

ACME - (S) -

1975

1980

1981 - 1992

Address: Room 502
 Trans Africa Buildings
 21 Wolmarans Street
 Johannesburg
 2001

Telephone:

Officials:

Area of Operation: National

Founded: April 1981

Registration: Lodged

Membership: 1981 - claims 50 000

S.A. RAILWAYS BLACK EMPLOYEES STAFF ASSOCIATION

HANSAARD 12

Q . 854 - 5

30 April 1975.

102

White public servants seconded to service of Bantu homelands

281. Dr. F. VAN Z SLABBERT asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many White public servants were seconded to the service of each of the Bantu homelands in 1970 and 1974 respectively.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

	1970	1974
Bophuthatswana	312	252
Ciskei	196	190
Lebowa	244	224
Gazankulu	92	97
Venda	72	86
Qwaqwa	9	19
KwaZulu	-	325
Eastern Caprivi	-	31
Transkei	339	279
Owambo	54	90
Kavango	30	49

HANDBOOK 5

Q. column 393-4
7 March 1975

1. 102
~~2. 205~~

Labour contracts attested for Bantu

*8 Dr. E. VAN Z. SIABBERT asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

(a) How many labour contracts in respect of (i) males and (ii) females were attested in each Bantu homeland in 1974

and (b) how many of these contracts were attested on production of call-in cards.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

The matter referred to by the hon member, falls under the homeland governments who on request furnished the following information

	(a) (i)	(a) (ii)	(b)
Bophuthatswana	9 243	3 070	5 051
kwaZulu	145 772	28 223	Not available
Lebowa	48 637	150	Not available
Venda	31 295	Nil	10 034
Owaqwa	16 499	795	2 409
Transkei	254 371	2 600	43 241
Ciskei	51 078	11 679	723
Gazankulu	17 354	78	15 139

HANSARD 12 Q. 832
28 April 1975.

Black artisans in building industry in Bantu homelands

275. Mr. G. S. BARTLETT asked the Minister of Bantu Education:

How many Blacks have completed apprenticeships and qualified as artisans in the building industry in the Bantu homelands during the past five years.

The MINISTER OF BANTU EDUCATION:

Apprenticeships in the homelands are controlled by the different homeland governments. My Department is responsible for the conducting of standard trade tests but does not have information regarding apprenticeships.

No Bantu in the homelands passed the tests for the acquisition of full artisan status in the building industry during the period 1971 to 1974.

551 Bantu persons passed the Bantu Building Workers' test and received proficiency certificates during the period 1971 to 1974.

Magowan - Oppenheimer
2. 102

HANDBOOK

9

Q. column 621
7 April 1975.

102

Bantu economically active .

41 Mrs. JI SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many citizens of each of the Bantu homelands are economically active (i) within and (ii) outside their homelands and (b) how many (i) within and (ii) outside each homeland are employed in each economic sector

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Statistics as requested by the hon. member are not kept by my Department nor homeland governments

HANSAARD 12

Q. 845
29 April 1975.

1.102
~~2.95~~

Nurses' training colleges in Bantu homelands

*22. Dr. A. L. BORAINÉ asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) (a) How many nurses' training colleges are there for Bantu students in the Bantu homelands and (b) where are they situated;
- (2) how many nurses qualified at each college in 1974.

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF BANTU DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) 4.

(b) Grootboom Hospital—Lebowa.
Garankuwa Hospital Bophuthatswana.
Matoka Hospital—Qwaqwa
Edendale Hospital kwaZulu

(2) The information required in respect of each college is unfortunately not readily available. There are, however, 16 510 Bantu nurses and mid-

wives in the Homelands in the Republic.

health services

face *Sunday Express*

chaos *29/6/75*

— doctor

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By BARRY STREEK

DOCTORS working in the homelands urgently need bigger financial incentives to prevent chaos in the health services in the Black areas.

These incentives will have to be given soon, says Dr G. H. Roux, of Rustenburg, writing in the "South African Medical Journal."

But while the position of doctors may be gloomy, one medical victory has been won in KwaZulu: a report published recently shows that the incidence of TB is on the decline.

Dr Roux says the position of medical men in the Transvaal homelands was a real problem.

Not only were doctors inadequately paid, but they had to work in professional and social isolation — and this isolation was made worse by the present speed restrictions.

Besides isolation, a doctor in the homelands had to work "under difficult circumstances which has hardly any parallel in White areas and in private practice."

Compared to the R3 000 to R5 000 a month which doctors formerly at mission hospitals were now earning in private practice, senior doctors could not earn more than R12 600 a year in the homelands.

DOUBLED

He suggested that the present salary structure of doctors in the homelands be doubled and that all White State workers in the homelands be given 25 per cent of their salaries tax free.

"If this matter is not quickly put right, chaos could develop in our homeland health services."

While these medical care problems have developed, the report of the South African Medical Research Council, which was released in Parliament recently, showed that the incidence of TB in KwaZulu had decreased from 4,3 per cent 17 years ago to 1,7 per cent. The risk of infection is decreasing at a rate of seven per cent a year.

A three-year study in Pretoria among

racial groups shows that since 1957 the risk of infection had diminished by 13 per cent among Asians and by 17 per cent among Coloureds and Africans.

The report also showed that one of the causes of liver cancer among Black people — a major killer — may have been isolated.

Jobs for 800 men from homelands

Dispatch 10/9/75
EAST LONDON — There will be job opportunities for about 800 men from the homelands on the construction of a R96 million Caltex oil refinery expansion programme in Cape Town.

barrels a day (5 million tons a year). The expansion is expected to result in a foreign exchange saving of about R30 million a year.

— BUSINESS EDITOR.

This was made clear in Cape Town by the refinery project manager, Mr Bert Hyne, who said the total manpower used on the site, including artisans, would be about 1 500 persons.

About 800 men would be recruited by contractors from the homelands, he said, and the first stage, to improve yields of refined products, is scheduled to be completed by March 1977. The anticipated completion date for the second stage, to increase capacity, is July 1978.

Mr Hyne said Caltex Oil will also need 700 skilled artisans and 55 graduate engineers to work on the site. As there are not that many artisans in the fields needed presently employed in the whole Cape Town area, it was probable that a great number would have to be recruited from overseas.

"Mostly highly qualified coded welders and pipe fitters are needed," he said. "It involves work on miles of high pressure piping, and because of safety factors, tradesmen have to conform to high levels of quality control and rigid standards of performance."

The extensions will double the size of the refinery and increase capacity from 61 000 barrels a day (3 million tons a year) to 105 000

(1) ~~244~~
(2) ~~157~~
(3) ~~140~~
(4) ~~111~~
(5) ~~172~~
(6) 102

TUCSA

JTAK

11/8/75

will advise Blacks

Labour Reporter

The multiracial Trade Union Council of South Africa has agreed to advise Black homeland leaders on labour legislation and trade unions in the homelands.

Approaches from some homeland leaders in this connection are disclosed in a report issued on TUCSA's activities during the past year.

The report said TUCSA's executive agreed that advice was to be given on the understanding that homeland governments had to seek TUCSA's assistance.

The decision followed an indication from Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophutswana that he would be prepared to discuss with TUCSA the possible introduction of some primary industrial legislation in Lebowa.

Later the chief met Mr Arthur Grobbelaar of TUCSA and indicated homeland leaders would like a meeting with TUCSA to discuss trade unions in the homelands.

Mr Grobbelaar wrote to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who acted as chairman of the homeland leaders' caucus, to make arrangements. A reply is awaited.

11/13/75
(2) 103
(3) 138

Price of Black jobs

THE LARGEST and faster growing industries in the homelands pay most to establish a Black job.

A typical example is the clothing industry, in which the average cost of creating a job in the homelands has been R7 800. This is among the highest for all industries. Yet, between 1971 and 1973 more money was ploughed into it than any other industry — R9,4-million or 26 per cent of total homeland capital investment.

This emerges from an analysis of capital expenditure by the private sector, the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation in the three-year period to December 1973 (the latest comprehensive figures).

The average cost of creating a job per Black worker for all industries was R4 600. The total amount invested during the period under review was R35,2-million. This only includes capital expenditure on manufacturing — it excludes mining, commerce and infrastructure.

A breakdown shows that the private sector put up 65 per cent of the capital, or an average of 58 per cent on an industry by industry basis. The BIC and XDC put up the balance, of which loans to the private sector constitute 8 per cent of the total.

On the basis of these figures, the private sector's average contribution to each job was R2 900; the BIC and XDC, R1 600. When infrastructure and concessions are included, the public sector's share naturally exceeds that of the private sector.

The miscellaneous timber product industries (all timber products except furniture) topped the list at R10 000 a job. However, only R2,4-million or 7 per cent of the total capital was injected into this sector.

Cheapest jobs created were those in the leather and footwear and chemical industries — R1 200 a job in both cases. It would seem that these have great potential in the homelands. However, only R823 000 was pumped into the leather and footwear industries during the period under review and R450 000 into the chemical industry.

Most jobs per industry, 1.720 in all, were created in the textile industry. However, in spite of its labour-intensive merits, it has a shaky future.

LEON KOK

The cost was R3 300 per job, totalling R5,7-million or 16 per cent of the total capital outlay.

In the small engineering field, the cost a worker was a relatively high R5 500. And like clothing, the capital injection is fairly considerable — R5,5-million or 15 per cent of the total capital outlay.

In structural engineering, the cost per worker was R4 500. The capital outlay is fairly moderate, — R3,8-million or 10 per cent of the total capital outlay. Another average industry is furniture. The cost per worker was R4 800; the outlay R3,2-million or 9 per cent of the total.

Apart from the miscellaneous section, the two remaining industries are saw mills, R1 930 per worker and

R1,4-million capital; and pulp and paper, R2 100 and R353 000.

The Deputy Director of the BIC Economic Research Division, Mr Dion Richter, says that the aforementioned figures are roughly in line with the present, even in spite of inflation.

He gives these reasons:

- There has been a general tendency in both the public and private sectors to overestimate capital investment;
- And these figures are for full production, which in many cases has not materialized. In other words, the full labour complements relative to capital have not yet been realized.

However, Mr Richter argues that averages must be treated with circumspection, because the cost of creating

a job differs widely from growth point to growth point.

The Managing Director of the BIC, Dr Johannes Adendorff, recently estimated that it costs about R8 000 to create a single work opportunity in industry. However, this includes infrastructure, which is slightly more than half the total cost.

Professor Jan Lange, formerly head of the Department of Economics at the University of the Orange Free State, maintains that if the Government vigorously goes ahead with its proposed industrial parks plan, the cost of creating a job opportunity could be reduced from Dr Adendorff's figure to about R1 900.

In a nutshell, the cost of creating homeland jobs is not as frightening as some people make it out to be.

S.A. TAIWAN

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**New traffic
cops qualify**

STAR 28/4/75

Pretoria Bureau

A traffic inspector from Caprivi was among the 128 traffic inspectors who received their certificates here today. Sixty-five of the new inspectors are Black.

Among the Black inspectors who qualified, eight would do duty in the homelands, Mr G W van der Veen, the chief provincial inspection officer, said. Four were from Gankulu, one from the Caprivi and three from Lebowa.

Call for homelands trade unions

A. D. M.
10/12/75

By CLIVE EMDON
Labour Correspondent

TRADE union leaders in the clothing industry have made an urgent plea to homeland leaders to give workers trade union rights in homeland industries.

The plea was made yesterday by Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers, and Mr Adam Klein, general secretary of the Garment Workers Union, and backed by the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa).

It follows a report which detailed wages and work conditions in five clothing factories at Babelegi at Hammanskraal, near Pretoria.

The report showed that starting rates are R5 a week, qualified machinists are paid R10-R11 a week after 3-3½ years, that maximum 45-hour week is worked and that a minimum two weeks leave a year is given.

Both Mrs Mvubelo and Mr Klein said the same conditions applied to between 8 000 and 10 000 clothing workers in other homeland industries at Charlestown, Madadeni (Newcastle), Ladysmith and Hammersdale.

Mrs Mvubelo said workers in the homelands had no negotiating machinery by which they could better their pay and working conditions.

A wage determination applied to them over which they had no control. And the minimum standard of the Labour Act were applied by employers

in respect of hours worked and leave.

"I just don't know how they make out," she said. Mr Klein said by not having unions, workers in the homelands had no basic means of organisation for communication.

"They have very poor conditions of employment and low wages. Minimum facilities apply, and only one of two employers do anything special.

"It is a matter of urgency that the homeland leaders consider the plight of workers who are their citizens and give them trade union rights."

Mr Robert Kraft, assistant general secretary of Tucsa, said Tucsa had consistently called for trade union rights for all — "it is particularly important in areas such as the homelands where they would have a very positive role to play in tackling the problems of development.

"Workers must play a role in deciding the benefits, wages and policies which apply to them. At present these workers have wages and conditions imposed on them," he said.

Mr Kraft said certain homeland leaders had asked for a consultation with Tucsa to establish the council's views on labour policy, the establishment of unions and training procedures. A date for this meeting was still to be set.

"We have stated quite clearly that we believe homeland leaders should give trade union rights to all workers," he said.

Industry

training

scheme

doubles

~~Industry Training~~
② 102

Labour Reporter

Plans to almost double South Africa's industrial training capacity for Black school-boys have been announced by the Secretary for Bantu Education, Mr G S Rousseau.

A total of 50 000 to 75 000 pupils could be in training annually after the planned expansions of the scheme to Black homelands.

Mr Rousseau, revealed multipronged plans for next year to:

- Establish three more training centres in White areas.
- Create the first two similar centres in homelands.
- Double the originally planned training capacity of the two centres in Soweto through extensions costing an estimated R40 000 per centre.
- Make extensions to the six other centres due to begin operations next year, also at a cost of about R40 000 per centre.

Seven of the first eight training centres are to be in operation next month. The eighth is expected to be ready later next year.

BUDGET

One of the new centres will be established at kwaThema, Springs, and another in Tembisa, near Kempton Park. The location of the third is yet to be decided.

Mr Rousseau declined to name the two homelands which are to get similar centres because these projects are subject to homeland budgets.

But it has been announced that the Ciskei has allocated R300 000 for a centre.

Mr Rousseau said:

"Training for better utilisation of manpower and

you feel should be added to the course?

4. Are you so
Comment

your present tutor? Yes/no

5. (a) What in
tutorials be
(b) Do you
year?

should the aim of
als were achieved during the

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Handled 2 vol 100 5/2/76

Mining concerns in Bantu areas: Employees

193 Mr. R. M. CADMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) What was the total number of (i) Whites and (ii) Bantu who were employed in mining concerns in Bantu areas at the latest date for which figures are available and (b) in respect of what date are these figures given

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(a) (i) 4 841.

(ii) 78 106.

(b) 31 March 1974.

Mansard 89
 22/2/76
 col 102/623

102

Bantu Investment Corporation/Xhosa Development Corporation: Undertakings

553. Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) How many Bantu in each homeland were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis at the latest date for which figures are available and (b) by the Bantu Investment Corporation and the Xhosa Development Corporation, respectively, at that date;
- (2) in respect of what date is the information given

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) and (2)

Employment on Agency basis

Homeland	Number of Bantu	Employment as at
Bophuthatswana	7 686	31 December 1975
kwaZulu	1 996	31 December 1975
Qwaqwa	—	31 December 1975

Homeland	Number of Bantu	Employment as at
Lebowa	1 720	31 December 1975
Gazankulu	602	31 December 1975
Venda	750	31 December 1975
Swazi	199	31 December 1975
Transkei	4 409	1 February 1976
Ciskei	706	1 February 1976

Employment in undertakings established by the Bantu Investment Corporation

Homeland	Number of Bantu	Employment as at
Bophuthatswana	2 826	31 March 1975
kwaZulu	2 465	31 March 1975
Qwaqwa	146	31 March 1975
Lebowa	4 142	31 March 1975
Gazankulu	349	31 March 1975
Venda	66	31 March 1975
Swazi	36	31 March 1975
Ovambo	1 139	31 March 1975
Kavango	522	31 March 1975
Damaraland	40	31 March 1975
Hereroland	19	31 March 1975
Kaokoland	15	31 March 1975
Eastern Caprivi	217	31 March 1975

Employment in undertakings established by the Xhosa Development Corporation

Homeland	Number of Bantu	Employment as at
Transkei	8 526	31 December 1975
Ciskei	2 435	31 December 1975

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SUZMAN CLAIMS JOBS SHORTFALL IN HOMELANDS

ARGUS 23/3/76

The Argus Political Staff

THE agency basis for investment in the homelands had increased the number of Blacks employed in the homelands by a further 18 000 to a total of 41 000, Mrs Helen Suzman (PRP, Houghton) said yesterday.

But she claimed the total employment figure for the homelands was still short of the 50 000-a-year minimum which had been

set for the homelands by the Tomlinson Commission 20 years ago.

The commission had said then that this was a matter of urgency.

Mrs Suzman was analysing the reply of the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M. C. Botha, to questions she put in Parliament on the number of Blacks employed in each homeland in undertakings under the agency basis, the Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC) and the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC).

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1000

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102

Hansard 10
col 719
1/4/76

Doctors/nurses in Bantu homelands

564. Dr. F. VAN Z. SLABBERT asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many (a) Bantu and (b) White doctors and nurses, respectively, were practising in each Bantu homeland in 1975.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

According to particulars which are readily available the position is as follows:

(a)	Homeland	Bantu Doctors	White Doctors
	Qwaqwa	1	2
	Bophuthatswana	14	9
	Ciskei	3	13
	Gazankulu	10	16
	kwaZulu	21	223
	Lebowa	3	51
	Swazi	0	19
	Transkei	30	53
	Venda	2	0

(b)	Homeland	Bantu Nurses	White Nurses
	Qwaqwa	80	3
	Bophuthatswana	2 742	2
	Ciskei	222	1
	Gazankulu	568	20
	kwaZulu	4 219	97
	Lebowa	1 558	59
	Swazi	233	18
	Transkei	3 500	3
	Venda	335	16

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Handard No 14
7/5/76.

790 Mrs. H. SUZMAN asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

(a) How many labour contracts in respect of (i) males and (ii) females were attested in each Bantu homeland in 1975 and (b) how many of these contracts were attested on production of call-in cards.

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The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

modation and any stance?

The statistics as asked for by the hon. member are not kept by my Department of Bantu Administration and Development but by the Homeland Governments who on request, furnished the following information:

xpenses?

Compare your two 1 restricted negotia your objective.

you feel too at you can achieve

2. PLANNING THE PRESENTATION

2.1 Constructing Two methods of

VERTICAL PLAN

2.1.1 The Vertical

	(a)(i)	(a)(ii)	(b)
Bophuthatswana	123 112	39 095	61 242
Lesotho	128 655	28 402	94 228
Botswana	129 438	3 044	130 502
Venda	3 170	129	10 495
Qwaqwa	12 243	2 361	4 670
Transkei (See below)			60 059
Ciskei	45 137	2 003	731
Cape Province	19 291	58	6 750
Swazi	3 341	5	572

The Transkei furnished a combined figure of 243 144 contracts attested in respect of (a)(i) and (ii).

VERTICAL PLAN

- 1) Take a sheet of paper. Think about your subject. Jot down 20 to 30 words associated with it.
 - 2) Working on a 5 minute talk, ring the three words you think are the most important on your list.
 - 3) What do these words say to you? What specifically do you want your audience to think and do at the end of your talk? Now, write the aim of your talk in one short sentence.
 - 4) Write your aim at the top of a clean sheet of paper.
- The Body
- 5) Leave about six lines for the introduction. Write your three main points down leaving a few lines in between each.
 - 6) Go through your list of ideas again. Underline those points that support your three main points.
 - 7) Write two sub points under each main point.
 - 8) At this stage you should refer to books, interview specialists, check figures and statistics, find quotations, apt examples or demonstrations. Your talk should be an expression of your own ideas on the subject, backed by outside opinion.

12 600 African jobs are planned

Political Correspondent
RPH 2/1/78
THE ASSEMBLY. — It will cost the various homeland development corporations a total of R49,5-million to create 12 611 additional jobs for Africans this year — a cost of R3 928 per job.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr M. C. Botha, said this in reply to a question by Mr Theo Aronson (UP, Walmer).

The Minister said the Bantu Investment Corporation would spend R30,3-million for 8 345 jobs, the Xhosa Development Corporation R16,6-million on 3 889 jobs and the Bantu Mining Corporation R2,6-million of 377 jobs.

During 1978, a further R139,8-million will be spent, creating 33 601 jobs.

① 102

② 200

Most Black workers in SA 'permanent'

Cape Times 23/6/76

Political staff

A SEMI-OFFICIAL body has found that 67 percent of the 1,8-million economically active Black men in the "White" areas of South Africa are "permanently absent" from the homelands, according to the Bureau for Economic Research (Benbo).

This finding directly contradicts official Government policy, which regards Black people as being temporarily in urban areas.

In spite of the finding, the chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission, Mr P T C du Plessis, MP, told a press conference yesterday that Black people were in the urban areas for purposes of labour only.

"If they demand political rights, they will have to go to the homelands — on that we are very, very strict," Mr Du Plessis said.

He was answering questions at the press conference yesterday to mark the official release of a detailed 200-page study of the economic development of the homelands entitled "Black Development in South Africa".

Survey

The study was conducted by Benbo, official research body for the Bantu Affairs Commission, the governments of the homelands, the statutory development corporations and the Departments of Bantu Administration and Development, and Bantu Education.

Described yesterday as the most significant publication of its kind for the past 10 years by Benbo's director, Dr J J S Weideman, the study says it can be regarded with reasonable certainty that the jobs which demand a higher level of education or industrial experience are held largely by Blacks who are permanently resident in the White areas.

"Because of the particular nature of the labour needs of the South African economy, Black workers, particularly those who have made contact with the economy in the White area for some time, are drawn into the lower

category of jobs which were traditionally reserved for Whites only in the White area," the report says.

It adds that various reasons can be given for coming to the conclusion that Black workers who are permanently absent from the homelands "for all practical purposes can be regarded as given (gegewe) for the medium term and even the longer term".

These reasons include "the quantitative and qualitative inclusion of the Black worker in the White economy; the fact that numbers of Black workers have lived in the White area for generations"; that many have already accepted Western culture to a considerable degree; and that many have acquired Section 10 rights.

The permanence of Black workers, the report says, is also due to the fact that the homelands cannot provide sufficient employment opportunities for their own inhabitants.

Indeed, in another section of the report, Benbo has found that 65,2 percent of the annual average labour supply from the homelands found work either in the homelands or in the borders.

The rest — 34 814 workers — could be seen as the average annual increase in the potential supply of migrant workers.

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Answered 2 5/2/77 col 91

Medical personnel in Homelands

2. Mr. I. F. WOOD asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many trained Bantu (a) doctors, (b) dentists, (c) chemists and druggists, (d) veterinarians and (e) nurses are serving the Bantu people in the Bantu homelands at present

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (a) Doctors—71.
- (b) Dentists—Nil
- (c) Chemists—19.
- (d) Veterinarians—Nil.
- (e) Nurses—16 709

Hospital beds in homelands

3. Mr. I. F. WOOD asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many hospital beds are available to Bantu in the (a) Bantu homelands and (b) White areas of the Republic.

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (a) 33 591 registered beds in homelands.
- (b) 70 850 registered beds in White areas.

Attention is drawn to the fact that the figures given in reply to a similar question on 7 February 1975 referred to available beds in the homelands while the figure given in respect of beds in the White areas included beds in subsidized mental institutions.

Hansard 19

1281

FRIDAY, 10 JUNE 1977

1282

Work opportunities created for Bantu

1026. Mr. T. ARONSON asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

- (1) (a) What was the additional number of work opportunities created for Bantu by each of the Bantu Development Corporations in 1976 and (b) at what cost;
- (2) (a) What is the estimated additional number of work opportunities which will be created for Bantu by these corporations in 1977, 1978 and 1979, respectively, and (b) at what estimated cost for each year

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

(1) (a) Bantu Investment Corporation 4 867

Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation	830
Lebowa Development Corporation	133
Venda Development Corporation	80
Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation	44
Qwaqwa Development Corporation	36
Ciskei National Development Corporation	450
Xhosa Development Corporation	632
Bantu Mining Corporation	1 239

(b) Estimated cost per work opportunity:

Industry	R3 500
Agriculture	R2 000
Transport	R7 000
Commerce	R4 400
Mining	R3 450

(2) (a)	1977-'78	1978-'79	1979-'80
	10 300	13 400	16 600
(b)	1977-'78	1978-'79	1979-'80
	R52 000 000	R68 700 000	R85 700 000

Argus 20/10/77

Homeland farmers get white advice

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — White farmers in certain parts of the Transvaal are joining forces to help black farmers in the homelands establish viable farming units with a variety of crops.

The aid is part of an important new drive by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development to strengthen farming in black areas and train black farmers to operate profitably.

The Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Dr F. Hartzenberg, disclosed in an interview that already one such project involving 164 black farmers assisted by white farmers in the Lichtenburg district had completed a successful season in which substantial profits were made.

Funds totalling about R400 000 were provided to cover the costs of seed fertilisers and the purchase of 26 new tractors.

After the harvest the black farmers obtained revenue of close to R500 000 — giving them ample for repayment on equipment, the purchase of seed and fertiliser for the next season and money to live on.

Dr Hartzenberg said a similar aid project was being tackled by white farmers in association with the Gazankulu Government.

Using the advice of four white farmers with MSc degrees, a 7 000 ha area of unused irrigation land would be brought into production.

Crops being considered in the area included citrus, avocados, cotton, bananas and coffee.

White farmers in the Pienaar's River will hold a farmers' day next week to give help and technical advice to black farmers in the area in the growing of summer wheat.

Dr Hartzenberg said white farmers were being encouraged in these schemes to help black farmers through the use of their co-operatives to provide organisation, credit and advice.

It was the department's intention to extend such schemes to other parts of the country. Results obtained so far were promising and there appeared to be a good potential of black farmers able to make their farms viable with the necessary help.

SETBACK FOR JOBS IN HOMELANDS

ARGUS
10/1/78
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Financial Editor

THE economic recession has severely frustrated the aim of the Bantu Investment Corporation to create new jobs for blacks in secondary industry in the homelands.

The corporation reports that it invested R30,4-million in the year to March 1977 in industrial growth points in the homelands, bringing its total investment to R72,4-million.

The private sector invested R2,2-million bringing its contribution to R56,1-million.

But while the number of completed factories rose from 142 to 162 in the year under review, the number of blacks employed dropped by 20 to 14 215.

The corporation says these results must be seen against the background of South Africa's economic growth.

While the country experienced a period of continued and high economic development between 1961 and 1969, growth has been relatively slow since then.

This has led to reduced enthusiasm in a business sector—already struggling in the metropolitan areas—to consider moving to decentralised areas.

At the same time the interest of foreign industrialists was low, mainly because of the current economic climate.

NEGATIVE FACTORS

The corporation says it is aiming to create about 15 000 new jobs a year in the industrial sector in the homelands. But this will not be achieved until the negative factors mentioned above are reversed.

The corporation had invested R190-million by the end of March 1977. Of this 26 percent was in office and other buildings, 19 percent in the establishment of industries, 17 percent in loans to blacks and 16 percent in transport.

Ten percent of its investments were in manufacturing, eight percent in

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Vr ~~X~~ Trained medical staff in Homelands

Naam (eerste naam)

Nummer van plaas

1. Hoe het u na d

2. Het u dit al e
wel, waarom

3. Watter werk wi

4. Watter soort v
plaas of drc

5. As werker nie skoolgegaan het nie, hoekom het u nie skoolgegaan nie?

As werker skoolgegaan het maar nie klaargemaak het nie, waarom het u nie op skool klaargemaak nie?

Probleme.

1. Wat wil u graag hê moet verander in u werksomstandighede?
(loon, ander soort betaling, werkure, vakansies)

In u lewensomstandighede? (behuising, ontspanningsgeriewe)

2. Het u al om veranderinge gevra sonder sukses? Indien wel, gee besonderhede.

3. Watter probleme ondervind u met u werk?

2 Mr N. B. WOOD asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development

(1) How many trained Bantu (a) doctors, (b) dentists, (c) chemists and druggists, (d) veterinarians and (e) nurses are serving the Bantu people at present in the Bantu homelands whose governments have not taken over health services;

(2) which homeland governments have not taken over health services?

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a) Doctors	1
(b) Dentists	0
(c) Chemists and Druggists	0
(d) Veterinarians	0
(e) Nurses	109

(2) Kangwane Government Service.

gaan werk? Indien

doen? Waarom?

lewer doen of op 'n

X White doctors/nurses/chemists in homelands

246. Mr R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development:

How many White (a) doctors, (b) nurses and (c) chemists are employed by his

Department in each of the homelands whose Governments have not taken over health services

The MINISTER OF BANTU ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.

- (a) 16 Full time and 3 part time
- (b) 8
- (c) 1

Work opportunities for Bantu

162. Mr T ARONSON asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

- (1) (a) What was the additional number of work opportunities created for Bantu by each of the Bantu Development Corporations in 1976-'77 and (b) at what cost;
- (2) (a) what is the estimated additional number of work opportunities which will be created for Bantu by these Corporations during 1978-'79, 1979-'80 and 1980-'81, respectively, and (b) at what estimated cost for each year.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

- (1) (a) Corporation for Economic Development 4 867
Bophuthatswana National

Development Corporation	830
Lebowa Development Corporation	133
Venda Development Corporation	80
Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation	44
Owaqwa Development Corporation	36
Ciskei National Development Corporation	450
Owambo Development Corporation	125
Ekuliko Kavango Limited	83
Caprivi Development Corporation	—
Xhosa Development Corporation (dissolved 1 October 1976)	632
Bantu Mining Corporation	1 239
(b) Estimated cost per work opportunity excluding investments by private sector:	
Industry	R3 500

Agriculture	R2 000
Transport ..	R7 000

Commerce	R4 400
Mining	R3 450

(2) (a)	1978-'79	1979-'80	1980-'81
	10 600	12 500	14 950
(b)	1978-'79	1979-'80	1980-'81
	R88 000 000	R96 000 000	R112 000 000

Hansard
4(196)
26/2/80

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Work opportunities for Blacks
102
Mr. T. ARKINSON asked the Minister of Cooperation and Development:

- (1) (a) What was the additional number of work opportunities created for Blacks by each of the development corporations for Blacks in 1978-79 and (b) at what cost?
- (2) (a) What is the latest estimate of the additional number of work opportunities which will be created for Blacks by the corporations during 1979-80, 1980-81 and 1981-82, respectively, and (b) at what estimated cost for each year?

The MINISTER OF COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) (a)

(i) Corporation for Humane Development	7 758
(ii) Ciskei National Development Corporation	1 196
(iii) Shashe/Tloka Development Corporation	401
(iv) Lebowa Development Corporation	307
(v) Qwaqwa Development Corporation	179
(vi) KwaZulu Development Corporation	89
(vii) Venda Development Corporation	124
(viii) Kalangwane Development Corporation	239
(ix) Mining Corporation	178

(b) Cost per work opportunity:

(i) Industry	24 504
(ii) Agriculture	22 500
(iii) Transport	15 440
(iv) Commerce	24 370
(v) Mining	3 585

(2) (a) and (b)

Due to various factors it is difficult to determine such estimations.

30 000 RDM
jobs 10/12/79
created 102

Pretoria Bureau

THE Corporation for Economic Development, CED, has created more than 30 000 jobs for black people.

According to the CED's annual report, 16 new agricultural projects were established at a cost of R20-million during the year.

Its 45 agricultural projects have provided 11 790 jobs.

In industry, 27 factories were established, employing 4 095 people.

So far 283 factories have been set up, employing 21 657 people. More than R32-million was spent on launching these projects.

The 60% increase in the CED's savings bank assets has enabled the granting of loans totalling R23 500 000 to homeland governments and development corporations, the report says.

rural areas or cause of deaths' according to the Bantu Reference Bureau (Personal Communication). At least 50 000 deaths among Africans were not registered. These occur mainly in the rural areas. It is estimated that about 10% of the deaths in the main urban districts are not registered for Africans.

METHODS

The following indices were calculated:

1. Crude Mortality Rates.
2. Standardised Mortality Rates. Two standard populations were used: England and Wales representing a developed population and Mexico 1960

vent this stipulation by pointing out that, because black workers are not yet receiving skilled training in large numbers, there is no skilled black labour available.

The unions are also worried, Mr Van der Watt said, by the fact that foreigners may not become members of trade unions in terms of legislation passed last year.

Mr Alec Erwin, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), which has predominantly black affiliates, said the change was "short-sighted. Our resources should be spent on training South African workers." — DDC.

Skilled labour suffers — Sash

employers today.

The engineering unions successfully opposed the employment of Korean welders at the Sasol II site last year and "our objections to the use of foreign labour remain unchanged.

"We believe our own people should be trained," Mr Ike van der Watt, secretary of the South African Boilermakers' Society, said.

He described the assurance by the Secretary for Immigration that foreign workers would only be employed when local labour was not available as "an inadequate safeguard".

Other unionists complained that employers would be able to circum-

PORTNENBURG — Skilled black workers from the homelands have been refused the right to work in cities because officials say "there are enough skilled workers here", the Black Sash reported yesterday.

"We have handled numerous cases of this sort. In fact, it is often harder for skilled workers to find jobs in the cities than it is for their unskilled counterparts," a Black Sash representative said yesterday.

The Black Sash's claim came as black and white union leaders reacted angrily to the announcement that immigration rules were to be softened to allow an influx of skilled foreign workers to enter South Africa.

Influential unions in the steel and engineering industry, which employs about half a million workers, are planning to raise the issue with

DISCUSSION

The crude death rates and the standardised mortality rates for whites, Asians and 'coloureds' and urban Africans are presented in Fig. 1.

The interpretation of these figures is confounded by the differences in the underlying structure of the population. The population pyramids of the various groups were pictured in Part I with the exception of the urban Africans, which appears in Fig. 2. This population shows an excess of healthy working males and lack of elderly persons as a result of the migratory labour situation.

The standardised mortality rate provides a single figure for the mortality experience of a population which can only be fully expressed in terms of a series of age specific death rates. The SMR is calculated by multiplying all the age specific mortality rates in the observed population by the corresponding numbers in the standard population, adding the number of deaths so obtained and dividing the total standard population. While this figure is independent of the age structure of the observed population, the choice of the standard population will affect the weighting given to the deaths in the various age groups. The choice of an underdeveloped population as a standard will give great weight to infant deaths and little weight to deaths among the elderly, while a developed standard population will reverse the position. The choice of standard population affects the ranking of the mortality between the observed groups. There is no 'true' answer. As the Duke of Wellington said: 'There are lies, damned lies, and statistics'!

Infant mortality rates are summarised in Fig. 3. Once again, difficulty is experienced in obtaining data for Africans. Birth statistics for Africans are not published by the central government. The various medical officers of health⁹ have estimated the infant mortality rates for their urban areas. These show considerable variation. (See also ref.15). A mean figure and the range are given in Fig. 2. These *de facto* figures should be interpreted with caution as sick infants are often brought to the cities from rural areas. An indication of the situation in the rural areas is given by a sample survey carried out in Cape Town and Transkei among Xhosa-speaking Africans.¹² An increase in infant mortality was observed with decreasing urbanisation, the figure for the completely rural areas being of the same magnitude as those parts of the world devoid of medical services. Fig. 4 summarises the age specific mortality rates of

Homelands hold on skilled workers

JOHANNESBURG — The Department of Co-operation and Development's regulations do not prevent skilled homeland black workers from working in the cities, a department spokesman said yesterday.

However, cases handled by the Black Sash advice office indicate this prohibition is the result of administrative directives issued by the West Rand Administration Board, not the department.

The spokesman, Mr Johan Eyssen, was reacting to reports that skilled homeland workers had been turned away by labour officers who said there were sufficient skilled workers in the cities.

Mr Eyssen said any black worker from the homelands could be

registered for employment in the cities if an employer indicated he needed the worker.

He added, however, that the relevant homeland government would have to agree that his services were not needed in the homeland. "If they say he is needed there, the request would be refused," he said.

The importation of skilled workers represented no threat to the country's own labour force, the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr S. P. Botha, said in an interview.

He gave an assurance it was the government's intention to accelerate vocational training for blacks.

However, to train the domestic labour force, particularly blacks, was

not an overnight operation.

South Africa had an urgent need for trained workers to fill the gaps until the training programmes attained the necessary momentum.

"I personally believe and the government supports me, that the training of our indigenous labour force is not going ahead fast enough and must be accelerated. It is my commitment to see this process is speeded up."

The minister pointed out that strategic projects like the expansion of Sasol would not be possible without the assistance of imported skilled workers. "We cannot wait five years, for instance, for the needed number of domestically trained workers to advance so vital a project." — DDC

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RIEKERT CONFERENCE

How free is the blueprint?

Three cheers for Riekert. That was Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof's rallying cry to a conference of politicians, academics and businessmen in Pretoria last week.

Hosted by Unisa's School of Business Leadership (SBL), the conference brought

together such luminaries as Tukkies' Professor Piet van der Merwe, the Urban Foundation's Dr Robin Lee, and Soweto community council chairman David Thebehali. They were there to thrash out, and mainly endorse, the implications of Dr Piet Riekert's report into manpower utili-

sation and government's consequent white paper.

By and large, it was a caucus of the converted — certainly as far as most of the white speakers were concerned. Only two speakers — the SBL's Dr Jan Lange and Stellenbosch University's Professor S



Riekert . . . a contradiction

P Cilliers — touched on influx control, pinpointed by observers such as the Black Sash's Sheena Duncan as the cornerstone of Riekert.

This is not to suggest that the conference merely highlighted (once more) the satisfaction with Riekert of the white, pro-Pretoria establishment. But there was an overall feeling among the speakers that the bondage of the Verwoerd era had been loosened.

Reflecting this, speaker after speaker — including black businessmen like Nafcoc executive director Moses Maubane, and Sy Kutumela — affirmed dedication to the free market economic system which Riekert had claimed to take as his main point of departure.

However, as the *FM* has frequently pointed out, Riekert's commitment to ensuring "the optimal allocation of manpower" is irremediably undermined by the very premises of the report itself.

As spelled out in the white paper, Pretoria's blueprint for stability and growth until the end of the century demands not an amelioration of, but an actual intensification of the practice of influx control. Hence the R500 fines on employers of illegal Africans flowed from Riekert's recommendations. And Riekert also recommended that black urban householders be penalised severely, even to the extent of losing Section 10 rights, if they harboured "illegals."

As Duncan has pointed out, illegal workers coming to the cities are largely dependent on sub-letting accommodation from householders. If this proposal is adopted, householders are hardly likely to take the risk any longer.

Much play has been made of the fact that Riekert wants influx control to depend on the availability of jobs and housing only. But that is largely what influx control has always depended on. Riekert's proposals would simply intensify the problem and extend it to non-African groups like the coloured people.

This hardly adds up to a free market economic system. Indeed, it moves further away from that concept.

But was it ever meant to? As the white paper put it: "The question to which the commission and the government had to find an answer was not whether there should be influx control, but what the right mechanism should be."

No wonder that a moderate, capitalist-minded black businessman like Maubane — precisely the kind of man Pretoria would dearly like on its side — felt moved to tell the conference that Riekert, "despite the occasional spark of enlightenment in most of its recommendations," failed in that it could not bring itself "to deal with blacks as an integral part of the mainstream of South Africa's economy." Yet Maubane displayed surprising forbearance in his conclusion: "We can still cherish the hope (that) the more far-reaching recommendations will still find their way into the statute books of our country."

Making Riekert work, as Sheena Duncan has pointed out to the *FM* (May 5), means that the burden of impoverishment and exclusion from upward mobility falls on the inhabitants of the rural areas — men, women, and children who are not Section Tenners, who are landlocked by the homelands policy and/or resettlement. But, short of erecting huge fences around the bantustans, it is certain that an exodus of workers to the cities will continue. Dr Jan Lange — himself a Riekert supporter, and senior researcher at Unisa's SBL — presented a table detailing the percentage extent to which economically active homeland blacks can improve their position by illegally taking work in the "white" cities — even though jail terms of various lengths are a direct consequence:

CITY LIGHTS *

	Ciskei- P'Maritzburg	Lebowa- Johannesburg	B'Tswana- Pretoria
Nine months' work; three months' jail....	702,7%	255,0%	85,4%
Six months' work; six months' jail.....	468,5%	170,0%	56,9%
Three months' work; nine months' jail....	234,2%	85,0%	28,5%

* The table shows how workers benefit from urban job opportunities even if they have to go to jail as consequence. The percentages reflect the degree to which the worker improves his living standard.

Riekert's proposals would have employers and black householders try where the police have failed. Lange indicates (though this was not his intention) that, should this strategy succeed, the consequences will simply be to subject rural areas, which are already unable to feed their populations, to unbearable strain. The chief argument for the retention of influx control is that it is the only means available to prevent African workseekers "flooding" the cities. It is further argued that wage rates in the cities will drop if control is lifted. But Lange's figures indicate clearly that the rural areas are so impoverished that even jail terms will not keep country people out of the cities; and imply that influx control is not keeping

them out anyway.

Stellenbosch's Professor S P Cilliers, hardly a radical, asked precisely this question in relation to the Western Cape, where coloured workseekers are given preference over Africans.

Citing a survey carried out by the Department of Sociology at Stellenbosch, he noted: "Employers were asked whether they would be willing to employ additional black (African) labour if the coloured labour preference policy was to be discontinued. Almost two-thirds (63,7%) of the respondents replied in the affirmative. Even of those not at present employing blacks, a majority (53,6%) replied positively. Just more than half of all employers surveyed indicated that their companies would suffer to a greater or a lesser degree if there were to be a reduction in the supply of black labour in the Western Cape."

In speaking of the Riekert report in relation to that of the Erika Theron commission, Cilliers said: "(Riekert) set itself the goal of, as far as possible, identifying the various market failures and points of friction arising from the existing statutory framework and of eliminating them within the framework of certain political parameters . . ."

In the light of this aim, and the Stellenbosch findings, curbs on the entry of African labour to the Western Cape white/coloured labour preference area (which Theron argued should be increased, whereas Riekert did not pronounce on it, arguing that it was a "political" issue and therefore outside his brief) "is counter-productive to the retention and development of the free market system, in so far

as it prevents the effective utilisation of all the available manpower resources of the region, and thus contributes to the retarding of economic growth in the region . . ."

At present, according to Prof van der Merwe, nine out of every 100 workseekers entering the market (274 000 in 1978) are white, the rest black. By 2000 AD there will be 96 black workseekers for every four whites. Clearly, if Pretoria's twin goals of security and growth are to be achieved, the Riekert blueprint is inadequate to the situation, and contrary to the wishes of employees and at least some employers. Whether Pretoria has the will or inclination to face this squarely is another question altogether.

20/9/79

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Govt gives Black Unions the green light

Deputy Financial Editor

JOHANNESBURG — Blacks would be able to belong to trade unions soon, the Minister of Manpower Utilisation, Mr. S. P. Botha, announced here yesterday.

The move, which will be spelled out in a Government Gazette on Friday, has pleased the Durban Chamber of Commerce and the Natal Chamber of Industries.

Changes in the definition of who is an "employee" will include workers from KwaZulu, Transkei, Venda and Bophuthatswana, but will exclude contract workers from other countries.

Mr. Botha, who was speaking to the Federated Chamber of Industries, foreshadowed this development earlier this month when he disclosed that he had been speaking to homeland leaders about the situation of commuters and homeland workers.

Workers from Kwa Mashu and Umlazi who were excluded from trade union membership because they lived in KwaZulu would be able to become trade union members now.

About 287 000 Africans in the Port Natal area would be eligible for union membership, although unions were not organised in all industries.

Mr. John McCarthy, first vice-president of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, said they were pleased with the development.

Following the recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission and the consequent legislation, the chamber expressed alarm that not all workers would be covered by the definition of "employee".

"We wrote a memorandum and interviewed Mr. Botha, pointing out that most of Durban's workers would be excluded. We are glad that he has repointed

to our proposals," he said.

Mr. McCarthy said that the welcome was with one proviso — that it was not a vague promise and that the change would be incorporated in the appropriate legislation.

The new labour laws come into effect next Monday.

A spokesman for the Natal Chamber of Industries said they were pleased that a change had been made.

They would be looking to further changes which would allow the free formation of multi-racial unions. At present those were subject to the Government's permission.

Our African Affairs correspondent writes that Mr. Oscar Dhlomo, Inkatha's secretary-general, said yesterday that the movement had won what it had been striving for.

He welcomed the Government's decision and said Inkatha would cooperate in the formation of Black unions, provided the decision were enshrined in acceptable legislation.

Inkatha had advised its members not to take part in the formation of unions until all workers, including those "in the so-called Black States" were given union rights.

Mr. Sam Kikine, secretary of the Allied Workers Union, an unregistered Black organisation, said he would welcome the decision so long as registration of Blacks in trade unions was not made conditional.

His organisation would oppose the decision only if the new Act imposed exemptions and conditions.

Homeland migrants and commuters 'out of unions'

By Hugh Leggat
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Migrant workers and commuters from homeland areas will be excluded from trade union membership in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, published in Parliament today.

It means that only blacks with Section 10 rights of residence in urban areas will be able to form registered trade unions.

The Bill also expressly forbids the registration of racially mixed unions except with the permission of the Minister of Labour.

The other main provisions, flowing from the

recommendations of the Wrench Commission are:

• The setting up of a manpower commission to review labour policy on a permanent basis.

• Establishment of an industrial court to arbitrate in disputes and judge alleged offences.

• The scrapping of the entire Section 77 of the Original Act relating to job reservation.

The Bill's exclusion of migrants and commuters from registered trade union membership means that thousands of black workers who travel to cities such as Pretoria and Durban on a daily basis from the independent Bophuthatswana and self-

governing kwaZulu homelands will get no rights in organised labour.

Thousands of contract workers from homelands and independent states who work on the mines for example, will also be excluded.

The Bill achieves these aims by redefining "employee" in the Act. Formerly, no black could be an "employee" and eligible for membership of a registered trade union.

The Bill says an employee is anyone working for an employer or who may legally reside on land in South Africa. This includes Section 10 blacks.

But it adds that people living on land as contemplated in the Development Trust and Land Act or in self-governing territories or who are contract workers are excluded from the definition of employees.

MIXED UNIONS

The Minister may include other groups of people in the definition by notice in the Government Gazette, but he may not do so on the basis of race or colour.

On mixed unions, the Bill says no trade union shall be registered with employees of more than one population group.

Previously, there was a prohibition on whites and coloured people belonging to the same unions. Now this applies also to blacks eligible for union membership.

But the Minister may, as he could under the old Act with coloured em-

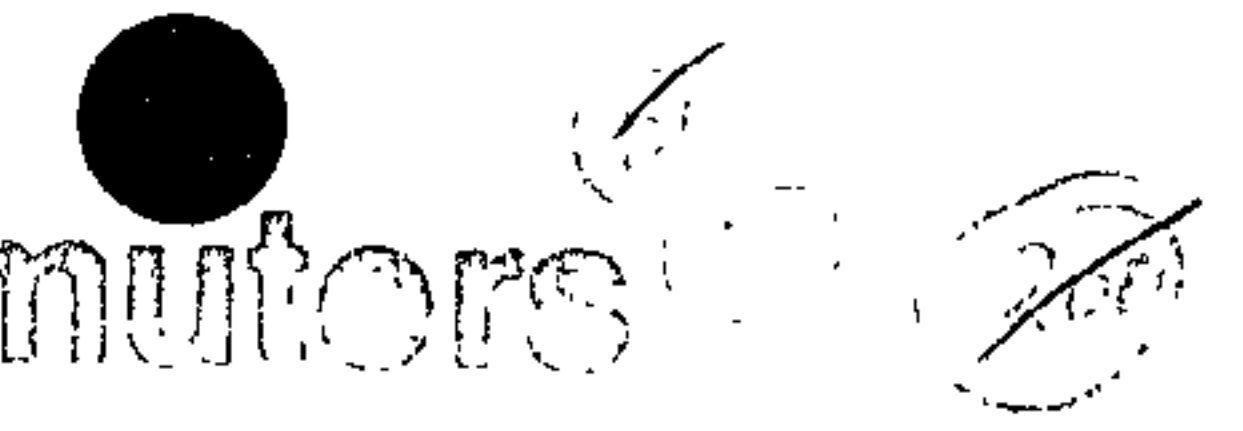
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M.B. for Complete Cop
See also Labour
Legislation.

GRAND APARTHEID

No brollies for these commuters

the solution



A flurry of puzzlement swept through PEP MPs recently when Minister Piet Koornhof yawned lyrical in English about his 725 000 *pendulars*. What on earth was a *pendular*? The floppy taking part in the debate on Monday's budget vote yawned in our mouths. None of them knew, so eventually they had no choice but to ask the Minister.

"A *pendular* is a commuter," beamed the boss of Co-operatives and Development (CAD) across the Dece. Just time to add that their number had risen to a 701 000 in 1970.

But these *pendulars* are no ordinary commuters. As the men at CAD use it, the term has a special meaning: people who work in a "white" area by day and sleep in a bantustan by night. *Commuters* also engaged the attention of Dr. Riebert and Professor Wachala.

The senior deputy minister at CAD, Ferde Hartzenberg, tells the *FM* that government's first priority is that blacks should both live and work in their homelands. Where this is not possible because there are not enough jobs, priority number two is that they should be accommodated as daily commuters. The third, and least attractive, option is the migratory labour system, under which workers are accommodated in the "white" areas away from their families. Hartzenberg says he would like to see daily commuting replace the migratory system where possible.

He adds that commuter earnings constituted 24% of homeland gross national income in 1971. If the trade and services sector in the homelands could be expanded, this money could be spent there rather than in the "white" areas. Reducing the leakage of purchasing power from the homelands would, through a multiplier effect, stimulate homeland economic development.

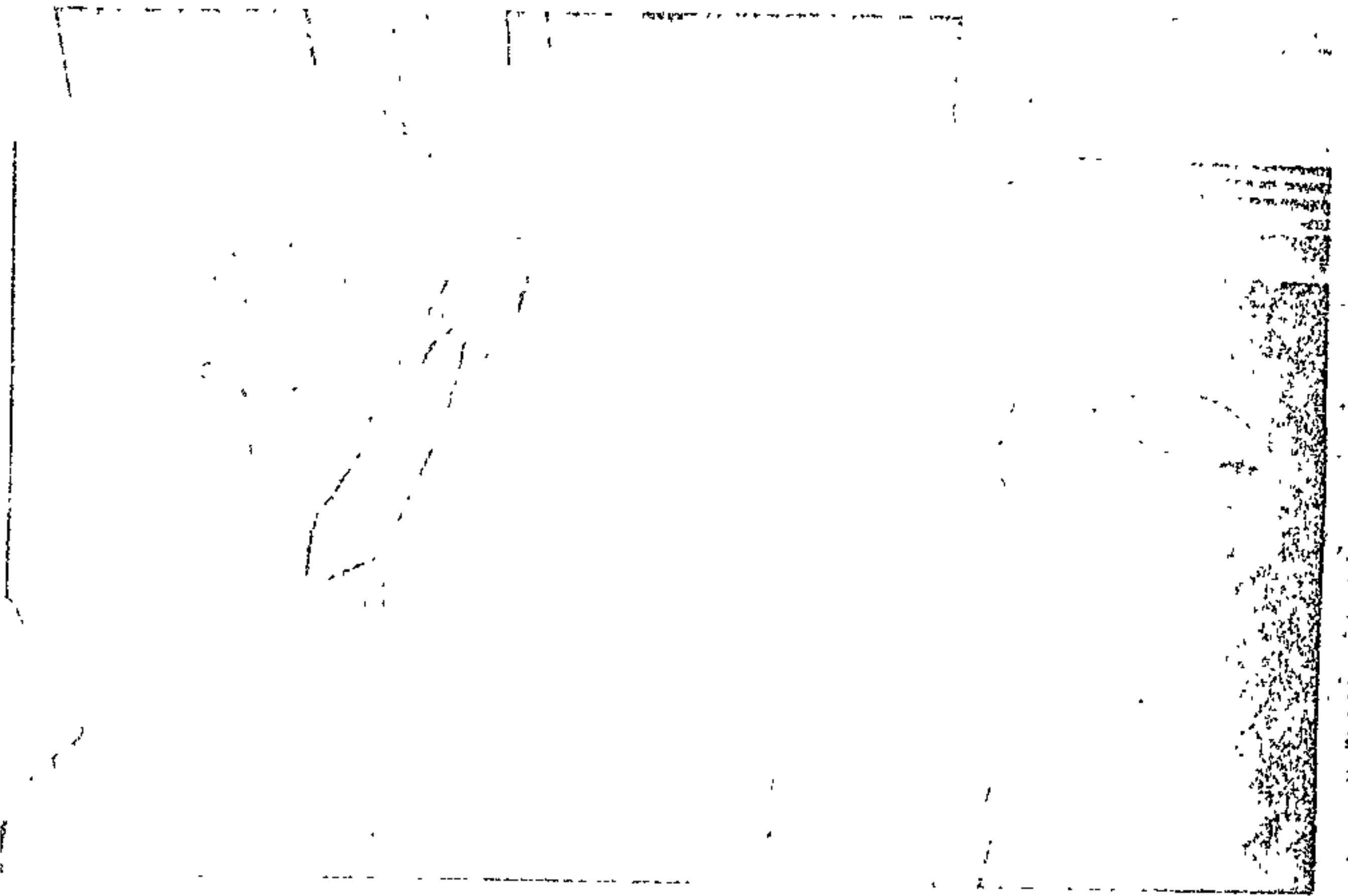
Yet another advantage of the system, Hartzenberg adds, is that if the blacks live in their own country and travel on a daily basis to SA, then the political problem will be solved.

Explains Hartzenberg, MP P. J. van Peltys, who is chairman of the Special Affairs Commission and head of the con-

stitutional committee appointed by government earlier this year. "The white government must govern the black man... If you could bring the homelands within commuter reach of the growth points, you are solving the so-called problem of the urban black. You could have a commuter flow in a homeland where they can own property and govern them-

self. Swaziland power was handed over to Swaziland two years ago, all the people living there and working in the city were suddenly repatriated into commuters. By cutting the *FM* into the *FM*, commuters from Swaziland could nearly double to 1 000 000 under the newly *FM* development policy for the area.

He adds: "If you can bring the borders



Ferde Hartzenberg... South Africa's commuter...

...solved? Commuting took off in the Sixties according to Hartzenberg... when the expansion of white high schools and... led to a... out of the... to... and town... to the self-governing...

The... supplies a quarter of the... of... to... of... (P...), and... of... by... of... of...

But... with... the total... of... of... the... of... to... of... that... (Durban...

of... with... of a growth point... the people...

... explains that... international... the commuter... rules, however... to... from... and... But... could... extending...

... when... some... between... was less than... (Hartzenberg...)

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He thus clearly believes the system can be expanded. "Economic deconcentration" can be used to distribute economic activities not only to the home lands but also to smaller "white" urban areas. For example, Brent barstroom, Witbank, and Middelburg, which are within commuting distance of Bophutha, Lyman the South Tlhabale area and possibly even Tlokweng.

"Eight more Sowetos will be needed by the year 2000. The best place to develop them is the home lands." Hartzenberg tells the *PAF*. Moreover, homeland towns and roads should be planned with a view to establishing "good connecting zones" with "employment points" of the "white area."

The Rickert Report points out that commodity "makes very high demands" on the country's transport system, and Hartzenberg stresses that cost must always be borne in mind.

To operate economically, he says, a train needs 26 000 passengers. Thus both the employment area and the service area must be concentrated enough. Hartzenberg adds that the *PAF* is concentrating attention to this question although at the moment road 60% of commuters are by bus. Trains carry 10% of the commuters, while private transport (including own cars, bicycles, and taxis) takes the remaining 30%. State subsidies for com-

modity transport have grown from 10% in 1964 to over 60% in 1980.

The Rickert Report also says that while road transport is still the main mode of transport, it is being replaced by rail.

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transport is or can be made available. Black workers should be encouraged to own their own houses in the black townships. This is an important objective of the government.

The report also says that the government is planning to build 100 000 houses in the next five years. This is a major objective of the government's housing policy.

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MOTLANA, one of the foremost black leaders, has slammed major parts of the Riekert Commission report, calling its stated move away from discrimination "dishonest" and warning that its suggested new influx control system will be "more oppressive" than the present one.

While conceding that some of the recommendations — if correctly interpreted and accepted — might improve the life of the black man, Dr Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, strongly attacked the essence of the report — that the onus of guilt in the pass laws should be transferred from the worker to his employer who should only employ suitably-housed blacks.

"This is much more oppressive," Dr Motlana said.

"At least in the present system you can get a job even if you have nowhere to stay.

Scared

"Hundreds of thousands of unregistered blacks are working here and there is no way of registering them because they have no documents, no way of proving their place of abode, no birth certificates, no passes and employers haven't got time to go to the pass offices.

"But now they are going to hit them hard. They are going to make sure the employer does go to the pass office, therefore the casual worker, the man from outside Johannesburg who now can get some form of employment, will not be able to.

"It's going to be much more efficient because I can tell you, white employers are bloody dead scared of this Government. They don't want to fall foul of the Government."

He said: "We don't mind going to jail, it's part of our way of life.

"We go to jail every second day so it doesn't matter, but no rich boy from Lower Houghton who lives in a mansion is going to spend a day in jail or part with R500 every time he employs a black casual gardener in his home.

"They won't do it. So they are now trying to frighten the whites out of employing blacks. It's going to be much worse. What are they going to

by Dr Nthato Motlana, leading black leader who is chairman of the Committee of Ten

'New deal' is more oppressive than the old one



do with the hundreds of workers who can't obtain documents because the bureaucratic machinery is set to keep them out?

"Now we are going to have millions of blacks milling around urban townships unemployed, the crime rate will soar like I said the Government has yet to

address itself directly to the question of influx control

"And they have not done it here. They are still looking for subterfuges, dodges, ways around the problem. They are not solving the problem.

"Going for the employer is no solution

Dr Motlana said the report was "not honest" when it criticised the 72-hour limit on black visits to white areas as "discriminatory".

"It's unbelievable. The whole thing is not honest, it's not an honest report. What they appear to give you with one hand they take away with the other."

Homelands

"I listened to Current Affairs the other night and they said it was now easy and acceptable for the white community to talk in terms of relaxing all these things because we now have, they say, acquired community protection.

"The white community is now protected by the fact that in their own area white South Africans are in complete control. There is no danger that the black man may acquire power.

"The black man has now had a dispensation accorded him, namely separate development. He's safely ensconced in his homeland and he is absolutely no danger to the white man in his area.

"This is absolute s... if I may use that word.

"We reject that kind of thinking totally.

"The suggestion that South Africa liberalise its policies to allow mixed trade unions allow blacks to build homes and take their wives into urban areas, is because — and this is the big thing — they don't really belong there.

Foreigners

"They are foreigners who can be deported at a moment's notice.

"If this is the whole value of this damn so-called shake-up, it's meaningless.

"The whole exercise is fraudulent. It applies to people who although they are there, are said not to be there."

But Dr Motlana conceded that as an interim measure on the road to a complete scrapping of the pass laws, some of the report's recommendations would "really be something" if the Government accepted them.

"Abolishing curfew regulations, the right of a policeman to demand an identification document from a black at any time of the day and night, would be a fundamental change.

"This is the greatest evil of the pass laws. If they would have done this country a world of good."

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102

Blacks: employment opportunities
 Hansard 10 (690) 26/4/79
 547. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development:

SUGGESTED SOLUTION

Probable require

Demand
11 000
11 500
12 000
12 500

Assuming no Economic order

If no buffer stock order period is, ie. probability

ie. on a two week ie. cost of plac

ie. E becomes

ie. the cost of holding in quantities of 969 units is -

(1) How many new employment opportunities were created for Blacks in each Black state by its development corporation in 1977-'78;

(2) what was the estimated cost to the corporation concerned per employment opportunity created in each sector of employment.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1) Mining Corporation	84
Corporation for Economic Development	4 258
Lebowa Development Corporation	324
Venda Development Corporation	353
Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation	282
Qwaqwa Development Corporation	109
Ciskei National Development Corporation	685

(2) Mining Corporation R1 260 (Separate figures in respect of the Mining Corporation are not available)

Corporation for Economic Development:	
Agriculture	R1 000
Industry	R4 500
Commerce	R4 800
Transport	R8 900
Business Loans	R5 400

Ciskei National Development Corporation:	
Agriculture	R4 400
Industry	R5 000
Commerce	R4 000
Transport	—
Business Loans	R2 400

Demand

100
150
400
250

600 units

464 units in 2 week order period

20 x 20

s (note: cannot order 0,18 of a unit)

Shangaan/Tsonga Development Corporation:

Agriculture	—
Industry	—
Commerce	R3 500
Transport	—
Business Loans	R4 400

Lebowa Development Corporation:

Agriculture	—
Industry	R1 500
Commerce	R8 000
Transport	—
Business Loans	R5 900

Qwaqwa Development Corporation:

Agriculture	—
Industry	—
Commerce	R9 000
Transport	—
Business Loans	R6 000

Venda Development Corporation:

Agriculture	—
Industry	—
Commerce	R5 000
Transport	—
Business Loans	R3 500

$$\left(\frac{969 \times 1}{2} \right) + \left(\frac{11\ 600 \times 40,4}{969} \right)$$

ie. 484,5 + 483,63 = R968,13 p.a.

(Note the cost of ordering and holding are not precisely the same as a result of rounding up the economic order quantity to whole units.)

If buffer stock of 16 units is held then the cost of being out of stock is - (20 x ,1) x 3 = R6, then cost of placing an order becomes R26 - (R20 + R6).

E becomes $\sqrt{\frac{2 \times 11\ 600 \times 26}{1}}$

= 777 units.

/cont...

QUESTION 1 - SUGGESTED SOLUTION (Cont.)

- c) A product weight (or volume) may bear no relation to its sales value and therefore where the physical weight (or volume) method is used a product may have to bear costs completely out of proportion to its sales value. Some main products may therefore show a large loss whilst others may show a large profit. Where the relative sales value method is used joint costs are allocated accordingly to a product's ability to bear such costs, and a constant profit percentage will be made on each product.
4. a) The behaviour of costs and revenues has been reliable over the relevant range.
- b) Cost behaviour Blacks employed in Black states the relevant range.
- c) Variable 549. Mr. R. A. F. SWART asked the Minister of Plural Relations and Development to volume.
- d) Efficiency (1) How many Blacks in each Black state were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by development corporations for Black states, at the latest date for which statistics are available. to be unchanged.
- e) All cost elements fixed and variable

(2) in respect of what date is the information given.

The MINISTER OF PLURAL RELATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT:

(1)	(a)	(b)
Ciskei	1 738	2 155
kwaZulu	4 086	4 191
Qwaqwa	40	356
Lebowa	2 057	2 950
Gazankulu	703	1 227
Venda	1 008	223
Kangwane	100	110
Ndebele	—	4

(2) 30 June 1978 in respect of (1)(a) and 31 March 1978 in respect of (1)(b).

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HOMELANDS GENERAL

1993

Talks: crucial

Star 11/193

compromise

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

South Africa's negotiators yesterday took one of the biggest leaps forward in the talks process to date.

A day of straight talking in five hours of bilateral meetings led to a crucial compromise proposal on the process to move from apartheid to democracy.

The deal, accepted by "sufficient consensus" in the Negotiating Council, is poised to bridge fundamental differences between those wanting an elected constitution-making body and parties demanding that significant regionalism be agreed upon now.

The breakthrough resolution mapped out, in essence, the process for the transition to a new constitution. The Conservative Party opposed the resolution while the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP and the KwaZulu and Ciskei governments — all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — reserved their positions.

However, some Cosag members confirmed privately they were encouraged. They would now wait to see how the agreement changed in a draft interim constitution which a negotiations technical committee has been mandated to compile.

The compromise includes agreement that

● A proportional representation election will elect national and regional interim governments — including the constitution-making body.

● Constitutional principles, including those for "strong" regional and central government, would be adopted by the multiparty negotiating process and be binding on the constitution-making body.

● Boundaries for the regions will be determined for elections and during the interim phase by the commission on the delimitation of regions.

● Powers, functions and structures of regions will be agreed upon in the multiparty negotiating chamber and entrenched in the interim constitution.

● A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission will be created.

Although no time frames were set, the progress could give the negotiation process a significant boost. Implicit in the proposals are that there will be a single constitution for the entire country, and no separate regional constitutions.

The compromise will go a long way to allay the fears of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) parties on entrenched regional government, and IFP sources were last night delighted. The Government, ANC and their respective allies have won concession for an elected constitution-making body.

● To Page 3

Star 117193

Crucial compromise in talks

● From Page 1

Dr Ben Ngubane of the IFP said the agreement "shows that everyone is trying to find consensus", but cautioned there was "still a long way to go".

The compromise was struck during five hours of meetings outside the negotiating chamber during the day and after talks on the crunch issues had been postponed. Negotiators said it had been important to go behind closed doors and away from the posturing that sometimes characterises Negotiating Council debate.

Cosag first held discussions with Patriotic Front members before meeting Government negotiators.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described yesterday as "one of the most important in the process so far". The focus had now shifted to the compilation of the interim constitution, hopefully within reach by mid-August.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also enthusiastic about the agreement, saying "the scenario for drafting the new constitution on a democratic basis has been accepted".

The Labour Party's Lewellyn Landers said talks had taken a "quantum leap".

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Tennis fans in mourning

Alan Robinson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Andre Agassi has gone and Wimbledon is like an egg without salt.

The defending champion, idol of the masses and hearthrob of every female aged 12 to 92, is on a plane back to America and a dream is over.

After one of the most sensational comebacks Wimbledon has witnessed in a long time, Agassi finally had nothing to offer when former tennis schoolmate Pete Sampras aced him off the court yesterday.

A sudden agonising silence descended. The shock was registering that the lifeblood of this tournament had

ebbed away.

The next match on Centre Court was a huge-crowd puller, a sort of Rocky 10 featuring Boris Becker and Michael Stich. But few wanted to watch.

Teenagers wept openly as they headed for the exits. I saw one fling an arm round her friend's shoulder and cry "Oh, my God. It's too terrible".

The same despair was probably felt in thousands, perhaps millions, of homes around the globe.

But Agassi offered the broken-hearted something to live for. He told the media minutes after losing his title: "Tell my fans I'm coming back next year to win it!"

● Report - Page 23

Mom and daughter (14) killed as car hits truck

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

A mother and her 14-year-old daughter died when their car collided with a truck on the R556 near Edex Park in Alberton late yesterday.

An ambulance spokesman said the woman's two younger sons aged about 12 and 10 were airlifted to a Johan-

nesburg hospital in a critical condition. Her husband, who was driving, sustained a shoulder injury.

In Edenvale, Shawn Kock (8) was taken to a Kempton Park clinic after being knocked off his bicycle.

In Germiston two schoolchildren were knocked down by a car in separate accidents yesterday.

Anneline and Philip in court

By Phillip Zoto

Former Miss World Anneline Kriel Tucker and her estranged husband Philip appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday after being arrested on a charge of dealing in 561 g of dagga.

John Vorster Square narcotics detectives found the drugs after raiding the Tuckers' house in Hyde Park, Sandton, said police spokesman Major Eugene Opperman.

The policemen had been acting on a tip-off, he said.

After being escorted into the court building by police, the couple appeared briefly at about 4.30 pm yesterday.

The State did not oppose their application for bail, and they were released after each paying R1 500.

After their court appearance, police sneaked them out of separate entrances to John Vorster Square to pay their bail.

The couple went to great lengths to avoid press photographers when they left the police station.

They are to appear in court again on July 15.

The day Inkatha suddenly recognised reality

Elbowy 21/7/92

EQUILIBRIUM and reality suddenly struck home this week in the minds of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) negotiators. And they had to compromise.

The compromise has made it possible for an interim constitution to be ready by mid-August, with a transitional executive in place and sanctions officially called off by the ANC.

The seeds of the compromise came from the technical committee that has repeatedly warned negotiators they were on essentially two incompatible paths and had to all move and find a bridge.

They came up with the equilibrium proposal last week and refined it further on Monday.

The proposal marries a two-phased process of interim government elections, in which a constituent assembly would finalise the constitution, with the regional demands of Inkatha and its allies in Cosag.

It entrenches strong regional government in the interim constitution and holds out the possibility of regions having their own constitutions. A technical committee member said last week if the idea of equilibrium and the full meaning of this could get through to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a settlement would be possible.

Most Inkatha negotiators are entitled to believe they have got just about everything they wanted.

Why did it take so long? What caused the turnaround in the past 48 hours that could not have happened 10 days earlier?

Maybe Buthelezi's pique at not being part of the US medal ceremony with President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela had worn off, the process had been sufficiently delayed to prevent agreement on a transitional executive, denying his political opponents the kudos that would have come to them this weekend with an announcement by President Bill Clinton that sanctions were lifted.

Another, more likely, explanation is that the power axis among the Inkatha negotiators has shifted. This depends on which group has Buthelezi's ear, and the "more reasonable" Joe Matthews and Frank Mdalalose are moving into ascendancy over the more hardline Walter Felgate and his foreign adviser Mario Ambrossini.

BILLY PADDOCK

It is clear that when Matthews or Mdalalose are negotiating, there is a more conciliatory approach and a search for solutions than when Felgate is in the chair, fighting tooth and nail on every possible point.

It is also understood that Matthews left the negotiating chamber on Tuesday evening to phone Buthelezi: that on Wednesday the green light was glowing in Umlund, and Buthelezi decided "it is time to seek a compromise".

Felgate stormed out of the World Trade Centre on Wednesday. His departure came after an altercation with Cosag partner Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana, when it was decided that Matthews would be the Inkatha negotiator in the bilateral and multilateral meetings that preceded the compromise.

Cronje played an important part in the turnaround. A shrewd politician, he paved the way for a resolution "to break the deadlock" on Tuesday night.

A decision on the resolution was never taken, but it was the basis of

Wednesday's breakthrough. It said the equilibrium proposal was the best way forward after Felgate had rejected the technical committee's report and proposal.

Reality struck home on Tuesday night. That night's "deadlock" was clearly fabricated.

There was no evidence of it developing any differently from the preceding weeks, but suddenly ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa launched an attack on Felgate and declared a deadlock. SACF negotiator Joe Slovo did likewise and said: "We need another Lewis Carroll to write Alice in Wonderland or rather Felgate in Kwazulu."

They were clearly indicating to Inkatha that they had to join the real world. The ANC and its allies had compromised as much as they could and were not going further.

Over the past seven weeks the ANC and its allies as well as government became increasingly irritated with Inkatha's filibustering and holding out on a settlement, while they were conceding ground.

The DP's Colin Eglin said the DP and other parties had made considerable concessions. "I would like to ask those parties

that reject the two-phase approach — what are you prepared to compromise?" Eglin said.

Cronje called for parties to sleep on the proposal and discuss it on Wednesday. He said it was a very important document with implications that could be seen more clearly the next day.

He, also, was intimating that it was time to caucus and discuss the proposal with principals. He knew the time had come to compromise.

There had been lobbying at a variety of levels all week and it became clear to all in the chamber that the equilibrium proposal was the closest they were going to get to one another. The parties had succeeded in avoiding a breakdown once more by last-minute, quiet negotiations rather than fighting in the open.

Wednesday's deal makes today's forum meeting easier and more likely to succeed. Parties are likely to approve April 27 1994 as the election date for the interim government. But this is likely to be combined with a declaration based on Wednesday's deal that several conditions, including justiciable principles of regional government, had to be met before the elections could take place.

murders. Should you believe him? Some eminent local and international figures, including ex-judges, do ...

1 motive hurried in the homelands mark

Gurnal 217-817193.

VASSILIOS Skoularikis, Dimitrios' father, believes that somewhere in the murk of his son's business dealings in the homelands lies the explanation for the irregularities of the February 1987 trial. Dimitrios Skoularikis was involved in grandiose business schemes centring on his connections in the governments of kwaNdebele and Transkei, and with the regime of Chief Leabua Jonathan in Lesotho.

Appointed adviser to then kwaNdebele chief minister Simon Skosana in 1983, then later dealing closely with the Matanzima regime in Transkei, Skoularikis was behind a number of projects which could, so he claims, have reduced the economic dependency of the homelands on South Africa. They included construction projects, casinos and dog racing tracks,

coal mining and the conversion of Port St Johns into a harbour, allowing Transkei and Lesotho to bypass South African ports. Skoularikis was working as a broker for international oil companies, was involved in bullion transfers, and funds — including \$15-million from a Brazilian bank — had already been raised for certain of the schemes.

Skoularikis claims that in 1984, a series of anonymous telephone calls warning him to keep clear of the homelands culminated in a motor accident which he believes was an attempt on his life.

In March 1986 police allegedly raided Skoularikis' offices, conducting an eight-hour search and removing documents and a typewriter. Documents relating to many of the homeland projects were said to have been seized.

According to a statement by Skoularikis' co-accused, Friedrich Brenner, he had been introduced into the Skoularikis scenario as a spy. First meeting Skoularikis in late 1985, Brenner claims he was blackmailed in January 1986 by two

members of the security forces to obtain information regarding Skoularikis' business dealings. One of these was a Captain du Preez of the SAP — identified by a police card — and the other was introduced as a Captain Cilliers of "State Security", though no identification was displayed.

What they wanted (and what he gave them), Brenner alleges, was information and photostat copies relating to Skoularikis' activities, especially in the homelands, as well as diagrams of his home, copies of his keys and the like.

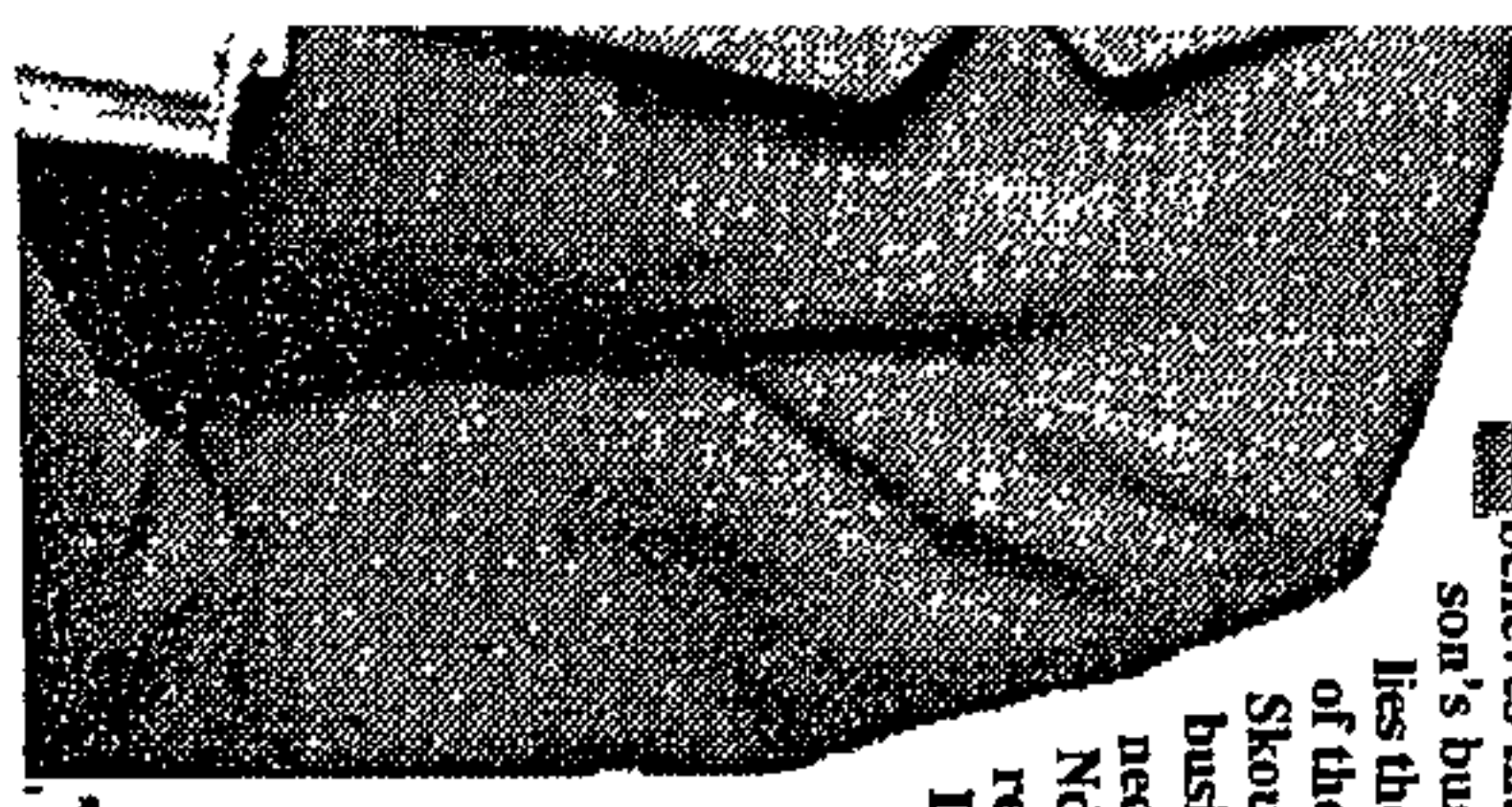
Brenner's allegations have been dismissed by Major-General Basie Smit, at the time head of all special investigations units in the SAP, who said Skoularikis had never been under scrutiny by any special investigations branch of the SAP. He further denied the existence of any Captain Cilliers in the Security Police.

However, Smit's testimony contradicts that of investigating officer Lieutenant Nicolaas Vlok in opposing Skoularikis' bail application. Vlok went out of his way to sketch in a picture of Skoularikis

as a potential risk to national security. He noted that Skoularikis was born in Tashkent in the Soviet Union. This is true: his father defected there after fighting in the Greek resistance during World War 2.

Vlok next asserted, without substantiating the claim, that Skoularikis had travelled on a number of different passports to clandestine destinations. He alleged — again without offering proof — that two of Skoularikis' associates in his homeland business ventures were CIA and KGB agents.

During the Hartms Commission hearings of 1990, it emerged that there was indeed a senior Civil Co-operation Bureau member who operated under the name of Braam Cilliers and who testified before the commission in heavy disguise. Moreover, it was admitted by members of the CCB's Region 6 — to which this Cilliers belonged — that its operatives had been responsible for the assassination, only a month after the Phakos Talpa killings, of kwaNdebele strongman Piet Ntuli, Skoularikis' closest ally within the kwaNdebele government.



... the trial ... the name ... Skoularikis' co-

ANC 'grasps the nettle' of compromise

Colman 2/7-8/17/93

SOUTH AFRICA'S major liberation movement, the African National Congress, bent over backwards yet again this week to ensure that the country will go to the polls next year for its first ever democratic elections.

In one of the most crucial weeks in the negotiating process, ANC negotiators at the World Trade Centre had to tackle a white party with a constitution for an imaginary country, and a stubborn black ethnic party refusing to accept the concept of democratically elected constitution-makers.

The National Party's Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers had every reason to smile broadly after Wednesday night's "breakthrough". In this week's debates, they could project an image of reasonableness, while "spoilers" in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) took the casualties in their battle to entrench federalism in a future constitution.

Federalism, as everyone knows, is exactly what the NP wants. And that was exactly what they got.

After weeks of avoiding the real issue — who draws up the final constitution — ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday insisted that the 26 negotiating partners "accept that a deadlock exists". "Let us grasp the nettle and agree to find a solution," he said.

The ANC wanted a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for the country. Most of the parties in Cosag — fearful that national elections may eliminate them — insisted that the present, undemocratic body of negotiators draw up the constitution.

The South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo was less diplomatic than Ramaphosa. Accusing the Inkatha Freedom Party of fearing democracy "like the devil himself", he added that "if this means a parting of the ways, so be it".

In spite of the tough words, it was — once again — the ANC which was willing to compromise.

Key IFP negotiator Walter Felgate might as well have been in Ulundi. While most other parties, with the exception of the Conservative Party, were drawn by the dynamics of the pro-

This week was one of the most

important in the negotiating process

so far with most parties reaching

agreement on the drafting of an

interim constitution.

CHRIS LOUW reports

cess to compromise, ensuring a convergence of ideas, all Felgate could come up with was a repeated: "Never, never."

He was reacting to a compromise proposal by the technical committee on constitutional issues, which provided that constitutional principles binding an elected constituent assembly and ensuring a strong regional dispensation be made justiciable.

Foreign diplomats at the World Trade Centre had little doubt that IFP representatives were given little room to manoeuvre by the "big boss" in Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who issues their instructions.

IFP central committee member Jurie Mentz,

on the other hand, offered a kinder view. The IFP, he said in an interview, suffered from "a terrible fear" that they would be cheated. This also explained their insistence on staying in Cosag, despite last Friday's racist invasion of the World Trade Centre by their partners in the CP.

"We believe we have to find protection in a herd, otherwise the lions might catch us," Mentz said.

What was ultimately decided, after many wasted hours of "bilateral", was that the current negotiators will be responsible for an interim constitution under which the first elections are held. This constitution will be based on both strong central and regional government, with provision for regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments during transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions in the transition period will also be determined by the present body of negotiators.

This "compromise on a compromise" was accepted by 22 of the 26 delegations, with most Cosag members reserving their positions and the CP opposing.

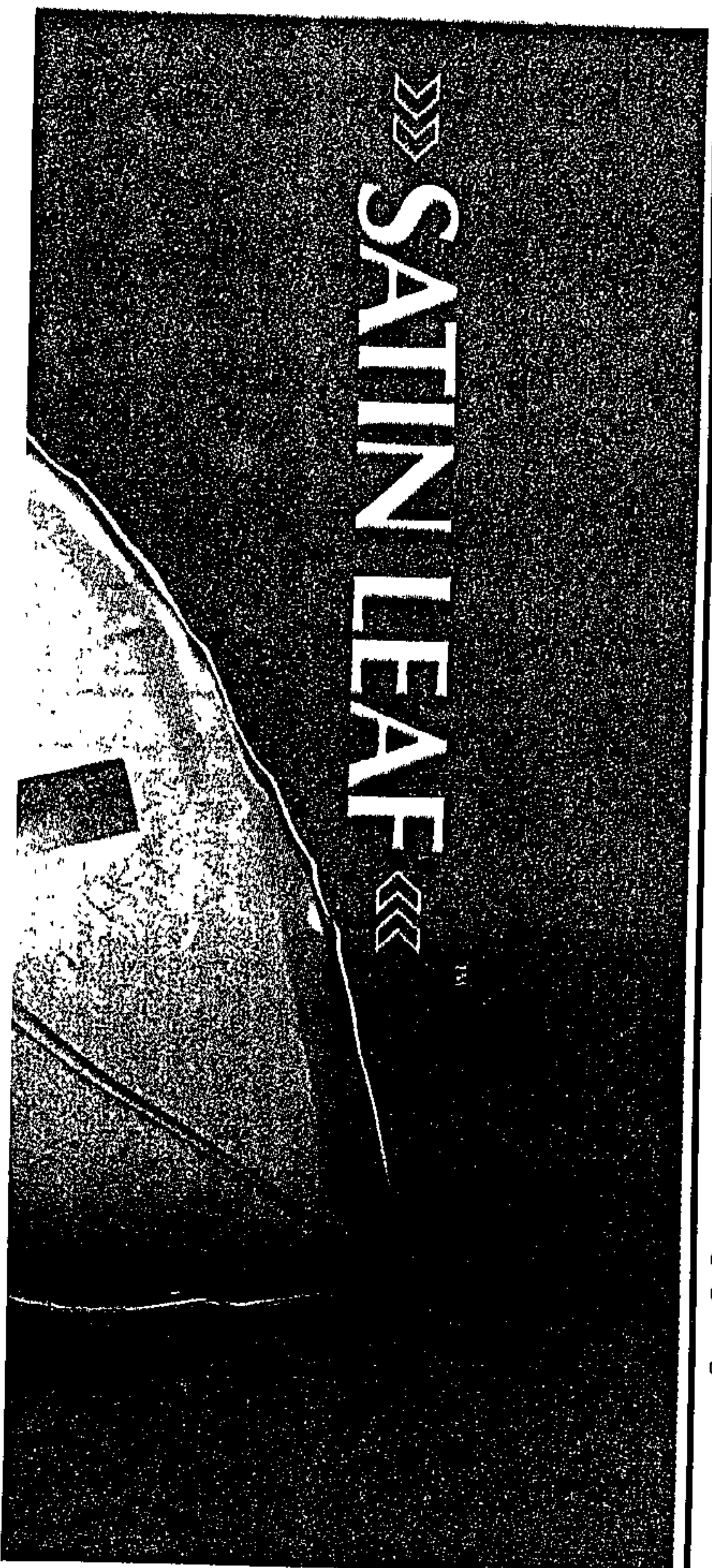
Watching the process at the World Trade Centre unfold were the CP's increasingly sulky negotiators, Fanie Jacobs and Thomas Langley. Jacobs has in the past week spent late nights drawing up a grand draft constitution for the "staat van die Afrikanervolk".

It is a beautiful document, if you are an Afrikaner, with provision for the rule of law, territorial integrity, human rights, personal freedoms, equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and with property, educational and marriage rights entrenched. There is one slight hitch: it is a constitution for a country that does not exist.

The CP still refuses to divulge details of the boundaries of its *volksstaat*. When asked in the passages of the Trade Centre where the *volksstaat* would be, one CP negotiator shrugged off the question by replying that it "would serve no purpose" to provide this information.

Observers believe the CP may be afraid to announce the territory of its *volksstaat* because it is bound to exclude most Afrikaners, which will no doubt lead to a significant loss of support for the party, even among rightwingers.

»»» SATIN LEAF «««



Talks: Government, ANC force the pace

Star 3/7/93

ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

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Saturday Star July 3 1993

THE African National Congress and the Government yesterday bit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 — but all are expected back in the process soon.

See Editorial - Page 8

The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was reached among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council, the principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body and how to tackle the violence sweeping the country.

A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks, and Government negotiations chief Rolf Meyer and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue, and it was evident that the IFP and KwaZulu delegations

TO PAGE 2.

WASHINGTON
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Talks

FROM PAGE 1

had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened.

A lengthy argument broke out in the forum — which ratifies negotiating council agreements — over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus". A break of nearly two hours for meetings on the issue failed to provide a solution, despite the tabling of several compromise resolutions.

It is understood that IFP delegates told negotiators that their instructions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

However, IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews told journalists the IFP would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks, but its continued participation would depend on a draft interim constitution being compiled by a negotiations technical committee.

CP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by

considerable progress in several areas, notably:

- Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections.

- How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections.

- An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will be scrapped.

- A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.

- Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."



aces by jockey Piere Strydom, ahead of training partner
● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

in July fever is not me as it used to be

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ROBERT GARNER

ranked one of the finest horses in South African racing history

The superstar filly has not raced since flopping in the Administrator's Cup at Gosforth Park in March, but she is working well again according to

close of business last night punters had already wagered more than R1 million. This was slightly less than at the corresponding time last year.

The current tote favourite is Dancing Duel. Projected win and place payouts are:

Empress Club 55 2

Azapo ups the attitude

CIPress 4/7/93

By ZANELE VUTELA

AZAPO is gearing up for a final assault on the homelands.

In a media statement this week the organisation announced the campaign – which began on June 2 with the occupation of the Bophuthatswana consulate in Johannesburg. (4/7)

Azapo said the campaign would last for three months.

It said: "The entire country of Azania belongs to the black people and hence our vehement rejection of the balkanisation of our country into tribal, ethnic and racial cocoons."

Deputy secretary general Lybon Mabaso said: "We feel that the campaign has to be actualised, especially in the

light of the homelands getting credibility through the back door.

"The homeland leaders are negotiating the future of the country without a mandate. They never got more than 6 percent credit in any poll."

Mabaso said Azapo intended working from within the homelands to ensure that "the people themselves render the system unworkable". (101)

He said Azapo had units operating in the homelands who had reported "utmost repression while Mangope has created a myth that it is people from outside who are causing problems".

Mabaso said Azapo did not object to elections, "only to elections for elections' sake".

BY THEMBA KHUMALO

BARRING an unforeseen obstacle, South African political organisations could from next week start preparing themselves for the country's first general elections, earmarked for early next year.

In a major ground-breaking compromise aimed at placating both supporters and opponents of an early election date, negotiators agreed to the drawing up of an interim constitution based on both strong central and regional government.

This compromise went a long way towards satisfying the two camps divided between the Inkatha-aligned Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) who favour strong regional government and the Patriotic Front which favours a strong, central authority.

The breakthrough came after two days of intense behind-the-scenes bargaining in lengthy bilaterals and multi-laterals, punctuated by prolonged adjournments, demonstrations and fears of walkouts.

So tense was the mood before the midweek breakthrough that SACP chief negotiator Joe Slovo accused the Cosag group of trying to stall the talks because they "feared the outcome of the elections".

An exasperated Slovo warned that the democratic process might have to go on without certain parties if they deluded themselves into thinking that they might stand in the way of elections. In an uncompromising mood, Slovo, said: "If there has to be a parting of ways, so be it!"

Both Cosag and the ANC factions seemed to be digging in their heels and earlier predictions were that prospects of a compromise were receding fast - until Wednesday's breakthrough.

Although there is now hope for an early election date, refusal by Cosag and the PAC to endorse the resolution to mandate the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues to draw up a draft constitution, has raised concern about obstacles being raised.

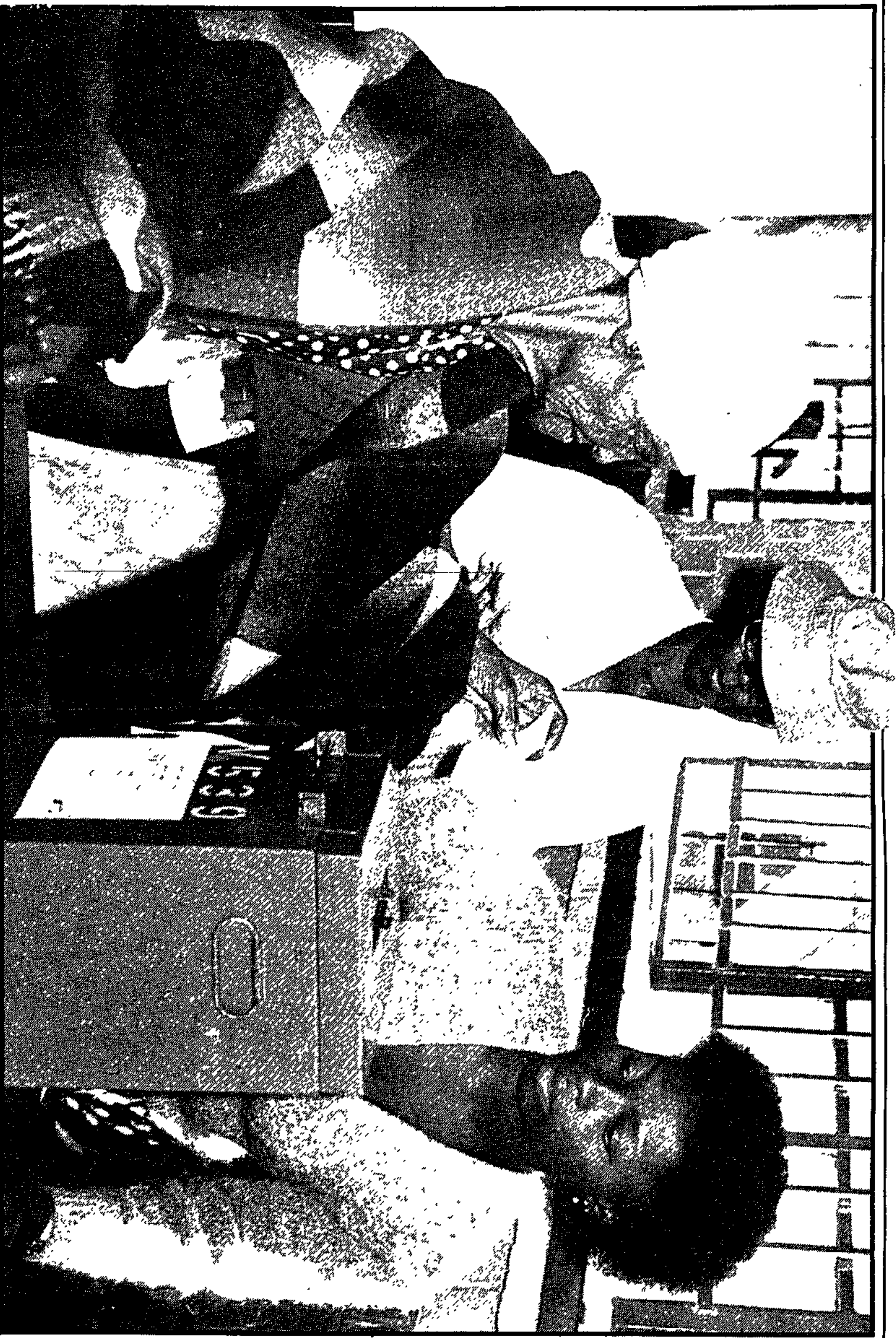
The Cosag grouping has taken divided positions on the issue. The CP, which is one of the two senior members of this alliance (the other being Inkatha) rejected the resolution outright. The other members, which included Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions until the constitution is drawn up.

"We don't want to go into the future blindfolded, giving an interim government a blank cheque for the abuse of power," they said.

The 26 parties at the talks have been divided between the ANC, PAC and Pretoria and their allies who want elections to be held before the drafting of a new constitution so as to guarantee accountability on the one hand, and the Cosag group who demand the drafting of the constitution before elections to obviate the "abuse of power".

Explaining their stance, Ramaphosa said the current negotiators did not have a mandate to draw up a constitution because they were not elected.

Ramaphosa said: "As far as the ANC is concerned it will be undemocratic for the parties here to draw up a constitution because we are an unelected and therefore undemocratic lot. We should see ourselves more



GREAT COUNTDOWN . . . Sham elections, such as these forming part of the old PW Botha tricameral system, are gone and could be replaced by the REAL thing!

Many bilaterals and multilaterals later a broad agreement is reached

C/Ross 4417193

D-DAY LOOMS

as facilitators of the peace process than elected representatives of SA."

The ANC has had to climb down from this position and has now agreed that the constitution be drafted by the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters, itself an "undemocratic lot".

Veteran advocate Arthur Chaskalson leads the team of lawmakers serving on this committee which is now faced with the daunting task of drawing up the document which will essentially be the supreme governing law of a new SA.

The draft document will also provide for deadlock-breaking mechanisms and special majorities by which decisions will be taken.

It will provide for the election of regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments in the transition. Fundamental human rights during the transition will also be catered for.

The Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation appointed by the 26 parties will make recommendations on regional boundaries for the purposes of elections and on regional government during the transitional

phase.

The parties agreed on the legislation to make provision for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The breakthrough comes on the eve of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela and State President FW De Klerk receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Award from US President Bill Clinton in recognition of their peace role in SA.

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

IT'S all over bar the shouting — and one last, feverish round of horse-trading.

The shouting will be loud and long, and will range from the ululation of Inkathasupporting Zulus girding for battle to the lonely pule of the Conservative Party.

The horse-trading will centre on the wording of legislation to flesh out a remarkable range of decisions taken on the form and substance of the next constitution and how to get there.

Full settlement is months away, but the most important concerns of the ANC and its opposition in Cosag were met in principle this week.

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to be elected to draft South Africa's "final" constitution. Cosag parties wanted to have a say in that constitution now, before many of them are all but wiped out by that election.

The two bottom lines were linked in a resolution adopted this week.

Cosag — a loose grouping of Inkatha, people who have homelands and people who want them — has made its acceptance conditional on getting the sort of interim constitution it wants and binding the future constituent assembly to the constitutional principles underpinning the draft.

This is a big, but not insurmountable, condition. It remains to be seen whether the ANC and the government's stated commitment to strong regional government goes far enough to meet the fears and needs of the Cosag parties.

Parties have eight days to tell the technical committee on constitutional issues what they would like to see written into the next constitution.

Once again this brilliant group of lawyers and academics will have to marry fears and hopes, democratic and peculiarly South African clauses into a comprehensible document. They are good at this.

Between the acceptance of the draft constitution and elections lies a transitional phase. Great strides were made in this area as well with the acceptance, in principle, of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission.

Other technical committees will spend the next two weeks drafting legislation for these transitional organs.

Inkatha, whose petulant chief has tried to block almost every wobbly step forward, and which remains uncommitted to allowing the process to progress until it sees the final draft constitution, felt the chill wind of *realpolitik* blowing through its cosy Cosag parlour this week as allies opted for movement.

Inkatha's junior partners realised that their common end-goal — strong regions and shelter from the harsh light of elec-

tions — was being hampered by Ulundi's dyspeptic blasts.

"We are a group of people with very different philosophies," said Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje after Friday's forum meeting when asked why he had not joined the IFP in walking out "to consult principals" on the election issue.

It was Mr Cronje who brokered the bilateral agreement that led to the breakthrough.

This crucial meeting on Wednesday — between Cosag and the Patriotic Front

— was characterised by "a really constructive attitude on both sides", he said, as Messrs Slovo and Ramaphosa went out of their way to assure the meeting of their commitment to strong regional government.

Not present at the bilateral meeting was Mr Walter

Felgate, defender and comforter of the unfortunate Dr Mario Ambrosini, an American citizen and constitutional adviser who is increasingly getting on the nerves of Inkatha delegates and the talks at large.

Dr Ambrosini was kicked out of Friday's forum because he is a non-South African — and after IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews muttered that he was "not even aware this person was here. I am not giving this person any protection".

Dr Ambrosini may have looked even more miserable than usual, but Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa both wore huge grins on Friday.

Their unseemly race to be recorded as proposer of the breakthrough resolution on Wednesday said it all.

Mr Meyer won, but both men had pulled it off by deliberately restraining themselves from confronting the crucial issue of the talks for three long months.

Behind the scenes, two powerful and opposing forces had kept this delicate strategy on course.

The government, with a smug 45 years of barely accountable rule under its belt, knew how to be patient, how to spend hours, weeks, listening to the concerns of the other delegates until they slowly shed some suspicions, trusting first the process and then their own voices.

The ANC, hounded by a hungry and volatile constituency, brought the urgency of this ominous rumble to the talks.

"Every day was a learning and teaching process," said a government source. "For the first time we had to deal with the raw politics of a real constituency out there."

At the end of an extraordinary week, an unstoppable vehicle was set in motion. And, with a very real interest in the draft constitution to be bashed out between now and mid-August, Cosag will be committed as never before.

Claire Robertson

SITimes 4/17/93

New ship of state gets ready to sail

Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield looks at an evolving National Party policy

Star 5/11/93

The meaning of power sharing

WHEN white South Africans went to the polls in last year's referendum, they were urged by the National Party to support a negotiated future based on "power sharing". The concept was — and still is — subject to wide interpretation, and it is being steadily refined (some would say redefined) in the course of negotiations. The NP's final definition of acceptable power sharing will, of course, partly determine the country's future. What does the NP really mean by the term?

At the time of the referendum, President de Klerk and others explained that power sharing meant a party getting 51 percent of the vote would not get 100 percent of the power, as parties in Westminster-style systems — including the NP — have in the past. "Mechanisms" in a new constitution would ensure that the majority could not "dominate" minority groups. In the moments after the announcement of the hefty win for the reformist "Yes" vote, an elated De Klerk stood before a battery of cameras on the steps of Tuynhuys and told the watching world that the NP's new

mandate to negotiate a power sharing deal would guarantee everyone a place in the sun.

Earlier NP proposals, most specifically its "framework" for a new constitution unveiled in Bloemfontein late in 1991, introduced the phrase "participatory democracy". The document mooted an executive made up of all the major parties. At the same time the first suggestion of a rotating presidency — probably consisting of the three leaders of the major parties — was raised. Government Ministers at the time also pointed to other parts of the document that would entrench power sharing. These included a proportional representation voting system, "regionalism" (as they preferred to call it) and a Bill of Rights. This vision has been considerably refined over time, although its major elements are still present.

Since then, debate on the issue has largely centred on the interim constitution which, if ANC and Government thinking prevails, will last a full five years. It has been evident for some time that the ANC will accommodate power sharing requirements in the interim stage. This would probably

amount to representation in the Cabinet reflecting the percentage of the vote gained in an election. How leaders of the major parties will be accommodated is still being "kicked about" by ANC negotiators.

Presuming that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) or armed rightwingers do not destroy negotiations entirely before agreement is reached on an interim constitution, it seems the NP's mandated desire for power-sharing will be part of that agreement. But can it hope to extend such an agreement to the final constitution, scheduled to be drawn up by that interim parliament?

Bottom line

Yes, says President de Klerk. Opening the short session of Parliament in October last year he spelled out his bottom line on negotiations — an elected constituent assembly would not be given a blank cheque to negotiate any constitution. In an interview with Britain's Financial Times recently, he said: "We are talking about the need, in a government of national unity, to be governed on the basis of consensus between the

main role players when considering fundamental issues."

The newspaper concluded that De Klerk was not about to hand over power to a majority-rule, winner-take-all black government: "Not now, not ever."

The Government proposals for an interim constitution tabled in a negotiations technical committee last month gave more detail. In a section on "principles governing constitution-making in South Africa" — the principles that it envisaged would be binding on whatever body draws up the final constitution — it included a section on participatory democracy. It called for "the representation of parties in the executive, relative to their representation in the legislature." No, says the ANC. Anything that smacks of a permanent veto would not be acceptable.

On June 23 the negotiations technical committee on constitutional matters tabled its report on the principles that it suggested could be binding on a constitution-making body. Absent from this was any principle similar to the Government submission for entrenched representation in the Cabinet, immediately giving rise to suggestions that the Govern-

ment had quietly dropped its insistence on power sharing.

Government sources insist this is not the case. One said: "The Government will see to it that the (binding) principles do cater for a sharing of power." Pointing out that considerable debate on the constitutional principles lay ahead, he reverted to the familiar phrase: "The Government will promote mechanisms to ensure 51 percent of the vote does not give any party 100 percent of the power."

What appears to have happened is that the Government — faced with ANC rejection of a system that could seriously curtail its power to govern (presuming it gains a majority in a second election) — has begun to search for less crude ways of achieving this. First hints of this became evident as far back as September last year, at about the time when President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding which led to a resumption of negotiations. Indications became much more firm in the course of crucial Government/ANC *bosberade* late last year and early this year. The deal was that permanent power sharing, en-

trenched in the executive, would only last five years, while the ANC would make concessions on regionalism.

At that time it became evident that the "rotating presidency" scheme was being dropped and there was movement in the thinking on entrenched positions in the executive. Besides the limits on power inherent in the NP's Bill of Rights and the proportional representation system, the Government appears to be looking towards regional power bases, with entrenched representation in and restrictions on central government. "But the debate is not over about the composition, the effect and the influence of the executive," said one Government source.

Some opponents of the Government, with the Codesa 2 breakdown still in mind, believe it may attempt to have the interim constitution transformed into a permanent one. Whatever the case may be, it is evident that the book has not been closed on power sharing, and certainly not in the minds of the more hardline NP members. The question is the extent to which the notion can evolve, without losing its meaning altogether. □

Election date a morale-booster — but still no clarity on what kind of government

Star 7/1/93

At last, the talks bring



Results

WIDESPREAD excitement has greeted the formal adoption by the Negotiating Forum of April 27 next year as the date for the country's first all-inclusive election. The reaction is understandable.

Multiparty negotiations have been going on since December 1991, and bilateral talks between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) since May 1990, when the two groups discovered that neither side — to use ANC official Thabo Mbeki's phrase — "had horns". Throughout this period negotiators have had precious little to show for their efforts. Instead, a miscellany of factors conspired to make their task difficult.

Violence continued to sweep through the country and ravage largely impoverished communities, the economy showed no real improvement, unemployment soared and the crime rate skyrocketed. Although a few middle-class blacks — including those in the leadership of the ANC — took advantage of the changes and

moved to formerly whites-only suburbs, the overwhelming majority of blacks remained at the lowest rung of the social ladder. For some the situation even worsened.

Negotiations, and the individual interlocutors within the cosy confines of the World Trade Centre, began to be viewed with a degree of scepticism in certain quarters. People became impatient with the snail's pace of negotiations, and dissenting voices within the ANC began to be heard — questioning both the wisdom of remaining within a process which did not deliver, and some of the numerous concessions the organisation was making.

Viewed against this background, the declaration adopted by the Negotiating Council on May 7 — less than a month after popular ANC and South African Communist Party leader Chris Han's assassination — was an important morale-booster. The negotiators were finally sending a strong message to South Africans that they were going somewhere, and that the process of negotia-



By Kaizer Nyatumba

tions would not go on endlessly after all.

Now that the date has finally been formally set for April 27 next year — despite vociferous objections from a handful of parties which publicly profess to want democracy but privately fear it — long-suffering South Africans can be forgiven for being a touch excited. Finally they, as opposed to the politicians, will get a chance to indicate their preferences.

But apart from the fact that we now know with some certainty when that watershed election will be held, it is questionable whether there is all that much to be excited about in the short term. Agreements reached in negotiations last week suggest strongly that the election will be more for a government of national unity with a five-year life-span, than for the much-vaunted and argued-about

constituent assembly.

As the name suggests, the function of an elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body is to write a constitution. But the Constituent Assembly (CA) to be elected next year will be effectively bound and fettered by the interim constitution to be agreed upon within the next two weeks at the multiparty talks, as well as a host of "constitutional principles".

It is no secret that the Government wants the interim constitution to be as close as possible to the final document to be produced by the CA.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and its fellow conservative allies in the Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, are unambiguous about the fact that they want the unelected Negotiating Council to write the constitution.

If, as the agreements reached in negotiations so far suggest, the interim constitution will not differ much from the final one, the powers and functions of regional governments will be determined by the council, and the delimita-

tion of those regions will be done by the council, then the question arises: why elect a constituent assembly?

Agreements reached say quite specifically that the constitutional principles will be binding on the CA. The CA will have very little room within which to manoeuvre, and will have to operate within the parameters of agreements fashioned at the World Trade Centre.

This leaves the CA vulnerable to being taken to court by some disgruntled party which might later feel that the body of elected representatives has gone beyond its scope of competence on some issues.

What we are heading for is a federal system — the Government has always insisted on "strong regional government" — whose nuts and bolts will have been finalised at Kempton Park. Unlike the IFP, the Government knew that one could call something by another name and still get it.

Although elections for a CA will be held next year, it can be argued that the Government and the IFP

— and not the ANC — have scored a major victory. The CA to be elected could be a toothless dog, redundant soon after its first sitting.

What next year's election will do, then, will be to separate "the men from the boys", as it were, and once and for all put many insignificant but big-talking parties in their place. Apart from the very small parties, which will disappear, one can imagine groups like the IFP and the Conservative

Party, presently chief proponents of "constructive filibustering" in negotiations, emerging from the election with far less clout than they enjoy at the moment.

It would be more honest to say the April 27 election is going to be for a government of national unity rather than for a constituent assembly, for that is what recent developments in negotiations suggest.

That would further explain the understanding between the Government and the ANC that the CA will not dissolve once the constitution has been written, but will continue as a government of national unity. □

ABOUT THAT FEW WORDS

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOLLOWING this week's release of proposed regional boundaries for a future SA by various political organisations, the issue of federalism has now forced its way into the open.

Now ordinary people will have a chance to scrutinise the proposals - not just lawyers and constitutional experts.

With the ANC, the National Party and the rightwing Afrikaner Volkswart (AVU) having gone public with their views on what the new SA should look like - including an Afrikaner homeland - regionalism/federalism is likely to dominate political discussions in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

Rights

What powers should the regions that will ultimately emerge have? What will be their relation to central government? These are among the sticky questions that will tax the minds of politicians and citizens in the coming months.

However, some experts warn about the danger of focusing on constitutional principles only while ignoring socio-economic development; the rights and responsibilities of individuals and the kind of constitution that would best serve citizens and communities.

Engineers have also waded into the subject and advised that water catchments, commuter transport, resources and the seat of government are major factors to be considered when boundaries are being drawn up for future regions.

According to the South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in terms of water resource development there would be enormous advantages if regional borders were chosen to follow watersheds rather than river courses.

As far as other resources such as mineral deposits, natural forests and conservation areas were



concerned, the association said it was important not to divide resources unnecessarily.

Such is the sensitive nature of regionalism/federalism that Inkatha, the CP, AVU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments have intimated that they will not take part in future elections unless this issue is resolved before any hustings.

Some development experts argue that regionalism/federalism issues could well determine whether the country emerges as a true democratic and non-racial society.

It is also argued that the manner in which this issue is addressed will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with what

C | Press 11/7/93

areas where the highest density of Afrikaners are to be found and where the most Afrikanerspeaking people resided.

Interestingly enough, both regions are dominated by people who are not white.

Blacks are in the majority in the Afrikanerland and the Orange region is dominated by coloured people.

The moderate rightwing party stressed that no forced re-movals would take place from the regions and that the recommendations were based on strong regional government.

Although serious efforts were made to steer away from boundaries with echoes of the discarded homeland system or on areas based on ethnic considerations, most regions are still dominated by blacks with the exception of the western Cape where Afrikanerspeaking people are in the majority.

But, it seems drawing up these boundaries was comparatively easier than addressing some of the other problems which go hand in hand with regionalism.

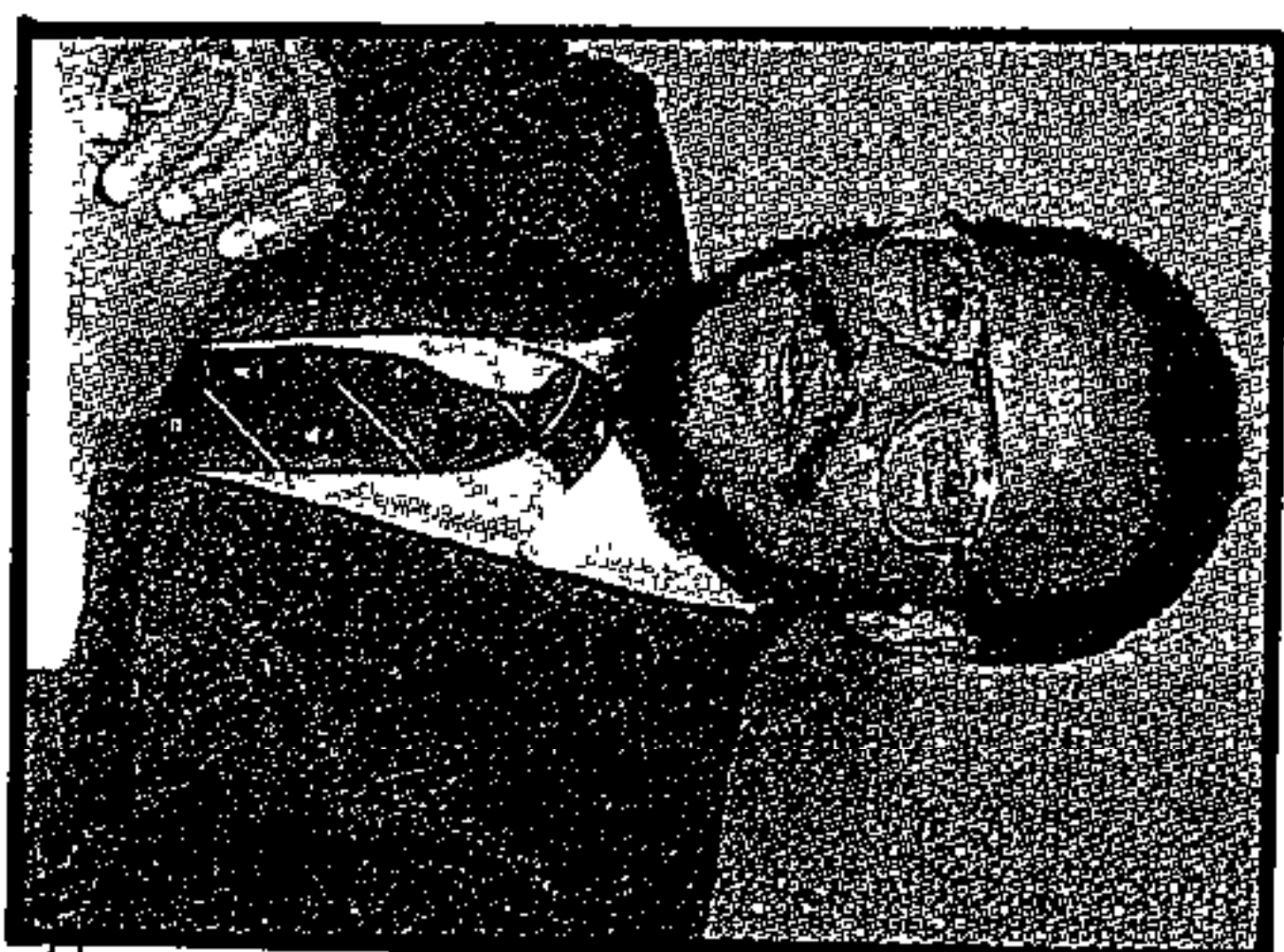
Difficulties with regionalism arise when trying to strike a balance between the powers given to federal states or regions and those retained by central government.

Inkatha's president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a strong advocate of federalism, has in recent months expressed fears about what he calls "the tyranny of central government".

While the ANC is still committed to a unitary state, their thinking has shifted slightly and it appears they would opt for a federal alternative on condition this may not lay the basis of future secession.

Balkanisation of the country is their worst fear.

Most parties at the Multi-party Negotiating Forum agree on the need for central and regional governments to have original powers but there is serious disagreement on the nature of shared powers, their extent



FEDERAL OPTION ... KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

and how these powers will be determined.

Inkatha and members of the Concerned South Africans Group want these points cleared up and written into a constitution before elections.

In an interview in the UF's bulletin, *Development and Democracy*, the ANC's director of legal and constitutional affairs, Zola Skweyiya, comes into conflict with Inkatha and Cosag when he accepts the need for constitutional safeguards and constraints for regions but at the same time maintains that residual powers lie with central government.

The ANC has a deep mistrust of strong regional government as advocated by Inkatha and its alliance partners because of fears that should these entities have too much power (particularly Buthelezi), regional leaders may be tempted to secede or not to work in the national interest.

KwaZulu government chief spokesman at the negotiations, Ben Ngubane, has acknowledged Inkatha's much vaunted model on regional government, the KwaZulu/Natal constitution, is a more confederal than federal document.

Although fears of secession

Issue of power

tops the agenda

The government's proposals are: south western Cape (including Cape Town), north western Cape, eastern Cape; Border-Kei; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg and QwaQwa; Natal/KwaZulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

The other government option is: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border-Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, PWV, portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

Egoli

The AVU's recommended regions are: Kaap van Goetie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and southern Cape coastal region; the Kei, made up of the Transkei Ciskei and Border region; Saiswa which includes the Free State, western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; Capricorn, which comprises most of the northern Transvaal; KwaZulu and Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region.

The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development;

The regions should be compact;

The regional boundaries should take into account population size and geographic product;

The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take

into account existing boundaries; and

Proposal

The ANC's proposed regions are: western Cape; northern Cape (including the western districts of Bophuthatswana); Free State (including QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu); eastern Cape which is divided into Border, southern Transkei and Border-Kei (including Ciskei, Transkei and east Griqualand); Natal; eastern Transvaal including kaNgwane; northern Transvaal (including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda).

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Testing 'will of the people'

STimes 11/7/93

SPECIAL REPORT by CLAIRE ROBERTSON

PEOPLE living along the borders of proposed new regions in South Africa may be given the chance to decide which areas they will fall under.

The "will of the people" may have to be tested by referenda or other appropriate mechanisms to decide the more contentious regional borders, according to Thozamile Botha, ANC head of local and regional affairs.

This development follows a week in which a commission set up to report on the demarcation of new regions for the country was flooded with submissions from political parties, engineers, ecologists and members of the public.

A number of controversies came to light — from traditionally Xhosa areas balking at the prospect of being incorporated into predominantly Zulu Natal, to attempts to set up Pretoria as the capital of an Afrikaans-dominated region.

In areas such as the present southern Natal-Transkei border, the wrong decision "will create border wars", said Mr Botha.

Visit

"At the end of the day, the delimitation commission may have to visit these areas and find out the will of the people, by referenda or whatever other means they find appropriate."

Mr Botha also said the separation of the Eastern Cape into its own region — as sought by many in the area, and proposed by the NP this week — could well be viable.

The final regional boundaries would have to be decided by a constituent assembly after the elections, he said, but there seemed to be broad consensus on the eight or nine regions proposed by the ANC and coinciding in many respects with those of the NP.

It is believed the NP's nine-region proposal was partly a concession to parties which have long campaigned for a form of Afrikaner self-determination.

The main players have made it clear that a white Afrikaner homeland will not be tolerated, but it is understood the NP was prepared to suggest a region corresponding in part to the Orania "homeland" in the north-western Cape.

Contentious

This is on the understanding that should this "administrative" area be won, the Afrikaner Volkstuging and other conservative groups are on their own as far as the political struggle in the region is concerned.

Other Afrikaner aspirations for their own region are likely to be more contentious.

The most pressing is the demand that Pretoria, once the seat of government of the Transvaal Republic, regains its place as the capital of a predominantly Afrikaans region

proposed by the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The AVU proposes the acceptance of a "geographical area the Afrikaner can call his own", but agrees to abide by the non-racial, democratic nature of the new South Africa, including the bill of rights.

The AVU envisages having to enter into election pacts with other parties in the area — Christian Democrats united against the Social Democrats, as AVU leader Andries Beyers put it.

The area it has chosen for "Afrikanerland" coincides to a degree with the Eastern Transvaal regions of the NP and ANC — but includes Pretoria.

Both the NP and ANC want Pretoria to remain part of the separate PWV region.

"We are not opposed to the AVU proposal, but it has to be tested against all the criteria for establish-

ing regions. A parochial, ethnic-based interest cannot be allowed to overrule economic interests," said Mr Botha.

"In terms of the economic cohesiveness of the area, Pretoria is very much a part of the PWV. People who live in Pretoria work in Johannesburg, and vice versa. Cutting Pretoria off into another region could create havoc with tax bases, for instance.

"But if this AVU region satisfies all of the other criteria, we'll look at it again."

Prize

Mr Beyers said this week that "Pretoria is the bottom line for the Afrikaner".

AVU member Schalk Burger said he recognised that "in any revolutionary struggle, the great prize is the capture of the regime's seat of power —

and this may be in the back of the ANC's mind. Pretoria really is a problem".

While not opposed to any group settling in and eventually dominating a region drawn up on a sound economic basis, Mr Botha is adamant that regional borders will not at the outset gerrymander their way around areas dominated by a particular group to scrape home with an ethnic majority and create artificial ethnic states.

The AVU proposal is guilty of this, cutting predominantly black KwaZulu and Kangwane out of a region which otherwise shares important elements with that proposed by the DP.

The DP's and the AVU's submissions to the commission were based to an extent on a map drawn up "purely as an academic exercise" by Unisa senior lecturer in political geography Nols Pienaar in November.

Mr Pienaar concluded it was necessary to separate Pretoria from the rest of the PWV area, which otherwise generated 39 percent of the country's GDP.

With Pretoria removed, it still accounts for 29 percent.

The Eastern Transvaal region — known as the Transvaal or Afrikanerland in other maps — will produce a just-viable 17 percent if it gains Pretoria as its capital.

Without Pretoria, the region will produce just nine percent, and will join the far northern Transvaal, aka Bushveld, Capricornia or Capricorn, and Kei as beggar regions

relying on wealthier areas for handouts.

Although the Kempton Park negotiators have already accepted that a Fiscal Commission will be established to oversee the equitable redistribution of income among the regions, there are fears the body will be so politicised that dependence on these funds will need to be cut to the minimum by creating balanced regions.

Mr Pienaar argues that in its commercial orientation and cultural character, Pretoria is already very different to Johannesburg and the rest of the Witwatersrand area.

"The PWV was never a region, just a conglomeration of towns that developed near one another," he said.

Diverse

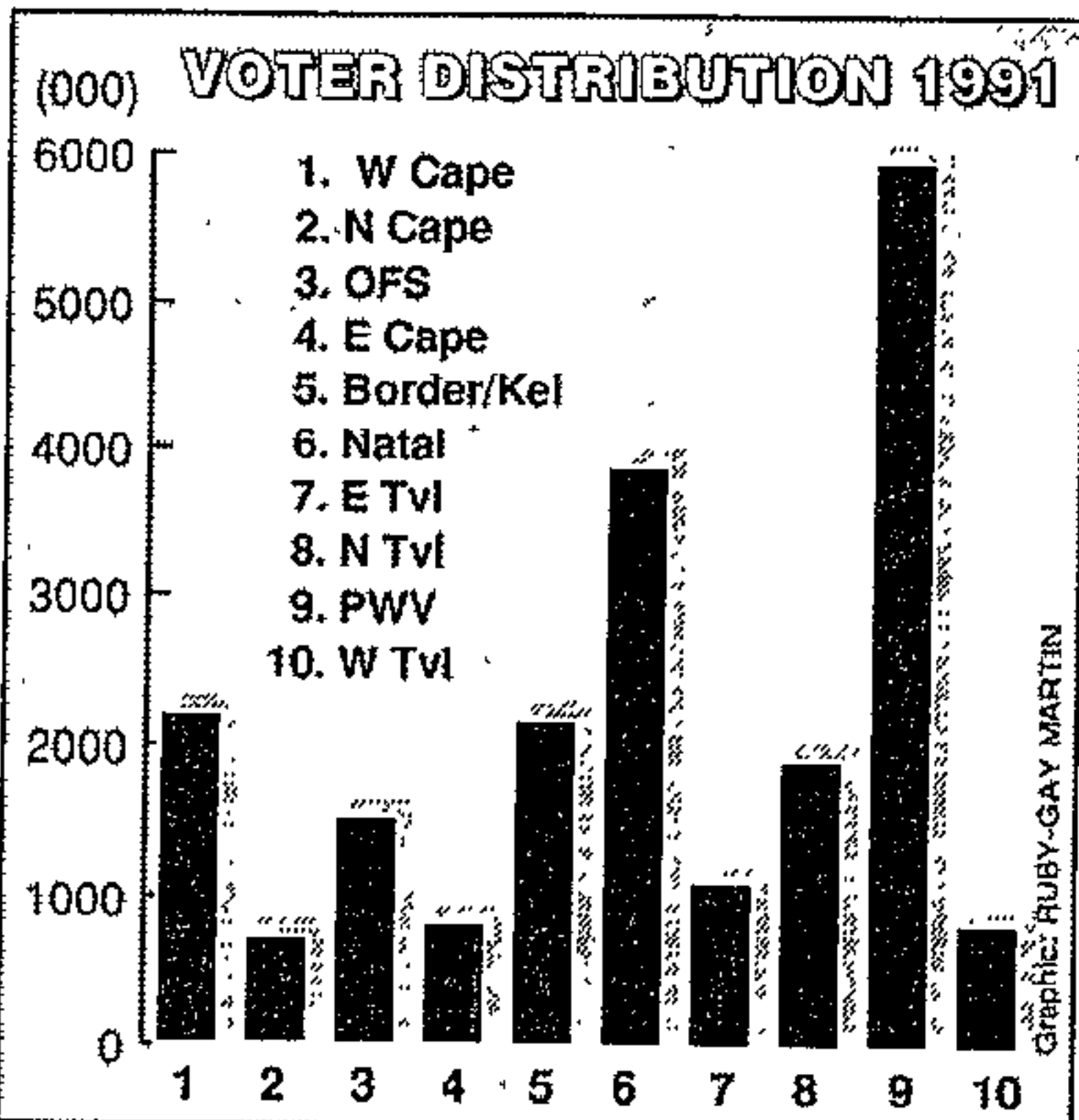
Pretoria is overwhelmingly Afrikaans and service-oriented (as opposed to Johannesburg's manufacturing and service cast).

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer both proposed that Pretoria and Johannesburg were too diverse to fall within one region.

The AVU's exclusion of Kangwane and KwaZulu allows it to scrape home with a 51 percent "western language" majority.

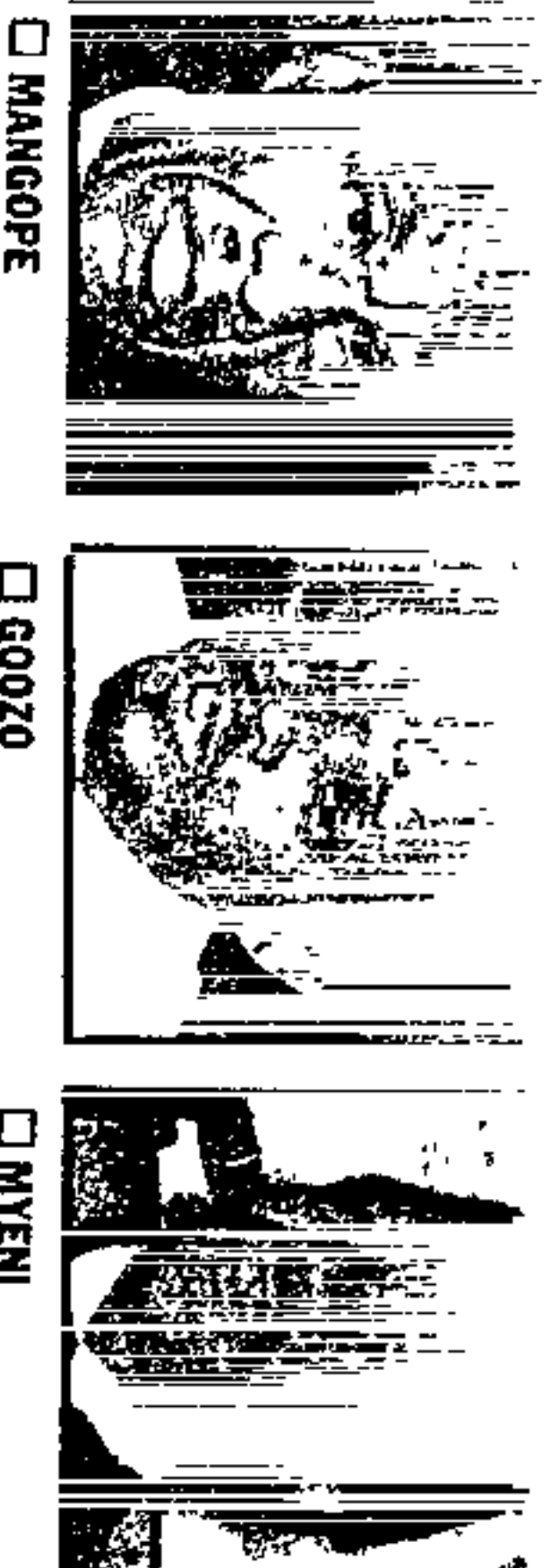
Existing or fudged "Afrikaner majorities" in the area aside, the AVU's argument is overwhelmingly "cultural".

"Pretoria is very important to our people. Our history is there... the Ou Raadsaal is there," said Mr Beyers. "And Loftus Versveld."



VOTER POWER... the strength of the PWV region

AWB'S



□ MANGOPE

□ GQOZO

□ MYENI

"Bop, Ciskei and Inkatha will join me in the fight against the communists"

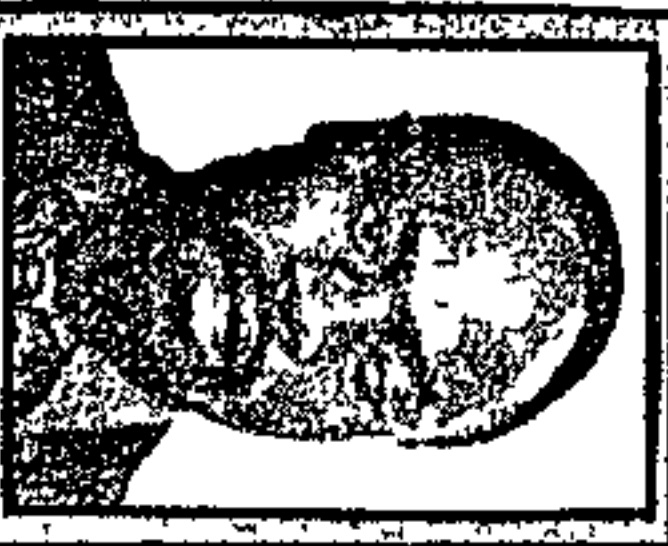
COMRADES IN ARMS

C Press 11-11-83

INKATHA, and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments, would form a fighting front with the AWB against the ANC and its allies in defence of a confederal state, the AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche revealed this week.

In an exclusive interview with City Press, Terre'Blanche disclosed that he had the "full support" of the three bodies, and that their leaders have assured him they would fight alongside the AWB against the "communists" who advocate a unitary state.

"I have the support of President (Lucas) Mangope. I met him and we made a joint statement that we will, in the case of war against the communists, defend each other," he said.



By MOSES MAMALLA

He also said his organisation had entered into a military agreement with the Ciskei military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

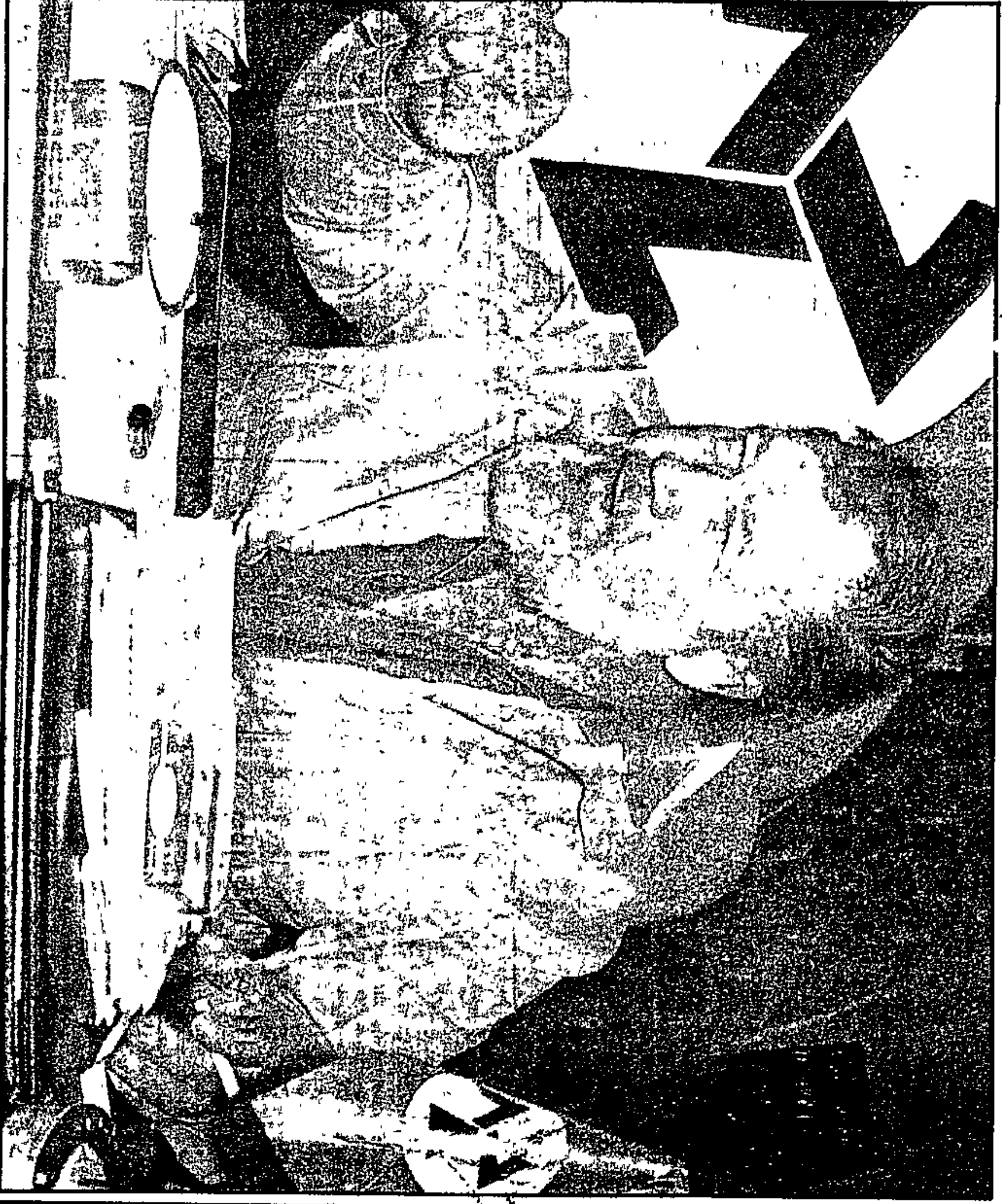
"I saw him (Gqozo) last week in Bishopstow where we decided that we will help each other in case of a conflict between the communists and him or us," Terre'Blanche said.

Attempts to reach Gqozo to confirm the claims failed.

Terre'Blanche revealed that although Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezzi repudiated the non-aggression pact signed by Inkatha and the AWB in the media, "my agreement with the executive of Inkatha in the Transvaal still stands".

Inkatha Transvaal leader Musa Myeni signed the non-aggression pact with the AWB which was later rejected.

P.T.O.



THREE'S COMPANY... AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche says he can count on Bop, Inkatha and Ciskei in the battle against those who want a unitary state.

Picture: ANDRIES MECHEKA

Were generals paid for guns or spying?

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH C Press

WHAT did Ciskei get for almost R900 000 from rightwing consultancy company Multi-Media Services (MMS)? Was it guns or intelligence?

It was disclosed this week that Ciskei paid R883 683 to MMS, run by prominent rightwingers Gen Tienie Groenewald and Raan van Rensburg.

According to invoices the money was for "intelligence gathering (RSA) and situation reports" and "travelling and accommodation for MMS directors, staff and operators".

But a highly placed Ciskei government source claims the money was for AK-47 assault rifles, sparking fears Ciskei and the white right may be preparing to destabilise a future SA government.

The source said on November 5 last year dozens of brand-new AK-47s lay stacked three-deep along one wall of Gqozo's 20-metre long Bishopstow office.

Van Rensburg this week denied the company dealt in weapons. "If I did intelligence gathering and evasion on and recommendations and actions, I wouldn't be worth my salt if I divulged what I was doing."

Groenewald's Afrikaner Volksfront colleague, Gen Constand Viljoen, became a partner in MMS in May. MMS chairman Van Rensburg and his brother

To Page 2

CLASSIC AMERICAN TASTE



90% homeland voters support ANC — claim

Political Staff

THE ANC had the support of about 90% of the estimated 3.5 million voters in the four independent homelands, Democratic Party MP Mr Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

These voters would take part in next year's elections as South Africans as far as his party was concerned, Mr Carlisle said at a forum on voting, organised by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa.

cc (101) ~~977~~ ~~3611~~
CT 15/7/93

Fm 16/7/93 (101) ~~262~~

But the move is being interpreted as a first step to reincorporating into SA the self-governing states and, down the line, the independent homelands.

As Unisa political scientist Dirk Kotze points out, it is also a logical extension of the decision to abolish the distinction between "own affairs" and "general affairs" at national level. Kotze says that though the nominally independent homelands are not involved yet, this is the first practical step towards regional consolidation and broaching the sensitive subject of reincorporation.

"There are few doubts that these states will become part of SA again — under whatever structures are agreed on at Kempton Park," says Kotze. "Part of the rationale behind not abolishing existing structures now relates to the desire of homelands to hang on to powers which could help them in regional negotiations. Amalgamation with the provinces now would be seen as diluting their influence." Because of this, Kotze believes mergers are only likely to be on the cards once finality has been achieved on deciding regional structures and boundaries.

The advantage of this softly-softly approach is that it begins the process of change now as an interim measure, rather than waiting until the completion of negotiations, when changes would be traumatic.

Tackling issues on which easy agreement is possible boosts confidence for approaching problems later such as the surrender of power and autonomy. The self-governing states currently have greater autonomy than the provincial administrations. Homelands, accustomed to being lavished with money from central government, will have to get used to living more frugally on regional budget allocations. ■

REGIONS — 2 Fm 16/7/93 Cutting the cloth

Provincial administrations and the self-governing states are inching closer to unification — though amalgamations, for now at least, are not planned. (101) ~~262~~

According to Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie, steering committees are due to report back shortly with recommendations. They were established to explore the practical implications of joint administration.

The primary objectives are to:

- Eliminate administrative duplication;
- Improve the efficiency of services;
- Eliminate socio-economic backlogs;
- Integrate administration;
- Improve accountability; and
- Identify community needs.

Among the committees which have been established are: a multilateral body incorporating the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA), Gazankulu and Lebowa, with observer status accorded to Venda; a bilateral committee involving the TPA and KwaNdebele; and a long-standing bilateral committee between QwaQwa and the Free State Provincial Administration.

Fourie adds that the TPA and KaNgwane have also discussed a joint steering committee, while Natal and KwaZulu established their Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in the aftermath of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba in the Eighties. They are now seeking some executive powers for the JEA. Fourie stresses that in terms of the guidelines given to the steering committees, the existing political, administrative and budgetary structures will remain intact for now.

HERE was a time when the Natives were terribly restless. Not

any more. Now it is the Boers who are restless. They want their own white homeland. This they are prepared to fight to the last drop of blood to attain.

What arrogance, you may say. In whose country do they want this homeland? Why do they want a piece of land now, when all these years they enjoyed the freedom of the whole country, including the now independent countries of Namibia, Swaziland, Botswana and Lesotho.

Is it not an irony that at one stage the five million whites in this country enjoyed and moved freely in 87 percent of the land while black people who numbered 27 million were restrained to 13 percent of the land?

Why, indeed, would people want their little piece of homeland - which I suspect would be in some small remote area - when they could still enjoy the

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyi

Fighting for the land



freedom of the entire country in a new non-racial and democratic SA?

Is it because some people cannot tolerate a possible future black government when all these years they enjoyed a whites-only government? If this is not racism, then I challenge the white rightwingers to explain to us what to call it.

When asked to comment about a white homeland, a member of the black consciousness movement said: "Black people have tolerated white arrogance enough! Those who come from Holland,

Poland or elsewhere and want a white homeland can go and have it where they came from."

In Azania and in Africa, he said, they must live on terms defined by blacks or leave. Black people and the BCM will never allow such an arrangement on the land of our forebears.

There is a strong element within the ANC which wants to work out an acceptable arrangement to grant rightwing Afrikaners their own homeland. They argue: "If this is what they want and this will bring a long-

CIPRESS 18/7/93
lasting peace in our land, why can't we give it to them?"

The PAC has been consistent in their slogan of Africa for Africans. They do not recognise colonial borders in Africa, let alone those who want a separate piece of land in Azania.

This brings me to an interesting conversation I had on Friday with Geoffrey Nyarota, editor of the Zimbabwean news service, ALA. For those who do not know Nyarota, he is that brave journalist who uncovered the Willowgate scandal.

Nyarota exposed a scam in the Mugabe Cabinet where ministers bought cars cheap and sold them at higher price to the poor Zimbabweans. He paid a heavy price for this because he was fired from *The Herald*.

Nyarota said South Africans have a lesson to learn from his country, where after 13 years of independence, black people in Zimbabwe are worse off now than they were before independence.

"Yes, we are free in our country," he said, "but we are financially worse off. The irony of our independence is that while there is widespread unemployment and starvation among blacks, whites are financially well-off and enjoying the fruits of independence."

The reasons for this is that investors were scared off by Mugabe's initial socialist tendency, "and now that he wants to switch to capitalism, the investors are sceptical and playing a game of wait and see".

Consensus

a spanner

Star 20/7/93

in works

Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council is continuing without the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu Government and Conservative Party, but a problem is looming over the decision-making mechanism in constitutional talks.

The six members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) at the World Trade Centre yesterday clearly indicated their unhappiness about sufficient consensus rulings whereby decisions are taken.

Despite the withdrawal of the three parties from negotiations, the other three Cosag parties — Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government and Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — continue to take part in the NC.

Cosag members yesterday denied that there was a split in the group — or differences over negotiations tactics — because of the continued participation by some of its members.

Although the row over sufficient consensus rulings has been brewing for some time, the latest unhappiness comes in the wake of a resolution taken on Sunday at the IFP's general conference which stated that

the party would refuse to re-enter negotiations until sufficient consensus included the IFP's concurrence.

Several delegates at the World Trade Centre interpreted the IFP resolution as a demand for a veto right in constitutional negotiations.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said the IFP and KwaZulu Government decision to walk out was based on "very weak and unconvincing" grounds.

"The IFP was doing a disservice to its members by not participating in the most important process that is shaping the future of the country. Their withdrawal will not shape the future", he said.

Ramaphosa noted that the IFP had agreed to sufficient consensus as a decision-making process.

"There is no reason why legislation should be delayed because some parties feel they cannot agree. We have used sufficient consensus effectively and where sufficient consensus included them (the IFP), they have not expressed unhappiness. That's hypocritical," Ramaphosa said.

● Another round of talks between the Government and the IFP is scheduled for this afternoon.

PAC joins Cosag in objecting to 'sufficient consensus' mechanism

TIM COHEN

MULTIPARTY negotiations hit a new snag yesterday when the PAC joined Cosag members in insisting that decisions should not be taken without their concurrence. Negotiations began without most of the members of the Cosag group who met in a nearby hotel to discuss Inkatha's demand that it would not return to talks without a veto right over decisions.

Members of the group, with the exception of Inkatha and the CP which has also withdrawn, returned in the afternoon, saying they would also have to reconsider their positions if the method of making decisions was not changed.

Inkatha members also held discussions with the PAC, after which the PAC declared its support for Inkatha's decision, taken at its annual conference, that no decision could be valid without its assent. However, the negotiating council's discussions continued despite Cosag's absence after it was established that a quorum of at least 17 members was present.

The council decided against discussing the absence of Inkatha and the CP, which has cleared its World Trade Centre office, after members were informed that there had been no formal indication of the parties' withdrawal or their reasons. The forum spent the day considering the reports of the technical committee on the independent broadcasting authority and the independent media committee, which were broadly agreed to. Amendments on some issues were suggested and the committee will present final drafts of proposed legislation before the month-end.

After returning to the meeting, AVU negotiator Moolman Mentz called for a review of the "sufficient consensus" mechanism in terms of which decisions were taken. The mechanism does not require a numerical majority but rather stipulates that a decision will be deemed to have been made if the process can continue despite objections from some parties. Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said the ad-hoc committee set up to discuss the question of sufficient consensus would meet today to finalise its proposals. Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan

PAC Binyu 2017/93

From Page 1

groups felt they were taking part in talks simply as "volving cattle".

However he was confident that agreement on a new formulation could be found which would not affect the flexibility, but which could "modify the application" of the formulation.

Gordhan, chairman of the discussion group on sufficient consensus, argued in favour of the existing formulation, saying it gave the process enough flexibility to come to a decision on a broad variety of different issues.

But these agreements would not be possible unless changes were made to ensure that none of the parties engaged in filibustering, he said.

Cronje said the committee discussing the sufficient consensus mechanism would have to take into account a "new reality". This was that there were effectively three groups taking part in negotiations — the Cosag group, the government group and the ANC group. The sufficient consensus requirement ought not to be satisfied without the concurrence of any one of these groups, because any solutions that were found would not be lasting. PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille agreed with Cronje's objections, saying that some

To Page 2

NEGOTIATIONS have now entered a critical phase. The draft constitution has been circulated for study. Parties are examining whether their views have been accommodated in it.

At the same time, Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront are causing alarm by talking about forming private armies in preparation for civil war. ANC president Nelson Mandela criticises the right wing for wanting to form private armies, but advises his younger supporters to join Umkhonto we Sizwe while negotiators try to find a way to dismantle private armies and consolidate them into a national one.

The cynics argue that these are hollow threats, political posturing and/or attempts to exert pressure. Those that have left the talks, and those that may still leave, will merely isolate themselves and the process will go ahead without them.

However, the negotiators, especially those in government and the ANC, are acutely aware of the dangers that lie in store for the process and the future of the country if that process is not as inclusive as possible — although they accept they will have to carry on without the CP unless it can be persuaded to shift its position.

Government and the ANC fear that if Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) break away from the talks they will link up with the Volksfront and, combined with the AWB, form a fairly substantial military force that could, as a government negotiator put it, "give effect to their talk of civil war".

So government and the ANC are working on a strategy to exploit the differences within Cosag and keep as many of these parties as possible in the talks. Most importantly, they seek to woo Inkatha back into the talks.

Government has a series of meetings lined up with Inkatha over the next week and the ANC is meeting a delegation today. Within Cosag, the Bophutha-

Negotiations enter critical phase as draft is unveiled

BILLY PADDOCK

tswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — which have not joined Inkatha, the Kwa-Zulu government and the CP in walking out of the talks — are trying to hold the centre together.

But despite Bophuthatswana and Ciskei's vow "to stay in there to the bitter end", Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje says this "does not mean come hell or high water".

Cosag is as united as ever on the fundamental reason for its formation, he says.

He attempts to debunk the perception of an imminent split in Cosag, saying that the parties in the group were always going to follow their own policies and strategies which may be at odds with other members'.

For Cosag, the glue is opposition to sufficient consensus being interpreted as agreement on government and the ANC, and the imposition of a unitary state.

Both issues will come under intense scrutiny on Monday — with the discussion on sufficient consensus being on the agenda and the draft constitution taking up the rest of the time.

Cronje argues that there are not 26 separate parties at the talks. Rather,



□ **CRONJE**

there are three power blocs — government and its allies, the ANC and its allies (both of which vote en bloc) and Cosag.

He says there are various issues on which consensus has to be found and backs Inkatha's position stating it is

will have to participate in that debate. The planning committee has drafted Monday's agenda with the draft constitution being presented by the technical committee first and the sufficient consensus issue following it. Inkatha might decide to enter the chamber only for the second item.

However, a source close to the Inkatha negotiating team says that if their study of the draft constitution over the weekend shows their views are being accommodated, they will participate. "But the proof of the pudding is in the tasting," he says.

Should the draft fall short of the mark of Inkatha's negotiators, "they might just argue that further negotiations would be of no avail". However, if the team decides there is room to achieve what they want, they will return to the talks.

Cronje echoes this view, saying, "For the rest of Cosag still sitting in the talks, if we find that we are not being heard and our submissions and inputs at negotiations are not being taken into account, we will have to say 'what is the use of being part of these negotiations?'".

At the ANC/Inkatha talks today, discussion on the contents of the draft constitution will be critical. If Inkatha raises shortcomings, the ANC can move to accommodate Inkatha by giving written guarantees. But ANC and government negotiators are concerned about a continuation of a pattern whereby Inkatha keeps shifting its position and demands more each time accommodation is near.

Both government and the ANC have said they will persist in talks with Inkatha to try to accommodate it. "But there comes a time when we can move no further and Inkatha will find it has isolated itself, not only from the process but also from a major section of its supporters," an ANC negotiator says.

What has to be kept in the front of the negotiators' minds is that the draft constitution is the work of only the technical committee and not a document decided on by negotiators. There is still room for talking if the draft falls short.

Ed Day 22-1-193

Strange bedfellows miss negotiating point

ALAN FINE

ATTEMPTS by the Inkatha Freedom Party, its Concerned South Africans Group allies and its new strange bedfellow, the PAC, to devise a clear, legalistic definition of "sufficient consensus" are hardly surprising. But, like the ANC's ill-fated attempts at Codesa last year to pin down the precise vote in a constituent assembly required to approve a new constitution, it misses the point about the essence of constitutional and many other types of negotiations.

When the ANC proposed at Codesa that a constituent assembly be permitted to approve a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, it did so in the belief that it would be able to garner sufficient votes from an alliance of ANC-leaning parties to push through a constitution reasonably acceptable to it. The NP, which wanted a 75% majority, had estimated that at that threshold it would be able — with assistance from other anti-ANC parties — to block any unacceptable constitutional proposal.

Inkatha, then as now, knowing it can expect to win no more than 10% of the national vote, was and is opposed to the very idea of a constituent assembly where it would not be

able to block any deal. That figure rises, perhaps, to around 18% for Cosag as a whole. But Inkatha cannot reasonably demand (just to be safe) a 95% constituent assembly majority. And that explains why it has demanded an effective veto right at multiparty talks.

Given the nature of politics, none of this naked self-interest is either surprising or especially contemptible. It is, however, rather unsophisticated — and costly in terms of the delays it has caused in reaching a settlement.

In making these demands, all three have been putting the cart before the horse. And this is why: a constitution sets out society's "rules of the (political) game". Those rules include procedures for passing legislation and even amending that constitution. However, certainly in SA's circumstances, trying to precede constitutional negotiations by attempting to lay out in full detail a set of rules for devising the rules of the game is a wasteful exercise.

SA's new constitution, when it is eventually finalised, will reflect a complex interplay — and a delicate balance — of the interests of the various parties.

Ideally, SA's future constitution should accommodate all parties. The greater the extent to which it does so, the more stable will be our society. Therefore — as the ANC has now accepted by agreeing that comprehensive constitutional principles be determined at multiparty negotiations — the idea of a two-thirds majority or anything like it is inappropriate.

However, total consensus at any cost is also not the answer. Unless they fundamentally moderate their own positions, it is unlikely the demands of either the PAC or the AWB/CP alliance can be accommodated. While there would probably be security costs attached to excluding them, they will be manageable.

Inkatha is a different story. It would, as Mangosuthu Buthelezi has intimated and as the pattern of violence demonstrates, have the ability to destabilise those areas where its support is concentrated — mostly Natal and the East Rand. The ANC and NP blocs would do well to continue bending over backwards to ac-

commodate Inkatha.

Even so, Inkatha cannot expect its main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, to give it an unrestricted veto right for two important reasons.

The first has to do with the relative urgency with which the three approach negotiations. The ANC is in a hurry to finalise a settlement simply because it remains without any formal constitutional power. It also sees the country it wishes to rule collapsing around it. The NP, too, is looking for a rapid settlement. It believes the country cannot continue in its present limbo. Easing the transition for the NP is that it has negotiated a (so far imprecisely defined) share of power in a post-election interim government.

Inkatha, however, is in no such hurry. While it currently rules over a territory, opinion polls show there is no guarantee that it will retain power in Natal/KwaZulu in an election. For this reason, the status quo may be preferable to life under a post-apartheid constitution. It certainly means Inkatha has a rational motive in seeking the best possible settlement terms. And it has little or no incentive to be hasty in seeking that most favourable settlement.

This is why ANC sources have tentatively suggested a clearly defined time frame would have to accompany any formula that gives the Cosag bloc anything like a veto. This, once again, is an attempt to devise a formula that would reflect the complex balance of forces. It should really not be necessary.

More important is for Inkatha to become more aware of its Achilles' heel. These weaknesses include its limited support base and — perhaps more importantly — the KwaZulu government's reliance on central state funds for survival. The "separate negotiations" (and, implicitly, session) proposed by Inkatha are a pipe dream too, because Natal remains one of the country's poorest regions and will continue to depend on transfers from central government long into the future.

The ANC, by downgrading the status of a constituent assembly, and the NP in gradually diluting its power-sharing formula, have both made fundamental concessions because the power realities have demanded it. Inkatha's resistance to compromise of any sort suggests parts of its leadership are oblivious to these realities.

ETTERC

Star 27/7/93

Unions take on homelands

By Abdul Milazi
Labour Reporter

The Cosatu-aligned public sector trade unions, which have been threatening the Government with general industrial action next month, will make their opening gambit in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei

Cosatu, Nehawu, Samwu, Potwa, Sadtu, Popcru and Udusa, all represented in the Public Sector Co-ordinating Committee, resolved yesterday to hold a march with the Anti-Bop Campaign Committee to protest against Bophuthatswana's refusal to recognise them. No date has been set.

A march will also be held in Ciskei on August 2, during

which Nehawu (the National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union) will demand the reinstatement of 3 000 workers dismissed for striking.

On the same day, the South African Municipal Workers' Union (Samwu) intends to begin an indefinite strike.

And teachers in the southern Transvaal will march on August 5, two days before the establishment of the National Education and Training Forum, to protest against the Government's rationalisation programme.

These, and other actions still under discussion, will climax in a "day of action" on August 16, devoted to industrial action and marches in major centres.

A time for good tactics

"Extending a hand of friendship and accommodation" to Inkatha, KwaZulu and the Conservative Party to rejoin the talks, the other 23 parties present in the negotiating council on Monday resolved to delay debate on the first draft of the interim constitution and the issues of confederalism and sufficient consensus, until (last) Wednesday. A week's grace was considered too much.

"The absence of the IFP and the CP is of great concern to us," says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, adding that the resolution "walks that extra mile" in an attempt to get them back to where their concerns could be properly addressed. The NP's Dawie de Villiers urged the two parties to stop making threats of violence and to put the interests of the country first.

Signs of their return were hard to detect as the *FM* went to press. On the contrary, Inkatha suggested that it would bring Supreme Court action against the council over the controversial issue of decision-making by sufficient consensus, which is how the April 27 election date was decided at the Negotiating Forum on July 2 (*Current Affairs* July 23) ~~(101)~~ ~~(101)~~ ~~(101)~~

The other hurdle Inkatha has erected is the draft interim constitution, which it rejects completely because, it claims, the draft fails to meet its demand for federalism. Not only that — Inkatha demands that federalism must be implemented in one phase and be immune to an elected constitution-making body. Until something like this is "at least put on the table," say Inkatha, it will not return. (101)

Behind-the-scenes attempts are being made by government and the ANC to prevail on the boycotting parties to get back to negotiations.

The CP might just return for the debate on confederalism, but its initial reaction to the draft blueprint was utterly negative and it ruled out any chance of rejoining the talks. The idea of an alternative negotiating forum has been mooted by the CP and IFP.

Other parties in the Inkatha-led Cosag alliance — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie have stayed on board so far.

A rumour at the talks suggested that Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator Gen Constand ~~COMA~~

Viljoen could again put in an appearance at the World Trade Centre — this time to take part in the debate on confederalism, as part of Andries Beyers's Volksunie team ~~(101)~~

It seems there's something of an internal battle going on between the CP and the generals over who controls the Volksfront. Viljoen is said to have been "discovered" politically by the Volksunie, not the CP, and the hope is that he will join this more moderate rightwing group instead ~~(101)~~ ~~(101)~~

According to the Afrikaner Stigting's Carel Boshoff jnr, his group sees an opening for the pursuit of a largely Afrikaner-dominated region, thanks to government's proposal to the regional boundary commission of two regions in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* July 16). (101) ■

...been arrested in connection with the training.

The SDU were said to be buying firearms from Mozambicans who were probably former rebel Frelimo members.

Brig Abrie said this was one of the main factors leading to instability on the Witwatersrand.

Three SDU members have already been charged and several arrested for murdering policemen. — Sapa

Terror bus attack: ~~AS~~ Three men released

^{CT 1/9/93}
POLICE released three men yesterday who were detained for questioning in connection with the terror attack on a bus in Beaufort West last week.

A fourth man who was arrested on Monday, has not yet been released, a police spokesman said.

He is expected to appear in court this week in connection with the illegal possession of a firearm.

Earlier yesterday, police fired teargas at pupils who refused to disperse when they protested at the Beaufort West police station, demanding the release of the arrested men. They then stoned at least five cars in the town's main road. — Staff Reporter, Sapa

Homeland cops 'killers'

^{CT 1/9/93}
DURBAN. — KwaZulu Police allegedly assassinated suspected police killers, and failed to cooperate with South African Police in murder investigations of a Natal ANC leader, a Goldstone inquiry heard yesterday.

It also emerged at a Goldstone Commission sub-committee hearing in Westville, near here, that a KZP member charged with murder continued to work in the homeland force for 2½ years after he jumped bail. ~~(S)~~ (10)

The sub-committee also heard that urgent requests for information relating to G3 rifles suspectedly used in the 1992 murder of ANC deputy Midlands chairman Mr Reggie Hadebe were ignored. — Sapa

Govt moves on Lebowa

Political Staff

^{CT 1/9/93}
THE government is taking over the financial administration of the non-independent Lebowa homeland from today after irregularities of "alarming proportions" emerged. ~~(S)~~ (10)

The move is the first decisive step by the government to reintegrate Lebowa into South Africa.

With irregularities and overspending in most if not all of the 10 indepen-

dent and non-independent homelands — all of whom are heavily dependent on the South African taxpayer — Pretoria's action is a warning to all homeland administrations they could face similar action soon.

Lebowa has a budget of R3 664 billion and requested R360m more.

The Lebowa administration would remain intact till a new dispensation had been implemented.

Taxi war: Suspects given bail

A SUPREME COURT judge warned two Codeta committee members yesterday he would withdraw bail of R10 000 each should there be "as much as a whisper" of intimidation of state witnesses.

Mr Sandile Nonqwana and Mr Patrick Nonqwana are charged with two counts of murder and one of attempted murder, each related to the taxi war.

They were yesterday released

on bail by Mr Justice H L Berman following an appeal to the Supreme Court. ~~(S)~~

The men were previously refused bail by a Mitchells Plain magistrate on the grounds that they may interfere with state witnesses. ~~(S)~~ ^{CT 1/9/93}

Referring to evidence by a state witness that he would refuse to testify if the men were released on bail, Mr Justice Berman said the state could not be

held to ransom by this and the men's right to bail should prevail.

Mr Justice Berman said given the volatile nature of the taxi business certain state witnesses might indeed feel in danger.

There was however nothing to show that the danger they feared was promoted by the appellants.

Strict bail conditions were set.

Mr Marius Broekama appeared for the state. Mr William King, instructed by Mr William Booth, appeared for the men.

Referendum in the pipeline

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A REFERENDUM could be called to "legitimise the process" if all methods to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosag allies back to multiparty negotiations fail.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said in Cape Town yesterday that this was, however, one of the options that were being considered.

He added that the option was nowhere near being the first choice. *Sowetan 14/9/93*

He said the Government wanted the process to be as inclusive as possible and that the results of negotiations had to be acceptable to parties and people across the entire spectrum of South African society. In this regard, he said, the Government was involved in high-level and "intensive discussions" with parties like the Afrikaner Volksfront — the umbrella body to which the Conservative Party subscribes. The Government was also preparing to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the Inkatha Freedom Party on Thursday to try and convince him to return to negotiations. He said the objective was to ensure that the IFP and the homeland administrations of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were "part of the solution" in South Africa. *(20/8)*

The Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments as well as Conservative Party-controlled city councils have threatened to scuttle the election of April 27. *(103) (101)*

Asked whether the Government would consider a referendum to test the acceptability of the process, Meyer would not speculate but said: "It might be necessary at some stage to consider how we legitimise this process and then various options might come into the picture."

FW: 'No trampling on small nations'

(101)
ARCT 16/9/93
TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has said that the reincorporation of the TBVC states must take place through negotiation and not through "trampling" on small nations.

He was speaking in his question session in parliament.

He was asked whether ways could be found to move Ciskei military leader "Oupa" Gqozo, in particular, in this direction.

President De Klerk said there were bilateral negotiations with the states involved as well as in the multiparty talks.

A final solution had not yet been reached but reincorporation would be the best option in a new system with strong regional government.

Answering questions by Baldeo Dookie, MP for Red Hill, he said he was satisfied that there was no alternative for what was being done in the country at present.

"If this had not been done the country would long ago have fallen prey to the revolutionary events in central and eastern Europe."

Instead South Africa had opted for evolutionary change.

He said the government stood for the self-determination of groups and protection of cultural rights.

It, however, had to be done in a way that was viable and not, as the CP wanted to do, in a way that would again make the Afrikaner the most hated nation in the world.

Self-determination for groups could be attained only within the framework of the realities in South Africa.

New bill to sort out ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ homelands _{at 24/9/93}

By **BARRY STREEK**
Political Staff

POSSIBLE legal complications about the government's power to take over the financial administration of the six non-independent homelands are to be removed in a bill tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Self-Government Territories Constitution Amendment Bill will enable the State President to take over the administration of a homeland if he believes it is necessary to prevent the collapse of the administration.

The measure follows the government's decision to take over the administration of Lebowa.

However, South African officials withdrew from Lebowa yesterday amid reported chaos and after a decision by the Lebowa cabinet to challenge the takeover action in the courts.

By the time the new bill becomes law, however, it may be too late to prevent the administrative collapse of Lebowa.

Homelands lost, overspent R50m

Political Staff

(101)
25/9/93

WARNING lights started flashing yesterday for the non-independent homelands.

Auditor-general Mr Henri Kleuver yesterday detailed the overexpenditure and losses — of nearly R50 million since 1989 — by five administrations. This includes R2 905 306 in 283 incidents of theft from KwaZulu.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu administration overspent by nearly R26 million in the 1991-2 financial year. In one incident the interior ministry was robbed of R17 217 worth of guns, cash, and stores.

Earlier yesterday Parliament passed the Self-governing Territories Constitution Amendment Bill granting Pretoria the right to manage the entire administrations of the territories.

'Shambolic' homelands

STimes 26/9/93

101

REPORTS tabled in Parliament by Auditor-General Henri Kluever disclose that most of the self-governing homelands are in a shambolic state.

The reports, which were tabled after a bill allowing the South African government to take control of collapsing homeland administrations was passed, point to serious maladministration, lack of control, theft and corruption in five homelands.

And in another report, the Consultative Business Movement said the homelands and TBVC states had accumulated a collective debt of R14,2-billion by the end of August.

By **EDYTH BULBRING**
and **RAY HARTLEY**

"There is a public perception that an ethos is developing, not only in certain homeland civil services, but also at central level, under which civil servants are taking opportunities to enrich themselves," the movement said.

The auditor-general was unable to express an audit opinion on the accounts of Lebowa, Kangwane and Kwanabele because of irregularities or failure to submit their returns.

There was evidence of theft and administrative incompetence in the homelands of Qwaqwa and Kwa-

zulu, the audit found.

The report on the Kwanabele government for 1991-1992 showed there were serious shortcomings in internal control systems in government.

These shortcomings resulted in, among other things, unauthorised expenditure of R4,3-million, fruitless expenditure, overpayments, non-collection of taxes and debts, poor control over salaries, and poor control, if any, over government stores.

Some of these irregularities included:

- The abuse of fuel allowances for government vehicles. In 267 cases, fuel was issued to vehicles that did not exist and some officials claimed for 1 000km travel a day. "Extraordinary considering the area of the territory," the auditor-general remarked.

- The Department of Law and Order spent R14 000 on 087 numbers in six months.

The Kangwane government recorded R13,7-million in unauthorised expenditure in 1989-1990.

However, the auditor-general was unable to give an audit opinion for the past year as, despite numerous warnings and entreaties, the returns were not forthcoming.

No opinion could be given on Lebowa for 1990 to 1991 as many returns had not been submitted and that year's budget had not been finalised by May 1991.

The report on Kwazulu for the 1991-1992 financial year showed "serious shortcomings in the systems of internal checking and control as well as a disturbing failure to adhere to financial regulations and instructions".

A number of firearms in Kwazulu's police reaction unit and the quartermaster's store could not be accounted for.

The report also disclosed 101 cases of theft and irregularities involving R78 000 worth of firearms and ammunition.

Another corruption shock now looming

ARC 29/9/93 (101)

□ New reports on homelands imminent

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE government is bracing itself for another corruption shock in the imminent Parsons and De Meyer commission reports on the shaky homeland administrations of Kwandebile and Lebowa.

Both commissions delivered damning reports last year, but fresh findings on the ailing cash-hungry homelands are due before the cabinet shortly.

While the reports are likely to focus criticism on the homelands' own administrations, opposition parties and groups hold the government ultimately responsible.

Lebowa is already in a crisis of controversy.

The government was forced to take court action to gain control of the homeland's administration which was left in a shambles after Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike and "radical committees who had promoted themselves" demanded more than R500 million from the South African Treasury.

A task group found there had been huge payments to some civil servants during July and August due to promotions — some retrospective to 1984.

These payments caused an unfinanced deficit on the

1993/94 budget of R553,8 million, the main contribution being a R462,2 million increase in personnel expenditure.

Minister of Regional Affairs Andre Fourie has confirmed the reports will be tabled in parliament before the special session starting on November 8.

Last year's reports detailed huge fraud, corruption and maladministration.

Parliamentary sources expect the new reports will reveal "more of the same".

The multi-million-rand maladministration coming to light in the homelands follows years of waste and corruption in South African state departments in the pursuit of unworkable apartheid policies.

The price tag of stolen, written-off or wastefully spent public money for the past few years already runs to billions.

The most recent controversy arose over Auditor-General Henri Kluever's report to parliament detailing mistakes and shortcomings in accounting secret spending of R92-million over six years on an apartheid era hearts-and-minds campaign code-named Operation Kampong, and nearly R1-billion spent on cutbacks to Armscor.

Democratic Party MPs im-

mediately challenged President De Klerk to order a fresh investigation into the country's multi-million rand secret accounts, and called for parliament's public accounts committee to be opened to media and public scrutiny, and for the Auditor-General to be given wider powers to audit secret projects.

One of the leading anti-corruption campaigners, DP MP for Gardens Ken Andrew, said South Africa was emerging from a long period during which ministers and civil servants had considered themselves "untouchable" and had had difficulty distinguishing their own selfish personal interests from the those of the party and the State.

This attitude had permeated every aspect of government, growing in the absence of openness and accountability.

But he believed future prospects were "better".

"I am not without hope ... not because the new masters are likely to be better material than the old ones, but because the framework and structures of government will encourage openness."

He believed South Africa needed a more powerful ombudsman with full powers of investigation and a more transparent process of government.

Allow homeland vote, says ANC

81 Day 30/9/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday made an impassioned plea for residents of the TBVC states to be given the right to vote in the forthcoming elections.

During the debate on the Electoral Bill at the World Trade Centre, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, absent from the debate, suddenly entered the chamber and said that it was time to "stop sidestepping this vital issue".

He said that regardless of whether the TBVC states were reincorporated into SA by the time of the election, their residents "cannot be deprived of their basic democratic right to exercise their vote". He urged Home Affairs to start issuing these residents with identity documents.

The negotiating council did not decide on the matter but instructed the technical committee to draft sections into the Bill to allow for further discussion.

Ramaphosa's intervention was aimed at mobilising support within these territories to push for this right, a senior ANC source disclosed later.

"It is an attempt to put further pressure on the administrations to not delay on the reincorporation question and, even if this cannot happen in time, at least people there can vote," he said.

Ramaphosa was opposed by the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana delegations which said the Bill would not be enforceable within their territories.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said government could, within weeks, force acquiescence from these administrations by squeezing them financially.

Ramaphosa said he could not believe these governments would want to deprive their residents of the vote.

"They have not stood up and said

this. I call on them now to state if they refuse to allow their residents to vote. If they had said this then they are in the wrong forum because this forum is designed precisely to achieve that aim," he said.

It also became obvious in yesterday's discussions on the Bill that negotiators felt prisoners should be given the right to vote for the first time in SA's history.

Only government, the DP and the Afrikaner Volksunie opposed the suggestion. Government argued that if prisoners were eligible to vote they could also sit in Parliament.

DP negotiator Dene Smuts said she recognised that consensus among negotiators was that prisoners be given the vote on the basis that socio-economic crimes were committed because of apartheid. However, she called for prisoners to be categorised so that rapists and murderers could not vote as they had deprived others of their basic rights.

The ANC and SACP, supported by all the other parties, argued that "sick and criminal people should not be doubly punished", saying voting was a basic right. Slovo said it might even contribute to rehabilitating them.

The technical committee responded by stating that granting voting rights to prisoners was a new development in human rights which had been allowed in the US and Canada.

Prof Dennis Davis added that Judge Richard Goldstone, in a minority judgment in *Goldberg vs the State*, argued that prisoners be deprived of only the minimum rights necessary for their incarceration.

The debate will continue next week with the council avoiding any decisions on the Bill.

TBVC people must get vote

Own Correspondent

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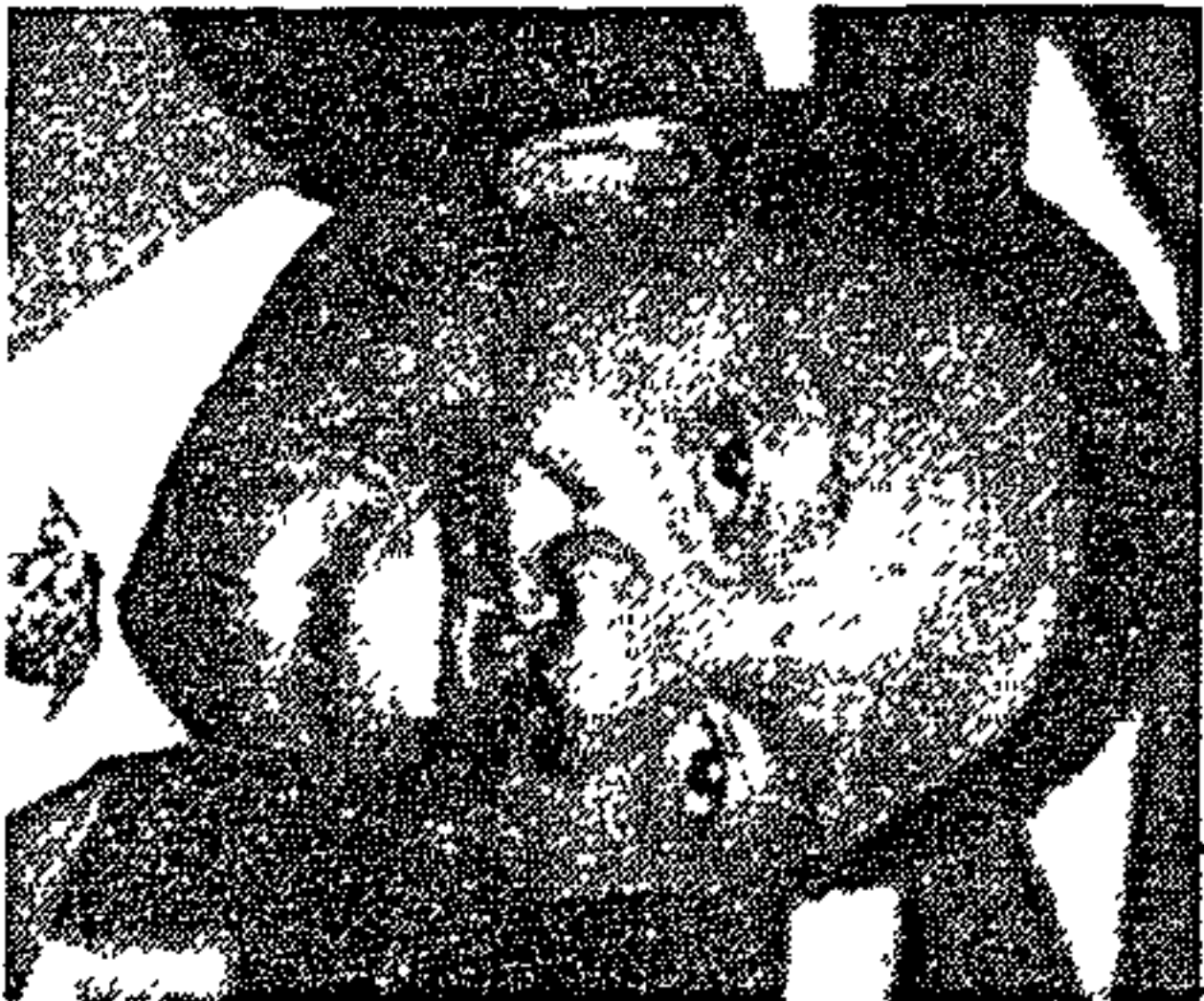
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VOTE PLEA ...
Cyril Ramaphosa

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The ANC and SACP, supported by all the other parties, argued that "sick and criminal people should not be doubly punished", saying voting was a basic right. Mr Slovo said it might even contribute to rehabilitating them.

The debate will continue next week.

AVU drops talks with govt, ANC

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVU) called off talks with the government and ANC yesterday and said it would consider other methods to ensure freedom for the Afrikaner.

The government and the ANC have expressed surprise at the AVU's decision.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said they were making progress in bilateral talks with the AVU and the move could compromise a settlement on self-determination.

In a joint statement, AVU chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and directorate chairman General Constand Viljoen said overseas statements by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela made it clear they did not recognise the Afrikaner's right to an independent volksstaat. HNP leader and veteran political observer Mr Jaap Marais said last night it was clear General Viljoen had folded under pressure from right-wing hardliners within the AVF.

Charges against Sisulu bodyguards withdrawn

JOHANNESBURG. — Charges of attempted murder have been withdrawn against the three bodyguards of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu who were involved in a shootout with police in July after Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday party.

The three guards — Mr

Jeremiah Radebe, Mr Jabulani Ntuli and Mr Reggie Makhulo — and a colleague, Mr Ismael Molokoane, were escorting Mr Sisulu home when they became involved in a high-speed chase and shootout with a police patrol, resulting in the death of Mr Molokoane. — Sapa

Sowetan 30/9/93

No vote in homelands

Sowetan Correspondent

RESIDENTS of the homelands will not be able to vote in next year's April 27 election unless the areas are reincorporated into South Africa by then. ~~(Sowetan)~~

The Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters — which is drafting the Interim Constitution — told the Negotiating Council that the legal position was that only South African citizens could vote in the next elections.

Replying to a question by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Dr Francois Venter of the Technical Committee said: "The legal situation is that citizens of the TBVC states cannot have the vote without having South African citizenship restored or obtaining it through naturalisation." (101)

The matter will be debated in the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park when the issue of citizenship comes up for discussion again.

HOMELAND FINANCES

Fm 11/10/93

The binge before closing time

The homelands nightmare worsened this week when SA government officials needed a court order and police protection to gain control of a computer in Lebowa that has been spewing out cheques valued at millions of rands in irregular salary payments. It is estimated that, had action not been taken, irregularities could have cost SA taxpayers R1bn in the current financial year.

In the wake of the crisis, government was urged this week to immediately take over administrative control of all non-independent homelands to prevent an orgy of unauthorised spending in the final days of apartheid — if it is not too late.

Reports on the financial affairs of Lebowa, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and QwaQwa, tabled in parliament last week by auditor-general Henri Kluever, all disclosed varying degrees of maladministration.

In KwaNdebele, financial chaos was so serious that Kluever's officials were unable to rely on the administration's accounting systems and could not express an audit opinion for the 1991-1992 year.

The KwaNdebele shortcomings resulted in, inter alia, unauthorised expenditure, fruitless expenditure, overpayments, non-collection of taxes and debts, improper acquisition of goods and services, poor control over salary matters, improper and insufficient bookkeeping systems, poor control — if any — over government stores and serious irregularities.

The situation in the current year in all the homelands may be even worse, according to Democratic Party land affairs spokesman Peter Soal. He believes a considerable portion of the R19bn pumped into the 10 black states by SA this year is at serious risk.

Government took over Lebowa's affairs following evidence of massive maladministration, but faced fierce resistance from Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike, who is personally implicated in financial irregularities. At one stage last week, SA officials were given 30 minutes to leave Lebowa government offices and threats were made to their safety.

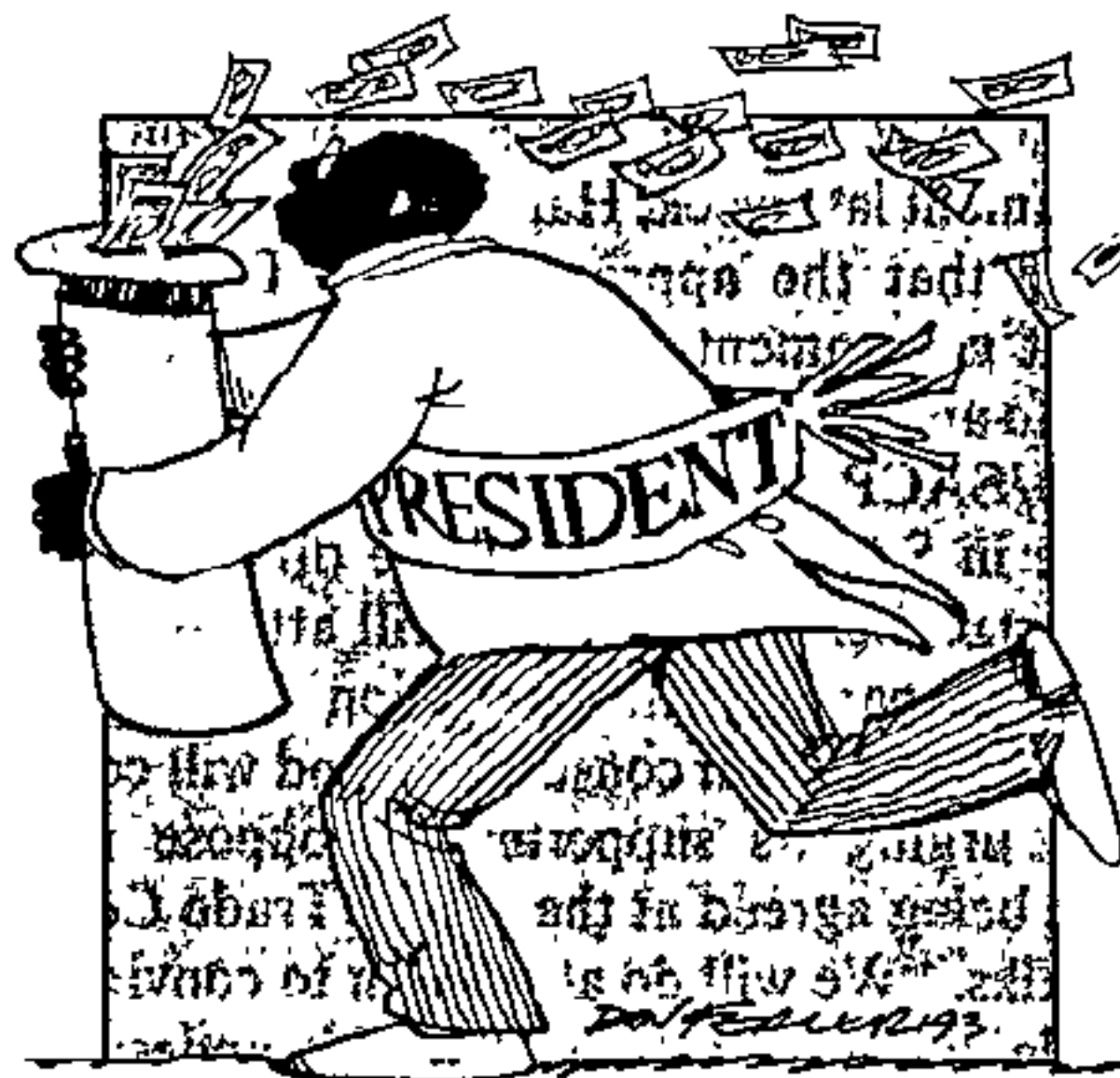
Just how serious things have become was outlined in parliament last week by Regional & Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie, who piloted through an urgent measure allowing government to step in. He said that in one instance, 192 clerks in the Lebowa Justice Department had been promoted. Their salaries were increased from R24 700 a year to R49 600 and they were each given back-pay of R73 700.

Fourie said similar promotions and retro-active payments were made in all other departments as well, but he did not disclose

figures.

Before resorting to this week's takeover, government tried to negotiate with the Lebowa Cabinet. But a proposal that irregular salary increases for public servants be scrapped was rejected. According to Fourie, Lebowa Ministers suggested instead that payments on capital works be suspended.

DP spokesman Errol Moorcroft estimates



that the salary increases in Lebowa would have cost an additional R1bn this year had they not been stopped. "This is clearly the gravy train out of control and gathering momentum as it goes."

He told parliament last week that the crisis was a case of apartheid's chickens coming home to roost. "Certain homeland administrations, sensing perhaps that their days are numbered, are now determined to line their pockets with as much as they can get out of the system while the opportunity still presents itself. The extent of this pocket-lining exercise in Lebowa alone is breathtaking."

This week, Soal likened the situation in Lebowa to a final binge before the bar closes. Following the latest reports by the AG, there was now also a serious question mark over other homelands and he urged immediate action to protect taxpayers' money. The DP has asked for an urgent debate on homeland finances when parliament meets for a short session early next month.

Government's decision last week to push through an amendment to the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, allowing it to take control of homeland administrations, was clearly made with extreme reluctance. Fourie says government wants the homeland administrations to remain in place until a new regional deal is negotiated. Action will only be taken if there is a breakdown of "proper and responsible" government.

But Soal argues that there is mounting evidence, endorsed by the AG's reports, that this has already happened in some of the

homelands. He believes there was a "cynical" attempt by government to conceal the extent of the crisis from MPs and the public by releasing the AG's reports only after parliament adjourned last week.

"The fact that government was aware of these irregularities during the course of two debates in parliament last week displays dishonesty of which I did not believe even the Nats were capable."

Soal says the AG's reports confirm the DP's worst fears about the "decline into an abyss of corruption" which could cost taxpayers "millions if not billions of rand." The DP warned government for years of this nightmare but was always ignored. Action taken by Fourie this week was "too little too late" to save millions that have already been squandered.

Soal says it is also "totally unacceptable" that Fourie refuses to answer questions tabled in parliament on salaries and allowances paid to homeland politicians on the grounds that they are autonomous territories. "One cannot be autonomous with somebody else's money."

He says he understands Ramodike is paid more than President FW de Klerk, but Fourie will not confirm it because, he says, salary matters are confidential.

A spokesman for Fourie said this week that SA and Lebowa officials are working 24 hours a day to ensure that all money due to civil servants, pensioners and contractors be paid as soon as possible. ■

CONSERVATIVE PARTY Fm 11/10/93 Which way now?

The CP probably did itself far more harm than good when it stomped out of parliament last week in protest at the passing of the Transitional Executive Council Bill. The gesture was symbolic but failed to impress either wing of the divided party which is now caught in a serious dilemma.

The TEC is going ahead regardless of CP opposition. The party will be marginalised unless it either finds some way of returning to negotiations or mounts a credible resistance campaign to stop what it regards as government's abdication in favour of an ANC/SACP alliance. (SOPA)

At this stage the party does not appear to have a credible plan to achieve either option. A media briefing by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg immediately after last week's parliamentary walkout reinforced views that the CP has become the party that cries wolf.

Hartzenberg again made veiled threats of armed resistance if the political process con-

Cracks in Cosag threaten existence

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Concerned South Africans Group looks set to fragment and cease being a united force opposing government and the ANC at negotiations following discussions this week among some of its leaders.

And waiting to step into a new co-ordinating role to harness momentum for its own negotiating position is the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu. **BIDON**

On Sunday Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen met "to take stock" of the political circumstances a year after Cosag's formation. **5110193**

Inkatha had tried to control the group and use it mainly as a battering ram at the ANC and government. But as negotiations restarted and other members of Cosag realised how they were being used, Buthelezi and his chief negotiators "started getting increasingly disenchanted that we would not dance to their tune", a Cosag participant said. **(101) (201)**

The fact that other Cosag members were negotiating their own deals had resulted in Buthelezi wanting to scupper the group and form another type of forum where he could control the process, a source said.

Buthelezi was now trying to foist on the other members a proposal that KwaZulu broker three-sided meetings between government and Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVF where it would always be present.

Inkatha "could be part of all, or some of these," Buthelezi said putting forward his proposal to the leaders on Sunday.

In his address to the other leaders, Buthelezi expressed anger at the lack of unity and said he was disappointed that Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie had not joined his negotiators and the CP in walking out. He said they should accept that Cosag existed only in name.

"Maybe it has outlived its usefulness," he said.

The leaders had agreed at the meeting that only a brief two-line statement would be issued stating that the meeting had happened, further meetings would take place and announcements would follow later this week.

However, after the meeting Buthelezi broke the agreement and sent out his speech to the media, raising further strains within the group.

It is understood that later this week there would be another meeting of Cosag members where participation in the negotiations process will be discussed, possibly resulting in a rift before the weekend.

"As long as we see hope of achieving a good settlement we will remain in the process," a negotiator said.

Federalism stalemate could be resolved

Star 7/10/93

Optimism over talks

~~CPA~~ ~~101~~

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Encouraging progress in behind-the-scenes talks between various parties has given rise to optimism among negotiators that the impasse over federalism could be resolved soon.

However, a senior source close to the negotiations cautioned last night that it would be premature to suggest that "we will make up tomorrow with a breakthrough". He said the "whole topic" of powers and functions of regions was being thrashed out in a series of bilateral meetings.

The ANC, the Govern-

IFP and Bophuthatswana give hope, but little progress with Volksfront

ment and Cosag parties have been involved in the talks.

According to the source there were sharp differences in the attitude of Cosag parties to proposals being aired.

Asked to rate the changes of a breakthrough on a scale of 0 to 10, the source said "with some Cosag parties it is seven, but with others it is one".

It is understood that

the best progress has been made in talks between Government and ANC delegations with the IFP and Bophuthatswana.

But major question marks exist over the prospects of agreement being reached with the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, the Conservative Party.

A Government source said yesterday: "If the CP sticks to its existing policies the chances for an agreement with them are slim."

Meanwhile, former CP general secretary and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers has blasted the Afrikaner

Volksfront, saying in a letter to General Constand Viljoen that he had sat and watched while radicals in the CP forbade the AVF from negotiating with the NP and ANC.

Beyers was responding to a letter from Viljoen telling the MP he was being expelled from the Afrikaner Volksfront for voting in Parliament in favour of the Transitional Executive Council Bill.

● The ANC was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism, particularly to the Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Lisbon yesterday.

Ciskei, Bop walk out of negotiations

Sowetan 8/10/93

■ FREEDOM ALLIANCE Cosag

members form 'political movement':

Sowetan Correspondent

BOPHUTATSWANA AND CISKEI walked out of the World Trade Centre talks yesterday to join the new Freedom Alliance, a "political movement" forged out of Concerned South Africans Group members. (10) (3/3)

The alliance will now form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties". Member organisations have also ended all bilateral discussions with the Government and the African National Congress. (1/3)

The alliance will be led by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen.

The development may annul progress made in extensive bilateral discussions between the Government, ANC and various

Cosag parties in the past. The absence of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei from the talks will also add force to those on the rightwing who reject agreements struck in deliberations at the World Trade Centre.

There was, however, no indication last night as to whether the alliance would be forging a common policy or fighting an election together.

The Bophuthatswana government said last night: "The Freedom Alliance considers the present situation in South Africa so serious that only a summit of all major South African leaders can resolve the negotiating crisis. In this regard the Freedom Alliance leadership will be liaising with State President FW de Klerk as a matter of national urgency."

They indicated the alliance would fight for a powerful form of federation.

It hit out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's comments in Lisbon this week, in which he reportedly said his organisation was not prepared to make any further concessions on regionalism.

Alliance a spanner in the works

Star 9/10/93

(HB) (101) (S.A.)

THE forging of the Freedom Alliance out of COSAG has dashed growing consensus between the Government and both KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana on how to bridge the impasse over regional powers.

The divergent views embraced by the somewhat unlikely alliance — from committed federalists in the IFP to the Conservative Party, which will not tolerate suggestions of a federal solution — are bound to complicate negotiations.

Caught unawares

The alliance has signalled that none of its parties will negotiate individually with the Government or the ANC. Instead it will form a "single, united negotiating team at all future negotiations with other parties".

It appears likely that the Government and ANC teams involved in talks with the alliance will now have to go back to square one for a solution that will accommodate the demands of KwaZulu and the white right-wing organisations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday charged that the

WHAT effect will the newly formed Freedom Alliance have on negotiations?
Political Correspondent
CHRIS WHITFIELD
investigates.

latest developments constituted a breach of the instructions given on September 16 by President de Klerk and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their negotiators.

But it is reliably understood that senior KwaZulu and IFP negotiators were caught completely unawares by the announcement on Thursday night that the alliance had been formed.

Meyer told a press briefing yesterday that the Government had been involved until recently in bilateral discussions with both the KwaZulu government and the Afrikaner Volksfront "directed at reaching an understanding on the contents of the interim constitution".

"I don't want to go into details of possible agreements, but I can give the assurance that (the talks were) constructive and fruitful," he said.

Senior KwaZulu government and IFP negotiators contacted about the alliance late on Thursday evening said they knew nothing about it. But IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the announcement came as the result of a long process, starting with the formation of COSAG, and that all negotiators had been party to developments in this process.

Meanwhile, Government and ANC sources have indicated that they intend to press ahead with the process at the World Trade Centre. Some negotiators claim to be confident that the interim constitution being thrashed out will contain enough in the way of regional powers to bring KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana back.

Crucial talks on hold until new alliance states its case

B/Say 11/10/93

BILLY PADDOCK

ALL fundamental negotiations have been postponed until the new Freedom Alliance reveals its agenda and its approach to the ANC and government

The alliance, formed last Thursday, consists of five key Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members: the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The negotiating council meets again on Wednesday, but it has been accepted that while the parties still at the table will continue discussing a human rights charter and an electoral Bill, the crucial issues of the new constitution — regional autonomy and the separation of powers between the three tiers of government — will be delayed until the Freedom Alliance enters talks with government and the ANC.

However, there is concern that the new formation is not "completely on the level" about its intention to enter negotiations on the new constitution.

It is alleged that it merely wants to prevent a plenary meeting of the negotiating forum to ratify the new constitution from taking place in time for the constitution to be promulgated during the special short session of Parliament in November.

A senior ANC source said: "It is difficult to understand how they will be able to negotiate with a united front on constitutional matters when they are so clearly divided among themselves on a new dispensation. It looks like a desperate attempt to stall the process."

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday the Freedom Alliance appeared to be merely a name change from Cosag, although it was a more formal alliance. (101) (3077)

"But it will be easier to deal with one group if they can manage to find one point of view. The problem is, which party's point of view are they going to adopt? (113)

"If the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront are now prepared to drop their demand for confederalism and adopt federalism, there would be absolutely no problem," he said.

A "great deal" of progress had been made in bilateral talks with Inkatha and the AVF but the new alliance had to recognise that the only solution for SA was a negotiated settlement with which all parties could live.

However, the process had to continue and could not be delayed by the alliance, he said, adding that only a few areas of the constitution still needed to be finalised.

These were the most contentious, and if it took a while to get going on talks with the new alliance, this could cause problems for the scheduled parliamentary session, he said.

The alliance has said that it wants talks with government urgently, particularly with President F W de Klerk, to discuss the calling of a leaders' summit to find ways of breaking the impasse.

Referendum 'no answer to impasse'

BILLY PADDOCK *Biday*

THE ANC yesterday gave cautious conditional support to President F W de Klerk's proposal of a referendum, but specified conditions for calling it and rejected it as a way through the impasse in negotiations.

In a strongly worded statement from the information and publicity department, after consultation with ANC president Nelson Mandela, the ANC rejected the idea that there should be a referendum if negotiators did not finalise the constitution in the next four weeks. *13/10/93*

Only when the negotiating process had completed the constitution for the transition, would it possibly be advisable to call a referendum as one of many ways to "further legitimise" the constitution.

De Klerk's proposal could be considered only on this basis. However a referendum could be decided on only by the negotiating council, not unilaterally by De Klerk.

If there was to be any "binding-in" process, the negotiating council would have to determine the question to be put to the electorate in the context of the negotiated constitution, as well as who would conduct such a referendum. *(101) (101) (101)*

"Given that there are vast areas of our country, including KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, where there is no free political activity, how will it be ensured that the referendum is free and fair? Above all, any such exercise will be meaningless if all South Africans, including those in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, are not assured the right to participate."

The ANC disagreed with De Klerk that the withdrawal of the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP from negotiations had under-

To Page 2

Referendum *Biday* *13/10/93* From Page 1

mined their credibility.

Criticising the Freedom Alliance, the ANC said: "Those who walked out of the process are all creations of the apartheid order. They share the common goals of perpetuating their anti-democratic vested interests which they acquired under apartheid. They are motivated by the goal of dismembering SA into ethnic and tribal entities which would entrench the seeds of endless conflict." *(101) (101)*

The "only legitimate process to find a negotiated settlement is the multiparty negotiations process" and the "walk-out by a handful of participants" should not be allowed to detract from this and the commitment to elections on April 27. *(101)*

Reuter reports from London that Mandela said he did not believe a referendum was a viable option to solve the impasse in talks and was unnecessary so close to elections. The ANC was determined to keep to the time frame of elections in six months.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that senior government sources said government was "deadly serious" about holding a referendum if negotiations failed.

Reacting to criticism that the proposal was just a "scare tactic", they denied that

a referendum was just a method of forcing the Freedom Alliance into line. They said it could be overseen by the proposed Independent Electoral Commission and it would not necessarily delay the election.

Meanwhile political analysts and other political groups gave De Klerk's suggestion a lukewarm response. Initial right-wing reaction was mixed. The CP rejected the notion, but it was not ruled out by AVF leader Gen Constand Viljoen.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he would not oppose the poll, but saw no reason to vote twice on essentially the same question. "It seems to us that what is now required is to press ahead with the negotiating process, as we have been doing."

Cape Town University political analyst Robert Schrire said De Klerk's suggestion was a sign of weakness and uncertainty. "De Klerk's political position is obviously weaker than we were aware," he said.

Inkatha also rejected the referendum, saying it was a recipe for violence and De Klerk had no right to call it.

NP sources said they were not surprised at the Freedom Alliance reaction as the major purpose of the proposal was to expose their numerical weakness.

● Comment: Page 10

Very strange bedfellows

Southern

13/10/93

Have the far right and the IFP begun a marriage of convenience?

THE purpose of forming the Freedom Alliance, one would think, was because its sum would be greater in both political power and attractiveness than its individual parts.

That the CP, AVF, IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would count for a lot more by standing together than they would by fighting for their causes separately is apparent.

As President FW de Klerk said in Stellenbosch last night, after having just spent two hours talking to the assorted member parties (and showing a remarkable freshness of countenance in the circumstances), they wish to negotiate in future as a single entity and will no longer take part in one-on-one discussions. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have a new political party.

Interracial synergy

But the dearth of analytical and intellectual talent around the leaders of the white Far Right probably was responsible for them failing to see what a huge contradiction their alliance represents to the ideals which they claim to stand for — not that the rest of us should complain, for what they have done, apparently unwittingly, is an encouraging and commendable acceptance of the great potential there is in interracial synergy in South Africa.

By forming the multiracial, multi-ethnic Freedom Alliance, the white Far Right has publicly conceded for the first time both the weakness of a

operation.

That is a burst of sunlight on their hitherto benighted response to the realities of the country, and rather than poke fun at the absurdity of their forming a multiracial political alliance with blacks on the one hand, but standing for a whites-only homeland on the other, we should welcome this breakthrough. But it is a breakthrough which is diaphanously fragile.

We cannot assume that the Far Right rank and file, or even the leadership of the CP and the AVF, actually grasp the importance of what they have done or realise that they have denied themselves, at the very least, the emotional satisfaction of pointing to the mottled complexion of the "new" NP and shouting "traitors!"

They have now embarked on much the same course, and their argument that the different elements which go to make up the Freedom Alliance all stand for ethnically separate or autonomous states is a deeply unconvincing reason for their decision to stand together.

For instance, when the Far Right

eventually does put forward an actual map of their proposed white homeland, they will know, and the rest of the Freedom Alliance will know, that there cannot be an economically viable part of it where blacks do not form an overwhelming majority of the population.

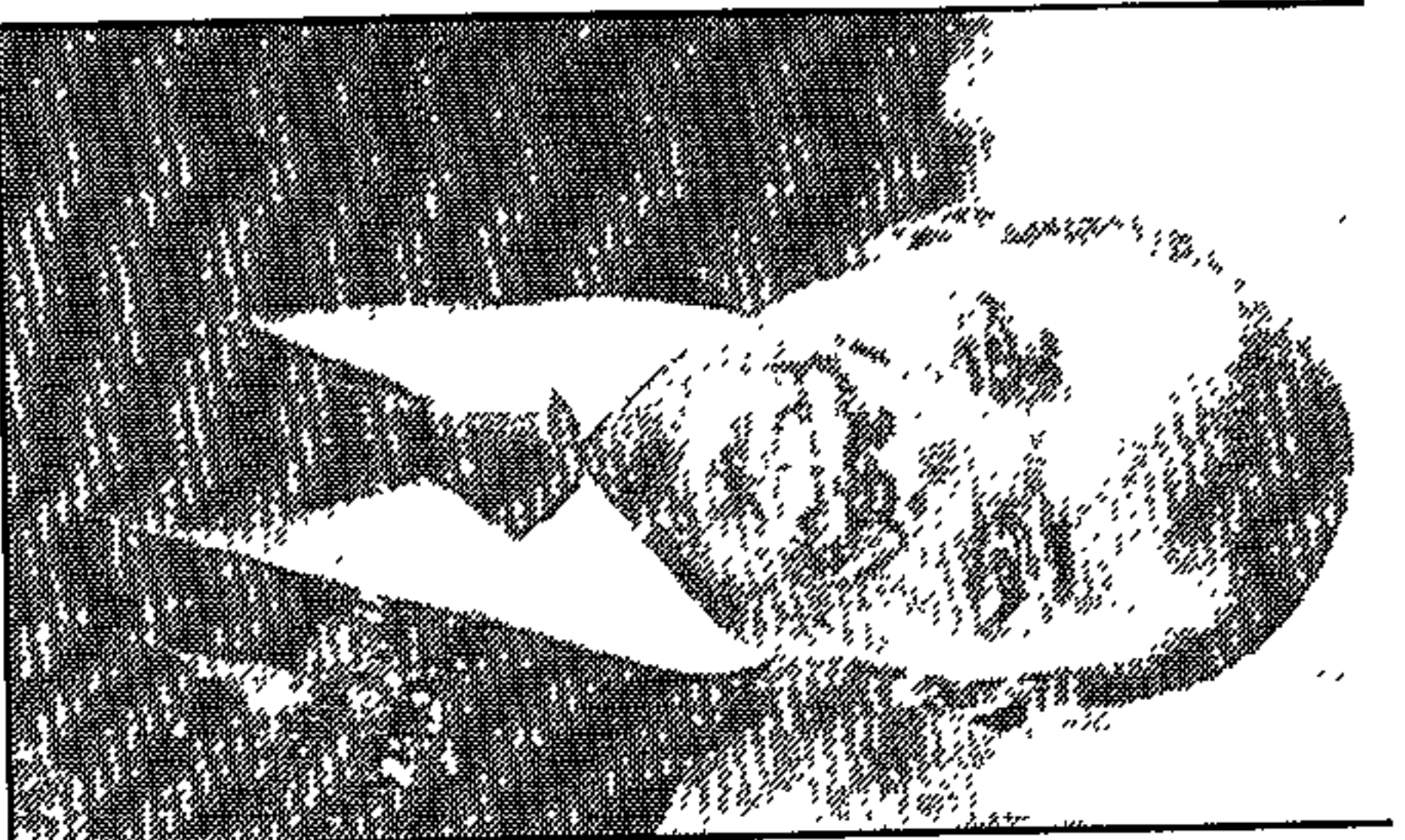
That being so, what is the IFP's response going to be to the rights of Zulus in that homeland? Or the Ciskei's feelings about the Xhosas there? Or Bop's sentiments about the Tswanas? Do the IFP, Ciskei and Bop actually embrace the concept of a white homeland? Almost certainly not.

Sticking together

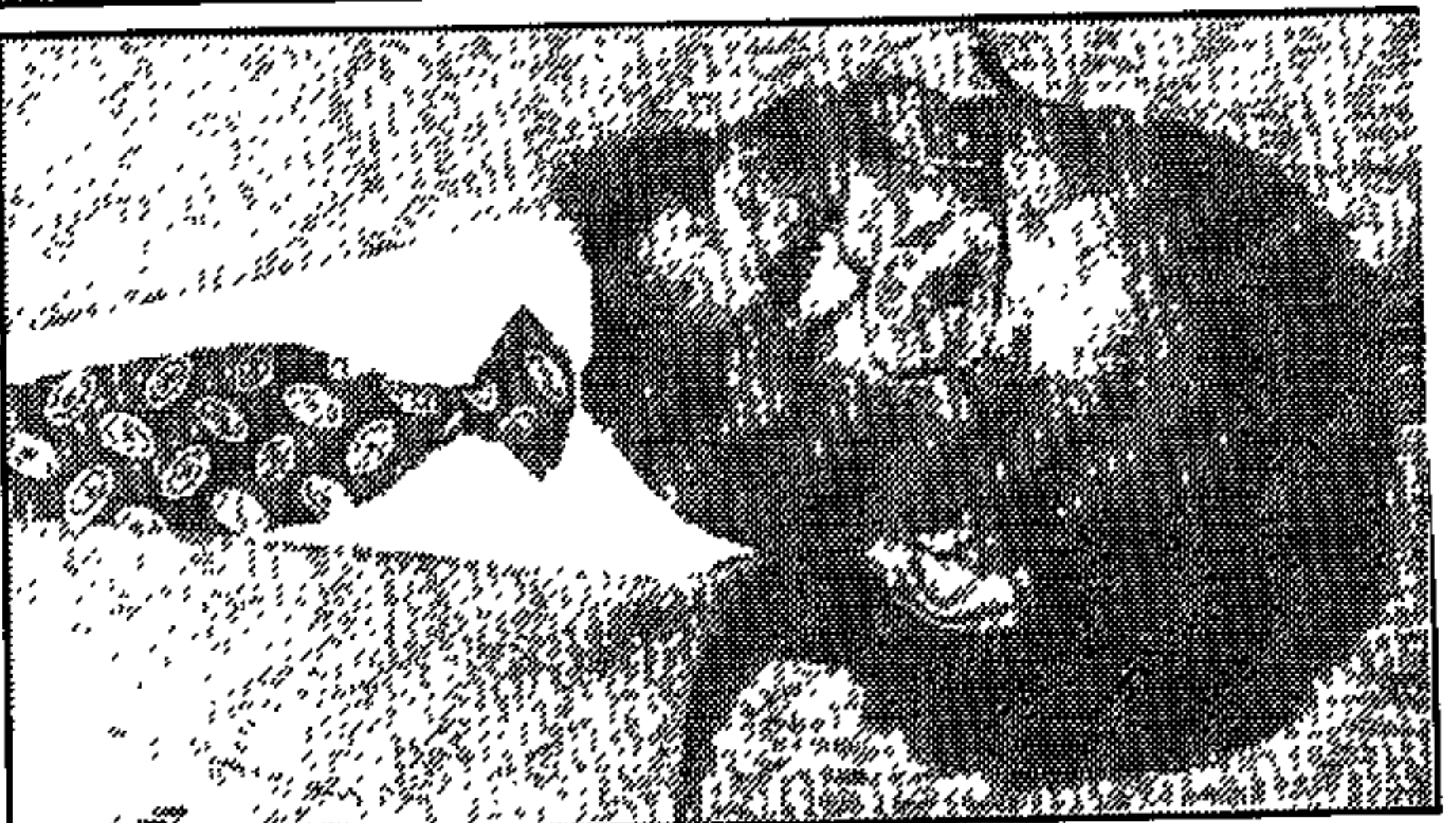
But they are sticking together with the white Far Right nevertheless, which raises the question: If the Freedom Alliance have embarked upon the politics of racial and ethnic co-operation without actually meaning to, and if there is no agreement among them on a white homeland, then what did they have in mind?

Other than their shared desire for their own chunk of territory (the economic and demographic impossibility of that in the case of whites notwithstanding) the thing which the two most powerful groups in the alliance — the CP and IFP — have in common, is their talk of "war".

Is this, then, a war alliance? It would be most surprising indeed if any of the rightist radicals believed they could launch armed resistance to change on their own, or at least without attempting to find allies wherever they could. But at the same time, it is difficult to conceive armed resistance by groups which essentially differ on the issue of a white



Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo.



IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

homeland.

Unless, of course, the IFP has in mind a white homeland in which blacks who are not Zulus would be relegated to perpetual subservience. What, indeed, is the IFP's view on the future destiny of the non-Zulu black majority who now are clustered around greater Pretoria, the supposed epicentre of the white homeland?

Have the IFP swung a deal with the white far right about the destiny of non-Zulu blacks which the country does not know of?

If they have not, then on what basis do they justify standing with the white Far Right in an alliance to pursue a white homeland? And in what way could the white Far Right justify armed resistance to change which certainly would entail black supporters of the Freedom Alli-

ance killing their fellow white Afrikaners?

On these treacherous foundations have the white Far Right, and the IFP, begun their mixed marriage of convenience.

The chances of a whites only homeland being achieved through the Freedom Alliance are ridiculously slender. But reaching that conclusion would entail traversing a course of multiracial politics which might well persuade the white far right to abandon its geographical idiocy and accept that if it can work together politically with blacks it can do so on a bigger and wider scale. If it can feel trustful of the IFP, Ciskei and Bop, there is no reason why, in time, it cannot summon the courage to face the ANC, PAC and, who knows, even the NP.

We won't delay talks

Star 20/10/93

- Freedom Alliance

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Freedom Alliance (FA) has given the ANC and Government an assurance that its separate negotiating forum will not halt progress in the multiparty negotiations process in Kempton Park.

Broad agreement appears to have been reached that bilateral talks with the newly formed alliance will not start from scratch.

The FA — comprising the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu government, Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei government, Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — yesterday met the ANC after meeting the Government on Monday evening.

These talks will be followed up on Friday with the Government and on Monday with the ANC.

The chairman of the FA negotiating team, Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje, said

there was a willingness on both sides to negotiate.

The discussions the FA had held over the past two days with the ANC and Government signalled the official return to talks by the AVF. The development further confirms that negotiations will take place both in the Negotiating Council and behind the scenes.

Concern

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the issues on Monday's agenda were whether there would be an elected constitution-making body; self-determination; and the powers and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said some FA members had said they could not judge the process until the draft Interim Constitution had been completed. Negotiations to finalise the draft document would therefore

continue in tandem with talks with the FA.

Newly appointed Ciskei Foreign and Constitutional Development Minister Mickey Webb said there seemed to be concern over the FA proposal for a summit of leaders to be held.

Ramaphosa said the ANC would prefer "second level leadership" to meet first. A meeting of leaders where agreements would be endorsed and remaining differences resolved would be the culmination of a negotiations process.

Meyer said a summit of leaders could be held only once negotiators were clear on the purpose of such a meeting.

The ANC secretary-general stressed that talks were on a tight schedule from which his organisation would not deviate. The Negotiating Council will wrap up its work on November 5, and a plenary session with the leaders is scheduled for November 6 and 7.

Govt and ANC oppose plan for homeland debts

Biday 22/10/93

GOVERNMENT and the ANC opposed suggestions that the R14bn homeland debt be transferred to the national debt of a new government after elections, with Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant insisting that all such debt be retained by the region inheriting the homeland.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said that until there was a full disclosure of the current long-term debt of the homelands it was impossible to make an informed decision. He said financial institutions that wanted to lend money to homelands, including the TBVC territories, had to run the risk that government would not be bound to guarantee loans.

Alant said an immediate audit should be done of the national debt and that of the homelands, and this could be achieved within two weeks. He said the homeland governments' debt, including that of the TBVC territories, ran to R14bn. The total national debt was R165bn.

He said any government contractual obligations or guarantees made on behalf of homelands would have to be honoured, but agreed that some measure had to be introduced to control homeland expenditure and debt directly in the transition period.

Alant said it would be a dangerous precedent if homeland governments' debts

BILLY PADDOCK

were transferred to the national debt, as this opened the door for local authorities and township authorities to demand similar treatment.

During a debate on the Reserve Bank's position being entrenched in the constitution, the ANC said it was in full agreement that the Bank remain independent but wanted minor wording changes to its primary objective so that it did not bind the Bank to controlling inflation through its control of money supply.

ANC negotiator Neil Morrison said the term "to achieve monetary stability" should be changed to "to achieve internal and external price stability". This would prevent the constitution binding the Bank to a technical matter that was an issue of debate among economists.

The SACP's Joe Slovo, supported by Morrison, said the Bank had to act in support of government. "It is of vital importance that the Reserve Bank cannot override the representatives of the people."

The council did not make a decision on this but it was expected that the clause would remain as originally drafted: that the Bank act in support of government policy but not under its control.

Volksonie walkout over storm in teacup

Biday 22/10/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Afrikaner Volksonie (AVU) created a storm in a teacup yesterday when it walked out of negotiations, demanding the resignation of one of the rotating chairmen and a formal apology.

As these were not forthcoming and the AVU was not given a chance to state its position, its delegates walked out and called a news conference, saying the legitimacy of the whole process was in question.

The issue was that last Friday during a debate on

the SADF raid into Umtata, the AVU distributed a speech by new leader Gerdus Kruger which contained innuendo and cast ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as David and Goliath. Apparently the speech was circulated in the chamber without the authority of the administration, which is correct procedure.

AVU negotiator Schalk Burger asked chairman Llewellyn Landers if he could distribute the speech and was given the go-ahead.

Kruger said despite Landers' acknowledgment that he had given the go-ahead, he refused to apologise and this smacked of a conspiracy between the ANC and the chairman to manipulate the process.

Landers said there was nothing to apologise for and would not take responsibility for the walkout.

Homelands pose election problem

WMB-14/10/93 (101) (3)

The participation of the homelands in next year's elections is one of the greatest problems facing negotiators, writes **Chris Louw**

WITH negotiations coming to a head, the parties at Kempton Park will soon be forced to grasp the harshest nettle — reincorporating the so-called independent homelands into South Africa and making them part of the elections.

While there is little doubt homeland citizens will take part in the elections, the crucial question is how Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, particularly, will be persuaded to allow free political activity within their borders before April 27 next year.

One possibility is that homeland citizens will be allowed to vote whether their governments agree to it or not — even if it means setting up polling stations on the boundaries of the recalcitrant "states". This could see the downfall of leaders such as Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo, whose popularity is highly suspect.

But the problem is that neither the government nor the African National Congress wants to do anything that might cost them votes.

Transkei and Venda have already indicated their willingness to surrender their "sovereignty" and allow elections in their territories.

Bophuthatswana, however, says it first wants to see a final constitution before deciding whether or not to rejoin — and this could take more than two years. And Rowan Cronjé, the country's chief negotiator, wants to sit in on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), effectively allowing his "independent" country to take part in the political activities of a neighbouring country. Ciskei is equally reluctant to accept reincorporation.

The ANC insists the government "closes the financial tap", to force the homelands back into the fold. "We are convinced they'll quickly return if the South African government shows the will to cut off their support," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said this week; the ANC would prefer "not to see a military solution".

According to the South African Institute of Race Relations, South Africa last year allocated 85 percent (R4,93-billion) of the homelands' budgets. Bophuthatswana received more than R960-million, Ciskei more than one billion rand, Transkei almost R2,5-billion and Venda R743-million.

The problem is that FW de Klerk's government cannot afford to get tough: while economic sanctions would undoubtedly have the required effect, they would hurt the average homeland citizen in the pocket — and the National Party would be blamed.

The NP does not want the chagrin of the homelands' population before the first democratic elections in the country's history; it needs their votes.

Asked this week what the government's views on the reincorporation of the homelands were, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels left little doubt that the citizens of the TBVC states would be voting in the elections, whether or not their countries became part of a democratic South Africa.

"It is the present government's view that the TBVC states must become part of the constitutional future of South Africa," Wessels said, adding that they would be expected to participate in the transitional mechanisms which will be created. It was unthinkable, he said, that the "citizens of the TBVC states not participate in the coming elections, and everything possible will be done to ensure their participation".

Political observers believe the government will slowly put the screws on Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, involving them in the process right to the end and then confronting them with a "final package" of agreements. These would include the four transitional Bills already passed by parliament, as well as the transitional constitution, the federal boundaries and the new electoral Bill presently being negotiated.

An issue provoking heated debate at Kempton Park — that of issuing identity documents — may in the end provide a solution to the problem.

The huge backlog in registering voters could see the negotiating council decide to accept homeland IDs, including passports from the "independent" homelands, for voting purposes.

Homeland citizens could then vote in a national election whether their governments agreed to it or not. Their votes would count for both regional government and the national assembly.

If, as seems likely, most Ciskei and Bophuthatswana citizens vote for parties other than those of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President Lucas Mangope, their ensuing legitimacy crisis could bring their governments crashing down.

The homelands' only answer would be not to allow polling stations in their countries. But this, say observers, could be overcome by erecting polling booths on the boundaries — allowing homeland citizens to vote with their feet.

Another tantalising intricacy involves the role of the Independent Electoral Commission, whose task will be to declare the elections free and fair: whether its powers will extend to the "independent" homelands is not yet clear. After elections, the IEC will have enough say with the newly elected government of national unity, which will then control the homeland purse-strings. Thoughts of being dependent on an unsympathetic central government should be enough to concentrate minds in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Row rages over R14 billion debt

Sowetan 22/10/93

(101)

THE GOVERNMENT and the African National Congress yesterday opposed a proposal at the multiparty talks that the central government take over the R14 billion debt of the self-governing territories and the TBVC states when a new constitution comes into force.

Deputy Finance Minister Dr Theo Alant said at the World Trade Centre that "cleaning the slate" in the homelands could set a precedent which could end up with local authorities demanding similar treatment.

The ANC did not agree that the new government should take over responsibility for the homelands' debt, ANC negotiator Mr Valli Moosa said.

The constitutional technical committee responsible for drawing up the interim constitution said a possible solution was for all long-term TBVC debt to be taken over by the new government as part of the national debt.

Alant said the total debt of the self-governing territories and the TBVC states was in excess of R14 billion.

■ CLEAN SLATE New government won't take over homelands' debt:

South Africa's total national debt, including that of the homelands, was R165 billion, he added.

He proposed that the negotiating council request a full audit of South Africa's assets and liabilities, including those of the homelands.

The Minister was insistent that public service contracts, including the payment of pensions, should be honoured by the new government.

Continue in their jobs

Negotiators agreed last week that civil servants employed at the time of the April 27 elections would continue in their jobs.

The future of the Reserve Bank came under the spotlight too, with the Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew calling for more independence for the bank.

The technical committee proposal

states that the Reserve Bank "shall...exercise its powers and perform its duties independently".

But it adds: "Provided that the Reserve Bank shall act in support of the general economic policy of the government of the Republic."

South African Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo said he had no problem with the clause.

The technical committee also proposed that a financial and fiscal commission be appointed by the State President within 60 days of the implementation of the interim constitution.

Its objects would be: "To appraise itself of all financial and fiscal information relevant to national and (regional) government...and to make recommendations regarding the financial and fiscal requirements of the Republic and (regions)." - Sapa.

The homelands, especially those opposed to reincorporation, are going to be the toughest nuts to crack for political parties contesting the election. Helen Grange reports on the problems of registering voters

Star 26/10/93

April 27: then there are homelands

It is ironic that South Africa's first non-racial election campaign will be bedevilled by logistical problems arising from the legacy of apartheid.

Homelands — the pillars of Verwoerd's separatist master plan — are going to be the toughest regions to penetrate and organise.

To complicate matters, the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, fiercely opposed to a unitary South Africa, threaten to go out of their way to make voting as difficult as possible for people in their territories.

Presently, there are about 4 million unregistered voters — 2 million in the homelands and 2 million in South Africa. Reaching and registering this number of people in the time available before the election on April 27 will be a difficult, if not impossible task.

Negotiators have agreed unofficially that TBVC identity documents will be valid in the election. But the TBVC governments do not have the infrastructure to issue IDs to those without as speedily as necessary — and South Africa has no legal authority to issue IDs in the TBVC states.

This is a dilemma which must be thrashed out at the World Trade Centre. The likely outcome is that Home Affairs will be granted legal power to issue IDs to homelands' residents.

This appears to be a technically only, as some Home Affairs offices bordering the homelands are presently receiving scores of ID applications from homeland residents wanting to vote.

Kheiso Gortman, assistant co-ordinator of

the ANC election campaign, says the ANC is concentrating on registering, firstly, those who have birth certificates but no IDs, and then the many South Africans who have no documents at all.

The ANC has proposed that voter cards be issued to expedite the registration process, but this has been rejected by the Government.

"We want voter cards to be issued by the Independent Electoral Commission (to be established soon), not only to short cut the extremely bureaucratic process of getting an ID, but also to remove voter registration as the sole prerogative of the Home Affairs Department," said Gortman.

To this, the Government replies it is confident Home Affairs can process any number

of ID applications, provided the applications are received within a reasonable period of time before the elections.

Special computer equipment is being bought to speed up the issuing of IDs and the Government has offered to pay for ID photos if enfranchised South Africans cannot afford them.

The Government has suggested that the problem does not lie so much in registration technicalities, as in reaching voters in the first place.

And getting voters registered is the duty of the political parties participating in the election and not the Government, it suggests.

Here again, the homelands come to mind. If free political activity is prevented by Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, their

101 3000

citizens may be handicapped.

Even if the right to vote is embraced in a law, the two dissenting homelands may refuse to abide by the law. The Bophuthatswana government has said that an Act extending the vote to citizens in the homelands could not be applied "extra-territorially".

In this case, it is possible that polling stations will have to be erected on the boundaries of these homelands, and that the TBVC citizens will have to walk long distances to get to them.

Venda and Transkei have already indicated their willingness to surrender to sovereignty and allow elections in their territories.

Since a significant chunk of the ANC's support base is believed to be in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, the burden of campaigning in these territories falls most heavily on that organisation.

Yet the ANC can expect little sympathy in the election battle ahead. Even the Democratic Party has sounded a harsh note to the ANC in regard to its gripes about the difficult campaign it faces.

Said the DP's James Selie recently: "The ANC should do something constructive for a change instead of whining about unlevelled playing fields."

The ANC, however, maintains that control over registration must be wrested from the Government as soon as the Independent Electoral Commission is established in order to inspire confidence in voters that the election will be free and fair.

Alliance seeks talks with FW

Sowetan 27/10/93

■ **EXPLOSIVE SITUATION** South Africa is approaching 'a crisis of historic proportions':

THE Freedom Alliance is to seek an urgent meeting with State President FW de Klerk in a bid to defuse the explosive situation in negotiations.

The announcement yesterday followed a lengthy meeting of Alliance leaders at Ulundi, KwaZulu, after the breakdown in bilateral talks with the African National Congress on Monday.

The alliance repeated its demand — rejected by the ANC — for an urgent summit of leaders to resolve outstanding issues and chart the constitutional road.

In a statement after the leaders' meeting, the Alliance called on "opinion makers and men and women of stature in South Africa to support our call for urgent talks between national leaders".

"The Freedom Alliance rejects the right of the South African Government and the ANC to determine the future of this country bilaterally. We call for support of this rejection."

Present at the Ulundi meeting were Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Con-

servative Party, General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei president Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

"The leaders of the Freedom Alliance wish to state that South Africa is approaching a crisis of historic proportions," the statement said.

The multiparty negotiations process at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, which the Alliance is boycotting, was "insufficiently representative to consider the national issues at stake".

The Alliance called for recognition that "in reality" there had been a political realignment in the country which had resulted in the emergence of "three dominant blocs of political parties and leaders" — the Alliance, the ANC-South African Communist Party-led Patriotic Front and the South African Government-National Party.

"A constitutional dispensation for a future democracy...needs to be adopted by consensus which will, at the very least, involve the three major political blocs," the statement added. — *Sapa.*

By EZRA MANTINI

THE country's 10 000 traditional leaders may start job-hunting soon after next year's elections.

Chiefs who are paid by regional directors in the Department of Home Affairs, including the homelands, only hold political clout in the homelands where they represent their villages in parliament.

Their present powers include village administration, development and handling of local disputes. Their salaries vary according to regions and responsibility. But since many chiefs in the TBVC states operate as MPs and also as tribal heads, they earn more than their counterparts, who only serve as the latter.

But now they face political uncertainty in the new dispensation as their roles are not defined in the present constitution.

Their concern has been sparked by fears that the negotiating council could finalise its talks within a matter of days — and still nothing has been said about the role and powers of the chiefs.

Other fears have been caused by rumours that the new constitution might go for what has been termed "the Mozambican option", which nullified the powers of chiefs.

Several chiefs said they feared that if their rights were not clearly tabled in the present constitution, they might have to start looking for work a day after the elections.

Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana, deputy chairman of Contralesa, said: "We have told the politicians that there is no political dispensation that could be concluded without us. We have been the leaders of the people long before the arrival of whites and we could not be sidelined now."

A chief who refused to be named said: "The real problem is that the chiefs have been terrorised in the past by comrades who accused them of collaborating with Pretoria. Now some of those comrades are negotiating at the World Trade Centre, discussing this country's constitution.

"Naturally, with that attitude, they are the last people to negotiate any good deal for chiefs. Frankly, they feel we should start earning a living by looking for work after the elections."

But ANC legal head Matthew Phosa said: "It is true the issue of the chiefs' future has not been decided as yet. The Mozambican option was just one of the options we thought of, but we opted to keep the chiefs. However, we have not yet defined what their actual role will be.

"But the chiefs must not call a bluff and claim to have a large following. There is no way they are going to be represented in the constituent assembly because their influence has always been limited to the tribal level.

"We might find a way of making them ex-officio members of local structures at local level," he added.

Mr Phosa said many people in the movement remained unconvinced that the traditional leaders had contributed to the liberation struggle.

He said he was concerned about the chiefs who "appeared to be representing people when, in fact, they were representing themselves. These chiefs have a sugar-coated political ambition. Under the bill of rights, we are all equal in the eyes of the law and we do not see why they should be treated differently".

He said chiefs who needed a political voice would have to step down from chieftainship and run for political office alongside their subjects and possibly in the same village.

It also meant that a village's political representative, irrespective of the party he represented, might have more political clout than the local chief.

"The chief has the option," said Mr Phosa. "He remains a chief or he runs for elections if he wants a political office. If he loses, he must accept that he lost to a commoner."

But it is believed ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is of Tembu royal blood and is an hereditary chief, has different views and has urged that the chiefs be included at a senior level.

Deputy Minister of Justice Sheila Carmerer said the government was concerned about the chiefs' fate. She said they had had bilater-

al talks with the ANC but nothing had been finalised.

She said: "We are not saying 'if' but saying how and what powers should be kept by the chiefs because they are part and parcel of the local culture and have played a very important role in the history of this country. It is the negotiating council that might decide whether the powers of the chiefs remain at local or at regional level."

Inkatha's Themba Khoza said: "Though the chiefs' destination has not been determined, we are concerned that they should retain a meaningful role in the shaping of this country.

"We need their guidance and we cannot afford to ignore them. They are part and parcel of our destiny."

Chief S'thembiso Gumede, Natal president of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of Southern Africa, recently addressed several chiefs in Qwa Qwa and expressed concern at the possible "sidelining of chiefs" by those at the World Trade Centre.

"We want to be recognised by the government now and in the liberated South Africa. We want to have a say on matters that affect our positions and our people," he said.

He said traditional leaders had to tell the world of their existence before the new dispensation was finalised.

Traditional leaders may have to start looking for jobs after the elections

SI Times

31/10/93

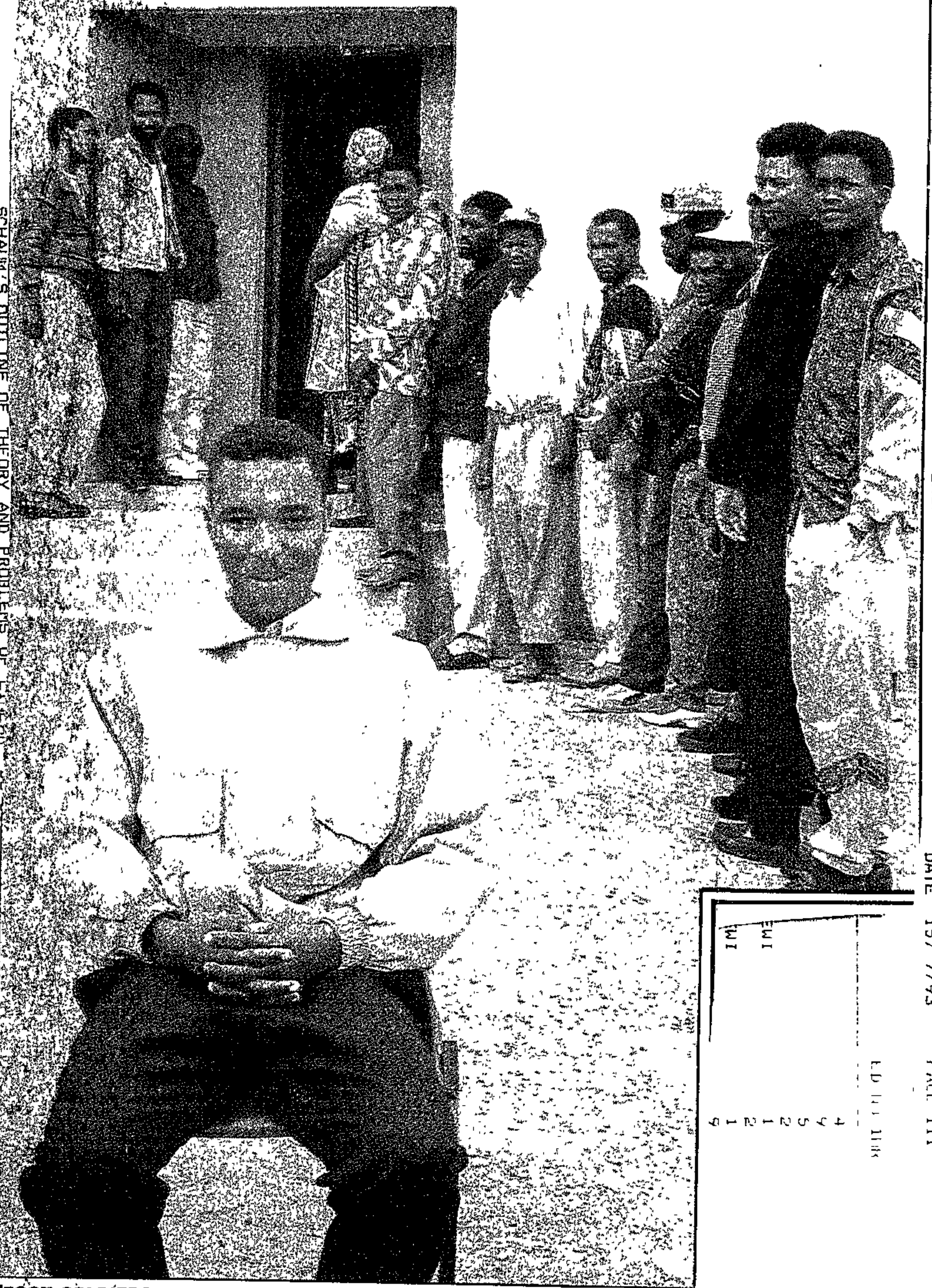
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SCHAUM'S OUTLINE OF THEORY AND PROBLEMS OF EXTREME
 AN INTRODUCTION TO POSITIVE ECONOMICS 7TH EDITION
 DESIGN SENSITIVITY, STATISTICAL POWER FOR EXPERIME
 ECONOMICS

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'FOOT SOLDIERS ... Ntsikelo Funde — he and his colleagues track down criminals on foot
 Picture: SAM MAJELA

Chiefs want wide powers

JOHANNESBURG. — Traditional leaders called this week for representation at all levels of government in a future dispensation.

In a document released at the World Trade Centre late on Monday, they called for an elected rural local government and for a house of traditional leaders in each region.

The rural local government would provide services in its area of jurisdiction, they proposed.

Legislation pertaining to traditional leadership, indigenous law and custom should be "referred to the (traditional) house for its consideration (101) and comment/support".

The document will be debated today. — Sapa

CT 10/11/93

Negotiators scrap detention without trial in SA and the homelands

THE negotiating council yesterday unanimously agreed to scrap Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for detention without trial.

The technical committee investigating laws which could be regarded as preventing free political activity in SA, the TBVC states and the self-governing states recommended the scrapping of the section so that SA's statutes could be regarded as "democratic and human rights orientated".

One committee member said that Clive and Gaye Derby-Lewis and Janusz Waluz would be the last people to have been de-

tained in terms of this legislation.

Welcoming the council's decision, chairman Pravin Gordhan — who has been detained under this section several times, the last time in 1990 for his involvement in Operation Vula — said many of the negotiators had been victims of this "offensive bit of legislation".

SA Communist Party negotiator Essop Pahad's call for the law to go was supported by government and the Afrikaner Volksunie. No party opposed its demise. Currently, a person can be detained for 10 days without trial for interrogation pur-

BILLY PADDOCK

Bidau 12/11/93

poses, and a judge can order further detention periods on application by the police. However, before 1992, the law provided for indefinite detention starting with 180 days before any review was possible. Some detainees were held for more than two years.

The council agreed that corresponding laws in the TBVC states should also be scrapped. It agreed to scrap or amend a range of repressive laws in the self-governing territories, including Kwazulu. The Self-Governing Territories Constitu-

tion would be amended to allow the President to "repeal, supplement or substitute any law in the self-governing territories".

The committee recommended that the entire area of common law crimes against the state and statutory security crimes be investigated and amended or repealed to be in line with the Bill of Rights.

Sapa reports that the negotiators also agreed that security force members be prohibited from belonging to political organisations, but could join "bona fide" trade unions.

The agreement proposed that members

of the SAP, SADF, Correctional Services and National Intelligence were required to be impartial and should "not be seen to be associated with any political organisation (but) should be allowed to be members of trade unions or similar organisations".

However, public servants outside these categories should be allowed to be involved in politics. The committee would investigate a proposal from Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer that judicial officers be precluded from belonging to political parties.

● See Page 2

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No detention without trial

Notorious laws for scrapheap

Star 12/11/93

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Negotiating Council yesterday agreed to the repeal of a plethora of controversial legislation, including the notorious section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

In terms of the agreement, the statute books of the homelands and self-governing territories will also be purged of legislation defined as discriminatory or likely to impede free political activity.

The repeal of this legislation will take place in the session of Parliament beginning on November 22.

Section 29 of the Internal Security Act provides for detention without trial, and the task group handling the issue recommended that it should be amended. However, the ANC, SACP and PAC all called for it to be scrapped entirely and this was agreed by the Negotiating Council.

Police will also no longer be able to arrest people without a warrant.

The Prohibition of Foreign Financing of Political Parties and Affected Organisations Act is also to be repealed.

Repressive legislation in the

NEGOTIATORS agree that homeland statute books will also be purged of a large number of controversial laws

homelands is to be repealed, including sections of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei's Internal Security Acts.

It was agreed that repressive legislation in the self-governing territories dealing with detention without trial, prohibition of organisations and the restriction of people be repealed.

► More reports - Page 3

Negotiators agreed that there should be no restrictions on organising political events. Provisions have further been agreed to for the political participation of civil servants.

The council agreed that at least 20 laws in KwaZulu are to be repealed or amended.

These include provisions allowing for:

■ Chiefs and headmen to prohibit meetings and to use force

to disperse gatherings.

■ It to be an offence to spread "false reports" about the KwaZulu government.

■ Forced removals and banishment orders.

■ Inquiry into political affiliations of any person.

■ Residents giving traditional leaders "loyalty, respect and obedience", which may be construed as political support.

■ The KwaZulu Police to enter into agreements to conduct cross-border operations into South Africa.

■ Declarations of written loyalty to the KwaZulu government.

■ The dismissal of women teachers who fall pregnant out of wedlock.

Yesterday was a special day for the Natal Indian Congress's Pravin Gordhan.

After having spent about a year in prison in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the veteran activist yesterday presided over the session of the Negotiating Council that ordered the abolition of the legislation.

"For me it was a unique occasion to chair the session in which this happened," said Gordhan, who became a victim of section 29 for periods during 1981, 1985 and 1990.

Proposal to scrap homelands

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The TBVC states and self-governing territories could legally cease to exist within weeks in terms of a dramatic proposal considered by negotiators in the early hours of today.

The recommendation — which would effectively signal the end of the Verwoerdian dream — was tabled in the Negotiating Council at 3 am as negotiators stitched together

outstanding provisions of the interim constitution (101)

The clause — proposed to be included in the interim constitution and to be passed in the special session of Parliament beginning on Monday — provides for the repeal of the legislation that recognises the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

It would also repeal the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act — effectively ending the existence of national states

such as KwaZulu as separate constitutional entities.

Negotiators succumbed to weariness this morning soon after the proposal was tabled and will meet again today to reach a decision in time for this afternoon's plenary session of talks at which leaders will formally endorse agreements.

If passed by Parliament, the interim constitution as a whole will come into effect on elec-

► To Page 3

Homelands may be scrapped soon

From Page 1

tion day, April 27, but different provisions can come into operation earlier.

This would require a proclamation by President de Klerk in the Government Gazette.

In terms of the proposal put to talks early today, laws that would be repealed include the Status of Bophuthatswana Act and the Status of Ciskei Act.

If these laws are repealed, the two homelands will, in terms of South African and international law, cease to exist.

A constitutional expert last night confirmed the

agreement would effectively mean the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa with or without their consent. (101)

A deal already struck in negotiations will make citizens of these states South Africans, and South African laws will be applicable to them. Should the homeland governments resist, they could technically be charged in South African law with treason.

An appeal in terms of international law would be meaningless because these states are not recognised by any foreign power, the constitutional expert said.

An observer pointed out that the only survival mechanism remaining would be a military deterrent — such as exercised by Taiwan in spite of its international pariah status.

When the issue was raised in talks last night, weary negotiators initially agreed to the key clause in the interim constitution that would strip the homelands and the self-governing territories of their powers.

However, as the debate dragged on it was decided that the issue should stand over to later this morning.

Negotiators were confident that these highly

significant clauses would be finalised in time for the plenary session this afternoon.

The proposal has huge implications for the Freedom Alliance, which counts KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei among its members.

It means that — should the clause be adopted by Parliament — the homelands and KwaZulu would be forced to make a choice: either embrace the multiparty agreements or cease to exist legally.

Should they adopt the latter they would almost certainly have to resort to military resistance to maintain a role.

Homelands slam decision to scrap them

Biday 18/11/93

WILSON ZWANE
and GAVIN DU VENAGE

KWAZULU and Bophuthatswana yesterday slated the negotiating council's decision to scrap the laws that provide a legal framework for the homelands and self-governing territories.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned of resistance as the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus set up a solidarity fund to protect Zulus from "the threat to their survival".

Reuter reports that Buthelezi warned negotiators they would not be able to foist their decisions on those outside the pro-

cess. "Whatever decisions they've made, they don't expect to foist them on us without us resisting them. If they talk of democracy, the solution should have been all-inclusive. There is not a single stone we didn't turn in an effort to try to persuade them it should have been all-inclusive."

He criticised negotiators' eagerness to finalise the interim constitution. "The hype about time frames becomes like hysteria

and the euphoria arising from their getting the package they wanted means they don't really care if the process is all-inclusive. It does not augur well for the future."

The KwaZulu Legislative Assembly appealed to Zulus to pay R20 or more each to ensure their survival. KwaZulu parliamentarians said they were setting up an "umfelandawonye", a solidarity fund. The caucus appealed for contributions from all Zulus supporting their stand, as well as from "members of other race groups who feel

□ To Page 2

Homelands

Biday 18/11/93

□ From Page 1

disposed to support our cause".

KwaZulu senior official Frank Mdlalose said the plan to repeal the 1986 Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act was "vindictive, intransigent and intolerant".

The council's proposal to scrap what "has united people — black and white — of the Natal/KwaZulu region" indicated clearly that the council was against progress and wanted to "please the ANC".

He said the regional joint executive authority would meet soon to discuss the matter. The fact that KwaZulu had worked "doggedly" towards the establishment of the joint regional authority showed it had no intention of remaining a "bantustan".

Mdlalose would not be drawn on what action KwaZulu would take.

Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said the negotiating council was not a legally and constitutionally instituted body. Its decisions were, at best, recommendations.

"Anything emanating from the negotiation council, or the Transitional Executive Council or, for that matter, from the SA

Parliament is worthless unless it is endorsed by the sovereign parliament of Bophuthatswana."

He said Bophuthatswana's government would make the ultimate decision on reincorporation. But Bophuthatswana remained committed to negotiations.

Early yesterday the negotiators decided to repeal the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, sweeping away the legal right of Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda to exist as separate entities.

Among 34 laws to be amended or repealed are the 1976 Status of Ciskei Act, the 1977 Status of Bophuthatswana Act, the 1979 Status of Venda Act and the 1986 Joint Executive Authority for KwaZulu and Natal Act.

Sapa reports the negotiating council took just a few minutes to agree to scrap the homeland Acts. The decision would be enacted when the interim constitution was ratified by Parliament in its session starting on November 22.

It was noted in the council, however, that the practical application of the decision would be "another matter".

'Tanks' threat to homelands

CT 20/11/93 (101)

JOHANNESBURG. — If any of the TBVC states or self-governing territories failed to co-operate in their own dissolution the "tanks will roll in", senior ANC official Mr Mathew Phosa said here yesterday.

And the right-wing Freedom Alliance was warned by SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo that if its actions led to the spilling of blood, the government would have a duty to meet such actions "with resolve".

The two leaders were speaking at a news conference by ANC/SACP negotiators.

Mr Phosa said the transition would include "leveling the playing fields throughout the country, including the TBVC states". If the process were undermined and "if the only option left to us is to roll in the tanks, then that is what we will do".

ANC constitutional head Mr Mac Maharaj rejected Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's call for a white election. "He is losing touch with reality," he said. "A white election will never take place in South Africa again and it is impossible for their demand to be realised."

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said the Transitional Executive Council would probably hold its first meeting within two weeks. — Sapa

Homeland leaders

STimes 21/11/93

THE ANC and the government, backed by the law, will employ a carrot-and-stick approach with homelands that try to prevent free and fair elections.

Their first legal weapon is the new constitution. When it is approved by Parliament, scores of laws — including those granting independence to some homelands, and funding for others — will be repealed.

The second is a legally constituted Transitional Executive Council and an Independent Electoral Commission, which will have powers to ensure that free political activity takes place throughout the country.

ANC negotiators said people who tried to obstruct campaigning would be arrested and prosecuted.

If homelands refused to co-operate with preparations for re-incorporation or elections, the TEC would insist that the laws taking away their powers be promulgated immediately, instead of waiting for April 27 as planned.

The ANC was content to allow co-operative administrations to continue functioning until after the elections, when they would be rationalised into provincial administrations.

Another strategy would be to isolate intransigent leaders from their power bases.

This would be done by holding meetings with members of the civil services and the military, who would be informed that their job security and pensions had been secured in the new dispensation, but if they did not co-operate in the amalgamation of the various defence forces and civil services, they risked being left out.

A further strategy would be to strip the Kwazulu legislature of its authority to pay the Kwazulu chiefs.

By handing this function over to the TEC, the

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

chiefs would realise that it was in their interests to co-operate. (10)

The TEC will hold its first legal meeting before December 15 and will be up and running by next year.

Another potential flashpoint in the next few months will be the integration of local councils, which right-wing councils have threatened to block.

At talks this week, however, right-wing representatives were party to an agreement that set a timetable for the installation of non-racial councils.

Some right-wing councils are to be allowed more time to integrate, but the government and the ANC stressed that those who tried to block integration would be acting against the law and would be prosecuted.

At a press conference on Friday, ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa said that should any of the self-governing territories not co-operate in the process of their own dissolution, "tanks will roll in" as a last resort.

But he emphasised that the first option would be to persuade them to co-operate.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said that if the actions of the Freedom Alliance led to bloodshed, the government would have a duty to act with resolve.

Warmed

Corruption everywhere

CIPress 21/1/93

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
and Sapa

SERIOUS allegations of corruption, maladministration and mismanagement might speed up the reincorporation of KwaNdebele and Lebowa into SA.

On the eve of formal re-incorporation of all the homelands, damaging reports by commissions into the running of the two self-governing territories were released this week.

The weighty reports by the Parsons Commission on KwaNdebele, and the De Meyer Commission on Lebowa, were released to the media on Friday.

The reports were published barely a few hours after the euphoria that came with the news of an agreement of a constitutional package by 19 of the 21 multiparty negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

The two homelands are ANC allies and members of the Patriotic Front which consists of several organisations that agree on the major constitutional issues in a new SA.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa has said the government should investigate homeland corruption fairly and should not only single out those homeland leaders who were outspoken against Pretoria.

Mamoepa said although his organisation did not condone corruption by anyone, Pretoria seemed to have targeted only the bantustan leaders who were openly critical of the government while it gave a blind eye to "its allies".

Among the Parsons Commission recommendations were that KwaNdebele's Justice Department be placed under the control of the

same department in the central government to raise its justice system and administration to a more effective level.

The commission found that appeals by convicted prisoners had received no attention and review cases were seldom sent to the Supreme Court in time. There was "barely a semblance" of correspondence or a system for filing completed cases.

The commission also found that the disposal of exhibits in criminal cases was seldom carried out.

The fourth De Meyer's Commission findings on Lebowa have justified the taking over of the homeland's financial matters by the South African authorities.

An earlier report on the homeland revealed that R1-billion disappeared through mismanagement and corruption.

POLITICS

Fri 26/11/93

Now for the hard part

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The gulf between government and the Freedom Alliance on how to shape a new constitution is far wider than believed by optimists. There seems little hope that differences will be resolved on the basis of current bilateral negotiations.

Another round of talks was under way in Cape Town as the *FM* went to press, but neither side expected much progress. However, it was likely that the door would be left open for further discussion.

How to deal with the Alliance is becoming a major problem for both government and the ANC. It may in fact be easier for President F W de Klerk to convince the ANC of the need for a referendum to break the deadlock, than to get the Alliance back on board before April 27.

The Alliance comprises a rightwing grouping under the banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Inkatha and the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. De Klerk is understood to be increasingly disturbed by repeated claims by the CP that he has left Afrikaners in the lurch and that the Alliance has more backing than the groups represented at the multiparty talks.

In parliament this week, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg taunted De Klerk by suggesting that the Alliance was "at least" the second most popular political grouping after the ANC. And, at a public meeting in Durban this week, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed the Alliance represented more than half the country's population. He warned that if the Nats and the ANC ignored "the majority of SA's population" the country was "heading for an abyss."

But these calculations of support appear to assume that all Zulus and Afrikaners back the Alliance.

The parliamentary debate on the negotiation process illustrated the extent of the gap between government and the Alliance. They could not even agree on the basic constitutional concept that underlies their differences — though there should not be surprise at this.

De Klerk was apparently under the impression that the basis of current negotiations was the acceptance of federalism as a point of departure. He said this was confirmed to him by Alliance leaders twice last week. If this were not the basis of talks, negotiations would be "senseless." The issue for discussion was how to strengthen the federal concept.

But speaking immediately afterwards, Hartzenberg strongly rejected De Klerk's interpretation of the CP's position, which he said was confederalism and not federalism as envisaged by the interim constitution. In a confederal system, the CP's envisaged *volk-*

staat would in effect be an independent country that would have an arm's-length relationship with neighbouring states.

The interim constitution agreed to by the multiparty negotiators provides for a federation, in which not all the powers of the constituent members will be exclusive of central government. Hartzenberg said this was a union rather than a federation — and he has a strong theoretical case.

At the Durban meeting, Buthelezi also indicated support for confederalism. He said the interim constitution was fatally flawed. However, he was preparing to contest the general election next year in the belief that "true multiparty consensus" would be achieved by then. But the chances of this happening appear slim. The dispute between government and Inkatha goes beyond the interpretation of federalism. Buthelezi is also opposed to a two-phase transition and wants multiparty negotiators rather than an elected constituent assembly to draw up the final constitution.

He was prepared to continue talking to government "in the hope that sense will in the end prevail . . . Our arguments to the government will be that the only way we are going to achieve peace and stability is for SA's negotiators to draw up a final constitution before elections next year. We have a fight to put up against a fatally flawed constitution."

If agreement was not reached, Buthelezi

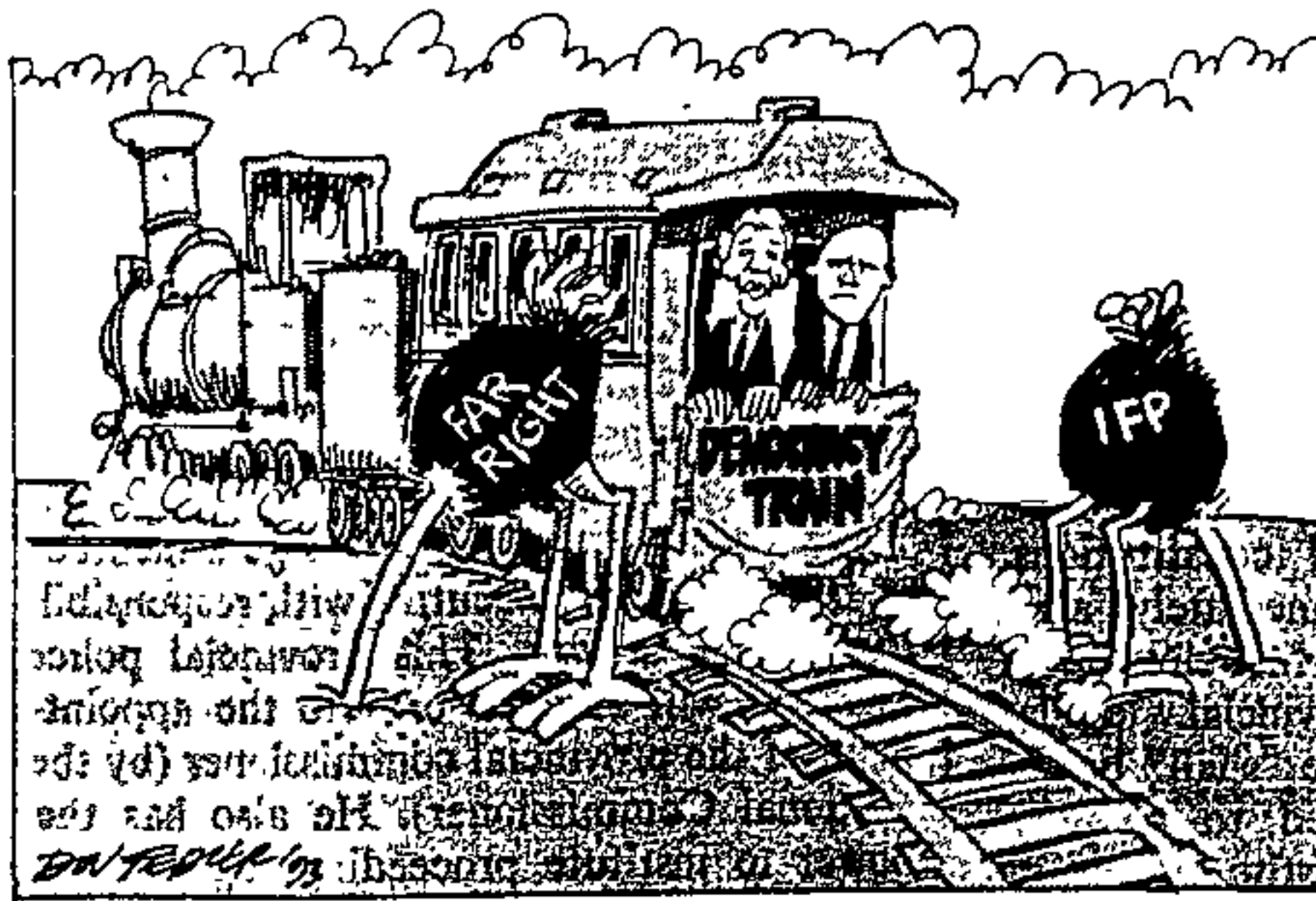
Centre would not be changed. He said it was up to the Alliance to provide further specific details of its demands within a federal framework.

"We are then prepared to go back to the negotiating council if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable."

During the parliamentary debate De Klerk tried to split the Alliance by suggesting that Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should not associate with the CP if that party rejected federalism and nonracialism. He urged Alliance partners — particularly Inkatha — to "have the courage to dissociate themselves unequivocally from the CP." If they did not, the Alliance would be branded as the "apex of opportunism . . . It is simply not good enough that the Freedom Alliance presents itself as a political entity when that suits it while glossing over the fundamental conflicts of policy within its ranks."

De Klerk said it was still possible to bring them on board "given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance." He said agreements reached within the next week or two could still be endorsed by both the negotiating council of the multiparty forum and parliament. "We believe that we have already made constructive proposals and are prepared to look together with the Alliance at what more can be done."

But it was clear from the CP's attitude that agreement is a long way off. The party is simply not prepared to consider at this stage the sort of nonracial framework within a federal system that government insists is a basic condition for participation in the election. The party was unmoved by De Klerk's claim that the new constitution provides an effective balance of power between the provinces and central government. Instead, Hartzenberg and colleague Fanie Jacobs warned government of Afri-



kaner resistance if military action were taken against Alliance partners who refused to accept the interim constitution.

De Klerk is not in favour of using force — which does not mean that the use of force can be ruled out. If the war talk of some elements in the Alliance turns out to be more than bluff, it is by no means unthinkable that the Defence Force will be called in to preserve the union and restore stability within it. ■

said he would not lead Inkatha into the election. If the party decides at a special congress in January to contest the election on the basis of the interim constitution, he will step down as leader.

But in a TV interview at almost the same time as Buthelezi was speaking, De Klerk said while every effort would be made to accommodate the Alliance, the essence of what had been agreed at the World Trade

P.T.C →

Govt debt close to 'danger level'

CT 29/11/93

101

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government's debt will be pushed closer to the danger level of 60% of gross domestic product (GDP) next year when homeland debts are taken onto the books and pension funds are topped up by issuing stock.

In terms of the interim constitution, all debts and liabilities other than those linked to property "shall vest in the national government".

This means the state's debt will rise by billions at a stroke — with the last estimate of the homelands' (including TBVC) debt at R14 billion. Deputy Finance Minister Mr Theo Alant disclosed the figure during multi-party negotiations, but did not say how much was linked to property. Adding to the debt mountain will be stock issued to address pension fund deficits. It is understood that almost R7bn in stock will be issued to state pension funds to bring funding to a more acceptable level. Sources said the government had placed a limit of R8bn on its guarantees for the homelands' overdrafts, and speculation was that the level was fast being approached.

Economists said the move to bring self-governing and TBVC debt onto the books

Homelands, pensions add to load

would give a more complete picture of the real debt situation.

South Africa's debt-to-GDP ratio of almost 50% gave the wrong signals about the government's capacity to borrow. In Europe, a debt burden of 60% of GDP was regarded as the upper limit.

However, other than providing greater transparency, the adding on of homeland debt to overall debt totals would not have any practical impact on the fiscus.

The government could save on interest payments by converting more expensive overdrafts — which make up about half the debt — into lower-interest government stock. The plan to top up pension funds by issuing interest-bearing stock would raise the interest burden further, said Nedcor economist Mr Edward Osborne. A rising

interest bill constrained the government's ability to spend as it was forced to borrow simply to service its debt. If the situation continued to deteriorate, the country could fall into a "debt trap".

The government's interest bill, at R22bn for the present fiscal year, amounted to more than 26% of the Budget from about 15% in 1992/93. By contrast, total capital expenditure was less than eight percent of the budget.

According to the constitution, re-allocation of homeland debts and liabilities linked to property would be decided by the Financial and Fiscal Commission. Property would be transferred to the government free and disputes about ownership would be settled after advice from the commission on provincial government.

A further move to clarify the state's debt will be the issuing of stock to cover the debt to the Reserve Bank incurred by subsidising forward cover to the market. The debt, about R9bn, is already included in the Quarterly Bulletin's debt-to-GDP figures.

According to the bulletin, the government has provided guarantees for R26,6bn of debt. While more than half of that was for the TBCV and self-governing states, the rest includes other tiers of government like black local authorities.

TBVC (101)
debate
mark end
of talks

Political Staff

THE multiparty negotiations process which began in December 1991 are scheduled to formally end today with a debate on the re-incorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa and on the Interim Constitution in terms of which South Africa will be ruled for the first two years after the April 27 elections.

The end of the talks, in which only 20 of the 26 parties which took part on April 1 are still involved, will mark the beginning of another phase in the country's history as the multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC) — which will govern South Africa up to next year's elections — takes office next week.

Scheduled to hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday, the TEC will effectively run the country with regard to the seven areas over which it will have jurisdiction, while President De Klerk's government will continue to rule on other issues.

The seven areas are law and order, defence, foreign affairs, local and regional government, finance, intelligence and women. Multiparty subcouncils will be in charge of each area. Top of the TEC's list will be the establishment of the Independent Media Commission and Independent Electoral Commission.

Although most of the parties still left in the talks will serve on the TEC and its subcouncils, the Afrikaner Volkswaarders (AVU) announced yesterday it would not be part of the TEC.

This, said AVU acting leader Gerdus Kruger, was because the negotiated settlement arrived at "did not take the legitimate democratic aspirations of the Afrikaner people into account".

Whether the Pan Africanist Congress will finally take part in the TEC will depend on the outcome of a meeting on the organisation of a meeting the organiser is scheduled to hold soon with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to continue discussions on "a mutual cessation of hostilities".

As the protracted negotiations process finally winds down this week, not all delegates at the World Trade Centre yesterday were happy with amendments to be made to the Interim Constitution before it is presented to parliament next week.

The amendments are understood to relate mostly to the powers and functions of regional governments and soft regional boundaries — which are some of the issues over which the Freedom Alliance has expressed concern.

Homelands face the

Staff 2/11/21/93

SAF 101

THE "homecoming" symbolises the final collapse of the Verwoerdian dream, says Joe Slovo

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre today marked a historic turning point for the country, approving the return of South African citizenship to residents of the four "independent" national states on January 1, and the reincorporation of the territories into South Africa on the day of elections, April 27.

The Negotiating Council's decision to approve a draft Bill authorising the "homecoming" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — which will allow these citizens to vote in the elections — was hailed by SACP negotiator Joe Slovo.

He said it symbolised the final collapse of the Verwoerdian dream of the fragmentation of SA and it gave the birthright back to millions of South Africans, Sapa reports.

But the right-wing Freedom Alliance, which includes the leaders of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei who oppose re-incorporation, is expected to be enraged by the step and strongly resist it.

Freedom Alliance leader and Bophuthatswana government representative Rowan Croxall said today the decision would hold no weight without the support and approval of the alliance and the national states concerned. "It's just another decision," he said.

The draft Bill will be submitted to Parliament for approval before the sitting ends some time this month.

The reincorporation will coincide with election day when the interim constitution — hammered out in months of negotiations at the WTC in Kempton Park, takes effect.

Exhausted negotiators bailed in vain to reach final agreement yesterday, which they had set as the deadline to complete the interim constitution and other outstanding issues.

The controversial Local Government Bill, drafted by the P and the SACP, was also approved and will be submitted to Parliament.

Official negotiations were finally concluded just before dawn when a champagne breakfast was planned to mark the end of the marathon 15-hour final sitting.

Homelands are facing the axe

◀ From Page 1

Political Correspondent Katzer Nyatumba reports that the ANC's chief ally, the South African Communist Party, also expressed "serious qualms" about the Local Government Bill but said it had decided against opposing the Bill to avoid delaying progress.

The council also approved the repeal of discriminatory legislation as well as of laws impeding free political activity in South Africa, including the six self-governing homelands (Ciskei, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

Also consigned to the scrapbook of history was Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, in terms of which many political activists have been detained without trial.

Sapa reports that the Transitional Executive Council, which has to ensure a free and fair election on April 27, holds its first meeting in Cape Town next week.

The "citizenship clause" agreed to at the WTC will be called the Restoration and Extension of South African citizenship to certain citizens of the republics of Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Territories Act, 1993, "and shall come into operation on January 1 1994".

Staff 2/11/21/93

▶ To Page 3

SAF

It's nothing new, say TBVC states

Sowetan 3/12/93

■ **DUAL CITIZENSHIP** It's just a
way to enable people to vote on April 27:

By **Lulama Luti**

THERE was nothing new in the Negotiating Council's decision on Tuesday to accept in principle the reincorporation of the TBVC states, say Transkei, Venda and Ciskei.

The council approved, in principle, the reincorporation of the four nominally independent states and that residents would have South African citizenship restored on January 1.

"In fact," said Transkei Military Council's Major-General Bantu Holomisa, "since 1989 we have approved that whoever wanted to take up any South African document was free to do so.

"It's not something new. Those are only provisions for dual citizenship in order for people to vote.

"We'll still maintain our citizenship. It's only after the elections we'll talk of (total) reincorporation."

In a telephone interview yesterday Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana said since 1990 there had

been indications that Venda would be reincorporated into South Africa. (10)

"I have always encouraged people to apply for South African identity documents and up till now quite a number of them have been issued with SA IDs.

"We've made a recommendation that those people who won't have the IDs by April next year, that they should be allowed to use the Venda IDs during voting," said Ramushwana.

A statement from the Ciskei Council of State said there appeared to be nothing new in the proposal which could be interpreted as threatening the integrity or the homeland's independence.

However, the statement noted that a Bill enabling TBVC citizens to assume SA citizenship would first have to be approved in Parliament before it became law.

"There is nothing new or unique in this concept as Ciskei citizens are entitled to apply for RSA passports and have been doing so since independence," read the statement in part.

Attempts to get comment from the Bophuthatswana government drew a blank.

Homelands

to 'return'

to SA on

April 27

101

CF 3/12/93

JOHANNESBURG. — South African citizenship will be granted to citizens of the TBVC states on January 1.

Multi-party negotiators at the World Trade Centre also agreed yesterday that the reincorporation of the "homelands" of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei will take place on April 27, when the interim constitution takes effect.

The proposals — adopted by the negotiating council in record time after intense behind-the-scenes discussions between the government and the ANC — were acclaimed by delighted Communist Party negotiator Mr Joe Slovo as the end of "the old Verwoerdian dream of the fragmentation of South Africa".

Meanwhile, in Ulundi last night, Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the Freedom Alliance "will do everything in its power" to ensure that its objectives are achieved through peaceful means.

Chief Buthelezi's comments came in a statement issued after a Freedom Alliance meeting in the KwaZulu capital.

Elections

The four-hour meeting was held to discuss constitutional proposals to be put on the table at a government/alliance summit scheduled for today in Pretoria.

The alliance's position on the elections is still not clear.

Time is running out for the alliance to rejoin the mainstream political process as the Transitional Executive Council will begin sitting next week and the constitution will be approved by Parliament later in the week (see Page 2).

On the table for today's meeting is an agreement to reword sections relating to regional legislative authority and financial affairs.

The government is prepared to compromise in return for an undertaking from the federalists to commit themselves to the April 27 poll.

In reaction to the homelands decision, the Ciskei Council of State said it contained nothing new because homeland citizens were already entitled to apply for SA passports for voting. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

SAP may act in homelands

BISCM 10/12/93
CAPE TOWN — A conference on election monitoring has heard that the Transitional Executive Council will have automatic powers to deploy the SAP in homeland territories if necessary.

The SAP's role in protecting the rights of voters and preventing the disruption of elections came under the spotlight at the conference in Kempton Park yesterday. ANC adviser Mark Philips indicated that the police would come under pressure from the TEC and monitors to be seen to be playing an unbiased role.

He said the ideal would be to develop joint responsibility and decision-making in policing the election.

Philips said the national peace structures should continue to play an important role in the run-up to elections. — Sapa. ~~(2/51)~~ (101)

Hands off the homelands, alliance demands

CAPE TOWN — The Freedom Alliance demanded yesterday that government and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) stop intervening in the affairs of the TBVC states and self-governing territories.

This follows the TEC's orders last week to send additional policemen to restore order in northern KwaZulu and its call for all information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police. KwaZulu's rejection of the TEC's statutory authority will be discussed at the council's third meeting today.

Yesterday's planned meeting with government did not take place, but the alliance sent a new document of constitutional demands to be met before it would take

BIDOM 14/12/93
ADRIAN HADLAND

part in the elections.

Until new provincial governments were set up, government "and all other authorities shall honour all arrangements, treaties and obligations (including budgeting) in respect of the TBVC and self-governing territories", the alliance said. (101)

It called on government to amend the TEC Act, and the draft constitution tabled in Parliament yesterday, to preserve the integrity of these territories. (101)

Government had already agreed to four points, including greater financial and statutory rights for provincial govern-

ments, and provincial constitutions. But last-minute changes to the draft constitution adopted by the negotiating council had led to a further series of demands, the alliance said. These included:

- A two-ballot system in the election;
- Members of a provincial legislature should live in that province;
- Only SA citizens, not permanent residents, should be allowed to vote;
- Half the 400 national assembly members should be elected from provincial lists;
- The assets of the TBVC states and self-governing territories should be vested in the new provinces;

To Page 2

Homelands

BIDOM 14/12/93

From Page 1

The arrangements and obligations of TBVC states and self-governing territories should be honoured; (101)

The constitution should allow for the "realisation of the right to self-determination of the Afrikaner", as well as special territorial privileges for Bophuthatswana "and other peoples";

The name KwaZulu-Natal should replace Natal in the constitution;

All major parties should be accountable for controlling violence; and

These conditions had to be agreed before the constitution was passed.

The alliance would not commit itself to the elections until these points had been agreed to by all parties and the decision-making bodies of its members, and had been included in the constitution.

Government is expected to respond to the new demands today.

TBVC residents will be able to vote in election

CAPE TOWN — There would be no obstacle to TBVC residents participating in the April 27 elections on SA territory, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Restoration and Extension of SA Citizenship Bill, he said TBVC residents would participate in the election as full SA citizens. *BID*

The Bill restores SA citizenship to TBVC residents who lost their citizenship when the four states became independent. *15/12/93*

It also enables qualifying individuals, who had become citizens of the TBVC countries in terms of their laws, to apply for certificates of naturalisation as SA citizens. *101*

The Bill takes effect from January 1. *101*

Schutte said the loss of TBVC residents' SA citizenship had led to great anger

and frustration.

CP MP Daan van der Merwe said the Bill drew a line through everything whites had achieved since 1910. The old NP had not only tried to ensure white self-determination, but had also freed black nations from colonial rule.

The Bill was a slap in the face for leaders such as Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, he said.

He assured Mangope that Afrikaners in the CP were his friends and would not desert Bophuthatswana.

"Have you no shame for betraying your word to a black man?" he said.

CP deputy leader Willie Snyman described the Bill as the brainchild of communists and the final crossroad in SA's history.

"The Afrikaner government has betrayed a black nation but the Boere Afrikaner will stand up and help him." — Sapa.

TEC cracks whip on homelands

CT 15/12/93 (101)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE TEC cracked the whip yesterday, suspending a R216 million loan to Bophuthatswana, intensifying its drive to flush out KwaZulu Police hit squads and forcing a major revamp of the SAP's controversial internal stability division.

The second working session of the multi-party body — which was again dominated by ANC/SACP initiatives — also finalised the 48 positions on the TEC's seven sub-councils, the lion's share going to members of the ANC-led Patriotic Front alliance (see Page 2).

Meanwhile, the government yesterday told the five-party Freedom Alliance, which is boy-

cotting TEC proceedings, that its latest demands and its refusal to commit itself to participating in the transition and elections presented "insurmountable obstacles" to further progress.

But constitutional development minister Mr Roelf Meyer told FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronje in a letter yesterday that "even at this late stage" the government was prepared to meet the FA to search for an all-inclusive settlement (see Page 2).

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC would respond today to the FA's demands, which if accepted would result in the transition process being frozen until all outstanding differences were resolved and

- TEC SUSPENDS R216m LOAN
- LEGAL ACTION THREAT TO KWAZULU POLICE
- PLAN FOR NEW-LOOK INTERNAL STABILITY DIVISION
- SUB-COUNCIL MEMBERS NAMED

See PAGE 2

then approved by the FA's principals. Yesterday's TEC chairman, the DP's Mr Colin Eglin, said the fact that no members of the FA or PAC had been included on the

seven TEC sub-councils did not mean they had been finally excluded from representation on the transitional bodies. He said a mechanism could be found, such as petitioning the

State President to increase the size of the sub-councils — which will help to run the country until the April 27 election.

The sub-councils — on law and order, defence, intelligence, regional and local government, foreign affairs, status of women and finance — will hold their first meetings in Cape Town next week.

During yesterday's session, the 19-party TEC continued to pressure homelands governments in the FA by instructing the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) to suspend a R216 million loan to Bophuthatswana.

Mr Ramaphosa said the loan — for development projects — had been signed two days after last

week's installation of the TEC.

He said he had been informed by the DBSA that the money had not yet been transferred and the TEC should suspend the transaction as it violated the TEC's right to vet all government-to-government financial agreements.

Earlier, the TEC unanimously resolved to take "all steps, including legal steps", to force KwaZulu to supply information on alleged KwaZulu Police hit squads.

KwaZulu has instructed KwaZulu police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Daring to ignore a TEC order to furnish further information about al-

To page 2

From page 1

leged hit squads.

The TEC also approved the establishment of a "task force" to co-operate with the Goldstone Commission and the SAP in monitoring "the political aspects" of hit squads.

Mr Ramaphosa told the TEC: "It is absolutely essential to control hitsquads, particularly in KwaZulu." (101)

Police are giving "immediate attention" to an earlier TEC resolution that security force members be dispatched to northern Natal (including KwaZulu) because of the failure of the KZP to establish stability in the region. (101)

● Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was forced to bow to TEC authority yesterday over the internal stability division.

Following a TEC resolution last week calling for the ISD's withdrawal from some East Rand townships and Bham-bayi in Natal, Mr Kriel yesterday proposed reforms of the ISD to the TEC. (101)

These include reducing ISD presence in certain areas, placing the ISD under the command of district police commissioners or the defence force, closer liaison with community consultation forums, and altering the "military and aggressive" appearance of the division.

The TEC will meet again next week in Cape Town.

SA citizenship restored to TBVC state millions

(101)

Political Staff

CT 16/12/93

MILLIONS of people deprived of South African citizenship when the TBVC homelands opted for independence will now be able to vote in the April 27 election.

Yesterday, Parliament approved the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Bill, restoring citizenship from January 1 to those forced to become citizens of the homelands, or who did so on the basis of birth or descent.

HOMELANDS - GENERAL

1994

Homelands: SA citizenship for all

By BARRY STREEK

MORE than seven million people will regain their South African citizenship today.

In terms of a bill passed by Parliament last month, the residents of the four "independent" homelands will have their citizenship restored on January 1, enabling them to vote in the April 27 election.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said during the debate on the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Bill that the residents of the so-called TBVC states could now participate in the election as full citizens of South Africa

They were unilaterally deprived of their South African citizenship when the

four homelands became independent — Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1978, Venda in 1980 and Ciskei in 1981.

Today, three of these homelands are ruled by military dictators and the government of the fourth, Bophuthatswana, was restored to power when the South African Defence Force crushed a military coup attempt against it.

10 OCT 11/94

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Homeland

IDs valid

Citizens of the TBVC states will be able to use homeland ID documents in the April 27 election.

But Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda citizens who do not have identity papers must apply for South African documents at the Department of Home Affairs or magistrate's offices in South Africa. Green South African ID cards issued since 1950, the blue IDs issued since 1972, green IDs issued since 1980 and reference books issued since 1950 are also valid.

— Staff Reporter

~~(101)~~ (101)

Homeland residents get their SA citizenship back

BIDAY 3/1/84

MORE than 7-million people regained their SA citizenship on New Year's Day, simultaneously regaining the right to vote in the April 27 election with their homeland identity documents.

The Home Affairs Department yesterday reminded SA's new citizens that they need not apply for SA identity documents if they had documents issued by any of the TBVC territories.

The decision effectively sidesteps a confrontation with the Bophuthatswana government, which has reportedly threatened to deprive its citizens of the right to live in the territory if they apply for SA identity documents.

The department re-emphasised that green identity cards issued since 1950, blue identity documents issued since 1972, reference books issued to blacks since 1950 and ID books issued by the TBVC states would all be acceptable for voting.

Legislation came into effect on January 1 in terms of which TBVC citizens would automatically regain their SA citizenship.

A large number of these people had identity documents issued by their

TIM COHEN

respective territories or still possessed SA reference books, the department said.

These people would be eligible to vote in the election, it said, appealing to them not to overburden the department unnecessarily by applying for SA identity documents before the elections (101) (228)

People who did not have any of these documents could apply for SA identity documents but, since the territories in question were still independent, this would have to be done inside SA at Home Affairs department offices or magistrate's offices.

Our political staff reports that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said during debate on the Restoration and Extension of South African Citizenship Bill that the measure meant residents of the TBVC states could take part in the election as full SA citizens.

They were unilaterally deprived of their SA citizenship when the four homelands became officially independent - Transkei in 1976, Bophuthatswana in 1978, Venda in 1980 and Ciskei in 1981.

Today, three of these homelands

are ruled by military dictators and the government of the fourth, Bophuthatswana, was restored to power when the SA Defence Force crushed a military coup attempt against it.

During last year's debate in Parliament, the Western Cape leader of the DP, Hennie Bester, said the fact that a pen stroke and one and a half pages of legislation restored citizenship to residents of the TBVC states underscored the futility of grand apartheid.

In 1991, it was estimated there were 3 458 200 people in Transkei, 2 419 600 in Bophuthatswana, 557 400 in Venda and 946 600 in Ciskei.

However, most of these people are children and it is estimated that 3,29-million people in the four homelands are over the age of 18 - 15,7% of the total electorate.

With an estimated further 4,77-million voters in the six non-independent homelands - 22,7% of the total electorate - nearly 40% of the voters in the April 27 election will be resident in former homelands, and they could have a significant influence on the outcome of the election.

The TBVC territories are to be formally reincorporated into SA on April 27.

... that the police were
... took refuge in ...

PL
No

threat • Knifeman stabs former top footballer

Bop deportation threat slammed

Sowetan 3/1/94

■ VICTIMISATION FEAR No

By Lulama Luti

ALLEGED threats by the Bophuthatswana government to deport citizens applying for South African identity documents were yesterday slammed by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

This followed reports in the weekend Press that the homeland government had allegedly threatened to deport anyone in the homeland who applied for SA citizenship.

TBVC citizens, who became South African citizens on Saturday, will be able to use their homeland identity documents to vote in the April 27 general election, the Department of Home Affairs said in Pretoria yesterday.

Citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei who do not have ID documents would have to apply

for South African documents in South Africa because the four homelands were still independent, the department said in a statement.

In an incident on Saturday, the homeland's police used teargas and rubber bullets to disperse about 2 000 people at Themba Beach to celebrate the re-issuing of SA IDs.

Should leave Bop

People who have applied for SA IDs have reportedly been told that they should leave Bop because they would no longer be residents of the homeland.

Spokesman for the ANC Ms Gill Marcus said: "All South Africans resident in Bophuthatswana have a right to

take part in the elections without fear of victimisation and fear of the consequences.

"(The threat) of deportation is an issue which the TEC will have to address as a matter of urgency," said Marcus. She added that it was time the Bophuthatswana government stood up to its claim of being representative of the homeland's residents.

PAC political secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said nothing could stop Bop citizens from obtaining their freedom.

"Even if the Bop government applies brute force, it will not stop people from making their own choice."

Efforts to reach the Bop government for comment yesterday drew a blank.

Govt's money managers take homeland debt in hand

JOHANNESBURG. — The Public Investment Commissioners — government's money managers — have taken control of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei's bank debts to tighten financial discipline.

(101) CT 6/11/94
The step comes ahead of reincorporation into SA. Capital market analysts said it appeared government wanted to keep to an absolute minimum the debt it would take on its books.

In terms of the interim constitution, all debts and liabilities of the self-governing and independent homelands, other than those linked to property, "shall vest in the national government". This means the state debt will rise by billions at a stroke — with the last estimate of the total "off-balance sheet" debt at R14bn.

The commissioners late last year reached an agreement with banks with overdraft exposures to Transkei, Venda and Ciskei that they would manage the facilities on their behalf.

Commissioners' chief Badie Badenhorst confirmed yesterday that an agreement had been reached with the banks on managing homeland debt, but declined to elaborate.

SA takes control of homeland debts

BIDAY 6/11/94

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(101)
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The commissioners late last year reached an agreement with banks with overdraft exposures to Transkei, Venda and Ciskei that they would manage the facilities on their behalf. In terms of the agreement, limits will be placed on overdrafts granted to these states and there

GRETA STEYN

would be no further capitalisation of interest.

Overdraft debt, which has been reduced substantially, will remain fixed for one year. The agreement represents a turnaround from the past when overdraft facilities were frequently extended and monthly interest payments were not met.

Commissioners' chief Badie Badenhorst confirmed yesterday that an agreement had been reached with the banks on managing homeland debt, but declined to elaborate. The deal had been approved by Finance Minister Derek Keys's economic and technical committee — the multiparty committee which preceded the formation of the TEC finance subcouncil. The TEC was kept informed of the commissioners' borrowing activities on behalf of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda.

The first steps toward managing these states' debts were taken about a year ago,

□ To Page 2

Homeland debts

BIDAY 6/11/94

□ From Page 1

when overdraft debt was about R3,4bn. Over the past year, the commissioners reduced the states' overdrafts to R900m by replacing bank debt with money and capital market instruments. (101)

The move reduced interest payments — bank debt is more expensive than placing paper in the markets. It is understood some banks had been charging increasingly high premiums over the prime overdraft rate.

The second prong of the debt management strategy introduced discipline by

turning off the tap of easy bank finance. The process of going to the markets is more cumbersome and only budgeted finance is provided. No cash is provided unless authorised by the Foreign Affairs Department or the Development Bank.

The commissioners raised R5,5bn for the states through placing paper in the markets, ranging from four-month bridging finance to three-year securities. A R279m issue for Transkei, Venda and Ciskei has been completed. Bophutatswana continues to manage its own finances.

Homeland officials in job panic

CLP News 6/2/94

101

By KHANGALE MAKHADO

OVER 110 000 panic-stricken public servants from Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda fear they will become redundant after the April elections.

Public servants in the three northern Transvaal homelands have been riding a gravy train of duplicated services in a region only 350 kilometres wide — an area that will be considered one region in the new dispensation.

The public servants fear that as soon as the three homelands are fused, most of them will lose their jobs.

Also to be affected in the public service are thousands of employees presently working for the Transvaal Provincial Administration and other departments of the region's so-called "white section" which does not form part of the home-

lands.

The uncertainty about their future remains despite recent assurances and guarantees during the Kempton Park talks and further assurances by the ANC.

Lebowa has over 60 000 employees, while Gazankulu and Venda have 33 000 and 24 000 respectively.

The size of the TPA workforce and other white parliamentary departments operating in the region could not be established at the time of going to press, but a snap survey showed that the number could run to thousands.

Of the region's 110 000 civil servants, about 50 percent comprise police and defence force members, nurses and teachers whose jobs seem relatively safe as they render essential services.

The backlog in education will probably ensure that employees of the various education departments keep their jobs.

This has been all but confirmed by the ANC which pledged R23-billion to improving education in its election manifesto released last week.

Administration staff remain the most vulnerable in the light of imminent rationalisation.

A senior Lebowa government official this week foresaw no problem for staff of the three parliaments, sure to disappear even before the elections.

He said they will simply be absorbed in other departments that are to remain.

His main concern was how the new government was going to address the salary disparities between homeland workers and TPA employees.

TBCV states' date of destiny

PRETORIA. — South Africa's recognition of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei is to fall away at the end of April.

(101)
The Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday the new constitution would come into effect on April 27 and South Africa would again become a sovereign state.

CT 8/2/94
South Africa's embassies in the four homelands would close on the same date. — Sapa

TBVC states' recognition to end

PORT ELIZABETH — SA would stop recognising Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei at the end of April, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday. **BISA**

The new constitution would come into effect on April 27, and SA would again become a sovereign state. SA embassies in the four homelands would be closed from that date.

However, Bophuthatswana Foreign Affairs and Information Minister Tom Setiloane said yesterday his government had received no official word that the SA embassy was to close.

Meanwhile, a Bophuthatswana spokesman said the government found "incomprehensible the furore"

the ANC had raised about the roadblocks it encountered in the homeland at the weekend. **8/2/94**

Bophuthatswana security forces were reported to have stopped ANC president Nelson Mandela's convoy on Sunday in Thaba Nchu where Mandela was to lay a wreath on the grave of former ANC president James Moroka. **(101)**

The spokesman said: "Had the ANC bothered to notify anyone in Bophuthatswana of its intention to lay a wreath in Bophuthatswana's sovereign territory, there would have been no way its (ANC) members would have been stopped from entering the country". — Sapa.

Homelands: Govt to obey

(101)
CT 9/2/94
PRETORIA. — The Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday it would heed the law on April 27 when the new constitution, providing for the territories of the TBVC states to become part of South Africa, came into operation.

The department was approached for comment following reports that it would cease recog-

nising the TBVC states at the end of April and close its embassies there. A department statement issued yesterday said Transkei, Venda and Ciskei were participating in transitional structures and were therefore part and parcel of the arrangements being made for their reincorporation.

"In so far as Bophuthatswana is concerned, it is still involved in

the negotiation process and consideration will be given to a formal communication on the matter only after the conclusion of those negotiations."

● The TEC said yesterday the issue of free political activity in Bophuthatswana was being negotiated in trilateral talks involving the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance. — Sapa

Homelands bureaucracies to be restricted

CAPE TOWN — The TEC said yesterday it would halt public servants' promotions and salary increases in the homelands.

The TEC finance subcouncil was drafting a resolution telling TBVC administrations that with only 60 days to the election, "there would be no reason to appoint people to higher positions as such action would constitute wasteful expenditure".

Following a presentation on the Qwa-Qwa budget, the subcouncil resolved that clear guidelines should be drawn up for self-governing territories' expenditure to August. These should include a moratorium on the creation of posts, filling vacan-

cies and salary adjustments.

Clear guidelines would be set on the filling of important posts in education, the council's weekly report said. (101)

The council also noted that a presentation had been made by the World Bank's SA representative on projects in education, export development, land reform resettlement support, development of black enterprises and urban development. The sub-council would study the proposals and help prepare a programme for consideration by the government of national unity.

B. S. 213194
J
TIM COHEN

TEC calls for salaries freeze

THE TEC yesterday gave notice that it intended to call a halt to promotions and salary increases for civil servants in the homelands. (101)

The TEC sub-council on finance would be sending a resolution to the TBVC states, and resolved that guidelines should be drawn up regarding the expenditure in self-governing territories up to August 1994. These should include a moratorium on the creation of posts, filling of vacancies and salary adjustments. CT 2/3/94

TEC targets on homeland funds

CT18/3/94 (101)

From GRETA STEYN

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transitional Executive Council has cracked the whip on government finances as more evidence emerges of profligacy in the dying days of the present government.

The TEC finance subcouncil yesterday indicated it would keep a watchful eye on the management of self-governing territories' overdraft facilities.

It also announced it was setting up a "high-powered" fiscal control and monitoring committee to ensure public funds were properly spent and accounted for. ANC deputy economics head Tito Mboweni told a news conference: "We want to ensure the family silver is still there when the new administration takes over."

The TEC did not announce borrowing guidelines for the next fiscal year as was expected, but said an announcement would be made in due course.

The subcouncil expressed "ex-

treme displeasure" at Budget overruns during the 1993/94 fiscal year in four self-governing territories. The council was forced to recommend more than R478m in central government guaranteed overdraft facilities. The biggest spender was Lebowa, which was granted additional facilities of R339m. The other three were Gazankulu, KaNgwane and Kwa-Ndebele. The amounts represented salary payments, social pensions and contractual commitments.

In a memo to the Regional and Land Affairs Department, the subcouncil said it was "extremely perturbed". It instructed the department to monitor the management of the overdrafts and said all further over-expenditure would be considered unauthorised. The territories' accounting officers would appear before the subcouncil to account for their management.

Mboweni said more details would be made available next week on the new fiscal control committee as there was a growing

sense that "everything goes" in the transition. Subcouncil member for government Theo Alant acknowledged there were many rumours of asset stripping in self-governing territories.

Turning to other matters on the subcouncil's agenda, Alant said the US had requested negotiations on a double tax treaty be started immediately. SA had already responded and the US was at present considering its "opening statements". He hoped SA would have double tax agreements with all the G-7 countries by the end of the year. Inland Revenue policy chief Trevor van Heerden and private tax experts Dennis Davis and Michael Katz had been drawn into negotiations.

On negotiating favourable tariff treatment from the US in terms of the Generalised System of Preferences, Mboweni said a joint committee would be set up by the subcouncil, the National Economic Forum and the Trade and Industry Department.

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Danger in Kwazulu while Ciskei, Lebowa are calm

TENSION has reached danger levels in Kwazulu but the South African Defence Force appears to be in firm control in Ciskei and Lebowa, where the situation was said to be calm this morning.

About 2 000 public servants, pupils and traditional leaders marched through Ulundi yesterday to reject the Transitional Executive Council and to display support for the Kwazulu administration.

Inkatha Youth Brigade national publicity secretary Zenzele Phakati told the crowd "bloodshed" would follow if the African National Congress and the government attempted to dismantle Kwazulu. "If they want to see bloodshed in South Africa, then so be it," he said.

The orange, white and blue South African flag was set ablaze "without any apologies".

In a further development yesterday, the Inkatha Freedom Party alerted all its stronghold areas in Natal, warning supporters of conflict linked to the ANC march through Durban today.

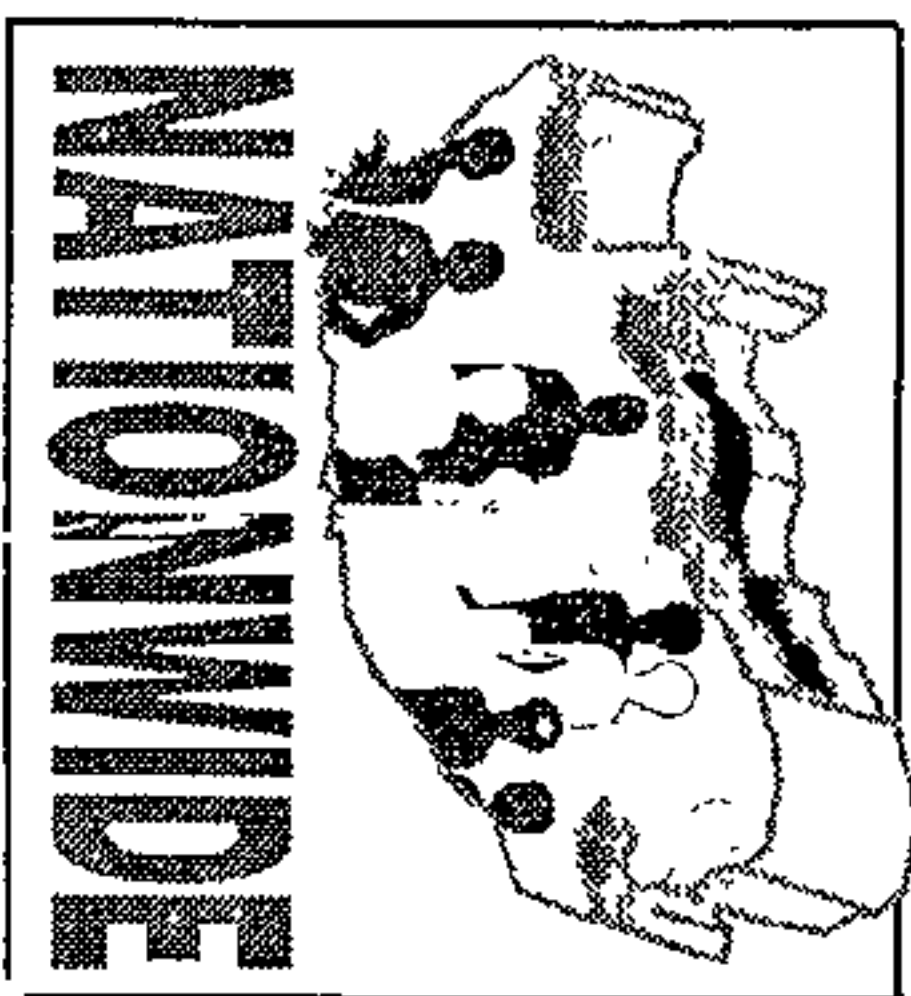
IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said his party's sources in the ANC had indicated that the ANC planned a major offensive.

He claimed ANC supporters were preparing to attack IFP members after the march and that thousands of heavily-armed ANC supporters were being bussed into Durban from throughout Kwazulu/Natal and Transkei last night.

The atmosphere in Lebowa was tense after the SADF took control of key points in the homeland yesterday to prevent looting and damage to property while thousands of civil servants continued their strike action.

Among the key points being guarded were government buildings and fuel depots, as well as the police armoury.

As a result of information unearthed in its internal investigation, Absa Bank has suspended four employees, three of whom were alleged by the Goldstone Commission to have been involved in illegal gun-running activities. Security official and former



Viakplaas police member Dries van Heerden, Absa security head Dougie Crewe and an employee of the maintenance department, Victor Ndlovu, were suspended after having been alleged by the Goldstone Commission to have acted as middle-men for the supply of illegal weapons to IFP members.

James Ndlovu, brother of Victor Ndlovu and an employee in the maintenance department, has also been suspended "as a result of further information which came to light during these investigations", Absa chairman David Brink told a

news conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The Mfengo people are about to regain their land — 16 years after they were removed from it by the government.

A settlement between the Mfengo, the government and farmers in the Tsitsikamma over the ownership rights of certain land in the Tsitsikamma is to be signed today. The Mfengo, who were removed from the land in 1976, were given no compensation and resettled in the Keiskammahoe Valley in Ciskei.

If the election adverts have not yet pushed you over the edge, 150 hours of Party Election Broadcasts (PEBs) ought to do it.

That is the total time allocated by the Independent Media Commission for political parties to campaign on radio stations, starting on Monday and ending on April 24.

Four PEBs will run for three minutes during peak time each day on each of the SABC stations, all

homeland stations and commercial station Radio Cicade.

The police yesterday averted another round of confrontation between residents of Parys and Tumahole in the northern Orange Free State when they prevented a group of about 300 youths from leaving the black township.

This followed incidents on Wednesday when about 1 500 Tumahole residents marched on the town and tried to occupy the police station to protest against the refusal of bail for six people arrested in connection with the beating to death of a National Party member, Sello Sealalanyane. **AR 25/3/94**

The TEC's sub-council on finance said yesterday the payout of pensions to public servants would have a negative effect on the economy. This was in apparent reaction to the recent swell in demands by mainly civil servants for their pension contributions to be returned to them before the election.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

More homeland administrations teeter on the brink of collapse

MORE homeland administrations looked set to hand over the reins to the Transitional Executive Council yesterday as protests grew in Lebowa and QwaQwa's ruler said he was likely to be ousted too.

SADF troops stationed in Lebowa were called in to halt a public servants' march on government offices in LebowaKgomo. Non-commissioned police officers have been on strike for two days and have evicted senior officers. Yesterday they took hostage, but later released, two Agriculture Department officials.

Sapa reports that the strike is over police promotions and salaries since SA took financial control of the homeland last Sep-

tember. About 30 000 public servants have reportedly joined the strike.

SA Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie, whose department is controlling the homeland's financial affairs, appealed to the public servants to return to work. "By striking, you are actively preventing the correction of your salaries and its implementation," he said.

Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike has asked the TEC to take over financial control of the homeland.

Fourie said government would accede to the request if Ramodike resigned and TEC administrators appointed.

QwaQwa Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli

DAVID GREYBE

said former Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo's "untimely forced resignation" was part of an ANC strategy to destabilise those homelands not aligned to the ANC using the "smokescreen" of pension payouts and pay rises. He said three women had died in QwaQwa's Manapo Hospital during a strike by hospital workers.

The National Education Health and Allied Workers' Union dismissed Mopeli's claim that its members were responsible for the deaths.

Meanwhile, two TEC-appointed administrators took control of Ciskei yesterday.

They are SA ambassador Pieter van Rensburg Goosen, and the Rev Bongani Blessing Finca, Border Council of Churches president and Fort Hare University's general council vice-chairman.

A mass meeting of Ciskei public servants at Bisho Stadium ended inconclusively after Gqozo failed to arrive and a poor sound system prevented TEC representatives from addressing the crowd.

TEC representative Zam Tluis said the new administrators were "firmly in control" of Ciskei. An actuarial assessment was being made to assess the liquidity of the Ciskei pension fund.

The SAP's internal stability unit manned

a roadblock outside Bisho and three SADF Buffels filled with troops took up positions near the stadium.

The gathering at the stadium was marked by tension between Ciskei's security forces and a large ANC contingent.

The Ciskei Defence Force, which now controls Gqozo's movements, reportedly refused to bring him to the stadium because it feared for his safety.

Striking policemen, who had been held about 30 senior officers hostage, released everyone yesterday.

Reports by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diegenal St, Jhb, and B Macennan, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

NEWS FEATURE Encroaching on traditional leaders

Elections 'not African tradition'

Sowetan 28/3/94

By Russel Molefe

■ **NATIONAL HERITAGE** The

traditional rule as old as mankind: (10)

THE CONGRESS OF TRADITIONAL Leaders of South Africa has come to the defence of the existence of traditional rule under the new dispensation following criticism of the institution.

The criticism prompted Contralesa president Mr Patekile Holomisa to warn of a headlong rush towards the adoption of Western values whose successes "were not something to write home about at the expense of our own time-tested and time-honoured norms and traditions".

In a paper entitled *The Institution of Hereditary Rule Under The New Constitutional Dispensation*, Holomisa says although traditional rule is as old as the creation of mankind, it has been criticised by those who strongly believe in Western values as undemocratic because the incumbent accedes through heredity and not by way of election. It is also said to offend and violate the principle of nonracialism and nonsexism on account of it being found only within the ranks of the African aristocracy and following a

patrilineal line of succession.

Holomisa says the criticism normally levelled at the institution is a typical product of more than three-and-a-half centuries of mental colonisation. Western nations devised the process of election, not because it was the test of democracy, but because they wanted a method in terms of which they could confer legitimacy on those whom they wished to exercise control and power over their affairs.

"Within the institution of traditional leadership the fact of hereditary is what confers such legitimacy.

"The traditional leader is regarded as so legitimate that people belonging to different political organisations find themselves loyal to him without questioning," Holomisa says.

He maintained that in Africa, unlike America, the natives have never been decimated to near extinction and

were thus still in the majority.

"They (Africans) are not therefore going to sacrifice their national heritage purely on account of the refusal by whites to accept that they live in Africa and no longer in Europe." Holomisa is quick to reiterate Contralesa's commitment to the creation of a democratic, nonracial and nonsexist order.

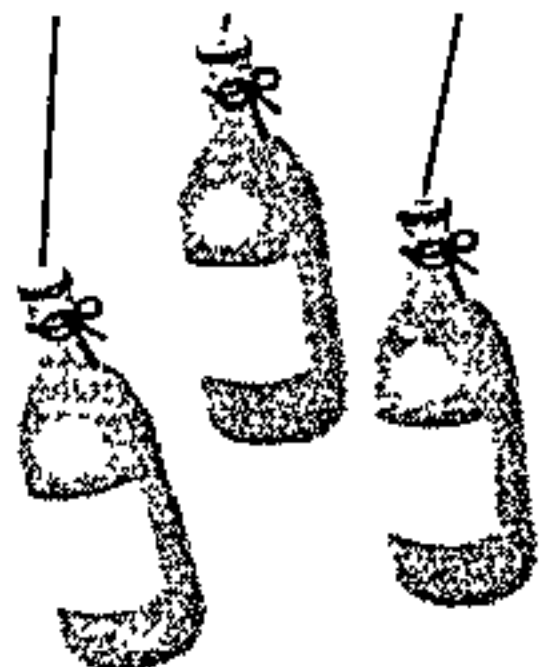
He criticises the Local Government Negotiating Forum for inheriting an unacceptable trait of the apartheid regime by ignoring people in rural areas and not taking into account that, outside of the farms, local government has been in existence under the leadership of traditional leaders. "The Local Government Transition Bill provides for a situation where wholly elective local government councils will go beyond the metropolitan areas. In such instances it is bound to encroach onto the traditional leader's areas of jurisdiction," he says.

THE HOMELANDS

Apartheid's booby traps

Fm 11/4/94

Artificial elites are threatened by democracy



There was never any doubt that the 10 black homelands would reintegrate with the rest of SA. Their fate was sealed in February 1990 when President FW de Klerk acknowledged that Hendrik

Verwoerd's apartheid dream had become a nightmare and the course was set towards democracy.

The homeland administrations, propped up by R17bn in the current financial year from the SA Treasury, were expected to be among the less troublesome issues facing multi-party negotiators. But they have, instead, become the most serious threat to a peaceful transition. Some of them have been revealed as booby traps, legacies of the grand apartheid ideology that remain to explode in the faces of negotiators.

Though the instability which followed the overthrow of Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo seems to have been contained by SADF action and the appointment of administrators, the situation in KwaZulu is explosive.

In Lebowa, the SADF and government administrators have moved in to prevent the homeland's civil service collapsing into total chaos after it had teetered on the brink for weeks in the wake of strikes by workers demanding pension payouts and more pay.

The situation in QwaQwa on the eastern border of the Free State is also tense. The homeland's political leader, Kenneth Mopeli, alleges ANC plans to topple him too. In Venda and Transkei there have also been pay and pension disputes and public services are reportedly grinding to a halt.

KwaZulu is a special case and by far the most difficult to resolve. There seems little doubt that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, encouraged by close advisers like Walter Felgate, has sufficient support in the KwaZulu police

force, the civil service and the citizenry to withstand the sort of ANC-led popular uprising that brought down Mangope and Gqozo.

It would probably overstate the situation to suggest that an orchestrated domino effect is underway — though the ANC is making life as uncomfortable as it can for homeland leaders who do not support the organisation.

Those who do, such as Transkei's Bantu Holomisa and former Venda military strongman Gabriel Ramoshwana (now head of the National Peacekeeping Force), have been left alone or, in Holomisa's case, roped in to campaign for the organisation.

The underlying problem that made the homelands ripe for revolution is years of financial and administrative chaos. Reports of successive auditors-general have detailed varying degrees of corruption, maladministration and incompetence in all six non-independent homelands. The true situation in the TBVC states, which have their own AGs, is unclear, but is believed to be just as chaotic.

The main problem was that government simply channelled billions of rands annually into homeland coffers and had no say in how the money was used. The result has been massive wastage and rapidly declining levels of service.

Re-establishing stable administrations in the homeland areas when they become part of the provincial structures later this year will be among the biggest challenges facing the new government.

In terms of the interim constitution, the homeland administrations were to have remained in place until after the election, when they would be incorporated into the new provincial structures.

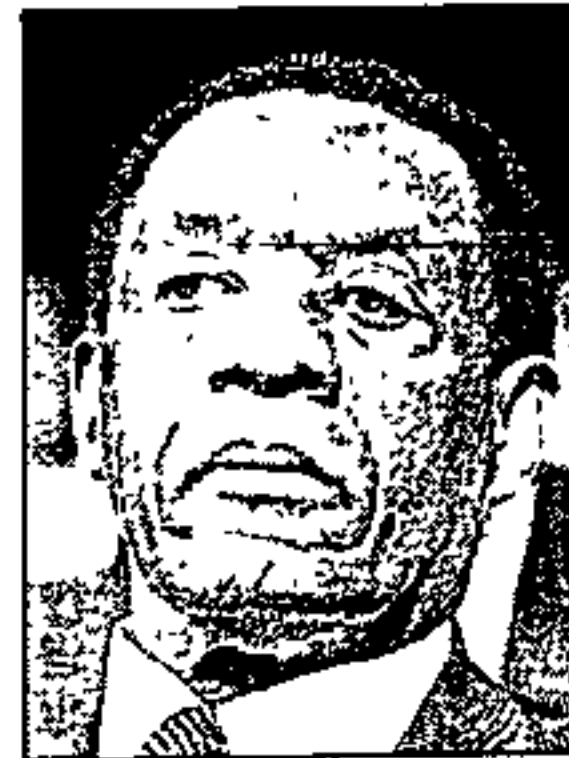
But the rejection by Mangope and Gqozo of the settlement negotiated at the World Trade Centre and their blocking of free political activity in the territories, set the scene for their overthrow. There is little doubt that the ANC has overwhelming support in both areas, so organising mass action that culminated in regional revolution was fairly simple.



Buthelezi



Gqozo



Mangope



Verwoerd

In Lebowa the situation was different. Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike backs the ANC and is on the organisation's list for election to parliament. There the real problem is widespread corruption and maladministration. Last year, government took over Lebowa's financial affairs and has now effectively taken control of the entire administration. Ramodike, fighting to the last, has

demanding that the TEC appoint administrators, but is likely to be ignored.

In QwaQwa, Mopeli also faces the prospect of being deposed before the election. His Dikwankwetla Party opposes the ANC and is contesting elections for the national assembly and the Free State and PWV provincial legislatures. Though the ANC has widespread support throughout the Free State and QwaQwa, the organisation has accused Mopeli of threatening its right to campaign freely in the homeland.

There appears to be little resistance to the ANC from the administrations in Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele and action to overthrow the current nominal rulers seems unlikely.

Could the tension have been avoided? Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer believes so. More than a year ago in parliament, he urged De Klerk to re-incorporate the homelands as soon as possible and to use Pretoria's obvious financial leverage if necessary. But, in reply, De Klerk bitterly attacked De Beer and accused him of rejecting the need to achieve the co-operation of the territories before changing their status.

"If we act rashly, using the powers that we have, we shall destabilise those areas, we shall destabilise education and we shall destabilise the necessary services which are being rendered there. Therefore we shall not misuse those powers. We shall act responsibly because we have the interests of the people who live in those areas at heart," said De Klerk. Within a year, De Klerk and the TEC were forced to act unilaterally and without the co-operation of Mangope or Gqozo to prevent the instability he warned would occur if hasty moves were made.

De Beer regards De Klerk's failure to act

last year as a strategic blunder based on the mistaken belief that he had a potential election ally in Mangope particularly, but in other homeland leaders as well. De Beer says while he has little doubt that the uprisings in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei were orchestrated by

the ANC, they would not have succeeded had the organisation not been well supported in the two territories.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says what is happening in the homelands has a parallel in eastern Europe. It shows that forcibly created political structures lead to the establishment of a

political elite on the one hand and alienation of the elite among the people on the other. As in eastern Europe, the situation can only be resolved within the confines of the artificially created political structure — which is what is now happening in the homelands.

Vale says the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei was untenable and it was unlikely that even the most creative constitutional solution would have resolved the crises. He also believes De Klerk saw the homelands as pools of support that would allow him to negotiate from a position of strength; they have instead become a major source of government's weakness.

Vale says while he is inclined, from a political point of view, to say that it would be better to have the homeland administrations dismantled before the election, the sort of action that resulted in the downfall of Mangope and Gqozo creates an unacceptably high security risk so close to the polling date.

The main problem is KwaZulu. Government, under pressure from the ANC and TEC, may be on the verge of deploying SADF troops in KwaZulu under the pretext of ensuring free and fair elections. But to do so could well be a case of playing right into Inkatha leader Buthelezi's hands.

Furthermore, far from paving the way for unhindered polling, a major clampdown ordered by De Klerk might well precipitate the civil war which Buthelezi has long claimed is on the brink of breaking out.

There is a growing feeling that the Inkatha leader and Zulu traditionalists, realising there is little chance of forcing a delay in the election, are actually on the warpath. Far from being content just to disrupt the elections in Natal, they are trying to goad government and the TEC into launching an assault on the Zulu kingdom. Attitudes have hardened a great deal in recent weeks, with a growing chorus from the ANC and TEC urging government and the SADF to assume control of KwaZulu.

Though they may have greater legal freedom to do so in the case of KwaZulu, the physical act would undoubtedly be a far more difficult and dangerous military exercise than was the case when SA marched in and took control of Mbabatho.

Furthermore, that may be exactly what Buthelezi and his ally, King Goodwill Zwelithini, actually want. They realise they could not possibly win a war against the might of the SADF, even though the "R5 soldiers" (so nicknamed because of the R5/head levy sought from Zulus for the creation of a KwaZulu army) could make life uncomfortable for the military. There are various guesstimates as to the number of these soldiers who have gone through the six-week basic training courses run in the Zululand bush. There are also claims of white rightwing training camps deep in KwaZulu.

The theory is that an SADF invasion, provoking stern guerrilla resistance, would win the hearts and minds of many undecided Zulus, who would respond with patriotic fervour to the rallying call of "For King and

Zulu people!" The assumption is that this would galvanise the Zulus behind their king. It would also vindicate Buthelezi for his frequent claim that the ANC is dead set on destroying the Zulus, the monarchy and the tribal structures.

Ironically, Buthelezi has used the same tactic, but in reverse, which ANC/Cosatu used with pensions to unseat Mangope in Bophuthatswana. In the case of the former



Zuma



De Bear



Folgate



King Goodwill

independent homeland, doubts were cast in the minds of civil servants about the security of their pensions. In KwaZulu, the seeds of doubt were sown in the minds of the *amakosi* — the traditional leaders — that they and the Zulu royal family would be stripped of their powers and possibly their incomes under a unitary state run by the ANC. They would become little more than figureheads.

Few outside the self-governing territory realise just how influential are the *amakosi*. They have tremendous powers, maintaining an almost feudal grip on nearly every aspect of community life. A hint of the extent of this influence emerged during the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)'s visit to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly last week.

Quite apart from the apparently well orchestrated short shrift given to IEC chairman Johan Kriegler when he tried to lecture the assembly on free and fair elections, Buthelezi made the point, in conditionally agreeing to allow the IEC to prepare for the April election in KwaZulu, that though government buildings could be made available for election purposes, the vast majority of public buildings, many schools are community funded and under the control of the tribal authorities.

There are some who believe that, far from Buthelezi being in control in Ulundi, the power has been usurped by Zwelithini. The argument goes that the monarchists went into the ascendancy when they realised that Buthelezi and Inkatha had little or no chance of winning the sort of federal concessions which would protect Zulu sovereignty.

The blunt message handed down to Buthelezi by Zwelithini was that the intellectuals have had their chance and failed. The first indication of this shift in the power came when the king announced his intention to establish a sovereign Zulu State with its own constitution.

It seems more likely, however, that though the monarchists in Ulundi may be in the ascendancy, Buthelezi is still in control. The evidence over the years suggests that in spite

of determined efforts by Zwelithini to establish a political power base independent of Buthelezi, he has failed to do so. A further indication that Buthelezi still controls the monarch is the fact that to date all Zwelithini's meetings with De Klerk, to discuss sovereignty were also attended by Buthelezi.

What would happen after an invasion of KwaZulu by the SADF?

If the civil war theory is correct, the inten-

tion might be to relinquish the trappings of power (the KwaZulu legislative assembly and civil service) but retain the real power through a combination of tribal resistance and guerrilla warfare.

As one observer puts it: "Sitting in an office in Ulundi does not necessarily imply control over KwaZulu. One cannot approach the KwaZulu conundrum through the traditional European problem solving avenues where, by taking steps A, B and C, one arrives at a solution QED. It doesn't work like that. Buthelezi is able to draw on his Zulu ancestry."

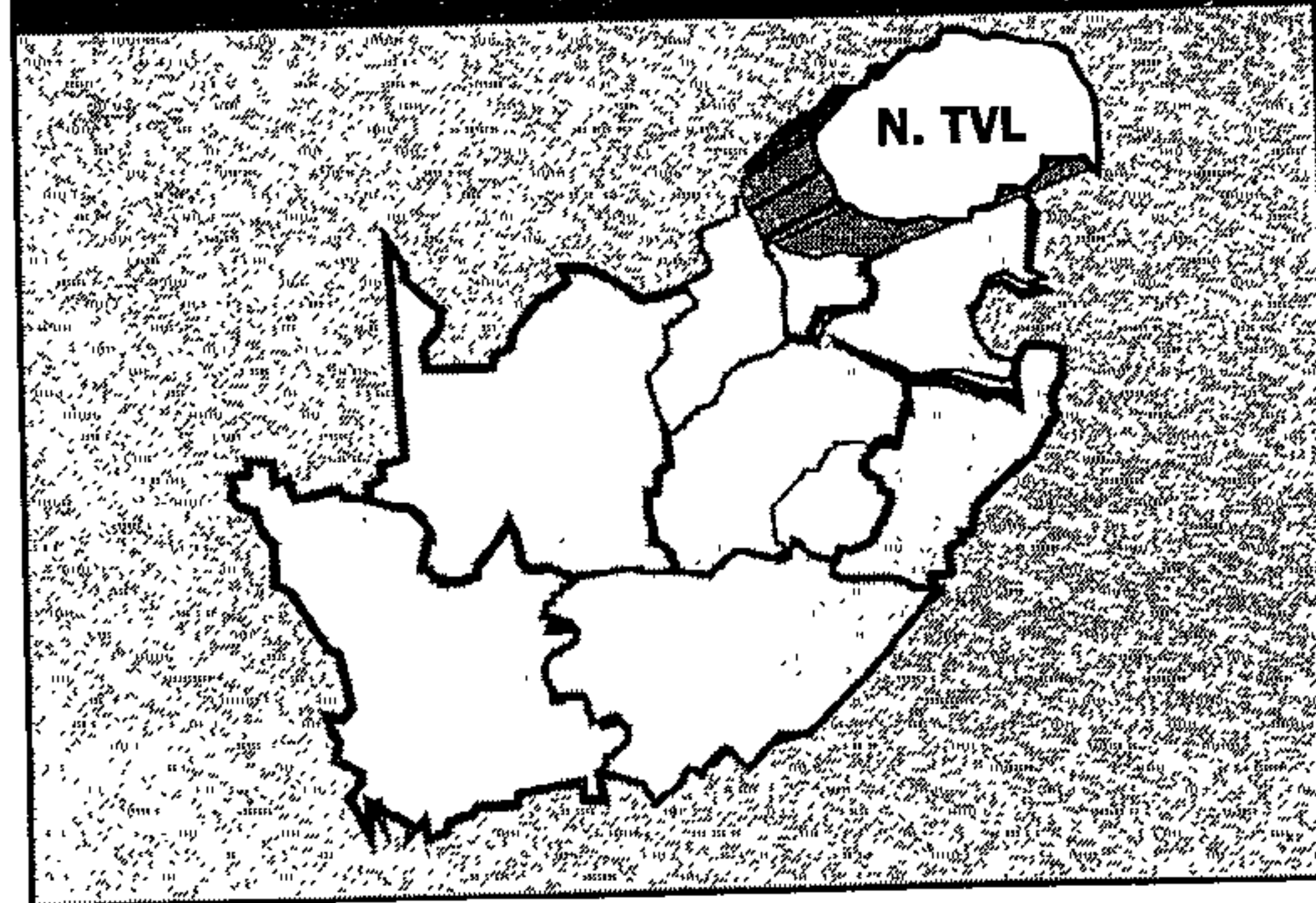
It would be unwise to underrate the force of his recreated and reinforced ethnic nationalism and his capacity to manipulate the elements of ambiguity in the current and coming struggles. It is not only De Klerk and whites generally who have failed to understand the intertwined complexities of Zulu culture and politics. The ANC has also misread the situation — hence its anxiety to invade KwaZulu.

That is not to say there are no encouraging signals coming from Ulundi. The fact that Buthelezi was willing to meet De Klerk in Durban over the weekend to discuss the crisis was welcome, even if the actual meeting seemed to make little progress.

There is also the meeting scheduled between Nelson Mandela, Zwelithini and De Klerk to discuss the sovereignty issue and the announcement on Monday by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte that a working committee has been established between government, the IEC and the KwaZulu administration to try to pave the way for free and fair elections. A further committee was in the process of formation involving government, the ANC, KwaZulu government, the TEC and the IEC to focus on outstanding election issues. This might provide a forum for discussing the future of the Zulu monarchy.

What is not yet clear is how these ideas will be affected by the violence in Johannesburg this week. But they suggest that compromise is still not impossible. ■

Northern Transvaal



A straight ANC, PAC contest

Sowetan 12/4/94
(101)

By Khathu Mamaila

THREE bantustans — Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda — will effectively cease to exist as separate entities to form what will generally be referred to as Region G after the April elections.

The region is home to 12 percent of the country's entire population and generates only 3,1 percent of the country's gross general income.

While the dominant language group is Sepedi, which is spoken by 56,6 percent of the people living in the area, there are at least seven other languages.

About 23,1 percent of the people in the region speak Tsonga; 11,5 percent Venda; 3,4 percent Ndebele; 2,6 percent Afrikaans; 1,5 percent Tswana; 0,8 percent Zulu and 0,4 percent English.

The region is largely rural with 91,2 percent staying in semirural or rural areas. It has the lowest percentage of whites, who constitute 2,7 percent of the people in the area. The total percentage of blacks is 97,1 while Indians and Coloured form less than 1 percent.

It has a fairly poor infrastructure. More than 60 percent of the people in the region have no adequate water supply.

More than 70 percent of the people in the area have no electricity and sanitation.

Magisterial districts include Dzanani, Letaba, Messina, Pieters-

burg, Potgietersrus, Vuwani, Thabazimbi, Waterberg, Warmbaths, Mutale, Phalaborwa, Seshego, Lebowakgomo, Soutpansberg and Giyani.

The political forces at play include: African National Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, Conservative Party, Ximoko Progressive Party, United People's Front, National Party and the Democratic party.

While the ANC enjoys a large following in the region, the area is said to be an Azapo stronghold.

Battle for premiership

The battle for premiership is an academic one, with both the ANC and PAC fielding University of the North staff members in the persons of Ngwako Ramathlodi and Morwamoche Ntwampe, respectively.

The ANC seems to have an edge over the rest of the political pack, with its main worry the denial of access to farms where thousands of black farm workers are employed.

The PAC's battle cry in the election, the return of the land, makes more sense to the people in the region, with its rural setting, and this should bring it more support.

Most of the NP support base in the white community is extreme rightwing, while the DP's efforts at the black vote have recently been shown to be baseless, with party leader Zach de Beer pulling fewer than 10 people around Seshego.

So the north is in many ways a straight fight between the ANC and the PAC.

Azapo's anti-election campaign has support of majority of voters

Sowetan 12/4/94

By Khathu Mamaila

WHILE many political organisations are preparing for the April elections, the Azanian People's Organisation has intensified its campaign to discourage people from voting.

Azapo's convener of the anti-election committee in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Lekau Moyaha, told *Sowetan* that his region had prepared at least eight different documents on "voter education". The papers were being distributed in various villages and towns in the region, he said.

He said it was clear, judging from the

good attendance at the various workshops conducted by Azapo, that the vast majority in the region would not vote.

"We show the people that voting for people who oppressed them, like Chief Nelson Ramodike, would only prolong their slavery. This is not difficult for many to understand as there are constant strikes in Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda by the civil servants demanding their rights.

"Yet the leaders of these bantustans are candidates within respectable organisations who should be voted for," Moyaha said.

He said most blacks in the region live in abject poverty and without land, adding that the Kempton Park deals did not address these fundamental issues of the liberation struggle.

"It should be clear that Azapo was not opposed to the elections but we say to our people if they should vote it should be for only two things: Transfer of power from the minority to the black majority and the economic emancipation," Moyaha said.

The region produced Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng, who provides leadership at local level too.

(101) ~~101~~

Banks urged to write off ex-homeland debts

JOHANNESBURG. — Commercial banks should consider writing off overdraft debts incurred by the former TBVC states and the self-governing territories, TEC finance managing secretary Dr Bethuel Setai said yesterday.

Dr Setai said commercial banks should follow the example of the IMF and the World Bank which had scrapped repayments on loans to developing countries which could not repay them.

Commercial banks could do this as "a gesture, a gift" to the new South Africa, he said.

The general manager of one of the creditor banks said it would be impossible to write off the debts as they were too big.

First National Bank's Mr Norman Axten said existing loans had been guaranteed by the government. — Sapa

(108) CT 6/5/94

TBVC inclusion 'won't raise inland revenue'

THE inclusion of the former TBVC states will not boost inland revenue, the Finance director-general's office said last week.

The director-general said until funding arrangements for the new provinces were in place, revenue previously diverted to the TBVC states would be included in the central government's revenue collections. This implied revenues would be higher.

But the new administration planned to add the same amounts to the expenditure side, resulting in the net effect on the exchequer balance remaining the same.

8/5/94 2/6/94
AMANDA VERMEULEN

Funds would be channelled through the Foreign Affairs Department to the old administrations until rationalisation was completed. (10) (20)

Under the previous administration, revenue diversions to the TBVC states — including income tax, VAT, fuel levies, ordinary levies and Customs Union Agreement payments — were treated as direct liabilities against Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise collections.

Secretariat looking for work

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

WHAT do you do with an expensive government secretarial service that specialised in trying to make apartheid work? Disband it or set it the task of making democracy work are the options facing the government.

The secretariat in question is Secosaf — the Secretariat of the Economic Community of Southern Africa — the body charged with formalising the interaction between the TBVC states and the South African government.

With its R6-million annual budget to run an office of 50 people, Secosaf arranged meetings between its five members in the past 10 years, and generally provided the service of an administrative secretary.

But with the reincorporation of the TBVC states on April 27, Seco-

saf's job is officially over.

Unofficially, its work was over many months ago, and Secosaf has been providing its services to other government departments. However, attempts by the Nationalist government to use its services in the multi-party talks received a firm thumbs-down from the ANC.

Foreign Affairs director Pierre Dietrichsen said yesterday the TEC sub-council on foreign affairs had agreed to prolong its lifespan until the end of July while the government decided on its future.

Secosaf had proposed to the sub-council that it be used in its entirety by the ministry responsible for provincial and regional affairs to liaise between provinces and the central government, he said.

This could mean Secosaf slotting in under the Commission on Provin-

Star SP6194
cial Government or the Department of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development.

Mr Dietrichsen said another option would be to reabsorb Secosaf's staff into the public sector.

Secosaf acting secretary-general Ernst van den Berg said the secretariat would continue to serve its existing clients in the public sector until its future had been decided. One of its tasks in the past weeks was to provide the Melamet Commission — probing the remuneration of political office-bearers with administrative back-up. (101)

Mr van den Berg said he had not been informed whether Secosaf would play a role in the Commission on Provincial Government but that, if requested to do so, it would do its utmost to assist.

TBVC states set to add R2bn to national deficit

GRETA STEYN

THE TBVC budget deficits will add R2bn to the national deficit when the former homelands' accounts are added to government's books in next week's Budget.

Although the Finance Department declined to confirm the figure, economists expected the amount would have to be added to the R25,3bn provisional deficit announced in March to arrive at the true picture.

In terms of the draft Budget, the real deficit was 6,9% of GDP, not 6,4% as projected in the March draft Budget.

Economists said even though the additional amount was effectively a "book entry" to reflect the true position, it created obstacles in the way of arriving at the IMF-prescribed deficit of 6% of GDP.

The effect of incorporating the TBVC states will be higher spending and revenue totals. In terms of the March provisional figures, spending of R131bn is projected and revenue of R104bn. However, both totals are expected to be higher in the final Budget to take account of overruns on transitional costs.

They said past figures were likely to be revised to ensure comparison of "apples with apples".

Most economists predicted an increase in the VAT rate as one measure to bring the shortfall between spending and revenue closer to 6% of GDP.

Further zero rating of food is expected to accompany an increase, while there is also talk of top income earners paying more income tax.

They believed either a new bracket would be created at the top end, or a temporary levy introduced for people earning more than R80 000.

Measures to encourage small business development and tourism were expected, while some announcement on phasing out import surcharges and the general export incentive scheme was also expected.

Ed Hern, Rudolph economist Nick Barnardt said fears about the deficit should be allayed by buoyant revenue figures.

"If government sticks to the 11% rise announced in March, it could find it has underestimated its income."

Homeland burden to national deficit

Own Correspondent

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CT 17/6/94
Zero rating

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Swelling ranks of tribal leaders who would be king

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THIS is Cydrick Mhinga, the man who would be king of the Tsongas.

He wants to take his royal place in a country so awash with monarchs as to be more accurately described as "the United Kingdoms of South Africa", according to a leading campaigner for the rights of traditional leaders.

If crowned, he will become one of more than 20 kings in South Africa, all clamouring for similar status and wealth to that granted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

President Nelson Mandela yesterday reassured a Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA conference that all kings would be treated equally, but issued a gentle warning to those traditional leaders pushing for increased powers under a democratic government.

Reminding the gathering of the fierce opposition of the youth to the role of the chiefs in local and national government, he said: "Do not expect us to comply fully with your demands. We will have to reach a balance that will satisfy all."

Traditional leaders are pressing for some control of local government funds and a political voice in national government.

They have rejected as unacceptably weak the proposed Council of Traditional Leaders, which the present constitution defines as having a largely advisory role.

Chief Mhinga says the attempt to have himself declared king at a time when the country's most famous king is enjoying much publicised privilege is merely "coincidental".

His bid for the crown is part of a larger drive by traditional leaders to "reaffirm the status and dignity of traditional leaders, to provide a unifying focus for the community", he said this week.

Unravelling the web of deposed chiefs and their usurpers, and restoring the ancient lines of succession that were tangled by apartheid is the second most urgent preoccupation of traditional leaders.

The first is lack of money.

The Mhinga line has suffered from both of these plagues on the country's score of royal houses.

Chief Mhinga's father lost supremacy through his own actions in the 60s when he invited the cousin of a fellow chief — a Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi — to lead the Shangaan and Tsonga people into the new era of self-rule under the territorial authority.

Professor Ntsanwisi stayed for 24 years, mostly as chief minister of the Gazankulu homeland.

"The chief minister became so powerful. He was a dictator, deposing chiefs and appointing others," said Chief Mhinga.

The dissolution of homeland

governments this year gave rise to the most urgent problem facing traditional leaders.

As members of the Gazankulu legislative assembly, Tsonga and Shangaan chiefs earned roughly R7 000 a month.

Now they are on a stipend of just R1 400 — and this, says Chief Mhinga, is one of the better paid groups.

Discussions about money drew the sharpest reaction from the Contralesa gathering in Johannesburg this week.

Northern Transvaal premier Ngoako Ramathlodi won applause

when he told the gathering he would work for parity among chiefs' stipends.

He also proposed a way around the etiquette of dealing with several kings in one province (there are six kings among the Xhosa alone): They should take turns at being king of the tribes in the province, suffering no financial loss when it was not their turn and they ruled only their own people.

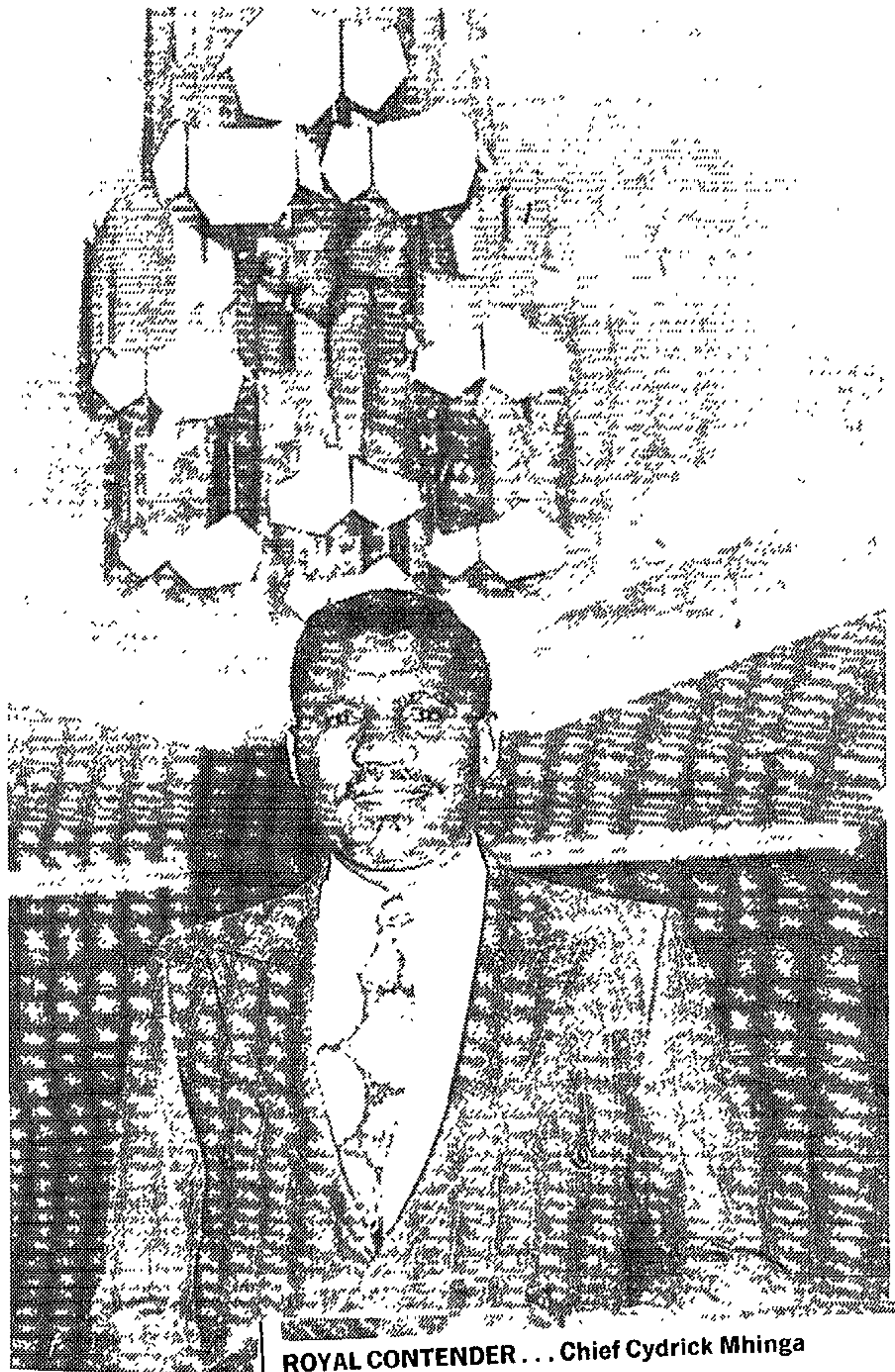
The emphasis on money has given rise to derision for the royal claims by some senior ANC members, who accuse the chiefs of seeking only to enrich themselves.

The status of Chief Mhinga, one of three senior chiefs ruling over

the Tsonga and Shangaan of the Northern Transvaal, is to be decided after consultation with ethnologists.

Before crowning Chief Mhinga Tsonga councillors will have to take into account the fact that the man who seeks to rule them is also former attorney CS Mhinga who was struck from the roll of the Pretoria Supreme Court in December 1992 for unprofessional behaviour. He was found to have abandoned his practice without notice to his clients.

The chiefs are to conclude their conference today with proposals on their status in the new South Africa.



ROYAL CONTENDER... Chief Cydrick Mhinga

'Draw Contralesa into Senate'

Star 20/6/94

BY JUSTICE MALALA

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) yesterday recommended that it be incorporated into the Senate as it had "insignificant powers", assigned to it in the Interim Constitution.

Speaking at the end of its national conference in Johannesburg, the 3 000-strong organisation's president, Patekile Holomisa, said the fact that people who sat in the Senate were elected did not mean traditional leaders were excluded.

The Interim Constitution provides for the establishment of a

THE POWERS of traditional leaders as granted in the Interim Constitution should be broadened, body of 3 000 argues

107

20-member traditional leaders' council to advise the President.

"The fact that it is accepted that traditional leaders are legitimate representatives of their communities means that our people would accept traditional leaders' incorporation in the Senate," he said.

The organisation said traditional leaders should be above party politics and must remain unifying symbols to their communities. It would meet President Mandela to try to amend parts of the constitution which refer to the role of chiefs.

Contralesa's Eastern Cape deputy president, Chief Siphosiso Burns-Mangindi, said at local government level two bodies should be constituted. The first chamber, of traditional leaders, should address development and other areas while the second, of elected representatives, should address urban issues.

He said the conference had recommended that a provincial

House of Traditional Leaders be set up in all provinces which had traditional leaders and that this house be an integral part of the provincial legislature.

The traditional leaders also resolved that kings and queens should receive equal remuneration and that remuneration for leaders of equal standing should be equal.

The conference agreed that a commission of inquiry should be set up to deal with chieftaincy disputes, most of which had arisen due to "legitimate traditional leaders having been deposed by the apartheid and homeland governments".

Chiefs call for role in Senate

CT 20/6/94 (101)

JOHANNESBURG. — Traditional leaders seeking increased political influence yesterday recommended the incorporation of their representatives on the powerful State Senate, saying their powers and functions under the interim constitution were limited and insufficient.

After a three-day conference here of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa delegates decided to arrange talks with President Nelson Mandela about necessary amendments to the interim constitution.

The interim constitution provides for a national council of traditional leaders and houses of traditional leaders on the provincial level, which gives traditional leaders a largely advisory role

Contralesa leader and ANC MP

Political influence 'limited'

Chief Patekile Holomisa commented later that the conference felt the powers and functions given to the council were insignificant and did not give traditional leaders the necessary opportunity to take part in the constitution-making process.

President Mandela told the delegates on the second day of the conference that traditional leaders should not expect the government to just bow to its demands for increased powers and that there would have to be a compromise.

The traditional leaders also decided that the six months' delay contemplated for the drafting of the traditional leaders' legislation in the interim constitution was too long.

They called for the establishment of a commission by the provincial legislatures, in consultation with traditional leaders, to negotiate the matter more quickly.

They also agreed that each provincial house should elect or nominate between 80 and 100 representatives to the House of Traditional Leaders and that candidates for election or nomination to the House should be members of recognised royal families.

The conference agreed that traditional leaders should be above politics and should "remain a unifying symbol to their communities". — Sapa

Former provinces still budgeted for

Star 23/6/94

Cape Town — This year's Budget still makes provision for the allocation of funds to the four former provinces, homelands and self-governing territories.

The budget for Transvaal totals R8 235 021 and represents an increase of R967 587 on last year's allocation. A Department of Finance spokesman said yes-

terday revenue accounts of the former provinces and homelands were being kept open until financial relations with the nine new provinces were established.

This means that as functions are devolved from central government to the provinces, the function as well as the relevant funds would be transferred to

the provinces. It also means that parts of the Transvaal's budget could be given to the North West, Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal. (101)

It is expected that full fiscal year budgets will be tabled before the new provincial legislatures for the first time in 1995/96. — Political Correspondent.



Star 23/6/94

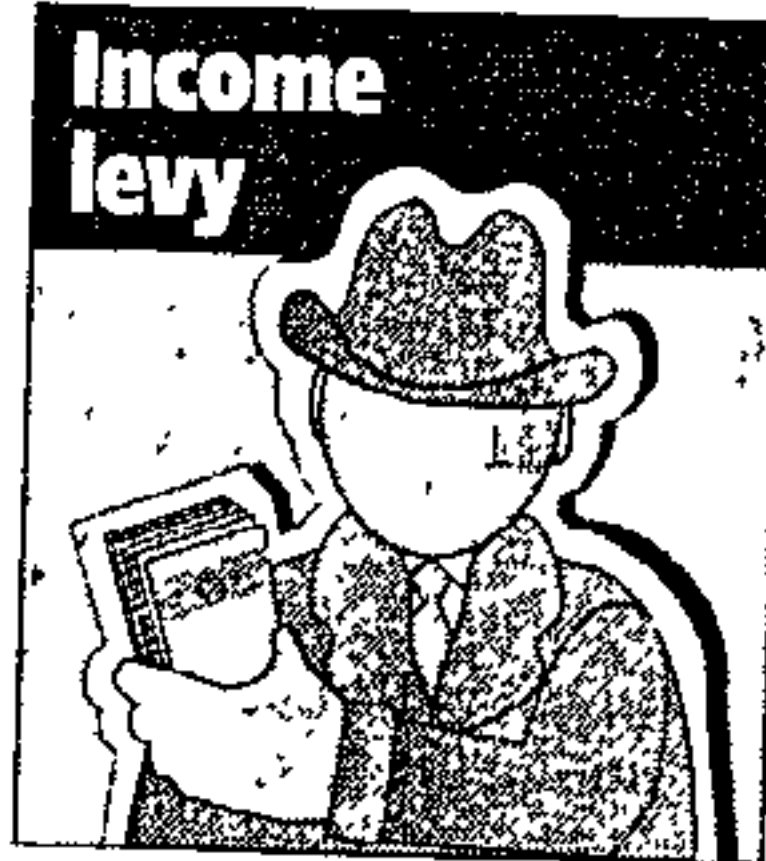
Pay-up dates are February and August

Cape Town — The transition levy to be imposed on taxpayers whose annual income exceeds R50 000 will become effective in years of assessment ending on February 28 and June 30 1995.

The levy will be 5 percent, of which 3,33 percent based on 1995 taxable income is to be collected by February 28 and the balance of 1,67 percent and based on 1996 taxable income by the end of August next year.

Married women will be levied at the rate of 3,33 percent of the amount of taxable income exceeding R175 000.

This levy will apply to taxable



income determined in the years of assessment ending on February 28 and June 30 1995.

Finance Minister Derek Keys

said it was expected the levy would yield R1,46 billion for the current financial year and R800 million up to August next year. Keys said the 5 percent rate would apply to taxable income of companies of more than R50 000 in the years of assessment ending in the 12 months up to March 31 next year.

Assessed losses brought forward from previous years would not be set off in determining that taxable income.

The levy on companies was expected to yield R1,116 billion in this financial year. — Sapa.

Star 23/6/94

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It is expected that full fiscal year budgets will be tabled before the new provincial legislatures for the first time in 1995/96. — Political Correspondent.

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Homelands get their slice

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid is dead — but the homeland administrations live on.

Budgets were tabled yesterday for the TBVC states and the self-governing territories for the administration of education, health and welfare, among other things, until the new provincial administrations are geared to take over these functions. *B/Day*

A Finance Department spokesman said yesterday that the homelands had ceased to exist politically on May 10, but the administrations of the 10 relics of grand apartheid continued to function. *(10)*

They would no longer collect Customs Union, VAT and income tax revenue owing to them. This would flow to the National Revenue Account.

Political Staff

In addition, the TBVC finances would be subject to audit by the South African auditor-general.

Unscrambling the grand apartheid egg could take some time.

The Eastern Cape, for example, is entitled to a portion of the budget of the former Cape province, and a tiny portion of Natal, plus that of Transkei and Ciskei.

However, with rationalisation, the total could be far less than that received by the combined areas in the past. *23/6/94*

Finance department officials said yesterday that separate budgets would operate until administrations were fully merged — and this might not be completed even by next year's Budget.

TBVC (101) continue functions

CT 23/6/44
Political Staff

THE 'homelands' administrations live on.

Budgets were tabled yesterday for the TBVC homelands, who will be responsible for the administration of education, health and welfare until the new provincial administrations are geared to take over these functions.

A Finance Department spokesman explained the homelands had ceased to exist politically on May 10, but their administrations continued to function.

They would no longer collect their own revenue in terms of the portion of the Customs Union, VAT and Income Tax owing to them. This would flow to the National Revenue Account directly.

In addition, the TBVC homelands finances would be subject to audit by the South African auditor-general.

The spokesman said the Financing and Fiscal Commission, due to be appointed before the end of this month, would determine the formula in which each province's share of the Budget would be allocated.

Jan 24/6/94
THE FORMER TBVC

Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei each had its own tax laws which, in some cases, differed substantially from those of SA. KPMG tax partner Ronald Rankine says the immediate and strict application of SA tax law could be detrimental to taxpayers so some transitional measures were expected. (101)

Finance Minister Derek Keys says the harmonisation of the TBVC tax systems with SA's will be undertaken in phases from the 1995 tax year.

Both individual and corporate taxpayers in the TBVC states will be liable for the 5% transition levy.

Tax backlogs in former homelands

APR 25/6/94
THERE were major backlogs in tax assessments and collections in the former self-governing territories and TBVC states, said Commissioner for Inland Revenue Trevor van Heerden (101) (200)

Speaking before the Finance Committee, he said there also had been "pressure from certain quarters" for taxes not to be paid in these areas.

Non-payment of taxes had involved officials, politicians and ordinary individuals.

However, the situation had improved significantly since South Africa seconded officials to stabilise revenue collection systems in those areas.

Foreign affairs budget doubles with former homeland finances

(101) (101) ARG 28/6/94

Political Correspondent

THE foreign affairs budget has more than doubled because the department is funding transfers and controlling finance in former homelands.

This function was previously carried out by other departments and was transferred to foreign affairs as a transition measure.

Foreign affairs director-general Rusty Evans told the parliamentary joint committee on finance less than R1 billion of

the department's R13 billion budget was for actual foreign affairs operations.

Most spending was on personnel, which made it very difficult to make savings.

Those seconded to former homelands were mostly teachers and justice personnel, most of whom would eventually be employed by provincial administrations once rationalisation of the civil service was complete.

● Proportions of South Afri-

can diplomatic representation among foreign countries will change in the next 12 months.

At present, 40 percent of the country's diplomatic corps abroad serve in Europe, with the rest shared out among other continents, Dr Evans said.

Representation elsewhere in Africa could be expected to increase significantly.

● Channel Africa, a foreign affairs-backed broadcaster to other African countries, had proved a great success, Dr Evans said.

Single public service pension fund on track

PETER GALLI

MOVES towards incorporating the public service pension funds of the former TBVC homelands and SA into one large fund with assets of about R75bn are under way and should be finalised later this year.

A Finance Department source said the assets of the pension funds in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were being examined and valued by external auditors Deloitte & Touche and a firm of actuaries. *BIDAY*

"The constitution provides for the incorporation of the pension funds from the former homeland areas into one fund. This will have total assets of nearly R75bn — an estimated R5,5bn from the former homelands and R69bn from SA.

"While we are hoping to finalise the incorporation by the end of September, it may take longer than this as all the assets have to be individually identified, actuarially valued and audited. *11-7-94*

"Senior officials from the Finance Department are visiting the former homeland areas in this regard," the source said.

The Bophuthatswana pension fund was currently administered by the Sefelana Employee Benefits Organisation (Sebo); those in Ciskei and Venda by Sanlam; and the Transkei fund by the Public Debt Commission, he said.

The Public Investment Commissioner (PIC) currently administers the SA pension fund. It is expected that a board of trustees will be established to supervise the new fund, and will then decide how the various assets are to be administered.

"There will be a diverse range of assets to be administered, from equities and gilts to property. *(355) (101)*

"It is likely that the board will appoint several organisations — including Sanlam and the PIC — to manage these," he said.

As the former homelands no longer existed as such, the future of Sebo and the Transkei Public Debt Commission was under threat in relation to their pension fund operations.

But the current administrators of the pension funds in these areas would continue to function as such until this was repealed by an Act of Parliament.

focus on corruption

Sowetan 4/7/94

THE GHOSTS of the past still haunt South Africa. Almost every day there is new information about theft, abuse and corruption in the former homelands.

The area perhaps plundered the most is the Northern Transvaal Region, which incorporates what was once Lebowa, Venda and Gazankulu.

The problem is so serious that the provincial government has set up an Assets Audit Committee under the chairmanship of advocate Mr Seth Nthai to investigate the problem.

"Its purpose is to see what is there and what has been stolen," said Mr Jack Mokobi, a spokesman in premier Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi's office.

"It will investigate all the departments of Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda and those areas in the region administered by the Transvaal Provincial Administration."

Mokobi said there was "widespread corruption" in the region, and singled out Lebowa as being the worst affected.

Quality of leadership

"We can't tell why," he said, "but it is probably because of the quality of the Lebowa government's leadership."

The Assets Audit Committee has set up a police team to investigate the "alleged plundering", and has requested those with information to come forward by Wednesday.

A preliminary report released by the region's transport section shows that at least 87 vehicles were stolen and another 78 damaged.

In the North West Region, which now includes Bophuthatswana, there are also serious allegations of corruption.

"Chaos ensued during the coup against former president Lucas Mangope," said a spokesman in premier Mr Popo Molefe's office.

"During that period, there was a vacuum, which allowed opportunists to do as they wished. There were many irregularities which even affected the police and defence force."

He said this was reflected most clearly by the disappearance of government vehicles. About 165 went missing, as well as smaller equipment such as fax machines, computers and typewriters.

Various commissions of inquiry are investigating the problem, and the North West has set up task teams to recover government property.

"Quite a few vehicles have been recovered and some people have been arrested," said the spokesman.

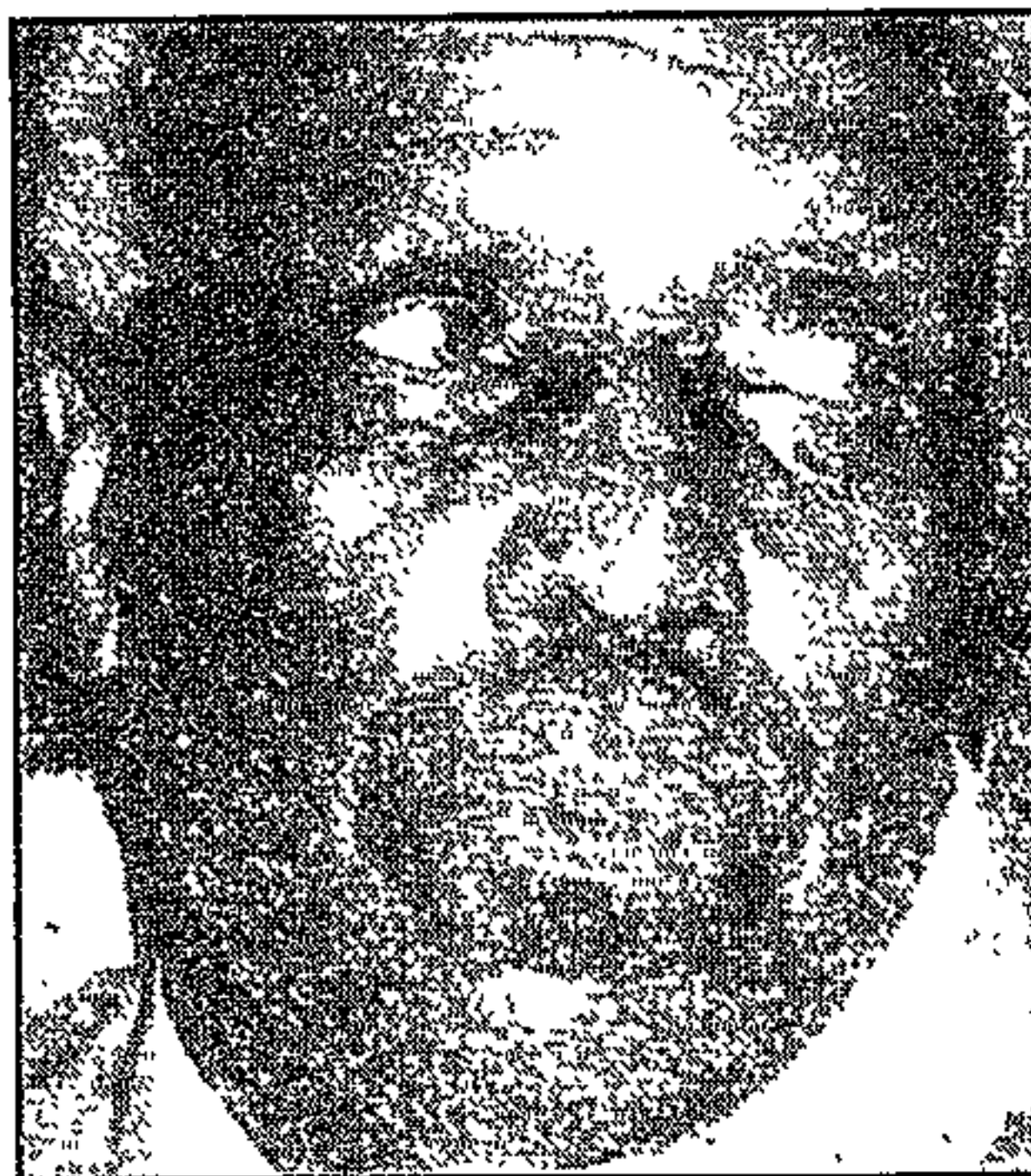
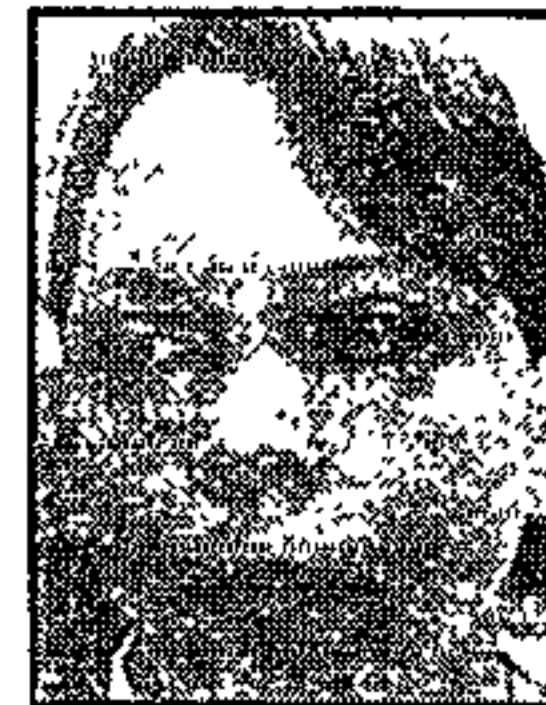
"As investigations continue, more arrests can be expected. There has been much mismanagement, nepotism and corruption."

He singled out Bophuthatswana parastatals as being a major source of corruption.

"They were headed almost exclusively by expatriates who were answerable only to Mangope," he said.

"They employed some people as consultants, with no visible qualifications, at R40 000 a

Ravaged by the greedy and the selfish, former homelands are reaping a grim harvest from the apartheid regime's unscrupulous past as they take stock of the plundering, writes Political Reporter **Tyrone August:**



Raymond Mhlaba ... the new premier faces corruption problems of the past.

month."

He said there were also scams in Bophuthatswana in which millions were pumped into projects that were never feasible in the first place.

In the Eastern Cape, there seem to be different views about the scale of corruption in the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands.

The African National Congress plans to launch an anti-corruption campaign in the area.

"At a regional general council meeting last weekend, we decided to make the region's citizens aware in an attempt to uproot corruption," said ANC official Mr Bongani Gxilishe.

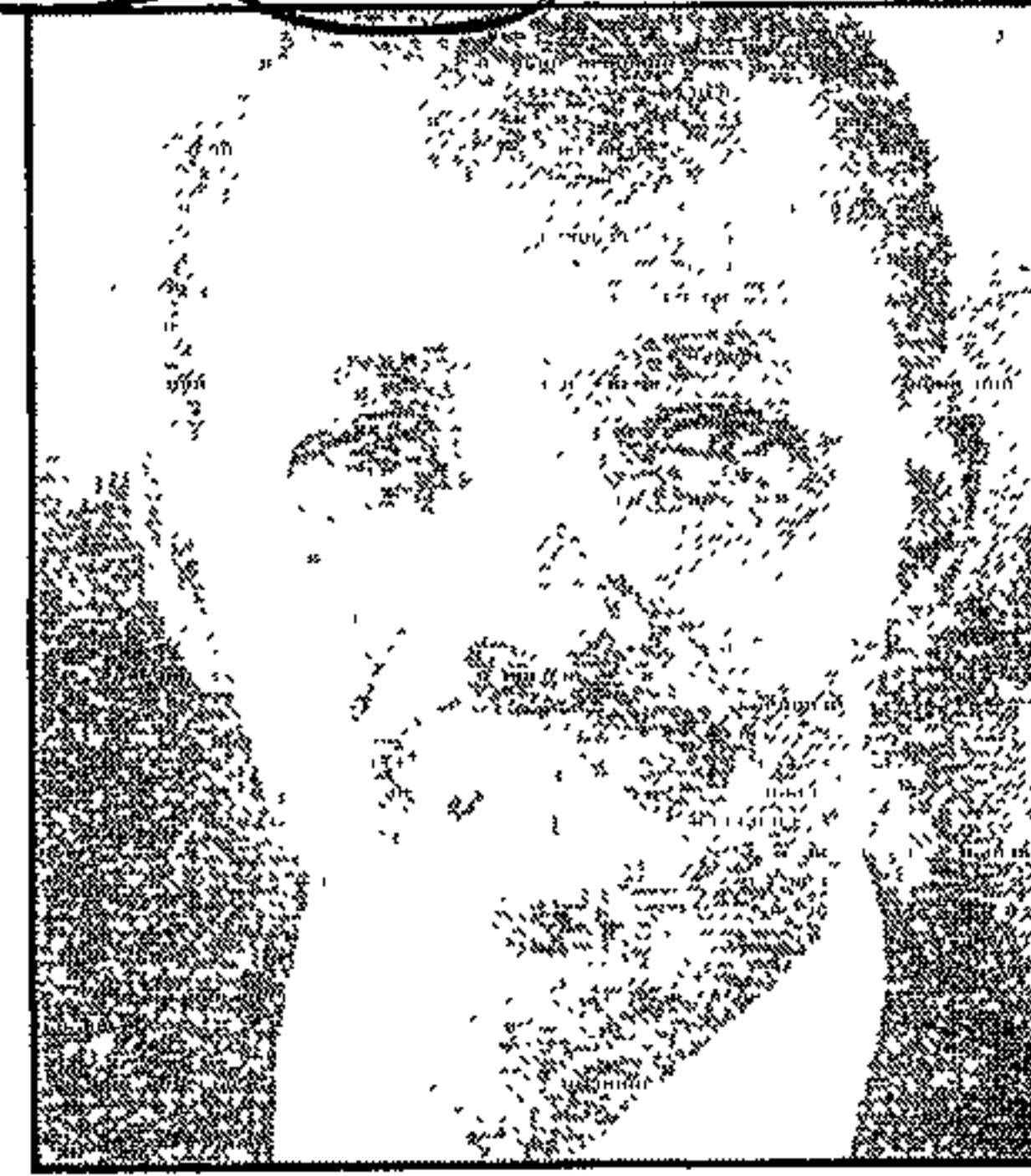
"We are particularly concerned about the Transkei. There is sufficient evidence of looting, theft of government-issue cars, self-promotion to senior ranks and inflation of salaries."

The situation was "relatively better" in the Ciskei, he said, but the ANC's three regions in the Eastern Cape planned to look at this area as well.

"We want to assist the government," said Gxilishe. "Some comrades have already been helping to trace stolen property."

However, not everyone agrees that there is a problem in the Eastern Cape, like Mr Mcebisi Bata from premier Mr Raymond Mhlaba's office.

"There are rumours that people were looting government property, but there is no substance



Oupa Gqozo ... Ciskei was not plundered to the extent of other bantustans.

to these rumours at this stage," he said.

"We are still compiling an inventory of all government property in the Ciskei, Transkei and areas once under the Cape Provincial Administration.

"But there is not even a single incident of theft so far. Things have disappeared, but not on a massive scale." However, he added that Mhlaba had asked President Nelson Mandela to take "special measures" in the Transkei to ensure government property did not disappear.

In the Eastern Transvaal, the new government has been slow in getting off the mark. It is waiting for the integration of homelands like KwaNdebele and KaNgwane to be completed first. "We haven't received any information yet about corruption in this region," said Mr Thomas Nkosi, a spokesman in premier Mr Matthew Phosa's office. "We will only get this information once the integration of the region has been concluded. As a result, no investigations are being conducted."

The situation is the same in the Free State, which now includes QwaQwa.

"There are rumours, but nothing has been confirmed," said Mr Neels van Rooyen of premier Mr Terror Lekota's office.

"So it is difficult to say yes or no at this stage. We are still taking stock."

There are also no reports yet of corruption in KwaZulu/Natal.

101

Mboweni tackles staff duplication

THE issue of duplicated Labour Department personnel from the former TBVC states needs to be urgently addressed, as does racial and gender imbalances in staff complements, according to Labour Minister Tito Mboweni.

Speaking at an Institute of Personnel Management seminar in the Boland last week, Mboweni said his department currently employed five directors-general, four deputy directors-general and "duplicate personnel and labour structures in the old bantustans".

In making the department's staff more representative of SA society, "corrective action" would be taken to rectify past imbalances. "We must accept that if we do not do this, the democracy we are building will — from the point of view of justice and effectiveness — be fragile."

Mboweni stressed that white male staff members need not be concerned about their future employment in the department, nor would the department adopt a policy of employing only blacks and women.

The department would rather delibe-

ERICA JANKOWITZ

ately search for suitably qualified black and female personnel. *B/T Day*

The second prong of the department's corrective action programme was to train historically disadvantaged workers, to avoid tokenism. *S/T 19/4*

"Unless we change our past attitudes and see affirmative action not as a lowering of standards — which we oppose — nor as an attempt to replace skilled white personnel, but as positive and desirable, we will not be comfortable with the changes that have to be implemented in this regard." *S/T 10/10*

Mboweni said changes in labour legislation could be expected in the August parliamentary session.

He added that issues such as the prohibition of funding of political parties by trade unions would be tackled.

A system of linking formal education and workplace training was also under discussion in the tripartite national training initiative, Mboweni said.

"This would mean changes in certification to give credit to on-the-job training."

New welfare system planned

STEPHANE BOTHMA

become independent;

The realisation of a people-orientated network of services in communities;

To convince the community and decision-makers of the contribution social welfare could make, and to obtain the necessary funds;

To create a community conducive to the optimal functioning of people; and

To succeed in rationalising and unifying the fragmented welfare system to the benefit of all.

Blanche said it was clear new and innovative ideas were required on how to structure a new comprehensive welfare system. However, one overriding principle should guide policy and practice — that communities would develop and people be empowered only if the planning of services was done with people and not for people.

Important principles which coincided with his vision for welfare policy, social services and community development were that every South African should have the right to optimal social functioning, and the principle of equity.

PRETORIA — A new united social welfare system that functioned as an integrated whole on national, provincial and local levels would have to be devised for SA, PWV social welfare minister Sakkie Blanche said last week. *S/T 17/4*

Professional welfare workers should also be given greater status and financial recognition, and be brought back into the public service, Blanche told a meeting of social services forums.

The aim of the meeting was to establish a forum for social services in Pretoria.

Although wider consultation still had to take place, Blanche said his immediate priorities for social welfare were:

The prevention and control of drug abuse, family breakdown, juvenile delinquency and crime, homelessness and abandonment, domestic and other forms of violence, poverty, unemployment and trauma treatment;

The achievement of a balance between developmental and prevention approaches as against treatment and care services;

The establishment of a social safety net for people and families with no income, including programmes to equip people to

Much work for former homelands

ALTHOUGH planning for rationalisation of the four parliamentary education departments was relatively advanced, a lot of work still had to be done on the former homelands, the Education Co-ordination Service said in its annual report, released yesterday.

The ECS is the government directorate set up to plan provincial, non-racial education departments.

It said that by the end of March this year, 14 education departments had been taking part in a single planning network, and 18 working groups had been set up to develop planning documents.

All the "descriptive" documentation developed by the network was intended for those who would run the new provincial education departments and who could decide which proposals to accept.

Three draft bills — which had been developed on school education, colleges of education and colleges for vocational education — are ready for further debate and consultation.

They could be adopted unchanged in those provinces formerly controlled only by the tricameral parliamentary departments, but modifications would be required in provinces which now included former homelands. — Sapa

R6 billion in handouts

By Joshua Raboroko

■ 'WASTE OF FUNDS' TBVC states

given money despite allegations:

THE PREVIOUS South African Government allocated about R6 billion to the former TBVC states in the 1993-94 Budget even though there were allegations of misappropriation of funds in the territories.

In addition, the TBVC states received R300 million from the Development Bank of Southern Africa and other sources — bringing the total amount to nearly R7 billion for the financial year.

These figures were released in Pretoria yesterday by auditor-general Mr Henri Kluever when he announced the amalgamation of the South African and TBVC audit offices provisionally set for October 1. The merger of the offices is in compliance with the spirit of the new constitution. The purpose of the amalga-

mation shows "transparency in the audit of-fices". *Sowetan* 5/18/94

Kluever said the states had financial problems — such as misuse of money — which caused concern because it indicated how the "taxpayers' money was wasted".

The allocation of funds to the TBVC territories was done through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, although he did not have the breakdown of how much each state received.

Kluever said there was no satisfactory accountability of how the monies were used by these states. The deficit was "appalling in some instances".

The auditor-general mentioned that the same

could be said about the former self-governing states whose economies were virtually collapsing. The commission of inquiry into the self-governing state of Lebowa found that the "session committee" handling public accounts did not function satisfactorily. The committee was appointed from the ranks of the ruling party and it protected the government.

"It was recommended that serious consideration be given to the composition of the committee which was called to account for the misapplication of public funds," he said.

An audit of income tax matters in self-governing territories revealed serious shortcomings.

(101) *[Signature]*

Police death toll this year up to 151

SUSAN RUSSELL

THE number of policemen killed by unknown attackers on the Witwatersrand during the past week rose to seven with the discovery of the body of an off-duty sergeant in Vosloosrus on Saturday.

This brings to 151 the number of police personnel killed this year. Sixty-nine were killed in the PWV.

Police said yesterday that the body of Sgt VBC Memela was discovered with gunshot wounds in his neck and stomach on Saturday evening. Two constables were also shot dead in separate incidents in the Durban area on Saturday.

A police spokesman said an off-duty constable, wearing a police tracksuit, was shot dead by armed men in Umlazi, outside Durban. A second constable was shot dead in Lamontville.

Their deaths were the latest in a spate of police killings which saw Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi last week publicly commit himself to harsher penalties for the murderers of police. Police Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe has called for the reimposition of the death penalty to deal with police killers.

The recent spate of police murders should be seen by SAPS members as a challenge to be faced in the same way SA had faced problems in the past, Mufamadi said yesterday.

Friday's proclamation freeing the country's 11 separate police forces to work

outside their previously restricted areas of jurisdiction would enable police to deploy resources and skilled personnel more effectively in responding to the problem.

The Minister said the killings were not politically motivated, but reflected organised crime's response to a climate where improved relations between police and the community allowed police to carry out their duties more effectively.

Mufamadi said the positive public reaction to Saturday's police procession of about 2 000 personnel through Soweto attested to a much improved relationship between the community and the police.

His statement follows Friday night's killing of the Mabaso family in Wattville near Benoni on the East Rand.

Two men armed with an AK-47 rifle and a pistol killed Floyd Mabaso, 26, his wife Agnes, 21, their one-year-old son Toby, daughter Nqobile, 3, and grandmother Emily Mabaso, 65, in their home.

Police do not yet know the motive for the attack.

Reacting to the murders, Mufamadi said: "This attack must be condemned as inhuman, especially since such young children were slain.

"These killings, as well as others, emphasise the urgent necessity to find a creative and inclusive solution to the problem of violence, especially on the East Rand."

Shocks likely on TBVC accounts

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The joint standing committee on finance has authorised the auditing of the accounts of the former TBVC states by the auditor-general, setting the stage for revelations on financial abuses.

Auditor-General Henri Kluever told a sitting of the committee on Friday that at least nine audit reports were outstanding for the former TBVC states, while a further seven were outstanding in respect of the former homelands. 8/8/94

Transkei appeared to be the worst offender and reports on its accounts had not been submitted for the past five financial years, he said.

Audits were also outstanding in respect of the 1991/92 and 1992/93 financial years for Bophuthatswana and Venda, while no information was available for Ciskei.

Although central government had not controlled the audits of the former TBVC states, the new constitution effectively

placed the responsibility for auditing these accounts with central government.

Kluever asked the committee whether his department should pursue these reports and this path was supported by NP and ANC members. However, it was pointed out that the joint committee on public accounts would also have to be given a chance to express an opinion. (10)

Kluever said it would be difficult to complete the audits because the institutions had been largely subsumed under provincial administrations.

Kluever also admitted that there had been pressure on the office by the previous government to modify its reports. He declined to provide details.

He pointed out that the office was still restricted in its auditing, particularly in respect of the Special Defence Account.

Homeland binge strains finances

AS government delays handing over remaining financial and administrative functions to the new provinces, spending by the former TBVC and self-governing territories appears to be running out of control.

So much so that the authorities came close to invoking the Exchequer Act, which limits outlays by state department in the first four months of the fiscal year to 45% of the previous year's total expenditure.

Thereafter spending is restricted to 10% a month of the previous year's total.

Figures provided by the director-general for state expenditure, Hannes Smit, show that the TBVC states have spent R3,94-billion in the first four months of the

By SVEN LUNSCHÉ

1994/5 fiscal year — 41% of 1993/4's R9,6-billion total expenditure.

The former self-governing territories have run up spending of R4,89-billion between April and July, over 42,1% of 1993/4 expenditure of R11,39-billion.

In terms of the interim constitution, funds will be diverted to the former TBVC and self-governing territories until proper administrations are in place in the new provinces.

However, establishing new provincial infrastructures have been hampered by government in-fighting over provincial powers and delays by the Department of Finance in getting the Financial and Fiscal Com-

mission off the ground.

One of the major reasons for runaway spending is a sharp rise in public sector appointments in the TBVC states and the self-governing territories ahead of the election.

The Central Statistical Service (CSS) released figures this week showing that the number of government officials in the self-governing territories rose by 14 000 to 261 314 between March 1993 and March 1994.

Comparative figures for the TBVC states are not available, but a Public Service Commission spokesman says current employment is well above the 220 000 in April last year.

Over the same period the central and provincial government cut their staff complement by 13 096 to 763 783.

Mr Smit says he is confi-

dent that systems are in place to keep spending by the TBVC states and the self-governing territories in check.

"Not only did we draw up their budgets for the first time this year, the Exchequer Act also prevents them from drawing more than the stipulated levels," he comments.

Nevertheless, the large spending increases by these departments contrast markedly with the relatively moderate rises reported by the central government so far this year.

The total 1994/5 budgets for both the TBVC and self-governing territories is R13,6-billion.

The central government is also saddled with over R15-billion in debts accumulated by the homelands.

Homeland tax remains in force

Biboy 24/8/94 and Ciskei.

BEATRIX PAYNE

BOPHUTHATSWANA administrators were still collecting roughly R30m a year in non-resident shareholders' tax (NRST) on dividend payments to SA shareholders in Sunbop and other companies registered in the region, sources said yesterday.

But Bophuthatswana acting commissioner Gulan Tambiah said the money was being used by the Northwest provincial government.

Last year the administration collected R25m in NRST and expected to collect about R30m in the year to April 1995. R14m was collected between April and June this year.

Tambiah said the money was not earmarked for any particular use and was combined with VAT and income tax also collected by the Bophuthatswana administration.

Northwest finance minister Martin Kuscus could not be reached for comment.

Inland Revenue spokesman Sydney Pope said the Constitution provided for tax legislation in the TBVC states remaining in place

"The whole tax structure will be harmonised over time and is currently receiving attention from the Receiver. I assume there will be further clarity in the next Budget," he said.

Pope said the sudden repeal of preferential tax legislation could create hardships for the companies based in the former TBVC states.

Tambiah said the tax was "a substantial revenue source for the region and in my view it is morally justifiable to keep it going."

A spokesman from transfer office Fraser Street Registrars said the office was still deducting the 15% tax from Sunbop dividends and dividends from companies based in Transkei

The office would continue to deduct the tax until further instructions were received from the Receiver of Revenue, she said.

Tambiah said his administration would continue collecting the taxes until the legislation was amended in parliament.

"We deposit all the taxes we collect — VAT, income tax and the NRST — into the Northwest's 'A' account for them to use as they see fit," he said.

Pope said the Ciskei and Transkei finance departments were still in place and collected NRST taxes.

He said it was unclear when and how the tax would be scrapped. (101)

The harmonisation of the tax systems was a matter for Inland Revenue and the Department of Finance and was not being considered by the Katz commission on tax, he said.

Draft Bills ignore veto rights

CAPE TOWN — Government has drafted legislation to establish a national council and provincial houses of traditional leaders by the end of October.

The two draft Bills, circulated to provincial premiers for comment, do not address persistent demands by traditional leaders for greater powers, including controversial veto rights, not in the constitution.

A Constitutional Development Department official said yesterday the confidential draft Bills would be presented to Cabinet for approval after the premiers had commented. None of them had yet, he said.

The official said it was a race against time to meet the interim constitution requirement that the provincial houses be set up before the national council, both within six months of the April elections.

He said provincial houses were expected to be established in only six of the nine provinces, where there were legitimate claims: KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Northwest, Eastern Transvaal and Free State.

ANC MP and president of the dominant Council of Traditional Leaders of SA, SP Holomisa, conceded his organisation had no option at this stage but to comply with the constitution.

However, the council would insist the 20-member national council of traditional leaders participated fully in the new con-

Biday
719194
DAVID GREYBE

stitution-making process starting on September 19.

He claimed there was a "marked reluctance" among constitutional role players to amend the constitution and grant traditional leaders more powers. (101)

"While this view is also prevalent in the higher echelons of the ANC, it is not shared at a grassroots ANC level," Holomisa said.

The issue of traditional leaders was one of the toughest at the World Trade Centre negotiations and, as a result, was the last deal cut after the NP and the ANC joined forces to force through a compromise proposal.

The Council of Traditional Leaders of SA opposes the fact that the draft legislation provides the national council with a merely advisory role on issues of traditional authorities, indigenous law or community traditions and customs. Traditional leaders at national and provincial level are given delaying powers of only 30 days regarding legislation they oppose.

Holomisa said the leaders already had a direct say at local government level but wanted similar powers higher up.

The council wants full Senate member status. It also wants provincial houses to have a veto right over provincial legislation, as in the Senate, and powers to initiate legislation at both levels.

TAXPAYERS are footing a multi-million-rand bill to keep former homeland embassies and consulates running within the country.

Like ghosts from the past, ambassadors, consuls-general and diplomatic officials represent countries that no longer exist and perform jobs that no longer have any purpose.

But they continue to receive top-notch salaries and perks.

They travel in chauffeur-driven cars, live for free in luxury homes and get schooling allowances for their children.

And, in a bizarre twist, they even get an allowance for living "abroad" — although they have been South African citizens since the reincorporation of the homelands in April.

The cost of keeping the "foreign missions" and homeland foreign affairs departments going is estimated at more than R80-million a year.

The continued employment of the 750 people involved is the result of a bureaucratic nightmare which keeps the civil servants in limbo until the government sorts out the mess.

A deal negotiated at the World Trade Centre last year guaranteed that civil servants in South Africa and the TBVC states would not lose their jobs until the process of forming a single civil service had been completed.

Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said his department was waiting for directives from the Public Service Commission on how to absorb the staff.

Their jobs and salaries were frozen until they had been placed in a new service, he said.

Transkei's vice-consul in Durban, Mervis Mgobozi, said on Friday: "We were supposed to close these offices down because Transkei is no more."

"We are on standby for further orders from the Department of Foreign Affairs, and we shall be here, operating as usual, until further notice," said Mr Mgobozi, who lives in the plush holiday resort of Umhlanga Rocks.

His office was this week still issuing the former homeland's travel documents.

Two clerks running the Bophuthatswana consulate in Plein Street, Cape Town, said they were "not doing much apart from helping people with queries about Bop Bonds".

"We are just sitting here; we were told to occupy the office until the end of November," one of the clerks said.

The Bophuthatswana Embassy in Arcadia, Pretoria, was deserted yesterday. However, the doors were unlocked and a photocopying machine had been left on.

An application for leave lies on the reception desk. The form is on a letterhead of the "Embassy of the Republic of Bophuthatswana" and is dated June 29 1994 — almost two months after the homeland's reincorporation.

Inside the reception area, a plaque in the Bophuthatswana colours screams at the embassy's employees: "I pledge to be prompt, to be competent, to be friendly".

Down the road is the Venda Embassy. Ambassador Lucas Tshivhase was not in yesterday. Neither was he at his home in the exclusive suburb of Waterkloof Heights.

Perched on a hill, the cream-coloured house boasts three garage doors and a well-trimmed lawn. His chauffeur said the embassy had a staff of "about six".

At the Ciskei Consulate in Siemens Street, Johan-

□ To Page 2

Pampered lives of 'ghosts'

□ From Page 1

nesburg, a sign in the reception window reads: "Discover the Ciskei". But the sole official was out on Thursday — he was being driven to Jan Smuts airport.

The chauffeur said: "We are just waiting for those people in Foreign Affairs to tell us what to do."

Foreign Affairs officials said the main headache was how to accommodate the TBVC diplomats and support staff into a single service as there was neither sufficient work nor posts for them.

The Transkei has seven foreign missions in South Africa, employing 72 mission staff and 93 general assistants.

The Ciskei has 22 mission staff and 22 general assistants at its six missions. Bophuthatswana has an estimated 43 mission staff and 32 general staff at its seven missions.

Venda has an embassy in Pretoria and consulates in Johannesburg and Pietersburg. Foreign Affairs officials could not provide figures on the number of people employed in these missions.

Neither could they detail the salaries, perks and qualifications as, except for the Ciskei, they had not yet had access to the personnel files.

Mr Evans said yesterday that in terms of legislation of July 1, the foreign affairs departments of SA and the TBVC states had ceased to exist.

However, while the legal step towards rationalisation had been taken, the practical steps had not yet been implemented.

Foreign Affairs director Alan Sharpe said that they were busy with the second step towards rationalisation — gathering information on the budgets, the organisational charts, merit records, and particulars on assets and equipment.

The foreign missions would only close once the rationalisation process had been completed.

He said all mission staff received the benefits of "transferred staff". This included free housing, an allowance for living abroad, a schooling allowance for their children and, for ambassadors, chauffeur-driven cars.

perns

SA'S COSTLY Ghost

BY EDYTH BULBRING, CYRIL MADALA,
LINDA RULASHE and JACOB-DANINI
(101)

STimes

1/9/94

R359m to be found for homeland officials

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Government spending and revenue for the fiscal year so far will be reviewed next month to find finance for unforeseen expenditure, State Expenditure director-general Mr Hannes Smit said at the weekend.

An analysis would be undertaken with a view to shifting funds between departments if necessary.

The R359 million to be paid to homeland public servants to bring their salaries in line with the central government had not been included in the June budget, Mr Smit said. The figure included the R170m announced earlier in the form of increases for the lowest-paid public servants.

Mr Smit — who told the joint standing committee on finance last week that the markets should give

the government the benefit of the doubt on spending control — said steps were being taken to reduce government consumption expenditure.

“The aim is to reduce government consumption's share of SA's GDP from the present 21% to 17% over five years.”

Sources said the draft of the Reconstruction and Development Pro-

gramme (RDP) Green Paper pointed to major cuts. Mr Smit said most government departments had been notified at the end of last month to expect real cuts in their 1995/96 budgets to finance the RDP.

Deputy Finance Minister Mr Alec Erwin said that, after allocating R5 billion to the RDP fund next year and after setting aside finance for the state's interest bill, the rest of the budget would not rise in real

terms. **CT 12/9/94**

The government's spending and revenue figures for the fiscal year to August will be released at the end of this week, and should include the first revenue from the transition levy. Economists said it could help keep revenue more robust than the budgeted 11,2% rise. For the year to July, the increase was 20%, but special factors contributed to the buoyancy. **(101)**

Ex-homelands debt is R15bn

CF 14/9/94



(101)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa had inherited debts of about R15 billion from the four former "independent" homelands, the Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Alec Erwin, said yesterday.

The country's total debt was now about R150bn, he told the National Assembly select committee on the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Although this was about 50% to 60% of gross domestic product (GDP), this was "not very high compared to other countries".

However, "if you look at the needs of the country, this is still too high".

Taxpayers paying for embassies

Mr Erwin said policy would determine how long it took to pay off this debt.

Debts of about R15bn had been transferred from the TBVC countries to the total debt.

The government had also again set a target of reducing the deficit as a percentage of GDP to hold interest payments relatively constant.

Mr Erwin said it would take some time before the government could close down all the offices and departments of the old homeland administrations, particularly as the constitution provided that no civil servants would lose their jobs.

It was also not possible to close down the homeland consulates and embassies immediately and dismiss their staff.

"It will take some time. I am afraid the taxpayers will have to pay for this," Mr Erwin said.

The government would take "very severe measures" to curb overspending and overruns in the coming financial year as it needed to show investors and the bond market that it could control expenditure, Mr Erwin said.

Bank funding for homelands

ERICA JANKOWITZ

15/11/74
THE Development Bank of Southern Africa had not suspended contracts concluded with former homelands and would continue to disburse monies to existing schemes in these areas, general manager and chairman of the bank's operations committee Nick Christodoulou said yesterday.

Reacting to a statement by Eastern Transvaal roads and public works minister Laxton Mathebula, Christodoulou said the bank's involvement with projects — including those supplying domestic water — would continue.

Monies being disbursed to contracts being implemented in the former homelands included R4m for the Nzikazi regional water supply scheme; R800 000 for the Nkomazi regional water supply scheme; and R2,4m for small rural development in the former KwaNdebele. (24) (10)

Christodoulou warned that funds would not be made available for new developmental loans until government had finalised provincial government borrowing capacity in terms of the new constitution. But preparation for new projects was being done in "consultation with the reconstruction and development programme".

SPENDING

Down the drain

FM 23/9/94

The spending of billions of rand by the former TBVC states over the past few years may never be audited, which means that any corruption or maladministration will remain undetected.

Replies tabled in parliament by former Finance Minister Derek Keys to questions by Democratic Party Finance spokesman Ken Andrew show that audited accounts for the TBVC states are years out of date.

The last report for the Transkei was completed for the 1986-1987 financial year. Reports for subsequent years are still being

(101)

Continued on page 49

Continued from page 44

FM 16/9/94

processed. In Venda, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, the last reports were for 1990-1991.

Until the reincorporation of the TBVC states earlier this year, there was no statutory provision for the auditors' reports on the accounts of the four states to be sent to the SA Department of Finance. Keys said information supplied by the audit offices of the former states indicated that the outstanding auditors' reports were in various stages of completion.

Ministry of Finance officials were told by TBVC auditors that all cases of fraud or irregularities uncovered during the audits were reported on.

Andrew says that though the outstanding audits are continuing, there seems to be a feeling that the process has become a waste of time and money now that the TBVC states are again part of SA. (101)

However, abandoning any further investigation of the accounts of the former homelands could mean that the irregular use or even theft of funds and equipment may go undetected.

In the six fiscal years between 1988-1989 and 1993-1994, the TBVC states were given "budgetary aid" totalling nearly R20bn by South African taxpayers. The funds were channelled through the Department of Foreign Affairs, but the TBVC governments were not held accountable by SA for use of the money.

There were repeated allegations over the years of financial mismanagement and corruption in the four states. If no investigations are done, suspicions will linger and the wrong message will be sent to the citizens of those territories. ■

Buthelezi opposes local elections

101

21-27/10/94

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has threatened IFP non-participation in local government elections unless the status of traditional leaders is ensured. **Farouk Chothia** reports

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has come out in strong opposition to local government elections in areas controlled by kwaZulu/Natal chiefs and has urged traditional leaders to boycott transitional local government structures.

He has also warned of IFP non-participation in local government elections next October unless the status of the Zulu kingdom is satisfactorily hammered out in constitutional negotiations held under foreign mediation. "The stakes are frighteningly high. Inadequate legislation with respect to

local government could wipe out the role and power of the *amakhosi* (chiefs) and destroy the kingdom forever," said Buthelezi.

The Home Affairs minister outlined his position at a meeting of IFP-aligned chiefs in Ulundi last week which was held under the banner of the newly-formed Iso leSizwe (Eye of the Nation).

Professor George Devenish, a public law lecturer at the University of Natal, slammed Buthelezi's proposals as "incompatible" with the interim constitution. Devenish believes Buthelezi has

fired his "opening gambit" for constitutional talks and compromises will be found.

The ANC head of local government in kwaZulu/Natal, Mike Sutcliffe, said Buthelezi's comments were "tantamount to a declaration of war" and it was a "pity that he does not leave us in this province alone".

Even within the IFP, there are problems with Buthelezi's stance. Two senior IFP leaders told the *Weekly Mail & Guardian* that traditional leaders must allow local government elections to take place in their fiefdoms, with one adding that *izinduna* (headmen) should contest the poll to "maximise their legitimacy".

The litmus test could come tomorrow when the Pietermaritzburg Local Government Negotiations Forum

(LGNF) reconvenes. After much cajoling, IFP-supporting traditional leaders from Taylors Halt and Vulindlela agreed to participate in the LGNF negotiations and gave their blessing for the inclusion of their territory into a metro forum. It remains to be seen whether they will stick to this in the wake of the Iso leSizwe indaba.

Buthelezi said the IFP plans to pass a Rural Local Government Act through the kwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature which will "preserve" the powers exercised by chiefs and headmen "in administering the community". Traditional councils will be "the primary local government structure in the traditional community". The Local Government Transitional Act "should apply to metropolitan areas only".

Responding, Devenish said: "In effect Buthelezi is saying there must be no elections and chiefs must rule. Power will be vested in an autocratic elite." He said the envisaged rural Act is in conflict with the interim constitution which provides for chiefs to serve only in an ex-officio capacity in local government structures.

Buthelezi envisages elections only for regional councils, the "over-arching local government structure", and sees traditional communities participating in these, but wants to see regional councils devolving maximum powers to the lower unelected structures.

Sutcliffe accused Buthelezi of once more engaging in "brinkmanship". "Unfortunately, Buthelezi has still not woken up to the fact that we now have a national democracy where the IFP is a minor player."

● The Zulu Royal House has rejected the IFP's draft Bill on the House of Traditional Leaders which will come before the provincial legislature next month. Zwelithini's new legal adviser, S'dumo Mathe, said: "No adequate or new powers are given to him. In terms of the Bill, the king enjoys the same status as a chief."

It is understood Zwelithini wants to be the head of the House of Traditional Leaders but the Bill makes provision for him merely to send a "representative".

Move to dismember homeland govts (101)

By BARRY STREEK, CT 28/10/94
Political Staff

A KEY step towards the financial dismembering of the 10 homeland administrations has taken place with the tabling of a supplementary budget in Parliament — but the actual abolition of departments in the homelands will take some time yet.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Mr Alec Erwin, said yesterday: "We are embarking on rationalising the votes — and bring this to the current session of Parliament to get the process well ordered.

"This is part of the process of reorganising government."

A report that investigations indicated the possibility of "serious financial problems and irregularities" in the former TBVC states was released yesterday by the joint standing committee on public accounts.

The committee called for an urgent inquiry into the homelands accounts.

Homeland funds diverted to govt

B/Doy

28/10/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A key step towards the financial dismembering of the ten homeland administrations has taken place with the tabling of a supplementary budget in Parliament — but the actual abolition of departments in the homelands will take some time yet.

Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin said yesterday: "We are embarking on rationalising the votes — and bringing this to the current session of Parliament to get the process well ordered.

"This is part of the process of reorganising government."

A report that investigations indicated the possibility of "serious financial problems and irregularities" in the former TBVC states was released yesterday by the joint standing committee on public accounts. It called for an urgent inquiry into the homeland accounts.

Erwin explained the national budget of R135bn, which was proposed on June 22, was based on the old government departments and structures.

The supplementary budget, which would still be R135bn, would reallocate money from the homeland administrations to the national departments.

This meant the R11bn Foreign Affairs budget would now be R1,2bn because the money allocated previously through the Foreign Affairs Department for the four "independent" TBVC homelands, had been transferred to other departments.

However, State Expenditure director-general Hannes Smith said the actual transfer of governments in the homelands would depend on the negotiations between the Public Service Commissions and the departments for the takeover, but this was a complex process.

In the case of the four independent homelands, the transfer of the departments of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Correctional Services had already occurred.

Erwin said the broad outline was that by the time of the 1995/96 Budget, the provinces would be "quite close" to getting their full budgets, but that by the 1996/97 Budget, the national, provincial and hopefully local government budgets would all be in place.

The joint standing committee on public accounts said in its report tabled in Parliament that it wanted to express its concern about the homeland accounts.

It recommended that Auditor-General Henri Kleuver "as a matter of urgency" take appropriate steps to ensure that all arrear audits in the former TBVC states should be finalised as soon as possible.

The committee also said that in cases where effective auditing could not be accomplished within four months, the auditor-general should carry special investigations to be in a position to report to Parliament on these problems.

Clarify role of chiefs — ANC

ET 28/10/94
(101)
THE ANC caucus has called on the organisation's national executive committee to give clear policy direction on the role of traditional leaders in local government and their relationship with the South African National Civic Organisation, chief whip Mr Arnold Stofile said yesterday. ~~(3)~~
Chief Patekile Holomisa, president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and an ANC MP, told the caucus chiefs could not be wished away. — Sapa

Inkatha bill angers King Zwelithini

CIPress 30/10/91

By SIPHO KHUMALO

KING Goodwill Zwelithini is very upset!

He yesterday rejected an Inkatha-sponsored House of Traditional Leaders' Bill, which was passed by the KwaZulu Assembly on Friday, and which witnessed a walk-out by ANC members.

The king, in his first press conference in Durban yesterday since his relationship with Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi collapsed earlier this year, said the House of Traditional Leaders' Bill was passed without any prior consultation with him.

It was also an attempt to diminish his authority, he said.

The act, which makes provision for a "traditional prime minister", was criticised by the ANC as an attempt to create a position in the KwaZulu/Natal parliament for Buthelezi.

"I view the passing of the bill for the establish-

ment of the House of Traditional Leaders in KwaZulu/Natal with serious concern and I reject it.

"I'm going to discuss this matter with the King's council which I have already set up," said Zwelithini.

The King's immediate rejection of the bill presents a setback for Inkatha, which rammed the bill through parliament on Friday despite protestations from the ANC, which walked out while the vote was being taken.

The King said he was dismayed at the hurried and discourteous manner in which such a "sensitive" matter had been handled.

"I believe I should have been properly consulted and I should have been given due respect as the monarch and head of the nation and of the institution of ubukhosi (chieftainship)", said Zwelithini.

He pointed out that discussions on the bill

should have taken account of talks between himself and President Mandela, as well as account of discussions at multi-party negotiations on the issue of his status, which had been entrenched in the constitution.

It is felt by political analysts that the bill tends to reduce the position of the king to that of a normal member in the House of Traditional Leaders.

"The House of Traditional Leaders is a vital institution which should reflect the status of the monarch as the leader of Amakhosi and the nation," the king said.

The king, who wants traditional chiefs to stay out of politics, said their involvement had led to serious political conflict.

"Thousands of people have died in this violence. It is my people who are dying every day. This has to stop."

A job with 365 days of leave a year

By RAY HARTLEY
Parliamentary Correspondent

FINANCIAL management in the public service would get worse before it got better, Auditor-General Henri Kluever said this week following the release of a series of damning reports on provincial and homeland graft.

He said a drop in morale and attitude changes before the April elections had contributed to a lack of budgetary discipline. "I haven't got a crystal ball, but I think its going to get worse before it gets better," he said.

Auditors' reports on Ciskei, Venda and the provincial administrations of the former Cape and Transvaal provinces showed that millions of rands had been stolen or misallocated.

So bad was the state of Venda's books that the homeland's Auditor-General, Mr D N Maphiri, said he could not get financial statements from some government departments covering expenditure for 1991 and 1992.

Irregularities ranged from open resistance to auditing by many homeland departments, to an officer in the Venda Defence Force enjoying 365 days leave in one year.

Commenting on Venda's Department of Works, Mr Maphiri said: "In view of the serious weaknesses in internal control,

misappropriation of funds, lack of supporting documentation, improper book-keeping... and the bad state of the general administration of the department... I am not in a position to express an opinion on the results of the department's operation for the year ended March 31 1992."

In the Cape Provincial Administration, the 1992/93 audit released this week showed that the health services had exceeded their budget by more than R100-million.

Former CPA administrator Kobus Meiring, who now serves as the Western Cape's finance minister, said: "We were not overspending, we were underfunded. We were starting the new year with a budget that was less than the expenditure of the previous year." (10) (15)

But Mr Kluever was not satisfied with this explanation. "If you give someone a certain amount of money, he must cut his coat according to the cloth."

Over and above the budgetary excesses, the report exposed what amounted to the looting of Groote Schuur Hospital, including the disappearance of R1-million's worth of linen in two years.

In addition, fraud cases in the province, involving a total of R399 000, were referred to the police for investigation.

This paled by comparison with the Transvaal, where 340 warrant vouchers to the value of R64,2-million were issued fraudulently.

IFP defends bill on traditional leaders

ULUNDI. — All the necessary steps had been taken before the passing of the Traditional Leaders' Bill in the provincial legislature, kwaZulu/Natal Premier Dr Frank Mdlalose said at the weekend.

Addressing an Inkatha Freedom Party rally in Ulundi, Dr Mdlalose said it was not true that King Goodwill Zwelethini had not been consulted about the bill.

A consultative meeting had been held with kwaZulu Amakhosi (chiefs) last month where the bill had been fully discussed and adopted.

He said most parties had voted in favour of the bill except for ANC MPs, who walked out during the vote. The DP abstained. — Sapa

CT 7/11/94
(101)

Traditional leaders could add R45-m a year to gravy train costs

CLIVE SAWYER (101) ARG 9/11/94
Political Correspondent

PAYING salaries to traditional leaders, soon to board the gravy train, could cost taxpayers at least R45 million a year.

And taxpayers in the Western Cape, where there are no traditional leaders and where plans for a volkstaat are even more inconceivable than anywhere else, will have to fork out too.

A national house of traditional leaders is to be set up, while some provinces will have councils of traditional leaders.

Democratic Party senator William Mnisi said in the senate yesterday that his party accepted that "parallel structures" like the councils of traditional leaders and the volkstaat council were required by

the constitution.

"But in many instances these councils are a duplication of the function of parliament.

"The interests of traditional leaders should be the concern of those members elected to parliament by these leaders and their followers.

"The gravy train is already long enough without the addition of extra coaches."

Mr Mnisi said the legislative role of the house of traditional leaders was unclear.

A bill in the Eastern Cape provides for 158 chiefs to become members, while a bill in KwaZulu-Natal provides for 84 chiefs.

If these provincial council members were paid salaries equal to those of members of

provincial parliaments — at R184 000 a year — these two provinces alone would cost taxpayers R45 million a year.

Mr Mnisi said these estimates did not include office space, secretaries, transport and other costs.

The number of members of four other provincial councils of traditional leaders, their salaries and other issues were being negotiated, he said.

The DP called on President Mandela to ensure that most members of the councils were only part-time.

"This non-elected body should not become a burden on taxpayers.

"We as a nation simply do not have the money to bankroll an infinite number of salaried public officials."

Those people were critical of the Bill.

Parliament holds rein on traditional leaders

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday succeeded in convincing other parties that Parliament had to retain financial control over a 20-member Council of Traditional Leaders, to be established under the Constitution. 9/11/94

DP leader Tony Leon argued MPs had to have a say over the salaries and allowances paid to traditional leaders. (10)

Warning against "creating another coach on the gravy train, Leon said Parliament should be "loath to relinquish its own sovereignty". MPs could not predict what sort of problems might crop up in future.

The select committee on constitutional affairs eventually agreed that the Minister of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development would, "in consultation with the Minister of Finance and by Parliament", determine the remuneration of traditional leaders.

Leon also criticised the Council of Traditional Leaders Bill for leaving it up to the President, after consultation with the council chairman, to determine which members would

DAVID GREYBE

serve full-time. There was not enough work for the council to sit full-time, he said, pointing out that there were already 490 MPs in Parliament.

Inkatha Freedom Party Senator Ruth Rabinowitz said the Bill vested too much power in President Nelson Mandela, who himself would "be subject to various pressures". She called for a greater role in the process for the provinces — the seat of traditional leaders.

NP Senator David Malatsi argued, however, that there was more than enough work for traditional leaders in Parliament. He was backed by PAC MP Khaliphile Sizani.

Deputy Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Valli Moosa said his department did not envisage a full-time council. However, the workload would determine the schedule of traditional leaders, he said.

Government officials said they still hoped to table the Bill before the scheduled end-of-year recess next Wednesday.

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Chiefs 'insecure' over local govt poll

WILSON ZWANE

THE fear among traditional leaders that local government elections scheduled for next year will undermine their authority remains a key obstacle to the finalisation of election regulations, government sources said.

Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer is engaged in discussions with traditional leaders, including KwaZulu/Natal traditional minister Nyanga Ngubane, on constitutional arrangements which would enable people living under traditional authority to vote in the elections.

It is known that chiefs, particularly in KwaZulu/Natal, do not want to have anything to do with elected bodies.

The sources said the discussions between Meyer and the traditional leaders included issues such as the powers and functions of elected bodies and those of traditional authorities, as well as arrangements for traditional leaders' representation on the elected bodies.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Valli Moosa said there would be a meeting with Ngubane and Amakhosi from the province at Ulundi on Tuesday.

A top item on the agenda was likely to be the Amakhosi's fears that elections in their areas would erode their status, which was guaranteed by the constitution.

One source said it was these fears as well as negotiations with the Transvaal Municipal Association that was holding up the publication of regulations for the elections in October next year. (10)

Government was also looking into new legislation for rural areas because the Local Government Transition Act incorporated only the pre-interim phase of local government transformation.

The pre-interim phase is the period between the establishment of transitional local government structures and local government elections.

Govt is firm |

TVBC's costly army promotions

Sowetan 18/11/94

(101) (S)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THERE was a flurry of promotions in the armies of the former TBVC states shortly before the elections.

Minister of Defence Mr Joe Modise confirmed in Parliament that 2 252 promotions were effected in the former armies of Bophuthatswana, Venda, Transkei and Ciskei and that "the most obvious" cost implication for the new government was salaries.

After the integration of the armed forces in South Africa, the Ministry of Defence will have to pay these people salaries "according

to pay scales associated with their higher ranks", Modise said.

"All the financial implications will only become known after stock-taking and audit of all inventories and accounts of the former TBVC defence forces by the (South African) National Defence Force has been completed by March 1995," Modise said.

The financial implications under the present financial year's estimates are R1 173 457 a month or R11 734 570 for the period between the election and the end of February 1995.

Most of the promotions were made in the Transkei (1 657), with other areas being: Ciskei (411) Bophuthatswana (34) and Venda (150).

'Traditional leaders fear elected bodies'

CT 18/11/94 (101)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Traditional leaders' fears that local government elections scheduled for next year will undermine their authority is a key obstacle to finalising election regulations, government sources said yesterday.

They said chiefs, particularly in kwaZulu/Natal, do not want to have anything to do with elected bodies.

Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer is having discussions with traditional leaders on constitutional arrangements to enable people living under traditional authority to vote in the elections.

The sources said the discussions included issues such as the powers and functions of elected bodies and those of traditional authorities, as well as arrangements for traditional leaders' representation on the elected bodies.

Six kings for the Eastern Cape's castle

SI Times

THE Eastern Cape government has announced it plans to turn six paramount chiefs into kings.

Local Government and Housing MEC Max Mamase said at the weekend that the move was part of a plan to democratise the current unpopular headman system.

The announcement comes at the height of a battle between the Congress of South African Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) and the government about how many chiefs there should be in the Eastern Cape House of Traditional Leaders. 20/11/94

The chiefs want an 82-member house with each receiving about R184 000 annually. The government wants a number in the 30s, while some opposition MPs and worried taxpayers say 20 members would be sufficient because MPs already represent the areas under chiefs. (101)

Payment of the future kings has not yet been discussed, but chiefs feel they should get more than R184 400 because they will be responsible for large areas.

By RYAN CRESSWELL

Meanwhile, a physical battle of hostage-taking and violence is being fought out in rural Ciskei between some Contralesa members and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco). Sanco members are unhappy with some of the headmen who did not inherit their positions but were placed there in the past for political reasons.

Advocate Mdutshane, who deals with traditional matters for the department of local government, said the move was an attempt to restore the "dignity" of the paramount chiefs, some of whom had been used in the past as "political pawns".

"The government has noticed that previously, before colonial times, the paramount chiefs were known as kings. In Kwa-zulu Natal they have one king but here we actually have six," he said.

Transkei Traditional Leaders' Association spokesman Chief Dumisani Gwandiso claimed the government got the idea for kings from his organisation and Contralesa.

"The word paramount chief was initially introduced by settlers who wanted locals to only acknowledge the British king. So we welcome this idea."

Chief Gwandiso said the Transkei did not have the Ciskei's problem with violence and hostage-taking because headmen in his region inherited their positions and were "the younger brothers and sons of chiefs".

He said he thought the payment of about R184 000 a year was fair because chiefs were on duty "24 hours a day".