meiring had been taken, an "honourable way out" would be sought and he would be given the opportunity to resign early and receive a golden handshake.

The sources said this could take "some time of negotiation". Meiring's five-year contract ends next year.

Sapa reports that Meiring yesterday rejected reports that he was implicated in the Military Intelligence document on an alleged plot to overthrow the Government.

He also stressed that the SANDF had been unable to confirm the information in the MI report.

"The chief of the SANDF wishes to make it clear that, contrary to media reports, he is not implicated in the information contained in the report ... at all," the Department of Defence said in Pretoria.

Meiring said the report, based on information provided by a single source, was compiled last year. The SANDF had since made attempts to confirm its contents.

"By early 1998, the SANDF has been unable to do this. The information, because of the sensitivity thereof, could therefore not be treated in the normal way by being fed into the normal intelligence channels."

Because of the serious nature of the information, Meiring said, Mandela was personally informed of the report. This was done on February 5 this year, making it clear that the information was unconfirmed.

"The action was taken with the prior knowledge of the Minister of Defence. Failure to have taken this step would have been a dereliction of duty," Meiring said.

He said his appearance before the commission on Saturday and Sunday was evidence of his support of the inquiry into the matter.

'Plot' report man unreliable

Star 31/3/98

By Ryan Cresswell

Vusi Mbatha, allegedly the main source of information for a military report on a left-wing coup plot recently handed to President Mandela, has a history of providing questionable information.

Mbatha, also known as Vusi Madida, was arrested in connection with gun-running along with Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride in Mozambique recently. Mbatha claimed to be a policeman, but investigators sent there to look into the arrests said he was a convicted criminal.

Before his arrest, he apparently gave investigators information about a planned coup involving army generals and others.

In 1993 Mbatha approached Lawyers for Human Rights with allegations about gun-running for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He also gave evidence to the Goldstone Commission and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, but was not considered a good witness on either occasion.

TRC spokesman John Allen said a statement by Mbatha was read at the hearings into the activities of the Mandela United Football Club, but he was never asked to take the stand.

Modise had prior knowledge of coup plot report – Meiring

(304A) (257)

By Ryan Cresswell

South African National Defence Force chief General Georg Meiring yesterday defended an intelligence report about an alleged coup plot, saying Defence Minister Joe Modise had prior knowledge of the report before it was handed to President Mandela.

But Meiring admitted the report had not been subjected to normal intelligence checks and processes because it was "too sensitive".

The SANDF began compiling the report last year, but had been unable to confirm such a plot by the time it submitted the report to Mandela last month, Meiring said.

The report alleges that various former Umkhonto weSizwe generals who are now in the SANDF, as well as present and former ANC politicians, were planning to overthrow the Government.

Accused are Meiring's probable successor General Siphiwe Nyanda, United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa, ANC MP Winnie Madikizela-Mandela and suspended Foreign Affairs official Robert McBride.

Reports of a coup plot first surfaced after the arrest of McBride in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running about three weeks ago.

A commission of inquiry, comprising Judge President Ismail Mahomed and Constitutional Court judges Richard Goldstone and Pius Langa, investigated the report over the past three days and will hand it to Mandela today.

Meiring, who has been said to be facing the axe because of his actions, said in a statement yesterday he had not been party to the compilation of the report.

He said the SANDF had made attempts to confirm the contents of the report but had failed to do so.

The report was allegedly based on information given by a single source, believed to be Vusi Mbatha, the man arrested with McBride in Mozambique on suspicion of gun-running.

Because of the serious nature of the information, Meiring said, the president was personally informed of the report. This was done on February 5, and it had been made clear that the information was unconfirmed.

"The action was taken with the prior knowledge of the minister of defence. Failure to have taken this step would have been a dereliction of duty," Meiring said.

He said Defence Minister Joe Modise was not implicated in the report.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said it was now up to Mandela to make decisions about whether to go public with the report and the subsequent inquiry.

Coup report defended by Meiring

(304A)

CLIVE SAWYER AND MARCO GRANELLI
POLITICAL STAFF

ARG 31/3/98

South African National Defence Force (SANDF) chief Georg Meiring has defended his handling of an intelligence report alleging a leftwing plot to overthrow the Government, saying he was just doing his duty by warning President Nelson Mandela.

He spoke out a day before Mr Mandela was due to be handed the findings of a judicial inquiry into the compiling of the report, which claimed that several African National Congress veterans – including foreign affairs official Robert McBride, who is now being held in Mozambique in connection with alleged gun-running – wanted to overthrow the Government.

Mr Mandela had been scheduled to receive the report today but a spokesman for his office said the president's commitments on board the QE2 luxury liner in Cape Town meant his meeting with the commissioners had to be delayed until tomorrow.

In an internal SANDF bulletin released yesterday, General Meiring says that failure to have submitted the intelligence report to Mr Mandela would have been a dereliction of duty. He denied claims that no attempt was made to verify the information or that he had not told Defence Minister Joe Modise of his plan to submit the report to the president.

General Meiring said that during 1997 a report was compiled from a number of pieces of information the SANDF had obtained which indicated planning for a possible plot against the Government. The SANDF tried to confirm or refute the information, but by early 1998 had been unable to do this.

He had decided to avoid the normal intelligence channels and processes because of

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Meiring defends his handling of coup report

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the sensitivity of the information and to submit it directly to Mr Mandela.

The commission looking into the compiling of the report, headed by Chief Justice Ismail Mohamed, began its work on Saturday. It has interviewed General Meiring as well as civilian intelligence heads and Linda Mti, the chairman of the National Intelligence Co-ordinating Committee.

It is reliably understood the report was not cross-checked with civilian intelligence agencies.

ARG 31/3/98

The main source for the military intelligence report is reported to be Vusi Mbatha, who was arrested with Mr McBride in Mozambique. Those who have rejected the authenticity of the claims in the report have called into question Mr Mbatha's background as an alleged double agent.

Govt 'trying to do too much with too little'

BD 31/3/98 (304A)

Kevin O'Grady

SA's public sector was on the verge of "institutional collapse" brought on mainly by government attempts to "do too much with too little", National Party (NP) leader Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday.

Releasing the findings of NP research on the public sector and government's performance in fulfilling its main functions, he said: "The warning lights in our country have been switched on."

Van Schalkwyk said the findings, which used the World Bank's 1997 World Development Report as its analytical framework, included that government often embarked on "transformation ... for the sake of transformation, losing sight of strategic objectives and basic management principles".

Philosophical incoherence between the African National Congress (ANC) and its alliance partners had also paralysed policy implementation, Van Schalkwyk said.

The most notable example of this was government's growth, employment and redistribution (Gear) strategy, which had "more support outside of government than in the alliance partners", Van Schalkwyk said.

Of greatest concern to the NP was government's failure, through Gear, to create jobs. SA had a negative employment growth rate and the Reserve Bank had pointed out that, at the current rate, unemployment could rise from 24% to as high as 40% within 10 years.

Other core functions that government was failing to fulfil included the maintenance of law and order and the effective and affordable provision of basic infrastructure and social services, Van Schalkwyk said. The provision of health, welfare, housing and education were in disarray.

In order to govern within its capabilities, the ANC had to accept that the state need not be the "sole provider".

The NP findings said the World Development Report proposed that "when a state goes beyond the basics, it should be done in partnership with the private sector and nongovernmental organisations.

"The ANC government, on the other hand, turns this proposal on its head by not even providing the basics for South Africans and still believing the state should be the sole provider," the NP's report said.

Rift widens as Mandela spurns defence force chief

304A

BD 31/3/98

Pule Molebeledi and Stephen Laufer

THE rift between Gen Georg Meiring and President Nelson Mandela widened yesterday as the president's office repudiated a statement by the defence force chief contradicting Mandela on details of an alleged coup plot against government.

Meiring's statement, in an internal bulletin to troops, which was also faxed to the media, said that Defence Minister Joe Modise had prior knowledge of his plan to report the alleged coup plot to Mandela.

Mandela has asked a judicial commission to examine why Meiring brought him the report without first informing Modise, his deputy Ronnie Kasrils, Deputy Intelligence Minister Joe Nhlanhla, civilian intelligence agencies or the parliamentary oversight committee.

Sources thought to be close to Meiring have suggested in the past few days that he suspected Modise and Kasrils of involvement in the plot, which is why he went straight to Mandela.

Presidential spokesman Parks Mankahlana said Meiring's latest version of events was "something new. As far as we know he went straight to the president." It represented a "substantial" contradiction of Mandela's recollection of the incident. The only person who could explain the contradictions was Meiring himself.

Mandela said last week that the intelligence report detailing the alleged plot was brought to him without Modise being informed. The only person from whom Mandela could have gained this impression was Meiring himself, Mankahlana said.

Meiring was the only witness at the judicial inquiry at the weekend to publicly break the confidentiality of the proceedings. Mankahlana expressed surprise that Meiring waited until yesterday to give his version of events, but had not waited an extra day for the commission's report to appear before speaking out.

Ministers and other inquiry participants have been reluctant to discuss the investigation.

Mankahlana said Mandela would receive a report from the judicial commission, possibly verbally, late today after arriving in Cape Town on the QE II from Durban. He would study details before making any decisions.

Mandela "might indicate what he wants to do" by tomorrow or Thursday.

In his bulletin to troops Meiring said he wanted to make it clear that, contrary to media reports, he was not implicated in the alleged plot against government.

He said he welcomed the commission and reaffirmed his support for it.