HOMELANDS — GENERAL

1992

Patrick Laurence argues that tribal leaders have a right to be represented at Codesa

Bring some seats for the chief

STAR 14/1/92 (101)

THE quest by Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party to win an independent place at Codesa II for the Zulu monarch Goodwill Zwelithini is undoubtedly prompted in part by considerations of realpolitik.

But that should not obscure the point that there are cogent arguments which have nothing to do with political calculations for demanding that he be given a place at the negotiating table.

These arguments, however, apply with equal validity to all traditional leaders, from relatively minor chieftains to the paramount chiefs of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda.

Chief Buthelezi, like all the main players at Codesa, is anxious to strengthen his hand at Codesa; one way of doing so is to secure a place at the negotiating table for King Goodwill.

It is an open secret that the relationship between the two men is close and that King Goodwill — who is Chief Buthelezi's nephew — is unlikely to pursue a line at Codesa which contradicts or challenges that taken by Chief Buthelezi or the IFP.

The relationship between the two Zulu leaders is encapsulated in Chief Buthelezi's depiction of their political roles as those of prime minister and constitutional king. Even within the Zulu paradigm, with its history of strong Zulu kings from Shaka to Dinizulu, the balance of power resides with the prime minister.

But that does not reduce the drive to secure a seat for the king to a mere political manoeuvre.

Traditional leaders still play an important, if diminishing, political role in South Africa; King Goodwill, as the only tribal leader to claim and be granted the title "king", is no exception.

Even if, as Chief Buthelezi has insisted in the past, King Goodwill's role is that of constitutional monarch rather than a absolute potentate, he is still a substantial political figure.

More important, however, as the SA Law Commission's exhaustive Report on Constitutional Models points out, one of the options before South Africa's constitution-makers is whether — and, if so, how — traditional leaders should be accommodated in the "New South Africa".

Once that point is conceded, and it is difficult to see how it can be rejected out of hand, it follows logically that traditional leaders should be given some say in the political deliberations which precede the drafting of a new constitution.

The drive by most South African leaders to dismantle the last of the apartheid structures — the nominally sovereign TBVC states set-up between 1976 and 1981 — strengthens the argument for representation of traditional leaders at Codesa.

The constitutions of all four of the TBVC states provide for representation of traditional leaders.

Transkei's constitution goes even further: it gives more seats to chiefs than popularly elected members: 77 against 75.

The jettisoning of constitutional rule by military juntas in three of the four states — Bophuthatswana is the only exception — does not gainsay the fact that traditional leaders fulfilled, and still fulfil, important functions in their political lives.

It is no coincidence that Bantu Holomisa, the first of the military rulers to emerge in the TBVC states, is the son of a chief: his father Chief Bazindlovu Holomisa was a member of the Transkei Legislative Assembly and the young Holomisa attended Jongilizwe College, a school for the sons of chiefs and headmen.

In the minds of some South Africans arguments for recognising the right of traditional leaders to a place at Codesa, and perhaps even in the new constitution, smack of manipulation. They revive suspicions of an indirect role in colonial Africa and Verwoerdianism in South Africa.

But, as the Law Commission Report makes clear, independent black Africa has recognised that traditional leaders are not obsolete symbols of a dying past. The constitutions of several post-colonial states provide for a continuing role by traditional leaders.

To cite the case of Botswana: the constitution provides for a 15-member House of Chiefs; the chiefs of the eight most important tribes are ex-officio members and the remaining seven are elected indirectly by chiefs and sub-chiefs.

In Zimbabwe, to quote another case, chiefs are given 10 seats in the 40-member Senate, five from Mashonaland and five Matabeleland. Parity of representation pertains even though Mashonaland's population is much larger than Matabeleland's.

The clearest sign, however, that recognition of the importantance of traditional leaders is not in itself a sign of the re-emergence of Verwoerdianism, comes from the African National Congress.

The ANC has been careful to stress that it is not hostile to traditional leaders per se.

The ANC has successfully brought the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) into the alignment of political forces acting its aegis. Contralesa's present president is Sango Paketile Holomisa, who, unsurprisingly, is a relative of Transkei's military ruler. Contralesa is itself pressing for a place at Codesa.

Its endeavour, which has the backing of General Holomisa and, at the least, the sympathy of the ANC, strengthens the case for giving a place to the King Goodwill.

In a political sense, the presence of the ANC-aligned Contralesa at Codesa will partly neutralise the increased leverage which King Goodwill's participation is likely to give to Chief Buthelezi and the IFP.

It should be noted in passing

Noting that King Dinizulu was one of the first honorary presidents of the ANC after its formation)in 1912, the ANC anniversary message hails him as "that patriotic leader of our people." □

winning King Goodwill to its side, a strategic gambit, which, if successful, could be fatal to the IFP.

It cannot be coincidental that the ANC has chosen to single out the Zulu king, Dinizulu, for special tribute at its 80th anniversary celebrations last week.

committee opt to grant representation to traditional leaders, it will have face another difficult decision: how to allocate seats between the various leaders and whether to give the Zulu monarch greater weight than, say, the Paramount Chiefs of Transkei.

One last point should be recorded. The ANC has not yet given up on its objective of wooing and

that King Goodwill's application has the formal backing of the De Klerk administration and the National Party following a meeting last Friday between President de Klerk and a Zulu delegation.

The whole question of representation for traditional leaders has been referred to Codesa's management committee. Should the

Why is the Zulu king exempt asks chiefs

Sowetan 14/11/92

(101)

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa has condemned President FW de Klerk's statement that the Zulu king is unique from other kings in South Africa.

"Contralesa regards De Klerk's declaration that the Zulu king is different from other kings in South Africa, as a clear indication that the National Party Government is still committed to the policy of dividing the African community along tribal lines," the organisation said in a statement yesterday.

"The Zulu kingdom is by no means different from that of other communities."

De Klerk made the statement last week during a meeting in Cape Town with King Goodwill Zwelithini and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Contralesa said it was not opposed to the representation of Zwelithini at Codesa. However, all other traditional leaders should be accorded the same status.

"We maintain that the involvement of traditional leaders in the negotiation process should not amount to the promotion of tribalism.

"In our application to Codesa we state that member kings and other traditional leaders of a similar status would be satisfied with being represented by a Contralesa delegation because our aims and objectives are the same."

The organisation reiterated its demand that traditional leaders be included in Codesa. - *Sapa.*

Zulu king issue still in the air as Codesa moves into new phase

STAR 14/1/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Staff

Agreement was reached on a number of administrative matters at Codesa's first management committee meeting yesterday.

Representation by the Zulu king and applications for Codesa membership by a "longish" list of groups were, however, referred to committees for further deliberation.

The thorny issue of representation by King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and other traditional leaders was referred to a subcommittee after a proposal by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The chairman of yesterday's meeting, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, said the daily management committee would consider applications by several groups and organisations, including Fida, the National Forum, the Peoples Merit Party and three splinter right-wing groups — the Afrikaner Party, the Boerentia Party and the Boerevolk Secretariat.

The management committee, however, proposed that only political parties and organisations with proven support would be allowed to join Codesa.

Some of the new applications clearly did not comply with this criterion, he said.

Dr de Beer said continued efforts would be made to persuade groups such as the CP, PAC and Azapo, which declined invitations, to join the constitutional talks.

The management committee called for organisations to include more women in their delegations.

Yesterday's meeting transformed the steering committee, which was responsible for arranging Codesa 1, into a management committee, and changed the five-man secretariat into an eight-man daily management committee which will deal with the running of Codesa as an organisation.

The members of the daily management committee are: Dr de Beer, Natal Indian Congress representative Privan Ghordan, Pieter Hendrickse of the Labour Party, the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Professor Selby Ripinga of the Inyandza National Movement, Zamindlela Titus of the Transkei government delegation, and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

It was decided that the management committee would have a rotating chairmanship.

Condemned

At the first meeting of the daily management committee, held directly after the six-hour management committee meeting at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport, it was decided that its members would assist in getting the work of the five Codesa working groups under way.

High-powered delegates from 19 parties are to begin the task of negotiating transitional arrangements for a new South Africa on Monday.

Meanwhile, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa yesterday condemned President de Klerk's statement that the Zulu monarch was unique among kings in South Africa.

"Contralesa regards Mr de Klerk's declaration as a clear indication that the National Party Government is still committed to a policy of dividing the African community along tribal lines," the organisation said in a statement.

Role for traditional leaders mooted

CODESA would soon start hearing expert testimony on the role played in SA by traditional leaders, a Codesa source said yesterday.

Evidence provided by anthropologists and historians on SA's pre-colonial history will help a subcommittee of Codesa's management committee determine what role Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders can play in constitutional negotiations.

The subcommittee consists of Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose and three representatives from each of QwaQwa, KwaNdebele and Lebowa.

PATRICK BULGER

The source said the subcommittee would report its findings to the eight-man daily management committee elected earlier this week.

The source said there was general consensus that Zwelithini should take part in Codesa but that his status was at issue. There was a problem in determining the status of other traditional leaders in relation to the king.

While the issue of traditional leaders remained unresolved at this week's management committee meeting, traditional leaders are gearing up to have their voices heard.

About 1 000 traditional leaders in Transkei are due to meet tomorrow to discuss their possible role in Codesa. They represent the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), the Transkei Traditional Leaders' Association and non-aligned chiefs.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said Codesa's management committee would have to decide whether chiefs comprised an interest group or a political group with their own interests.

A Codesa source said it was unlikely that the 20 interest groups that had already applied would be included.

THE 1991 matric pass rate in Bophuthatswana was 63 percent — way ahead of the rest of the country.

The overall 39,2 percent pass rate announced last week was an average for full-time candidates in the DET as well as schools of the six "self-governing" territories and Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei. The pass rate in kwaZulu was 35 percent, in kaNgwane 37 percent, in Lebowa 31 percent, in Venda 54 percent and in kwaNdebele 29 percent.

Figures for Transkei, Ciskei, Gazankulu and QwaQwa were not available at the time of going to press.

KING-SIZE PROBLEM FOR DE KLERK

Clipres 19/1/92 (Hold) (000) (101)

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE decision by State President FW de Klerk to recommend the participation of King Goodwill Zwelithini in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is threatening to blow up in Pretoria's face.

Homeland leaders – who have in the past been projected by Pretoria as the spokesmen for the various black ethnic groupings – are reported to be considering demanding the participation of their traditional leaders as well.

This would not only make Codesa too unwieldly because of the sheer weight of numbers, but could turn this forum into a Tower of Babel.

The ANC-leaning Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has also entered the fray and is demanding representation at Codesa.

Both Contralesa and homeland leaders deny assertions by State President FW de Klerk that the position of the Zulu king is unique and as such he must have his own representation at Codesa.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted the first seating of Codesa (however, his party attended) because of an impasse on the question of separate representation for his party, the KwaZulu government and the king.

Buthelezi charged that denying Zwelithini a separate representation amounted to an "insult" to the dignity of the Zulu monarch.

Part of this problem was resolved recently following a meeting between Zwelithini, Buthelezi and De Klerk in Cape Town. After the meeting, De Klerk issued a terse statement in which he said that owing to the unique position of Zwelithini, there was a need for him to take part in Codesa.

The actual role of Zwelithini is still to be determined by the Codesa management committee.

ROYAL DILEMMA ... If King Goodwill Zwelithini gets to go to Codesa, do all the traditional leaders propped up by Pretoria get invited to the party as well?

A spokesman for the ruling Inyadza National Movement in KaNgwane, Aaron Dube, said if King Zwelithini attends the next seating of Codesa, his party would also demand that traditional representatives of King Mswati III also take part.

"Swazis in South Africa owe allegiance to King Mswati III of Swaziland and for obvious reasons, we don't expect him to attend Codesa. However, he has representatives in this country and we will demand that they be accommodated in Codesa."

Dube went on to say the Zulu king's position was "the same as other paramount chiefs and kings of other black groups in South Africa".

Sam Bambo, a spokesman in the office of Lebowa's Chief Minister, Nelson Ramodike, said they "would definitely seek separate representation for Magoshi (chiefs)" should King Zwelithini be accorded special status.

The Ngonyama of Amandebele (Manala), Enoch Mabena, is also said to be among those who will demand he must have a separate representation for his people or that they should be represented by Contralesa.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa has already gone on record that should Zwelithini be granted delegate status, he will demand that other traditional leaders be granted similar privileges.

A spokesman for the Venda government, Brian du Toit, said the position of the Zulu king "did not create a problem" because hereditary leaders are represented in the government delegation to Codesa.

Observers in Venda say military leader Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana is caught in a dilemma. It is believed he would like to see Venda representation increased, but recently abolished the position of Khosikhulu (king).

In a phone-in programme on one of the SABC's radio stations, several callers accused De Klerk of kowtowing to Buthelezi by giving Zwelithini special status. They said this was also another way of perpetuating tribalism.

Should these various tribal leaders press their demands, De Klerk will find himself placed in a serious dilemma. If he accedes to their demands, Codesa will become too large and unwieldly.

At the same time, how does he refuse them representation when it is his party which has, for several years, foisted some of these leaders on blacks?

(101) 19/1/92

Chiefs aim to send delegation to Codesa

ABOUT 300 traditional leaders from the Transkei this week unanimously resolved to seek representation at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The kings, chiefs, chieftainesses and headmen decided at a meeting held at Umtata on Friday to propose to Codesa that traditional leaders from all over South Africa form one delegation, on the basis of proportional representation, to go to Codesa.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa), which represents the majority of customary authorities in the Border, Ciskei and Transkei, has already applied to the Codesa steering committee

Sunday Times Reporters

for representation.

A sub-committee has been formed to consider how to facilitate the aspirations of Contralesa, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and others.

Contralesa resolved to approach traditional leaders throughout South Africa about the suggested proportional representation of leaders in a single delegation at Codesa.

The chiefs also elected 12 leaders to form a steering committee to attend to all matters relating to Codesa.

The meeting was arranged by Transkei's military government.

Transkei deal used as model

Govt clamp on homeland funds planned

101 B/pay 23/1/92

GOVERNMENT is negotiating agreements with the administrations of the independent homelands to bring their public spending under strict joint control ahead of their planned reincorporation into SA.

The agreements would introduce a degree of fiscal uniformity between SA and the TBVC states that would expedite negotiations in Codesa on the future of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, observers say.

The future of the TBVC states has been consigned to one of five Codesa working groups due to negotiate SA's constitution.

Negotiations to sign structural adjustment agreements along the lines of the agreement signed with Transkei in August last year are being conducted with the other three states, a senior Foreign Affairs official said yesterday.

He said the Transkei agreement would be used as a "prototype" for the other agreements. Although there is no agreement with Ciskei yet, SA officials have largely taken over its public spending.

The SA government has provided the TBVC states with billions each year in direct budgetary assistance.

The Transkei agreement is based on an acceptance of the need "to consult on macro- and sectoral-economic policies, institutional arrangements and fiscal management". Instead of concentrating on the developmental needs of Transkei itself, the agreement stresses the needs of the broader region in which Transkei falls. This is in line with widespread thinking

PATRICK BULGER

within Codesa that the homelands will be reincorporated and the country divided into regional developmental zones.

The agreement seeks to harmonise the tax structures of SA and Transkei and to reduce public spending. It allows for a Transkei Structural Adjustment Committee on which representatives of both the SA and Transkei governments serve and which has the power to consider the budget and make recommendations before it is submitted to the Transkei legislature.

Agreements signed with the three other TBVC states will similarly place their budgets partly under the control of SA's Finance and Foreign Affairs departments.

The Foreign Affairs source said the agreements were planned to introduce "good housekeeping" into the TBVC states.

An expert on the homelands who preferred not to be named said the signing of structural adjustment agreements would assist reincorporation. "It will put all the TBVC states on the same footing because they will all have similar agreements with SA. There will be fewer differences to be ironed out and it will allow Pretoria to have precise and uniform statistics on the economies of these states during negotiations on their reincorporation."

Spokesmen for the finance ministries of Ciskei and Venda were not available for comment yesterday. A Bophuthatswana finance ministry spokesman said the homeland was in a strong position to negotiate reincorporation regardless of a structural adjustment agreement with SA.

Joint SA control for homelands

(101) CT 23/1/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government is negotiating agreements with the administrations of the independent homelands to bring their public spending under strict joint control ahead of their planned reincorporation into South Africa.

The agreements would introduce a degree of fiscal uniformity between SA and the TBVC states that would expedite Codesa negotiations on the future of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, observers say.

The future of the TBVC states has been consigned to one of five Codesa working groups due to negotiate SA's constitution.

Negotiations to sign structural adjustment agreements along the lines of the agreement signed with Transkei in August last year are being conducted with the other three states, a senior Foreign Affairs official said yesterday.

He said the Transkei agreement would be used as a "prototype" for the other agreements. Although there is no agreement yet with Ciskei, SA officials have largely taken over its public spending.

Instead of concentrating on the developmental needs of Transkei itself, the agreement stresses the needs of the broader region in which Transkei falls. This is in line with widespread thinking within Codesa that the homelands will be reincorporated and the country divided into regional developmental zones.

The SA government has provided the TBVC states with billions each year in direct budgetary assistance.

Transkei deal used as model

Govt clamp on homeland funds planned

(101) B/pay 23/1/92

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT is negotiating agreements with the administrations of the independent homelands to bring their public spending under strict joint control ahead of their planned reincorporation into SA.

The agreements would introduce a degree of fiscal uniformity between SA and the TBVC states that would expedite negotiations in Codesa on the future of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei, observers say.

The future of the TBVC states has been consigned to one of five Codesa working groups due to negotiate SA's constitution.

Negotiations to sign structural adjustment agreements along the lines of the agreement signed with Transkei in August last year are being conducted with the other three states, a senior Foreign Affairs official said yesterday.

He said the Transkei agreement would be used as a "prototype" for the other agreements. Although there is no agreement with Ciskei yet, SA officials have largely taken over its public spending.

The SA government has provided the TBVC states with billions each year in direct budgetary assistance.

The Transkei agreement is based on an acceptance of the need "to consult on macro- and sectoral-economic policies, institutional arrangements and fiscal management". Instead of concentrating on the developmental needs of Transkei itself, the agreement stresses the needs of the broader region in which Transkei falls. This is in line with widespread thinking within Codesa that the homelands will be reincorporated and the country divided into regional developmental zones.

The agreement seeks to harmonise the tax structures of SA and Transkei and to reduce public spending. It allows for a Transkei Structural Adjustment Committee on which representatives of both the SA and Transkei governments serve and which has the power to consider the budget and make recommendations before it is submitted to the Transkei legislature.

Agreements signed with the three other TBVC states will similarly place their budgets partly under the control of SA's Finance and Foreign Affairs departments.

The Foreign Affairs source said the agreements were planned to introduce "good housekeeping" into the TBVC states.

An expert on the homelands who preferred not to be named said the signing of structural adjustment agreements would assist reincorporation. "It will put all the TBVC states on the same footing because they will all have similar agreements with SA. There will be fewer differences to be ironed out and it will allow Pretoria to have precise and uniform statistics on the economies of these states during negotiations on their reincorporation."

Spokesmen for the finance ministries of Ciskei and Venda were not available for comment yesterday. A Bophuthatswana finance ministry spokesman said the homeland was in a strong position to negotiate reincorporation regardless of a structural adjustment agreement with SA.

Chiefs form delegation

(107)

South 23/11-24/11/92.

A STEERING committee of Transkei chiefs was set up last week to deal with Codesa.

A meeting of chiefs established the body, and unanimously resolved that traditional leaders should be represented at Codesa because of their ownership of land.

This comes amid mounting calls by traditional leaders for representation at Codesa. The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) has made this demand, and Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, has demanded representation for the Zulu king.

The Transkei committee set up consists of 17 chiefs, of which five are paramount chiefs.

CP to sell partition to homelands

Sowetan 30/11/92

THE Conservative Party will soon meet more homeland leaders in an effort to gain acceptance for its policy of partition.

This was revealed yesterday by Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, who said further contact would be made in the "near future".

He said delegations led by CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had already seen Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda and Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa.

"At these meetings obviously our viewpoints are discussed, that we're set against a unitary state. And obviously we must present an alternative to that," Langley said.

Political Correspondent

The CP's outreach strategy was apparently designed to counter President FW de Klerk's initiatives by enlisting support for a confederation or commonwealth of independent states.

The CP believes events in Eastern Europe, the fragmentation of the Soviet Union and formation of a commonwealth, support its case for a partitioned South Africa.

Treurnicht told Parliament this week that the clear message from Eastern Europe was being explained by some newspapers as an exercise in hate and bloodshed.

Chiefs want a say at Codesa

THE Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa wants chiefs to be represented at Codesa on the basis of proportionate representation.

A memorandum on the subject is to be sent to the Codesa management committee, Contralesa's national president, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said this week.

This was decided at a special meeting of Contralesa's national executive at the weekend.

The memorandum will spell out why traditional leaders should participate in Codesa and suggest a format for electing a single delegation.

Proportional representation was "the only fair and appropriate" method, Holomisa said.

He said the number of traditional leaders in each homeland should be calculated, and each homeland would then be allocated a proportionate number of seats in the chiefs' delegation.

In Transkei, where the more conservative Transkei Traditional Leaders Association exists alongside Contralesa, each group would send an equal number of representatives, he said.

Contralesa called for a decision on traditional leaders by Codesa before the working groups begin their work

Holomisa said Contralesa has had positive feedback recently by people beginning to understand the importance of the inclusion of traditional leaders. - *Elnews.*

CP says FW had plan to destabilise homelands

CAPE TOWN — Plans to destabilise the homelands had been made in 1990 by President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said Ferdie Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the President's opening of Parliament address, he said this information had been in secret documents leaked to the CP.

He also claimed that when Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo refused to sign the declaration of intent at Codesa in December last year, he had been threatened that his government would be replaced by another.

NP MPs shouted denials at both allegations.

Hartzenberg said the SA Communist Party was the leader of an alliance with the ANC and Cosatu that "would return socialism to its rightful place" in SA.

Despite the ANC being involved in negotiations, it was still speaking about seizing power.

Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa wanted recognition for his country and the only way he would get that was from the CP, who were the country's only true nationalists.

Codesa, said the CP deputy leader, would do for SA what the revolution did for Russia.

"The revolution destroyed the Soviet Union and Codesa will destroy SA."

The NP could not win an election based on one man, one vote, said Hartzenberg. — Sapa.

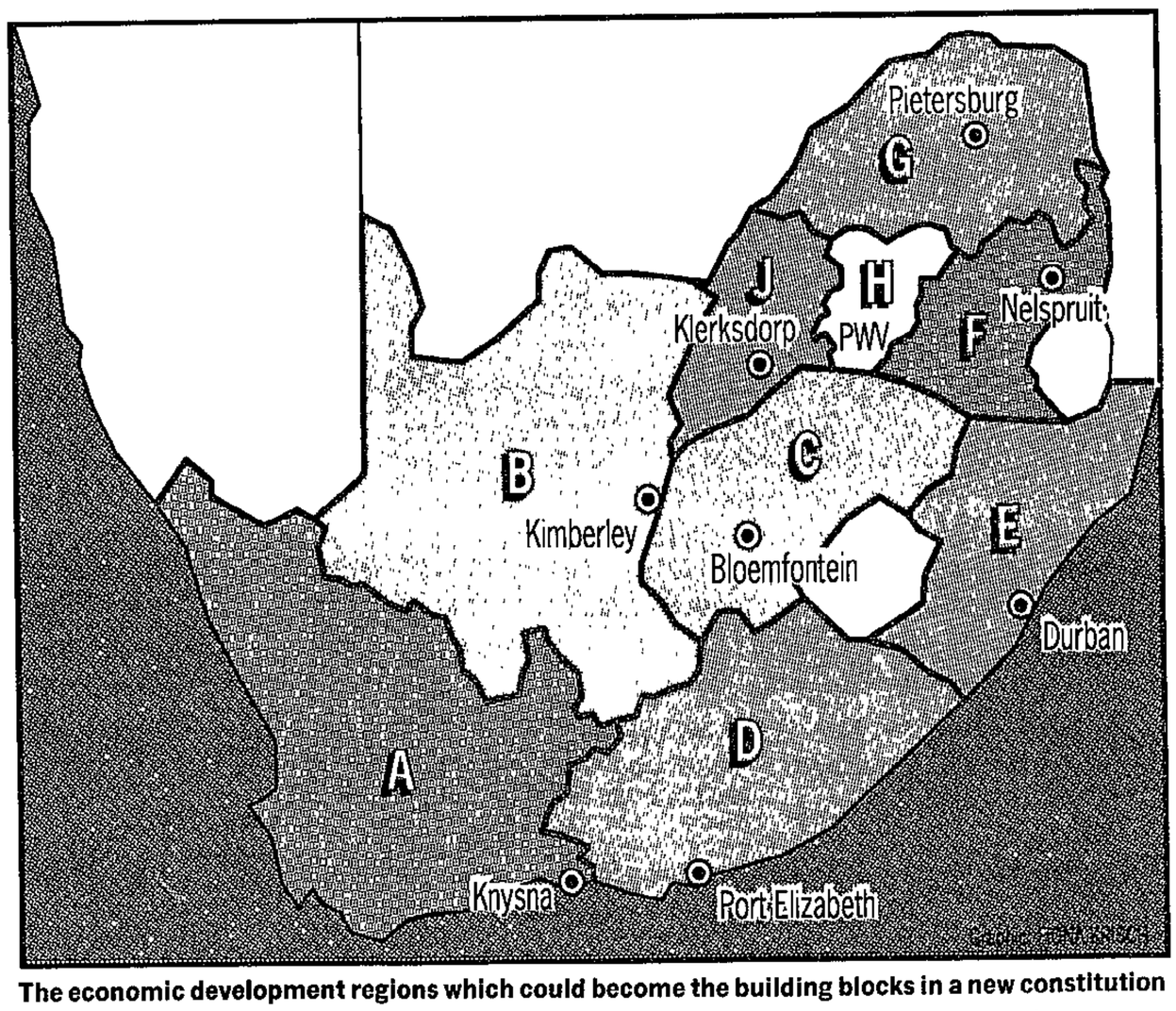
Shaping up to the new South Africa

S/Times 2/2/92

WHILE white extremists tinker with plans for their own homeland, the government and the ANC are considering possibilities for regional authorities that transcend existing provincial and homeland boundaries.

A basic blueprint does exist — the nine regional economic development regions unveiled by the government more than a decade ago.

BRIAN POTTINGER looks at the plan and imagines what the regions would be like in three years as political statelets in a non-racial South Africa with 35-million citizens.



The economic development regions which could become the building blocks in a new constitution

Western Cape (Region A)

THIS area, stretching from Cape Agulhas north-west to the Namibian border, south east to Knysna and bounded in the north by a line from the Namibian border to Graaff-Reinet, will be the real Afrikaner heartland of the country — forget Orania and Transvaal Boerestaats.

By 1995 it will comprise 933 000 whites, 2,3-million coloureds, 27 000 Indians and 747 000 black people — mostly Xhosas.

Western Cape, then, will be a predominantly white and coloured region with more than 70 percent of the inhabitants using Afrikaans as a first language. Twelve percent of fixed investment in the country is in this region and it ranks with Natal in its share of national GDP.

Although the ANC has strong support among Xhosa residents and younger members of the coloured community, polls show, it is a moderate alliance of coloureds and whites that will probably dictate the policies of this region.

Northern Cape (Region B)

This is a vast, sparse region ranging from the southern borders of the Karoo to the Botswana boundary in the north and from the Namibian border in the west to roughly the current boundaries of the Free State and Transvaal in the east.

Just over a million people live here — nearly 70 percent of them African. The coloured community is three times more populous than the white community which numbers barely 130 000 and is overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking.

Northern Cape, apart from some urbanised black populations around the larger towns such as Kuruman and Vryburg, is predominantly rural. Less than one percent of the fixed investment in the country is in this region.

Religion and relations to the land will dictate the politics here.

Orange Free State (Region C)

The proposed Free State region will have a population of 2,9-million people in 1995 of whom approximately 380 000 will be whites, the majority living in Bloemfontein.

The politics of the Free State could well be volatile: there are some strongly politicised ANC-supporting areas in Bloemfontein and the smaller towns. Among the white farming community, meanwhile, there are some very conservative whites.

But generally, the Free State has a reputation for phlegmatism — its urban communities reasonably stable and its children industrious. There is strong ANC support among the black population.

Eastern Cape (Region D)

This region runs from Knysna north-east along the coast to the present Natal border and inland on a line from Graaff-Reinet, Middelburg, Colesburg, Bethulie and up to the Lesotho border. It would take in both the existing homelands of Ciskei and Transkei.

Eastern Cape would be overwhelmingly African, and indeed Xhosa. Only 30 percent of the region would be white, coloured or Indian. This, then, would be a Xhosa-dominated area with its main centres at Port Elizabeth and East London. It is, historically, a staunchly ANC area.

It is not, however, an economically buoyant area: only five percent of the country's GDP comes from this region.

Natal/Kwazulu (Region E)

The Natal region is an amalgam of the present Kwazulu and Natal. Not only is it the most populous region, it is economically the most powerful after the PWV region. If regions were to be represented in a central government in terms of population, Natal could claim nearly a quarter of the seats.

It has the largest concentrations of two of the major ethnic groups in the country: roughly seven million Zulus and more than 860 000 Indian South Africans. There are also 657 000 whites, predominantly English-speaking, and just over 116 000 coloured Natalians.

It ranks with the Western Cape in terms of GDP percentage and has a slightly higher rate of fixed investment. Its one drawback is the considerable rural poverty in the north, an area with the lowest per capita income in the country.

The Zulu population is divided politically, some polls suggest evenly, between the Zulu-nationalist organisation Inkatha and the ANC — the former strong in the rural areas and the latter in the urban ones.

The most likely dominant political alliance in Natal will be between Inkatha, English-speaking whites and conservative Indians — and they will push hard for as much autonomy as possible from Pretoria.

Eastern Transvaal (Region F)

This region stretches from the Natal and Free State borders in the south to a line running east and west through Lydenburg in the north and from the huge Johannesburg-Pretoria connurbation in the west to the Swaziland and Mozambican borders in the east.

About two million people live in this area — 86 percent of them black South Africans, the remainder white.

It is not a wealthy region: eight percent of the country's GDP comes from this province.

Northern Transvaal (Region G)

This is a populous region with more than four million people living in the area bounded by Botswana in the west, Zimbabwe in the north and Mozambique in the east. Its southern fringe rests on the Johannesburg-Pretoria connurbation and a line running west though Thabazimbi and east through Lydenburg.

It is bushveld country taking in parts of Lebowa and Gazankulu and the whole of Venda. Whites are conspicuous by their absence: no more than one out of 40 Northern Transvalers is white.

It is also poor — it contributes 2,4 percent of the country's GDP and comprises 1,4 percent of the country's fixed investment. The political temper of the region is hard to gauge: it is an amalgam of three different tribes and three former homelands. ANC support, meanwhile, is untested. The white community is strongly conservative.

Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (Region H)

Here is the industrial and urban heart of South Africa. By 1995 there will be nearly nine million people crammed into the area — 68 percent of them African.

Half of all the fixed investment in the country is in this region and it produces two fifths of the country's GDP. It could claim a fifth of all seats in a central government parliament on the strength of its population.

The two million white inhabitants — equal numbers of English and Afrikaans-speakers and a high proportion of Portuguese-speaking people — range from the affluent to the direly poor.

The black community, meanwhile, comprises a number of different language and tribal groups — the largest single group are Tswanas who outnumber the Xhosas and Zulus combined. In the black community, as well, there are great class differences between settled residents and shackdwellers, the comparatively affluent and the destitute, the formally employed and the unemployed, under-employed and self-employed.

The pressure is compounded by a huge influx of illegal immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and further afield.

The politics of the region — like the society — is turbulent and unpredictable. Majority support, however, is likely to go to the ANC.

Western Transvaal (Region J)

This is a smallish region jammed between the PWV area, Botswana border, Free State and Northern Cape boundary. By 1995 it will have a total of just over a million people of whom four-fifths will be black. The white population of 256 000 will be found largely in the bigger towns such as Potchefstroom and Ventersdorp. The latter town is where the ultra right-wing resistance will remain centred and where it will, no doubt, continue plotting its serpentine plans for an all-white homeland.

VOTER POWER

IF the nine political regions in a future constitution were allocated seats in a central parliament of 300 representatives on the basis of voters, the representation would look as follows:

Western Cape	27
Northern Cape	9
Orange Free State	21
Eastern Cape	42
Natal	72
Eastern Transvaal	18
Northern Transvaal	10
PWV	60
Western Transvaal	15

Source: Major Reuben Sive

□ Statistical sources: Regional Profiles and Development Guidelines produced by the Office for Regional Development and the Regional Development Advisory Commiittee and the Development Bank of Southern Africa's Inter Regional Profile.

in, (d) failed, and (e) obtained (i) A, (ii) B, (iii) C, (iv) D and (v) E aggregates in, his Department's 1991 Senior Certificate examinations?

B38E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

(a) 81 021

(b) 31 439

(c) 7 837

(d) 49 582

(e) (i) 7, (ii) 68, (iii) 489, (iv) 3 514 and (v) 5 400.

Senior Certificate examinations: Other schools

19 Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Education and Training:

How many pupils at schools not falling under the control of his Department (a) wrote, (b) passed, (c) obtained matriculation exemption in, (d) failed, and (e) obtained (i) A, (ii) B, (iii) C, (iv) D and (v) E aggregates in, his Department's 1991 Senior Certificate examinations?

B39E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

(a) 203 659

(b) 81 738

(c) 21 892

(d) 121 921

(e) (i) 13, (ii) 139, (iii) 1 167, (iv) 8 964 and (v) 14 428.

Places of safety: number of children

22. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Health.

(1) (a) How many places of safety other than police cells and prisons were there in South Africa for children of each race group, and (b) what was the total number of children who (i) could be accommodated and (ii) were being held in each of these places of safety, as at the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) whether her Department has statistics on the number of children of each race group being held in police cells as places of safety, if so, (a) what are the relevant statistics and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B47E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH.

(1)

Population group	(a) *Number of places*	(b) (i) *Accommodation available*	(ii) *Number of children*
Indians	2	200	84
Whites	7	505	447
Blacks	12	1 645	1 188
Coloureds	8	715	610

Information as at 29 January 1992 in respect of Whites and Indians, 31 December 1991 in respect of Coloureds and 30 May 1991 in respect of Blacks;

(2) no,
(a) and (b) fall away

Teacher/pupil ratio

23. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training.

(1) (a) What is the teacher/pupil ratio in his Department for (i) primary and (ii) secondary schools and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished,

(2) whether his Department has statistics on the teacher/pupil ratio in the education departments of the self-governing territories; if so, what are the relevant ratios?

B48E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) (a) (i) Primary schools: 1:41,00

(ii) Secondary schools: 1:35,76

Total: 1:39,41

(b) 5 March 1991

(2) Yes

	Primary	*Secondary*
QwaQwa	1 33,66	1:31,39
Lebowa	1:40,42	1:33,84
Gazankulu	1:43,02	1:33,73
KwaZulu	1:53,50	1.41,29
KwaNdebele	1:39,85	1 36,69
KaNgwane	1.40,33	1:35,63

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

rIndicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs.

State pension funds: contributions

11. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Finance.

(a) What amount of money is there in each specified State pension fund, (b) what percentage of each pension contribution is made by the (i) individual and (ii) State and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B28E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE

(a) Government Service Pensions Fund R29 703 729 988
Associated Institutions Pension Fund R 4 656 510 176
Temporary Employees Pension Fund R 3 059 436 695
Associated Institutions Provident Fund R 11 144 252
Pension Fund for Persons in Authorities' Service R 3 362 126 205
Superannuation Fund for Persons in Authorities' Service R 170 012 929

(b) (i) Government Service Pension Fund 26,68
Associated Institutions Pension Fund 32,89
Temporary Employees Pension Fund 33,33
Associated Institutions Provident Fund 40,00
Pension Fund for Persons in Authorities' Service 32,89
Superannuation Fund for Persons in Authorities' Service 43,48
(ii) Government Service Pension Fund 73,32
Associated Institutions Pension Fund 67,11
Temporary Employees Pension Fund 66,67
Associated Institutions Provident Fund 60,00
Pension Fund for Persons in Authorities' Service 67,11
Superannuation Fund for Persons in Authorities Service 56,52

(c) 31 March 1991

State pension schemes: number/value of assets

12. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Finance:

(a) How many State pension schemes were there as at the latest specified date for which information is available, (b) what are their names and (c) what was the (i) State's contribution in respect of, and (ii) total value of the assets held by, each of these schemes as at that date?

B29E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(a) Three as at 31 December 1991

(b) Members of Parliament and Political Office-Bearers Pension Scheme
Members of Statutory Bodies Pension Scheme
Military Pension Scheme

(c) As benefits payable by the schemes are financed from the State Revenue Fund, no employer contributions are made by the State.
The amounts mentioned hereafter therefore present the total expenditure of the benefits paid out of Revenue for the 1990/91 financial year.

(i) Pension Scheme for Members of Parliament and Political Office-Bearers R57 150 777
Pension Scheme for members of Statutory Bodies R 461 984
Military Pension Scheme R51 250 792
(ii) Nil

Codesa can't decide on king

Sowetan 11/2/92

By IKE MOTSAPI

THE inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and other traditional leaders at Codesa was referred back to the sub-committee of the daily management committee after serious differences emerged among delegates yesterday.

What angered most delegates was that Zwelithini was supposed to have been invited immediately.

The traditional leaders and paramount chiefs, who are members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, were supposed to have elected representatives from their separate regions to take their places at a later stage.

After a day-long debate the matter was referred to the sub-committee, which has been increased to eight members from the original four.

Opposed

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Affairs, said oral evidence and documents would be presented to the committee on the matter.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party in the House of Delegates, said most people were opposed to the inclusion of the king and traditional leaders.

He said if the move was accepted this would mean that 11 new delegates would take their places at Codesa, raising the figure to 30 from the present 19.

Mr Mac Maharaj of the Codesa secretariat said the daily management committee would have the final say.

Public Service employees: number/salary intervals

21 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Tourism:

(1) What was the total number of persons employed in each department and organisational component referred to in section 6(1) of the Public Service Act, No 111 of 1984, as at 30 September 1991;

(2) (a) how many such persons were employed in each of the following eight salary intervals in each such department and organisational component, viz (i) more than R165 000, (ii) R120 001 to R165 000, (iii) R110 001 to R120 000, (iv) R87 001 to R110 000, (v) R74 001 to R87 000, (vi) R49 001 to R74 000, (vii) R38 001 to R49 000 and (viii) R29 001 to R38 000 and (b) to which population group did each of these persons belong?

B46E

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND TOURISM:

(1) This information is currently not available as it is still being edited. The said information will be supplied directly to the Honourable Member as soon as it becomes available.

(2) (a) See (1) above

(b) Information with regard to population groups is no longer being maintained—a practical result of, *inter alia*, the repeal of the Population Registration Act.

Radiographers: emigrations

70. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(a) How many radiographers emigrated from South Africa during the latest specified two-year period for which figures are available and (b) to which countries did they emigrate?

B160E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a)	1990	1991*
	13	4

(b) Not available.

* Information for January 1991 to October 1991 only, as the figures for November 1991 and December 1991 are not yet available.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs

Family housing units: self-governing territories

5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) (a) How many family housing units were built in 1991 in each self-governing territory by (i) the authority of the territory, (ii) private owners and (iii) the South African Government and (b) what was the total amount spent by each in respect of each territory;

(2) whether there is a shortage of housing units in any self-governing territory; if so, how many units are required in respect of each territory;

(3) whether any family housing units are being built in the self-governing territories at present by (a) the authority of the territory, (b) private owners and (c) the South African Government, if not, why not; if so, (i) how many units are being built by each in each territory and (ii) when are they due to be completed in each case?

B13E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) (a)

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
QwaQwa	Nil	1 400	Nil
KwaZulu	Nil	5 548	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KwaNdebele	Nil	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	217	125	Nil

(b)

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
QwaQwa	Nil	23 000 000	Nil
KwaZulu	Nil	332 880 000	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KwaNdebele	Nil	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	2 000 800	Unknown	Nil

(2)

Lebowa	Unknown
QwaQwa	2 500
KwaZulu	700 000
KaNgwane	Unknown
KwaNdebele	Unknown
Gazankulu	8 400

(3)

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	No
QwaQwa	No	Yes	No
KwaZulu	No	Yes	No
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	No
KwaNdebele	No	Yes	No
Gazankulu	Yes	Yes	No

cont...D

	(a)(i)	(b)(i)	(c)(i)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	None
QwaQwa	None	2 500	None
KwaZulu	None	1 000	None
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	None
KwaNdebele	None	Unknown	None
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	None

	(a)(ii)	(b)(ii)	(c)(ii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
QwaQwa	Unknown	Dec '92	Not applicable
KwaZulu	Unknown	Ongoing	Not applicable
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
KwaNdebele	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable
Gazankulu	Unknown	Unknown	Not applicable

The South African Government has not built houses in the self-governing territories since 1984

The self-governing territories were requested to forward information but to date not all replies were received

Political violence: number of people killed

7 Mr R V CARLISLE asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many persons died in or as a result of political violence during the 1991 calendar year and (b) how many such persons were (i) members of the South African Police Force, (ii) members of the South African Defence Force and (iii) councillors or other elected office-bearers? B17E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 2 239

(b) (i) 50
(ii) 2
(iii) 4 councillors

Note

No statistics regarding other elected office-bearers are kept.

Number of persons tested HIV-positive

9. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health.

How many (a) White, (b) Black, (c) Coloured and (d) Indian persons in the Republic tested HIV-positive in the latest specified calendar year or 12-month period for which figures are available? B21E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

No data for individual years are available The cumulative total of anonymously reported HIV-positive persons as at 28 November 1991 is as follows.

(a) White	1 420
(b) Black	12 198
(c) Coloured	336 and
(d) Indian	65

Radiographers: vacant posts

13. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) (a) How many vacant radiographer posts are there in all provinces and disciplines in South African and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished,

(2) (a) how many students qualified in radiography in each province at the end of 1990 and (b) how many of these radiographers were still in practice with the province concerned at the end of 1991? B30E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) (a) 200 and

(b) 1 January 1992;

(2) (a) Cape 33, Natal 3, Orange Free State 9, Transvaal 43 and

(b) Cape 16, Natal 3, Orange Free State 9, Transvaal 31.

"Children of God": Cape Town riot police

17. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he and/or the South African Police were informed that the British Broadcasting Corporation television service was making a film of the Cape Town riot police called "Children of God" for use on British television during 1991;

(2) whether this film was made with the full knowledge of the South African Police,

(3) whether the Police imposed any restrictions on the producers in making this film; if so, what restrictions;

(4) whether he and/or the Police have seen the completed version of this film, if so,

(5) whether he and/or the Police found any of the comments made in this film by individual members of the Police in Cape Town to be unacceptable; if so,

(6) whether he intends taking any steps against any of the policemen quoted in this film, if not, why not; if so, what steps? B37E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes, my predecessor and the Commissioner of the South African Police.

(2) Yes.

(3) No

(4) Yes, my predecessor the Deputy Minister and Commissioner of the South African Police, but only after it was televised by the BBC.

(5) Yes.

(6) Yes, individual members who were guilty of statements which cannot be reconciled with the image and credo of the South African Police, were reprimanded by the Regional Commissioner.

Note:

Although no restrictions were placed on the production of the film, there were certain conditions for monitoring. These conditions were not complied with by the BBC.

SAP members: retirements

24. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Law and Order †

How many members of the South African Police Force retired from the Force on accelerated pension in 1990 and 1991, respectively, as a result of (a) physical injuries and (b) stress? B58E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

1990 (a) not available.

(b) not available.

1991 (a) 97

(b) 34

Note:

Reasons for accelerated retirement were not recorded during 1990.

SAP members: convictions/civil claims

26. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many policemen and policewomen were convicted of crimes committed in the course of duty in 1991,

(2) (a) how many complaints of assault were laid against the South African Police in 1991 and (b) how many (i) prosecutions and (ii) convictions have resulted from complaints of assault by members of the Police in that year;

(3) (a) how many civil claims arising out of complaints laid against the police in 1991 have been filed to date and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished? B73E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 713

(2) (a) 6 203

(b) (i) 844

(ii) 246

(3) (a) 2 334

(b) 1 January 1991 until 31 December 1991.

Public Service employees: number/salary intervals

21 Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Tourism.

(1) What was the total number of persons employed in each department and organisational component referred to in section 6(1) of the Public Service Act, No 111 of 1984, as at 30 September 1991;

(2) (a) how many such persons were employed in each of the following eight salary intervals in each such department and organisational component, viz (i) more than R165 000, (ii) R120 001 to R165 000, (iii) R110 001 to R120 000, (iv) R87 001 to R110 000, (v) R74 001 to R87 000, (vi) R49 001 to R74 000, (vii) R38 001 to R49 000 and (viii) R29 001 to R38 000 and (b) to which population group did each of these persons belong?

B46E

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND TOURISM:

(1) This information is currently not available as it is still being edited. The said information will be supplied directly to the Honourable Member as soon as it becomes available.

(2) (a) See (1) above.

(b) Information with regard to population groups is no longer being maintained—a practical result of, *inter alia*, the repeal of the Population Registration Act

Radiographers: emigrations

70. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(a) How many radiographers emigrated from South Africa during the latest specified two-year period for which figures are available and (b) to which countries did they emigrate?

B160E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a)

1990	1991*
13	4

(b) Not available

* Information for January 1991 to October 1991 only, as the figures for November 1991 and December 1991 are not yet available.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply

General Affairs

Family housing units: self-governing territories

5. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs

(1) (a) How many family housing units were built in 1991 in each self-governing territory by (i) the authority of the territory, (ii) private owners and (iii) the South African Government and (b) what was the total amount spent by each in respect of each territory;

(2) whether there is a shortage of housing units in any self-governing territory, if so, how many units are required in respect of each territory;

(3) whether any family housing units are being built in the self-governing territories at present by (a) the authority of the territory, (b) private owners and (c) the South African Government; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many units are being built by each in each territory and (ii) when are they due to be completed in each case?

B13E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS.

(1) (a)

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
QwaQwa	Nil	1 400	Nil
KwaZulu	Nil	5 548	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KwaNdebele	Nil	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	217	125	Nil

(b)

	(i)	(ii)	(iii)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
QwaQwa	Nil	23 000 000	Nil
KwaZulu	Nil	332 880 000	Nil
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	Nil
KwaNdebele	Nil	Unknown	Nil
Gazankulu	2 000 800	Unknown	Nil

(2)

Lebowa	Unknown
QwaQwa	2 500
KwaZulu	700 000
KaNgwane	Unknown
KwaNdebele	Unknown
Gazankulu	8 400

(3)

	(a)	(b)	(c)
Lebowa	Unknown	Unknown	No
QwaQwa	No	Yes	No
KwaZulu	No	Yes	No
KaNgwane	Unknown	Unknown	No
KwaNdebele	No	Yes	No
Gazankulu	Yes	Yes	No

cont...D

STAR 12/2/92

Withdraw pensions Bill, urges Winnie

By Carina le Grange

The ANC yesterday called for the immediate withdrawal of the controversial Social Assistance Bill recently introduced by Minister of National Health and Population Development Dr Rina Venter.

ANC social welfare department head Winnie Mandela said at a press conference in Johannesburg that the Bill would remove the legally enforceable right to social assistance.

This right would be replaced with a system which was based entirely on the discretion of the director-general of Dr Venter's department.

A second "injustice" was that the Bill introduced the requirement of South African citizenship before any person could qualify for social assistance, Mrs Mandela said.

"This would automatically exclude 'citizens' of the so-called TBVC countries even though they may have lived in South Africa all their lives and may never have set foot in these territories ...

"TBVC legislation requires residence in those territories for people to qualify for pensions," she said.

Thus these people would not qualify for pensions in South Africa or the TBVC states.

"Although the present system of social pensions is far from perfect, it has hitherto been accepted that there is a legally enforceable right to such pen sions.

"It is both surprising and unacceptable for the present regime to seek to take away one of the few rights enjoyed by the disadvantaged and economically vulnerable section of our society. This must be rejected," Mrs Mandela said.

The ANC had requested an urgent meeting with Dr Venter on the Bill, which could also be attended by other interested parties. The meeting would also deal with the possibility of setting up a Codesa-style forum on welfare, she said.

● The Black Sash, the Methodist Church, the SA Legion and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Duncan Buchanan, have already appealed to Dr Venter to scrap the Bill.

Apartheid ghosts haunt homelands

Sowetan 14/2/92 (2) (101)

FOCUS

C·O·D·E·S·A

NEGOTIATING a better future for South Africans was never going to be an easy task - not after more than 40 years of separate development.

There appears to be growing consensus on a future, envisaged new constitution for the country. To such an extent that even political factions on the fringes of South African politics agree that a new constitution is needed for South Africa.

It is therefore not in determining the future where the biggest battle - for the time being - looms at Codesa, but in undoing the sins of the fathers of apartheid.

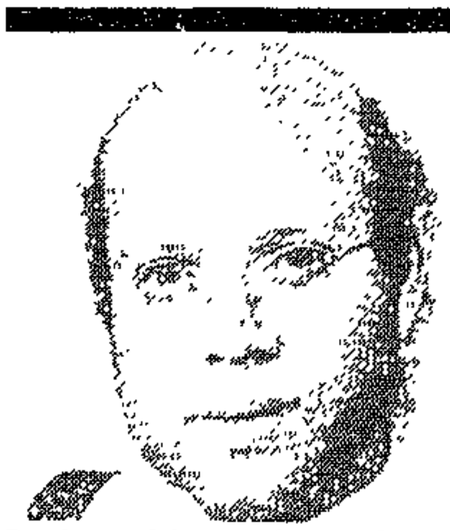
So complex has the issue of undoing apartheid's work become that four sub-committees were this week established by Codesa's Working Group 4 - which deals with the re-incorporation of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei.

Citizenship

These new sub-committees are primarily established to dilute the tension running within Working Group 4 and in broad terms will deal with reincorporation. Consider the implications of such a move. The problems associated with the restoration of South African citizenship and the technical and legal implications of reincorporation.

But it is in the thinking of the Government - without whom negotiations cannot succeed - where there appear to be the biggest complications in the way of undoing the homelands.

Using what seems to be an excuse for wanting to retain the homelands in their present form, the Government feels that the accession of the homelands to South



Codesa this week got down to hard work. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, our Political Correspondent, looks at the one aspect of negotiations, the reincorporation of the homelands.

Africa was to be completed within the framework of international conventions.

The paradox here is startlingly in contrast with the National Party's unconventional approach to issues such as human rights, and indeed its creation, by some perverse alchemy, of "countries" out of rural nothingness over the past 40 years of its rule.

Legislative

Administrations, police forces, defence forces, civil services, welfare programmes, education and health departments and institutions for legislative purposes were created in the homelands.

These homelands in turn incurred debts through loans from banks and financial institutions, all of which Pretoria had to sign guarantees.

The homeland governments have over the years also invited foreign (real foreign not South African) companies to invest in their territories on the grounds that these areas were independent of racist Pretoria and were indeed developing countries.

Doctrine

These countries were, however, created by a doctrine that was discredited internationally, which its founding fathers are trying very desperately to rid the country of.

In the eyes of the international community, the fathers of apartheid were downright evil for what they were sowing.

Within the country these founding fathers of apartheid created, without consulting the international community or international conventions, whole countries.

Today, after the fathers of apartheid have been forced by the international community and international developments to undo their pernicious doings, it wants to turn to international conventions for the solution to the problem of the dissolution of the homelands.

The Government does, however, concede that the homelands cannot be reincorporated if the people of these areas do not choose to do so.

The homeland administrations were also under no obligation to hold referendums to test the will of the people.

And it is for this purpose specifically that Working Group 4 established a sub-committee under the dubious rubric, "to test the will of the people".

The argument here swings back to Pretoria, because it is not the will of the people that props up the homeland governments but South Africa's ruling National Party.

Three of the homelands - Transkei, Ciskei and Venda - have military dictatorships, governments which took control by means of coups.

Support

The fourth, Bophuthatswana, has been in power for more than 10 years and popular dissent inside the country has been effectively silenced.

A coup bid, which enjoyed widespread support, was stymied by the National Party Government.

Which brings one to the question: If Pretoria created the homelands without international consent or subsequent recognition; and if South African taxpayers' money keep the homelands going, can the future of the homelands not then be determined by the taxpayers and the Government?

Thumbs down for traditional leaders

CODESA has turned down a sub-committee proposal that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and other traditional leaders be given full status at the talks on the future of South Africa.

The issue has been referred back to an expanded sub-committee.

A member of Codesa's management committee, who requested anonymity, told reporters most MC members favoured observer status for traditional leaders.

"There is no way that traditional leaders can be given the same status as political parties like the National Party and the ANC," the member said.

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING

(1) (a) The property has been expropriated in terms of the Expropriation Act, 1975 (Act 63 of 1975), which determines that market value must be paid for the property. As valuations are still being awaited, the amount payable has not yet been determined.

(b) It is envisaged that the compensation for the purchase of the property will be financed from the Community Development and Revolving Fund.

(2) No claims have been received yet. The prescribed legal procedures will be followed in respect of any claims received.

(3) Safety of the residents is the responsibility of the Minister of Law and Order.

Bank robberies: number/value of property

*14. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(a) How many bank robberies occurred in the Republic of South Africa in 1991 and (b) what was the total value of the money and valuables stolen in such robberies?

B199E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(a) 2 536 (including Post Offices and Building Societies)

(b) No statistics are kept with regard to the amount of money involved.

Citizens from TBVC countries: number/identity documents

*15. Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) (a) How many citizens from the TBVC countries were living in South Africa as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many of them were eligible for South African identity documents and/or citizenship as at that date;

(2) whether he intends issuing identity documents to all such persons living in South Africa, if not, why not?

B201E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

(1) and (2) (101)

It is not possible to furnish the information as citizens of TBVC states are exempted from visa requirements and the possession of temporary residence permits. The entry into and departure from the Republic of TBVC citizens are thus not monitored or recorded. All that is required of these citizens to sojourn legally in the Republic is to be in possession of a valid travel document, which for this purpose could also be an identity document.

Identity documents are issued to these citizens who are permanently living in the Republic, should they apply therefor. If an applicant for an identity document should qualify for South African citizenship in terms of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), he would be issued with an identity document indicating that he is a South African citizen. If at that stage he does not qualify for SA citizenship, he will be entitled to an identity document indicating that he is not a South African citizen.

Theft of scheduled medicines

*16. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of National Health:

Whether her Department has been notified of and/or has received complaints or representations about large quantities of scheduled medicines allegedly stolen from dispensaries under the control of the State, including the provinces, subsequently being repacked and rechannelled into the medicine market; if so, what are the details of the malpractices in this regard?

B203E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

Yes, I am aware of the allegations made regarding this matter. There is however at present no proof about this and therefore no details regarding the alleged malpractices are available. A task group has been appointed to investigate the whole matter of the theft of medicine, in both the public sector and the private sector.

Department of Manpower: money for two organizations

*17. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Manpower:

(1) Whether his Department spent any money on two organizations, the names of which have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) how much was spent on each and (b) what are the names of the organizations in question;

(2) whether a committee headed by a certain professor, whose name has also been furnished to the Minister's Department, was given any information on the above organizations, their operations and financing; if not, why not, if so, what information?

B204E

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(1) No

(a) and (b) Fall away

(2) No. The Department is not aware of any information requested by the committee concerned or supplied to it by the Department in regard to the organizations concerned.

Fight against crime: SADF members

*18. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he will request the Minister of Defence to make available members of the Commandos and other South African Defence Force personnel with a view to deploying them in the fight against crime; if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B205E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER

(1) Members of the Commandos and other units of the South African Defence Force are already, as the need arises, at the disposal of the South African Police. At present an intensive investigation has been instituted to determine in which ways members of the Commandos, especially in rural areas, can be employed to assist the Police in a co-ordinated manner to prevent crime.

(2) No, but most certainly after completion of the relevant investigation.

UN Convention on the Rights of Children

*19. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether South Africa is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, if not, why not;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B206E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2)

No. I would like to refer the hon member to the address of the State President at the opening of Parliament on 24 January 1992. The relevant section reads as follows:

A new constitution cannot be separated from a bill of fundamental rights. The Government is committed to the principle of a justiciable bill of fundamental rights as part of a new constitutional dispensation. That is why it took the initiative that led to the recent publication of the South African Law Commission's Interim Report on Group and Human Rights.

In conjunction with this, the Government has also taken the initiative in making a study of international conventions on fundamental rights, including the rights of women and children and the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights. We have already progressed a long way with this in the realisation that it is necessary for South Africa to come into line with the international community.

When we look at transitional constitutional arrangements, I believe fruitful consideration could also be given to whether a first phase of a bill of fundamental rights should not be part of them.

Such a phased arrangement could contribute a great deal to the establishment of a culture of fundamental rights and the orientation of governmental institutions, the legal fraternity and individuals to a coming, fully fledged bill of righs dispensation. It would also give the courts an opportunity to develop judicial precedents in accordance with a rights dispensa-

Cont. . . .

arm which is
tter families.
between the

Mr Swanepoel initially advertised for tenants to rent low-cost housing from him. ARG 20/2/92

SA's 'satellites' rapped over cash

(101) ARG 20/2/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DETERIORATING financial control over the multi-billion rand administrations in South Africa's six self-governing territories is a source of "grave concern", warns Auditor-General Mr Peter Wronsley in his 1990/91 report.

His report, tabled in parliament yesterday, says serious concern about this had been expressed on numbers of occasions and various efforts had been made to improve financial control and report.

But "visible results have, however, yet to emerge".

The six self-governing territories — Lebowa, QwaQwa, Kwandebele, Kangwane, Kwazulu and Gazankulu — received grants, services and assistance totalling R6,1-billion in 1990/91.

Poor control over finances in these territories has been exacerbated by auditing staff shortages and the inexperience of seconded staff.

This has forced the auditing procedure to be scaled down to cover "only the most essential items".

Mr Wronsley adds: "This state of affairs has been aggravated, especially over the past few years, by recurring unrest."

Judicial commissions under way in two of the territories has been a further drain on resources.

"In spite of these problems continual efforts are made to maintain auditing at an acceptable standard, but the situation remains a source of grave concern.

"The general deterioration of financial control in the various government services is placing an ever greater burden on the already attenuated personnel situation. In some of the annual reports I was not in a position to give an unqualified opinion on the state of the accounts" Mr Wronsley says.

ANC plan for Xhosa region

S/Times 23/2/92

(101)

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

THE ANC has accepted the government's proposals for dividing South Africa into nine regions, but with one major difference — it proposes a 10th region which amounts to a Xhosa homeland.

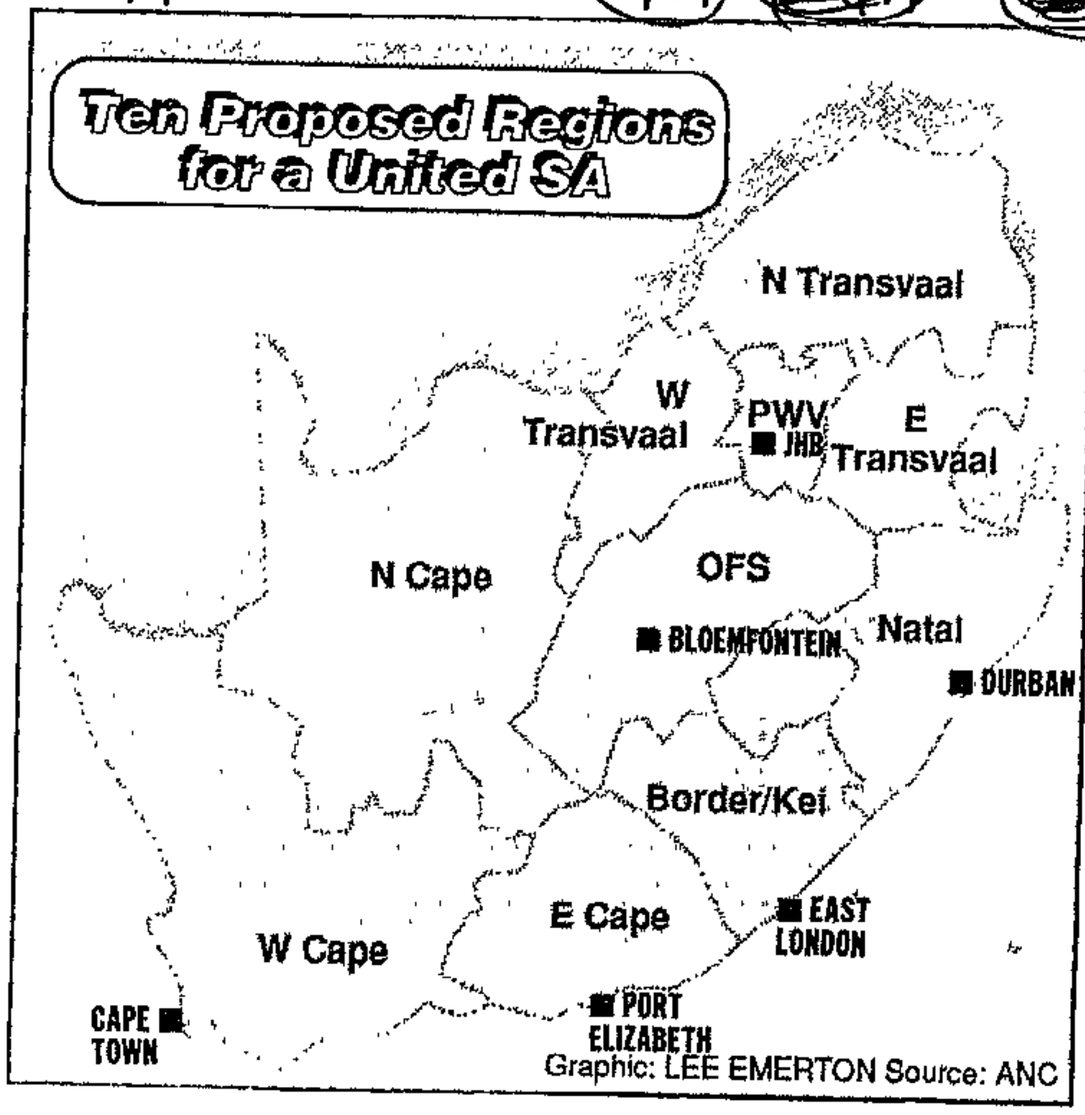
The ANC's proposals — contained in a discussion document drawn up by the constitutional department of the organisation — creates a region comprising the Ciskei, Transkei, East Griqualand and Border.

If accepted, the proposal would, ironically, meet long-time ambitions of successive homeland leaders for a united Xhosa homeland.

The discussion document states the boundaries should not be taken as representing official or definitive views as to the precise outer limits of the regions.

The objective of the document was merely to give a rough indication of what the regions should look like, the document states.

The division of SA into regions, said the document, did not contradict the ANC's commitment to a united, non-racial country, as the powers and functions of the regional governments would be limited.



Discussion paper adds a 10th regional area

The ANC's proposals are similar to the Development Bank of Southern Africa's 1981 proposals for the creation of nine economic regions, but with three qualifications.

Whereas the DBSA's proposal required Transkei be divided into two on economic lines, with the northern part being a portion of the Natal region and the southern part in the Eastern Cape, the ANC's proposal cuts the Eastern Cape region in half to create a 10th region.

Consult

This 10th region would include the present Ciskei, Border, East Griqualand and Transkei areas, the northern boundary to coincide with the 1910 frontier of the Cape Province and Natal.

A second qualification on the DBSA's proposals is that the 1910 boundaries should be followed wherever relevant and, thirdly, a mechanism must be created for relatively minor adjustments to be made after consultation with people living near the borders.

Like the DBSA, the ANC proposes SA should be divided into the Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and PWV regions. The Border/Transkei is the ANC's proposal for a 10th region.

Size

The criterion for the breakdown of SA into regions is that they should be economically and socially functional with appropriate communication links.

The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development and should not be fragmented.

The old provincial, district and magisterial boundaries which did not carry racist overtones should be followed and size, population, economic activity and geographic positioning should be considered.

The ANC's proposals, besides the addition of a 10th region, differ marginally from the DBSA's proposals.

The document proposes that the Northern Cape, which includes the western districts of Bophuthatswana, should also include Mafikeng/Mmabatho, following the 1910 boundaries.

These two areas would then be excluded from the Western Transvaal.

The Orange Free State region, which includes the Qwa Qwa and Thaba'Nchu districts, would include Sasolburg if the 1910 boundaries are followed. Sasolburg is included in the PWV region under the DBSA's proposals.

The ANC's proposal for Natal differs from the government's in that it excludes the northern Transkei, which becomes part of the 10th region.

Powers

The document proposes the constitution should entrench the powers of the regions, which would not be exclusive but exercise concurrent powers with the national government. National legislation would prevail in case of conflict.

The regions would not be autonomous but their powers could not be taken away without a constitutional amendment.

The ANC sees the tasks of the regions as being complementary to national government functions.

Regions would not be able to contradict national policy, although they would have a say in shaping that policy.

The regions would also have leeway in the implementation of national policy.

The discussion paper emphasises that the regions would be based on non-racialism, democracy, development and accountability at all levels.

Reincorporation a test for Codesa consensus principle

TIM COHEN

THE question of what constitutes sufficient consensus is set to be seriously tested at Codesa for the first time as political groups differ on whether Bophuthatswana's refusal to be reincorporated prevents agreement on the future of the TBVC states.

Transkei's military leader Gen Bantu Holomisa confirmed yesterday that government delegates considered Bophuthatswana's rejection of reincorporation to be a bar to sufficient consensus.

In terms of Codesa's standing rules, groups should arrive at decisions by sufficient consensus, although the term is not specifically defined. However, it is widely interpreted to mean there should be broad support for a proposal, and that government and ANC should also agree.

But government and NP representatives have said sufficient consensus on reincorporation can be achieved only if the TBVC states themselves also agree.

As all the groups in Codesa, other than Bophuthatswana, had agreed in principle that the TBVC states should be reincorporated, Holomisa said he believed sufficient consensus had been achieved.

He suggested that groups may argue that since Bophuthatswana had not signed the Codesa declaration of intent, they were in effect observers at Codesa, and their refusal should not be taken into account.

The Bophuthatswana government is not prepared to accept reincorporation even if authority is delegated to second and third-tier governmental structures in the region. It favours a confederal arrangement between independent states in the region and argues in favour of "extended boundaries that meet its historic claims".

Although the majority at Codesa have agreed on the principle of reincorporation, documents indicate differences on how the reincorporation should take place.

Views differ from the SACP's statement that government should simply invalidate the laws that nominally gave the territories their independence to Inkatha's view that the method should depend on the wishes of the residents of the territories.

There are also differences about the timing of reincorporation.

ANC delegates have argued that the process of constitutional change should be preceded by reincorporation, but Holomisa insists that reincorporation could take place only once the tricameral Parliament has been abolished.

Too many chiefs...

W/Mail 28/2 – 5/3/92 (101)

IT was an eventful week for the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Among the issues discussed were:

■The question of how traditional leaders will be represented at Codesa remains unresolved.

Repeated attempts by chiefs to gain participatory rather observer status at the conference have failed and the sub-committee established to investigate the issue has not given any indication that a solution is in the offing.

Codesa administration spokesman Murphy Morobe said a number of independent applications from chiefs in all the homeland had been received.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) has dismissed as impractical a suggestion that each traditional leader be represented because of the number of kings this would involve.

A proposal by Contraleasa that a united neutral delegation of traditional leaders be elected on the basis of proportional representation has been rejected by Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Musa Myeni.

He explained that King Zwelithini wanted his own delegation to Codesa because he represented, "the specific interests of the Zulu people".

■First, the Patriotic Front and now the "alternative Patriotic Front".

On Wednesday, representatives of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the New Unity Movement and the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action will meet in Cape Town to discuss the formation of a front based on the principle of non-collaboration.

The organisations will also discuss a national campaign to oppose Codesa which will include pamphleteering and demonstrations and coincide with Codesa 2 to be held in late March or early April.

■THE steering committee of the constitutional principles working group has accepted that a new constitution should provide a meaningful role for political minorities. However, the committee left the debate about what measures should be adopted to accommodate this decision to a future constitution making forum.

However, the proposal must still be accepted by the working group as a whole before it can be taken to "Codesa 2".

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs.

Self-governing territories: size

187. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

What was the size in hectares of each of the self-governing territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B431E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

As at 31 March 1992:

Qwaqwa	103 794 hectares
KwaNdebele	264 278 hectares
KaNgwane	364 078 hectares
Gazankulu	743 958 hectares
Lebowa	2 140 333 hectares
KwaZulu	3 288 740 hectares

The size in hectares of some of the self-governing territories, is smaller than that furnished in reply to Question 398 of 27 May 1991. The reason is that the extent of certain unsurveyed pieces of land has been redetermined, resulting the difference

Crime statistics: Durban North

197. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and cycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at each specified police station in the Durban North police district in 1991?

B452E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g1)	(g2)	(h)	(i)	(j)
Durban N	10	19	30	112	14	56	198	60	280	457	25
Glendale	7	1	32	23	9	12	5	0	13	43	22
Greenwood Park	45	54	98	424	50	298	324	55	502	990	130
Inanda	192	64	151	254	110	459	79	0	197	334	65
Newark	5	8	47	36	9	23	4	2	25	89	85
Stanger	116	54	163	172	78	311	151	19	270	1 104	515
Tongaat	59	17	181	491	61	323	184	10	235	465	212
Umhlali	32	39	83	100	30	84	108	21	141	575	78
Verulam	66	27	169	357	42	235	192	17	304	768	101
Phoenix	59	58	394	1 451	66	546	402	8	1 477	803	361
Newlands N.	5	10	13	87	6	25	49	2	93	81	31

Note:
(G1)—vehicles
(G2)—bicycles.

Public Service officials seconded to self-governing territories

209 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) whether all posts in these territories in respect of which secondment is required are filled at present; if not, how many remained vacant as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(3) whether any further secondments are envisaged; if so, how many?

B466E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) and (b) The latest date for which figures are available is 31 December 1991 and, as requested, is contained in the attached schedule.

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R146 078 000 for the period 1 April 1991 to 31 December 1991.

(2) No. A survey indicated that 1 652 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1991.

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower.

POST IDENTIFIED FOR OCCUPATION BY SECONDED STAFF: 31 DECEMBER 1991

	KwaZulu		Lebowa		GaZankulu		Qwaqwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Vacant
Prosecutor	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	6	6	0
Administrative Officer	83	55	3	0	0	0	9	3	15	12	27	17	137	87	50
Administration Clerk	18	15	10	8	2	1	1	1	3	2	10	8	44	35	9
Artisan Staff	247	78	117	97	13	7	38	24	27	20	35	12	477	238	239
Pharmacist	47	30	1	1	14	6	0	0	0	0	3	1	65	38	27
Occupational Therapist	8	3	1	1	6	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	17	10	7
Architect	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	1	9
Business Economist	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	6
Taxation Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drilling Inspector	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Forester	9	3	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	17	9	8
Forestry Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
Forestry Scientist	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	3	3
Quantity Surveyor	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	6
Fireman	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Departmental Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dietician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Director, Health Services	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1
Efficiency Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Economist (Agriculture)	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	9	3	6
Ethnologist	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1
Physiotherapist	24	6	2	1	7	5	0	0	0	0	4	1	37	13	24
Community Development Officer	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Medical Technologist	20	7	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	24	10	14
Health Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

cont—>

Housemother/ father	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Engineer	31	11	8	5	5	1	2	0	6	2	7	4	59	23	36
Inspector: Apprentices	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Correctional Services Disciplinary Personnel (KwaZulu)	13	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	11	2
Clinical Psychologist	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	4
Agricultural Adviser	25	8	19	8	4	4	1	1	4	4	5	2	58	27	31
Agricultural Officer	25	10	15	13	5	2	4	1	19	7	1	1	69	34	35
Magistrate	25	25	7	6	3	3	5	5	6	5	3	3	49	47	2
Land Surveyor	10	5	3	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	15	6	9
Mortuary Assistant	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Social Worker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0
Medical Officer	395	270	47	21	58	32	3	1	2	1	32	19	537	344	193
Medical Superintendent	25	16	12	2	10	2	0	0	0	0	4	2	51	22	29
Oral Hygienist	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0
Nature Conservator	7	5	9	7	4	1	1	0	5	3	4	4	30	20	10
Nature Conservation Scientist	10	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	14	9	5
Industrial Technician	111	17	11	9	3	0	10	4	16	5	12	2	163	37	126
Training Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Survey Statistician	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
Personnel Officer	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	1
Personal Secretary	4	4	1	1	0	0	1	1	7	5	4	4	17	15	2
Police: Functional Staff	24	14	17	7	6	4	20	6	31	20	14	7	112	58	54
Programmer	7	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	12	4	8
Project Superintendent	50	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	52	16	36
Radiographer	40	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	48	7	41
Computer Operator	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Accountant	23	8	7	3	1	0	2	1	13	9	5	2	51	23	28
Legal Adviser	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	6	2	4
Legal Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Secretary (Head of Department)	9	9	6	5	5	5	7	5	8	6	2	2	37	32	5
Security Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Liaison Officer (and Media Officer)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Specialist	147	68	14	6	21	13	2	1	0	0	7	6	191	94	97
Sport Promotion Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Speech Therapist	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	0	10

Town and Regional Planner	4	3	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	8	5	3
Regional Magistrate	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	0
Dentist	22	17	6	3	5	2	1	0	0	0	4	4	38	26	12
Dental Technician	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Dental Therapist	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technical Assistant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Typist/Data Typist	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	4	2	2
Horticulturist	1	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5
Veterinarian	7	4	5	4	6	3	1	0	1	1	0	0	20	12	8
Animal Health Officer	6	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	11	3	8
Traffic Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	3	2	1
Nursing Staff	7	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	13	8	5
Food Service Supervisor	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Foreman General	4	3	16	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	15	5
Laundry Supervisor	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Water Care Plant Superintendent	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	1
Works Inspector	26	6	8	8	6	1	6	2	13	10	8	4	67	31	36
Total	1 574	764	366	241	198	103	130	64	198	121	225	125	2 693	1 418	1 275
CS Educators	285	218	215	185	237	150	180	105	174	132	192	116	1 283	906	377

Talkback topic

101

Sowetan 10/3/92

HOMELANDS like Ciskei, Gazankulu, QwaQwa and Inkatha Freedom Party have called for the suspension of Codesa's proceedings over the ANC's planned mass action in Ciskei.

Is their call unnecessarily endangering the workings of Codesa? Do you think the ANC's plans for mass action in Ciskei are inappropriate at this stage of negotiations?

You can share your opinion with the nation by phoning popular DJ Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm tonight.

The hotline number is (011) 714-8063.

You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 MHz.

Homelands 'dissatisfied'

CAPE TOWN — All the self-governing territories are unhappy with their budget allocations for 1992/93, the Development Aid Department says.

Finance ministers from the six homelands met government representatives in Cape Town yesterday to discuss the Budget.

Although the allocations were substantially higher than the past financial year's, all were dissatisfied. The full effect of the Budget on homelands would be discussed at meetings between central government and the governments of the territories. BDay 24/3/92

The basis on which future VAT allocations were to be made to the territories was also discussed. — Sapa.

Dissatisfaction over Budget allocations

STAR 20/3/92

CAPE TOWN — All the self-governing territories are unhappy with their budget allocations for 1992/93, according to the Department of Development Aid.

It said in a statement that ministers of finance from the six homelands had met representatives of central government in Cape Town on Thursday to discuss the Budget.

Although the allocations were substantially higher than the last financial year's, all the self-governing territories were dissatisfied. However, the full impact of the Budget on them would be discussed at meetings between central government and the governments of the territories.

One of the matters discussed at the meeting was the basis on which future VAT allocations were to be made to the territories.

The meeting, chaired by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Jacob de Vil liers, was attended by representatives of Gazankulu, Lebowa, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Lebowa's Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike yesterday commended the Minister of Finance, Barend du Plessis, for the significant swing in the Budget towards social services.

Mr Ramodike also welcomed a decrease in the security budget in favour of social services and said a substantial amount should be used to step up consolidation of the education system.

He, however, said the Government should provide for a larger increase on housing expenditure. — Sapa.

	Housing Rental R	*Service Charges* R
Venterstad (Nozizwe)	78 747	234 443
Barkly West (Mataleng)	98 047	799 821
Britstown (Mziwabantu)	26 295	102 540
Colesberg (Kuyasa)	131 083	1 289 163
Danielskuil (Tlhakalatlou)	26 583	418 086
De Aar (Nonzwakazi)	286 678	2 116 327
Delportshoop (Tidimalo)	19 963	685 463
Douglas (Bongani)	16 416	338 927
Griekwastad (Matlomola)	34 018	105 003
Hanover (Nompumelelo)	81 798	448 518
Jan Kempdorp (Valspan)	*498 916	
Kimberley (Galeshewe)	*5 505 117	
Noupoort (Kwazamuxolo)	63 609	321 077
Olifantshoek (Ditloung)	6 956	211 765
Petrusville (Thembinkosi)	19 053	111 852
Philipstown (Lukhanyisweni)	55 226	220 355
Postmasburg (Boichoko)	39 640	856 425
Prieska (E'Thembeni)	63 792	384 503
Reivilo (Boipelo)	12 016	41 579
Richmond (Sabelo)	30 882	237 044
Ritchie (Motswedimosa)	22 509	309 488
Upington (Paballelo)	1 759 158	2 991 905
Vryburg (Huhudi)	576 768	2 066 535
Warrenton (Ikhutseng)	36 291	1 257 249
Windsorton (Kutlwano)	*246 609	

* These local authorities do not keep separate figures

National servicemen placed outside SADF

151. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence:

(a) How many national servicemen in the (i) February 1991 and (ii) August 1991 intakes were placed in organizations and institutions outside the South African Defence Force in terms of section 16 of the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957, and (b) in which organizations and institutions were they placed? B369E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) (i) 76

(ii) 23 (as at 10 March 1992)

(b)

Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa	1
Administration: House of Assembly	1
Department of Local Government, Housing and Works (Administration: House of Assembly)	1
Department of Agriculture	10
Central Economic Advisory Service	1
Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs	1
Department of Foreign Affairs	2
Department of Justice	10
Department of Agricultural Development (Administration: House of Assembly)	2
Department of Environment Affairs	4
Department of National Health and Population Development	2
Department of Education and Culture (Administration House of Assembly)	8
ESD	3
Office for Privatisation	1
Office for Regional Development	1
Office of the Auditor-General	7
Small Business Development Corporation	3
Laboratory for Advanced Engineering (University of Pretoria)	4
Armscor	7
Council for Mineral Technology	3
Industrial Development Corporation	1
Natal Provincial Administration	5
Cape Provincial Administration	1
Pretoria City Council	1
Johannesburg City Council	1
South African Communication Service	3
Teglogic	1
Department of Posts and Telecommunications	1
Transvaal Provincial Administration	2
Bureau for Mechanical Engineering (University of Stellenbosch)	1
Umgeni Water Board	1
Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	9

SA Development Trust: amounts spent

153 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What total amount was spent on projects in each specified independent Black state from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year and (b) on what projects was this money spent? B371E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

(a) The total amount spent on projects in each of the independent Black states from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year is as follows:

Transkei
R585 000

Bophuthatswana
R677 000

Ciskei
R14 653 000

Venda
Nil

(b) *Transkei*

Ezibeleni — R585 000		
Police Station	R	54 000
Water Supply	R	62 000
Administration Costs	R	69 000
Settlement of farm labourers	R	400 000
	R	585 000
Bophuthatswana		
Itsoseng — R600 000		
Sewerage System	R	240 000
Public Buildings	R	57 000
Administration costs	R	3 000
Schools	R	300 000
Pampierstad — R77 000		
Public Buildings	R	77 000
	R	677 000
Ciskei		
Frankfort/Ndakana Settlement	R	123 000
Ntabathemba/Waverley Township	R	2 050 000
Settlement of farm labourers at Balfour/Stockenstrom	R	850 000
Frankfort Housing	R	9 000
Middledrift Prison	R	15 000
Bisho Health and Agriculture Building	R	138 000
Mdantsane — R8 353 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 538 000
Water Supply	R	312 000
Sewerage System	R	500 000
Public Buildings	R	4 000 000
Machinery and Equipment	R	353 000
Administration Costs	R	650 000
Whittlesea — R3 115 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 011 000
Public Buildings	R	1 085 000
Administration Costs	R	19 000
	R	14 653 000

SAP: name tags

158. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether all South African Police members in uniform are required to wear name tags at all times, if not, what is the position in this regard;

(2) whether all members on duty in civilian clothes are required to carry documents identifying themselves as South African Police members; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so,

(3) whether such members are obliged to produce these documents on request by members of the public;

(4) what steps are being taken against members failing to comply with the requirements referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this question? B384E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(2) Yes, an appointment certificate.

(3) Yes

(4) Departmental steps for contravention of the South African Police regulations can be instituted against members.

New employment opportunities: Blacks

161. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

	Housing Rental R	*Service Charges* R
Venterstad (Nozizwe)	78 747	234 443
Barkly West (Mataleng)	98 047	799 821
Britstown (Mziwabantu)	26 295	102 540
Colesberg (Kuyasa)	131 083	1 289 163
Danielskuil (Ilhakalatlou)	26 583	418 086
De Aar (Nonzwakazi)	286 678	2 116 327
Delportshoop (Tidimalo)	19 963	685 463
Douglas (Bongani)	16 416	338 927
Griekwastad (Matlomola)	34 018	105 003
Hanover (Nompumelelo)	81 798	448 518
Jan Kempdorp (Valspan)	*498 916	
Kimberley (Galeshewe)	*5 505 117	
Noupoort (Kwazamuxolo)	63 609	321 077
Olifantshoek (Ditloung)	6 956	211 765
Petrusville (Thembinkosi)	19 053	111 852
Philipstown (Lukhanyisweni)	55 226	220 355
Postmasburg (Boichoko)	39 640	856 425
Prieska (E'Thembeni)	63 792	384 503
Reivilo (Boipelo)	12 016	41 579
Richmond (Sabelo)	30 882	237 044
Ritchie (Motswedimosa)	22 509	309 488
Upington (Paballelo)	1 759 158	2 991 905
Vryburg (Huhudi)	576 768	2 066 535
Warrenton (Ikhutseng)	36 291	1 257 249
Windsorton (Kutlwano)	*246 609	

* These local authorities do not keep separate figures.

National servicemen placed outside SADF

151. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence

(a) How many national servicemen in the (i) February 1991 and (ii) August 1991 intakes were placed in organizations and institutions outside the South African Defence Force in terms of section 16 of the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957, and (b) in which organizations and institutions were they placed? B369E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

(a) (i) 76

(ii) 23 (as at 10 March 1992)

(b)

Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa	1
Administration: House of Assembly	1
Department of Local Government, Housing and Works (Administration: House of Assembly)	1
Department of Agriculture	10
Central Economic Advisory Service	1
Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs	1
Department of Foreign Affairs	2
Department of Justice	10
Department of Agricultural Development (Administration, House of Assembly)	2
Department of Environment Affairs	4
Department of National Health and Population Development	2
Department of Education and Culture (Administration: House of Assembly)	8
ESD	3
Office for Privatisation	1
Office for Regional Development	1
Office of the Auditor-General	7
Small Business Development Corporation	3
Laboratory for Advanced Engineering (University of Pretoria)	4
Armscor	7
Council for Mineral Technology	3
Industrial Development Corporation	1
Natal Provincial Administration	5
Cape Provincial Administration	1
Pretoria City Council	1
Johannesburg City Council	1
South African Communication Service	3
Teglogic	1
Department of Posts and Telecommunications	1
Transvaal Provincial Administration	2
Bureau for Mechanical Engineering (University of Stellenbosch)	1
Umgeni Water Board	1
Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	9

SA Development Trust: amounts spent

153 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What total amount was spent on projects in each specified independent Black state from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year and (b) on what projects was this money spent? B371E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(a) The total amount spent on projects in each of the independent Black states from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year is as follows:

Transkei
R585 000

Bophuthatswana
R677 000

Ciskei
R14 653 000

Venda
Nil

(b) *Transkei*

Ezibeleni — R585 000		
Police Station	R	54 000
Water Supply	R	62 000
Administration Costs	R	69 000
Settlement of farm labourers	R	400 000
	R	585 000
Bophuthatswana		
Itsoseng — R600 000		
Sewerage System	R	240 000
Public Buildings	R	57 000
Administration costs	R	3 000
Schools	R	300 000
Pampierstad — R77 000		
Public Buildings	R	77 000
	R	677 000
Ciskei		
Frankfort/Ndakana Settlement	R	123 000
Ntabathemba/Waverley Township	R	2 050 000
Settlement of farm labourers at Balfour/Stockenstrom	R	850 000
Frankfort Housing	R	9 000
Middledrift Prison	R	15 000
Bisho Health and Agriculture Building	R	138 000
Mdantsane — R8 353 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 538 000
Water Supply	R	312 000
Sewerage System	R	500 000
Public Buildings	R	4 000 000
Machinery and Equipment	R	353 000
Administration Costs	R	650 000
Whittlesea — R3 115 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 011 000
Public Buildings	R	1 085 000
Administration Costs	R	19 000
	R	14 653 000

SAP: name tags

158. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order.

(1) Whether all South African Police members in uniform are required to wear name tags at all times; if not, what is the position in this regard;

(2) whether all members on duty in civilian clothes are required to carry documents identifying themselves as South African Police members; if not, what is the position in this regard, if so,

(3) whether such members are obliged to produce these documents on request by members of the public;

(4) what steps are being taken against members failing to comply with the requirements referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this question? B384E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(2) Yes, an appointment certificate.

(3) Yes

(4) Departmental steps for contravention of the South African Police regulations can be instituted against members.

New employment opportunities: Blacks

161. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

cont ---p

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

(a) How many new employment opportunities were created for Blacks in each employment sector in the self-governing territories (i) by development corporations and other statutory bodies and (ii) through investment by (aa) South African and (bb) overseas companies in the 1990-91 financial year and (b) what was the cost per employment opportunity created in each of these sectors?

(101)

B391E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

Self-governing territory/ Statutory bodies	*Commerce and services*	*Housing*	*Industries*	*Small Industries*	*Mining*	*Agriculture*	*Transport*	*Other*
Gazankulu								
(a)(i)	105	67	199	14	2	—	1	26
(ii)								
(aa)	105	67	199	14	2	—	1	26
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R21 073	R18 994	R4 854	R4 090	R47 703	—	R18 299	R2 028
KaNgwane								
(a)(i)	966	9	268	458	—	358	—	40
(ii)								
(aa)	966	9	193	458	—	358	—	40
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	75	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R6 385	R13 910	R9 267	R1 768	—	R5 768	—	R2 360
KwaNdebele								
(a)(i)	135	—	—	61	—	312	—	21
(ii)								
(aa)	135	—	—	61	—	312	—	21
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R12 776	—	—	R5 690	—	R8 249	—	R24 779
KwaZulu								
(a)(i)	944	1)	1 042	1 533	—	1 294	—	—
(ii)								
(aa)	944	1)	—	1 533	—	1 294	—	—
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	1)	1 042	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R12 747	1)	R9 915	R6 573	—	R9 000	—	—
Lebowa								
(a)(i)	375	713	687	19	—	325	—	17
(ii)								

Self-governing territory/ Statutory bodies	*Commerce and services*	*Housing*	*Industries*	*Small Industries*	*Mining*	*Agriculture*	*Transport*	*Other*
(aa)	375	713	—	19	—	325	—	17
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	687	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R29 830	R8 925	R5 881	R6 181	—	R18 880	—	R11 627
Qwaqwa								
(a)(i)	461	60	—	981	—	301	2	45
(ii)								
(aa)	461	60	—	981	—	301	2	45
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R33 950	R12 974	—	R4 160	—	R11 599	R38 200	R65 178
STK iro SADT areas								
(a)(i)	—	—	1 380	489	1500[2)]	131	—	—
(ii)								
(aa)	—	—	80	489	1500[2)]	131	—	—
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	1 300	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	—	—	R3 350	R5 770	R333[2)]	R11 450	—	—

1) Not available.

2) Indirect, through the issuing of prospecting and mining rights to the private sector.

Blacks employed in undertakings in self-governing territories

162. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

How many Blacks in each self-governing territory were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by development corporations for such territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B392E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

Self-Governing Territory	*Latest specified date*	*(a) Number of persons employed in undertakings established on an agency basis*	*(b) Number of persons employed in undertakings established by Development Corporations*
Gazankulu	30/9/91	8 042	4 529
KaNgwane	30/9/91	2 029	10 801
KwaNdebele	30/9/91	6 309	4 631
KwaZulu	30/9/91	40 071	25 317
Lebowa	30/9/91	10 021	16 131
Qwaqwa	30/9/91	19 050	5 285
Total		85 522	66 694

cont...d

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version

For written reply

General Affairs

Citizenship certificates

132 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many citizenship certificates (a) (i) had been issued and (ii) remained to be issued as at 31 December 1991, and (b) were issued in 1991, to citizens of each self-governing territory?

B333E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

	(a) (i)	(a) (ii)	(b)
KwaZulu	1 611 543	2 009 960	312
Lebowa	278 321	1 362 363	0
QwaQwa	173 250	1 007 079	1 428
Gazankulu	98 444	487 198	0
KaNgwane	4 574	610 945	0
KwaNdebele	47 430	374 772	240

The figures furnished under (a) (ii) are projections based on the latest adjusted 1985 Census figures as supplied by the Central Statistical Service. The results of the 1991 Census Survey, adjusted for undercount, are not yet available.

Black home-owners

137. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(a) How many Black home-owners are there in the Republic, (i) including and (ii) excluding the self-governing territories, and (b) how many such home-owners have mortgages?

B345E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(a) (i) and (ii) No statistics are available because, in so far as it concerns registration of land and other real rights, no distinction was made in respect of the various population groups even prior to the abolition of racially-based legislation.

(b) Falls away

Departmental schools: number of classrooms

159. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(a) What is the (i) total number of classrooms in schools administered by his Department and (ii) average number of classrooms for such (aa) primary and (bb) secondary schools and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B389E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(a) (i) 54 428

(ii) (aa) 5,5

(bb) 23,4

(b) 5 March 1991.

PE/Uitenhage metropole: population figures

165. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many (a) male and (b) female (i) Whites, (ii) Coloureds, (iii) Asians and (iv) Blacks were there in the Port Elizabeth/Uitenhage metropole as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B395E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

	(a)	(b)
(i)	82 094	86 365
(ii)	84 770	92 372
(iii)	4 175	4 168
(iv)	208 443	243 457

The 1991 Population Census information, as at 7 March 1991, is furnished. This information has not yet been adjusted for possible undercount. The information refers to the magisterial districts of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage as data on the metropole is not available

Electricity supply: PE metropole

166. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing

(a) How many houses are supplied with electricity in (i) the metropole comprising Port Elizabeth, Ibhayi, Uitenhage and Kwanobuhle and (ii) each of these four areas and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

B396E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(a) (i) 88 496

(ii) Port Elizabeth	65 366
Ibhayi	7 698
Uitenhage	12 800
Kwanobuhle	2 632

(b) 16 March 1992

Health: amount budgeted

170. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(a) What total amount has been budgeted for health in South Africa in respect of the latest specified 12-month period for which figures are available and (b) how much of this amount has been earmarked for (i) primary health care, (ii) secondary health care, (iii) tertiary health care and (iv) any other specified division?

B400E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Department of National Health and Population Development

(a) 1991/92 financial year R714 464 000 and

(b) (i) R197 059 000,

(ii) not applicable,

(iii) not applicable and

(iv) Health: R517 405 000.

Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope

(a) 1992/93 financial year: R2 065 342 000 and

(b) (i) and (ii) separate amounts not available A total amount of R1 062 441 000 has been provisionally voted,

(iii) R813 120 000 and

(iv) Head Office Administration R189 781 000

Provincial Administration of Natal

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R1 014 063 000 and

(b) (i) R326 923 000,

(ii) R345 141 000,

(iii) R175 221 000 and

(iv) Administration and auxillary services R13 436 000
Ambulance and emergency services R45 541 000
Supporting and specially controlled services R91 805 000
Central medical stock account R1 000 000
Government motor transport R655 000
Capital works R14 341 000

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State

(a) 1991/92 financial year R659 346 000 and

(b) (i) R70 712 000,

(ii) R184 650 000

(iii) R320 900 000 and

(iv) R83 084 000 for:
Management;
Capital and minor works;
Emergency medical services,
Auxilliary and specially controlled services

Provincial Administration of Transvaal

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R2 388 161 000 and

(b) (i) R308 073 000,

(ii) R773 764 000,

(iii) R1 306 324 000 and

(iv) not available.

Administration: House of Assembly

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R623 630 000 and

(b) (i) R83 143 200,

(ii) R537 364 800,

(iii) R3 122 000 and

cont. >

(iv) not applicable.

Administration. House of Delegates

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R32 946 000 and

(b) (i) to (iv): according to the Administration's distribution, this information is not available

Administration House of Representatives

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R156 652 000 and

(b) (i) R98 720 000,

(ii) R45 832 000,

(iii) R12 100 000 and

(iv) none

KwaZulu

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R508 000 000 and

(b) (i) R116 000 000,

(ii) R306 000 000,

(iii) none and

(iv) R86 000 000 for:

Administration etc.

KaNgwane

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R82 191 699 and

(b) (i) to (iv): according to the KaNgwane Government's distribution, this information is not available.

KwaNdebele

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R13 577 000 and

(b) (i) not available,

(ii) not available,

(iii) not available and

(iv) not available.

GaZankulu

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R137 662 568 and

(b) (i) to (iv). according to the GaZankulu Government's distribution, this information is not available

Lebowa

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R233 683 000 and

(b) (i) R2 505 000,

(ii) R231 177 000,

(iii) none and

(iv) not available.

QwaQwa

(a) 1991/92 financial year: R60 865 000 and

(b) (i) R10 580 000,

(ii) R39 860 000,

(iii) R4 090 000 and

(iv) R6 335 000.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Gross domestic product: deficit/expenditure

51. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Finance:

What was the (a) deficit before borrowing, (b) total actual expenditure, and (c) deficit before borrowing as a percentage of the gross domestic product, in each of the past five financial years?

B106E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

	Deficit R million	Actual expenditure R million	Deficit as % of GDP
1987/88	9 557,3	47 449,8	5,6%
1988/89	7 855,0	55 926,4	3,8%
1989/90	4 358,0	65 459,3	1,8%
1990/91	7 145,2	73 947,3	2,6%
1991/92*	13 160,8	86 387,8	4,3%

*Estimated

Deductibility of moneys paid for educational purposes

124. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 74 on 27 February 1991, he or his Department has initiated further investigations into the deductibility of moneys paid by individual taxpayers for educational purposes at school or college level; if not, why not; if so, (a) what matters are being investigated and (b) by what body;

(2) what is the current tax policy regarding individuals and/or companies making donations to (a) tertiary institutions, (b) pre-primary schools, (c) primary schools and (d) secondary schools;

(3) whether there have been any changes in the above policy during the past five years; if not, why not; if so, what changes?

B318E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE.

(1) and (2) Yes An interdepartmental committee, consisting of representatives from the Department of Finance, the Department of National Education together with other interested parties, have conducted extensive discussions regarding the extension of the deductibility of donations to, especially, primary schools As a result of practical problems that are being experienced, not only with the extension, but also with the current deductions, no solution has as yet been found In the light of this, the committee has considered various alternative suggestions for State assistance in respect of education costs and proposals in this regard will be submitted to the Government shortly.

(3) Yes, notwithstanding various technical amendments, the only substantial amendment which has been made to section 18A of the Income Tax Act over the past five years, is the introduction of provisions allowing donations made by companies to certain special funds which are to be utilized for educational or training purposes for the advancement of primary and secondary education, to also be deductible for income tax purposes.

Consolidation: purchase of land/cost

160. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What was the cost of purchasing land for the purpose of consolidation in respect of each (i) self-governing territory and (ii) independent Black state as at 31 December 1991 or the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how much land was added in each case?

B390E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

Separate statistics are not available. The total accumulative amount spent until 31 December 1991 in respect of the purchase of land, amounted to R1 364 896 789.

Land transferring during 1991 (1 January 1991 to 31 December 1991):

KaNgwane	—	4 946 hectares
Bophuthatswana	—	32 424 hectares

Pension/provident funds: investment return

179. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Finance:

What was the average annual investment return achieved by the public sector's pension and provident funds over each of the latest specified 10 years for which figures are available?

B422E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

1981/82	9,05%
1982/83	9,30%
1983/84	9,98%
1984/85	10,25%
1985/86	11,50%
1986/87	12,78%
1987/88	12,40%
1988/89	12,45%
1989/90	14,50%
1990/91	14,38%

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

† Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs

Motor vehicle accidents: minibus taxis

7. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) How many (a) motor vehicle accidents occurred, and (b) persons were killed in such accidents, in each province in 1991,

(2) (a) how many such accidents in each province in that year involved Black minibus taxis and (b) how many persons were killed in these accidents?

D39E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) (a) Until 30 November 1991 (i e. the most recent period for which information is available) 407 436 motor vehicle collisions occurred The number of collisions that occurred during each month during the period January to November 1991 are detailed per province in the table below

MONTH	CAPE	NATAL	TRANSVAAL	OFS	RSA
January	7 467	5 657	17 476	1 703	32 303
February	7 538	6 097	18 501	1 777	33 913
March	8 881	6 961	21 500	2 295	39 637
April	8 440	6 275	17 893	1 773	34 381
May	9 765	6 855	19 758	2 001	38 379
June	10 301	6 473	20 349	2 130	39 253
July	9 828	6 980	19 910	2 123	38 841
August	9 931	6 721	19 626	2 030	38 308
September	8 979	6 579	18 576	1 961	36 095
October	9 267	7 033	20 081	2 006	38 387
November	8 915	6 337	20 708	1 979	37 939
TOTAL	99 312	71 968	214 378	21 778	407 436

(b) 9 979 people were killed due to motor vehicle collisions during the period 1 January 1991 to 30 November 1991. The number of fatalities that have occurred during each month, per province, are detailed in the table below.

MONTH	CAPE	NATAL	TRANSVAAL	OFS	RSA
January	187	190	309	49	735
February	183	138	339	64	724
March	271	196	493	102	1 062

Traditional pact planned

(101) CT 30/8/94

BISHO. — Ciskei and Transkei traditional leaders are discussing the formation of a non-political association of traditional leaders.

The two parties met here on Saturday and agreed, among other things, to fight for representation at Codesa and to create unity between the two homeland associations.

They also agreed that chiefs should not be aligned to political parties. — Sapa

	Housing Rental R	*Service Charges* R
Venterstad (Nozizwe)	78 747	234 443
Barkly West (Mataleng)	98 047	799 821
Britstown (Mziwabantu)	26 295	102 540
Colesberg (Kuyasa)	131 083	1 289 163
Danielskuil (Tlhakalatlou)	26 583	418 086
De Aar (Nonzwakazi)	286 678	2 116 327
Delportshoop (Tidimalo)	19 963	685 463
Douglas (Bongani)	16 416	338 927
Griekwastad (Matlomola)	34 018	105 003
Hanover (Nompumelelo)	81 798	448 518
Jan Kempdorp (Valspan)	*498 916	
Kimberley (Galeshewe)	*5 505 117	
Noupoort (Kwazamuxolo)	63 609	321 077
Olifantshoek (Ditloung)	6 956	211 765
Petrusville (Thembinkosi)	19 053	111 852
Philipstown (Lukhanyiswemi)	55 226	220 355
Postmasburg (Boichoko)	39 640	856 425
Prieska (E'Thembeni)	63 792	384 503
Reivilo (Boipelo)	12 016	41 579
Richmond (Sabelo)	30 882	237 044
Ritchie (Motswedimosa)	22 509	309 488
Upington (Paballelo)	1 759 158	2 991 905
Vryburg (Huhudi)	576 768	2 066 535
Warrenton (Ikhutseng)	36 291	1 257 249
Windsorton (Kutlwano)	*246 609	

* These local authorities do not keep separate figures.

National servicemen placed outside SADF

151. Lt-Gen R H D ROGERS asked the Minister of Defence

(a) How many national servicemen in the (i) February 1991 and (ii) August 1991 intakes were placed in organizations and institutions outside the South African Defence Force in terms of section 16 of the Defence Act, No 44 of 1957, and (b) in which organizations and institutions were they placed? B369E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) (i) 76

(ii) 23 (as at 10 March 1992)

(b)

Atomic Energy Corporation of South Africa	1
Administration. House of Assembly	1
Department of Local Government, Housing and Works (Administration: House of Assembly)	1
Department of Agriculture	10
Central Economic Advisory Service	1
Department of Planning and Provincial Affairs	1
Department of Foreign Affairs	2
Department of Justice	10
Department of Agricultural Development (Administration: House of Assembly)	2
Department of Environment Affairs	4
Department of National Health and Population Development	2
Department of Education and Culture (Administration: House of Assembly)	8
ESD	3
Office for Privatisation	1
Office for Regional Development	1
Office of the Auditor-General	7
Small Business Development Corporation	3
Laboratory for Advanced Engineering (University of Pretoria)	4
Armscor	7
Council for Mineral Technology	3
Industrial Development Corporation	1
Natal Provincial Administration	5
Cape Provincial Administration	1
Pretoria City Council	1
Johannesburg City Council	1
South African Communication Service	3
Teglogic	1
Department of Posts and Telecommunications	1
Transvaal Provincial Administration	2
Bureau for Mechanical Engineering (University of Stellenbosch)	1
Umgeni Water Board	1
Council for Scientific and Industrial Research	9

SA Development Trust: amounts spent

153. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs.

(a) What total amount was spent on projects in each specified independent Black state from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year and (b) on what projects was this money spent? B371E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(a) The total amount spent on projects in each of the independent Black states from the South African Development Trust Account in the 1991-92 financial year is as follows:

Transkei
R585 000

Bophuthatswana
R677 000

Ciskei
R14 653 000

Venda
Nil

(b) *Transkei*

Ezibeleni — R585 000		
Police Station	R	54 000
Water Supply	R	62 000
Administration Costs	R	69 000
Settlement of farm labourers	R	400 000
	R	585 000
Bophuthatswana		
Itsoseng — R600 000		
Sewerage System	R	240 000
Public Buildings	R	57 000
Administration costs	R	3 000
Schools	R	300 000
Pampierstad — R77 000		
Public Buildings	R	77 000
	R	677 000
Ciskei		
Frankfort/Ndakana Settlement	R	123 000
Ntabathemba/Waverley Township	R	2 050 000
Settlement of farm labourers at Balfour/Stockenstrom	R	850 000
Frankfort Housing	R	9 000
Middledrift Prison	R	15 000
Bisho Health and Agriculture Building	R	138 000
Mdantsane — R8 353 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 538 000
Water Supply	R	312 000
Sewerage System	R	500 000
Public Buildings	R	4 000 000
Machinery and Equipment	R	353 000
Administration Costs	R	650 000
Whittlesea — R3 115 000		
Streets and Drainage	R	2 011 000
Public Buildings	R	1 085 000
Administration Costs	R	19 000
	R	14 653 000

SAP: name tags

158. Mr J VAN ECK asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether all South African Police members in uniform are required to wear name tags at all times; if not, what is the position in this regard,

(2) whether all members on duty in civilian clothes are required to carry documents identifying themselves as South African Police members; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so,

(3) whether such members are obliged to produce these documents on request by members of the public,

(4) what steps are being taken against members failing to comply with the requirements referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) of this question? B384E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes

(2) Yes, an appointment certificate.

(3) Yes

(4) Departmental steps for contravention of the South African Police regulations can be instituted against members.

New employment opportunities: Blacks

161. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs (102) cont—p

(a) How many new employment opportunities were created for Blacks in each employment sector in the self-governing territories (i) by development corporations and other statutory bodies and (ii) through investment by (aa) South African and (bb) overseas companies in the 1990-91 financial year and (b) what was the cost per employment opportunity created in each of these sectors?

(102)

B391E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

Self-governing territory/ Statutory bodies	*Commerce and services*	*Housing*	*Industries*	*Small Industries*	*Mining*	*Agriculture*	*Transport*	*Other*
Gazankulu								
(a)(i)	105	67	199	14	2	—	1	26
(ii)								
(aa)	105	67	199	14	2	—	1	26
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R21 073	R18 994	R4 854	R4 090	R47 703	—	R18 299	R2 028
KaNgwane								
(a)(i)	966	9	268	458	—	358	—	40
(ii)								
(aa)	966	9	193	458	—	358	—	40
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	75	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R6 385	R13 910	R9 267	R1 768	—	R5 768	—	R2 360
KwaNdebele								
(a)(i)	135	—	—	61	—	312	—	21
(ii)								
(aa)	135	—	—	61	—	312	—	21
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R12 776	—	—	R5 690	—	R8 249	—	R24 779
KwaZulu								
(a)(i)	944	1)	1 042	1 533	—	1 294	—	—
(ii)								
(aa)	944	1)	—	1 533	—	1 294	—	—
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	1)	1 042	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R12 747	1)	R9 915	R6 573	—	R9 000	—	—
Lebowa								
(a)(i)	375	713	687	19	—	325	—	17
(ii)								

Self-governing territory/ Statutory bodies	*Commerce and services*	*Housing*	*Industries*	*Small Industries*	*Mining*	*Agriculture*	*Transport*	*Other*
(aa)	375	713	—	19	—	325	—	17
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	687	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R29 830	R8 925	R5 881	R6 181	—	R18 880	—	R11 627
Qwaqwa								
(a)(i)	461	60	—	981	—	301	2	45
(ii)								
(aa)	461	60	—	981	—	301	2	45
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	R33 950	R12 974	—	R4 160	—	R11 599	R38 200	R65 178
STK iro SADT areas								
(a)(i)	—	—	1 380	489	1500[2)]	131	—	—
(ii)								
(aa)	—	—	80	489	1500[2)]	131	—	—
(a)(ii)								
(bb)	—	—	1 300	—	—	—	—	—
(b)	—	—	R3 350	R5 770	R333[2)]	R11 450	—	—

(102)

1) Not available.

2) Indirect, through the issuing of prospecting and mining rights to the private sector.

Blacks employed in undertakings in self-governing territories

162. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs

How many Blacks in each self-governing territory were employed in undertakings established (a) on an agency basis and (b) by development corporations for such territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B392E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: (102)

Self-Governing Territory	*Latest specified date*	*(a) Number of persons employed in undertakings established on an agency basis*	*(b) Number of persons employed in undertakings established by Development Corporations*
Gazankulu	30/9/91	8 042	4 529
KaNgwane	30/9/91	2 029	10 801
KwaNdebele	30/9/91	6 309	4 631
KwaZulu	30/9/91	40 071	25 317
Lebowa	30/9/91	10 021	16 131
Qwaqwa	30/9/91	19 050	5 285
Total		85 522	66 694

cont ... d

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Self-governing territories: size

187. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

What was the size in hectares of each of the self-governing territories as at the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B431E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

As at 31 March 1992:

Qwaqwa	103 794 hectares
KwaNdebele	264 278 hectares
KaNgwane	364 078 hectares
Gazankulu	743 958 hectares
Lebowa	2 140 333 hectares
KwaZulu	3 288 740 hectares

The size in hectares of some of the self-governing territories, is smaller than that furnished in reply to Question 398 of 27 May 1991. The reason is that the extent of certain unsurveyed pieces of land has been redetermined, resulting the difference

Crime statistics: Durban North

197 Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

How many cases of (a) murder, (b) culpable homicide, (c) assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, (d) common assault, (e) rape, (f) robbery, (g) theft of vehicles and cycles, (h) damage to property, (i) housebreaking with intent to steal and theft and (j) possession of drugs were reported at each specified police station in the Durban North police district in 1991?

B452E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g1)	(g2)	(h)	(i)	(j)
Durban N	10	19	30	112	14	56	198	60	280	457	25
Glendale	7	1	32	23	9	12	5	0	13	43	22
Greenwood Park	45	54	98	424	50	298	324	55	502	990	130
Inanda	192	64	151	254	110	459	79	0	197	334	65
Newark	5	8	47	36	9	23	4	2	25	89	85
Stanger	116	54	163	172	78	311	151	19	270	1 104	515
Tongaat	59	17	181	491	61	323	184	10	235	465	212
Umhlali	32	39	83	100	30	84	108	21	141	575	78
Verulam	66	27	169	357	42	235	192	17	304	768	101
Phoenix	59	58	394	1 451	66	546	402	81	477	803	361
Newlands N.	5	10	13	87	6	25	49	2	93	81	31

Note:
(G1)—vehicles
(G2)—bicycles.

Public Service officials seconded to self-governing territories

209. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of secondment of such officials, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) whether all posts in these territories in respect of which secondment is required are filled at present; if not, how many remained vacant as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(3) whether any further secondments are envisaged; if so, how many?

B466E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) and (b) The latest date for which figures are available is 31 December 1991 and, as requested, is contained in the attached schedule.

(c) The cost of the secondment of the officials amounted to R146 078 000 for the period 1 April 1991 to 31 December 1991.

(2) No. A survey indicated that 1 652 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 December 1991

(3) Yes. Numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements, the availability of funds and the availability of manpower.

POST IDENTIFIED FOR OCCUPATION BY SECONDED STAFF: 31 DECEMBER 1991

	KwaZulu		Lebowa		GaZankulu		Qwaqwa		KwaNdebele		KaNgwane		Total		
OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Identified	Filled	Vacant
Prosecutor	2	2	1	1	0	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	6	6	0
Administrative Officer	83	55	3	0	0	0	9	3	15	12	27	17	137	87	50
Administration Clerk	18	15	10	8	2	1	1	1	3	2	10	8	44	35	9
Artisan Staff	247	78	117	97	13	7	38	24	27	20	35	12	477	238	239
Pharmacist	47	30	1	1	14	6	0	0	0	0	3	1	65	38	27
Occupational Therapist	8	3	1	1	6	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	17	10	7
Architect	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	1	9
Business Economist	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	6
Taxation Officer	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Drilling Inspector	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Forester	9	3	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	17	9	8
Forestry Foreman	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0
Forestry Scientist	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	3	3
Quantity Surveyor	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	7	1	6
Fireman	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Departmental Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Dietician	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Director Health Services	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	1
Efficiency Officer	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Economist (Agriculture)	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	9	3	6
Ethnologist	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	1
Physiotherapist	24	6	2	1	7	5	0	0	0	0	4	1	37	13	24
Community Development Officer	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Medical Technologist	20	7	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	1	24	10	14
Health Inspector	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

cont

Further chinks in apartheid armour

Political Correspondent

THE Government will today announce the phasing out of the Department of Development Aid and the South African Development Trust.

President FW de Klerk was expected to sign 12 proclamations yesterday which would come into effect today and which would in a sense abolish the means for the creation and administration of homelands and self-governing territories. Sowetan 31/3/92

Under the proclamation, townships and areas such as Botshabelo in the Free State would now be placed under the control of the respective provincial administrations.

Further chinks in apartheid armour

Political Correspondent

THE Government will today announce the phasing out of the Department of Development Aid and the South African Development Trust.

President FW de Klerk was expected to sign 12 proclamations yesterday which would come into effect today and which would in a sense abolish the means for the creation and administration of homelands and self-governing territories. Sowetan 31/3/92

Under the proclamation, townships and areas such as Botshabelo in the Free State would now be placed under the control of the respective provincial administrations.

Plan to exclude TBVC states during transition

Sowetan 31/3/92 (101)

THE Government dropped the bombshell last week at Codesa by suggesting that the four independent homelands be excluded from the transitional government that would be entrusted with drafting a constitution.

A source within Codesa said this declaration was made to the steering committee of Working Group Three and Four.

The source said the Government would only be prepared to agree that the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and the Ciskei be included in the transitional government once they had renounced their independence.

The source said only Transkei, Venda and Ciskei had agreed to renounce their independence, but did not know which procedures to follow.

ANC official Mr Matthew Phosa said the Government's moves were totally unacceptable because they would automatically exclude more than 10 million people from being party to the drafting of a new constitution.

He said what the Government actually wanted was

By IKE MOTSAPI

tantamount to saying to inhabitants of these homelands: "We will draw a constitution for you and later ask you to join us once it is ready."

Phosa said the Government seemed to be bent on introducing the old apartheid in a new form, because "we will still be having bantustans who will be excluded from the transitional government once it is installed".

The ANC found it disturbing that the Government should order the TBVC states to scale down their activities at Codesa.

"Although the ANC welcomed that homelands who are not independent would take part in the transitional government, we are going to fight hard to have the TVBC states to be part of such a structure," Phosa said.

He said the ANC's concern was that most of their members were in some of these independent states. Another *Sowetan* source said the Government's moves had apparently stalled progress at Working Group Four.

Case against Alexander and 10 others postponed

Sowetan 31/3/92

THE public violence case against Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and 10 others has been postponed to May.

They appeared briefly in the Vereeniging Magistrate's Court yesterday.

The group was arrested in Ennerdale, Johannesburg, on January 27 after clashes erupted between residents and the police during a meeting at a local stadium to discuss rent and tariff issues.

Alexander and the other 10 men were released on bail of R50 each later the same day. They are facing charges of public violence.

None of them has been asked to plead and no evidence has been led. The case was postponed to May 11.

'Apartheid' departments stop functioning today

BILLY PADDOCK

CAPE TOWN — The Development Aid Department and the SA Development Trust stop operating today following a process of rationalisation and an attempt to rid SA of apartheid administration.

Staff, functions and assets have been transferred to the self-governing homelands, central government and provincial administrators.

This brings to an end another section of the apartheid bureaucracy used by Verwoerd and succeeding Native and Bantu Affairs Ministers to implement their dream of separate homelands for different ethnic groups

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers said at a briefing yesterday the abolishment of the Development Aid Department and the Trust brought to an end an era "started in 1910 to cater for all the material, moral and social well-being of black people".

President F W de Klerk announced last October that the department and the trust were to be abolished after recommendations of the Commission for Administration which also found evidence of corruption.

Since then the Department has been dedicated to the transfer of 3-million hectares of land to the self-governing states. A final 1,2-million ha were to be transferred to Public Works and Regional and Land Affairs, De Villiers said.

The 11 proclamations and three Government Gazettes published yesterday finalise the termination of the department and the trust, and affect essentially 100th of SA's land that will now be administered without racial discrimination. SA's total land area is 123-million ha.

Self-governing homelands administer 7-million ha and 10-million ha are set aside in the TBVC states. The remaining 1,2-million ha are fragmented and could not be consolidated.

All the development and related functions rendered by the SA Development Trust would now rest with individual line function departments and respective administrations, De Villiers said.

No townships that were not under the jurisdiction of self-governing homelands were incorporated in the latest move, he said, adding that Soshanguve, Lethlabile and Botshabelo townships had been transferred to the respective administrations of the Transvaal and the Free State.

All residents holding occupational rights in Soshanguve and Lethlabile would immediately be entitled to register their properties under full ownership in terms of the Upgrading and Land Tenure Rights Act of 1991. No payment would be required, but residents would have to take the initiative and register their properties, which would be transferred to them formally in the Deeds Office some time in the near future, he said.

"The dominium in other townships, settlements and areas ... are transferred to the Regional and Land Affairs Minister who will further dispose thereof subject to certain agreements still to be concluded," De Villiers said.

Because of this transfer of 3-million ha to the self-governing states, the legislative and executive powers of these administrations relating to land and mineral rights have been extended by proclamation.

Further proclamations were also promulgated yesterday to make provision that Acts of Parliament and proclamations of the State President are assigned to the Administrators of Provinces for execution. These relate mainly to social welfare, health, nature conservation, township establishment as well as rendering local government services.

Accent on service to community

CAPE TOWN — Correctional supervision or community service as an alternative to imprisonment would be introduced selectively from today and was expected to be a nationwide option by the end of March next year, Minister of Correctional Services Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

A system of correctional supervision had been experimented with in the Pretoria area since August last year. It had been introduced on March 20 to areas in the Cape Peninsula including Bellville, Goodwood, Simon's Town, Mitchell's Plain and Wynberg.

A sentence of correctional supervision is a sentence in its own right which is served within the community and not in a prison. It involves service to a community without payment.

Vlok said a number of conditions, such as house arrest, were set to limit offenders sentenced to correctional supervision.

"Criminals who have chosen crime as a way of life, or those who pose a real threat to society, are excluded from correctional supervision." — Sapa.

Townships saved from homelands

Sowetan 1/4/92

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

SOSHANGUVE, Letlhabile and Botshabelo have been saved from incorporation into the homelands or self-governing territories and will from today fall under the Transvaal and Free State provincial administrations.

Residents who hold occupational rights or deeds of grant will obtain freehold title immediately - all they have to do is register the property in their names.

In terms of the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act of 1991 about 28 000 erven at Soshanguve and 5 800 at Letlhabile will also be converted to full ownership, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Jacob de Villiers, announced yesterday.

The announcements flow from the abolition by the Government of the South African Development Trust and the Department of Development Aid from today.

It follows the announcement on October 16 last year by President FW de Klerk that all racially based land measures would be abolished and at the same time frees 1,2 million hectares of land earmarked for incorporation into Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, QwaQwa, KwaZulu and KaNgwane.

De Villiers confirmed yesterday that all but the 17 million hectares of land which was "bought" in terms of the Land Acts had already been allocated.

Eleven proclamations were published in a special Government Gazette in Pretoria yesterday and give effect to the transfer of the assets and resources of the SADT and the Department of Development Aid to central Government departments such as agriculture, public works and regional and land affairs.

De Villiers said in future services and the administration of Letlhabile and Soshanguve would be rendered by the TPA and at Botshabelo by the Free State Provincial Administration.

The administration of other townships and settlements had been transferred to his own department.

Land rights: Minister gives details

STAR 1/4/92

Political Staff

Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Jacob de Villiers has clarified which authorities will gain jurisdiction over communities established by the South African Development Trust and administered until yesterday by the Department of Development Aid.

Both the trust and the department cease to exist from today. Their functions have been shared among provincial administrations, self-governing territories and central Government departments.

The announcement by the Minister resolves the uncertainty and confusion in many black communities.

Mr de Villiers said: "The status of all assets (of the SADT) changes to that of Government property." He supplied the following details concerning jurisdiction in specific areas.

- The townships of Soshanguve and Lethlabile have been transferred to the Administrator of the Transvaal and Botshabelo to the Administrator of the Free State. These officials will bear responsibility for administration and servicing of these vast townships and will have "power to dispose of immovable assets ... in terms of the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act"

Mr de Villiers said township registers had been opened for Soshanguve and Lethlabile.

"This will enable all residents holding occupational rights, deeds of leasehold and deeds of grant to obtain freehold title. Approximately 28 000 erven in Soshanguvé and 5 800 in Lethlabile will immediately be converted to full ownership."

- The Minister of Regional and Land Affairs has gained "dominion" over other townships, settlements and areas in all provinces and he will "further dispose thereof subject to certain agreements still to be concluded". Provincial Administrators will undertake servicing of these areas.

- SADT property already within self-governing territories has been transferred to the governments concerned, except for a few properties.

Powers of the self-governing territories have been extended in relation to land and mineral rights "in order to enable them to further dispose of the land concerned, in accordance with the White Paper on Land Reform".

- Property not scheduled for transfer to a TBVC state or a self-governing territory has been transferred to the Department of Public Works "subject to the mandate of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation".

Feud leaves 18 unburied

Sowetan 3/4/92 (107)

THE 18 bodies of people killed in an attack in Umlazi three weeks ago are still at the mortuaries because local authorities refused to let them be buried in the township.

An ANC spokesman, Mr Dumisani Makhaya, said this week that the organisation would take legal action to force the authorities to permit the twice-postponed mass funeral service.

Makhaya said applications for a permit to hold a memorial service at Umlazi

Own Correspondent

Stadium had been turned down.

He said the ANC had also been refused permission to bury the dead at Umlazi T Section cemetery.

A memorial service which had been planned a fortnight ago had to be cancelled after a last-minute refusal by the township manager to allow the ANC to use Umlazi Stadium.

Another attempt was made last week to hold a funeral service at the Mologodo Stadium in Folweni, Umbumbulu.

Makhaya said permission had been obtained from the area magistrate for the ceremony and burials to go ahead.

He said: "The magistrate gave his consent for the burial to take place but indicated that the actual graves will have to be pointed out by the the local indunas.

"When the local indunas were approached they refused claiming they feared for their lives."

Makhaya insisted that the dead should be buried at the T section Umlazi cemetery, but the township manager would only allow this if he got an undertaking from the ANC that there would be no speeches at the ceremony.

"We cannot allow that condition," Makhaya said.

"The ANC is a legal organisation and our supporters, members and officials have a right to a proper burial."

He said the Southern Natal region of the ANC had lodged a complaint with the Umlazi Dispute Resolution Committee and the Natal/KwaZulu Regional DRC and the National Peace Secretariat.

Makhaya said the ANC had planned a protest march at lunchtime today from St Paul's Cathedral to the Durban Supreme Court.

He said the refusal to grant permission for the memorial and the burial was a "gross violation of a basic human right - the right to be buried in a decent way".

Makhaya said the funeral could no longer be postponed.

"It must take place this weekend," he said.

Umlazi mayor Ms Maria Xulu said the township administration had refused permission for the dead to be buried at Umlazi T section because of a possible further outbreak of violence.

"We understand from Press reports that those killed were killed by people from Unit 17," Xulu said. "What is the use of then taking the dead to bury them in that area? This will only provoke further violence.

"We are discussing an alternative to burying the dead in another area because we want peace in Umlazi," Xulu said. "It is up to the ANC to agree."

Echoes from our

wlmail 3/4-9/4/92 (101)

By GAVIN EVANS

A FUNNY thing happened on the way to the 21st century. Not since the Allied victory in 1945 has there been so much in the way of good news in the media. The world is now "safe for democracy", the "new world order" has arrived and the "global village" has contracted its boundaries.

And it's true — to a point. Totalitarians — communist or otherwise — have been driven out of town, at least in Eastern Europe, parts of Asia and the Americas and now in Africa.

There's an emerging consensus, shaky but growing, that representative democracy is the best way of doing things and that life should be made difficult for most of those who flagrantly violate this ethic. Even some of the West's former favoured Cold War clients (Israel included) are starting to feel the heat.

And yet, and yet ... If it's been the best of times, it's also been the worst of times. A whole closet-full of almost-forgotten ghosts of the past have returned to haunt us.

Probably the most dramatic of these has been the rise of ethnic nationalism, in part as a reflex of democracy and in part as a form of resistance to its implications.

In less than two years it succeeded in re-balkanising the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia and it is rearing its often ugly head all over Africa, even in countries where the problem was supposedly dealt with.

Even in countries with an ethnically homogeneous population — the re-united Germany and France especially — there has been the parallel rise of a fascist form of nationalism and a consequent rise in racist terror.

One of the shibboleths of the old world was that the Potsdam parcelling out of spoils of World War II was a thing set in stone. That's forgotten now. Another was that the national boundaries drawn by the colonial masters at or before Versailles were indelible. That's in the process of being thrown out as well.

Serbs, and Croats, Russians and Ukranians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Latvians, Welsh and Scots (and lest we forget Palestinians too) have one thing in common, whatever else divides them. They want to rule themselves, on their own piece of real estate, to pursue their own cultures and to live the way they choose — self-determination, if you like. Rather reluctantly the world has recognised this as their democratic right.

So then, why not Afrikaners, Zulus or South African Tswanas? That, at least, is the question asked very loudly by the white right, and more obtusely by Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government.

The short answer is that none of these "people" want it. For a start the majority of white Afrikaners (who today may be fractionally outnumbered by brown Afrikaners) have already voted against this idea.

Even Inkatha is backing away from its recent flirtation with the confederal idea, while the Bop government is fighting a losing battle to stave off pressures for a referendum it knows it will lose.

Perhaps more importantly, the one pre-condition for its success — a piece of ground where the ethnic group desiring independence is in a significant numerical majority — does not exist. Not even the most modest of the Boere separatists can claim that "they" are in the majority in Orandia.

There is another reason why the idea is an extremely unhealthy one in South Africa.

One of the many great lies of the Soviet imperialists was that the republics were equal partners whose cultures and traditions were respected. The truth is they were actively and viciously surpressed, and it was hardly any different in

tribal past

The ancient calls of blood
With communism moribund and a new world order in the making, life in the last decade of the 20th century is rosy. Or is it? We look at the spectre of rising nationalism and ethnicity, both in Europe and at home

Yugoslavia.

Yet this did not have the effect of eliminating feelings of ethnic identity (and frequently ethnic prejudice). It simply kept them under the covers for a few decades.

In very stark contrast, such feelings and prejudices were actively promoted (and distorted) by the government in South Africa. This was the lifeblood of apartheid. You were defined first according to race, and second according to ethnicity.

Which is not to say, as some in anti-apartheid circles did until recently, that it was all a creation of apartheid (and even more absurdly that it would all melt away as soon as apartheid/racial capitalism/internal colonialism ended).

Among both black and white, tribal prejudice has a pedigree which is centuries old. Inkatha leaders may do their utmost to strengthen their party by fanning Zulu chauvinism and anti-Xhosa prejudice, but you can be sure they did not create such feelings any more than the Serbian and Croatian leaders created their hatred of each other.

The difference in South Africa is that there is no possibility of such prejudices being resolved through partition. People have no option but to live together.

This fact gives a future government at least a fighting chance of building a broader South African nationalism, while recognising ethnic realities and where necessary allowing for their expression through strong regional government as well as a permissive language and cultural policy (something which all the Convention for a Democratic South Africa parties now acknowledge).

For the rest of the world, the problem may be even harder to solve. No doubt there is a positive side in the fact that people all over the world are responding to the imposition of a world cultural and economic system by finding meaning in smaller units, older values and in their own communities. But this should not be overstated. There is no guarantee that the impulse to separate will dissipate, or that once the balkanisation is complete there will be a coming together.

Unless there is rapid economic growth (and in most of Eastern Europe and Africa the prospects are bleak), tribal and ethnic chauvinism may be here to stay as dominant features of the 1990s — along with religious fundamentalism, Aids, drought and famine, the depleted ozone layer, the greenhouse effect, and the rest.

New body to give chiefs voice at Codesa

South 4/4 - 9/4/92

101

By Eric Naki

CONSERVATIVE chiefs from Ciskei and Transkei opposed to the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa) are to set up a non-political association.

A "unanimous" decision to establish the new body was taken at a meeting in the House of Assembly from the Ciskei Council of State.

More than 200 Ciskeian chiefs, councillors and headmen attended the "fruitful discussions permeated by a spirit of goodwill and oneness", it said.

The 16-person delegation from the Transkei Traditional Leaders Association (TTLA) was led by their president, Chief GSK Nota.

The association said the purpose of its visit to Ciskei had been to forge unity between the two homelands and to encourage Ciskei's chiefs to form a non-political association.

Once formed, the association for chiefs and paramount chiefs or kings, it said.

"It is inconceivable that Codesa can decide on the land, subjects and rights of traditional leaders without involving them," said the statement.

The TTLA has in the past voiced opposition to unification with Contralesa on the grounds that the latter was a South African body with little support in Transkei.

Contralesa in turn called the TTLA a "puppet organisation" consisting of conservative chiefs who supported the homeland system.

The Bisho meeting delegated ister of Manpower, to meet paramount chief King Maxhoba Sandile and ask him to convene a meeting to decide on the formation of a non-political association for Ciskei's traditional leaders.

— **Elnews**

Three back federal system (101)

A FEDERAL system of government would be the only guarantee for future stability, peace and prosperity in a new South Africa, the leaders of Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu and Ciskei said this week after meeting in Mmabatho. C\P.ens\4\92

Traditional leaders seek Codesa status

JOHANNESBURG — Traditional leaders said yesterday that they would form a political party if they were not granted full participatory status at Codesa.

CT 13/4/92

The president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), Mr Sanco Patekile Holomisa, said the role and status of traditional leaders had to be spelt out in a future constitutional dispensation For that reason it was important for the leaders to have participatory status at Codesa. — Sapa

3 TBVC states say no to poll

THREE of the four independent homelands yesterday objected to the Government's insistence that they hold referendums to test the will of their people regarding reincorporation.

Codesa delegates representing Transkei, Venda and Ciskei said such a move was unnecessary. Bophuthatswana said it would reconsider its position later.

In response to a request by the Working Group 4, the Government said the right to choose whether to reincorporate under the present or transitional or final constitution remained that of the government and the people of each of the independent homelands.

TBVC reincorporation split

BIDay 22/4/92

PATRICK BULGER

THE reincorporation of the TBVC states ran into further complications at Codesa yesterday when the SA government said it would insist on the homelands testing the will of their populations before they could become part of SA again. (101)

Government's position was spelled out in a position paper submitted to Codesa working group four yesterday. It was accompanied by position papers from the TBVC states — two of which indicated they would attempt to seek reincorporation without conducting referendums.

"The views of the people of the TBVC states on (reincorporation) must be tested democratically in a free, fair and meaningful process before reincorporation can be decided upon," the SA government said. While it did not object to reincorporation, government would not "exert any pressure on, or agree to any railroading of, any state and its people to choose either reincorporation or the retention of the status quo or any other constitutional alternative".

It said if reincorporation was decided upon, it would enter bilateral negotiations with the TBVC governments to end independent sovereignty, transfer governmental functions and restore citizenship.

Of the TBVC governments, only Bophuthatswana came out clearly in favour of a referendum.

It rejected compromising its independence to participate in interim government arrangements and said all existing bilateral and multilateral arrangments should continue. "Bophuthatswana will not give up its sovereign and independent status until sufficient information about a future constitution and the will of its people has been thoroughly tested."

Ciskei said it would not be able to take part in an interim government of another state, namely SA. Reincorporation could come only when the new SA took shape and "the people of Ciskei know what they are going to rejoin . . . the citizens of the Ciskei must make such an informed decision at free and fair elections in a climate conducive to peaceful political activity".

Both the Transkei and Venda governments said they wanted reincorporation without testing the will of their citizens.

Issue of leaders unresolved

STAR 22/4/92 (101)

Political Reporter

The thorny issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders at Codesa had not yet been finally resolved, management chairman Pravin Gordhan said yesterday.

The chairman of the subcommittee investigating their participation, the Reverend T J Mohapi, however, earlier said a "tentative" agreement had been reached.

A major stumbling block for the continued participation of the IFP would be removed if the management committee ratified the subcommittee's proposal that the king and traditional leaders could take part in Codesa.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will take part only if King Goodwill Zwelithini is given the same status as other Codesa participants.

The tentative agreement was that the Zulu king and traditional leaders would be admitted as full participants on a provincial basis.

Each province would be able to send 12 delegates and five advisers, said Mr Mohapi.

Homelands become area of disagreement

STAR 22/4/92

(101)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A third major area of disagreement has erupted at Codesa — testing the will of homeland citizens on their reincorporation into South Africa.

Three of the four homelands yesterday told Codesa they were in favour of reincorporation but did not believe it was necessary to determine this by holding a referendum.

The Government said the views of homeland citizens needed to be tested democratically before reincorporation could be decided upon.

"While the South African Government has no objection to negotiate the reincorporation of any of the states, it will not exert any pressure on, or agree to any railroading of, any state and its people to choose either reincorporation or the retention of the status quo or any other constitutional alternative," the Government told the Codesa working group dealing with the future of the TBVC states.

A government source said race and ethnicity would not play a role in a referendum to test the will of homeland citizens, but votes would be counted separately on the basis of citizenship.

The Transkei Government delegation, who initially were in favour of testing the will of its citizens regarding reincorporation, said a meeting of 159 Transkei organisations "overwhelmingly" resolved on April 13 that "a referendum was no longer a requirement for the Transkei to join the new apartheid-free South Africa".

"Transkeians want restoration of their South African citizenship which they claim was taken away from them without consultation," the delegation said.

The position was supported by the Ciskei Government delegation who said it was "convinced that this course offered the best opportunity for a stable and sound economic development for the Ciskeian people and that it would not be necessary to hold a referendum amongst the Ciskeian people to confirm this course of action".

The Government source said yesterday that homelands wishing to take part in transitional arrangements had to forfeit their sovereignity and become self-governing territories.

The Venda Government told the working group that there was no reason to "descale" into a national state before participating in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

A second impasse exists in the working group dealing with transitional arrangements where the ANC and Government disagree on the powers of the transitional executive structure.

The ANC has proposed an Interim Government Council with executive powers to oversee the tricameral Parliament and National Party Cabinet.

However, the Government has proposed several Preparatory Councils with advisory powers.

A specially appointed technical committee has been appointed by the working group to find a way out of the impasse. Members of the committee would not comment after its meeting yesterday except to say progress had been made.

The working group on constitutional principles yesterday disagreed on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed. The working group asked its steering committee to narrow the gap between different proposals.

The Government and ANC both agree on the need for an elected body to draft the new constitution. The ANC has proposed an elected constituent assembly and the Government has proposed a two chamber Parliament. The IFP, however, wants a Codesa-appointed convention to draft the constitution.

of those schemes established before the promulgation of the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, 1988 (Act No 65 of 1988), with the exclusion of housing development schemes conducted as a sectional title development scheme or as a share block scheme.

(a) Separate acts apply to sectional title development schemes and share block schemes. The inclusion of these schemes under the said regulations would have resulted in two different acts applying to one scheme, which could have confused the issue.

(b) The control of sectional title development schemes and share block schemes is regulated by the Sectional Titles Act, 1986 (Act 95 of 1986) and by the Share Blocks Control Act, 1980 (Act 59 of 1980) respectively. Both acts mentioned provide for the control of the operation of the schemes in terms of these acts

(2) No, a statement is not anticipated as the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, 1988, and the regulations promulgated in terms thereof are under continuous scrutiny, to establish possible amendments if necessary.

New questions

Assistance to Bophuthatswana

*1. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether, with reference to the reply by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs to Question No 153 on 24 March 1992, any additional specific assistance was given to Bophuthatswana in the 1991-92 financial year; if so, what assistance?

B476E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

Yes.

A *Direct financial assistance*

Budgetary aid	R881 572 000
Incentive scheme for industries	23 044 857
	R904 616 857

B. *Transfer payments*

Tax compensation	R116 324 000
Customs-union share	868 411 000
Common monetary area	17 418 267
	R1 002 153 267

C *Loans from the RSA* (Project aid)

Border posts	R34 026
Community classrooms	1 315 460
Temba cell blocks	148 488
Thaba'nchu Magistrate Offices	1 166 734
Bophelong Hospital (X-ray unit)	330 738
Supreme court: Mmabatho	4 609 097
Police housing	338 355
Odi Prison agriculture project	49 358
Mmabatho medical store	390 186
Police stations	7 420 886

Winterveld (Grants)

Mabopane housing	R6 033 713
Clinics	116 873
Schools	1 540 450
Thaba'nchu Manpower centre	5 316 593
Kgomotso Police station and housing	3 220 275
Police riot control	1 810 745
	R33 841 977

D. *Technical and other assistance**

Manpower provision	R17 631 367
Technical assistance	3 737 453
Salaries of Judges	504 280
	R21 873 100

* No financial transfers in respect of item D were directly made to Bophuthatswana.

Grand Total	R1 962 485 201

I observe that the hon member's question only deals with Bophuthatswana, but would nevertheless like to add that similar assistance was also rendered to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda as follows:

Transkei: R2 492 742 801

Venda: R743 854 601
Ciskei: R1 114 724 747

All figures are unaudited.

White municipal elections: announcement

*2. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether, at a meeting of the United Municipal Executive in Cape Town on or about 19 March 1992, he made an announcement to the effect that no more White municipal elections would be held in future; if so,

(2) whether the announcement also refers to and includes by-elections;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B480E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes.

(2) No.

(3) No. A comprehensive statement was issued after the conclusion of the meeting of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs on 27 March 1992.

SA officials deseconded: TBVC states

*3 Adv S C JACOBS asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether any South African officials in the TBVC states were deseconded during the past three months; if so, (a) what are the relevant details and (b) for what reasons were they deseconded;

(2) whether the TBVC state concerned was consulted beforehand in the matter in each case; if not, why not; if so, what was the attitude of that state in each case?

B481E

†The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes.

The South African officials which were deseconded during the last three months as at 31 March 1992 in the TBVC-states together with the reasons for desecondment, are set out in the following schedule:

State	*Post*	*Reasons for desecondment*
Transkei	State Advocate	At own request
Bophuthatswana	Senior State Law Adviser	Promotion to RSA Home Department
	Assistant Chief Auditor	At own request
	Magistrate	At own request
Venda	Teacher· Head of Department	At own request
	Teacher	Voluntary resignation
	Teacher	Afrikaans is no longer offered as a subject at this school
	Artisan	At own request
	Artisan	Misconduct
Ciskei	Senior Customs and excise officer	Withdrawn by Home Department
	2 Assistant Control Officers	At own request
	Senior Specialist	Voluntary resignation
	Deputy Chief Engineer	Voluntary resignation
	Artisan Instructor	Voluntary resignation

(2) Yes.

The need for continous secondment and/or withdrawal without replacement, as well as the abolishment of posts, was cleared with the relevant TBVC state.

†Mr T LANGLEY· Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to know from him if the South African departments from which the officials concerned have been seconded, were consulted before the desecondment of these officials.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have replied to the question as put to me. If the hon member wishes to put consequential questions at a later stage, I am happy to reply to them. [Interjec-

cont—p

tions.] I shall have to determine if that is the case As indicated on the Question Paper, that question has not been put to me, therefore I do not have the reply to hand. [Interjections.]

†Mr T LANGLEY Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, what is the total number of persons who—as far as the Boputhatswana part of the reply is concerned—have been deseconded during the past three months?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, if you will just give me a minute, I shall count them quickly. [Interjections.] I count round about 14. [Interjections.]

Customs post: Beit Bridge

*4 Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Public Works †

(1) What is the condition of the buildings and facilities of the customs post at Beit Bridge;

(2) whether his Department intends attending to these buildings and facilities; if not, why not; if so, (a) what is envisaged in this regard and (b) when is it expected that the work will be (i) commenced and (ii) completed?

B482E

†The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

(1) In a fair condition but inadequate.

(2) Yes

(a) The extension and upgrading of the existing buildings and facilities *Longer term planning of additional facilities is also being attended to.*

(b) (i) Planning is already in progress and if the funds are available it is anticipated that the execution of the work will begin early in 1993. *It will only be possible to determine commencement of the additional facilities stated in (a) once planning has been completed*

(ii) *It is anticipated that the extension and upgrading of the existing buildings and facilities will be completed during the second half of 1994*

†Mr T LANGLEY Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, I want to put it to him that his department was either caught unawares as a result of the traffic between South Africa and Zimbabwe or else there was for a very long time absolute carelessness about the customs facilities at that customs point. [Interjections.]

†The MINISTER Mr Chairman, the person who put the question made a point and a statement. He did not put a question to which I wish to reply, other than to say I believe the hon member made representations about this on previous occasions and I assume that the department has definitely reacted to that.

Business interrupted in accordance with Rule 180C(3) of the Standing Rules of Parliament

Beit Bridge customs post: facilities

*5. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Home Affairs †

(1) Whether he recently took or intends taking any action with regard to the facilities available to officials of his Department at the customs post at Beit Bridge, if not, why not; if so, (a) what action, (b) when and (c) for what reasons.

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B483E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2)

The provision, expansion and improvement of official accommodation and facilities for office and housing purposes rest with the Department of Public Works. Official accommodation and facilities are however provided, expanded or improved in consultation with the Government Departments which have to utilize which accommodation and facilities.

Since August 1990 an extensive investigation by my Department, in conjunction with the Department of Public Works, has been launched into all official accommodation and facilities at Beit Bridge, as far as the utilization thereof by officials of my Department is concerned, as the existing accommodation and facilities are inadequate.

The planning for the expansion and upgrading

of the existing accommodation and facilities will be ready this year for the invitation of tenders

In the light of the ever-growing border traffic the situation at Beit Bridge is being monitored on a continuous basis in order to counter disruption of the public and officials as far as possible However, the crux of the problem lies in the expansion of the physical facilities which is already being addressed interdepartmentally.

Grand Prix motor race: contribution to sponsorship

*6 Mr A A B BRUWER asked the Minister of National Education:†

Whether the Government contributed directly or indirectly to the sponsorship of the recent Grand Prix motor race, if not, why not, if so, (a) for what reasons and (b) what was the (i) nature and (ii) extent of the Government's contribution?

B484E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Yes The Government contributed indirectly to the 1992 Grand Prix motor race.

(a) Section 18B of the Income Tax Act was introduced on 1986-06-01 with the purpose of encouraging private sponsors to financially support international cultural, sporting and educational events that are held in South Africa This incentive measure, which was made available in terms of section 18B, is known as a sponsorship allowance and contains specific tax benefits. In the mean time it has been recommended that the provisions of section 18B of the Income Tax Act should be withdrawn.

(b) (i) The Government made an indirect contribution to the project through revenue forgone to the benefit of the sponsor company

(ii) The audited statement of the event is still being awaited in order to enable the Commissioner of Inland Revenue to calculate the total revenue forgone

SADF employed to build road: Sekhukhuneland area

*7. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Defence

Whether any members of the South African Defence Force were employed to build a road and erect tents in the Sekhukhuneland area towards the end of 1991 for the wedding of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what is the name of this person, (b)(i) how many members of the Defence Force were involved and (ii) for what reasons were they employed in this manner and (c) what was the total cost involved?

B487E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE

Yes, to erect six tents only

(a) The name supplied by the hon member

(b) (i) 8

(ii) As a gesture of goodwill

(c) None

Black town councillors: resignations

*8. Mr J CHIOLE asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:†

(1) How many Black town councillors resigned in the (a) Transvaal and (b) Orange Free State from 1 February 1991 up to 31 January 1992;

(2) whether any elections took place in (a) the wards concerned and (b) all the other vacant wards during this period; if not, why not;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B488E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) (a) 11

(b) 42

(2) (a) Transvaal—No

Orange Free State—Yes, in three wards.

TBVC homelands: All could decide

Sowetan 23/4/92

101

By IKE MOTSAPI

WHITE South Africans and their black countrymen may have to join hands in a referendum to decide whether the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa.

This was said by a senior Government official during a Press briefing on developments at the Codesa Working Group 4, charged with investigating the future of Transkei, Bophutha-tswana, Venda and Ciskei.

The date for such a referendum will be set in due course. The official, who declined to be identified, said the Government was right in insisting that the people of the TBVC states should show by way of a referendum that they wanted to be South African citizens again.

The Government was acting according to the rules and terms of reference agreed upon and adopted during Codesa 1 by all the 19 delegates.

He said the referendum would, however, involve "all people of South Africa irrespective of their race, colour or creed" who have to indicate whether they wanted these homelands to be reincorporated to South Africa.

"Every South African will now have to use his or her right to vote this time. It is true that whites and some blacks were not involved when homelands were created."

"Those were the days of apartheid. We are now work-

No need for polls on reincorporation — ANC

BID Cuy 23/4/92 PATRICK BULGER (101)

IT WAS not necessary for the TBVC states to conduct referendums on reincorporation as the SA government was insisting, the ANC said yesterday.

In a position paper tabled at working group four on the reincorporation of the TBVC states, the ANC said government's proposals on reincorporation were meant to exclude citizens of those states from the constitutional transition taking place in SA.

The ANC said it wanted the restoration of SA citizenship to TBVC citizens, the participation of TBVC governments in interim arrangements, identification of the stage at which legal reincorporation takes place and bilateral negotiations on legislation and financial arrangements.

Government on Monday submitted that the will of the people of the TBVC states should be tested and that reincorporation and citizenship be negotiated bilaterally between the SA government and the TBVC states.

Transkei and Venda say referendums are not necessary, while Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei want to wait until a new constitution has been negotiated before committing themselves.

The ANC accused the SA government of trying to delay negotiations and of ignoring the declaration of intent providing for "an undivided SA with one nation sharing one citizenship".

"The ANC rejects the contention of the SA government that the words 'united' and 'undivided' referred to in the declaration of intent exclude the TBVC states and that united SA only refers to the four existing provinces of the RSA," the ANC's submission said. The ANC said government had already agreed that the people of the TBVC states participate in drawing up a new constitution.

"It appears that the demand that each of the TBVC states embark on the process of testing the will of its people is designed to frustrate, if not to deprive, these people of the right to participate in all the transitional and constitutional processes," the ANC said.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at government's weekly Codesa briefing that the governments of the TBVC states could not remain independent and take part in an interim government in SA.

Crunch time for homelands

(101) STAR 23/4/92

By Esther Waugh

Codesa delegates will on Monday try to resolve a deadlock on the future of the homelands after consulting with their leaders on whether the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation should be tested.

Should Monday's crucial attempt fail, the matter will be referred to the Codesa management committee, and if all attempts to break the deadlock falter, the future of the homelands will appear as an unresolved issue on the agenda of Codesa 2, a Government source said yesterday.

The main dispute in the working group dealing with the future of the homelands is whether a national refereundum should be held to, firstly, test the will of TBVC citizens on reincorporation and, secondly, to determine whether South African citizens favoured reincorporation.

Three of the four homelands — Transkei, Ciskei and Venda — told Codesa on Tuesday that they were in favour of reincorporation but did not consider a referendum necessary.

The Government said the will of these citizens should first be democratically tested.

The ANC has rejected the Government's proposal: "The SA Government is asking Codesa to put the stand of legitimacy on a system that stands condemned by the entire international community."

The ANC proposed that Codesa 2 agreements should provide for the immediate restoration of South African citizenship to all homeland citizens.

The ANC identified the following steps as being part of the process of reincorporation:

- The immediate restoration of citizenship to homeland citizens.
- The participation of the homelands in transitional arrangements.
- Identifying the stage at which legal reincorporation should take place.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs.

Redundant members of staff: South African universities

195. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

With reference to some members of the academic staff of certain South African universities who are deemed to be redundant owing to the closure of certain departments at such universities, what are the terms relating to (a) their severance pay, (b) the *pro rata* payment of (i) pensions and (ii) gratuities and (c) any lump sum payments? B448E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(a) Universities are autonomous and their respective councils determine their own service conditions for their personnel. Terms relating to their severance pay and/or lump sum payments are therefore determined domestically by each respective council.

(b) (i) The payment of pension and gratuities is calculated according to the number of years service and the age of academic personnel, as determined in the Regulation promulgated under the Associated Institutions Pensions Fund Act, 1963,which is administered by the Department of Finance.

(ii) See (b)(i) above.

(c) See (a) above.

Black medical students

198. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Education:

How many Black students were studying in each medical discipline at each medical school in South Africa as at the latest specified date for which information is available? B453E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

The table below indicates a headcount taken in 1990 of all Black students enrolled at Universities with medical schools

	Medicine/ surgery
University of Cape Town	60
Medical University of Southern Africa	686
University of Natal	288
University of Pretoria	0
University of the Witwatersrand	163
University of Stellenbosch	0
University of the Orange Free State	5
Total	1 202

SA citizenship regained: Blacks

220. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) How many Blacks in each independent Black state regained their South African citizenship in 1991 in terms of the provisions of the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, No 13 of 1978;

(2) whether any applications were refused, if so, (a) how many from each state, and (b) why, in each case? B499E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) Owing to the provisions of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), which came into effect on 1 July 1986, no Black of any of the independent states applied in terms of section 3 of the National States Citizenship Act, 1970 (Act 26 of 1970), as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978 (Act 13 of 1978), for South African citizenship during 1991.

(2) (a) and (b) Fall away.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Applications for identity permits: referendum

2. Mr M A HENDRICKSE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(a) How many persons were issued with South African identity documents subsequent to the repeal of the Population Registration Act, No 30 of 1950, (b)(i) how many such persons (aa) applied for and (bb) were issued with identity permits for the purpose of voting in the referendum on 17 March 1992 and (ii) how many of the applications for such permits were refused and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished? C4E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(a) Since the repeal of the Population Registration Act, 1950 (Act No 30 of 1950), the following numbers of identity documents have been issued:

first issues to South African citizens:	239 774
first issues to persons who are not South African citizens:	8 622
re-issues to the afore-mentioned categories of persons:	561 487
Total	809 883

(b) (i) (aa) It is not possible to determine how many temporary identity certificates had been issued to persons referred to in paragraph (a) as statistics are not kept on such a basis.

(bb) and (b)(ii) Fall away.

(c) 29 February 1992.

Homeland voters the prize in Codesa battle over reincorporation

ABOUT 5-million voters — most of them likely ANC supporters — were the subject of an intense battle in Codesa on the future of the TBVC states, Codesa sources said yesterday.

Reincorporation, and especially the date on which it takes place, could crucially affect the final tally of voters in elections for an interim government and an elected constitution-making body.

About 17-million voters — excluding TBVC citizens — would be eligible to vote, according to population studies.

If the four nominally independent states decided to reincorporate, their citizens would be eligible to vote in any national election in SA. However, should they not be reincorporated, their citizens would be given no say in SA's constitutional affairs.

This would decrease the ANC's chances of obtaining the two-thirds majority Codesa participants agree will be necessary to dominate constitutional negotiations.

The ANC, whose Border region is the organisation's biggest but whose members are mostly citizens of the Ciskei, stands to lose the most by the exclusion of TBVC citizens. It wants an immediate restoration of SA citizenship followed by reincorporation.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC chief negotiator on the TBVC issue Matthews Phosa said yesterday the ANC would not agree to an election excluding TBVC citizens.

The SA government is on record as demanding at Codesa that reincorporation takes place before TBVC citizens can vote in SA.

TBVC leaders had been given the option of reincorporating now and giving up their status and perks but they were refusing to take up the option, he said.

The ANC has proposed to Codesa that the SA citizenship of TBVC citizens be restored en bloc. However, the ANC is understood to want the present TBVC administrations to remain in place and has found common cause with Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa on the issue.

Both favour an eastern Cape region that would in effect be a greater Xhosa state incorporating Transkei, Ciskei, Border and East Griqualand.

SA government sources believe the ANC and Holomisa's about-face on testing the will of the people on reincorporation may be an attempt to secure the region as a de facto geographical entity, ensure Transkeians a vote in SA and retain an ANC-friendly administration in Umtata.

Venda has indicated it is prepared to reincorporate without a referendum. Ciskei wants to hold a referendum and Bophuthatswana wants to be involved in negotiations but not in an interim government. Once a new constitution has been negotiated, Bophuthatswana will ask its people to decide on reincorporation.

'TBVC states costly'

(101)

Cipres 26/4/92

CODESA Working Group 4 had deadlocked on the question of testing the will of the people on the incorporation of the TBVC states, according to the DP's Peter Soal.

Speaking in Parliament on Friday during debate on the Foreign Affairs' budget vote, the Johannesburg North MP said it was a pity the view of the people involved had not been tested democratically before so-called independence was foisted on them.

He said the South African government had supplied R1,9-billion to Bophathutswana alone in the last financial year.

"Let us get rid of the albatross of the TBVC states and reach out for our neighbours where we can play a significant role which will benefit not only our people, but the people of this subcontinent," he said. — Sapa

ANC suggests plan to air Codesa sessions

THE activities of Codesa could be aired in homes across the country if "Codesa, the Radio Show" comes to fruition.

The ANC has suggested that a Voice of Codesa radio programme be introduced on a station broadcasting in most areas of SA and the TBVC states.

The proposal was made in Codesa's working group 4 dealing with reincorporation of the TBVC states, and the ANC says the idea is in line with the working group's brief to consider strategies to keep people of the TBVC states fully informed "and especially to avoid misunderstandings".

Sunday 27/4/92

PATRICK BULGER

"The ANC proposes that immediate steps be taken in this regard, for example a Voice of Codesa and the issue of a weekly publication for distribution to the TBVC states," an ANC submission to the working group said.

ANC negotiator Matthews Phosa said at the weekend the proposal was being considered but seemed an ideal way to keep the public informed of Codesa decisions.

Working group participants have given an undertaking not to talk to the media about matters arising from their discussions.

Only the management committee, which accepts or rejects proposals, is empowered to speak to the media and does so at the end of each weekly session.

This secrecy has irritated some participants, who argue that matters of national interest should be in the public domain. They are concerned that should Codesa continue to operate in secrecy its decisions will gain limited acceptance from the public.

● See Page 2

cal
pil-
and
en-

fa-
y if
3%
the
to
ng.

Concern over HSRC accounts

B Day 28/4/92

CAPE TOWN — The accounts of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), which employed capital of R106,7m and had an income of R95,3m in the 1990/91 financial year, have been strongly criticised by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley.

The council said in its annual report, which was released yesterday, that it had made adjustments, which were "at times dramatic and traumatic", and these changes would continue to intensify the impact of its activities.

In his report on the HSRC accounts, Wronsley withheld his audit opinion on the 1990/91 financial statements.

He said: "Due to deficiencies in the accounting systems, the systems of internal checking and control, the application of certain accounting principles as well as the potential actual effect of these deficiencies and shortcomings on the assets, income and expenditure as reflected in the financial statements, I am not able to express an opinion regarding the fair representation of the council as at 31 March 1991 and the results of its operations for the year ended."

Wronsley gave no further details, but his criticisms are bound to be raised in the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Public Accounts.

Political Staff

During the year, the HSRC received a parliamentary grant of R71,1 million, a 10,7% increase over the previous one.

Its self-generated income increased by 16,1% and its total expenditure from R79,7m to R89,2m.

HSRC president Dr Tjaart van der Walt said the increase in the council's financial transactions had placed an unprecedented burden on computer systems and personnel.

Special consultants were commissioned to conduct in-depth investigations and a plan to rectify internal control shortcomings was already under way, he said.

In his report, HSRC chairman Prof J P de Lange said the process of democratisation and the opening up of South African society had strengthened and accelerated the adjustment process within the council.

"If the HSRC is to be increasingly at the service of more communities and people, adjustments and changes are not only appropriate but also essential.

"That is why this process will continue," De Lange said.

During 1991, the number of HSRC personnel was reduced from 900 to 859 and five activities were transferred to other bodies.

Report 'a basis for consensus'

B/Day 28/4/92

THE members of Codesa's working group 4, sitting on the issue of the future of the TBVC states, yesterday submitted a report they hoped would provide a basis for consensus in the deeply divided group.

It recommended TBVC governments be allowed to determine whether their people wanted reincorporation.

SA had left it to the four territories' governments to decide whether they wanted constitutional independence, so "it would be constitutionally anomalous for the SA government to decide what the people of the TBVC states really want, to attempt to implement or monitor any testing of the wishes of the people in an independent state or to decide how their wishes should be established", the report said.

A decision by the Transkei, Venda, Ciskei and the ANC/SACP axis that a referendum on the issue of reincorporation caused a deadlock in the working group.

The proposal could be accepted only if all parties were prepared to modify their positions.

It would be logical to restore SA citizenship to TBVC citizens. This would allow the people concerned to participate in the constitution-making process and in transitional arrangements. A constitution-making body would then be elected by all SA citizens, including TBVC citizens. — Sapa.

FW clears air over proposals

Sowetan 28/4/92

STATE President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday met three leaders of self-governing states for talks to clear up misunderstandings of the Government's views and constitutional proposals.

The talks were attended by KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei.

Dc Klerk decribed the talks as "productive".

He said "perceived and real misunderstandings" had been removed.

"On the broad principles, there were no fundamental differences between the South African Government and the three delegations," De Klerk said.

A joint statement said the three men had gone to the State President because of concerns that if progress was to be madc, "we must take our people along with us.

"We necd to talk and listen to our constituencies to find the deepest consensus, the very essence of Codesa."

De Klerk said the meeting was important in that it clarified perceived differences. The delegations had spoken out clearly about important arguments which needed the attention.

"We also focused on violence and the problem of private armies for political parties.

"Thc air was cleared and we exchanged views on fundamental aspccts of problcms in the country.

"This will contribute to greater understanding and enable us to reach broader agreement in the negotiation process." he said. -*Sapa.*

The king and Codesa debate still rages

wlmail 30/4 - 7/5/92

By PAUL STOBER

AN agreement in principle, allowing the Zulu king and other traditional leaders to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, has not brought the negotiating parties any closer to consensus on the issue.

Despite the apparent importance of the agreement, the main parties remain divided about exactly what form the participation of the traditional leaders will take. Without this, said Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Frank Mdlalose, the agreement "does not mean much".

Mdlalose warned that nothing less than full participation for the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, would satisfy the IFP. "We want full participation, not half measures," he said.

He indicated that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has refused to attend Codesa until the Zulu king is accorded full status, would not review his decision in the light of the latest agreement.

The agreement does not represent any change in the position of the African National Congress. The organisation is not opposed to the participation of the king at Codesa but has continually refused to consider granting him any special status at the negotiating forum.

According to sources at Codesa, the ANC is determined to prevent the king being able to block "sufficient consensus", the basis on which Codesa reaches decisions.

This effectively means it will not agree to full participation for the king and traditional leaders.

According to Codesa management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan, "because of limited time the management committee was not able to arrive at a final decision on the form of participation".

In a statement released at a press conference, the management committee outlined the different forms of participation for traditional leaders under consideration. These include: full participation for delegations at all levels of Codesa; full participation at the plenary sessions of Codesa and the right to participate in the working groups on issues affecting traditional leaders; or being granted full participation but not being counted as part of the majority required for reaching sufficient consensus.

The management committee is expected to reach a decision on the form of participation at its next meeting on Monday May 4.

The committee has agreed there is no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

The leaders will be represented by one delegation from each of the four provinces with each delegation consisting of 12 delegates and five advisers.

In Natal, there is one major traditional leader — King Goodwill. Delegates of traditional leaders from other provinces, for example the Transvaal, will be divided amongst the traditional leaders of the homelands and self-governing territories.

King Goodwill Zwelithini

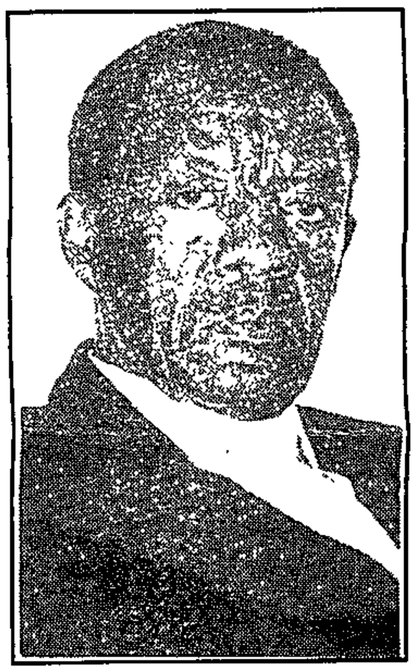
Reincorporation: How close?

101

Sowetan 11/5/92

OUPA GQOZO

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



LUCAS MANGOPE

AT Codesa last week, management committee chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan announced with palpable relief that a "breakthrough" had been achieved on the fraught question of the reincorporation of the "homelands" into the future South Africa.

Sowetan Correspondent

One doesn't begrudge Gordhan his enthusiasm - the poor man has had precious little substantive progress to report from Codesa of late - but it would be wise to treat this latest statement with a measure of caution.

Agreement

There is principled (for which read abstract) agreement from the leaders of the "independent" and "self-governing" states that reincorporation might be the best option for their territories.

More importantly, there is an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of these electorates on the question of reincorporation at the same time as they vote in an all-in national election.

But there is not agreement on how such reincorporation should occur.

Difficult

To get a sense of how difficult a question this is, and will be, one need only consider the contents of a document presented by three "homeland" leaders to State President FW de Klerk recently.

When the unlikely grouping of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo met De Klerk at Tuynhuys, they delivered a blunt message - the echoes of which could reverberate for some time to come in South Africa's negotiating chambers.

Clearly alarmed by the speed at which the transition towards a new central Government is proceeding, the three warned the President that the powers of the peripheries (particularly the "independent" and "self-governing" states) would have to be defined and accepted before the shape of the centre (a new Government for a reunified South Africa) could even be discussed.

This is more than just a technical nicety. It is a political platform which, if successfully promoted, could well dictate the pace of political and constitutional change.

Confidential

In a confidential 16-page document presented to De Klerk by Buthelezi on behalf of the three leaders, it is argued that the new regional or "state" boundaries within South Africa should be formalised and constituted before the setting up of an interim government or parliament.

To this end, the three leaders concur, it might be necessary to conclude processes of negotiation within these "states", which would then come together to negotiate a federal arrangement - not the other way around.

Radical

This is a radical proposal. It implies that the redivision of South Africa, involving some sort of patching together into new units of the myriad extant bases of provinces, homelands, development regions and the like would take place before all-in elections.

The submission, which is couched in broad terms, does not spell out how such new divisions would be arrived at, save to suggest that this is a matter for negotiation.

In separate discussions, Inkatha Freedom Party officials have given as an example the possibility of unity negotiations between the Bophuthatswana government and authorities in the surrounding (white-run) regions.

Decisions

The document argues that it is now "imperative to arrive at definite decisions with regard to the boundaries, powers, legislative and governmental structures of the states, and to constitute these first before any progress can be made on the setting up of an interim government".

An "enabling Act" would be required, to provide for the formation of constituent state legislators and governments.

At the core of this reasoning is a renewed insistence that "in the drafting of any future constitution, provisions concerning the position of the TBVC states will need to recognise their independence, allowing these states to decide for themselves whether they wish to retain their independence or, alternatively, in what manner they wish to be reincorporated back into South Africa".

This statement - which is strongly presented as the "only democratic option available providing the right of a people to self-determination and for the recognition of vested rights" - is in obvious, and fundamental, conflict with the contention of groups such as the ANC, which hold that the "homelands" are cynical inventions of apartheid and should enjoy no such status.

The submission by the Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo axis is the most comprehensive and firm rejection to date of the "drive for a popularly elected assembly, whether it be a unicameral constituent assembly as proposed by the ANC, or a bicameral interim parliament as proposed by the South African Government".

Running throughout the document is a deep fear of "majoritarian power" - in other words, the three leaders are mounting a campaign to ensure that they can exercise influence before the national electorate is tested and pronounces on which parties enjoy the most support.

> **'... an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of electorates ...'**

Pessimistic

The document also sounds a pessimistic note regarding the possibility of holding timeously a free and fair national election. The implication is that South Africa is "not ready" for its first exercise in full democracy.

"It is (at local, metropolitan and regional/state government level) that it should be decided what powers states should be prepared to devolve to a central government," the document says.

Expectations

In the light of high expectations about broad-based agreement on the installation of an interim or transitional government in South Africa before the end of the year, this authoritative glimpse into the thinking of the three "homeland" leaders suggests that caution might be appropriate.

It is difficult to reconcile this vision with that of the other key actors.

The more conservative "homeland" leaders have sounded their warning to De Klerk. It remains to be seen whether they have the power to act upon it, and thereby bend the negotiations process to their will.

Traditional leaders for Codesa (101)

THE Zulu King and traditional leaders will be allowed to participate in Codesa.

But IFP chairman Frank Mdlalose said it was meaningless as it had not yet been decided whether they would have full participation.

Codesa management committee chairman Previn Gordhan said on Tuesday: "The management committee has agreed in principle to the participation of the Zulu King and traditional leaders ... but ... was not able to come to a decision on the form of participation." C/Pren 31/5/92

were arrested for committing further crimes. The Department is not aware of any further cases which allegedly could possibly have been involved in criminal actions.

Thus only 3% of the total of persons placed under correctional supervision up to 31 March 1992 reverted to crime and this testifies to the success of the system of correctional supervision.

On 1 April 1992 facets of correctional supervision as alternative sentence option were extended to the proclaimed magisterial districts and on 8 May 1992 and 1 June 1992 will be further extended to a considerable number of magisterial districts in different regions. It is envisaged that the system should be operative in all magisterial districts in the Republic of South Africa by the end of March 1993

(b) 31 March 1992

Reply substituting reply to Question No 230 on 27 April 1992, put by Mr A Gerber (col 832).

Certain organization: funds raised/financial statements

230 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Health:†

(1) Whether a certain organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of her reply, obtained a fund-raising number from her Department; if so, (a) for what purposes was this number allocated and (b) what is the name of the organization;

(2) whether her Department is exercising any control to ensure that the funds raised are utilized for the above-mentioned purposes by the organization concerned; if not, why not; if so, (a) to what extent and (b) with what result;

(3) whether, in view of certain allegations which are being made in the media in respect of this organization and particulars of which have been furnished to her Department, she intends inquiring or causing such an inquiry to be made into the financial statements of the organization concerned; if not, why not,

(4) whether she will make a statement on the matter? B539E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH

(1) Yes.

(a) to establish a special fund for the making of awards to, or the funding of projects of one or more organizations which, in the Republic of South Africa, including those territories which previously formed part of the Republic of South Africa—

* provide opportunities to people, preferably self-employed or unemployed, in the form of business advice and practical skills-training, or

* provide opportunities in the form of sports training and the provision of better sporting facilities to disadvantaged communities; or

* finance further education in the arts and music among disadvantaged communities; and

which are authorized to collect contributions in terms of the Fund-raising Act, 1978 (Act No 107 of 1978), or organizations approved by the Director of Fund-raising, and

(b) the Ithuba Trust;

(2) yes.

(a) the relevant organization must in terms of the provisions of the Fund-raising Act, 1978, submit annually audited financial statements. On basis of these statements it is determined whether the organization has disposed of the collected contributions in terms of its authorised objectives, and

(b) during the first year (1989/90) of its registration the organization has made a few donations to unregistered organizations, which was not in accordance with its objectives. This matter was rectified after it was discussed with the trustees of the organization. The auditors of the organization also pointed out certain management problems within the organization. These problems were also rectified by trustees after actions were taken by the Director;

(3) no, as indicated at (2)(a) the audited financial statements are checked annually. In terms of the Fund-raising Act, 1978, the Director may further inspect the affairs of any organization if requested thereto by a person and if he is satisfied on the ground of facts declared under oath by such person, that an inspection is necessary or desirable.

Although several allegations were made by the public and in the media against the said organization, no substance for such allegations could be found by the Director;

(4) no

Land bought: Development Trust and Land Act

232 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) What was the total (a) area of land which had been bought in each province in terms of the Development Trust and Land Act No 18 of 1936, as at 31 December 1991 and (b) amount paid for this land;

(2) what area of land (a) was bought in each province in 1991, (b) was added to each self-governing territory and independent Black state in that year and (c) remained to be bought in each province as at 31 December 1991;

(3) (a) what area of land was added to each such territory and independent Black state as compensation for the removal of Black spots, and (b) what was the total area of land held by the South African Development Trust, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available? B541E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) (a)

Transvaal	4 884 310 hectares
Natal	580 579 hectares
Orange Free State	202 407 hectares
Cape	1 551 205 hectares
TOTAL	7 218 501 hectares

(b) R1 367 134 934.

(2) (a)

Transvaal	7 852 hectares
Natal	1 230 hectares
Orange Free State	2 419 hectares
Cape	3 824 hectares
TOTAL	15 335 hectares

(b)

KwaZulu	Nil
Lebowa	Nil
Gazankulu	Nil
KaNgwane	4 946 hectares
KwaNdebele	Nil
Qwaqwa	Nil
Transkei	Nil
Bophuthatswana	32 424 hectares
Venda	Nil
Ciskei	Nil
TOTAL	37 370 hectares

(c) In view of the abolition of the SA Development Trust and the consequent repeal of the provincial land quota by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act, 1991 (Act 108 1991), no land has been acquired within the meaning of the 1936 quota. The areas of land mentioned hereunder must, however, still be acquired in terms of parliamentary and cabinet decisions

Transvaal	5 104 hectares
Natal	5 844 hectares
Orange Free State	Nil
Cape	5 675 hectares
TOTAL	16 623 hectares

(3) (a) The required information is not readily available

(b) As at 1 April 1992
None

Persons under 18 years: prison sentences

237 Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(a) How many persons under the age of 18 years were serving prison sentences on (i) 30 June and (ii) 31 December 1991 and (b) in which prisons were these persons serving sentences? B550F

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(a) (i) 302

(ii) 413

cont →

Codesa settles TBVC issue

CODESA delegations agreed yesterday to unravel grand apartheid, with consensus from all signatories on achieving the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Hailed as a "momentous decision", the agreement substantially concludes the work of one of the five Codesa working groups and marks agreement on an issue considered insoluble only last week.

Only the Bophuthatswana government — which is not a signatory to the Codesa declaration of intent — did not fully participate in the agreement, although it said it had no objection in principle to TBVC reincorporation. BIDay 6/5/92

Last week, the group could not decide whether the will of TBVC residents should be tested before reincorporation.

The issue was imaginatively resolved by deciding that during elections for the proposed transitional government, the votes of people in the TBVC states would effectively be counted separately.

A one-page document released by the

TIM COHEN 101

task group yesterday said: "The participation (of residents) will be arranged in such a way that their votes in a national election shall signify support for or rejection of reincorporation. The results of such an election shall constitute a sufficient test of the will of the people."

Delegates said votes won by political parties that opposed reincorporation would be recorded as anti-reincorporation votes.

ANC delegate Mathew Phosa said the question of what would happen if such a party won majority support in one of the territories was "academic", reflecting the widespread belief that the vast majority of TBVC residents favoured reincorporation.

The task group also agreed that SA citizenship would be restored immediately after elections.

Group chairman Stella Sigcau, a mem-

☐ To Page 2

Codesa

BIDay 6/5/92

ber of the Transkei government delegation, said the past week had been punctuated by "panic" as the group feared it would not be able to report any significant progress at Codesa II.

☐ The ANC and eight other Codesa participants yesterday took strong exception to a 17-page list of allegations released on Monday by the SA government, criticising parties' lack of commitment to creating a climate of peaceful and free participation.

"We have consistently approached the

101 ☐ From Page 1

working group by avoiding reducing it to a forum for allegation and counter allegations," the parties said in a statement.

The parties included the Transkei and Venda governments, the SA Communist Party, the Labour Party and the Natal Indian Congress/Transvaal Indian Congress.

Government's document, released by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, berated the ANC for not committing itself to peaceful negotiations.

Codesa clears hurdle of re-incorporation

STAR 6/5/92

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

In a major breakthrough at Codesa, the serious deadlock over the incorporation of the independent homelands into South Africa was largely resolved yesterday.

But agreement on the critical issues of transitional government continue to elude Codesa and tough bargaining lies ahead in the run-up to Codesa 2.

In the sole breakthrough yesterday, all the Codesa parties, including Bophuthatswana, agreed that they had no objection in principle to the incorporation of the TBVC states.

And a solution was also found for the tough problem of testing whether the TBVC people want re-incorporation into SA.

Codesa's working group four decided that the will of the TBVC people would be tested in national elections for an interim legislature. The votes in this election would be counted in a way that made it possible to determine whether each of the homelands was for or against re-incorporation.

This arrangement satisfied the Government which dropped its previous insistence that the homelands should hold separate referendums to test public opinion.

Government sources were firm that if public opinion in a homeland was against incorporation, it could not go ahead.

Asked whether the ANC would abide by a vote against incorporation, the ANC's Mathew Phosa said the question was academic as it was well known that the majority of people in all homelands were in favour of incorporation.

Working group 4 also made a breakthrough in agreeing that the people of the TBVC states should take part fully in all transitional arrangements, including elections — on the understanding that they would become part of these.

The working group also agreed that SA citizenship would be restored to the citizens of all TBVC states who lost it as a result of independence.

Although Bophuthatswana agreed that it was not opposed to re-incorporation, it reserved its position on the practical implications such as participation by the TBVC states in the transitional government.

Bopthuthatswana government sources said that the homeland did not wish to commit itself to reincorporation until it was clear what the new SA would look like.

Working group four's recommendations will now go to Codesa 2 for ratification.

Yesterday, working group three again failed to reach agreement on the all-important issue of how much power a Codesa-appointed transitional executive should have in the first phase of transition.

The working group issued a discussion paper which showed marginal agreement, but will meet again today to try for compromise on the central issue of power.

Delegations agree on homelands

(101)
CT 6/5/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Codesa delegations yesterday agreed to unravel grand apartheid — with consensus from all signatories on achieving the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Hailed as a "momentous decision", the agreement substantially concludes the work of one of the five Codesa working groups and marks agreement on an issue considered to be unsolvable as recently as last week.

Tested

Only the Bophuthatswana government — which is not a signatory to the Codesa declaration of intent — did not fully participate in the agreement, although it stated that it had no objection in principle to the reincorporation of the TBVC states.

Only last week, the group could not decide whether or not the will of the residents of the TBVC states should be tested before reincorporation.

The issue was imaginatively resolved with the decision that during the elections for the proposed transitional government, the votes of the people of the TBVC states would effectively be counted separately.

According to a one-page document released by the task group yesterday, "the participation (of residents) will be arranged in such a way that their votes in a national election shall signify support for or rejection of reincorporation. The results of such an election shall constitute a sufficient test of the will of the people".

The group also agreed that South African citizenship would be restored to everyone immediately after the elections

Majority

Group chairman Ms Stella Sigcau, a member of the Transkei government delegation, said the past week had been punctuated by "panic" as the group feared it would not be able to report any significant progress at Codesa II.

ANC delegate Mr Mathew Phosa said the question of what would happen if such a party won majority support in one of the territories was "academic", reflecting the widespread belief that the vast majority of residents of TBVC states are pro-reincorporation.

TBVC cart placed before horse

STAR 7/5/92. (101)

AT Codesa this week, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan announced with palpable relief that a "breakthrough" had been achieved on the fraught question of the reincorporation of the "homelands" into the future South Africa.

One doesn't begrudge Mr Gordhan his enthusiasm — the poor man has had precious little substantive progress to report from Codesa of late — but it would be wise to treat this latest statement with a measure of caution.

There is principled (for which read abstract) agreement from the leaders of the "independent" and "self-governing" states that reincorporation might be the best option for their territories. More importantly, there is an ingenious proposal for testing the wishes of these electorates on the question of reincorporation, at the same time as they vote in an all-in national election.

But there is not agreement on how such reincorporation should occur.

To get a sense of how difficult a question this is, and will be, one need only consider the contents of a document presented by three "homeland" leaders to President de Klerk recently.

When the unlikely grouping of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo met Mr de Klerk at Tuynhuys, they delivered a blunt message — the echoes of which could reverberate for some time to come in South Africa's negotiating chambers.

Clearly alarmed by the speed at which the transition towards a new central Government is proceeding, the three warned the President that the powers of the peripheries (particularly the "independent" and "self-governing" states) would have to be defined and accepted before the shape of the centre (a new Government for a reunified South Africa) could even be discussed.

This is more than just a technical nicety. It is a political platform which, if successfully promoted, could well dictate the pace of political and constitutional change.

In a confidential 16-page document presented to Mr de Klerk by Chief Buthelezi on behalf of the three leaders, it is argued that the new regional or "state" boundaries within South Africa should be formalised and constituted *before* the setting up of an interim government or Parliament.

To this end, the three leaders concur, it might be necessary to conclude processes of negotiation within these "states", which would then come together to negotiate a federal arrangement — not the other way around.

This is a radical proposal. It implies that the redivision of South Africa, involving some sort of patching together into new units of the myriad extant bases of provinces, homelands, development regions and the like would take place before all-in elections. The submission, which is couched in broad terms, does not spell out how such new divisions would be arrived at, save to suggest that this is a matter for negotiation.

In separate discussions, Inkatha Freedom Party officials have given as an example the possibility of unity negotiations between the Bophuthatswana government and authorities in the surrounding (white-run) regions.

The document argues that it is now "imperative to arrive at definite decisions with regard to the boundaries, powers, legislative and governmental structures of the states, and to constitute these first before any progress can be made on the setting up of an interim government". An "enabling act" would be required, to provide for the formation of constituent state legislators and goverments.

At the core of this reasoning is a renewed insistence that "in the drafting of any future constitution, provisions concerning the position of the TBVC states will need to recognise their independence, allowing these states to decide for themselves whether they wish to retain their independence or, alternatively, in what manner they wish to be reincorporated back into South Africa".

This statement — which is strongly presented as the "only democratic option available providing the right of a people to self-determination and for the recognition of vested rights" — is in obvious, and fundamental, conflict with the contention of groups such as the ANC, which hold that the "homelands" are cynical inventions of apartheid and should enjoy no such status.

The submission by the Buthelezi/Mangope/Gqozo axis is the most comprehensive and firm rejection to date of the "drive for a popularly elected assembly, whether it be a unicameral constituent assembly as proposed by the ANC, or a bicameral interim parliament as proposed by the South African Government".

Running throughout the document is a deep fear of "majoritarian power" — in other words, the three leaders are mounting a campaign to ensure that they can exercise influence before the national electorate is tested and pronounces on which parties enjoy the most support.

The document also sounds a pessimistic note regarding the possibility of holding timeously a free and fair national election. The implication is that South Africa is "not ready" for its first exercise in full democracy.

"It is (at local, metropolitan and regional/state government level) that it should be decided what powers states should be prepared to devolve to a central government," the document says.

In the light of high expectations about broad-based agreement on the installation of an interim or transitional government in South Africa before the end of the year, this authoritative glimpse into the thinking of the three "homeland" leaders suggests that caution might be appropriate.

It is difficult to reconcile this vision with that of the other key actors. The more conservative "homeland" leaders have sounded their warning to President de Klerk; it remains to be seen whether they have the power to act upon it, and thereby bend the negotiations process to their will. □

■AGREEMENT was reached in working group four, which deals with the future of the TBVC states, that citizens of the homelands would be part of the transitional arrangements. In a creative solution to the problem of testing the will of the citizens in the TBVC states, it was agreed they could vote in the national election for a (101) constituent assembly but their votes would be counted in such a way that the results would indicate whether they were in favour of reincorporation. It was also agreed the TBVC states would be part of the first phase of the transitional arrangements and their South African citizenship would be restored as soon as the elections were complete.

Timed 8:54 4/5/92

Mad, costly dream draws to a close

STAR 11/5/92.

THE most costly political experiment in the non-communist world is about to end. Indications are that the TBVC states, which cost the South African taxpayer a minimum R3,6 billion last year alone, will be reincorporated.

To get this into perspective, consider the Government's tax rake-off from gold mining in a profitable year (such as 1986/87) is only about R3 billion.

In other words, the gold mines might as well not have happened as far as contributing to meeting the normal costs of government is concerned. That is a lot of money to throw away and it has been going on for years.

It compares with the Angolans squandering their daily millions in oil royalties on Soviet weaponry and a huge Cuban army.

It also helps explain why the tax burden on individual South Africans is so heavy.

In fairness, the perspective has to be adjusted slightly. Regions such as Transkei always had been badly neglected in terms of basic schooling, health and other services. They needed even more money spent.

And non-independent but self-governing regions such as KwaZulu still are grossly under-funded. They, too, need more money spent.

The collapse of apartheid will not absolve a new government of its duties toward the shamefully neglected rural areas.

But, at the same time, it is mind-boggling to consider that, before the Verwoerdian dream took shape, these rural territories were perfectly adequately administered by a handful of magistrates. Today, each has the top-heavy trappings of government — bureaucracies, armies, police forces, and so on.

However, it is all about to end A Codesa working group has agreed in principle that the TBVC states should become part of the transitional constitutional process and be reincorporated (101)

Bophuthatswana has "reservations" though. They are not surprising. It is the only one of the TBVC states which is not bankrupt and under military rule.

It draws least (and substantially less) on the South African exchequer. Whatever its political origins and whatever the style of its rulers, Bophuthatswana has made substantial economic and social progress. It no doubt wants to protect and keep control over these by maximum decentralisation.

Were Bophuthatswana to have Transkei's territorial integrity and Transkei's coastline, full independence could well be a viable option, so relatively successful has it been economically.

President Mangope has also long nurtured the idea of union with Botswana, a historic re-uniting of the Tswana people.

Botswana, however, has no interest in union, partly because it rejects dealing with bantustans, partly because it would be outnumbered by its newly acquired citizens, and very probably because its economic development — based on mining and ranching — has made it one of Africa's most successful countries.

Botswana, too, is highly suspicious of its deadbeat neighbours (including Zimbabwe, Zambia and Namibia) trying to get their hands on its wealth.

It is tempting to think of the billions spent annually on the TBVC states and the self-governing territories becoming an overnight bonanza with the scrapping of apartheid. However, the reality is likely to be that decades of apartheid spending are not wiped out that easily.

A costly experiment, to be sure, and one for which we are likely to keep paying for some time. The irony is that the part which cost the least (Bophuthatswana) is the only one that came anywhere near success. □

Civics draw in chiefs

By SHADLEY NASH
Port Elizabeth

PEOPLE'S Assemblies to draw in "other democratic forces" are being planned by the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

This was decided at the first meeting of Sanco's national executive committee, held in Bloemfontein over the weekend. According to Sanco's publicity secretary, Max Mamase, the idea came up after Transvaal delegates told of tensions between traditional leaders and civic organisations in the northern and eastern Transvaal.

He said the Peoples' Assembly will be constituted as a forum for all democratic forces, including traditional leaders, "so that we can circumvent state divisive strategies. The traditional role of chiefs is still given the respect it deserves, but it was agreed that they should be part and parcel of democratic transformation through participation in democratic organs of the people".

Mamase said the meeting also agreed that the civic movement should have a strong voice in development programmes.

AID TO TRANSKEI

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	352 400 000	516 722 000	711 769 680	875 320 000	1 076 109 000	1 547 370 400
Incentive scheme for industries	17 000 000	25 903 658	21 332 370	25 327 100	20 753 976	18 915 746
Non-recoverable financial assistance	2 068 100	—	—	—	—	—
Relief of distress	1 501 295	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	11 550 000	6 800 000	4 484 056	6 517 000	—	—
TOTAL	384 519 395	549 425 658	737 586 106	907 164 100	1 096 862 976	1 566 286 146
B Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	115 719 753	138 687 461	157 273 476	192 301 965	253 000 000	307 916 000
Customs union	292 446 000	350 516 000	458 231 000	548 915 000	502 084 000	555 591 000
Common monetary area	11 078 720	13 660 910	17 676 587	24 202 900	29 489 027	36 402 600
TOTAL	419 244 473	502 864 371	633 181 063	765 419 865	784 573 027	899 909 600
C Loans from RSA (Project Aid)	32 677 170	19 105 000	6 699 904	4 177 602	9 351 000	8 717 572
D Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	4 966 775	5 350 000	4 829 355	6 899 875	5 744 363	7 602 511
Flour subsidy	9 978 969	8 825 000	6 791 280	5 127 755	7 122 846	—
Technical assistance	755 205	700 000	682 312	665 581	279 749	5 117 930
Salaries of judges	204 710	278 000	381 552	666 834	549 833	700 000
TOTAL	15 905 659	15 153 000	12 684 499	13 360 045	13 696 791	13 510 711
GRAND TOTAL	852 346 697	1 086 548 029	1 390 151 572	1 690 121 612	1 904 483 794	2 488 424 308

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance

AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	154 764 000	336 000 000	448 565 841	539 641 740	666 638 030	878 572 200
Incentive scheme for industries	6 000 000	12 863 905	18 364 058	20 092 666	21 982 443	23 041 857
Non-recoverable financial assistance	11 [illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]		
Relief of distress	2 075 412	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	9 550 000	8 720 000	8 499 999	9 860 805	—	—
TOTAL	184 288 567	357 583 905	482 842 474	576 054 534	688 620 443	901 617 051

[illegible]

AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA (Continued)

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
B. Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	43 716 309	50 938 243	59 414 367	72 647 339	95 000 000	116 324 000
Customs union	293 833 000	411 567 000	516 028 000	623 354 000	698 418 000	868 411 000
Common monetary area	5 306 773	6 540 907	8 458 560	11 585 617	14 115 400	17 418 267
TOTAL	342 856 082	469 046 150	583 900 927	707 586 956	807 533 400	1 002 153 267
C. Loans from RSA (Project aid)	5 909 917	28 844 000	9 132 130	19 148 127	12 710 000	33 841 977
D Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	11 714 195	13 410 119	12 941 420	19 312 765	16 301 329	17 631 367
Flour subsidy	6 807 717	6 860 242	7 441 345	4 346 724	2 686 625	—
Technical assistance	302 201	741 981	878 702	119 644	6 737 453	4 724 325
Salaries of judges	256 508	240 000	170 207	111 093	222 499	504 280
TOTAL	19 080 621	21 253 111	21 431 674	24 643 616	19 330 097	22 859 972
GRAND TOTAL	552 135 187	876 727 [illegible]	1661 097 307	205 327 413 233	[illegible]	[illegible]

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common [illegible] the budget vote of the Department of Finance

AID TO VENDA

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	164 200 000	220 500 000	290 194 860	348 202 230	437 125 000	554 337 700
Incentive scheme for industries	4 036 473	3 116 322	3 148 392	6 362 648	7 415 646	6 078 905
Non-recoverable financial assistance	4 541 381	—	7 134 183	1 200 522	—	337 301
Relief of distress	—	—	—	—	—	
Job creation	5 092	2 619 831	2 479 372	—	—	
TOTAL	176 870 853	226 266 153	302 956 807	357 860 436	444 540 646	560 753 906
B Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	7 505 057	8 819 000	10 332 361	12 021 302	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	12 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
TOTAL	66 771 990	77 931 587	99 576 534	106 570 642	119 915 067	159 679 667
C. Loans from RSA (Project aid)	403 821	14 684 000	11 344 730	27 058 928	15 [illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs.

Hostels in townships

255. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) With reference to the replies to Question No 956 on 4 June 1986 and Question No 242 on 3 May 1991, (a) how many (i) hostels for (aa) males and (bb) females were there in each township falling directly or indirectly under his Department, and (ii) persons were accommodated in each hostel, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available and (b) how many persons was each of these hostels designed to accommodate;

(2) whether any single-sex hostels have been converted to family housing units since 1 May 1985; if not, why not, if so, (a) how many, and (b) at what cost in respect of each such township, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(3) whether any further single-sex hostels are to be built; if so, (a) why, (b) for how many persons, (c) when, (d) at what cost, and (e) where, in each case;

(4) whether any further single-sex hostels are to be converted to family housing units; if not, why not; if so, (a) when, (b) where, (c) how many, and (d) at what cost, in each case;

(5) whether his Department is planning to provide improved types of bedsitter and single-room accommodation in the future; if so, (a) when, (b) where, and (c) at what cost, in each case?

B588E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING

The situation in connection with hostels, as outlined in the reply to Question 242 of 3 May 1991, shows no meaningful change at this stage. A mere repetition thereof will therefore serve no useful purpose.

Regarding hostels, the Cabinet on 2 October 1991 approved a strategy in terms of which hostels in government possession will be upgraded or converted into family units. An amount of R294,6 million has been allocated for this purpose in the main budget.

The hostel strategy determines that the upgrading/conversion of hostels will take place on a basis of negotiation between the hostel inmates, the inhabitants of the adjacent towns, the owners and all other groups concerned.

The guidelines regarding hostels, tabled on 1 November 1991 in the National Discussion Forum: Hostels and Housing which in fact correlate with the hostel strategy, have therefore been accepted by Government and are actively being pursued.

Amounts loaned to African countries

261. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(a) What total amounts did the Republic lend to African countries in 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991, respectively, and (b) (i) (aa) to which African countries, including the TBVC countries, did the Republic render aid in each of these years and (bb) what was the Rand value of this aid in each case and (ii) what other aid was rendered to such countries in each of these years? (101)

B625E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

All forms of aid by the South African Government to African countries for the financial years 1986/87, 1987/88, 1988/89, 1989/90, 1990/91 and 1991/92 is set out in the attached Schedules. Details of aid to other African countries is being made available to the hon member personally.

cont...p

AID TO TRANSKEI

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	352 400 000	516 722 000	711 769 680	875 320 000	1 076 109 000	1 547 370 400
Incentive scheme for industries	17 000 000	25 903 658	21 332 370	25 327 100	20 753 976	18 915 746
Non-recoverable financial assistance	2 068 100	—	—	—	—	—
Relief of distress	1 501 295	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	11 550 000	6 800 000	4 484 056	6 517 000	—	—
TOTAL	384 519 395	549 425 658	737 586 106	907 164 100	1 096 862 976	1 566 286 146
B. Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	115 719 753	138 687 461	157 273 476	192 301 965	253 000 000	307 916 000
Customs union	292 446 000	350 516 000	458 231 000	548 915 000	502 084 000	555 591 000
Common monetary area	11 078 720	13 660 910	17 676 587	24 202 900	29 489 027	36 402 600
TOTAL	419 244 473	502 864 371	633 181 063	765 419 865	784 573 027	899 909 600
C. Loans from RSA (Project Aid)	32 677 170	19 105 000	6 699 904	4 177 602	9 351 000	8 717 821
D. Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	4 966 775	5 350 000	4 829 355	6 899 875	5 744 363	7 602 811
Flour subsidy	9 978 969	8 825 000	6 791 280	5 127 755	7 122 846	—
Technical assistance	755 205	700 000	682 312	665 581	279 749	5 117 930
Salaries of judges	204 710	278 000	381 552	666 834	549 833	790 000
TOTAL	15 905 659	15 153 000	12 684 499	13 360 045	13 696 791	13 510 741
GRAND TOTAL	852 346 697	1 086 548 029	1 390 151 572	1 690 121 612	1 904 483 794	2 488 424 308

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A. Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	154 764 000	336 000 000	448 565 841	539 641 740	666 638 000	878 572 200
Incentive scheme for industries	6 000 000	12 863 905	18 164 058	20 992 666	21 982 443	23 044 857
Non-recoverable financial assistance	11 899 155	—	7 612 576	5 559 323	—	—
Relief of distress	2 075 412	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	9 550 000	8 720 000	8 499 999	9 860 805	—	—
TOTAL	184 288 567	357 583 905	482 842 474	576 054 534	688 620 443	901 617 051

AID TO BOPHUTHATSWANA (Continued)

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
B Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	43 716 309	50 938 243	59 414 367	72 647 339	95 000 000	116 324 000
Customs union	293 833 000	411 567 000	516 028 000	623 354 000	698 418 000	868 411 000
Common monetary area	5 306 773	6 540 907	8 458 560	11 585 617	14 115 400	17 418 267
TOTAL	342 856 082	469 046 150	583 900 927	707 586 956	807 533 400	1 002 153 267
C. Loans from RSA (Project aid)	5 909 917	28 844 000	9 132 130	19 148 127	12 710 000	33 841 977
D. Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	11 714 195	13 410 119	12 941 420	19 312 765	16 301 329	17 631 367
Flour subsidy	6 807 717	6 860 242	7 441 345	4 346 724	2 686 625	—
Technical assistance	302 201	741 981	878 702	119 644	6 737 453	4 724 325
Salaries of judges	256 508	240 000	170 207	111 093	222 499	504 280
TOTAL	19 080 621	21 253 111	21 431 674	24 643 616	19 330 097	22 859 972
GRAND TOTAL	552 135 187	876 727 1661	097 307 201	327 433 231	528 193 940	960 472 273

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance

AID TO VENDA

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A. Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	164 200 000	220 500 000	290 194 860	348 202 230	437 125 000	554 337 700
Incentive scheme for industries	4 036 473	3 116 322	3 148 392	6 362 648	7 415 646	6 078 905
Non-recoverable financial assistance	4 541 381	—	7 134 183	1 200 522	—	337 301
Relief of distress	—	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	5 092	2 649 831	2 479 372	—	—	—
TOTAL	176 870 853	226 266 153	302 956 807	357 860 436	444 540 646	560 753 906
B Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	7 595 057	8 849 000	10 332 361	12 621 392	16 000 000	20 210 000
Customs union	42 105 000	57 658 000	86 653 000	90 390 000	99 580 000	134 118 000
Common monetary area	1 455 000	1 518 933	2 012 587	3 559 250	4 336 067	5 351 667
TOTAL	66 771 990	77 931 587	99 576 534	106 570 642	119 915 067	159 679 667
C. Loans from RSA (Project aid)	403 841	14 684 000	11 344 730	27 058 928	15 078 000	1 753 381

cont

AID TO VENDA (Continued)

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
D Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	9 307 295	9 254 836	11 551 110	14 549 855	10 964 806	19 081 000
Flour subsidy	1 861 605	2 033 652	1 762 451	1 130 893	921 744	—
Technical assistance	641 579	1 080 985	928 541	545 222	197 296	2 083 820
Salaries of judges	196 801	162 659	191 541	401 041	204 729	398 000
TOTAL	12 007 290	12 532 132	14 433 643	16 627 011	12 288 575	21 562 820
GRAND TOTAL	256 053 964	331 413 872	428 311 714	508 117 017	591 822 288	743 749 774

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance.

AID TO CISKEI

	1986/87 R	1987/88 R	1988/89 R	1989/90 R	1990/91 R	1991/92 R
A Direct financial assistance						
Budgetary aid	221 789 034	301 692 499	384 930 928	440 033 134	561 934 117	708 431 700
Incentive scheme for industries	29 871 423	23 516 112	31 310 570	16 098 888	35 324 135	28 371 959
Non-recoverable financial assistance	603 262	—	99 278	—	—	201 308
Relief of distress	—	—	—	—	—	—
Job creation	14 770 105	10 830 000	6 457 660	4 995 317	—	—
TOTAL	267 033 824	336 038 611	422 798 436	461 127 339	597 258 252	737 004 967
B. Transfer payments						
Tax compensation	24 386 346	24 563 000	33 141 862	40 523 332	53 000 000	64 886 000
Customs union	107 291 000	156 117 000	180 489 000	221 776 000	265 989 000	265 989 000
Common monetary area	2 999 893	3 702 400	4 794 133	6 561 400	7 993 440	9 869 600
TOTAL	134 677 239	184 382 400	218 424 995	268 860 732	326 982 440	340 744 600
C Loans from RSA (Project aid)	7 638 332	7 585 000	11 544 730	20 359 114	11 649 000	9 323 272
D Technical and other assistance						
Manpower provision	9 697 851	24 758 130	17 570 022	17 122 280	13 786 329	22 998 000
Flour subsidy	611 092	498 723	454 278	322 036	117 755	—
Technical assistance	243 572	305 377	432 276	573 049	473 421	3 715 448
Salaries of judges	214 424	232 754	345 508	726 976	382 505	790 000
TOTAL	10 766 739	25 794 984	18 802 184	18 734 341	14 760 010	27 503 448
GRAND TOTAL	420 116 134	553 800 000	671 570 345	769 081 526	950 649 702	1 114 576 287

1) Actual figures
2) Estimates

NOTE: Transfer payments in respect of customs union share and common monetary area appear on the budget vote of the Department of Finance

SA Medical and Dental Council: disciplinary cases

265 Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) Whether members of the South African Medical and Dental Council are required in considering disciplinary action to adjudicate on colleagues who are or have been involved in suspected irregularities; if so,

(2) whether any of these members have the necessary legal knowledge and experience to perform such a task; if so, what are the relevant details,

(3) whether consideration is being given to having disciplinary cases of this nature heard by magistrates or judges in courts; if not, why not;

(4) whether she will make a statement on the matter?

B630E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No, it is required of members of the South African Medical and Dental Council, in the consideration of disciplinary action, to pronounce judgement on the professional acceptability of the conduct of colleagues involved in suspected irregularities;

(2) falls away;

(3) no, because the South African Medical and Dental Council, as constituted, was established to perform this function. Disciplinary cases of the South African Medical and Dental Council are not criminal or civil cases which are judged in the courts and require the knowledge and experience of the ethical norms of the medical and dental professions, which the members of the Council possess. The Supreme Court has referred to the South African Medical and Dental Council as the body, *par excellence*, to take decisions on disciplinary cases. Every colleague has the right to take decisions of the Council on revision to the Supreme Court which will ensure that such a person is not wronged by a possible legal error on the part of the Council,

(4) no

Own Affairs.

Social old-age pensioners: amount of pension

68. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare

(1) What was the amount of the pension received by a social old-age pensioner (a) during the 1991-92 financial year and (b) as at the latest specified date in the current financial year;

(2) whether this pension is to be increased in the current financial year; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) by how much,

(3) whether the amounts paid monthly to pensioners are in step with the rise in the rate of inflation; if not, what is the rate of growth of the amounts paid monthly to pensioners?

B659E

The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE

(1) (a) 1 April 1991 to 30 September 1991 = R304 pm
1 October 1991 to 31 March 1992 = R314 pm

(b) R345 per month

(2) Yes.

(a) Pensions have been increased as from 1 April 1992.

(b) R31 per month.

(3) No
Pensions have been increased by 10% as from 1 April 1992.

B10 aug 26/5/92

Homeland aid rockets

TOTAL government aid to the four "independent" homelands rocketed by R4,126bn or 198% in six financial years, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told Parliament yesterday. (10)

He said aid to the Transkei rose from R852,3m in 1986/7 to R2,488bn in 1991/92. Aid to Bophuthatswana increased from R552,1m to R1,960bn, to Venda from R256,1m to R743,7m and to Ciskei from R420,1m to R1,114bn.

Aid to homelands is up by 300%

By BARRY STREEK (101) ARG 26/5/92

TOTAL government aid to the four "independent" homelands rocketed by R4 226,7 million — just over 300% — in six financial years, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, revealed yesterday.

During the 1986/7 financial year, the four homelands received aid totalling R2 080,6m, but by 1991/2 this had increased to R6 307,3m.

Mr Botha, replying to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Louis Stofberg (CP, Sasolburg), said total government aid, including direct financial assistance, transfer payments, loans and technical aid, to Transkei rose from R852,3m to R2 488,4m.

Total government aid to Bophuthatswana increased from R552,1m to R1 960,5m, to Venda from R256,1m to R743,9 and to Ciskei from R420,1m to R1 114,5m during the six years.

Mr Botha said direct financial assistance to the Transkei rose from R384,5m to R1 566,3m during the six years.

During the same period, government support in direct financial assistance to Bophuthatswana increased from R184,3m to R901,6m, to Venda from R176,9m to R560,8m and to Ciskei from R267m to R737m.

In the 1991/2 financial year, Transkei received R1 566,3m in direct financial assistance, R899,9m for tax compensation, customs union allocations and for the common monetary area, R8,7m in loans and R13,5m in technical assistance.

Bophuthatswana received R901,6m in direct financial assistance, R1 002,2m in transfer payments, R33 8m in loans and R22,9m.

Venda was paid R560,8m in direct financial assistance, R159,7m in transfer payments, R1,8m in loans and R21,6m in technical assistance. Ciskei received R737m, R340,7m in transfer payments, R9,3m in loans and R27,5m in technical assistance.

Indaba seeks drought aid solutions

By Julienne du Toit

Widely divergent organisations at the weekend put aside their differences to work out a national drought relief strategy.

The Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches, who opened a conference on the drought at the University of the Witwatersrand, urged for solutions to avert possible mass starvation.

A food coupon system for the very poor might be implemented, he said.

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu of the Independent Development Trust (IDT) said funds available for drought relief were not adequate and the need to co-ordinate them was a major issue.

The drought should not be hijacked as a political issue, as this could only be counter-productive.

The conference, hosted by the IDT and the Kagiso Trust, included political organisations such as the ANC and IFP, various church groups, trade unions, government departments, homeland governments, embassies, agricultural unions and representatives from the business sector.

In total about 68 organisations, including Operation Hunger and World Vision, worked out a co-ordinating strategy between parties involved in drought relief.

The conference set up a consultative forum of about 30 members, with a national steering committee, which will meet soon.

Consultative council priorities were:

- To fit drought relief into longer-term development planning, especially at regional level.
- The current commercial agricultural sector should not be propped up by drought relief.
- Aid that farmers got specifically for farmworkers should be subject to control by representative drought committees.
- Existing protocols between the Government and self-governing states regarding water planning and provision should be reviewed.

The consultative forum's functions would be to exchange information between participating organisations, match needs with resources, establish priorities, and lobby for aid internationally and nationally.

(b) (i) and (ii) The nature and cost of each of the projects developed in this town, is as follows:

PROJECTS	R
Main Post Office	1 654 000
Supreme Court	3 355 000
Independence Stadium	5 069 000
Secondary school	1 831 000
Primary school 1	439 000
Primary school 2	579 000
Show grounds	2 087 000
Upgrading houses Sustershoek	401 000
Radio KwaNdebele terrain identification	12 000
Provision of water and sewerage	1 322 000
Water reservoir	704 000
Main water supply	2 071 000
Structure plan	198 000
Services master plan	185 000
Planning central business area	40 000
Main access road	1 130 000
Water reticulation	498 000
28/11 KV Sub station	1 359 000
Electrical reticulation	1 664 000
Roads and drainage	3 252 000
130 Residences	7 532 000
Computer centre	1 925 000
Legislative assembly and government offices	13 354 000
Philadelphia nurses home	1 856 000
Siyabuswa community health centre	531 000
Tweefontein community health centre	357 000
Vlaklaagte community health centre	521 000

The cost quoted above, is 1987 Rand values.

(2) Similar amenities at Siyabuswa, was temporary accommodation for the Legislative Assembly. A school building and hall was used for this purpose and the provision of the Legislative Assembly hall and other structures and services at KwaMhlanga is therefore not a duplication.

Number of prisoners: Robben Island

315. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services: (253)

How many prisoners were being held at the (a) maximum security and (b) medium security prison on Robben Island as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B777E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(a) and (b) (253)

Since 20 August 1991 no maximum security prison is in operation on Robben Island Only minimum and medium security prisoners are now being accommodated on the island.

The number of prisoners on 9 June 1992 was 490.

Distribution of food in terms of feeding scheme

316 Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) What is the name and/or rank of the senior official of her Department who is responsible for the distribution of food in terms of the Government's feeding scheme;

(2) whether additional staff have been employed by her Department to assist in the distribution of food; if not, why not; if so, how many;

(3) what steps have been taken by her Department to date to ensure that food distributed to organizations reaches those persons and regions requiring food;

(4) whether any food supplies distributed to areas in South Africa have not reached their destinations, if so, (a) why and (b) what are the names of these areas?

B778E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No food is being distributed by the Department of National Health and Population Development (NHPD) in terms of the Nutrition Development Programme (NDP) Dr CF Slabber, Director-General of NHPD, who is the accounting officer for the Department gives final approval for funds to be paid out to non-governmental organizations that apply for funding from the NDP;

(2) no, the NDP initially attempted to administer the scheme without employing additional staff. The Commission for Administration has now however been approached for a recommendation to employ temporary staff, or staff on contract, additional to the approved establishment;

(3) it must be emphasised that no food is issued to organisations Organisations have to apply for funds via the regional offices of NHPD, where they are rendering services. The regional committees process the application and make recommendations concerning funding These committees are futhermore responsible for monitoring the implementation of programmes and for ensuring that food reaches the target group(s);

(4) yes, the only report which the Department has received is in respect of one self-governing territory, where food allegedly did not reach the target group;

(a) the relevant authorities have been requested to furnish particulars with a view to a thorough investigation and

(b) Lebowa.

Damage to school buildings/equipment: total amount

318 Dr F H PAUW asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

In respect of each of the latest specified five years for which information is available, what was the total amount of the damage to (a) school buildings and equipment at schools under the control of his Department and (b) building work and material at schools that were still under construction?

B791E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(a) 1987 — R11 030 558
1988 — R20 052 299
1989 — R 3 454 586
1990 — R12 239 053
1991 — R 9 649 588

(b) The information is not available. The Department makes use of private contractors for the erection of buildings and is contractually indemnified against damage or loss during building contracts Contractors are usually insured against damage or loss. No record of damage suffered by contractors is therefore kept by the Department.

Transfer of schools

319. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Public Works:†

(1) Whether the Department of Education and Culture in the Administration: House of Assembly has transferred any schools to his Department since 1 January 1991, if so, what schools;

(2) whether his Department has decided to which Departments or other institutions these schools are to be made available; if not, (a) why not and (b) when are decisions in this regard expected to be taken, if so, to what Departments or institutions?

B798E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

Primary School Drakensberg: (Nelspruit) SA Defence Force
Primary School Nooitgedacht (Lichtenberg) SA Defence Force
Primary School Rooiberg: (Warmbaths) SA Police
Primary School Die Bron (Worcester) Dept of Correctional Services

(2) (a) and (b) fall away.

Financial/development aid to self-governing territories (101)

320. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs

(a) What (i) financial and (ii) development aid was granted by the South African Government to each of the self-governing territories in the

cont—D

(b) (i) and (ii) The nature and cost of each of the projects developed in this town, is as follows:

PROJECTS	R
Main Post Office	1 654 000
Supreme Court	3 355 000
Independence Stadium	5 069 000
Secondary school	1 831 000
Primary school 1	439 000
Primary school 2	579 000
Show grounds	2 087 000
Upgrading houses Sustershoek	401 000
Radio KwaNdebele terrain identification	12 000
Provision of water and sewerage	1 322 000
Water reservoir	704 000
Main water supply	2 071 000
Structure plan	198 000
Services master plan	185 000
Planning central business area	40 000
Main access road	1 130 000
Water reticulation	498 000
28/11 KV Sub station	1 359 000
Electrical reticulation	1 664 000
Roads and drainage	3 252 000
130 Residences	7 532 000
Computer centre	1 925 000
Legislative assembly and government offices	13 354 000
Philadelphia nurses home	1 856 000
Siyabuswa community health centre	531 000
Tweefontein community health centre	357 000
Vlaklaagte community health centre	521 000

The cost quoted above, is 1987 Rand values

(2) Similar amenities at Siyabuswa, was temporary accommodation for the Legislative Assembly. A school building and hall was used for this purpose and the provision of the Legislative Assembly hall and other structures and services at KwaMhlanga is therefore not a duplication.

Number of prisoners: Robben Island

315. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services: (253)

How many prisoners were being held at the (a) maximum security and (b) medium security prison on Robben Island as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B777E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES (253)

(a) and (b)

Since 20 August 1991 no maximum security prison is in operation on Robben Island. Only minimum and medium security prisoners are now being accommodated on the island.

The number of prisoners on 9 June 1992 was 490.

Distribution of food in terms of feeding scheme

316. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health

(1) What is the name and/or rank of the senior official of her Department who is responsible for the distribution of food in terms of the Government's feeding scheme;

(2) whether additional staff have been employed by her Department to assist in the distribution of food; if not, why not; if so, how many,

(3) what steps have been taken by her Department to date to ensure that food distributed to organizations reaches those persons and regions requiring food;

(4) whether any food supplies distributed to areas in South Africa have not reached their destinations; if so, (a) why and (b) what are the names of these areas?

B778E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No food is being distributed by the Department of National Health and Population Development (NHPD) in terms of the Nutrition Development Programme (NDP). Dr CF Slabber, Director-General of NHPD, who is the accounting officer for the Department gives final approval for funds to be paid out to non-governmental organizations that apply for funding from the NDP;

(2) no, the NDP initially attempted to administer the scheme without employing additional staff. The Commission for Administration has now however been approached for a recommendation to employ temporary staff, or staff on contract, additional to the approved establishment;

(3) it must be emphasised that no food is issued to organisations. Organisations have to apply for funds via the regional offices of NHPD, where they are rendering services. The regional committees process the application and make recommendations concerning funding. These committees are futhermore responsible for monitoring the implementation of programmes and for ensuring that food reaches the target group(s);

(4) yes, the only report which the Department has received is in respect of one self-governing territory, where food allegedly did not reach the target group;

(a) the relevant authorities have been requested to furnish particulars with a view to a thorough investigation and

(b) Lebowa.

Damage to school buildings/equipment: total amount

318. Dr F H PAUW asked the Minister of Education and Training:†

In respect of each of the latest specified five years for which information is available, what was the total amount of the damage to (a) school buildings and equipment at schools under the control of his Department and (b) building work and material at schools that were still under construction?

B791E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(a) 1987 — R11 030 558
1988 — R20 052 299
1989 — R 3 454 586
1990 — R12 239 053
1991 — R 9 649 588

(b) The information is not available. The Department makes use of private contractors for the erection of buildings and is contractually indemnified against damage or loss during building contracts. Contractors are usually insured against damage or loss. No record of damage suffered by contractors is therefore kept by the Department.

Transfer of schools

319 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Public Works †

(1) Whether the Department of Education and Culture in the Administration House of Assembly has transferred any schools to his Department since 1 January 1991, if so, what schools;

(2) whether his Department has decided to which Departments or other institutions these schools are to be made available, if not, (a) why not and (b) when are decisions in this regard expected to be taken; if so, to what Departments or institutions?

B798E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes.

Primary School Drakensberg: (Nelspruit) SA Defence Force
Primary School Nooitgedacht: (Lichtenberg) SA Defence Force
Primary School Rooiberg (Warmbaths) SA Police
Primary School Die Bron: (Worcester) Dept of Correctional Services

(2) (a) and (b) fall away

Financial/development aid to self-governing territories (101)

320 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What (i) financial and (ii) development aid was granted by the South African Government to each of the self-governing territories in the

cont—>

(b) (i) and (ii) The nature and cost of each of the projects developed in this town, is as follows:

PROJECTS	R
Main Post Office	1 654 000
Supreme Court	3 355 000
Independence Stadium	5 069 000
Secondary school	1 831 000
Primary school 1	439 000
Primary school 2	579 000
Show grounds	2 087 000
Upgrading houses Sustershoek	401 000
Radio KwaNdebele terrain identification	12 000
Provision of water and sewerage	1 322 000
Water reservoir	704 000
Main water supply	2 071 000
Structure plan	198 000
Services master plan	185 000
Planning central business area	40 000
Main access road	1 130 000
Water reticulation	498 000
28/11 KV Sub station	1 359 000
Electrical reticulation	1 664 000
Roads and drainage	3 252 000
130 Residences	7 532 000
Computer centre	1 925 000
Legislative assembly and government offices	13 354 000
Philadelphia nurses home	1 856 000
Siyabuswa community health centre	531 000
Tweefontein community health centre	357 000
Vlaklaagte community health centre	521 000

The cost quoted above, is 1987 Rand values.

(2) Similar amenities at Siyabuswa, was temporary accommodation for the Legislative Assembly. A school building and hall was used for this purpose and the provision of the Legislative Assembly hall and other structures and services at KwaMhlanga is therefore not a duplication.

Number of prisoners: Robben Island

315 Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

How many prisoners were being held at the (a) maximum security and (b) medium security prison on Robben Island as at the latest specified date for which information is available?

B777E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(a) and (b)

Since 20 August 1991 no maximum security prison is in operation on Robben Island. Only minimum and medium security prisoners are now being accommodated on the island.

The number of prisoners on 9 June 1992 was 490.

Distribution of food in terms of feeding scheme

316 Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of National Health:

(1) What is the name and/or rank of the senior official of her Department who is responsible for the distribution of food in terms of the Government's feeding scheme;

(2) whether additional staff have been employed by her Department to assist in the distribution of food; if not, why not; if so, how many;

(3) what steps have been taken by her Department to date to ensure that food distributed to organizations reaches those persons and regions requiring food;

(4) whether any food supplies distributed to areas in South Africa have not reached their destinations; if so, (a) why and (b) what are the names of these areas?

B778E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) No food is being distributed by the Department of National Health and Population Development (NHPD) in terms of the Nutrition Development Programme (NDP). Dr CF Slabber, Director-General of NHPD, who is the accounting officer for the Department gives final approval for funds to be paid out to non-governmental organizations that apply for funding from the NDP;

(2) no, the NDP initially attempted to administer the scheme without employing additional staff The Commission for Administration has now however been approached for a recommendation to employ temporary staff, or staff on contract, additional to the approved establishment;

(3) it must be emphasised that no food is issued to organisations Organisations have to apply for funds via the regional offices of NHPD, where they are rendering services. The regional committees process the application and make recommendations concerning funding. These committees are futhermore responsible for monitoring the implementation of programmes and for ensuring that food reaches the target group(s),

(4) yes, the only report which the Department has received is in respect of one self-governing territory, where food allegedly did not reach the target group;

(a) the relevant authorities have been requested to furnish particulars with a view to a thorough investigation and

(b) Lebowa.

Damage to school buildings/equipment: total amount

318. Dr F H PAUW asked the Minister of Education and Training †

In respect of each of the latest specified five years for which information is available, what was the total amount of the damage to (a) school buildings and equipment at schools under the control of his Department and (b) building work and material at schools that were still under construction?

B791E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(a) 1987 — R11 030 558
1988 — R20 052 299
1989 — R 3 454 586
1990 — R12 239 053
1991 — R 9 649 588

(b) The information is not available The Department makes use of private contractors for the erection of buildings and is contractually indemnified against damage or loss during building contracts. Contractors are usually insured against damage or loss. No record of damage suffered by contractors is therefore kept by the Department

---

Transfer of schools

319 Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Public Works:†

(1) Whether the Department of Education and Culture in the Administration House of Assembly has transferred any schools to his Department since 1 January 1991; if so, what schools;

(2) whether his Department has decided to which Departments or other institutions these schools are to be made available; if not, (a) why not and (b) when are decisions in this regard expected to be taken, if so, to what Departments or institutions?

B798E

The MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORKS:

(1) Yes

(2) Yes.

Primary School Drakensberg: (Nelspruit) SA Defence Force
Primary School Nooitgedacht: (Lichtenberg) SA Defence Force
Primary School Rooiberg: (Warmbaths) SA Police
Primary School Die Bron: (Worcester) Dept of Correctional Services

(2) (a) and (b) fall away.

Financial/development aid to self-governing territories

320. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What (i) financial and (ii) development aid was granted by the South African Government to each of the self-governing territories in the

cont—D

1991-92 financial year and (b) what amounts were involved in each case? (101)

B802E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS

Financial aid referred to in part (a)(i) of the question was rendered by the South African Government to the self-governing territories in the financial year 1991-92 in terms of the provisions of section 6(2)(c) and 6(2)(d) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act No 21 of 1971 Section 6(2)(c) determines the extent of the amount payable as the *Statutory Grant* to the Revenue Funds of the self-governing territories from the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government.

In addition to this amount an *Additional Amount* appropriated by Parliament in terms of the provisions of section 6(2)(d) is paid annually to the Revenue Funds of the self-governing territories by the South African Government. The extent of this amount is determined according to the affordability of the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government. The result of this factor is that the growth in the Additional Amount differs from year to year

In the financial years in which *improvement of conditions of service* for exchequer remunerated personnel are announced and implemented funds are drawn on the Vote: Improvement of Conditions of Service which is being administered by the office of the Commission for Administration and paid to the Revenue Funds of the self-governing territories in order to enable the territories fo fund the increased expenditure resulting from the salary improvements Salary improvements came into effect on July 1, 1991 consequently funds were drawn on the aforementioned Vote in the 1991-92 financial year and paid to the self-governing territories.

The South African Government decided during the financial year 1991-92 to make an amount of R1 billion available for the *sale of strategic reserves* in order to promote investment in capital projects. Interested government institutions were requested to identify projects that could be financed from the amount of R1 billion Projects to the value of almost R283 million were approved for the self-governing territories. Cashflow information obtained from the self-governing territories indicated that an amount of R69,972 million could be utilised on these projects for the financial year 1991-92. Claims certified for payment by line function departments totalled only R6,375 million with the result that an amount of R63,597 million had to be suspended and rolled over to the financial year 1992-93 in order that the programme may be continued

The development aid referred to in part (a)(ii) of the question consists mainly in the secondment of personnel to the departments of the self-governing territories in terms of the provisions of section 5(4) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act No 21 of 1971 Expenditure incurred by the South African Government in this regard amounted to R193 million (rounded) for the financial year 1991-92

In addition to this aid the South African Government also rendered legal, agricultural and aid in the field of infrastructure creation and town establishment and management to name but a few examples to the self-governing territories. The monetary extent of this aid is not determinable in view of the fact that it is included in the overhead costs of a variety of line function departments.

As far as part (b) of the question is concerned it can be mentioned that a total amount of R7 260 534 000 had been made available in the financial year 1991-92 from the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government to the self-governing territories. Amounts of R12,35 million and R63,597 million were however suspended and rolled over to the financial year 1992-93 with the result that an amount of R7 184 587 000 was directly transferred to the Revenue Funds of the self-governing territories. Details of the total grant of R7 260 534 000 are set forth in the attached schedule. Except for an amount of R236,765 million in respect of capital expenditure the balance reflected in columns 3, 4 and 5 is mainly for current expenditure.

GRANTS TO SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: FINANCIAL YEAR 1991/92

TERRITORY	SOCIAL ASSISTANCE ALLOWANCES COLUMN 1 R'000	DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE COLUMN 2 R'000	OTHER ASSISTANCE COLUMN 3 R'000	IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS OF SERVICE COLUMN 4 R'000	STATUTORY GRANTS COLUMN 5 R'000	TOTAL R'000
Gazankulu	34 086	26 343	710 650	72 688	85 563	929 330
KaNgwane	20 210	24 321	381 131(a)	31 588	71 082	528 332
KwaNdebele	12 799	11 342	262 318	27 159	73 366	386 984
KwaZulu	228 111	51 482	2 402 066	198 162	268 844	3 148 665
Lebowa	111 308	48 486	1 473 352	147 632	131 098	1 911 876
Qwaqwa	14 348	7 998	273 949	33 471	25 581	355 347
Total R	420 862	169 972(b)	5 503 466	510 700	655 534	7 260 534(c)

(101)

Explanations

(a) R12,35 million suspended and rolled over to financial year 1992/93.

(b) R63,597 million obtained from sale of strategic reserves suspended and rolled over to financial year 1992/93.

(c) Includes R522,564 million of Additional Appropriation, 1992.

Involvement of State in Case No 13359/85

321. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:†

(1) Whether the State was involved in Case No 13359/85 which came up for trial in the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court; if so, (a) what in essence did this case deal with, (b) what in essence was the outcome of the case and (c) what were the total court costs to the State;

(2) whether the finding of the court has been implemented since; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B806E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Supreme Court Case No. 13359/85 (Cape Provincial Division) was reported in the South African Law Reports as "*Sedgefield Ratepayers' and Voters' Association and Others v Government of the Republic of South Africa and Others 1989 (2) SA 685*". As appears from the first page of the judgment of the Court annexed to the question, various institutions of the State were involved in the matter as respondents.

(a) In essence the dispute concerned a proposal by the Divisional Council of Outeniqua to establish a township on Portion 2 of Lot KD No. 185 held by the Divisional Council under Crown grant. The land lies close to the Swartvlei lagoon. The town of Sedgefield on the other side of the lagoon is in close proximity to the land and the applicants in the matter contended that the establishment of the township would diminish the value and impair their enjoyment of their properties in Sedgefield.

The Crown grant was made subject to certain conditions, notably that the land be used for special public purpose, viz a holiday resort. At the instance of the Divisional Council with a view to the establishment of the township on the land, both the State President and the Minister of Community Development had, some

Black affairs link

FIVE commissions of inquiry into alleged irregularities involving state money concerned departments and institutions dealing with black affairs, President F W de Klerk disclosed in Parliament yesterday.

They were the Van der Heever commission into the Education and Training Department, the Parsons commission into the KwaNdebele government, the Pickard commission into the Development Aid Department and the Dekker and De Meyer commissions into the Lebowa government.

Bday 24/6/92

RURAL ISSUES

Knowing more about women's organisations

STAR 15/7/92

Rural women face oppression from four sides — because they are black, because they are women, because they are poor and because they live in the rural areas. But the rural women's movement plans to change all this. Learn & Teach reports.

The Rural Women's Movement (RWM) was started by rural women for rural women. "Rural women must have a voice — and that voice must be heard," says Lydia Kompe of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

And the RWM, which started two years ago, is now trying to make their voice even louder. It has joined the newly ormed National Women's Coalition, an umbrella body representing more than 56 women's organisations from around the country.

This coalition plans to draw up a list of demands from all the women's organisations and make sure that the rights of women become part of a new constitution.

Kompe, who is better known as MamLydia, identified the problems that rural women face.

She says that although the women often have a better understanding of what is happening in their areas, they are left out of the *kgotla* — the traditional community decision-making body. "When I first started working for Trac in 1986, I found that men excluded the women from the *kgotlas*."

Yet, she adds, when government officials arrived in the community, the first people they contacted were the women, who were looking after their children and their homes. Their husbands were usually away from the village, in the veld tending the cattle or even in the towns working as migrant workers.

When many communities faced the threat of forced removals or incorporation into "independent" homelands and self-governing states, it was the women who made the decisions because the men did not know very much about what was happening.

"The men would ask the women for information and then they would support the women in their fight against the Government," says MamLydia.

"But that was not enough, because women were still out of *kgotla*. That is why we say women must be on the *kgotla*."

Another problem the woman have is that traditional law allows a man to have two or more wives. "This causes problems," says RWM president Beauty Mkhize. "Men cannot support many wives financially and they cannot give all their wives the same amount of love and affection."

Given enough time, it seems the RWM will give women in the rural areas a stronger and more powerful voice.

For more information about the RWM, you can contact Lydia Kompe at: TRAC, Box 2827, Johannesburg, 2000. Tel (011) 833-1063/4.

Learn and Teach magazine is available at street corners and book shops at R1,95.

On the move . . . women in the South African rural areas have started to rise and fight for their correct place in the institutions of power in their communities. They no longer accept that their place is in the kitchen.

advertising with other channels.

Whether there would be a bond boycott Mofokeng said.

Development funds slashed

B|DAY 15/7/92

DEVELOPMENT Bank loans to support social and economic upliftment were reduced by nearly 25% last year because underdeveloped communities did not have the skills and structures to handle the funds allocated.

The lower level of funding comes at a time of increased pressure on the bank to provide funds for projects throughout the country.

In its 1991/92 annual report, the bank said loan disbursements fell to R760m (R988m), but interest income on development loans increased by 50% to nearly R200m.

The bank said the underdeveloped communities did not have the capacity, in terms of institutions and skills, to handle the funds. Project work had also been affected by "changes and constraints in the socio-political environment".

DUMA GQUBULE

But ANC development official Shaheed Raji said the bank's problem was that it was continuing to support illegitimate homeland governments and local authorities, while many communities in the rest of the country were crying out for funds.

Bank vice-chairman Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu said the capacity constraints had been caused by the fact that the bank was bound by its articles to provide funds only through homelands and local governments.

The situation had worsened over the past two years as the legitimacy of the homeland governments had come under even more stress.

Nkuhlu said it was only this year that the bank had realised the need to change its focus and steps had been taken to include non-governmental and other community organisations in the provision of funds.

Staff shortage blamed for customs fraud

B|DAY 15/7/92

CAPE TOWN — Low salaries offered by the Customs and Excise Department resulted in a shortage of skilled staff and were a contributing factor in the spate of import/export-related frauds currently under investigation.

This was claimed on Monday by Customs and Excise Commissioner Daan Colesky, who said his department did not have the human resources necessary to properly monitor all import and export dealings. "We have no problem recruiting, but we have a problem retaining staff once they have been trained."

At least 13 cases involving millions of rands and relating to the falsification of customs declarations are under investigation. Sixteen customs officials have been prosecuted for complicity.

The biggest export scam detected to date involved the dumping of containers full of scrap metal into the sea. The "goods" had been billed as motor spare parts and an amount of R600m was milked from the government by way of a 50% export incentive subsidy. — Sapa.

Tax conscience money

STEPHANE BOTHMA

CONSCIENCE-stricken tax dodgers have anonymously sent the Receiver of Revenue a total of R16 115,18, a spokesman for his office said yesterday.

During the past three years alone, amounts ranging from as high as R3 000 to as little as R5,07, have been paid. Some of the payments were accompanied by notes stating the purpose, such as "underpayment of income tax years ago", "sales tax on vehicle", "unpaid tax — will send installments", or "repayment for petrol stolen from a government vehicle", but often no explanation accompanied the money, he said.

In March this year, three payments of R1 000 each were received. In April, two payments of R1 000 each and a third payment of R3 000 were received, followed in May by R2 500. All are believed to be from the same anonymous person.

Payments often included carefully calculated interest, he said. B|DAY 15/7/92

"We believe most of the payments are for taxes outstanding for several years and paid to ease the citizens' conscience." To date, nobody caught for tax evasion had used such an anonymous payment as a defence.

PHILIPS

PABX

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SALDRU LIBRARY

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Staatskoerant
Government Gazette

R1,00 Prys • Price
R0,10 Plus 10% BTW • VAT
R1,10 Verkoopprys • Selling price
Buitelands **R1,40** Other countries
Posvry • Post free

Regulasiekoerant
Regulation Gazette

No. 4899

Vol. 325 PRETORIA, 17 JULIE / JULY 1992 No. 14157

PROKLAMASIE

van die

Staatspresident

van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. R. 68, 1992

OPDRA VAN DIE UITVOERING VAN SEKERE WETTE AAN DIE ADMINISTRATEURS

Kragtens artikel 15 (1) van die Wet op Provinsiale Regering, 1986 (Wet No. 69 van 1986)—

(a) dra ek hierby die uitvoering van die bepalings van die wette in Bylae 1 genoem, wat tans bevoegdhede, pligte en werksaamhede aan die Minister van Ontwikkelingshulp of die Minister van Streek- en Grondsake toewys, op aan die Administrateurs aldus genoem;

(b) wysig ek die wette in paragraaf (a) bedoel soos in Bylae 2 aangedui.

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hierdie Eerste dag van Julie Eenduisend Negehonderd Twee-en-negentig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister van die Kabinet.

BYLAE 1

WETTE OPGEDRA

DEEL 1

WETTE OPGEDRA AAN DIE ADMINISTRATEUR VAN NATAL

1. Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. 37 van 1976).

PROCLAMATION

by the

State President

of the Republic of South Africa

No. R. 68, 1992

ASSIGNMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF CERTAIN LAWS TO THE ADMINISTRATORS

Under section 15 (1) of the Provincial Government Act, 1986 (Act No. 69 of 1986)—

(a) I hereby assign the administration of the provisions of the laws mentioned in Schedule 1, which at present entrust powers, duties and functions to the Minister of Development Aid or the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, to the Administrators so mentioned;

(b) I hereby amend the laws referred to in paragraph (a) as set out in Schedule (2).

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this the First day of July, One thousand Nine hundred and Ninety-two.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

J. DE VILLIERS,
Minister of the Cabinet.

SCHEDULE 1

LAWS ASSIGNED

PART 1

LAWS ASSIGNED TO THE ADMINISTRATOR OF NATAL

1. Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for the Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 37 of 1976).

2. Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. R. 56 van 1977).

3. Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes kragtens die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. 65 van 1980).

4. Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Lede van die Swart Gemeenskappe ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. 182 van 1986).

DEEL 2

WETTE OPGEDRA AAN DIE ADMINISTRATEUR VAN TRANSVAAL

1. Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. R. 138 van 1987).

BYLAE 2

WYSIGING VAN WETTE

A. Wysiging van die Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. R. 37 van 1976), soos volg:

1. Wysiging van artikel 1 deur die omskrywings van "burger", "groep" en "Trust" te skrap.
2. Herroeping van artikel 3.
3. Wysiging van artikel 4 deur die woorde "deur die persone of liggame bedoel in artikel 3 (1)," te skrap.
4. Wysiging van artikel 5 deur in subartikel (1) die woorde "ingevolge artikel 9" te skrap.
5. Wysiging van artikel 8 deur die woorde "kragtens die bepalings van artikel 36A (3) (d) van die Wet" te skrap.
6. Herroeping van artikels 9 en 10.
7. Wysiging van die opskrif deur die woorde "deur Swartes" te skrap.

B. Wysiging van die Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. R. 56 van 1977), soos volg:

1. Wysiging van artikel 1 deur die omskrywings van "burger" en "Trust" te skrap.

2. Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for the Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 56 of 1977). (101)

3. Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. 65 of 1980).

4. Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Members of the Black Community in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. 182 of 1986).

PART 2

LAWS ASSIGNED TO THE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE TRANSVAAL

1. Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Black Persons in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 138 of 1987).

SCHEDULE 2

AMENDMENT OF LAWS

A. Amendment of the Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for the Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 37 of 1976), as follows:

1. Amendment of section 1 by the deletion of the definitions of "citizen", "group" and "Trust".
2. Repeal of section 3.
3. Amendment of section 4 by the deletion of the words "by the persons or bodies referred to in section 3 (1)".
4. Amendment of section 5 by the deletion in subsection (1) of the words "in terms of section 9".
5. Amendment of section 8 by the deletion of the words "in terms of section 36A (3) (d) of the Act".
6. Repeal of sections 9 and 10.
7. Amendment of the heading by the deletion of the words "by Blacks".

B. Amendment of the Proclamation concerning the Reservation of Certain Land for the Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 56 of 1977), as follows:

1. Amendment of section 1 by the deletion of the definitions of "citizen" and "Trust".

2. Herroeping van artikel 3.

3. Wysiging van artikel 4 deur die woorde "deur die persone of liggame bedoel in artikel 3 (a) tot en met (e) hiervan," te skrap.

4. Wysiging van die opskrif deur die woorde "deur Swartes" te skrap.

C. Wysiging van die Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir die Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes kragtens die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Self-regerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. 65 van 1980), soos volg:

1. Wysiging van artikel 1 deur die omskrywings van "burger" en "Trust" te skrap.

2. Herroeping van artikel 3.

3. Wysiging van artikel 4 deur die woorde "deur die persone of liggame bedoel in artikel 3 (a) tot en met (e) hiervan," te skrap.

4. Wysiging van die opskrif deur die woorde "deur Swartes" te skrap.

D. Wysiging van die Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Lede van die Swart Gemeenskappe ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Selfregerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. 182 van 1986), soos volg:

1. Wysiging van artikel 1 deur die omskrywings van "burger" en "Trust" te skrap.

2. Herroeping van artikel 3.

3. Wysiging van artikel 4 deur die woorde "deur die persone of liggame in artikel 3 (1) bedoel" te skrap.

4. Herroeping van artikel 5.

5. Wysiging van die opskrif deur die woorde "Lede van die Swart Gemeenskappe" te skrap.

E. Wysiging van die Proklamasie betreffende Afsondering van Sekere Grond vir Okkupasie of Verkryging deur Swartes ingevolge die bepalings van artikel 36A van die Grondwet van die Self-regerende Gebiede, 1971 (Wet No. 21 van 1971) (Proklamasie No. R. 138 van 1987), soos volg:

1. Wysiging van artikel 1 deur die omskrywings van "burger" en "Trust" te skrap.

2. Herroeping van artikel 3.

3. Wysiging van artikel 4 deur die woorde "deur die persone of liggame in artikel 3 (1) bedoel" te skrap.

4. Herroeping van artikel 5.

5. Wysiging van die opskrif deur die woorde "deur Swartes" te skrap.

2. Repeal of section 3. (101)

3. Amendment of section 4 by the deletion of the words "by the persons or bodies referred to in section 3 (a) to (e) inclusive, hereof,".

4. Amendment of the heading by the deletion of the words "by Blacks".

C. Amendment of the Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Blacks in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. 65 of 1980), as follows:

1. Amendment of section 1 by the deletion of the definitions of "citizen" and "Trust".

2. Repeal of section 3.

3. Amendment of section 4 by the deletion of the words "by the persons or bodies referred to in section 3 (a) to (e), inclusive, hereof".

4. Amendment of the heading by the deletion of the words "by Blacks".

D. Amendment of the Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Members of the Black Community in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. 182 of 1986), as follows:

1. Amendment of section 1 by the deletion of the definitions of "citizen" and "Trust".

2. Repeal of section 3.

3. Amendment of section 4 by the deletion of the words "by the persons or bodies referred to in section 3 (1)".

4. Repeal of section 5.

5. Amendment of the heading by the deletion of the words "Members of the Black Community".

E. Amendment of the Proclamation concerning Reservation of Certain Land for Occupation or Acquisition by Black Persons in terms of the provisions of section 36A of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No. 21 of 1971) (Proclamation No. R. 138 of 1987), as follows:

1. Amendment of section 1 by the deletion of the definitions of "citizen" and "Trust".

2. Repeal of section 3.

3. Amendment of section 4 by the deletion of the words "by the persons or bodies contemplated in section 3".

4. Repeal of section 5.

5. Amendment of the heading by the deletion of the words "Black Persons".

Mandela's remark offends Zulu king

CT 22/7/92 (101)

ULUNDI. — The ANC met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini yesterday on the possibility of a meeting between the king and Mr Nelson Mandela — but no date for a meeting was set.

King Goodwill told the leader of the ANC delegation, Mr Jacob Zuma, that in terms of Zulu culture the kind of statements Mr Mandela had reportedly made about a meeting with him gave rise to difficulties.

"There is anger around me about these statements," he said, adding that he would have to respond to any request for a meeting by Mr Mandela in the context of the circumstances created by the anger.

TALKS ABOUT TALKING . . . ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma (left) at yesterday's meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini.

On a recent visit to Natal Mr Mandela said his repeated attempts to meet the king had been blocked by the KwaZulu government and that he would ask Mr Zuma to make a last attempt to arrange a meeting.

King Goodwill said in a statement that he felt "deeply offended" by the "unhelpful" implication that the ANC delegation's visit would "represent the last opportunity I would be given to agree to meet Dr Mandela".

Difficulties in arranging a meeting had not been on his side. "I have never refused to meet any of the ANC leaders," he said.

He had been astounded to hear that Mr Mandela had accused Inkatha of blocking a meeting. He had never been dictated to by any political party.

King Goodwill said the breakdown in arrangements appeared to be "part of a wider difficulty to get meetings going between ourselves and senior ANC leaders".

He cited as an example the failure of ANC leaders Mr Walter Sisulu and Mr Harry Gwala to meet him after their release from prison.

He had written to Mr Mandela in March 1990 agreeing to meet him and had set three days aside for that purpose.

He had received a short note from Mr Mandela cancelling the arrangements and promising to contact him later for alternative dates, but this had not been done.

King Goodwill told Mr Zuma that for the present any request for him to meet Mr Mandela should be made informally, and that Mr Zuma could approach him again formally after he had been able to clear the way for such a meeting.

"I believe that if my advice is taken it may indeed be possible for us to overcome the difficulties which at the moment lie before us," King Goodwill said. — Sapa

News in brief

500 game carcasss

ABOUT 500 game carcasses will be donated to welfare organisations over the next two months by the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

MEC member Mr Willie Hoods said yesterday the donation would comprise about 150 wildebeest, 250 springbok and 90 impala and blesbuck carcasses, with a market value of about R70 000.

He handed over the first consignment of 84 game carcasses to the O'Connor Foundation at the Roodeplaat Nature Reserve yesterday. The carcasses will be distributed to needy communities in the Johannesburg area. The culling of game had been necessitated by the drought that caused grazing in some of the 40 Provincial Nature Reserves in the Transvaal to become limited.

Gunmen attack two

A PERSON was killed and another injured after they were attacked by unknown gunmen at Esikhawini near Empangeni on Wednesday night.

KwaZulu police said Mr Musa Mpanza died after gunmen shot at him through the window of his Port Dunford cottage. The gunmen then went to the next cottage where they shot Miss Sibongile Mabaso (24). She was wounded in the right thigh. Police have not yet established the motive for the attacks and are investigating cases of murder and attempted murder. No arrest has been made.

Fine for firing cops

A 20-YEAR-OLD man who shot and wounded two policemen in May last year was yesterday fined R3 000 or two years' imprisonment in the Johannesburg Regional Court.

Magistrate Mr AJS Bouwer sentenced Clyde Booysen to another two years in prison suspended for five years. Booysen was convicted of assault with the intent to do grievous bodily harm. The original charge was one of attempted murder. Bouwer said Constable Edward Goliath and Constable Jacques Bezuidenhout were wounded at a discotheque where Booysen was working as a security guard.

Sowetan 24/7/92

Sadtu-Lebowa row

THE Northern Transvaal branch of the South African Democratic Teachers Union yesterday called on the Lebowa Department of Education to reopen three colleges in the territory.

Sadtu claimed in a statement the department had closed Sekgosese, Mamokgalake-Chuene and Kwena-Moloto colleges "without tangible reasons".

The department, however, denied it had closed the colleges. It said: "The Lebowa Department of Education wishes to reiterate that it cannot open colleges of education which are open" and urged Sadtu that "if they wish to actively participate in politics they should look for a convenient political forum such as Codesa".

Homelands warned

THE ANC Northern Transvaal region yesterday announced that four homelands would be targetted for mass action from August 3.

Regional deputy secretary Mr Norman Mashabane said marches would be staged in Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and KwaNdebele where memoranda will be submitted to the homeland leaders deploring corruption and urging the establishment of an interim government. "The bantustans are a creation of the apartheid regime and must be dismantled. The mass action will be followed up by sit-ins and the occupation of state buildings such as police stations, hospitals and education departments."

Sowetan 24/7/92

SA to import wheat

MORE than 50 percent of South Africa's wheat requirements will have to be imported next year because of the drought in the Free State wheat-producing region says the chairman of the Winter Wheat Producers Organisation, Mr Chappie Ferreira - *Sowetan Reporters, Correspondents and Sapa*

Sowetan 24/7/92

Vance holds talks with TBVC leaders

Citizen 26/7/92 (101)

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

UN SPECIAL envoy Cyrus Vance continued his quiet diplomacy yesterday by meeting the leaders of the four nominally independent homelands.

Vance held talks with Transkei's Major General Bantu Holomisa, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda.

Mangope told Vance, who is in SA to canvass views on the country's constitutional impasse and the ongoing violence, that the crisis in the country spelt distaster for the region.

He called for the resumption of the Codesa talks, effectively halted by the withdrawal last month of the ANC.

"All parties must be persuaded to return to the process of discussion and negotiation with no threats, no demands, no preconditions. The brutal fact of the matter is that this subcontinent is on the brink of a disaster," Mangope said, and in thinly-veiled references accused the ANC seeking to make the country ungovernable.

"The tragedy is that no one is going to escape the consequences if sanity is not restored."

Mangope criticised the ANC's mass action campaign, which he said would "inevitably lead to an atmosphere of increased violence and a loss of many billions of rand to the economy".

Vance has already met State President F W de Klerk, an ANC delegation led by secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, a PAC group headed by president Clarence Makwetu, DP leader Zac de Beer, chairman of the National Peace Accord, John Hall and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Vance, who arrived in the country five days ago, was expected to spend most of yesterday in Soweto.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Record number of homeland public servants

PRETORIA — Bureaucrats in the self-governing territories received 16,6% pay increases last year, latest Central Statistical Service (CSS) figures show.

Employment in the civil services of central government, provincial administrations and homelands all increased, but it was the self-governing territories which showed the highest growth.

CSS figures show that 787 154 people were employed in the public sector in the first quarter of this year — an increase of 3 524 compared with March last year.

They earned R5,027bn in the first quarter — an increase of R551,631m compared with last year's period.

Workers in general affairs departments increased by 666, in own affairs departments by 1 071 and in the provincial administrations by 1 787.

Staff numbers in the self-governing territories increased by 8 710 to a record 210 210. Their pay increased R142,259m to R995,943m.

The wage bill for the total public sector was R25bn — including the Post Office, Telkom, Transnet, universities and technikons.

GERALD REILLY

Meanwhile, a Human Sciences Research Council study has found that public servants have a high degree of suspicion about politicians.

The study, commissioned by the Public Servants' Association, found that 63% expected negotiations to lead to a black majority government, with 56,1% expecting such a government within two years.

Only 39,4% of respondents were positive about the expected implications of the reform process.

It was found that 51% had faith in the present government, 25,4% in Codesa, 14,7% in an interim government and 22,6% in a future government.

Govt relief funds locked in system by bureaucrats

RAY HARTLEY

DROUGHT relief funds will gather dust in government bank accounts until as late as March next year because of slow bureaucratic processes, says Water Supply Task Force co-convenor Len Abrams.

Abrams said the R30m allocated to Lebowa — one of the worst hit areas — would only arrive in March next year, because of the slow transfer process.

Relief money to other areas, such as Gazankulu, KwaZulu, Qwa Qwa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane, had been allocated but not transferred, he said.

Abrams said the areas desperately needed the money now because water resources were dwindling at a fast pace.

The task force is a joint initiative of government and independent agencies to bring water to most affected areas.

It was "totally absurd" that the task force had to rely on foreign funding to bring water to areas where the water shortage had reached emergency proportions, while government funds remained dormant, he said.

"There is a need for this money to flow, but it is tied up with other issues in the political environment.

"Among these political issues is the bantustans policy," he said.

Of the three-year R3,8bn aid package, R1bn had been allocated to drought relief for this financial year and R130m of this was allocated to the homelands.

An Agriculture Department spokesman, who did not wish to be named, denied yesterday there was any delay in getting aid money to relief agencies.

Funds would be distributed by the end of the year "at the latest".

Agricultural Development Department spokesman Mario Jordaan said yesterday the emphasis was on getting the money out "as soon as possible".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that subtropical fruit producers might have to ask government for survival aid for the first time in the sector's history.

Letaba District Agricultural Union chairman Edward Vorster said banana farmers had already experienced harvest losses of up to 50% in some areas.

Cutting red tape helps to quench their thirst

STAR 14/8/92

By Dirk Nel
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — A red tape-cutting initiative has brought water to thousands of drought-stricken villagers said to be worse off than communities in Somalia and Iraq.

The urgent programme, involving private enterprise, Department of Water Affairs officials and British disaster relief engineers, is operating in remote rural areas in Lebowa, Venda and Gazankulu.

A water supply task force, operating under the National Drought Relief Consultative Forum, this week invited the media to visit its projects.

The project uses private-sector finance and equipment, government influence and infrastructure, and ready-for-anything action teams to get the job done, said Water Affairs strategist Simon Forster.

Engineer David Williamson co-ordinates events from an operations room in Pietersburg where crisis information is gathered and urgent drilling, repairs and maintenance are arranged

"By cutting out all formalities which cause delays, we have managed to supply thousands of drought-hit people with clean drinking water within a short time," Mr Forster said.

The situation was critical in some areas, said British relief engineer Ian Johnson.

"Some villagers in Venda are worse off than communities in Somalia and Iraq — many are down to a quota of a litre of water a day each, and such people are in danger of contracting all kinds of diseases because domestic and personal hygiene is virtually non-existent."

At a village near Elim Hospital, villagers crowded expectantly around a drilling rig The contractor predicted he would strike water within two days.

A few kilometres down the dusty road, 200 children, all carrying 25 litre containers, queued for water at a dusty pump.

Task force leader Malcolm White said the pump provided water for thousands of people.

Meanwhile nutritional, agricultural and employment task forces went about their work in other areas this week as part of the overall programme.

"The drought relief programme supplies employment for many," said Mr Forster

The Delta Motor Corp had provided a fleet of vehicles to get work teams to project sites, and other firms had provided advice and equipment

Apartheid rolls on

ST Times 16/8/92 101

THE six homelands are set to gain administrative control of more than one-million hectares of land, prompting an outcry that the government is surreptitiously continuing to implement grand apartheid.

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

Plans for the transfer of the land, earmarked during the apartheid era for incorporation into the homelands, will go before the cabinet this month.

However, ANC spokesman on land affairs Aninka Claassens has already slammed the proposed move as "cynical and dishonest".

This land was formally owned and administered by the SA Development Trust, which was attached to the discredited Department of Development Aid.

In terms of the White Paper on Land Reform released last year, the incorporation of this trust land was stopped in the light of the government's reform process.

But the state has come under pressure from homeland leaders, who said the land was promised to them in the past and that they needed it now for development. The bulk of this "promised land" is being claimed by Kwazulu and Lebowa.

About 520 000ha of the land is already occupied by communities and tribes. A further 500 000ha, although partly earmarked, has not been allocated, and could be sold or developed.

Almost 240 000ha of this land is presently leased to farmers, mostly whites. The leases expire at the end of the year.

Prohibition

Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers said this land could not be left without tenants. The government would have to decide soon what to do with it and other promised land.

It had to reconcile promises made years ago to the self-governing territories, and policy contained in the White Paper which prohibited the incorporation of this land for state farming purposes.

The land, Mr Scheepers said, could not be sold on the open market, as this would create problems with extra-parliamentary organisations and with the homelands, which claimed it as their own.

An interim solution would be to place the "promised land" under the administrative control of the self-governing states. Joint structures between the government and the homelands would be set up to decide how the land should be used.

"We must come to an agreement with the self-governing territories on how they are going to utilise the land. It is not a question of merely handing over the land for administrative purposes," he said.

He stressed that while the land would be administered by the self-governing territories, it would still be owned by the state, pending further decisions.

Miss Claassens said yesterday the proposed action was ultimate proof of the government's bad faith over "de-racialising" access to land.

Recent government policy expressed in the White Paper was cheap fraud, she said. The only land identified by the White Paper for emerging black farmers was the same trust land which was now being given away.

By putting the onus for development of the land on corrupt and unpopular homeland governments, she said, the state was absolving itself of further responsibility for rural development.

It was an attempt by the government to pre-empt a new rural-development policy by an interim or future government.

Negative

"It indicates a mad scramble to get rid of state assets so that it cannot be used as a national resource in the future."

Miss Claassens said it was cynical and dishonest to say that the transfer of land was less serious because it involved only passing over administrative control.

For people living in these areas, administrative control by the homelands had exactly the same negative effect as full incorporation, she said.

If the government went ahead with its plan, it would be reverting to the unilateral apartheid land policies of the last decade, thus slamming the door on the possibility of negotiated land solutions.

● See Page 12

'Millions will flee to PWV area'

Bank warns of drought's huge exodus

B|DAY 17/8/92.

RAY HARTLEY

DROUGHT in the northern Transvaal could force between 1-million and 3-million people to move to the PWV area this year, according to the Development Bank of SA (DBSA).

The homelands of Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda are already under pressure from jobless labourers and from thousands of refugees pouring in from drought-ravaged Mozambique.

Farmers with no crops to harvest are dismissing workers. Most farmers are seeking alternative income and many have already put their farms up for sale.

DBSA senior project leader Hannes Sauermann said 1,2-million people from the far northern Transvaal were expected to move to the PWV this winter.

Between 2,5-million and 3-million people could desert the homelands for the PWV if no rain fell there by November this year, leading to serious overcrowding in the urban areas and the mushrooming of squatter camps, he said.

More than a third of the workforce on farms in the far Northern Transvaal — about 70 000 people — have been dismissed and sent to nearby homelands as a result of the drought.

About 200 000 refugees have fled drought-devastated Mozambique and poured into Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda in search of food and water, saidSauermann.

The area, the Development Bank's region G, could be categorised as a major disaster area, rural development experts said at the weekend.

A confidential report by a development agency working in the area said 90% of farmers surveyed had reported harvests of 5% or less.

About 10% of farmers had left the area and 80% were making a living by alternative means.

The 270 000 jobless people are putting great pressure on the Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa homelands, which have already been declared drought disaster areas.

Crop failure and the sudden population shifts have brought widespread malnutrition to the homelands.

Rural Foundation northern Transvaal regional manager Santa Bossert said farmers had been left with no choice but to fire all seasonal and part-time workers, as well as many permanent employees, following a disastrous fruit farming season.

Most of the remaining farm workers were working half-days, she said.

The development agency report said: "The last eight dry years have placed farmers in a position from which they cannot recover.

"The northern Transvaal's total development initiative has come to a halt as a result of the drought and its economic consequences," the report said.

"All existing development projects have come to a halt and will take at least two

☐ To Page 2

Drought

B|DAY 17/8/92.

years to restart if the economy recovers "

An expected maize harvest of 2-million tons had only yielded 252 000 tons while only 10 000 tons of an expected 65 000-ton wheat harvest had materialised.

Fruit orchards were dying and could take up to seven years to revive They were being maintained by substantially reduced staff who were working half-days in many cases, Bossert said.

"There's no natural water whatsoever and farmers have only had a 3% success rate in drilling for fresh water," she said.

She added that she knew of some farmers who had spent as much as R80 000 in the search for new water sources.

Visiting British engineer Ian Johnson described the situation in some areas of Venda as worse than Iraq and Somalia, where he had worked on drought relief programmes.

Johnson is a field worker for the British relief agency Registered Engineers for Disaster Relief (Red R) which has sent four volunteers to assist with emergency water provision.

At least 300 villages in the affected homelands are now totally dependent on water tankers for water, according to official homeland drought committee reports to the Development Bank.

The homeland reports also said:

☐ Almost 100% of the dry-land crops plant-

From Page 1

ed in Venda and Gazankulu this season had failed,

☐ A quarter of the total population in Venda was destitute and depended on food begged from friends and neighbours;

☐ Eleven percent of the children under the age of five in Venda were malnourished;

☐ Some 90 000 cattle — three quarters of the total for the area — were expected to die in Venda due to the drought, while those that did survive would not be fit for commercial sale;

☐ Nutritional diseases had increased by 337% in Gazankulu since June 1991

The DBSA was taking several steps in an effort to minimise the damage caused by the disaster, including feeding schemes and speeding up the implementation of several drought relief projects, Sauermann said.

An emergency pipeline to the Vondo dam which supplies large areas of Venda was being built and soft loans were being given to homeland governments for the recruitment of technical expertise needed to deal with the drought, he said.

A joint financial adjustment committee was looking into the total budget of the homelands with a view to shifting funds into emergency drought relief. Consultants were being employed to develop strategies to cope with the drought, he said.

Totting up the bantustan bill

(101)

W/Mail 21/8 - 27/8/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE discredited independent homeland system cost South Africa around R5,4-billion in direct transfers in the 1991-92 fiscal year, and more in indirect costs.

According to the latest edition of *Nedbank's Guide to the Economy*, Transkei tops the list with R2,0-billion, followed by Bophuthatswana with R1,7-billion, Ciskei with R1,1-billion, and Venda with R0,6-billion.

Direct transfers from South Africa make up about two thirds of budgeted revenue of the TBVC states, Magan Ministry, writing in the *Guidé*, reckons.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa assists with development money. Loans from the DBSA and other banks, among other sources, fill in the gap between revenue and budgeted spending, amounting to R1,9-billion in 1991-92.

"Total outstanding debt of the TBVC states was estimated at over R4,0-billion in March 1990. Considering the budget deficits in the following years, this figure is likely to have exceeded R7,0-billion by March 1992.

"In this context it could be argued that the major portion of the structure of the DBSA has been created to render financial assistance to the homelands, bringing further pressure to bear on the South African fiscus through DBSA administrative costs," he writes.

Outcry at state plan to hand control of land to homelands

(101)

S|Times 23|8|92

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE government has come under mounting pressure to drop its plans to transfer administrative control of more than one million hectares of land to the homelands.

The Democratic Party, the SA Council of Churches, the Association for Rural Advancement and the National Land Committee have joined the ANC in denouncing the proposed move.

Land Affairs deputy minister Johan Scheepers told the Sunday Times last week he would propose to the cabinet at the end of the month that more than one million hectares of former Trust land be administered by the six homelands.

The proposal was slammed by the ANC which accused the government of attempting to go back to grand apartheid. The transfer of administrative control would have the same negative affect on people's lives as the incorporation of the land into the homelands, the ANC said.

DP spokesman on land affairs Peter Soal said yesterday Mr Scheepers had requested a meeting with him after the DP had also rejected the proposal.

At the meeting on Thursday, Mr Scheepers had said he had come under pressure to transfer the land to the homelands. His proposal for administrative control was an alternative to this move.

He had asked Mr Soal for an alternative that could be put to the cabinet this Wednesday.

Choice

Mr Soal said the DP's first choice would be for the government to continue administering the land and starting to settle black farmers.

Alternatively, the land should be administered jointly by the government and the homelands with the aim of settling black farmers, Mr Soal said.

This would prevent the total relinquishing of administrative control, Mr Soal said.

Meanwhile, the National Land Committee, an organisation which acts on behalf of dispossessed communities, has called for a moratorium on the further disposal or transfer of state land pending the establishment of a legitimate process to deal with land allocation issues.

National Land Committee spokesman Joanne Yawitch said none of the communities with whom the organisation worked, and who could be affected by any change, had been consulted by the government.

"True to old-style apartheid, crucial and far reaching decisions about people's lives are being taken, without their participation," she said.

Govt suspected of plotting land move

B/Day 24/8/92 (10)

RAY HARTLEY

GOVERNMENT was considering handing over 1-million hectares of trust land to the homelands to avoid taking a decision on giving it to black farmers, DP spokesman Wessel Nel said at the weekend.

And development agencies called on the government to observe undertakings made at Codesa not to cede land to the homelands while negotiations on their future continued.

Nel said that government might hand over administration, but not ownership, of the land because the fate of white farmers who presently leased part of the land could become a thorny political issue.

Other sources said they believed government would transfer trust land to homeland control despite undertaking not to.

Nel said the land was ideally placed to be handed over to black farmers, but if this was not possible, government should consider renewing the leases for short periods.

"Government appears to have adopted a general strategy of running away from all the hard choices and dilemmas of its own making by passing the buck as quickly as possible," Nel said.

The trust land was bought by government from white farmers for homeland consolidation. Much of it has been leased out to whites, while other tracts have lain dormant for years.

Most of the land now in limbo adjoins Lebowa and KwaZulu.

National Land Committee (NLC) spokesman Joanne Yawitch said she feared homeland beaureacrats would end up with the land if control was ceded to them.

Homeland administrations were already struggling to supply water to many drought-affected communities and the additional budgetary responsibility would make things worse.

"This step by the state is a move calculated to pre-empt the possibility of a new government implementing a coherent and carefully planned process of allocating state land," said Yawitch.

Such damaging action could only be taken as a determination to carry grand apartheid policy to its logical conclusion.

Government was not divulging exactly which areas would be transferred because it feared an ANC-inspired "land occupation campaign". The NLC was mapping areas likely to be affected by using Deeds Office documents, said Yawitch.

A government source yesterday confirmed that no decision had been taken on what to do with the land.

The Natal-based Association for Rural Advancement called on the government to observe undertakings made at Codesa that there would be a moratorium on land transfers to the homelands.

Land hand-over 'very damaging'

STAR 25/8/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

If the Government pursues its plan to hand over control of more than one million hectares of land to self-governing homelands, it could do severe harm to communities on this land in terms of their access to pensions, health and social services and land, the National Land Committee (NLC) warns.

The intention of the Government to transfer the administration of this former South African Development Trust (SADT) land to various homelands was disclosed recently by the Ministry of Land Affairs.

It is the latest of a series of controversial moves to unilaterally dispose of land under central government control in the face of claims for restoration of land or reparation by communities which suffered under racial land policies.

"Such a step will not only have severe and detrimental consequences for the communities concerned, but will pre-empt the possibilities of establishing a coherent land and development policy in the future," an NLC statement reads.

The NLC noted that in the '80s the forced incorporation of communities such as Braklaagte, Moutse and Botshabelo plunged these areas into upheaval and bloodshed. "Now, the Government seems intent on replicating this experience."

The NLC, an umbrella organisation embracing a number of regional land rights and rural development groups, charges that "true to old-style apartheid crucial and far-reaching decisions about people's lives are being taken without their participation".

The land give-away to the homelands was out of step with moves toward an interim government.

"We believe that this step by the State is a move calculated to pre-empt the possibility of a new government implementing a coherent and carefully planned process of allocating State land. It will also bolster the homelands in the days before they are dismantled."

NEWS 'Agreements reached at Code

State accused in land transfer to homelands

Sowetan 25/8/97

■ Government buying support in negotiation process:

THE Association for Rural Advancement (Afra) has called on the Government to stop its planned transfer of 1,2 million hectares of land - 600 000ha of it in Natal - to the homelands.

Afra said in a statement that the Government refused to reveal the exact location of the land and it had fallen to the association and other organisations working on land issues to try to do this.

"The planned transfer contradicts statements the Government made in its White Paper where it undertook not to pursue consolidation of the homelands," Afra said.

"It also contradicts agreements reached in Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa)."

Afra could only conclude the Government was using the issue of land as a bargaining chip to buy support from homeland leaders in negotiations.

Govt 'will not hand over trust land to homelands

GOVERNMENT would definitely not hand over more than a million hectares in trust land to the homelands as weekend reports suggested, Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers said yesterday.

He said in an interview government still supported the principle of handing over land for private ownership to black farmers and the Cabinet would take a final decision on the fate of the land by the end of September.

"It is not government policy to hand over land to the self-governing territories. The principle for us is to establish black farmers as much as possible."

But a development agency source said yesterday government was still under pressure from the homelands to cede land to them.

The source said the majority of the land would be handed over to KwaZulu in an effort to consolidate that area for political reasons.

"This is just a technical smokescreen for a political decision that implies the continuation of the homelands in the long term

RAY HARTLEY

and strengthens the hands of those arguing for a federal system in negotiations," the source said.

Scheepers said the handing over of administrative control and not ownership to the homelands was only one of many options being discussed.

He said government was in the process of consulting political parties and organisations about what to do with the land, but would not name those taking part in the discussions.

"There is also some land which has been taken away from tribes and it must be given back," Scheepers said.

Some of the land was already occupied by black farmers, while other parts were being used for forestry and nature conservation, he said.

"The prime purpose is to try and deal with land ownership by communities. We must reconcile the promises of the past with the needs of the present," Scheepers said.

White Paper 'not last word'

STAR 26/8/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The addition of large tracts of former South African Development Trust (SADT) land to the six self-governing homelands would run sharply contrary to the Government's White Paper on the land question, says Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers.

Reacting yesterday to a storm of protest which followed press reports that the Government planned to augment the homelands by about 1 million hectares of former SADT land, Mr Scheepers stressed it was "untrue" that these territories would gain ownership or administrative control of this land.

No decision on the matter had yet been taken, he said. But his department was continuing to consult the homelands and other parties and would shortly make recommendations to the Cabinet.

The department's view was that it might be necessary to depart somewhat from the White Paper to relieve land pressure in the self-governing homelands. But this should not extend to incorporating SADT land into the homelands or placing it under their sole administrative control, Mr Scheepers said.

"We see the main issue as landless people; people in need of the land adjacent to self-governing territories. When we talk to these territories, they say: 'Our people need more land.' We are not shifting aside the White Paper; it is still a working document. But when you investigate possibilities, you go beyond the White Paper."

Mr Scheepers made it clear that, having consulted various parties, the Government would make its own decision. "We are still the Government and we must govern" was his answer to accusations that the move constituted unilateral action ill-suited to the phase of political transition.

He said he believed it would be impossible to take a decision that would satisfy everybody. But he appealed for parties to be "balanced".

blacks over land ownership."

But the National Land Committee (NLC), which appears to follow a line similar to the ANC's on the issue, says that if government is serious about dismantling apartheid structures, it should not consider handing any control to other authorities.

The NLC's Joanne Yawitch says: "Control should be retained by the relevant government agencies. In this case, it should be managed by the Department of Agriculture."

The land in question was formerly owned and managed by the SA Development Trust, linked to the Department of Development Aid. It was scheduled to be incorporated into six homelands but the process was halted abruptly last year following publication of government's White Paper on Land Reform.

Incorporation was seen as contrary to the reform process. But government caused a storm earlier this month and was accused of trying to continue to implement grand apartheid when it admitted that the land might be placed under the administrative control of the self-governing states.

Government's problem is that a solution is needed urgently and a Cabinet decision is expected shortly. Though much of the land is occupied by communities and tribes, nearly 25% is leased to farmers — most of them white — whose tenure expires at the end of the year.

The issue is exacerbated by government being caught in the middle of two pressure groups. The liberation movements are adamant that nothing should be done to expand or enhance the standing of the homelands. Yet self-governing leaders are demanding the handover of promised land for much-needed development.

Yawitch says a political motive which contradicts the spirit of Codesa is being attributed to the moves by the Department of Land Affairs. "Clearly, handing land over to the self-governing territories strengthens a political position. It enhances the influence of those territories, increases the number of people over whom administrators of those territories have influence and strengthens the hand of those who want a federal solution for SA."

But Scheepers insists: "While I am discussing the issue with the homelands, it is not our intention to hand the land over to any self-governing territory, either by way of incorporation or administrative control. It will remain the property of central government, whatever course of action is chosen."

Though acknowledging that Scheepers is aware of the need for a workable solution, Yawitch says any form of control given away will have severe implications for the people in the area. "Every aspect of their daily lives, from pensions to health and other social services, will be affected."

It is hard to believe government can be contemplating increasing the power of the homelands in any way and even harder to accept this in respect of the highly emotional land issue. ■

LAND FM 28/8/92

Jumping the gun

Government is sensitive to pressure over what must be done with more than a million hectares of land once destined for incorporation into the homelands.

Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers says he is talking to extra-parliamentary groups about the use of the land. He says he is open to suggestions and feels it offers an ideal opportunity to "try to address some of the imbalances between whites and

War over 'promised land'

STAR 29/8/92

TUG-OF-WAR COUNTRY: A herdsman goes about his work in Leeuwfontein, one of the "incorporation hotspots". INSET: Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers.

THE Government found itself in a bit of hot water this week over its attempt to auction off land earmarked for black settlement. The question JO-ANNE COLLINGE asks is: what did it think it was playing at?

THIS week's skirmishes over land raised quite a bit of dust.

The attempt to auction off 53 pieces of Government land on the Reef was stopped by ANC pressure, and Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers, verbally pelted by his critics, issued persistent denials that self-governing homelands were to get giant "gifts" of land.

Between partial retreats and coded messages, it was hard to make out precisely where the battle was going.

Were these controversial Government moves, involving privatisation and homeland control of land, simply blunders due to the lack of a coherent land strategy?

Or were they purposeful, if risky, steps taken in pursuit of a land strategy intended to underpin the National Party's political/negotiating position?

Incorporation

Scheepers made it clear that, while the Government was avoiding full-blown incorporation of land into the homelands, it was not going to deny homeland governments some say over what he called their "promised land".

The land in question, totalling about a million hectares, belonged to the now-defunct South African Development Trust. It was part of the infamous "13 percent" earmarked under the old Land Acts for black settlement and eventual incorporation into the homelands.

As Scheepers refined his denials of an outright gift of this land to the homelands, it became clear that the Government would probably share administration of these areas with the homeland governments.

To give the homelands ownership or sole control of the land would be to flout the White Paper on Land Reform, the Deputy Minister said.

"We are not shifting aside the White Paper; it is still a working document. But when you investigate possibilities, you go beyond the White Paper."

Joint administration would, in all likelihood, be accompanied by the sale of this land — effectively State land — to individuals or communities, Scheepers indicated.

Land rights groups, such as the Natal-based Association for Rural Advancement and the National Land Committee (NLC), have stated plainly that joint administration is as bad as outright homeland control, which is in turn as unacceptable as transferring ownership to the homelands.

Memories of incorporation are recent and bloody — in Moutse, Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein in the Transvaal, where resistance to the new administration gave rise to brutal vigilantism and security force repression. The Moutse land grab lit the fuse to virtual civil war in KwaNdebele in 1986.

Even the extension of homeland administration of areas beyond its borders has been resisted. For instance, the Border village of Mgwali brought a successful court action to have the arrangement declared unlawful.

The pointers from the past are unequivocal: by introducing even an element of homeland rule, the Government has chosen a path which runs a high risk of conflict. It seems strange that it should do this when political parties across the spectrum accept the imminent demise of the self-governing homelands.

The very obvious problem of landlessness and overpopulation in the homelands is the spur, says Scheepers. "We see the main issue as landless people, people in need of land adjacent to self-governing territories. When we talk to self-governing territories, they say 'Our people need more land'."

Although a considerable proportion of the 1 million hectares is already heavily populated, a fair chunk constitutes agricultural land currently being leased to white farmers, he points out.

The NLC's Joanne Yawitch asks: Why this sudden about-face? And ANC sources point out that it is entirely feasible to offer land to the landless without drawing homelands into the solution.

While squatter settlements mushroom, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, for one, has been less than adept at finding land to give the homeless secure tenure.

Earlier this month a Transvaal Supreme Court judge attempted to nudge the TPA into securing land for the people of Welverdiend, a community left high and dry on a deproclaimed diamond digging in the western Transvaal.

Postponing a hearing which could feasibly end in eviction, Mr Justice Mynhardt ordered that a copy of his judgment be sent to the TPA to urge it to find a real answer for Welverdiend. The court heard that TPA negotiations over about a year had been fruitless.

The extremely limited powers given to the State President's Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, set up to redress some of the injustices of forced removal, is regarded as a further comment on the depth of the Government's real concern with landlessness.

These factors suggest that the land deal is at least as important to improving relations between the homeland governments and the NP Government as it is to relieving population pressure. To the NP's political opponents it appears more than coincidental that homeland governments are being consulted about land just as President de Klerk's meeting with parties interested in strong regional government comes into view.

ANC sources charge that State resources are "being used quite crudely" by the NP for the party-political purpose of alliance-building. How far this will succeed remains to be seen. The six self-governing homelands are divided down the middle politically — Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele falling into the pro-ANC Patriotic Front camp and QwaQwa, KwaZulu and Gazankulu siding with the NP.

Pre-empting

The ANC's local affairs chief Billy Cobbett describes it as a "cautious scorched earth" strategy, while the NLC observes that the NP is intent on "pre-empting the possibility of a new government implementing a coherent and carefully planned process of allocating State land".

The land policies of the ANC and the Government differ fundamentally.

But during the period of negotiations, many believed, the policy differences were almost academic as implementation would remain suspended at least until the first democratic elections were held.

However, there is now some evidence that the Government has a land strategy in addition to a policy, and how the ANC and its supporters will match it remains to be seen.

War over 'promised land'

STAR 29/8/92

TUG-OF-WAR COUNTRY: A herdsman goes about his work in Leeuwfontein, one of the "incorporation hotspots". INSET: Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers.

THE Government found itself in a bit of hot water this week over its attempt to auction off land earmarked for black settlement. The question JO-ANNE COLLINGE asks is: what did it think it was playing at?

Memories of incorporation are recent and bloody — in Moutse, Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein in the Transvaal, where resistance to the new administration gave rise to brutal vigilantism and security force repression. The Moutse land grab lit the fuse to virtual civil war in KwaNdebele in 1986.

Even the extension of homeland administration of areas beyond its borders has been resisted. For instance, the Border village of Mgwali brought a successful court action to have the arrangement declared unlawful.

The pointers from the past are unequivocal: by introducing even an element of homeland rule, the Government has chosen a path which runs a high risk of conflict. It seems strange that it should do this when political parties across the spectrum accept the imminent demise of the self-governing homelands.

The very obvious problem of landlessness and overpopulation in the homelands is the spur, says Scheepers. "We see the main issue as landless people, people in need of land adjacent to self-governing territories. When we talk to self-governing territories, they say 'Our people need more land'."

Although a considerable proportion of the 1 million hectares is already heavily populated, a fair chunk constitutes agricultural land currently being leased to white farmers, he points out.

The NLC's Joanne Yawitch asks: Why this sudden about-face? And ANC sources point out that it is entirely feasible to offer land to the landless without drawing homelands into the solution.

While squatter settlements mushroom, the Transvaal Provincial Administration, for one, has been less than adept at finding land to give the homeless secure tenure.

Earlier this month a Transvaal Supreme Court judge attempted to nudge the TPA into securing land for the people of Welverdiend, a community left high and dry on a deproclaimed diamond digging in the western Transvaal.

Postponing a hearing which could feasibly end in eviction, Mr Justice Mynhardt ordered that a copy of his judgment be sent to the TPA to urge it to find a real answer for Welverdiend. The court heard that TPA negotiations over about a year had been fruitless.

over land raised quite a bit of dust.

The attempt to auction off 53 pieces of Government land on the Reef was stopped by ANC pressure, and Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers, verbally pelted by his critics, issued persistent denials that self-governing homelands were to get giant "gifts" of land.

Between partial retreats and coded messages it was hard to make out precisely where the battle was going.

Were these controversial Government moves involving privatisation and homeland control of land, simply blunders due to the lack of a coherent land strategy?

Or were they purposeful, if risky, steps taken in pursuit of a land strategy intended to underpin the National Party's political/negotiating position?

Incorporation

Scheepers made it clear that, while the Government was avoiding full-blown incorporation of land into the homelands, it was not going to deny homeland governments some say over what he called their "promised land".

The land in question, totalling about a million hectares, belonged to the now-defunct South African Development Trust. It was part of the infamous "13 percent" earmarked under the old Land Acts for black settlement and eventual incorporation into the homelands.

As Scheepers refined his denials of an outright gift of this land to the homelands, it became clear that the Government would probably share administration of these areas with the homeland governments.

To give the homelands ownership or sole control of the land would be to flout the White Paper on Land Reform, the Deputy Minister said.

"We are not shifting aside the White Paper; it is still a working document. But when you investigate possibilities, you go beyond the White Paper."

Joint administration would, in all likelihood, be accompanied by the sale of this land — effectively State land — to individuals or communities, Scheepers indicated.

Land rights groups, such as the Natal-based Association for Rural Advancement and the National Land Committee (NLC), have stated plainly that joint administration is as bad as outright homeland control, which is in turn as unacceptable as transferring ownership to the homelands.

powers given to the State President's Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, set up to redress some of the injustices of forced removal, is regarded as a further comment on the depth of the Government's real concern with landlessness.

These factors suggest that the land deal is at least as important to improving relations between the homeland governments and the NP Government as it is to relieving population pressure. To the NP's political opponents it appears more than coincidental that homeland governments are being consulted about land just as President de Klerk's meeting with parties interested in strong regional government comes into view.

ANC sources charge that State resources are being used quite crudely" by the NP for the party-political purpose of alliance-building. How far this will succeed remains to be seen. The six self-governing homelands are divided down the middle politically — Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele falling into the pro-ANC Patriotic Front camp and QwaQwa, KwaZulu and Gazankulu siding with the NP.

Pre-empting

The ANC's local affairs chief Billy Cobbett describes it as a "cautious scorched earth" strategy, while the NLC observes that the NP is intent on "pre-empting the possibility of a new government implementing a coherent and carefully planned process of allocating State land".

The land policies of the ANC and the Government differ fundamentally.

But during the period of negotiations many believed, the policy differences were almost academic as implementation would remain suspended at least until the first democratic elections were held.

However, there is now some evidence that the Government has a land strategy in addition to a policy, and how the ANC and its supporters will match it remains to be seen.

FINAL

PUBLIC AUCTION

SMUGGLED GOODS DESTINED FOR USA REDIRECTED TO RSA DUE TO US CUSTOMS SEIZURE OF IRANIAN MERCHANDISE

FINAL BALES

MASSIVE LIQUIDATION — WITHOUT RESERVE AT THE ISANDO WAREHOUSE, J H BACHMANN & CO (PTY) LTD, CLEARING AGENTS

Resulting from deterioration in USA/Iranian relations and current embargo on Iranian goods 23 bales of Iranian and Oriental rugs redirected to RSA on SA Winterberg, Bill of Lading No 625597, to be sold by public auction to pay pending fines and penalties imposed on US importer by US customs

PERSIANS, AFGHAN, TURKISH,

Bank will not help Masterbond victims, says Stals

STAR 29/8/92

BRENDAN TEMPLETON

MASTERBOND victims cannot expect the Reserve Bank to provide them with financial relief, says Bank Governor Dr Chris Stals.

He announced during the Bank's annual meeting this week that the Bank was investigating the possibility of introducing a limited deposit insurance scheme for private investors to protect them from loss of savings.

When Saturday Star asked him whether this could include Masterbond victims who invested through banks, the answer was a firm "no".

Banks acted as agents for Masterbond, taking millions of rands from thousands of pensioners even though this was illegal in terms of the Deposit Taking Institutions Act.

Stals said the registrar of deposit-taking institutions — who was answerable to the Bank — had paid out certain investors who suffered when some small banks were liquidated recently. This threatened to create the false impression that the Bank was a lender of last resort.

To clarify the situation the Bank intended to determine exactly when it would be willing to pay out private investors. The only guideline the Bank would use was whether such payouts were in the interests of the banking industry as a whole. Masterbond fell outside the Bank's ambit as it was not a registered deposit-taking institution, Stals said.

Others differed with him. They believed the registrar should have forced Masterbond to register because it was taking deposits from the public.

The registrar claimed Masterbond fell outside the ambit of deposit-taking institutions legislation as it accepted deposits on behalf of property development schemes and therefore acted only as an agent.

However, Masterbond also had shares in some of the properties, and Don MacKenzie, of the Masterbond Victims Disaster Fund believed this meant it could not claim to have been merely an agent.

Stals said he wished to end the five-year "marriage" between the registrar and the Bank.

The registrar had a regulatory role to play which could bedevil the Bank's proper function — the control of monetary supply.

"The registrar does not really belong in the Reserve Bank," he said.

Crisis talks loom on 'Bantustan' land deal

S/Times 30/8/92 (10) Gen

LAND and Regional Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers will hold talks over the next 10 days with the six self-governing territories on the future of more than 1-million hectares of former trust land.

The land was promised to these territories for homeland consolidation before old-style apartheid was scrapped. The bulk of the "promised land" was

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

allocated to Kwazulu and Lebowa.

Mr Scheepers had told the Sunday Times earlier this month he would propose to the cabinet that administrative control of the land be transferred to the "Bantustans".

He had come under increasing pressure from the six territories to fulfil the old promises of land transfer. The transfer of administrative control seemed to be a compromise, he had said.

However, the proposal was greeted with outrage by the ANC, the DP and other land-interest groups, on the grounds that the move would effectively mean incorporation.

Over the past two weeks, Mr Scheepers has held talks with the DP and the ANC over the proposals to the cabinet.

The DP suggested that joint administration of the land between the government and the self-governing territories would be a more acceptable option, as this would not mean the total relinquishment of control over the land.

Divulge

The ANC has also proposed alternatives.

Mr Scheepers said yesterday that the cabinet had discussed his recommendations last week. It was decided these should first be discussed with the self-governing territories before a decision was taken.

The response of the self-governing territories would be taken to the cabinet before the end of October for a decision.

Mr Scheepers declined to divulge the proposals he would be taking to the territories during the forthcoming talks.

However, sources in his department said some kind of joint administration between the SA government and the territories was in the offing.

Bike racer dies in Kyalami tragedy

MOTORCYCLE racer George Jeroudis was killed in a high-speed accident during the Yellow Pages Spring Challenge national championship meeting at Kyalami yesterday.

Fellow rider Freddy van Rooyen was seriously injured in the same accident.

Jeroudis was certified dead at the circuit by the track's medical officer.

Van Rooyen was stabilised and airlifted to the Johannesburg Hospital with suspected spinal and leg injuries.

The accident happened at the start of the second lap of the superbike race.

The two riders fell at the entrance to Total Curve at speeds of about 260km/h and crashed into safety barriers.

Both riders were treated on the track before being taken to the circuit hospital.

Clerk of the course Gavin Smyth said a full inquiry into the accident was already underway.

The two motorcycles were impounded for technical inspection with full statements taken from marshals and other race officials.

"The documentation will be handed to the SAP for further investigation," said Mr Smyth.

eace force

30/8/92

Page 1

(274) (327)

eace pro-
frica,"
he

had been totally dependent on existing security forces.

He hoped the new measures would add greater credibility to future investigations.

(251)

Miss Vos said her anisation was studying oldstone recommend would send it to 000 branches.

Talks on transport

SOUTH African and TBVC transport ministers met in the Ciskei yesterday to discuss the development of a southern African transport policy for the Economic Community of Southern Africa.

They also discussed road safety and the co-ordination of road traffic legislation for the region, and signed interim agreements on cross-border passenger and freight transport activities.

R14bn handout to homelands

GERALD REILLY

SA's taxpayers contributed nearly R14bn in grants to the six homelands and four independent states this financial year, much of it spent on salaries and perks for expanding bureaucracies, DP Homelands spokesman Peter Soal said last week.

He agreed with Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals that growing staff numbers in TBVC and homeland bureaucracies partly accounted for high government spending.

Central Statistical Service figures for the year to end December 1991 showed the number of bureacrats in the six homelands increased by 16 568 from 1990.

They were paid R1,045bn in the last quarter of 1991, compared with R813,634m in the same quarter in 1990. Soal said grants to the homelands in this year's budget amounted to more than R7bn — Gazankulu R929,330m, Kangwane R528,332m, KwaNdebele R386,984m, KwaZulu R3,148bn, Lebowa R1,912bn and Qwa Qwa R355,347m.

Grants to the independent states were also huge. Bophuthatswana got R1,862bn, Transkei R2,492bn, Venda R743,854m and Ciskei R1,114bn.

Soal said not only was it vital that SA drastically thinned out its own massive bureacracy, but an urgent investigation should be launched into the expanding civil services of the homelands.

One of the major problems to be faced in reincorporation would be resistance from vested interest in the bureaucracies — ministers and senior state officials with lucrative perks, courtesy of the SA taxpayers, he said.

SA told to gear up for global export

PRETORIA — SA industries were not geared to cope with a substantial increase in exports once global economic recovery started and export potential improved, Trade and Industry deputy director-general Gerrie Breyl said last week.

He stressed that one of the greatest challenges facing industry was changing a poor export awareness.

A recent survey of 608 manufacturers showed that 43,3% manufactured only for the local market, while 42,3% exported less than 10% of their production.

The normalisation of trade relations with the international community would increase competition. At this stage, however, many products were simply not competitive.

Urgent solutions would have to be found for several issues blocking trade expansion, notably political uncertainty.

Others were inflation, education and training of the work force, and reform of the tariff and tax structure. This was essential in any new economic policy aimed at accelerating industrial development and broadening the industrial base.

There had been breakthroughs in trade relations with central and eastern European countries, as well as Scandinavia. Trade with countries in the Far East, South America and Africa had grown "dynamically", relations with many western European nations had warmed markedly, and considerable expansion could be expected.

Despite a slowdown in world trade in 1991 for the third consecutive year, the total value of SA's two-way trade had grown from R102bn in 1989 to R115bn in 1991. Exports rose from R57,9bn in 1989 to R66,2bn in 1991.

GERALD REILLY

"This is a trend we expect to continue throughout the 1990s, especially now that most sanctions and trade boycotts have been lifted," he said.

Trade with Europe expanded from R44,4bn in 1990 to R45,3bn in 1991, trade with Asia from R19,9bn to R22,8bn, with the Americas from R9,8bn in 1990 to R13bn in 1991 and trade with Africa from R4,8bn to R5,9bn. However, the fact that countries worldwide were opening their doors to trade with SA did not mean local exporters could gain immediate or easy access to the markets. Trade with the majority of these countries was still at a low level.

Government believed the time was right for the private sector to explore international markets. The economic downswing should motivate businessmen to venture into world markets, Breyl said.

Breakthroughs in new trade relations had brought about a totally new dimensions in the country's overseas markets.

"Interest in SA products is at an all-time high as evidenced by the marked increase in the number of trade inquiries reaching the country's foreign economic offices over the past two years," he said.

Industry had concentrated on local production and the limited local market, and as a result had started losing its international competitiveness. It was imperative that a more outward approach be adopted.

Internationally, markets for manufactured good were expanding faster than markets for raw materials, he said.

Now ANC targets three bantustans

■ Bop, KwaZulu and QwaQwa face wrath:

By Ike Motsapi

THE ANC and its allies are now targetting Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu for "Phase Four" of their mass action campaign.

The action, which is similar to the one launched in Ciskei yesterday, is aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-leader of the mass action campaign, yesterday said: "In this period we must strive to finally release the remaining 400 political prisoners. We should also achieve free political activity in all parts of our country especially Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu."

The following actions would be undertaken:

● Build up pressure on the Government to meet the tripartite alliance's constitutional demands;

● Mobilise the broadest possible unity, stretching to all corners of the country in order to isolate the Government and its "puppets";

● Assist dismissed workers by way of regional or selected consumer boycotts, marches, pickets and occupation of offices where they had been employed; and

● March to the Mozambican border on September 29 to protest against the electrification of the fence.

Homelands issue a major obstacle to resuming talks, warns ANC

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, in the wake of the Bisho killings, has identified the homeland issue as a major stumbling block in the way of resumed constitutional talks.

As government negotiators struggled to evaluate the repercussions, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would say only: "This will have a major impact on negotiations." Government will issue a comprehensive statement today on prospects for negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday reincorporation of the homelands and the removal of Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo were prime obstacles to resuming constitutional talks.

Two months ago the ANC set its conditions for the resumption of talks.

In a separate statement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said Gqozo had to be removed as head of Ciskei and an interim administration "established immediately" in consultation with all parties.

Niehaus said: "The whole issue of reincorporation of the homelands has moved right up the agenda. Gqozo is running wild and it has now become a matter of urgency to remove him." The ANC would tell President F W de Klerk he had the power to remove Gqozo and he must do this "even if it does mean more violence".

He did not rule out demands for economic sanctions and said government and business, which had kept the administration afloat, would have to assess if they wanted to continue bearing the responsibility of association with Ciskei's ruler.

Meyer said reincorporation had been comprehensively dealt with at Codesa and all parties were in broad agreement that this would happen in a phased and orderly way, and would include plebiscites.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the ANC alliance had failed its first test of democratic politics, showing it could not deal with opposing political views and was intolerant of minorities.

The NP rebuked the ANC for "callous disregard for all human life", saying its attitude betrayed the hardline communists' strategy to bring the country to its knees and seize power by force.

DP leader Zach de Beer said reports of DP comment on the Bisho killings were oversimplified "in such a manner as to cause resentment in some quarters, which is not justified".

He repeated his criticism of the ANC leaders for deliberately putting marchers at risk, knowing there was always real danger to their lives. However, he also blamed the NP government for the tragedy to the extent that it continued to subsidise and support the homelands. And he criticised the Ciskei government for ordering troops to use live ammunition without any attempt to use non-lethal measures.

● See Page 8

Bernard Magabe of Hoechst will be [illegible] speakers. Anyone interested should contact Ms Agnes Matumba at (012) 342-2186.

(101)

Homelands haunt the Govt

THE CREATION of homelands, the cornerstone of "Grand Apartheid", had returned to haunt its creators, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

Reacting to the killings in Ciskei, the HRC said the shootings could be directly related to a government which had forcibly displaced nearly four million people "in the process of creating its master plan and robbing some eight million of their South African citizenship".

The Nationalist Government continued to keep up the charade that the four TBVC homelands were sovereign independent states beyond the jurisdiction of the "parent that gave them birth".

Sowetan 9/9/92

Churches push for referendum

Ciskei leader prepared to test support

BISHO — Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo — under pressure to resign after his troops opened fire on ANC marchers on Monday, killing at least 28 people — told church leaders yesterday he would accept his support being tested in the homeland.

Church leaders, who held a vigil for the dead yesterday, are engaged in negotiations on several fronts to get Gqozo to agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu telephoned President F W de Klerk on Monday night to get his support for the referendum. A church source said De Klerk had not yet responded. The ANC agreed on Sunday to a referendum.

"While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum," SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said after leading a three-man delegation to visit Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday.

Chikane said negotiations were being conducted around a possible referendum question. He said Gqozo would not commit himself to a timeframe, although church leaders were proposing a poll within six weeks. Chikane said only a referendum would ease the tension in the homeland.

Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he would be prepared to hold a referendum if his winning it meant full UN membership and international recognition.

Border Council of Churches executive member Simon Gqubule told reporters Gqozo was "highly emotional and angry"

PATRICK BULGER

during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his soldiers did not have time to think about what was happening when they opened fire on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday.

Police vehicles blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5 000 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

Mandela said: "What happened here was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him."

He told a news conference that "Bisho will rank alongside Boipatong on that roll call of infamy that recounts the past two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency". He said De Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process and within the context of the homelands had signalled to repressive structures that they could do what they liked to entrench their authoritarian rule.

Mandela demanded an independent investigation, the removal of Gqozo and the installation of an interim administration, the repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, and the removal of SA military intelligence officers.

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activ-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

□ From Page 1

ity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

SA and Ciskei police visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into their circumstances.

Meanhwile, ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday he did not expect to be fired on when he led marchers out of the stadium towards soldiers concealed ahead.

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise. No, I thought they wouldn't dare open fire."

Sapa reports the African Democratic Movement, which was formed by Gqozo, yesterday deplored the shootings but said it regretted the ANC decision to go ahead with the march, "with no apparent respect for human life and dignity".

□ Gqozo has not fled Ciskei and has no intention of doing so, he told Sapa in a telephone interview from his home in Bisho last night.

"I have no reason and no intention of ever abandoning my people. I am absolutely not going to give credibility to the non-democratic methods of the ANC and SACP and their mass action by fleeing."

Asked whether the SA government had put any pressure on him since the massacre, Gqozo said: "No. I don't believe the SA government will do that."

● See Pages 3 and 4

Sowetan 9/9/92

(101)

Homelands haunt the Govt

THE CREATION of homelands, the cornerstone of "Grand Apartheid", had returned to haunt its creators, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

Reacting to the killings in Ciskei, the HRC said the shootings could be directly related to a government which had forcibly displaced nearly four million people "in the process of creating its master plan and robbing some eight million of their South African citizenship".

The Nationalist Government continued to keep up the charade that the four TBVC homelands were sovereign independent states beyond the jurisdiction of the "parent that gave them birth".

ANC may call for homelands sanctions

B/DAY 10/9/92

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC was considering calling for the imposition of economic sanctions on the homelands, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed yesterday.

Niehaus said the ANC was looking at the way in which business interests contributed to the "propping up of the homelands", and was considering ways to isolate homeland economies.

A decision on the imposition of sanctions would only be taken by the ANC leadership once the extent of business involvement had been ascertained, he said.

Niehaus said in the light of the Bisho massacre, businesses should reassess their support for an "undemocratic regime that behaves the way it does".

ANC confirmation of its investigation into the relationship between business and the homeland states followed a statement earlier this week in which SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso raised the issue of possible sanctions. Mayekiso stated that "the democratic movement is considering a call for business sanctions against the homelands" (101)

Mayekiso said specific demands concerning financial institutions' involvement in the homeland states would be forwarded by Sanco to the Council of SA Banks soon.

"The banks in particular must now come to realise that to support an undemocratic government through loans and financial services can only lead to trouble," he said.

Govt will block ANC takeover at all costs

w/Mail 11/9-17/9/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government is convinced the African National Congress alliance has decided to use every tactic possible to bring all the homelands under its control in order to assume power when negotiations restart — and that it has no alternative but to resist this strategy.

It also believes that the Bisho massacre will look like a picnic if the ANC alliance takes its campaign to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Conflict would fan out through Natal and the Reef hostels would erupt.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent a memorandum to United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to send a representative to hold discussions with key political players and to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon "any further provocative actions".

In a hard-line document released at a Pretoria press conference, Botha charged that the ANC/SACP actions at Bisho and withdrawal from Codesa violated UN Security Council Resolutions 765 and 772. Mass action, he said, was "aimed at eliminating leaders of those parties who refuse to be cowed and intimidated by them".

He warned that the government was ready to use coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region.

One of the major spinoffs of the massacre, say government sources, is that levels of trust between the government and ANC have plummeted to a new low: they say agreements were reached at Bisho but the ANC leadership deliberately decided to break them.

They did not expect Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops to use live ammunition as the first line of fire, but ultimately Gqozo was in power, legally and politically, and it was his responsibility.

"It was a grab for power. The ANC wanted to change the chess board," one source said. "The ANC broke the agreed conditions and wanted to occupy Bisho. They should have known that Gqozo had his back to the wall. They wanted to oust him and they got their come-uppance."

The government believed the march was aimed at taking control of Ciskei and the occupation of Bisho was the first stage of a campaign to bring all the homelands under its wing. "After this, all other issues pale into insignificance. It could not be tolerated."

The source said the government had made a concerted bid to prevent conflict despite its scepticism about the real aims of the march.

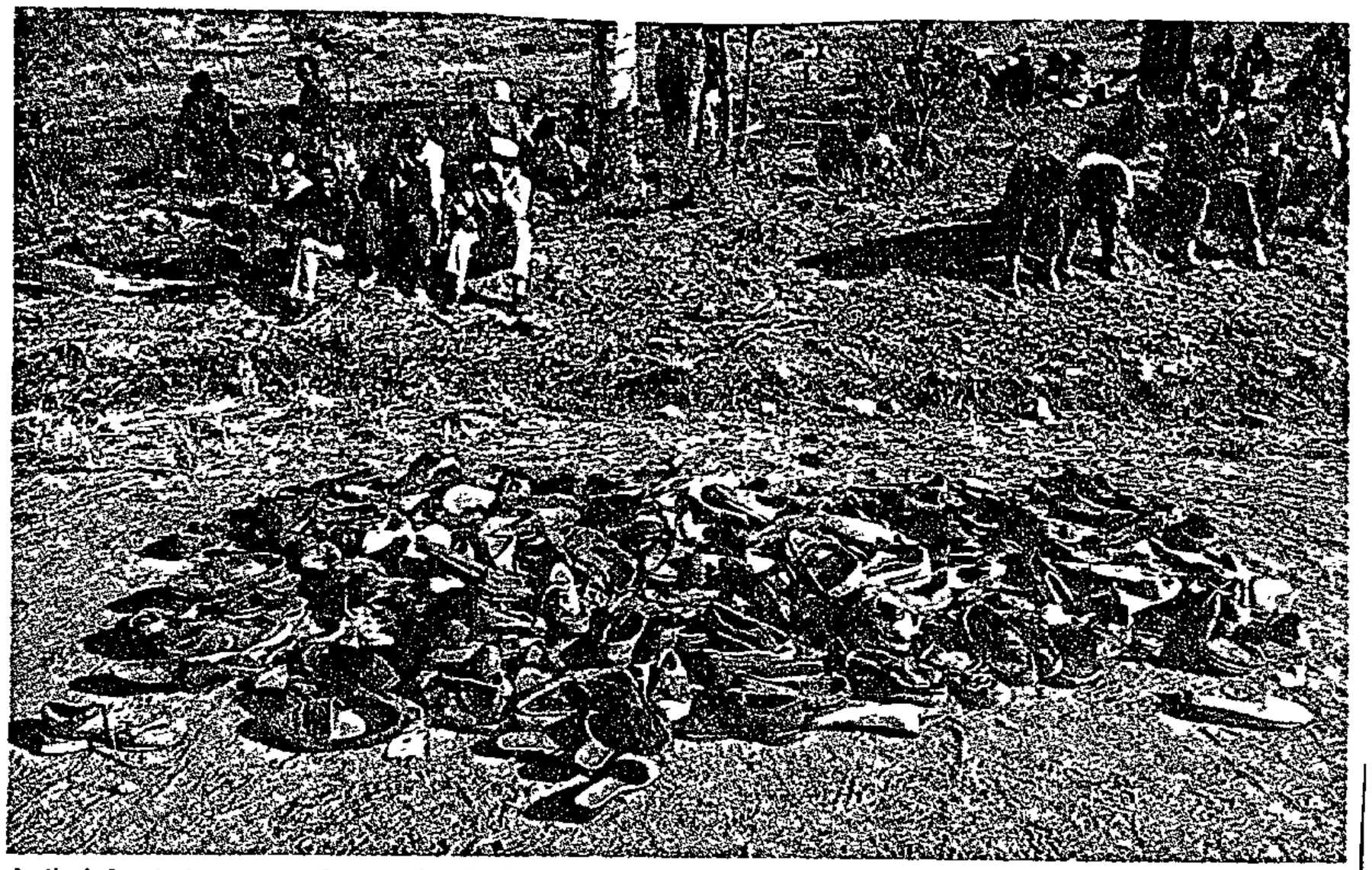
It sent representatives down a week before, the National Peace Committee was alerted, the minister of law and order and two deputy ministers were on hand, the ANC leadership was continually contacted, diplomats were briefed, and broad agreement was eventually reached, but these conditions were deliberately broken.

In the circumstances, it would be very difficult to restore reasonable levels of trust for meaningful negotiations to be resumed.

The sources also said Pretoria wanted to ensure that whatever happened, it would not be linked to the Ciskei government.

Botha had even phoned the SACP secretary general Chris Hani in the presence of foreign diplomats to reinforce the fact that it wanted to keep its distance from the Ciskei and persuade him not to force confrontation.

One source said the major beneficiaries of the massacre were those, on both sides, who did not want to see negotiations succeed. "Only two people, Gqoza and Ronnie Kasrils, had their planning right," the source said.



In their haste to escape the gunfire, fleeing ANC supporters abandoned their shoes Photo: SARAH PRALL

BISHO: THE LATEST ROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGOTIATIONS BY MASSACRE

Homelands move to top of the agenda

W|Mail 11|9- 17|9|92.

The Bisho killings present the ANC with a unique opportunity for an assault on the homelands —but the option is fraught with danger.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON** *and* **MARK GEVISSER**

THE Bisho shootings have presented the African National Congress with its sharpest dilemma yet.

Will it pursue mass action to bring political freedom to the homelands, even at the risk of more bloodshed and an evaporating possibility of resumed negotiations?

In the wake of the Bisho massacre the government is more vulnerable on the homelands issue than ever before. It is under mounting international pressure to pull the plug on its embarrassing surrogates — even though this would mean sacrificing vital members of a potential election front.

The actions of both the government and the ANC around the Bisho confrontation have been dictated by one overriding concern: the building and maintaining support for an upcoming election.

Also at issue are opposing conceptions of a future South African state. While the ANC favours a strong central state, the government is committed to maintaining the homelands as allies in promoting a federal option. The massacre coincided with President FW de Klerk's Pretoria summit for pro-federalist organisations.

At the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein last week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha stated that an NP-led alliance could win 51 percent of the vote, with the help of homeland leaders.

At the same time, the ANC has become increasingly aware that time is running out if it is to campaign successfully for constituent assembly elections in homelands which have systematically stifled free political activity.

In the past, the ANC has been slow to support mass action in the homelands, despite frequent calls from local activists in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. But escalating repression in these areas in an era when electioneering has already begun has prompted a renewed strategy.

There are already moves to extend the Bisho strategy. The ANC staged a peaceful march in QwaQwa this week, while an alliance march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho is tentatively scheduled for September 19.

Alliance leaders stress that the aim is not to take control in the earmarked homelands but to create the conditions for open political activity. And if that means deposing tyrants like Gqozo and Mangope, then so be it: "Getting rid of these leaders and achieving free political activity cannot be separated," commented ANC head of political education Raymond Suttner.

Added senior South African Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin: "We can't go into elections in places where lack of free political activity continues to be a reality. That is why it is imperative that we open up the political space. This is designed to normalise the political situation, not raise the political temperatures."

Countering Botha's complaint at a press conference yesterday that the ANC had not targeted Venda and Transkei because they were its allies, Suttner said these homelands were being exempted from mass action "not because they are our allies, but because they allow a measure of political freedom. (Transkei military ruler Bantu) Holomisa has personally acquired a degree of popularity, precisely because he allows free activity."

The government has also employed, with renewed vigour, the age-old strategy of attempting to split the alliance by blaming the communist tail, once more, for wagging the ANC dog. De Klerk said on Wednesday that "the communists have taken the ANC in tow".

While Bisho has undoubtedly caused latent tensions between moderates and militants to surface, the decision to embark on a mass action campaign in the homelands, starting with Ciskei, was almost unanimous at last week's national executive committee meeting.

And, critically, the motivation to start a mass action campaign in Ciskei came from the ANC's regional and local structures — and was simply ratified, not prompted, by national leadership.

An ANC tactical blunder and the savagery of the Ciskei Defence Force led to 28 deaths. But, on one level, Ciskei activists got what they wanted: the homelands are now on the agenda, and the point has been bloodily made that negotiations cannot continue until there is some level of political freedom in homelands like Ciskei, kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

But at what price? At a leadership level, the issue was hotly debated at an extended National Working Committee pow-wow yesterday, and is so sensitive that a tight-lipped ANC president Nelson Mandela would not even divulge strategy to high-level diplomats at a briefing between sessions.

Some in the ANC are beginning to ask whether the politics of confrontation in places like Mmabatho and Bisho will ever lead to what the ANC really wants: referenda to demonstrate the support of homeland citizens for reincorporation.

It is highly unlikely that De Klerk will agree to referenda that will show ANC support even in supposed federalist-front strongholds such as kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana. He may offer a compromise — the right to organise freely in these areas while their current rulers remain in place.

Blood and tears

Guardian (W (in W/Mail) 11/9-17/9/92 (101)

ONCE again the crackle of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable, and as difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have is on the African National Congress itself, which — despite its public face of outrage — must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of their leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, the ANC had to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homeland puppets of whom Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

By David Beresford

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignation of the brigadier) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which must be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making that mistake familiar to the hunters of Africa, of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the line constantly trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more ammunition has been provided; it will be only too easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, romantics of the gun determined to provoke a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiations.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry no weight; just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some face — saving theatre — before the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to reach a settlement, in the face of the popular fury in the townships which pays little attention to the distinction between the brigadier and president, between puppet and puppet-master. In the longer term, emotions will no doubt subside and the path towards a settlement re-open. But it is at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

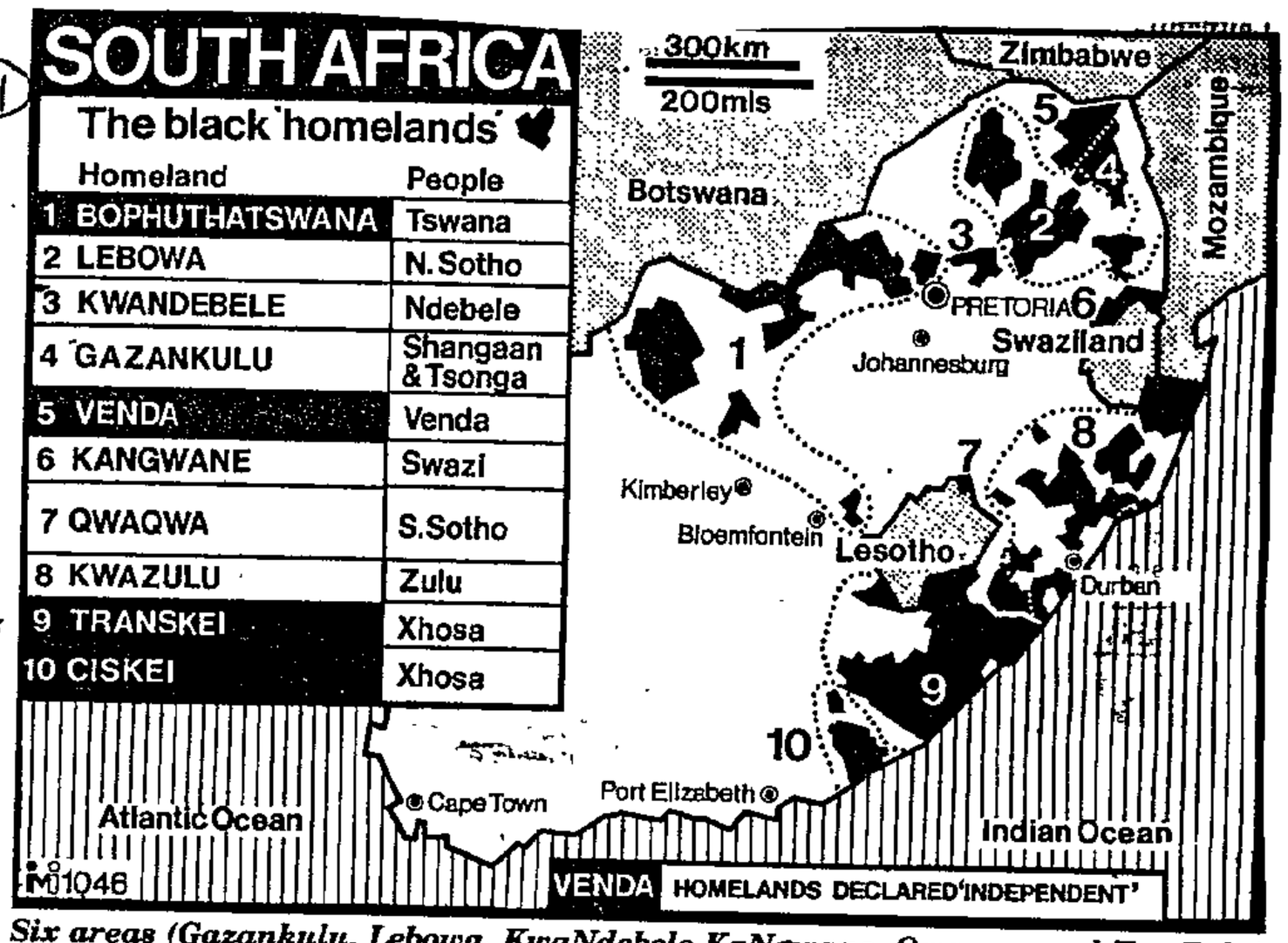
There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P. W. Botha era, will be dumped by F. W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to whispers in the ear from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. It is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.

It would be the sort of refreshing move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims are the members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Friday night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the bellicose chief declaring on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC, a fantasy which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as by far his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself, Chief Buthelezi, and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bi-lateral negotiations which have been taking place in secret over the last few months between the ANC and the government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.



Six areas (Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele KaNgwane, Qwaqwa and KwaZulu) are now designated as self-governing states. A further four (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda) are regarded as independent republics by the South African government but are not recognized as such by the UN.

D-DAY FOR HOMELANDS

Symbols of a tragedy: The imaginary Ciskei border is marked by soldiers and wreaths

Photo: SARAH PRALL

SA's negotiations by massacre

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92 (101)

Behind the showdown: Both sides have an eye on elections

THE African National Congress and the government are headed for a bloody showdown in the homelands. After this week's confrontation and massacre in Ciskei, the ANC is targeting President Lucas Mangope; the organisation has announced a plan to march on Bophuthatswana next Saturday. Tension is also building up between the kwaZulu government and the ANC.

The government yesterday signalled a hardline determination to resist the attack on its homeland allies. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ominously that the government was ready to use "coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region".

Both sides are driven by election strategy. The ANC sees it as essential to establish free political activity in these repressive areas before any voting campaign can begin. The organisation has also been under severe pressure from its members in these areas to do something about tough conditions in the homelands.

The National Party feels it has to defend its potential election allies if it is to survive a vote. Botha has said that with the help of homeland leaders, the NP can win an election.

At stake also is the government's notion of a federal state, with strong regions counterbalancing central government power. Without the homelands and homeland leaders, its federal option will be shortlived.

The ANC this week presented the government with a simple choice: either ditch your homeland friends, or shoot us.

The government and its allies chose the latter — setting the scene for a bloody confrontation that has little to do with the drive for peace, and everything to do with winning votes.

●See PAGES 2, 4, 5 & 19

ANC and govt face a daunting task

By REV NDLOVU

UNLESS the summit meeting between Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk comes up with something little short of a miracle, the ANC and the homeland regimes could still be heading for a major conflict.

The battle lines were drawn this week. The ANC added the removal of Brig Oupa Gqozo and other homeland leaders to its list of demands, upon which its return to negotiations hinged.

And in a series of separate statements released over the past three days, leaders of homeland governments have made it clear that they are presenting a united front and will not stop short of using force against ANC attempts to mount protests in their territories.

■ With specific reference to the ANC's proposed march this coming Saturday, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said on Friday his government would use force "to protect its sovereignty". The ANC has, however, indicated it will go ahead with the march.

■ Speaking in Ulundi on Friday KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi hailed discredited Ciskeian military ruler Oupa Gqozo as a "brother and a comrade in arms", and accused the SA government of expediency in failing to support Gqozo in the wake of the Bisho massacre.

ing him to use "all means necessary" to crush the protest.

City Press can reveal that this directive was sent not only to Oelschig but also to other SADF soldiers on secondment in various other homelands.

■ At the time of the Bisho massacre, State President FW de Klerk was hosting his conference on federalism, and consolidating the federal alliance, by means of which he plans to take on the ANC in forthcoming elections.

Chief among the elements of the alliance are those homeland regimes which the ANC is intent on bringing to its knees.

According to the government, with the aid of these and other groupings in the elections, the National Party estimates it could achieve 51 percent of the total vote.

It cannot therefore allow the homeland governments to fall; and the ANC cannot allow them to remain in power.

The proposed summit will therefore have an enormous task to address if it is to find a resolution to the crisis.

Arrested

On a number of occasions Buthelezi has indicated he would not hesitate to use force to stop "illegal" marches on Ulundi.

■ For his part Ciskei military ruler Gqozo has clamped down hard over the past week on ANC activity in the homeland. Hundreds of activists have been arrested and reports of intimidation by his security forces are rife.

This week he defiantly told the media he would not hesitate to take the same kind of action if the ANC were to march on Bisho again.

■ Meanwhile, according to German spy magazine *Top Secret*, and other intelligence sources, a directive was sent out to Ciskei Defence Force Chief Brig Marius Oelschig on the Saturday before the massacre, ordering him to use "all means necessary" to crush the protest.

But it is not even certain it will take place. According to ANC sources the government and the media had distorted the content of its statement in response to the De Klerk call. The ANC had merely, the sources said, agreed in principle to the desirability of such a meeting. It had not abandoned its original demands.

But there are three factors, which suggest that the government and the ANC could be forced to compromise. In the first place the UN presence this week will make it difficult for either side to break the rules. In the second, foreign governments are losing patience with the SA impasse.

Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the Bisho massacre has already led to the recalling of $13,6-billion (about R38-billion) in foreign debt. The government cannot afford that.

Pawns in fight to win voters

Sowetan 14/9/92

101

POLITICAL BUDDIES *Homelands divided in their loyalty to the ANC and De Klerk:*

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

SUDDENLY THE FOCUS is on the homelands - the much-maligned bantustans - as South Africa, and indeed the world, reels from the Ciskei massacre of September 7.

A closer look at the 10 homelands - four "independent" and six "self-governing" - reveals an emerging pattern of alliance-forging: those with the Government or the African National Congress. Only one of them seems undecided A sort of "who's with who" as battle lines widen.

In the background, but openly leading the race for dominance in these territories, are the National Party Government and the African National Congress.

Therefore, while homeland leaders, notably Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope, contend that homelands were not created by apartheid, anti-apartheid groups maintain that the NP consciously legislated for their existence and as such, their leaders are illegitimate.

The ANC says bantustan leaders are tyrants and dictators who must be ousted and interim administrations be installed while South Africa's future is being negotiated.

And while accusations are hurled from all sides about the shootings which claimed the lives of 28 marchers outside Bisho last Monday, what remained clear by late last week was that military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would not hesitate to order his men to shoot again.

He warned there would be further massacres if the ANC and its allies continued to "provoke" Ciskei authorities. And so have KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana, the ANC's next targets of mass marches.

March wold be tragic

Last week Buthelezi said the planned march on Ulundi would be tragic. Mangope said at the weekend that the ANC should not undermine his capabilities.

The ANC on the other hand does not view its marches as provocative but as a mass action strategy to remove what ANC leader Nelson Mandela last week referred to as dictators, tyrants and puppets of the FW de Klerk regime.

Also significantly, homeland leaders who addressed a special sitting of the UN Security Council on South Africa on July 17, were informed that in terms of UN resolutions on South Africa, they were speaking in their personal capacities and as "appendages" of the South African Government.

So, who is with whom as ANC prepares to march on Bophuthatswana on Saturday?

Between 1976 and 1983 Pretoria "granted" four territories "independence" and is the only one which recognises them as "countries" - Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda.

Of these, Transkei and Ciskei and Venda have military rulers following bloodless coups.

Among the "independent" homelands, the Transkei, under Major-General Bantu Holomisa, can be referred to as ANC territory. Holomisa and Venda's Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana openly call for the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa.

Significantly, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana are vociferously opposed to the ANC and its allies. Gqozo frothes at the mouth when he speaks of the "communist killers and destabilisers"

Mangope on the other hand, insists that for the ANC to be allowed to operate in his territory, it must register as a party with his administration.

The ANC rejects these assertions and insists political activity in the whole of South Africa is a right that should not have to be negotiated with "puppets".

Supress freedom of speech

The ANC insists that these territories use security legislation to suppress freedom of speech and political activity. In the case of the Ciskei, the ANC has called for the repeal of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which infringes on free political association.

The Bophuthatswana Internal Security Act which provides for detention without trial is currently more vigorously used than Pretoria's own version.

KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane are called "self-governing states" in terms of Government policy.

Of these, Lebowa, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele support the ANC.

KwaZulu and QwaQwa are known opponents of the ANC while Gazankulu is regarded a fence-sitter which is however more inclined towards Pretoria.

This is despite the fact that Gazankulu's chief minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, is a card-carrying ANC member.

Buthelezi and QwaQwa's Chief TK Mopeli, are known as De Klerk's allies and supporters of the federalism concept that is now being pursued by De Klerk.

The big question facing South Africa now is simply this: Is Saturday's going to be and Armageddon?

Govt looks to restructure TBVC debt

GRETA STEYN (101)

GOVERNMENT and the TBVC states are negotiating with SA banks to avert a major debt problem as the short-term debt mountain of the independent homeland governments nears R4bn. B/Day 15/9/92

A Finance Department spokesman said yesterday: "Consideration is currently being given to restructuring the existing debt of the TBVC states by way of a combination of money and capital market instruments, as opposed to the current method of only utilising overdraft financing."

Efforts to obtain official figures for total TBVC debt and the short-term component were unsuccessful, but the Finance Department confirmed that about 50% of the total was in the form of overdraft facilities with commercial banks.

With estimates of total TBVC debt (based on the De Loor report on development institutions) at R7bn to R8bn, it follows SA banks are owed about R4bn, with the balance thought to be owed to the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

TBVC debt is the SA government's responsibility as it guarantees payment. Official government statistics on debt do not, however, reflect these contingent liabilities. TBVC overdraft debts would take the deficit in this fiscal year to more than 7% of GDP.

The use of overdrafts to finance TBVC deficits was intended as a short-term measure but has persisted for years. Because short-term interest rates have exceeded long-term rates, this has added to the interest burden. The prime overdraft rate is currently 18,25% compared with about 14,20% on long-term government stock.

Asked why the debt should be restructured, the Finance spokesman indicated it was aimed at saving on interest costs.

"The amounts saved in interest costs

To Page 2

TBVC debt B/Day 15/9/92 (101)

From Page 1

would depend on the terms set by the creditors The banks might be reluctant to hold capital market stock issued in the name of the TBVC governments. The stock could prove to have limited tradeability on the secondary market.

Political problems have already emerged with a SA National Civics Organisation source saying yesterday an issue would be made of homeland debt

The Finance Department said there was currently "no possibility whatsoever" of government taking over TBVC debt

"Negotiations on the future handling of the TBVC debt will have to be concluded once final agreement has been obtained regarding the future constitutional dispensation," he said.

Economists argue the debt should be added to official government debt The picture would look much worse than the current "normal" level of 41,5% of GDP

The Auditor-General's report for 1990/91 noted all government financial guarantees including 13 cases where the maximum of the guarantee was not specified -- amounted to R21.2bn, more than a fifth of total domestic marketable stock debt

Nedbank economist Magan Mistry, who has done a detailed analysis of the homeland economies, estimates these states will add 10% to 12% to SA government spending if they are incorporated into SA As a percentage of GDP, the Ciskei and Venda had seen excessive levels of government spending (99% and 113% respectively)

The economies consisted almost entirely of government-related activity Mistry said "Attractive incentives for industrialisation offered to investors, including labour and capital grants, failed to make any impact on their manufacturing sectors in the absence of adequate accountability and supportive infrastructures".

Homelands could go

(101) CT 15 9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE first steps towards dismantling apartheid structures such as the three "own affairs" administrations and the six non-independent homelands will start next month when Parliament reconvenes.

The moves have been necessitated by an urgent need to cut government expenditure and to progressively purge race-based policies from the National Party, senior government sources said yesterday.

The plan, which was greeted "with acclamation" by the NP caucus "bosberaad" at the weekend, is seen as dovetailing with Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys' proposal to reduce expenditure by cutting the civil service by about 30 000 members.

Ministry of State Expenditure spokesman Mr Pieter Coetsee said each government deparment had been given until the end of this month to put foward a management plan which would bring expenditure down in real terms by three percent.

Finance sources said proposals for cutting expenditure should be ready in time to be incorporated into next year's budget.

NP sources said yesterday that the planned amalgamation of all "own affairs" departments and those of self-governing homeland states under single central ministries should prove a major cost-saver.

The legislation that will be dealt with in October merge "the administrative side of own affairs departments but not the political structures". The Ministers' Councils would be scrapped once a new constitution was negotiated.

● Sapa reports that Administration Minister Dr Org Marais said yesterday public servants rendering important services will not be allowed to strike in future.

Cosatu backs campaign against homeland leaders

Star 15/9/92

By Mike Siluma

The Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday threw its weight behind the ANC-led alliance's campaign to force homeland authorities to allow free political activity and speed up movement towards constituent assembly elections.

At a Johannesburg press conference, Cosatu assistant general-secretary Sam Shilowa said Cosatu would start its income tax boycott on November 1 and expected employers to do the same from December 1.

The decisions were taken at Cosatu's three-day campaigns conference which ended on Sunday.

Mr Shilowa said Cosatu, in addition to calling for the immediate resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had chosen Friday — the burial date of the Bisho massacre victims — as a day of mourning for all victims of political violence.

This would include a stayaway in the eastern Cape and other actions nationally, including work stoppages to allow workers to attend memorial services for the Bisho dead. Demonstrations would be held at Ciskei embassies.

"We have decided that mass action should continue, to create a climate of free political activity in the homelands, including Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu," said Mr Shilowa.

He blamed President F W de Klerk for the Bisho massacre. Threats of action to stop protests in the homelands targeted for mass action would not "blackmail" Cosatu into abandoning action in those territories.

While the conference supported a resumption of constitutional talks, it wanted Pretoria to take "practical steps" to curb political violence. Cosatu would consider on October 1 whether to call a stayaway when Parliament reopens on October 12.

ANC calls a halt to (101) homeland marches

AMG 15/9/92

Political Correspondent

PLANS by the African National Congress and South African Communist Party to march on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana have been put on hold following the intervention of Mr Justice Goldstone.

However, militant Cosatu members announced yesterday that they would single out several top companies as targets for political and industrial action.

Mr Justice Goldstone had appealed to the ANC through secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa not to go ahead with their march to Bophuthatswana this Saturday pending the urgent inquiry by his commission into the Bisho shootings.

"I have now been informed by Mr Ramaphosa that the appeal has been acceded to and that the proposed march will not take place," Mr Justice Goldstone said.

Government sources said the proposed Ulundi march would also be stayed for the same reason. Political observers anticipated another bloodbath if the marches had gone ahead.

These developments come as talks reconvene today between Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa to try to find a way out of the negotiations logjam.

Cosatu yesterday announced a programme of action adopted by its campaign's conference. Their members will continue rolling mass action and stop making pay-as-you-earn tax payments within weeks.

Cosatu decided to boycott a number of companies and the Transvaal Provincial Administration because they were allegedly "implicated in attacks on our members".

Boycott actions will also be taken against companies working with the Ciskei government and Ciskeian embassies and South African embassies in the TBVC states will be occupied.

Cosatu assistant general-secretary Mr Sam Shilowa said Cosatu would start its income tax boycott on November 1 and would expect employers to do the same from December 1.

He added that Cosatu — in addition to calling for the immediate resignation of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — had chosen Friday, the burial date of the Bisho massacre victims, as a day of mourning for all victims of political violence.

This would include a stayaway in the Eastern Cape and other actions nationally, including work stoppages to allow workers to attend memorial services for the Bisho dead.

Dismantling the homelands is a difficult and dangerous task, argues **Patrick**

is segregation
f Soweto.

'Puppet' label is misleading

STAR 16/9/92 (101)

SOUTH Africa's constellation of "black homelands," conceived as the pinnacle of apartheid social engineering, is proving to be the most difficult aspect of the apartheid system to dismantle.

A whole range of apartheid laws — from the prohibition on interracial sex and marriage to the denial of freedom of movement and unfettered property rights to blacks — have been abolished with relative ease.

But dissolution of the ethnically based "homelands" is a more complex and dangerous task.

The massacre at Bisho, and the risk of more bloodshed in the event of ANC-led protest marches against the governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, is clear evidence of that.

The main reason can be summed up in one word: empowerment. The homeland system has facilitated the emergence of black leaders, who — contrary to propaganda — are not mere puppets.

While they do not have the power of President de Klerk or ANC leader Nelson Mandela, they are not powerless. With varying degrees of skill and in different ways they have asserted their presence politically and given notice that, far from disappearing, they intend to play a role in determining the future.

One simple fact contradicts the popular view that leaders of the 10 "homelands" are marionettes manipulated by Pretoria: five of the 10 leaders have aligned themselves with the ANC.

The exercise of power by these supposed puppets against the wishes of Pretoria is not new:

- One of the first acts of Transkei after it became the first "black homeland" to be granted partial self-government by Pretoria in 1963 was to scrap "Bantu Education", the notorious system designed to perpetuate black servitude.
- Similarly, after Transkei became nominally independent in 1976, it scrapped a whole series of apartheid laws and, in defiance of apartheid ideology, turned itself into a non-racial polity.
- It is a matter of record that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu — whom ANC propagandists depict as Mr de Klerk's proxy — thwarted the bid by apartheid ideologists in the late 1970s and early 1980s to pressurise all 10 of these quasi-states into accepting "independence".

Their aim, as the Status Acts which conferred nominal independence on four of these tribal homelands shows, was to deprive blacks of South African nationality on the pretext of conferring the nationality of their designated tribal homelands on them.

The most dramatic recognition that the men serving in these apartheid structures need not be Pretoria's puppets has come from the ANC itself: when Chief Buthelezi prepared to launch Inkatha in the mid-1970s, the ANC saw it as a vehicle which could advance, not retard, the cause of liberation and sought to influence its activities from abroad.

As Oliver Tambo, the ANC's immediate past president, has acknowledged, Inkatha was the product of an agreement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, who, as Mr Tambo has similary admitted, only assumed the reins of leadership in KwaZulu after consultations with the ANC.

The ANC-Inkatha partnership, as South Africa knows too well, ended acrimoniously, with the ANC accusing Chief Buthelezi of dressing Inkatha in ANC colours and building it "into a personal power base" and Chief Buthelezi riposting that the ANC's exiled leadership was trying to hijack Inkatha for its own ends.

Since then, and particularly since the release of Mr Mandela in February 1990, the ANC has applied, with conspicuous success, the same stratagem of winning "bantustan leaders" to its side.

Its allies include two leaders who came to power in military coups: General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramashuwana of Venda.

Today Transkei is seen by some observers as an ANC fief, with its defence force allegedly providing training facilities, logistical support and weapons for ANC guerillas at the expense of South African taxpayers.

Venda, like Transkei, is a member of the ANC-led Patriotic Front. The ANC's wooing of Brigadier Ramashuwana, a South African-trained policeman, is an even more spectacular triumph.

Brigadier Ramashuwana's April 1990 coup, carried out to restore "law and order" and welcomed by President de Klerk as a bulwark against chaos, is suspected as having been instigated by South Africa's military establishment. The military's rationale, it is hypothesised, was to organise a coup by their own man rather than allow ANC activists to overthrow the enfeebled and incompetent administration of Venda's last president, Frank Ravele.

It is well known that Brigadier Ramushawana was jeered by ANC supporters shortly after he took power. The suspicions lingers that Brigadier Ramashuwana, having feinted towards the ANC to silence his opponents, is still Pretoria's man and that he may yet move in another direction.

President de Klerk, having lost the battle for Transkei, in part because of suspicions that Pretoria had sided with South African companies which were allegedly ripping off Transkei, has not been idle. He has drawn five "homeland leaders" to his side, in large measure by positing a future South Africa with strongly based regional governments. His five black allies believe or hope they will be able to wield power within strongly entrenched regional governments, instead of being overwhelmed by an ANC-controlled central government.

The competition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration for the loyalties of "homeland leaders" has strengthened their position. Neither the ANC nor Mr de Klerk dare ignore their wishes for fear of driving them into the opposing camp.

There is one more potent reason while their wishes cannot be ignored. All have men under arms. Four of these 10 quasi-states have their own armies. All 10 have their own police forces.

The leaders may be despised in some quarters as puppets. The guns of their security forces, however, are real, as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's soldiers showed at Bisho on September 7. □

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1) FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 18 1992 MORNING FINAL

Govt prepares to clip wings of 'independent' states

Leash for homelands

STAR 18/9/92.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is preparing legislation to clip the wings of the homelands, including the possible absorption of their defence forces.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer made this clear yesterday, elaborating on President de Klerk's announcement on Wednesday night

He said the proposed legislation — which was still subject to negotiations with the homelands — could be implemented in several ways.

The four "independent" TBVC homelands could become merely non-independent self-governing territories, or certain of their powers — such as defence — could be surrendered to South Africa

The effect on the six self-governing territories could be that their powers and functions are absorbed totally into the SA Government.

Armies

Mr Meyer said that if the independent states — including Ciskei — were transformed into self-governing territories, they would immediately lose their armies.

He pointed out that negotiations between the Government and the homelands aimed at integrating their armies had been under way since April when he was Defence Minister.

He did not make it absolutely clear whether the changes to the homelands would occur before or at the time when interim government was introduced in SA.

A Cabinet source told The Star that the proposed legislation would not affect any agreements reached at Codesa. This suggested that the curbing of homeland functions would occur only when interim government was introduced in South Africa.

Mr Meyer did say that the proposed legislation would not be ready to be tabled at the short session of Parliament next month.

He also said Pretoria did not intend appointing blacks to the Cabinet under the present dispensation

This was not the intention of proposed legislation which would allow non-MPs to serve on the Cabinet.

The purpose was to legalise the position of Finance Minister Derek Keys — who is not an MP — without holding a by-election, he said.

In another development yesterday, sources close to negotiations said the all-important summit on violence between Mr de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela could take place as early as next week.

It is understood that the Government and the ANC are now very close to agreement on the three ANC conditions for the summit — the release of political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and greater security at hostels

High-level delegations of the ANC and Government met yesterday and another meeting is expected today when a date could be set.

Mr Meyer told the Transvaal NP congress yesterday that progress had been made

Earlier, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met Mr de Klerk and expressed concern about any infringement of the right of Zulus to bear traditional weapons.

Mr Meyer said the Government and ANC basically agreed on this issue but were trying to find a formulation acceptable to both sides.

He also indicated that agreement was possible on the other two issues.

Mourning the dead . . . ANC supporters hold a candlelight vigil outside the South African embassy to Ciskei in King William's Town last night before today's funeral.
Picture: Andrew Ingram

Homelands a 'major obstacle'

STRASBOURG. — The European Parliament called yesterday for the rapid formation of a transition government in South Africa. (101)

It called on the 12 European Community member states to "exercise the firmest pressure on South Africa to take concrete steps constituting real progress in dismantling of apartheid".

— Sapa-AFP CT 18/9/92

MASS ACTION FM 18/9/92

Dangerous fiction

If worst fears are realised, the killings at Bisho and the forthcoming ANC march on Bophuthatswana could turn out to have been mere curtain-raisers to the kind of showdown that is possible when the ANC alliance marches on Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital.

FM 18/9/92 101

The arrival this week of United Nations observers may help to avert a catastrophe. Six are scheduled to be stationed in Natal, but the co-chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, M C Pretorius, believes it might be advisable for all 16 observers to come to Natal when the ANC march takes place (by Monday no date had been set).

KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi fears the march will have grave consequences. He says that "the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance have said they want to march on Ulundi to carry out the plans they started in July 1990, when they called for stayaways and strikes to put pressure on President F W de Klerk to dismantle KwaZulu and to disband the KwaZulu Police."

But Buthelezi stresses that KwaZulu cannot be compared to any of the areas where marches have been staged. "There is already a low-intensity civil war between members of the ANC alliance and members of the IFP. So tensions here are higher than anywhere. The language used in Bisho by some of the leading members of the national executive committee of the ANC, such as Chris Hani, who called me a madman and other names, sets the tone of the spirit in which they will be coming here. The consequences of these provocative actions are too ghastly to imagine."

Buthelezi makes it clear that such a demonstration would be resisted, though he declines to comment on exactly how this will be done. "The KwaZulu administration was set up by law and if it is to be dismantled at all, this should be done legally. Marching in order to topple me is not a peaceful demonstration. It is up to the Zulu nation, which is being challenged, to decide how to react to this."

KwaZulu is indeed different from Bophuthatswana or Ciskei because it is officially part of SA, whereas they are recognised by Pretoria as independent, sovereign states. Buthelezi was an enduringly sharp thorn in the side of the previous National Party administration because he refused to accept independence. And, Buthelezi argues, "we were a sovereign kingdom before we were conquered as a nation. This cannot be said of any of the other self-governing territories. We are not independent — and we are, therefore, not what they call a bantustan in any sense."

Buthelezi's arguments have considerable force of logic. They are another illustration that this latest phase of ANC mass action is not aimed at homeland leaders but at those hostile to the ANC. Thus there is no talk of marching against Major General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei, which is just as much a bantustan as Ciskei, while Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has been singled out

cont —>

FM 18/9/92

for "toppling".

The fact that KwaZulu is not independent may be helpful. It means that the SA Police can be deployed, after the necessary consultations between Pretoria and Ulundi. And it seems fair to hope that the SAP would be rather less quick on the trigger than the Ciskei soldiers were at Bisho.

What is clear is that De Klerk must grasp the homeland nettle and accept what the rest of the world and most South Africans have known for years — that sovereign independence for the "national states" has always been a dangerous absurdity. ■

and will set up job-creating operations in such ment."

State presses ahead with homeland incorporation

W/Mail 18/9 - 24/9/92

Weekly Mail Correspondent

LAND has become a major bargaining chip in the game of negotiations and winning support for a federal option for South Africa. The government's recently exposed plan to transfer about 600 000ha of state land to kwaZulu administration — and a further 600 000ha to other homelands' administration — is more than a routine administrative matter. The proposed transfer aims to further strengthen kwaZulu's power in the drive to a federal future.

Several seemingly unrelated developments point to this. Following the Bisho massacre, kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo met at a private dinner in Ulundi. The brigadier later attended the reed dance ceremony at Ulundi where he pledged Ciskei military support to kwaZulu.

KwaZulu also this week threatened to secede if it was not incorporated into South Africa on its terms. And in August this year, kwaZulu Finance Corporation (KFC) executive director Marius Spies revealed that a proposal was being looked at which would enable the KFC to take over regional activities of the South African Development Trust Corporation (SADC) in Natal. The SADC was disbanded in March this year, along with the discredited Department of Development Aid.

Spies said an agreement had been signed by Buthelezi and Land and Regional Affairs Minister J de Villiers allowing the KFC to extend its operations beyond the former scheduled black areas of kwaZulu.

At the recent National Party congress in Bloemfontein, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the government needed about a million Zulu votes.

The government's latest attempt to buy support from homeland parties contradicts its own undertakings on land reform. In its 1991 White Paper on Land Reform, the government undertook to abandon apartheid policies of land allocation — including an end to incorporation of land into the homelands. Nevertheless, it transferred three million hectares of state land to the six homelands in March.

The current transfer comes under a veil of secrecy and an absence of consultation with communities which might be affected. Despite repeated requests for the whereabouts of the land to be made public, the government has refused to do so. Despite communities' written objection to such transfer, Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers is yet to meet them. Meanwhile, talks continue between the minister and homeland parties.

A range of political players in Natal have come out in opposition to the plan. The Democratic Party's Wessel Nel, referring to the land earmarked for transfer, said in a statement in August: "It is incumbent upon the government to consider first any recommendations of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, submissions by the affected communities and rural development needs and then to negotiate an acceptable practical solution."

The southern Natal region of the African National Congress has also begun to put pressure on the government. On September 9, a delegation from the region presented a memorandum calling for the "immediate termination of any intention of the South African government to transfer land to kwaZulu and other bantustans". And on September 12, about 5 000 Clermont residents marched to the local police station to protest against the planned transfer.

This opposition has drawn sharp response from the Inkatha-owned *Ilanga* newspaper. In an article entitled "Watch out for the land wolf", the newspaper warned: "People must beware of those who merely wish to use the sacred issue of land as an instrument to divide people and create conflicts that enable them to further their nefarious plans for an undemocratic one-party state." This week, *Ilanga* claimed that opposition to the transfer was an ANC/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions plot to stop kwaZulu gaining control over land that was due to it. The newspaper further claimed that the 600 000ha was being returned to kwaZulu in terms of a 1988 ruling.

Past attempts to force homeland control on to communities have not achieved the desired results and are unlikely to do so in the current situation. However, informed sources say the negotiations deadlock has given the government time to press ahead with pre-emptive restructuring.

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

DIPLOMA IN PRIMARY HEALTH CARE EDUCATION

The University of the Witwatersrand, Health Services Development Unit in conjunction with the Departments of Community Health and Nursing Education offers the Diploma in Primary Health Care Education.

Requirements :
- Matriculation certificate and
- registration with SANC as a general Nurse with a Diploma in Community Nursing Science or a Diploma in Clinical Nursing Science, Health Assessment, Treatment and Care. or registration with the SAMDC or other relevant body and
- currently and actively training personnel in Primary Health Care.

Course Duration : Two (2) years Part-time study, (which includes 12-16 weeks of residential Blocks - spread over the two (2) years).

The course aims to provide education skills and a framework of understanding for the Primary Health Care educator / trainer emphasising adult education and other relevant approaches.

Applications are invited for the 1993 - 94 course from candidates who fulfil the above requirements, and should be sent to :

The Assistant Registrar, Faculty of Medicine, University of the Witwatersrand, Medical School, 7 York Road, Parktown 2193.

The closing date is 31 October 1992.

For further information contact Katrina Burts at (011) 647-2607 or 647-2015.

ARG 19/9/92 (101)

Why ANC has homelands figured out

The ANC's concerted challenge in politically hostile homeland states underlines a sobering view that the rural vote, particularly in Natal and the Eastern Cape, will be critical in future democratic elections. MICHAEL MORRIS of the Weekend Argus Political Staff considers why Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu are key targets in the ANC's mass action campaign.

ABOUT a month before the Bisho massacre the ANC led 30 000 supporters in a tense but peaceful march into Ciskei to register its presence and plant its standard.

Careful and intense negotiation averted a clash with the Ciskeian authorities and, from that perspective at least, the event was hailed a success.

Why then, many asked after the Bisho massacre, did the ANC risk a repeat exercise that was bound to inflame the Ciskeian government?

It was not simply irrepressible political bellicosity. The reason is that Ciskei, like Kwazulu and Bophuthatswana, is an important reservoir of votes.

In the aftermath of the Bisho debacle a march in Bophuthatswana has been shelved, and plans for a march on Ulundi are in the balance.

But each of these enclaves remains politically significant to the ANC which, despite its historical pre-eminence in black politics, cannot afford to take its support, or its opposition, for granted.

The position is well documented in a briefing paper by South Africa Foundation researcher Ingrid Uys.

Her report, in fact, cites a remarkably effacing ANC paper issued this year which acknowledges, among other things, that:

- In many of the areas where the concentration of potential voters is greatest, such as Natal and the northern Transvaal, the movement is organisationally weak and its membership is low.
- Many of the areas with a high concentration of voters, such as Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu, fall under black governments hostile to the ANC, and are where the movement is hampered in efforts to organise.

Coupled with these is the fact that, because of the historic denial of the democratic process to black people, there is widespread illiteracy and unfamiliarity with voting procedures among rural Africans.

Some of the most telling figures the South African Foundation report highlights are estimates of the number of eligible voters in the first nonracial elections.

This is how it is likely to look:

Of a total (including all self-governing and independent homelands) of 19,5 million voters:

- 14,1 million (72 percent) will be black;
- 3 million (15,5 percent) will be white;
- 1,7 million (9,1 percent) will be coloured;
- 663 600 (3,45 percent) will be Asian.

Of the expected 14 million black voters:

- 2,1-million (11,1 percent) will come from Kwazulu — Inkatha's stronghold;
- 926 000 (4,7 percent) will come from Bophuthatswana;
- 402 000 (2,1 percent) will come from Ciskei

Collectively, there are likely to be about 3,4 million black voters in Kwazulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana ... just under a quarter of the total potential black vote.

(The significance for the ANC of the Transkei — where ANC-sympathetic General Bantu Holomisa holds sway — is notable, since potential votes total some 1,5 million).

One analyst, writing in an earlier South African Foundation Review, noted that "the least organised and most economically deprived people are likely to hold the balance of power in a democratically elected South Africa and the party that can organise and deliver those votes could end up on top ... rather than the most popular party in the urban areas".

Two out of every five voters will come from the Eastern Cape and Natal. Indeed, the 3,8 million voters in the PWV region will be smaller than the 4,3 million in the Natal region.

Against this background, it is clearer why the ANC is taking the three most conservative homeland leaders so seriously, and challenging them so aggressively. It cannot afford not to.

USIONS

STRATEGIES FOR

NDEP. TRADE UNIONS

ACCUSHS.

EC calls for peace accord to cover homelands

(101) (24) ARG 28/9/92

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd has called for South Africa's National Peace Accord to be extended to cover the homelands after the Bisho massacre.

Speaking for the European Community in an address to the UN General Assembly, he also appealed to the South African government to exercise firm control over security forces throughout the nation.

Mr Hurd reaffirmed the EC's support for South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic, united society.

focus on Homelands

There have been strong calls for the reintegration of homeland defence forces into South Africa following the massacre at Bisho. Writing in the SA Defence Force Review, two academics discuss the prospects of reintegrating the homeland armies. **Monk Nkomo** reports:

(101)

Sowetan 24/9/92.

THE CISKEI AND VENDA defence forces - which have been plagued by problems of discipline and the lack of military tradition - need to undergo intensive military re-training before the unification of their armed forces with the South African Defence Force.

This is the view of Mr Greg Mills and Mr Geoffrey Wood, lecturers at the universities of Western Cape and Rhodes respectively on the future prospects of the homeland defence forces.

Writing in the latest edition of the *South African Defence Review*, both academics say the four homelands - Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei and Transkei - which have been plunged into political turmoil, including coups, were clearly facing reincorporation into South Africa.

Given their differences in terms of size, structure, status and capability, the Transkei and Bophuthatswana defence forces may play a significant role in the process of military restructuring. The armies of Ciskei and Venda will probably not do so, Mills and Wood say.

Ultimate role

"Whatever their ultimate role and status in the future, the process whereby the handful of armies are reintegrated will be one of the key issues in the restructuring of the South African armed forces," Mills and Wood say.

"Plagued by problems of discipline and the lack of any military tradition, the Venda and Ciskei defence forces will have to undergo substantial military retraining and, in the short term at least, cannot be entrusted with any strategic or ideologically sensitive role."

The two academics say in all the homeland armies, rapid promotion of inexperienced officers had taken place creating certain expectations at lower ranks which could not always be fulfilled. All four homelands mentioned in the article had experienced political problems including coups.

Alleged corruption

Widespread dissatisfaction at alleged corruption and over the favouring of South Africans for senior posts in the Bophuthatswana defence force was revealed in February 1988 when elements of the BDF staged an abortive coup. Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope was re-installed following military intervention by the SADF.

Ciskei strongman Mr Lennox Sebe was deposed by his Chief of Intelligence, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo on March 4, 1990.

"Sebe appealed for help from South Africa but his pleas were ignored," the academics say. Endemic corruption was cited by the military in justifying the two successful coups in Transkei in 1987.

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana ... armies plagued by problems of discipline.

In the first coup, President George Matanzima was toppled and replaced by Mrs Stella Sigcau. After 12 weeks in office, she was thrown out by a Military Council led by General Bantu Holomisa. Like Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana, Venda has not been immune from political turmoil.

Seized control

On April 5 1990 Lt- Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, the second-in- command of the Venda defence force, seized control.

Referring to these homelands' relationship with liberation movements, the two academics say Bophuthatswana has continued to act vigorously against political activists, especially members of the African National Congress.

Following the recent killing of about 29 ANC supporters in his territory, Gqozo remains an enemy of the ANC and its allies. Holomisa has "cordial, albeit informal ties with both the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress as well as its military wings, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). The Transkei defence force was viewed as sympathetic to the ambitions and sensitiveness of the liberation movements.

Like the Ciskei defence force, the Venda army, both academics say, has remained "a small unit beset with disciplinary problems and characterised by highly ambiguous political allegiances".

The two academics say politicians will have to define the parameters of future military reconstruction.

"Ultimately, it is the final form of the political settlement that will determine the future role of the homeland armies," they conclude

THE INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS

Orphans of the storm

The contradictions of the TBVC states have returned to haunt Pretoria

It's pointless to rely on principle when seeking answers to what's happening in the TBVC states These overcrowded, impoverished and generally militarised homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Venda — were given a spurious independence under separate development. Now, in different ways, they are asserting a right to think and act for themselves.

If principles did ever apply in their affairs, they crumbled years ago — along with grand apartheid. All that now seems to matter is strategy and political expedience. Stigmatised for years as the "children of apartheid," the four nominally independent states have now become orphans of the dead ideology.

They have no legitimacy outside SA; and while technically autonomous, rely heavily on massive cash handouts from Pretoria. Simply propping them up financially is costing more than R6bn a year.

In addition, much of this money is going into wasteful security expenditure. Military dictators rule Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope survived a coup in 1988 only after direct SADF intervention. The three successful coups were initially seen as engineered actions to replace autocratic and corrupt civilian governments with pro-Pretoria military men trained by the SADF or the SAP. The coup leaders behaved predictably and entrenched themselves.

Hani

In Transkei there were suggestions that the civilian government ousted by General Bantu Holomisa in 1987 was leaning ominously towards the ANC and needed to be replaced by someone who could be "trusted." If indeed Pretoria had a hand in the coup, it now finds itself facing a pillar of support for the ANC whose stance has meant his exemption from the ANC's mass action targeting of homelands, which led to bloodshed in Ciskei and may yet do so in KwaZulu. This despite the fact that Ulundi never accepted independence — one reason for Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's current bitterness at the ANC.

The coup in Venda in 1990 was interpreted similarly to that in Transkei, though the fear there was that growing resistance to President Frank Revele's government would lead to his overthrow and replacement by a pro-ANC administration. Again, if Pretoria was indeed behind the selection of coup leaders, the intelligence planners misjudged their men.

Holomisa and Venda's Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana soon showed surprising self-will.

The irony is that government is now trapped by the farce of its own policy. It insists on recognising the sovereignty of the TBVC states until their future is resolved in multilateral negotiations. It refuses to unseat Ciskei's Pretoria-aligned Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, despite the world outcry after the Bisho massacre, and will also not take action against Holomisa for provocative statements and non-co-operation with independent peace initiatives which include the Goldstone Commission.

All of which is a dramatic shift from the *kragdadige* manipulation of P W Botha's days — but not very helpful to the broader and more important business of negotiating a transitional government for the country as a whole.

Obviously, it is important to resist ANC alliance pressure and include the TBVC states in the wider negotiations, but that is not exactly what is happening. In the absence of a more imaginative response to the sequence of mini-crises in the statelets, government is prepared to allow the homeland power-play to go on in the belief that it undermines rather than strengthens the international and local standing of the alliance. This is dangerous to all sides — for whom the game is clearly part of a politically cynical longer-term campaign to woo voters.

The current situation of volatility and violence in Transkei and Ciskei began developing shortly after Holomisa's coup. Initially, he was merely lukewarm towards the ANC, but this stance changed dramatically after the unbanning of the organisation in 1990. Then he became no longer simply a military caretaker eager to hand over to a civilian government as soon as possible, but a fairly radical politician espousing left-of-centre ANC policies.

Buthelezi

The change is attributed by alliance leaders to months of gentle persuasion and a reassessment of the role Holomisa could play in the transition to democracy. Meanwhile, the youthful general has developed a massive personal following and is clearly destined for high office — political or military — in a new national government.

Holomisa

By winning over Holomisa the alliance effectively "liberated" Transkei (Though strategically unimportant at this stage, Venda also toes an alliance line.) Ciskei remains the real challenge to ANC hegemony in the independent homelands — which is why it has become a flashpoint.

Unlike Holomisa, who had to be coaxed into the alliance camp, Oupa Gqozo was virtually inside that camp when he staged his coup in 1990. At his first public meeting Gqozo appeared on a platform under ANC and SACP banners; among his first official actions were the release of all "security" prisoners and an announcement that his ultimate goal was reincorporation into SA.

Then he drifted away from the ANC.

Government initially appeared to welcome the overthrow of Lennox Sebe's unpopular government — and no wonder. The situation in Ciskei had become grave: scores of towns and villages had rejected Sebe and burned their Ciskei National Independence Party membership cards. A popular uprising was looming. Shortly after the coup Foreign Minister Pik Botha said SA did not step in to save Sebe — as it did in Bophuthatswana — because the Ciskei coup was supported by the "overwhelming majority of the population." He compared the situation to Transkei where Holomisa also apparently had popular support.

Two years ago Gqozo and Holomisa were seen together as a potent anti-government force in the eastern Cape. It was good news for the ANC alliance.

What happened to Gqozo? It has been suggested that he was wooed by a combination of financial support from Pretoria mixed with a liberal dash of political coercion, a reluctance to kowtow to the ANC, and an acquired taste for power. He is also said to lack Holomisa's political astuteness. Certainly, his rapid political education included questionable inputs by SA military intelligence sources and fresh insight into liberal democracy and capitalism — both of which he says he embraced — much to the chagrin of his

Continued

War of words over land wrangle

Clipper 27/9/92 (107)

By FRED KHUMALO

IN the wake of a government-organised indaba on federalism, a development agency has charged that the plan to transfer 600 000 hectares of State land in Natal to KwaZulu is a way of winning support for a federal option.

In a report the Association for Rural Advancement said land had become the government's major "organising chip in the game of negotiations", and this was unacceptable.

The report is yet another salvo in the war of words that has been raging between Afra and KwaZulu authorities who have been using *Ilanga*, the Inkatha-owned newspaper, to explain why the proposed transfer of land to KwaZulu is necessary.

Last week *Ilanga* ran a lead story to the effect that the ANC-Cosatu-SACP Joint Working Committee was working with Afra in trying to block KwaZulu from acquiring "white-owned land" which include the "white" towns of Mahlabathini and Nongoma.

Afra reacted angrily to the story and reiterated its belief that the planned transfer will unnecessarily complicate land claims.

The transfer was also contrary to government undertakings made in the 1991 White Paper, Afra said. In the White Paper the government undertook to abandon policies of apartheid land allocation.

The land to be transferred to the homeland could include such areas as Clermont, whose inhabitants enjoy freehold rights. The proposed transfer has stirred controversy, with observers noting that the KwaZulu incorporation of Clermont – an ANC stronghold which remains unscathed by political violence – could plunge the township into bloodshed.

Afra notes KwaZulu has "become increasingly visible in areas where land claims or land tenure rights are at issue".

A meeting of the Northern Natal Farmworkers' and Residents' Committee early this month in Vryheid was jointly addressed by NP MP for Vryheid Jurie Mentz and the KwaZulu minister who serves on a joint co-ordinating body for the area.

The Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (Acla), formed after the passing of the 1991 Abolition of Racially Based Land Measured Act, did not stop government attempts to try to sell off land being claimed by dispossessed communities.

The government tried twice to sell off various farms in the Estcourt district which were being claimed by the Amahlubi tribe.

But the intended sales were halted after a huge outcry. Acla chairman Judge van Reenen then passed a declaration officially halting the sale of land subject to dispute.

In May this year, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk also emphasised that land taken over by the government in terms of apartheid would not be sold.

But Afra feels the promises have not been kept. "Recently, a government department hurriedly sold off some 6 000 hectares of land in the northern Cape which is being claimed by the Majeng community."

US tries to woo Inkatha back to fold

Sowetan 30/9/92

■ Alliance between CP and homeland leaders feared as Treurnicht welcomes their opposition to summit:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE United States has joined the Government's efforts to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party back into negotiations amid fears that the organisation was pulling together an anti-ANC bloc that could throw negotiations off balance.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dug himself in by first announcing his total withdrawal from all contact with the Government, and by refusing yesterday to meet State President FW de Klerk.

Buthelezi yesterday, however, met two prominent ANC opponents, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, Inkatha Freedom Party sources confirmed.

Government sources and political commentators yesterday said there were fears of a separatist front emerging, with some black homeland leaders finding common cause with the Conservative Party.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday sparked fears of an alliance between itself and homeland leaders when he welcomed Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo's opposition to the agreements reached at Saturday's summit.

Treurnicht said:"The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC/SACP tyranny or betrayal by the Government."

A US State department official said yesterday: "We regret the IFP's decision to withdraw from negotiations. We urge the IFP and all other parties to participate fully in negotiations. They are the only hope for a peaceful resolution to the problems of violence in the country."

The ANC reacted with scepticism about the emerging anti-ANC front of homeland leaders and the CP.

Homeland leaders reject pact

Star 30/9/92

● From Page 1

pressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the Government on Sunday. Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying it is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist and in favour of self-determination for their people ...

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded an exasperated note yesterday when reviewing the latest turn of events. He said political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreement reached with the ANC had been misunderstood: it was not "aimed at any other party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks".

In a separate statement from Mmabatho, Brigadier Gqozo rejected the Government-ANC agreement, demanded the disbandment of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and rejected the imposition of an interim government or constituent assembly.

He believed the Mmabatho meeting would prove to be the turning point in a time dominated by political compromise and agreement unacceptable to a silent majority of concerned South Africans.

● The Afrikaner Volksunie said yesterday it would like to attend the proposed meeting of leaders and parties who are concerned at the weekend agreements between the Government and the ANC.

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1) WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 30 1992

BRIDGE 2903

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

Homeland leaders reject Govt-ANC pact

STAR 30/9/92.

The leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei yesterday furiously denounced the Government-ANC "Record of Understanding" and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to "share out" South Africa between them.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mmabatho to assess the political situation after the success of the weekend meeting between delegations led by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communique issued in Mmabatho said there was "profound concern" about the Government-ANC agreement — which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders — and a further meeting including other "organisations sharing these concerns" was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but "we object to decisions being made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making".

The angry tone of the meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully fledged negotiations.

In his address Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the "Record of Understanding" which he repeatedly likened to the infamous Von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union)

He accused the Government and ANC of concluding a deal to "hijack the negotiation process". He intimated that the two parties were sanctioning violence against Zulus and were agreeing to "a strategy of ethnic cleansing".

The agreement to fence Zulu hostels was an attempt to create "Zulu concentration camps", he said, and to ban the carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a "well-planned form of cultural castration"

The overall aim of the "Record of Understanding" was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders "with a very effective governmental action of genocide against the IFP.

After the Mmabatho meeting, fears were also ex-

To Page 3

Chief Buthelezi

Brigadier Gqozo

Chief Mangope

(101) ARG 30/9/92

Angry homeland leaders denounce joint treaty

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The leaders of Kwazulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei furiously denounced the government-ANC "Record of Understanding", and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to "share out" South Africa.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mmabatho to assess the political situation after the success of Saturday's meeting between delegations led by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communique issued in Mmabatho said there was "profound concern" about the government/ANC agreement — which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders — and a further meeting including other "organisations sharing these concerns" was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but "we object to decisions being made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making".

The angry tone of the meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully-fledged negotiations.

In his address Chief Buthelezi strongly attacked the Record of Understanding, which he repeatedly likened to the infamous Von Ribbentrop-/Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union).

He accused the government and ANC of concluding a deal to "hijack the negotiation process". He intimated that they were sanctioning violence against Zulus, and were agreeing to "a strategy of ethnic cleansing".

The agreement to fence hostels was an attempt to create "Zulu concentration camps", he said, and to ban the carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a "well-planned form of cultural castration".

The overall aim of the Record of Understanding was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders "with a very effective governmental action of genocide" against the IFP, he claimed.

Following the Mmabatho meeting fears were also expressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the government on Sunday. Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision, he said.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying: It is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist, and in favour of self-determination for their people ...

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to (President) De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the agreement reached with the ANC had been misunderstood: it was not "aimed at any other party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks".

Mr Botha warned that unless the political turbulence ended, the world's industrialised nations might say: "Goodbye, we've had enough of you. Mess it up as you please."

of claim by former chairman

the nation in brief

Sowetan 1/10/92 (10)

Tutu meets chiefs

ANGLICAN Archbishop Desmond Tutu arrived in Ulundi yesterday for a meeting with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The meeting is one of several Tutu is holding with black leaders. Later in the day he was expected to meet the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Chief Kenneth Mopedi, in Johannesburg. He will also have talks with Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana.

It says the money is from over-invoicing an American company with investments in Nigeria and businessmen are offered a 35 percent cut for the use of their bank facilities, signed and stamped letterheads and invoices.

The information is then used to commit fraud or transfer money out of the bank accounts.

Women concerned about their future

Sowetan 11/10/92

■ Not "consulted" on changes to discriminatory laws:

By Pearl Majola

ONLY a few days before possible changes are made to laws discriminating against women, a group of women have again voiced their concern about being excluded from decisions concerning their future.

The women were from various political organisations including the ANC, PAC, IFP, Democratic Party, Azapo and the NP.

They met at a conference on Women and the Constitution organised by the Community Development Foundation.

Durban attorney and speaker at the conference Linda Zama said while the changes raised hopes of advancement in the status of women generally, they could possibly not be implemented in homelands like KwaZulu.

"In KwaZulu there is the bizarre Public Service Commission Act which calls on unmarried women teachers who fall pregnant to resign. Even if they don't, they are deemed to have resigned anyway," said Zama.

"There are township regulations which require a house to be registered in the husband's name

"Briefly, the homelands - where the majority of black women are to be found - are fossils of outdated, oppressive and retrogressive laws and are not affected by the enlightened decision of the State President," she said.

"The removal of discriminatory laws from the statute books will not benefit women unless accompanied by the reconstruction of society as a whole," she added.

Dr No moves to align with homelands

CT 1/10/92

(101)

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday moved to align his party with the leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, who have come out against agreements struck between the government and the ANC.

He would "of course be prepared" to join the meeting of organisations sharing similar concerns called by KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

It is understood the meeting could take place in Johannesburg late next week. Dr Treurnicht said he did not think the grouping of organisations would amount to an "alliance", but that they may be held together by common "basic principles", such as the "self-determination of peoples".

By yesterday afternoon, he had yet to be contacted by any of the three leaders, but if invited to the planned meeting the CP would definitely attend.

● All South Africa's political leaders should observe a moratorium on vituperative attacks on one another, Chief Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a joint statement yesterday.

The two leaders met at Ulundi in KwaZulu yesterday to exchange views on the church's role in bringing about political unity and peace.

Archbishop Tutu also raised the issue of the Inkatha Freedom Party's withdrawal from negotiations. Chief Buthelezi "responded briefly", the statement said. — Political Staff, Sapa

R W Johnson examines the issues behind the homeland marches

No-go areas abound as micro-regions mushroom

STAR 1/10/92.

(101)

"THE Star got it nearly all wrong on the Bisho massacre ... The Star did not deal with the real issue ... The real issue in the Ciskei, and in Bop ... is straightforwardly political freedom".

On the face of it, this claim — advanced as the rationale for marches on Bisho, Mmbatho or Ulundi, and repeated in The Star's letter column last week, seems not unreasonable: the Ciskei is a military dictatorship and even if Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government has issued from elections of a sort, democratic standards in Mmbatho have reached a less than Athenian level.

But at that point the argument peters out. There are 10 bantustans and the rhetoric about marching-for-freedom was only used in the case of four of them — oddly, only one of the three military dictatorships was targeted.

This makes it difficult to believe political freedom is "the real issue". The argument remains important despite the weekend agreement to end mass action (when one reads that the ANC agreed to "examine" its mass action campaign, one assumes this is movement-speak for "stop").

Whether the motive behind the marches was ever "political freedom" remains in some doubt. If it were so, why would the marchers have queered their own pitch by declaring that their objective was to topple Gqozo/Mangope/Buthelezi? Such rhetoric was bound to result in the diminution of political freedom, not its enlargement, as the targeted homeland rulers inevitably cracked down harder in the atmosphere of heightened threat. Either the march organisers didn't mean such threats, in which case they were stupid; or they did mean them, in which case their argument for political freedom is disingenuous, even cynical.

The truth would seem to be that in the current feverish climate a lot of people are saying and doing a lot of wild and foolish things.

One sees it in personal lives: the strains of living in a violent society, with negative growth and an uncertain future, are very great.

Lots of private difficulties can be traced to social tensions and it's hardly surprising that a lot of current political behaviour is unbalanced, overhyped and confrontational. If only it were possible, everyone needs to calm down.

If one looks calmly at the homeland record, one is struck by a paradox. Under John Vorster and P W Botha the country was unfree, but Bophuthatswana provided an island of relative liberalism. The Bop media were more progressive than the SABC and many a radical academic sought refuge at Unibo. And Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the best anti-apartheid record of any homeland leader, refusing independence and campaigning for Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC.

Then, when F W de Klerk freed things up across the country, new alliances emerged and we were asked to accept that President Mangope and Chief Buthelezi, far from being the most progressive homeland leaders, were actually the most reactionary.

But what has changed most has little to do with principle: it is that we have now entered an era of alliance politics. Take the coloured Labour Party, for example. It drew ANC fire when it joined Chief Buthelezi's Black Alliance, but is now happily accepted as an ANC ally — even though the LP continues to sit in the tricameral parliament, which the ANC (and Inkatha) reject on principle!

The "real issue" here is plain enough: it has little to do with freedom, everything to do with power. But what of political freedom? ANC marchers into Mmbatho or Ulundi would clearly be taking their lives in their hands. It is deplorable that this should be so, but it is so.

For the truth is that South Africa is full of no-go areas for one party or another. Chief Buthelezi was nearly killed when he tried to attend Robert Sobukwe's funeral in the Eastern Cape, and ANC militants have prevented Mr de Klerk from speaking on the Cape Flats and at Boipatong.

There are scores of communities in Natal or on the Reef where ANC "comrades" would be killed virtually on sight, scores more where the same applies to the IFP. The PAC complains of being on the receiving end of ANC violence in other communities.

In some areas Inkatha shacklords fight one another for territorial control, in others rival gangs of ANC "comrades" do the same.

Deploring this lack of civil rights is a good, liberal response to this situation, but it is not enough. What we are witnessing is the territorialisation of politics, only some of which stems from the monopolist tendencies inherent in African nationalism.

"All of us who live in Chesterville are ANC, 100 percent" says a friend of mine. "It's good that way — it means no fighting."

Sadly, you can see his point: political homogeneity equals security and some prospect of improvement. Given current levels of insecurity, you can't blame people for choosing security over choice.

People who live in the nearby IFP-dominated Lindelani say much the same, as do many of the residents of Cape Town's squatter fiefdoms, and the residents of many a homeland.

This is the other, unmentioned side of the federalism debate. While the debate rages on over nine or 10 regions and what powers those regions should have, the reality on the ground is that South Africa is fast fragmenting into hundreds of micro-regions, often exercising powers far more tyrannical than anything mentioned in the federalism debate.

Getting from that to a democratic unitary state may well be short-term impossible. Just getting from there to a working federal state will tax all our resources. □

● *R W Johnson is a Rhodes scholar and Oxford don, currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal.*

Goldstone's eight recommendations

B/DAY 1/10/92

THE Goldstone commission of inquiry into the Bisho shooting made the following eight recommendations in its report:

Recommendation One: Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly.

Recommendation Two: The leaders of all organisations which use forms of mass public demonstrations should do so only as a peaceful means to popularise political policies and propagate political changes.

They should immediately and publicly abandon any political action which is calculated to result in conflict and violence.

Recommendation Three: In order to avoid physical conflict and violence, mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance, or as a means of direct political intimidation.

Recommendation Four: The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith publicly declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control.

Recommendation Five: The leadership of the ANC alliance should publicly censure Ronnie Kasrils and other persons who were responsible for the decision to lead demonstrators through the gap in the fence and thereby knowingly or negligently expose them to the danger of death and injury.

Recommendation Six: The officers commanding the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF) should immediately conduct a full inquiry into the training and discipline of their members with the intention of taking such steps as may be necessary to ensure that a recurrence of the undisciplined, unprofessional and wholly unacceptable conduct of which they were guilty on September 7 cannot recur. The results of such inquiry and the steps taken pursuant thereto should be made public.

Recommendation Seven: The Ciskei attorney-general should investigate criminal charges against any person responsible for death or injury of any person shot in or in the vicinity of the Bisho stadium on September 7.

Recommendation Eight: The Ciskei Council of State should publicly acknowledge that members of the CDF acted reprehensibly and unacceptably in reacting in a wholly disproportionate manner and causing the unnecessary deaths and injuries to people who were fleeing from them.

LETTERS

Tutu: Govts' right to defend overthrow

MMABATHO. — Governments had the right to refuse mass action where the express purpose of the participants was to overthrow the constituted authority, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was quoted as saying yesterday.

He was quoted in a statement released by the Information Service of Bophuthatswana after a meeting with President Lucas Mangope.

Archbishop Tutu was quoted as saying mass action aimed at underscoring the lack of free political activity, where the participants abided by the laws of the country and which remained disciplined and non-violent, should be tolerated. CT 2/10/92

He said the ongoing violence was causing all right-thinking South Africans considerable concern. — Sapa (101)

CP to attend homelands talks

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party would attend a meeting organised for next week of the administrations of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

In a brief statement, Dr Treurnicht said the CP joined the three black administrations in rejecting agreements reached last Saturday during the bilateral "summit" between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Meanwhile an official first meeting between the Conservative Party Youth and the Transvaal Inkatha Youth Brigade yesterday rejected the summit agreements. (101) CT 3/10/92

In a joint statement the organisations criticized Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela for an agreement that "prescribed" to others.

They further criticised Mr De Klerk's "reluctance" to ban uMkhonto weSizwe and said communism was posing "a real threat to Christianity and stability" in South Africa. — Sapa

On the side of the marchers

Cpress 4/10/92.

101

By QUINTON RHODES

THIS week's Goldstone report into the massacre of 28 ANC protest marchers at the Ciskeian capital of Bisho on September 7 is significant for more reasons than immediately meet the eye.

Of course the basic findings are important in themselves.

It is notable that Goldstone did not allow the red herring of the Ronnie Kasrils surge through the broken fence to cloud his judgment that "whatever criticism there may be of the decision to lead the demonstrators through the gap in the fence, they cannot in any way justify the conduct of the Ciskei soldiers. That conduct was so disproportionate and deliberate that, on the CDF's own version, any mitigating factors there may have been are completely overwhelmed by the disregard for human life shown by the soldiers".

The report recommended the opening of murder dockets against offending CDF members.

It is also important that the commission should call on the ANC to publicly chastise Kasrils, the SACP stalwart who led the march.

Equally significant is the commission's note that the CDF should question the training and discipline of its soldiers, and the contention that "to arm such men with lethal weapons is unacceptable".

But in the end these aspects of the report are of the nature of a post mortem; they will not bring the victims back to life.

Nor, if the present reaction of the Ciskei authorities is anything to go by, will they result in any real action.

In effect the Ciskei authorities rejected the Goldstone Commission findings in advance, appointing its own internal inquiry into the massacre under Ciskei Chief Justice B de V Pickard.

Predictably the Pickard Commission, releasing an interim report only a day after the Goldstone Commission, sought to lay the lion's share of the blame for the killings at the door of the ANC.

What is of more importance in general terms and what will prove more important in coming months, is that Goldstone stresses the democratic right of people to express their political feelings through mass protest actions.

Says one of the recommendations: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

Another says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

"Public protest," Judge Goldstone notes in the body of the report, "has become the order of the day . . . This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans."

Equally quick as Ciskei to react negatively to the Goldstone Report was the government of Bop. The Bop authorities in the face of Goldstone's recommendations reiterated its rejection of mass action as a means of political self-expession.

In fact political freedom is severely circumscribed in the homeland. Various pieces of legislation make it more or less impossible for the ANC to function effectively within its borders.

Bop's hardline reaction should, however, not be seen as something isolated. It comes in the wake of meetings, held this week in Mmabatho between Bop's President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Gqozo and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, where a plan was mooted to set up a front of homeland leaders in defiance of current talks between the government and the ANC.

The three homeland leaders specifically rejected last Saturday's Record of Agreement concluded after the Mandela/De Klerk summit and said they would not be bound by bilateral agreements between the two groupings. One of the points of agreement spelt out in the Record was an acknowledgement on the part of government of the right of all parties to participate in mass action.

The rejection of the Record – like the withdrawal of Buthelezi from talks – represents a hardening of attitude within Pretoria's homelands and must be seen in conjuction with the continued insistence by all three of the leaders that they will use force against mass action.

In essence, Goldstone has come out on the side of the marchers. That, despite all the qualifications, is the real message of the Bisho report.

Anti-ANC front meets

Sowetan 6/10/92. 101

■ ALLIANCE LAUNCH Looking to thwart any plans

ANC, Government may have for the future:

OPPOSITION to the Government and African National Congress moves a step further with the launching of an alliance of homelands and right-wing political parties today.

At a conference at the Indaba Hotel at Witkoppen near Johannesburg the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and its newly formed rival, the Afrikaner Volksunie, are set to lay the foundations for an alternative negotiating forum to thwart any agreement the Government and ANC might reach in future.

The catalyst to the new formation is the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

An IFP spokesman, whose party initiated the summit, said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference. It was reported yesterday that Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo held discussions with the CP's Andries Treurnicht.

See story page 2

New alliance gets off the ground

Sowetan 6/10/92

■ PRIME MOVERS Inkatha gathers supporters together to challenge FW, Mandela summit decision:

AN ALLIANCE of homeland and right-wing political parties opposed to the Government and the African National Congress gets off the ground at a conference near Johannesburg today.

The meeting follows talks between prime movers, the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, the leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Conservative Party over the past two weeks.

Initially these parties were drawn to each other because of their support for the regionalism/federalism concept.

Opposition, and open hostility, to the ANC and Government grew after the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President Mr FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

The IFP initiated today's meeting and issued invitations to all homeland leaders and parties as well as political parties sharing their views.

Among those having confirmed are the CP, its newly formed rival the Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, QwaQwa and Gazankulu.

An IFP spokesman said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose will open the meeting at 9am at the Indaba Hotel in Witkoppen. The agenda will be finalised at the meeting, the IFP said.

The homeland trio of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana and the two right-wing parties have charged that by reaching agreement with the ANC - on the future of negotiations - the Government deliberately excluded other players, especially those who took part in the Codesa process.

However, speculation abounds that today's summit will yield an alternative negotiating forum and thwart any agreement De Klerk and Mandela might reach in future.

The right-wing parties have said the Government was now an ANC ally and was yielding to the organisation's demands.

The homeland trio have said De Klerk re-

Homeland leaders, right-wingers want Codesa scrapped

HOMELAND leaders and right-wingers who met yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the government-ANC Record of Understanding.

The Conference for Concerned South Africans brought together parties disgruntled by government's bilateral agreements with the ANC.

They included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope; as well as the CP, the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Afrikaaner Freedom Foundation.

The conference decided to support Buthelezi's demands that ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded immediately, its military personnel demobilised, its arms caches surrendered and its cessation of recruitment and training before negotiations could proceed.

TIM COHEN

The grouping called for a multiparty conference to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum be sent to government to convey the concern about aspects of proposed constitutional legislation.

The delegation would request government not to proceed with the scheduled special session of Parliament and that the Record of Understanding be "stopped". It also resolved to attempt to increase its life and size, establishing a steering committee to approach "like-minded" parties and arrange a further conference.

Buthelezi told a news conference the special session of Parliament "would again represent exclusive — and unacceptable — decision-making.

"The conference discussed at length ways and means of overcoming the polarisation and frustration caused by bilateral agreements between the SA government and the ANC," he said.

There had been total agreement among delegates that without the immediate disbanding of MK, the surrender of its arms caches and the cessation of recruitment and training for military purposes, negotiations could not continue, he said.

"The conference resolved unanimously to resist any enticement to return to negotiations which could in any way be hijacked and turned into the farce which had resulted in the government and the ANC arriving at the so-called Record of Understanding," said Buthelezi.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that it was

☐ To Page 2

☐ From Page 1

Homeland leaders

announced yesterday that Buthelezi would meet a PAC delegation led by president Clarence Makwetu in Ulundi tomorrow.

Publicity and information director Waters Toboti said the organisation was embarking on an initiative to get the patriotic front going again. It would include Inkatha and other black leaders in an attempt to stop the violence.

"We will be discussing violence and how the warring factions can come together to rid our country of the scourge of apartheid," he said.

Makwetu had also written a letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad. Toboti said the intention was to unite all leaders to find active solutions to the violence. Once this had happened a united front could force the necessary changes in SA. He said the PAC intended to get the ANC and Inkatha to meet.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha formally at presidential level but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilaterals with government.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

Two more campuses close as turmoil spreads

STAR 7/10/92

Education Reporter

The Mamelodi campus of Vista University, near Pretoria, and the troubled University of Bophuthatswana were closed yesterday as disruptions, boycotts and threats of violence continue to grip various "bush colleges".

The University of Zululand was recently closed and there have been serious problems at the Universities of the North and Venda.

The Vista campus was closed because of student unrest, violence, vandalism, intimidation and assault of staff members, campus director Professor D P Lombard said yesterday.

Student representatives were not available for comment.

The council of the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibop) said the college was closed because of class boycotts.

Sources say the problem was sparked by a spate of detentions of anti-government activists, including students.

A university spokesman said the Unibop council met Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope on Monday to urge him to release six detained students.

Zululand University was recently closed when students staged a sit-in at the principal's office demanding the adminsitration improve security in residences.

Call off Codesa, demands summit

(101) CT 7/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The mini-summit of homeland leaders and right-wingers yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The "Conference for Concerned South Africans" brought together Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope

The troika were joined yesterday by the Conservative Party, the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Afrikaaner Freedom Foundation.

The conference also supported Chief Buthelezi's demand that without the "immediate disbandment of the ANC's private army, uMkhonto weSiswe", negotiations could not proceed.

The grouping called for a national multi-party conference of review to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum would request the government not to proceed with the forthcoming special session of Parliament and that the Record of Understanding be "stopped".

The grouping also resolved to establishing a steering committee which would approach like-minded parties.

To page 2

From page 1

Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on President F W de Klerk, and said an appeasement of the ANC meant ANC political dominance.

Mr Mangope said Bophuthatswana remained committed to democratic negotiations, but if Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela persisted in the practice which led to the Record of Understanding, the homeland would have nothing further to do with "so-called negotiations".

Brigadier Gqozo said the government had embarked on the disastrous path to an African socialist tyranny.

● Dr Treurnicht said last night that people at the moment did not want to talk to the government but to the CP.

Asked whether he had changed his position that the CP would not talk to the ANC he said the participation of the ANC in talks "is not relevant".

Before he would talk to the ANC he would have to ask them whether they had undergone a conversion and now believed that self-determination applied to all people, including the Afrikaner and the Zulu. Matters like this were "non-negotiables", he said.

● Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said yesterday he was asked by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to try and persuade Chief Buthelezi to rejoin Codesa.

Mr Mugabe said he had replied that he could not intervene unless it was as "a last resort". — Own Correspondent, Sapa (101) CT 7/10/92

CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo during a break at yesterday's summit.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Homeland leaders unite with right

TIM COHEN

HOMELAND and right-wing leaders united yesterday in opposition to the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

At a summit in Johannesburg, the trio of homeland leaders from Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu joined the CP and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie in rejecting the Record.

Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo elicited applause from about 30 delegates by describing the Record as a "recipe for war".

"Our dignity has been trampled on by miscalculating fools who believe that they can get away with these injustices, but they cannot," Gqozo said.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said if government and the ANC persisted in the practice which led to the Record, "we will have nothing further to do with so-called negotiations".

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a national "multiparty conference of review" to establish a negotiations structure which would prevent a repetition of the failures of Codesa.

The new conference would establish a structure that would ensure that no-one could back out of the talks, he said.

CP leader Andries Treunicht said he supported the homeland leaders' rejection of the Record of Understanding.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said his party supported the call for a multiparty conference of review.

Leaders of the groups denied they were forming an alliance or pact.

Alliance rejects accord

STAR 7/10/92

Political Reporter

An alliance of homeland and right-wing party leaders has resolved to ask President de Klerk to stop implementation of the recent "Record of Understanding" signed by him and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Speaking yesterday after the "Conference for Concerned South Africans" outside Johannesburg, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said those at the meeting — including CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Ciskei and Bophuthatswana leaders Oupa Gqozo and Lucas Mangope — would not be bound by any agreements or legislation to which they were not party.

The De Klerk-Mandela agreement paved the way for the release of political prisoners, the banning of dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels.

Buthelezi said a delegation would ask De Klerk to abandon the agreement.

The meeting endorsed Buthelezi's demand that Umkhonto weSizwe be disbanded, and recommended the scrapping of Codesa, replacing it with a forum which would include the PAC, the CP, Azapo and the AWB.

North, east desperate for rain

STAR 7/10/92

By Clyde Johnson and Dirk Nel

Many northern and eastern Transvaal communities face economic ruin if it does not rain this month.

Although welcome rains fell in the Warmbaths and Nylstroom districts at the weekend, and over many parts of the lowveld last week, more is desperately needed to break the drought.

Over the past few months, drought reports by government officials, organised agriculture and conservationists have described a bleak picture.

Several factors which have brought the rural northern areas to their knees include:

● Thousands of cattle have died in Lebowa, Venda, and Gazankulu. It will take years for livestock farming to be re-established in these areas.

● Most districts in the far north had only 20 percent of their average annual rainfall in 1991/92. This resulted in dam levels dropping to below 20 percent of their capacity.

● Stringent water restrictions are in force in most towns, and thousands of people in the homelands are receiving daily or weekly water supplies by road tanker.

● The drought has caused an increase in unemployment, as farmers and businesses have been forced to retrench workers.

● City markets have suffered drastically due to cuts in the irrigation quotas of fruit and vegetable farmers in the fertile Tzaneen district.

Conservation officials and game farmers are involved in the extensive feeding of wild animals which can no longer be sustained by the land.

● Fires have destroyed valuable plantations, indigenous vegetation and grazing. The ongoing danger of fires remains a constant cause for concern in the region.

The timber industry has been hard hit by the loss of up to 30 percent of the trees in State and private forests, because there simply is no dampness in the ground anymore.

"It's purely a matter of survival, one day until the next. God only knows how long we can hold out," a desperate lowveld farmer told The Star.

The Kruger National Park, gripped in its worst drought, had between 12 mm and 35 mm on Thursday — just enough to get grass growing.

But just as quickly as the tender young leaves make their appearance the hot lowveld sun scorches them.

The Braam Raubenheimer Dam is presently at a dangerous 19 percent level and unless water flows into it soon, all irrigation supplies to farmers will be stopped.

Nelspruit inhabitants, already subjected to strict water restrictions, will face even sterner measures in the weeks ahead unless it rains.

Dr Andries Treurnicht examines what he believes is the root of the violence in SA

Power struggle is the catalyst

STAR 7/10/92

JUST before the referendum I wrote in a newspaper article that "after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Xhosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically superior Zulus who ... will never accept ANC/SACP rule".

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem — the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa — remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that F W de Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that a unitary state under an ANC government can never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover: the organisation has shown its true colours these past months and confidence in the NP's new South Africa has understandably taken a dive.

Our economy reflects this lack of faith in the future, despite brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign.

An HSRC survey revealed that only a small percentage of whites are prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the Government beseeches the ANC's presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the ANC's march to power. One can thus understand the inability of numerous experts to stop the violence consuming our country.

De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered South Africa. Others talk of regionalism as a reluctant sop to the diversity of peoples in this part of the world. But federalism does not address the crux of the dilemma; nationalism and the instinctive desire of peoples to be with their own.

Whether nationalism is seen as a problem or as a solution, it exists to such a degree that peoples throughout the world are prepared to die for their flag, their language, their culture, their nation. The conflagration in Eastern Europe is just one example of this conundrum.

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord. In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated along ethnic national lines, whites will have nothing of their own.

The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Community where trade and aid are interchangeable. We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits. This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one reason why the Maastricht Treaty could be a "dead letter", as one British journalist put it.

Confederation or a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows peoples to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set.

In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthathatswana government within a South African confederation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may — in conjunction with other nations in the region — decide to allow matters such as transport systems, economic concerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which would only function within the parameters allocated by the nation states within the confederation.

The fear of losing one's power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Qwa-Qwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the Government.

They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the Government, and they have done the most natural thing in the world. They have retreated to their heartlands and have said they will defend their countries. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dishonesty displayed by the National Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a surefire recipe for conflict.

The Government's regular capitulation to every ANC demand has not gone unnoticed in Ulundi, Mmabatho and Bisho, and De Klerk's agreement with the ANC to allow a "democratically elected" constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament must have been the last straw for those who naïvely believed he would consult them about a future dispensation.

What must be done now? Every effort must be made to stop the NP/ANC/SACP alliance in its tracks. The De Klerk administration has not only deceived its own supporters but it has deceived those who went to Codesa with the mistaken idea that there really would be round-table discussions about the future of this country.

An alternative forum must be created as a substitute to the failed Codesa, a forum for those who value their heritage and who respect the traditions of others. □

● *The writer is leader of the Conservative Party*

ANC and PAC behind famine-relief concert

WILSON ZWANE

INTERNATIONAL and local musicians are expected to converge on Harare for a concert next year to raise funds for famine relief.

The concert, organised by the ANC, the PAC and 10 southern African states, will be the first major concert held for this purpose in Africa.

The event — the Concert for Southern Africa — will be in Harare on April 17 next year.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu and heads of Angola, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be invited.

PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said in a statement preparations for the concert began yesterday after the Southern African Development Community approved the project.

"Proceeds will go to the Southern Africa Recovery Fund, whose board of advisers comprises representatives from the ANC, PAC and permanent representatives to the UN from the governments of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique," she said.

The recovery fund would use concert proceeds to transport food to famine-stricken areas of southern Africa and to sponsor education programmes and workshops on farming techniques and business development.

US-based accounting firm Ernst and Young would administer, manage and disburse the proceeds, the PAC said.

De Lille said world-renowned US musician Quincy Jones would be among the performers. He had been "persuaded" to cancel another concert to support this one. Names of other musicians would be released later.

Tickets to the concert will cost US$4 each.

Homeland, right-wing alliance played down

BIDDY 8/10/92.

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Politicians and diplomats yesterday played down the formation of an association of homeland leaders and right-wing groups who have called for the scrapping of Codesa and a review of the whole negotiation process.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani described the partnership as "degrading", saying "every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has now plunged himself".

He called on Inkatha members to distance themselves from the "warm embrace" Buthelezi had given to "diehard white racists".

The SACP had been disturbed by many things the leadership of Inkatha had been saying over the past few years. "But enough is surely enough", he said.

Andries Treurnicht's CP represented the most backward white farmers who oppressed farm labourers, he said.

The NP, while welcoming the prospect of talks on aspects of the negotiations process, has said the meeting between the groups does not constitute a threat.

Secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe indicated the parties did not have any fundamental basis for co-operation. Inkatha had always opposed apartheid, while the CP was seeking to reintroduce it.

Diplomats said yesterday the group's long-term interests were fundamentally different, although a review of the negotiations process could be valuable.

A succession of ambassadors have visited Buthelezi recently, partly to encourage him to rejoin the process, but the meeting on Tuesday rebuffed those efforts.

Political groups venting their frustrations was not a bad thing, one diplomat said, although it did mean that a meeting between Inkatha and the ANC might have to be shelved for some time.

Our political staff reports from Durban that PAC president Clarence Makwetu is due to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Buthelezi today, thursday to discuss the continuing carnage and interparty rivalry in Ulundi.

Makwetu will be accompanied by his deputy Dikgang Moseneke and four other national executive committee members.

PAC spokesman Patricia de Lille said the meeting had nothing to do with the recent homeland leaders and right-wing organisations summit held recently.

Other high-ranking PAC officials expected at the meeting will be secretary for projects development Elizabeth Sibeko, legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Serati, senior publicity and information officer Sipho Makhanda, and national executive committee member Joe Mkhwanazi. It is not known which IFP officials will accompany the IFP president, but IFP's national chairman Frank Mdlalose is expected to attend.

Rightwing sidesteps homeland's quick step....

By JAN TALJAARD

WHILE recent discussions between rightwingers and homeland leaders may have succeeded in pushing these groups towards some kind of prominence again, any prospect of a more formal alliance between them may be very short-lived.

At the moment agreements revolve around the rather dubious principle that "an enemy of my enemy must be my friend" and a resolution on both sides that the National Party and African National Congress will not be allowed to make decisions on their behalf.

Pundits agree that other differences between the two groups are too pronounced for more than a temporary arrangement.

As far as the Conservative Party is concerned, its deeply entrenched dogma of ethnicity still lies at the root of all policy decisions.

Any organisation going into a formal agreement with the CP will have to subscribe to some extent to the CP's views on ethnicity.

It is for these reasons that CP spokesman and chief secretary Dr Lem Theron is careful when asked about the possibility of alliances.

Traipsing daintily in the sidestepping footsteps of his leader, he says it will not do to be in a hurry in making certain initiatives known.

He will only say that there is a good understanding between the parties and that bilateral discussions will go on. And more can be achieved by bilateral talks than at a multilateral forum like Codesa.

He does, however, admit that serious differences do exist, one of these being between a confederal dispensation as envisaged by the CP and a less partitioned federalism as foreseen by leaders such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The breakaway leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie, Andries Beyers, is more than willing to point out the real hitches between the CP and homeland leaders.

The CP's policy is still racially based, Beyers bluntly states. Opposed to this, he claims that the AVU has removed all vestiges of racism from its policy. Although the AVU wants a homeland for the Afrikaner people, "other citizens" living and working in such a homeland will be accorded the same privilliges of citizenship to be held by the Afrikaners living there.

He does not, however, foresee rightwingers and homeland leaders drawing together in a laager and forming a power block against the NP and ANC. Although a loose structure of co-operation has been established during talks this week, the AVU feels the government has more in common with them than with the ANC and that some kind of agreement may eventually emerge.

Avstig leader Carel Boshoff is for one not willing to give up his independence or to compromise on his ideals by entering into an alliance.

"We want to negotiate with everyone on an equal level in order to establish a Volkstaat." He says it serves no purpose to form an alliance with one group at the cost of relations with another group.

It seems that a formal alliances between rightwingers and the homelands may remain the domain of the politically naive and opportunistic. An example of this can be seen in what transpired between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo during the last month.

Leading Gqozo to believe that the AWB disposes of a fierceful and mighty private army, Terre'-Blanche promised to come to his aid with around 50 000 men, should the ANC decide to march on Bisho.

When the march seemed inevitable and Gqozo took Terre'-Blanche up on his promise, the leader was unfased. So sorry, he said, but his men were all deployed around the white suburbs.

The gullible brigadier continued the contact with mutual promises of armed aid and support. This week it culminated in a farce at a Sandton hotel when AWB members were seen guarding the two leaders while they were busy with discussions that Gqozo dearly wanted to keep secret.

The ANC should stop being distracted by the homelands, argues **Cosmas Desmond**

Deal with the organ-grinder

STAR 9/10/92

"THE homelands have no meaning without the apartheid state ... when apartheid is abolished they too will crumble."

The ANC would do well to head the advice Aneurin Bevan once gave to his opposition colleagues in the House of Commons:

"It is not necessary to attack the monkey when the organ grinder is present. I trust it will be appreciated that this is a metaphor and that it will not be taken literally, as an insult to the individuals concerned".

President de Klerk must be laughing all the way to the Constituent Assembly as attention is diverted from himself and focused on his puppets; which is how the ANC has for long described homeland leaders.

One of his own agents could well have been planted in the ANC to come up with the suggestion that, being at a loose end owing to the suspension of negotiations, they should turn their attention to the homelands.

CIA and MI5 colleagues would doubtless have supported him, since it could only enhance the image of "their man" to have the ANC wanting to entrust millions of people to his direct (and therefore presumably benign) administration.

De Klerk and his government, it seems, are no longer the real enemy; they must be dealt with by negotiation or not at all, while mass action and confrontation are reserved for Gqozo and company.

But De Klerk's government is not only just as illegitimate and undemocratic as those of the homelands, it is also responsible for their illegitimacy. De Klerk is still the organ grinder.

Apart from any other consideration, the ANC's present policy towards the homelands seems to me to accord a legitimacy and importance to them which they have never had and still do not have; it is also an acknowledgement of the success of the apartheid policy. That policy was deliberately designed to thwart the growth of a unifying African nationalism, by defining and dividing people according to their ethnic identity.

I was certainly not alone in saying, over 20 years ago, that this would inevitably, and purposely, lead to conflict between blacks. It has. But it is the cause rather than the effects of the divisions and conflicts which needs to be attacked. The inhabitants of the homelands, even the leaders, oppressive as they themselves might be, are still oppressed by apartheid. In being liberated from the homeland governments, they will only be jumping from one frying pan into another.

It was white rule which created the climate of violence that so cheapened the lives of black people that they could be massacred almost with impunity, whether at Bullshoek, Sharpeville, Langa, Boipatong, or Bisho. Like his mentors Gqoza did not kill any white people. And few white lives would be endangered by further planned marches.

I am not suggesting they should be — I rather value my own — but I do not see why not only the agents, but also the objects, of mass action should be almost exclusively black. The people who paid the price for apartheid are also being charged for its replacement.

The homelands have no meaning and no relevance without the apartheid state, which created them and continues to sustain them. When, or perhaps if, apartheid is abolished they too will crumble; even the Nationalist Government now acknowledges that they have no future. They were created, partly, according to Verwoerd himself, as a sop to international opinion, in an attempt to lend an air of legitimacy to the policy of separate development, and as a means of exercising political control.

Of course, they are oppressive; they were meant to be. And their rulers have proved to be adept pupils; though I doubt that they have yet outdone their masters.

Political leaders may be able to prescind from their own oppression and votelessness and treat with members of the ruling class in "white" South Africa as former oppressors; but for the vast majority they still very much are. Freedom of expression, despite its exalted status in Western society, is not the only, or even the most important, human right. For many, probably most, the right to eat, the right to work, the right to have accommodation are all more pressing; and are denied them, whether or not they live in certain homelands.

I hold no brief for the homelands or the actions of their leaders, but if violations of human rights are now restricted to them, the rest of us could at least be told.

We should, I suggest, be more concerned about the creators of apartheid than about its creatures. Old-style apartheid served all sections of the white community very well; though some did very much better out of it than others. But it is not they who are being made to accept responsibility for its failure and for its lasting effects on the rest of the population.

Mass action is undoubtedly a democratic right and probably the most effective tactic to hand at present but it is surely worthy of more significant targets.

If, however, the ANC choose to go ahead and exercise their moral right to march on Ulundi, they might consider the epitaph of a self-righteous motorist:

"This is the grave of Mike O'Day,
Who died maintaining his right of way.
His right was clear, his will was strong,
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong." □

● *Cosmas Desmond is a former priest who was banned and placed under house arrest while working in South Africa*

Sasco calls for action

WILSON ZWANE

KWAZULU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should be made ungovernable, a senior SACP official said yesterday.

Addressing a mass meeting of the Wits University branch of the SA Students' Congress (Sasco) yesterday, SACP PWV chairman Gwede Mantashe said his party and other democratic formations had an obligation to campaign for free political activity in the homelands.

Mantashe said "no-go areas" had been created for the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

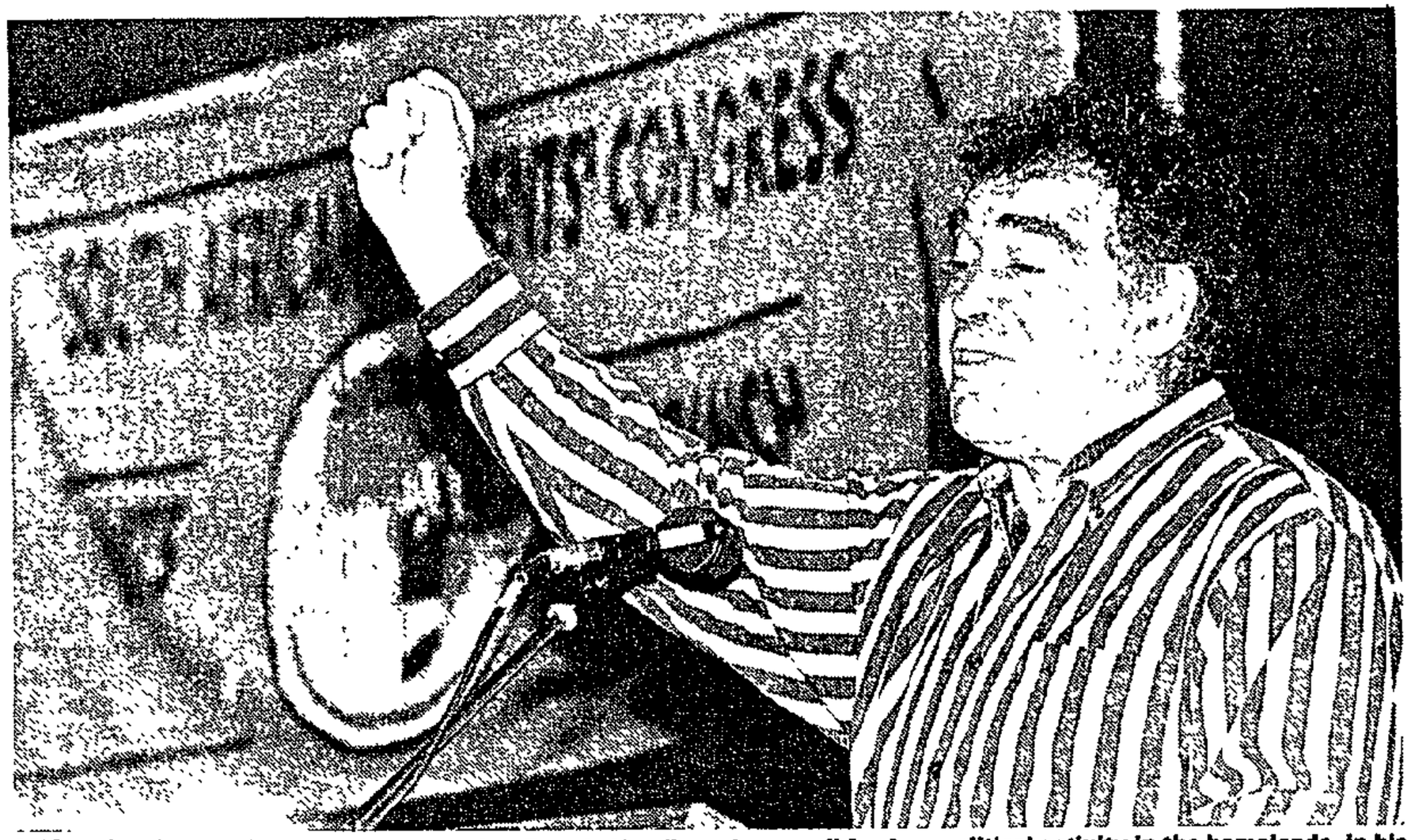
"We have a political obligation to remove these bantustans' tyrants. In order to achieve that objective, we must revitalise ungovernability in these areas," he said.

Sasco publicity officer Mogomotsi Mogodiri said yesterday marked the launch of his organisation's "Hands off the University of Bophuthatswana campaign".

Mogodiri claimed the university, which was closed on Tuesday, had been turned into a police barracks.

He said protest action would begin on October 14 and would be called off only after the Bophuthatswana authorities had acceded to demands which included the reopening of the university.

Mantashe and ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils said they supported the campaign as part of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's initiative for free political activity in the bantustans.



ANC national executive committee member Ronnie Kasrils makes a call for free political activity in the homelands, in his speech to the SA Students' Congress at Wits University yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Homeland army poser

STAR 12/10/92 (101)

(101)

Homeland armies, despite their position as protectors of apartheid's most visible remnants, cannot be overlooked in the planning of a new South Africa. But how can they be accommodated? HELEN GRANGE reports.

A CONTENTIOUS question looming large at the negotiating table will be how, and to what extent, homeland armies can be accommodated along with inevitable homeland reincorporation.

As the ANC recently experienced, the soldiers of these armies cannot be expected to abandon their posts at the push of a political-pressure button.

At the same the time, the Government cannot expect — after having mooted homeland independence for decades — simply to whip them into line as though they were units of the SADF.

Indeed, the homeland armies have become accustomed to their relative autonomy, ironically with the aid of the SADF.

The new South Africa's absorption of the homeland armies — between 8 000 and 10 000 soldiers — will become an issue during the constitutional talks, and disagreement over detail is inevitable.

Each homeland — having developed vastly separate characters — presents different challenges.

The fact that the Transkei Defence Force is viewed favourably by the ANC, but the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda defence forces are seen by the organisation as undesirable and oppressive arms of the SADF, illustrates the complexities involved.

In a paper published in the latest edition of South African Defence Review, Greg Mills and Geoffrey Wood, lecturers at the universities of Western Cape and Rhodes respectively, examine more closely the differences and future prospects of the homeland armies.

The Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF), unlike the other homelands' defence forces, feels confident of continuous autonomy because of its government's reluctance to be part of negotiations.

But according to Mills and Wood, Bophuthatswana's attempt to remain autonomous will probably be short-lived in view of the homeland's dependence on South Africa.

They believe the BDF is likely to become a regional force as part of some Bophuthatswana regional administrative structure that may be retained as the reward for peaceful reincorporation.

Helmut Homer-Heitman, southern African correspondent for Jane's Defence Weekly, says, however, that because the BDF is, along with the Venda Defence Force, a relatively well-trained force, some of its approximately 4 000-strong force may be chosen for national defence rather than regional internal security.

This, of course, supposes that the ANC's abhorrence of the BDF would not be an obstacle.

The future of the Ciskei Defence Force (CDF), which according to Heitman consists of about 2 000 men, does not look nearly as hopeful.

Apart from its ongoing clashes with the ANC, it is suffering major training and discipline problems in its lower ranks, say Mills and Wood.

The CDF, rattled by a number of coup attempts over the years, is resented by the ANC and unlikely to have its interests protected by the government in the new South Africa, the experts predict.

The smallest homeland army is the Venda Defence Force, with about 1 500 men. It has strong ties to the SADF and has become a relatively well-trained force, says Heitman.

Mills and Wood tend to disagree. They believe the VDF, much like the CDF, is a small unit beset with disciplinary problems and characterised by highly ambiguous political allegiances.

The most interesting homeland in respect of its role in the new South Africa is Transkei. There has been a huge amount of secrecy around the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) but it is generally seen as sympathetic to the ANC.

As the second biggest army with about 3 700 men, it is expected that a good number of its soldiers will end up in a future South African defence force, and there is little doubt that General Bantu Holomisa sees a senior role for himself in the future national army.

But the extent to which it will be accommodated is in dispute. Mills and Wood believe that TDF training standards are very high, having selected members overseas for advanced military courses.

For this reason, they suspect the TDF could play a central role in the new South African armed forces — or at least become a strong regional force.

Heitman disputes the level of the TDF's training, and believes there are serious disciplinary problems in the lower ranks, rendering large-scale TDF integration unlikely despite the ANC's hopes to the contrary.

Other factors influencing the incorporation of homeland armies into a general defence force are the timing of homeland reincorporation, the issue of regionalism, and defence force planning.

Professor Mike Hough of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Unisa says the ANC and the Government have yet to thrash out when, during the negotiations process, the homelands should be reincorporated.

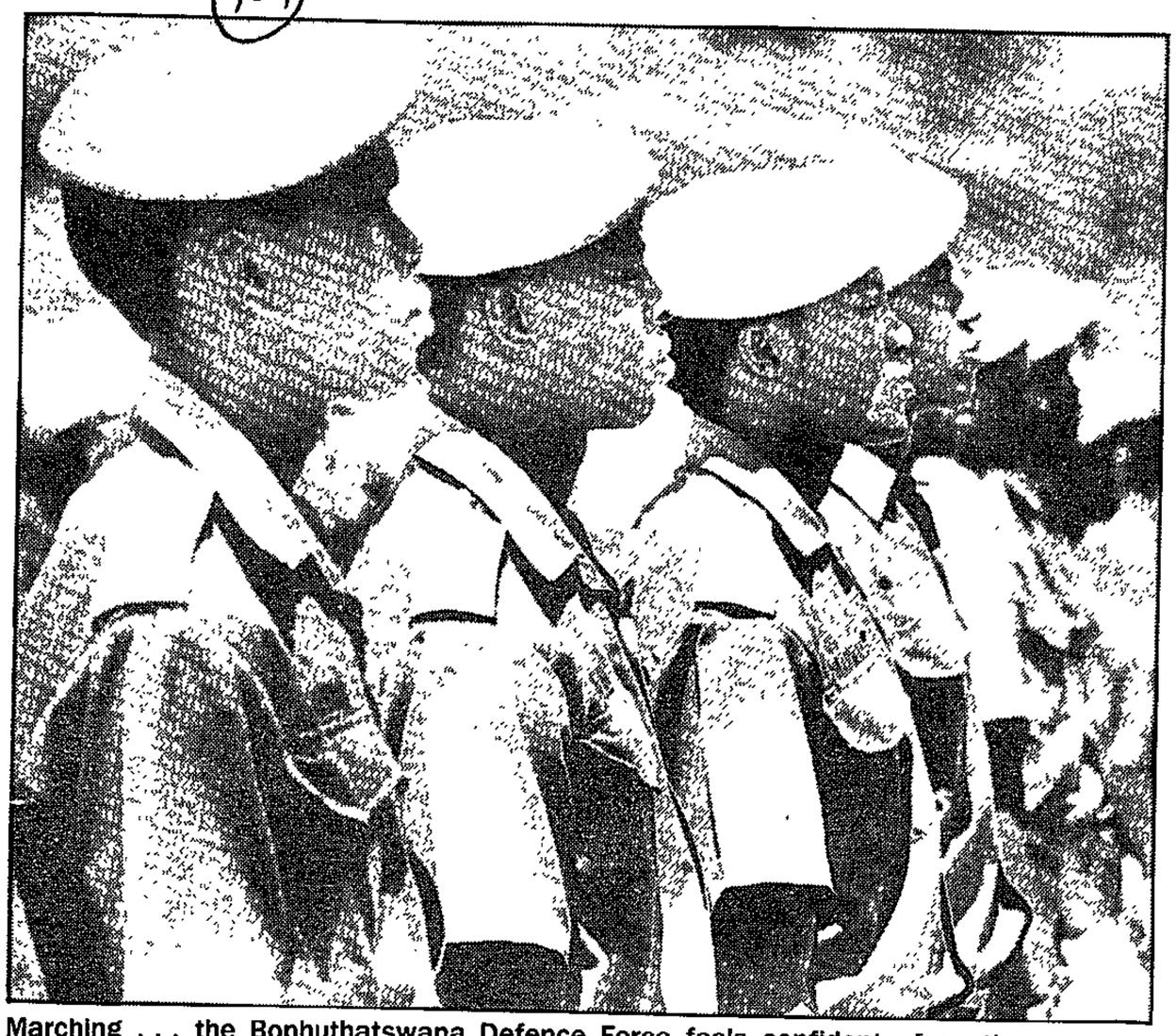
While some players are looking at integration at the point that an interim government is instituted, others believe it should begin later.

There are four options to be considered in the planning of a new defence force, he says. These options are:

- Existing military structures could be combined/amalgamated, having no real effect on the current defence structure.
- Existing military structures could be disbanded and integrated, forming a totally new defence force structure. (The ANC is mooting this option.)
- Individuals from existing military structures could be absorbed selectively from their units. (The SADF favours this option, having dismissed the option of integrating Umkhonto we Sizwe as a whole unit.)
- Marginalisation: Selectively absorbing individual members from existing military structures, but making token appointments of senior officers.

The question of federalism/regionalism, at the top of the negotiations agenda, will also determine the extent to which the new defence force is centralised.

The size of the new defence force is another issue. The SADF says about half of the members of the homeland armies could be accommodated, but that this depends entirely on the new South Africa's defence requirements. □



Marching . . . the Bophuthatswana Defence Force feels confident of continuous autonomy because of the homeland government's reluctance to be part of negotiations.

focus on Africa

Gowelen

13/10/92.

101

So much by so many is being done in the name of democracy. Everyone has an agenda. However, when one man's democracy is not the same as another's, a problem arises. **Themba Molefe** cuts to the bone (of contention?) of SA political ideals

LIKE BEAUTY, to an average South African of any colour or persuasion, democracy seems to be in the eye of the beholder.

In the townships it is not uncommon to hear the phrase "democratic forces" thrown around by youths who might be enforcing a stayaway. What do they mean?

Ever ventured to ask someone to define democracy and he replies: "Yes, what is democracy?"

But first, hear this:

Scene 1: In July 1990 a disgruntled man who lost his job in the United States of America was arrested for burning the American flag on the steps of a court building in Chicago. He said it did not stand for what he always believed it did - freedom, justice and security.

The publicity surrounding the man's arrest led to more flag-burning in the US, prompting Congress to hastily push through an anti-flag-torching law. But the US Supreme Court ruled that this law was illegal and it was quickly removed from the Statute Book. The judges said flag-burning was a democratic right protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution which guaranteed freedom of expression.

Scene 2: In 1989 Wits University students burned the South African flag. They maintained it was their democratic right to burn the "racist flag".

It was while they were exercising this "right" that the South African Police intervened. They sjambokked the daylights out of the protesters. Some were dragged kicking, cursing and bleeding into police vans.

The police were protecting the Government's democratic right to govern and keep the flag at high mast. The then State President PW Botha wagged a finger and said burning the Republic's flag would not be tolerated.

And now, in 1992, how do the "main" political players perform in the democracy stakes?

The African National Congress, whose call for a democratic South Africa could only be transmitted through bush telegraph until 1990, is now marching for a democratic interim government.

The Pan Africanist Congress says democracy can only be negotiated at a neutral venue. It will not regard any democratic outcome, for example through Codesa, as democratic unless it is chaired by a neutral convenor.

So says the Azanian People's Organisation. It has already appointed its convenor - Anglican Bishop Walter Makhudu of Botswana.

The South African Communist Party is an ANC cheerleader, nay, ally, and marches along.

De Klerk, after incurring the wrath of the white right - and centre - defended the SACP's democratic right to exist and unbanned the communists in 1990.

Marchers tear down the South African flag while being watched by police.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is considered a main player in the political sphere.

Leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi actually heaves when he says no democratic dispensation would be democratic without him, the IFP and the Zulu "nation"in that order.

Hold a minute. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the IFP - with its suave white English-speaking spokesmen - and the KwaZulu government and Zulu royal kingdom.

For example, at an IFP Press conference in Johannesburg on September 21 a statement said the ANC's planned march on Ulundi would anger the Zulu people.

However, the point is that the IFP/Kwazulu/Zulu Royal Kingdom reserve their democratic right to defend themselves - whatever this means - against the ANC's democratic march for democracy.

Then there is Bophuthatswana. An ANC democratic march for free political activity planned for September 19 was aborted when Mr Justice Goldstone counselled that the march would beget violence.

This was after president Chief Lucas Mangope was televised the preceding week saying in Tswana: "I am like the prickly pear which is sweet inside but thorny and dangerous on the outside."

Mangope was warning the ANC not to exercise its democratic right because he would not hesitate to stop anyone who threatened Bop's democracy.

Subsequent to that Mangope used the homeland's security laws and detained more than 100 University of Bophuthatswana students who protested against "the absence of democracy" in Bophuthatswana.

New GSM network in pipeline for SA

Reports by
MELANIE SERGEANT

SIEMENS and Altech have, in principle, been awarded the contract to supply equipment for SA's new global system mobile (GSM) cellular telecommunications network which, if installed on a nationwide basis, will cost R750m for switching and transmission equipment.

New legislation is needed before the order can be awarded officially.

In the meantime, there is still major debate among suppliers regarding the installation of the digital GSM system, and whether this is the right move for SA.

One source says: "Cabinet is being bombarded by vested interests. On one hand there is the question of whether GSM technology is appropriate for SA where basic, cheap services are required for the majority of the population — not an advanced system primarily geared to affluent users wanting mobile communications.

"On the other hand, there's the question of competition, and whether Telkom will allow a competitor in the market."

Siemens joint MD Geoff Hainebach argues in favour of GSM and says a single operator makes sense because two separate networks would result in an enormous waste of capital.

"If Telkom gets a licence — for which there is no current legal mechanism — we will be a supplier."

One of the Cabinet sub-committees looking at public enterprises has been considering the legislation designed to clear the obstacles preventing Telkom from launching into GSM. It is understood GSM requires special radio frequencies which are not currently available to Telkom.

Telkom says Siemens and Altech were chosen to supply the new equipment because they supplied existing systems. Other suppliers, however, are angry that the job was not put out to tender.

Hainebach says GSM is the only digital mobile system available. "Digital cellular systems cost about 25% the investment per subscriber compared to analogue. GSM will also be cheaper in future for low density urban and rural areas than wireline services."

And he says Telkom should get the licence for the network because the link between mobile and fixed services on the same GSM infrastructure will benefit high and low ends of the market rather than only the high end. "The cost of installing two networks would mean a massive waste of capital for SA."

Hainebach argues that if there are 200 000 subscribers, then the country would have to invest about 30% more (R130m) if two networks were installed.

It would make sense to have a single network and more than one service provider, so that the infrastructure investment can be shared.

'Basic' communications system for TBVC states

THE TBVC states are restructuring their telecommunications by committing themselves to cellular systems which fly in the face of those planned for installation by Telkom.

Despite Telkom efforts to persuade TBVC states to install advanced digital GSM systems, it is understood the states want to take the analogue route for providing basic, quickly installed services to subscribers.

Cellstar MD Ian Fairman said the number of people in SA wanting globally compatible GSM phones was minimal; there was a far bigger need for basic services which could be installed quickly and cheaply.

This view is supported by research firm BMI-TechKnowledge director Alan Paul, who has conducted significant research into the telecommunications industry in southern Africa.

"Effectively, when the TBVC states are reintegrated into SA, we will have alternative operators competing with Telkom," said Paul.

Companies such as Reutech, Plessey, Philips and Cellstar are touting analogue-based systems which they say need only 40% of the capital cost of GSM systems. They also work on flexible bandwidths, and do not have the electronic magnetic compatibility problems of GSM.

It is believed Cellstar is to become an operator in Swaziland where 2 000 subscribers will be connected to a network at a cost of R3m. The company is also believed to be tying up licenses to operate Nordic Mobile Telephone (NMT) analogue-based systems in other countries, including Botswana and Zaire.

While a Telkom spokesman argues that analogue systems are inappropriate, and represent outdated technology, NMT suppliers say the technology is newer than GSM, and is ideally suited to Africa.

A Telkom spokesman said: "The problem with installing NMT is that users crossing borders can't use their terminals on the digital network. This has happened in Europe where groups of countries have installed analogue technology."

Fairman said that few TBVC users needed to cross borders and use their units. Rather, they wanted basic services so they could communicate.

'Patch talks' go well

(101) ARG 16/10/92

Political Reporter

ESTRANGED homeland governments have met Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer in the first formal step to patch the quarrel which started with the government's Record of Understanding on September 26.

Official sources said yesterday's meeting between the government and a delegation from the Conference of Concerned South Africans had gone well but could not say what the next step would be.

It was hoped a meeting could be set up between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President De Klerk.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was represented by national chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose and the Bothuthatswana government by Cabinet Minister Mr Rowan Cronje.

It is understood the Ciskei Government was also represented.

The three homeland governments met two weeks ago to form the Conference of Concerned South Africans to express their rejection of the Record of Understanding, which the government and the ANC signed at a summit on September 26.

Chief Buthelezi was particularly incensed by the agreement and relations between him and the government have deteriorated ever since.

(1) Whether the Government is responsible for paying the costs of representatives of the (a) United Nations and (b) Organization for African Unity who recently visited or are currently visiting the Republic as observers; if so, (i) to what extent, and (ii)(aa) what are these costs to date and (bb) in respect of what period is this information furnished; if not,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the financing of the above-mentioned visits? B859E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) (a) As far as the UN and other observers are concerned the Department of Foreign Affairs did not pay any expenditure to date

(b) (i) and (ii)

Only certain transport costs in accordance with international practice From 14 September 1992 to 4 October 1992 and amount of R9 550 has been paid.

(2) The general worldwide practice in the case of such missions is that the host country where a team is being deployed, provides financial assistance with regard to office accommodation and related expenditure. It could thus be expected that certain costs will indeed be paid. The amount cannot be provided at this point in time because there still have to be discussions about the extent of the services

Special representative of Secretary-General of UN: costs of visit

362 Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether the Government is responsible for paying the costs involved in the visit to the Republic in August this year of Mr Cyrus Vance, Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations; if so, (a) to what extent and (b) what were the costs involved; if not,

(2) whether he will make a statement on the financing of this visit? B860E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No

(a) and (b) Fall away

(2) Not applicable given the answer under (1).

Imizamo Yethu settlement at Hout Bay: site

364 Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether the Imizamo Yethu settlement at Hout Bay is situated on a site of approximately 18 hectares agreed to in the second phase of the development in this regard; if not, what are the relevant details; if so,

(2) whether his Department has any plans for extending the above settlement; if so, what are these plans;

(3) whether these plans have been discussed with the liaison committee representing the Hout Bay communities; if so, when; if not, why not? B862E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes.

(2) No; the activities of the Western Cape Regional Services Council on the relevant site of approximately 34 ha have been influenced to such an extent that they have to acquire an alternative site. Consequently the Cape Provincial Administration is obliged to purchase the whole area of approximately 34 ha.

(3) Although no formal plans for the development of the additional approximately 16 ha have been discussed, the Hout Bay Liaison Committee has agreed that the residential component will be confined to approximately 18 ha. The future utilisation of the additional approximately 16 ha is thus still to be decided upon in consultation with the local communities. This land could possibly be utilised for community facilities.

Pine forest area in Hout Bay: cutting down of trees

365. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Local Government and National Housing:

(1) Whether his Department has any plans to cut down any trees in the existing pine forest area near the Imizamo Yuethu settlement at Hout Bay; if so, (a) what trees and (b) why;

(2) whether an independent environmental impact study has been made regarding the possible effect of the cutting down of these trees; if not, why not, if so, (a) when and (b) by whom;

(3) whether he will make public the findings resulting from such a study? B863E

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) Yes;

(a) only those trees that have been identified during a scientific investigation to be dead, or are in the process of dying, as well as a limited number of trees which will hamper the alignment of roads or services in the development;

(b) the retention of the dead trees is a risk to the lives of people and property. It would also not be cost effective to re-align roads and trunk services for purposes of retaining a small number of trees.

(2) Yes;

(a) in June 1992;

(b) by Ms E L van and Honert, M.Sc. (Botany) employed by Messrs Hill, Kaplan and Scott, consulting engineers,

(3) Yes.

Single care grants: children of each race group

367. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of National Health:

How many children of each race group were receiving single care grants in terms of the Mental Health Act, No 18 of 1973, in respect of each province as at 30 September 1992 or the latest specified date for which information is available? B865E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

Province	White	Coloured	Indian	Black
Orange Free State	7	0	0	18
Cape	98	0	0	580
Natal	44	0	101	307
Transvaal	141	0	19	459
Total	290	580*	120	1 364

*Figures are not kept per province

SA citizenship: independent Black states

368 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether any Blacks in the independent Black states have applied to regain their South African citizenship in terms of the provisions of the National States Citizenship Act, No 26 of 1970, as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, No 13 of 1978; if so, in respect of each such state, (a) how many applied, (b) how many applications were approved and (c) for what specified period is this information furnished? B866E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

Owing to the provisions of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act 73 of 1986), which came into effect on 1 July 1986, no Black of any of the independent states applied in terms of section 3 of the National States Citizenship Act, 1970 (Act 26 of 1970), as amended by the National States Citizenship Amendment Act, 1978 (Act 13 of 1978), for South African citizenship since that date.

Particulars of applications prior to the commencement of the above-mentioned Restoration of South African Citizenship Act are not readily available.

Telephone installations: North Rand

369. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

Whether any applications for telephone installations for (a) residential, (b) facsimile and (c) business purposes were outstanding at the North Rand office of Telkom as at 1 October 1992; if so, (i) how many in each case and (ii) when is it anticipated that these backlogs will be eliminated? B867E

The influences of campus demagogues threaten education

B|DAY 21|10|92

GOMOLEMO MOKAE

B|DAY 21|10|92.

DEMOCRACY and demagoguery may (almost) rhyme but, like cheese and chalk, there is a world of difference between them.

And, if the two are irreconcilable, "demagoguery is demagoguery, pedagogy is pedagogy; never shall the twain meet", to misquote Kipling. However, in our secondary and tertiary institutions of learning, the two are made to meet. With disastrous consequences.

Three bantustan universities; the universities of Venda, the North and Bophuthatswana; and, to some extent, Vista (Mamelodi branch), provide a telling lesson on the irreconcilability of pedagogy (the science of teaching) and demagoguery (the phenomenon of appealing to — often base — prejudices and passions).

In Venda and the University of the North (also known as Turfloop), it is a case of — to borrow colleague Lybon Mbasa's phrase — "the tail wishing to wag the dog".

"Students are co-governing the university. Anyone who thinks he can run it without their support is just dreaming," University of Venda (now) suspended PRO Rufus Kharidzha was quoted as saying.

Phew! ... we are all for a liberal, non-autocratic university administration which consults its student body on major policy decisions, but we are not so sure that such consultation is what Kharidzha had in mind when he spoke about "co-governance"; given the controversy surrounding his suspension by the university council, as well as the institution's general crisis.

If the student body was equipped to "co-govern" in a sense other than that of being consulted by the university administration on policy decisions, then it would not have been a student body, but the university administration. On the other hand, academics constituting the university administration have earned the privilege to govern.

Lest we be misunderstood, let us hasten to make two submissions. Firstly, the SA government, obviously, consists of a white minority that has forced itself over an indigenous black majority. This government's influence has permeated through to the composition of university administrations.

As martyred black student leader Onkgopotse Ramothibi Tiro intimated in his historic speech during a graduation ceremony at Turfloop, the black student has a duty to resist such influence. Such resistance, however, has to be awake to the equally important responsibility of the black student to acquire knowledge. And such resistance dare not descend to demagoguery and mob justice where, for instance, lecturers are dragooned out of campus without any recourse to a fair hearing.

Secondly, we do know of authoritarian lecturers with a proclivity to hold students to ransom with their powers. Such lecturers, of course, are to be condemned. However, we reiterate, demagoguery has no place in the resolution of problems like that of authoritarian lecturers.

The University of Venda is currently in crisis because of such demagoguery. The university's council is virtually emasculated by a student body which prefers university authorities who placate it by dancing to its whims and wishes.

At nearby Turfloop, the situation is not any better. The university is having one of its perennial crises. And, as is its wont, the crisis comes just as year-end examinations hover in the air.

Seven lecturers have been withdrawn because of students' complaints about them, and a majority of their colleagues withdrew their lecturing services in solidarity.

Though, in general, it is extremely hard to comprehend actions of teachers or lecturers who opt for "chalkdown" over a dispute with higher authorities, one cannot help but sympathise with these lecturers. "It is well established practice at this university that when students have complaints against a lecturer, it becomes impossible for the lecturer to continue teaching," wrote the Sowetan's Don Seokane (September 29).

For the record, the students' complaints ranged from lecturers' alleged racism to some lecturers being "misers with marks".

It may well be that, among the lecturers, there are rotten potatoes — racists, "authoritarians" and sadists who, though students would be deserving of passes, would fail them out of spite. However, do such complaints — however legitimate — justify the removal of lecturers without any recourse to justice; without a fair hearing?

It is amazing that, up to now, Turfloop has not created an avenue for recourse. In 1986, after students had complained about him for a while, Roman Law lecturer Prof van Warmelo was burnt with acid in the face by enraged students.

Such an avenue is a *sine qua non* not only for addressing students' complaints, but for lecturers' safety too.

At the universities of Venda, Turfloop and Vista, the demagoguery is that of seemingly left-wing students tarnishing the image of "the struggle" by descending to mob justice, not unlike that of their secondary school "comrades", who demand "pass one, pass all".

At the University of Bophuthatswana (Unibo) the demagoguery is different. It is that of the bantustan's demagogue, Chief Lucas Mangope, appealing to the tribalist prejudices of his sidekicks to control Unibo. Although there is a difference in ideology between these two forms of demagoguery, the two are equally destructive to pedagogy.

Mangope's writ decrees that students may not organise themselves into organisations with liberatory leanings, lecturers may not become overtly involved in politics, the student body may not march (peacefully) against him and so on.

The supposedly left-wing students' writ decrees that lecturers will dance to their music; those who are so-called "misers with marks", racists, reactionaries and so on will be dragooned out of campus without any recourse to a fair hearing.

No wonder some university administrations, in an attempt to endear themselves to such students, liberally confer honorary doctorates, like confetti, upon leaders of the ideological school to which these students belong. Such action, also, is demagoguery, and can only harm pedagogy.

For instance, a lecturer at one of our tertiary educational institutions claims the administration not only attempts to be in the "good" books of the student body by bestowing such honorary degrees on its political leadership, but goes further. The powers that be, he reports, have created an avenue whereby student representatives not only sit in on interviews of prospective university lecturers, but may pose questions to the interviewee too!

As stated, we are all for a liberal university administration which consults the student body and solicits its opinion on major policy decisions. But student reps interviewing their prospective teachers?

That is taking democracy too far. Nay, that is making a mockery of democracy. In a word, that is demogoguery.

It bodes ill for the science of teaching when attempts are made to appeal to, and/or appease tribal, ideological or any other partisan prejudice of a select group. The sooner we abort such marriage of pedagogy and demagoguery, the better for the nation's future.

The nation in general, and commerce particularly, will continue to view with suspicion degrees obtained from "bush colleges" where demagoguery abounds, and academic standards are abandoned to pander to such passions and prejudices of select groups.

☐ Mokae is Azapo education secretary.

Multilateral talks 'unlikely' this year

BILLY PADDOCK

CODESA 3-type multilateral negotiations were "most unlikely" to take place this year as there were far too many issues to be dealt with in bilateral talks and coaxing of further parties to join the process, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said it had taken nearly three months of discussions before the multiparty preparatory meeting, which led to the formation of Codesa, could be convened. "And now we have Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, as well as the PAC not in the process."

The negotiator said most of the main players wanted to resolve most of the major difficulties and get fairly conclusive agreements tied up before multilateral talks were convened.

"This is so that we reduce the level of conflict and problems when we reach the multilateral stage," he said.

He said parties had to avoid painting themselves into a corner as they did at Codesa II by setting a clear date for multilateral negotiations. "Dates should be set only once all the problems have been ironed out and agreements reached. This will result in there being no real problems between the major players and the process will advance that much more quickly," he said.

He was hopeful that bilateral discussions with Inkatha would take place in the near future, but could not predict a time frame.

He also said the meeting on Friday with the PAC in Gaborone would be difficult because the organisation had severe problems with the Codesa structure and some of the major players insisted on retaining it as a forum.

Govt and homelands blamed

Drought aid millions 'lost to corruption'

B/Dmy 23/10/92.

MILLIONS of rands earmarked for drought relief were being misspent because government and homeland efforts were riddled with mismanagement, irregularities and corruption, leading drought relief officials charged yesterday.

A document drawn up by the Consultative Forum on Drought — a joint government-development agency initiative — has described government as "the primary restraint on relief efforts".

"A recurring problem which has contributed to the problems in communities has been irregularities, which amount to corruption in many instances," it said.

Officials from the Development Aid Department, which was disbanded after a massive corruption scandal last year, continued to occupy senior positions in drought relief administration in the homelands, the document said.

Forum manager Len Abrams said names of officials suspected of corruption could not be released as investigations were continuing.

It was impossible to say exactly how much of the R1,4bn allocated by government to drought relief had been misspent because of a "total lack of transparency" and the poor accounting procedures of homeland governments, Abrams said.

The document listed "quantifiable instances" of irregularity which needed urgent investigation. These included:

☐ The theft of 52 expensive diesel borehole pumps, which probably took place with the consent of corrupt officials with "the experience and the tools to install and to extract" them;

RAY HARTLEY

☐ Contract irregularities, with homeland contractors having "open contracts to drill boreholes which have not been sited" and government paying for drilling rigs used on private contracts;

☐ Consultants being hired continuously for up to 20 years, leading to "a tendency to establish dubious relationships with senior officials and in many cases write their own briefs"; and

☐ Favoured homeland chiefs receiving more relief aid than others.

Some contractors charged exorbitant rates for drilling shallow and cheaply equipped boreholes.

Homeland governments had "inadequate budgetary and financial control, and operational capacity" and were unable to say how drought relief money had been spent, the report said.

"Homeland expenditures are not clear, but it is apparent that there are grave weaknesses in the capacity to implement programmes in an effective manner.

"There are no programmes in place to comprehensively monitor the effectiveness of relief efforts. The actual effective support given by the Water Affairs Department, despite a genuine will to assist, was generally regarded as disappointing by the relief engineers."

Maps given to one team of relief engineers were nearly 30 years old and did not indicate many villages desperately in need of drought relief, the report said.

At least 350 000 people in the Venda capital of Thohoyandou were living on 15*l*

☐ To Page 2

Drought aid

B/Dmy 23/10/92 (2) (101)

☐ From Page 1

of water a day because of mismanagement at a scheme to pump water into the Vondo Dam.

The document said that while blacks made up 93% of the rural population, they received only 19% of money allocated to drought relief. "A married farmer who is sequestrated can receive up to R2 000 per month in subsidies for a year. In contrast, a farmworker who is dismissed is subsidised by up to R150 per month.

"What has been termed development for two to three decades ... is a litany of failure to provide the most basic services, support and community engagement.

"It also speaks for itself as an indictment of development and disproportionate allocation of resources where villages have no water supply while within a few hundred metres there are First World standard services," the report said.

Commercial banks would be paid at least R120m from state drought assistance funds in 1992, according to a report presented to the forum, which is a government/community drought relief initiative.

A total of R60m would be paid to commercial banks for new production credit, while they would receive R50m for carrying over debt and R10m in interest subsidies on long-term loans, the report said.

tally treated. — Sapa-AFP

ship.

Both are on trial for 23 offences, including murdering and robbing American tourist Mr Edward Perlmutter, 24, in the Knysna forest in October last year.

Yesterday Mr Perlmutter's father, Mr Joe Perlmutter, wept in court as he told how ... backpacked through South-East Asia and Australia before coming to South Africa.

He and his wife had become alarmed when their son failed to return home for Thanksgiving and

pondence found the mail in

Mr Per of his the Kny

CT 28/10/92

Names given to T'kei inquiry

UMTATA. — The names of 20 inmates believed to be political prisoners will be submitted to a commission of inquiry headed by former Zimbabwean Chief Justice Mr Justice Enoch Dumbuntshena.

Lawyers for Human Rights regional director Ms Denise Rudolph said here yesterday she could not say if the list included those allegedly involved in the 1990 Transkei coup. — Sapa

Call to stop govt land sales

JOHANNESBURG. — The SA Council of Churches called on the government yesterday to halt immediately the sale of state land to individuals and the transfer of some of it to homelands, and for a moratorium on land transfer until a "representative government" was in place.

"The current sale of land, most of which has been done under the cloak of secrecy, as well as recent announcements of the transfer of land to KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa, are the most insensitive things the National Party government can do at this point," the SACC said.

"We warn that this step can contribute to the current climate of violence and instability," the organisation said. — Sapa

101 CT 28/10/92

Keegan: Freeze District Six

CT 28/10/92

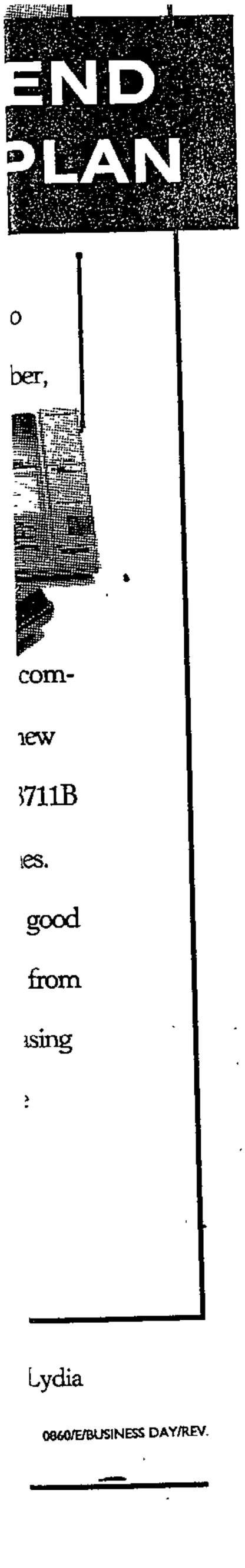
Staff Reporter

THERE was a good possibility that property in District Six would have to be frozen or "banked" until a democratically-elected and legitimate city council could take the development further, Cape Town deputy mayor Mr Clive Keegan said last night.

Addressing a meeting of the South African Property Owners Association on "the imperatives facing metropolitan Cape Town", he said that because of the impasse in negotiations about the future of District Six and the highly emotional nature of the question, it might become neccessary to "bank" the land.

On the question of political negotiations, he said community organisations in the Western Cape were, through no fault on their part, "desperately ill-equipped" with the skills necessary for such negotiations.

It would be difficult to get political negotiations going in the Western Cape until national political developments got underway, but more progress had been made in the region in the development sphere.



o

ber,

com-

iew

3711B

ies.

good

from

using

Lydia

0860/E/BUSINESS DAY/REV.

Govt land transfers must stop

(101) (3 Sept) (24) (3 Sept) BD 29/10/92

LLOYD COUTTS

THE impending transfer of administrative control of land by government to homelands could contribute to the climate of violence and instability in the country, the SA Council of Churches said yesterday.

The SACC described the decision to transfer superintendence of more than 400 000ha of former Development Trust land to six self-governing territories as "reprehensible".

It called on President F W de Klerk to halt the sale of land and proclaim a moratorium on land transfer until a representative government was in place.

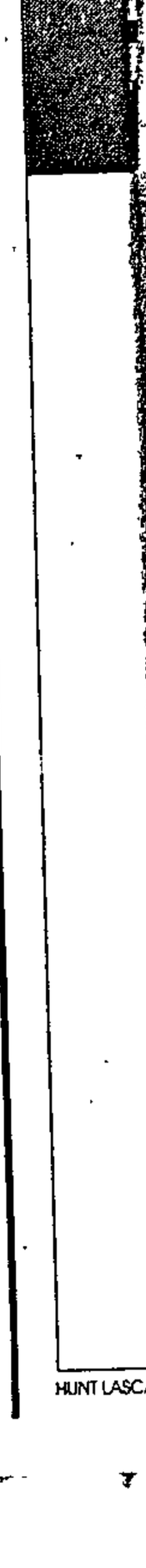
"The issue of land restitution and redistribution as a component of a national land reform programme is a matter for negotiation in a representative forum.

"We warn that this step can contribute to the current climate of violence and instability. The incorporation of Claremont into KwaZulu is a case in point," an SACC statement said yesterday.

In another statement, various anti-apartheid organisations in Natal, including the Human Rights Commission and the Association for Rural Advancement, said government's decision was aimed at winning allies in a future election.

"The land question is one of the most sensitive issues to be resolved in SA. Transfer of precious and finite land assets from one apartheid bureaucracy to another will neither assist resolution of the land question nor negotiations for a new, acceptable South African constitution."

The ANC has also called for a moratorium on state land sales.



HUNT LASCARIS

Wessels tells of TBVC problems

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE incorporation of the TBVC states into a new system of regional government would have to be considered extremely carefully, Local Government Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday.

Delivering the opening address at the regional services councils' national congress in Port Elizabeth, Wessels said boundaries were critical to efficient regional administration.

If current RSC borders were extended to include the TBVC states, the demand for infrastructure in those areas would exert great pressure on existing RSC budgets.

If, on the other hand, new RSCs were created within the TBVC areas, it was likely that "too few funds would be generated to make any significant contribution to development", he said.

Wessels said while most political parties had accepted that some form of regionalism would be implemented in SA, the future of RSCs was uncertain.

The successful functioning of RSCs, however, had shown people "it was possible to function across local borders in a spirit of cooperation and harmony".

The participatory consensus politics employed by RSCs had been an important development experience.

Regional government would probably have to coincide with the demarcation of development regions in SA.

087 c scran

FACING an end-of- off of their R100m i line operators were native strategies, said yesterday.

The Premium Rate (Prasa) is negotiating extension of 087 contr but indications suggest terminated or allowe under stringent condit

Prasa vice-chairma GM Rob Russell said trying to diversify int services. However the easy and many operat equipment to other cou establish offshore pre

International manu um line equipment ha up to 40% in anticipat Russell said up to 80% use would have to be expected many smalle of business.

The public would phone-in service but services instead, he sa

"Millions will be goi to satisfy people's minds," Russell said.

Parrot Publishing G

200 in council office sit-in

ADRIAN HADLAND

ABOUT 200 Johannesburg CBD residents staged a sit-in at the city council offices yesterday. They were removed by police.

The sit-in followed months of negotiations in which residents of seven buildings in the Joubert Park area appealed to the council to finance the purchase of the buildings and implement a social housing scheme in the city.

With negotiations deadlocked, the owner of the buildings sent out eviction notices this week requiring the 700 residents to vacate the buildings by the end of November, a Seven Buildings Project spokesman said.

City secretary Howard Veale said a group of about 200 people met housing committee chairman Marietta Marx yesterday with a list of demands.

The demands included a contribution of R1,7m by the council for the refurbishment of the buildings.

No to Apartheid Land Deals

(101)

As non-government and service organisations, we are all too aware of the desperate need which exists for access to land. However, we are concerned that the transfer deals made to honour past promises to homeland governments are aimed at winning allies in a future election, and not addressing land hunger. W\Mail 30|10-5|11|92.

When the government repealed the Land Acts and Groups Areas Act in 1991 it made it clear that it was not accepting the principle of restitution to victims of past policies. Yet now, the government is seeking ways of fulfilling homeland governments' claims for compensatory land. The government claims that its recent agreements with homeland governments around land transfers are aimed at addressing land hunger. But if the government was genuinely interested in resolving the land issue, why has it repeatedly tried to sell off land being claimed by communities? The most recent examples of such attempts are in the northern Cape (Majeng community) and the Western Cape (Rondevlei).

This kind of contradiction leaves us no option but to believe that the transfer deals are aimed at boosting government power and support among homeland governments and have little to do with addressing land issues. It seems that government decisions around land are motivated by potential political gain for itself, regardless of the cost to South Africa. Pre-emptive social engineering of this kind undermines the capacity of local communities to engage with the processes of transition and development and will have negative consequences for genuine democracy, justice and peace.

The land question is one of the most sensitive issues to be resolved in South Africa. In this period of transition, the government was understood to be adopting a caretaker role regarding continuing administrative functions, pending implementation of an acceptable system of government. Transfer of precious and finite land assets from one apartheid bureaucracy to another will neither assist resolution of the land question nor negotiations for a new, acceptable constitution.

Magistrates on strike

(103) ARG 31/10/92

UMTATA. — A case in which two African National Congress members are charged with the murder of a dissident, Mr Sipho Phungulwa, in Umtata in 1990, has been postponed until next week because magistrates and prosecutors are on strike. The two, Mr Mfanelo Matshaya and Mr Ndibulelo Ndzamela, allegedly shot Mr Phungulwa for criticising the ANC. — Sapa.

Congress urges tolerance

(101) CT 2/10/92

KWAMHLANGU. — The Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa) has appealed to political leaders to instil a spirit of tolerance among their followers.

At a press conference after his organisation's annual meeting in KwaNdebele yesterday, Contralesa president Chief Phathekile Holomisa also appealed to the international community to not only send monitors to the country, but to establish peacekeeping forces.

He said he believed the government had the capacity to stop the violence but was not prepared to do so. Contralesa was concerned about the escalating carnage, especially in Natal and on the Reef.

Chief Holomisa also said he believed negotiations would not succeed without the involvement of traditional leaders. — Sapa

● **Hopes for a peace summit fade — Page 5**

Federal attributes in govt's proposals

LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT's proposed regional government system would not be a continuation of the homeland system and would have federal attributes, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said strong regional government did not mean weak central government. "Both can be strong. But the closer strong government is brought to the people, the more sensitive it will be to needs."

Meyer welcomed a recent ANC document on regionalism, saying it showed the organisation had realised the importance of regional government.

However, there were basic differences between ANC and government policy.

"The ANC would not want the regions to have autonomous powers — this means an all-powerful central government that could override regional decisions even on issues falling within the legislative authority.

"Our approach is that regions should have autonomous jurisdiction over functions entrusted to them in the constitution, and that it should not be possible for those functions to be taken away from them without their consent," Meyer said.

The ANC would want to give only limited residual taxing powers to regions, on the basis of "one country, one tax base".

Government believed that without a proper tax base and without autonomy regional government would become an extension of an overriding and all-powerful central government.

This did not mean that regions should have full autonomy over all functions of government, but over those allocated to them.

"Regional boundaries can only be finally drawn once there is also clarity on function. These boundaries will not be those of self-governing and TBVC territories."

Meyer denied government had converted to federalism to protect minorities to the detriment of possible redistribution and empowerment programmes.

Education on mortgages

WILSON ZWANE

BANKS and township civic organisations are to launch a major initiative to teach home buyers about the intricacies surrounding mortgage finance.

The costs of developing and executing this education programme will be borne by government, business and banks.

The Association of Mortgage Lenders and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) have reached a tentative agreement on the need for such an education.

At a meeting this week, the two organisations endorsed a proposal by a working group on mortgage lending issues that home buyers should be educated in the workings of mortgage finance, including fluctuating interest rates, lawyers' fees and bond registration costs.

An information circular released by the association and Sanco says all relevant parties will have to be approached with a view of establishing joint working committees to develop the educational package.

The circular says builders should be approached with a view to getting them to agree to the establishment of a building industry code of conduct.

"It is anticipated that in order to facilitate the implementation of the code of conduct, association members will provide finance only to builders who agree to be bound by it," it says.

In a brief joint statement this week, the association and Sanco said they had endorsed the proposal and would refer it to their decision-making structures.

It is believed that Sanco's executive, which meets at the weekend, will ratify the proposal. The association's council will discuss the matter next Tuesday.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said earlier the agreement between his organisation and the association was a "positive move", which could pave the way for other agreements on housing issues.

SA 'subverting homelands'

UMTATA. — The South African government is trying to destabilise homelands pursuing progressive policies, Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa claimed yesterday CT 13/11/92

Addressing UN and EC observers visiting Transkei, he said the short- and long-term strategies of the government had been upset by the failure of some homelands to fit into its plan.

"The contradiction posed by those homelands pursuing progressive policies and infusing a revolutionary content into the apartheid framework is fraught with the dangers of conflict and violence as the regime's agents seek to destabilise those communities and force them to fall in line."

HOMELAND FINANCES

The nightmare continues

Government does not plan to tighten control over the R8,4bn that taxpayers will pour into the six non-independent homelands this year — in spite of a damning report this week detailing massive financial irregularities and corruption in Lebowa.

The report by Johannesburg chief magistrate Oelof de Meyer confirms warnings earlier this year by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley that homeland finances are chaotic and getting worse. Another shock is expected later this week when the report of the Parsons Commission into financial irregularities in KwaNdebele is published.

Earlier this year, the Pickard Commission exposed widespread irregularities in the former Department of Development Aid, which operated mainly in the homelands. And successive reports of the Van den Heever Commission have highlighted corruption in black education.

However, Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers dismissed suggestions this week that overwhelming evidence of widespread malpractice justifies official probes into all the homeland administrations. He also indicated that government has little control over funds transferred to the homeland governments, who determine their own financial priorities.

As with previous reports, it appears that no political heads will roll. Ministers in charge of Homeland Affairs during the period investigated by De Meyer included Piet Koornhof, Chris Heunis and Gerrit Viljoen, all now retired.

Official action in response to the report includes the appointment of a committee of Lebowa government Ministers to oversee the implementation of the commission's recommendations and a joint Lebowa-SA Ministerial monitoring committee to check the implementation process.

A joint financial adjustment committee, with input from the Development Bank of Southern Africa, has already been established.

De Villiers says he does not know whether inept officials identified by De Meyer are still dealing with financial matters in Lebowa. He also says it was not possible to pick up the irregularities any sooner.

In his response to the report, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike — who is personally implicated in aspects of the investigation — said the findings were "a dismay to all of those in responsible positions at political and official level." He said the Lebowa police were investigating some of the issues raised by De Meyer.

Suggestions of corruption in Lebowa were raised in parliament by the Conservative Party in 1983. Koornhof promised an investigation. Three years later the Dekker Commission confirmed the allegations.

De Meyer was appointed in 1989 to probe an even wider range of allegations. This week's 1 000-page report is the second of four. A report earlier this year detailed irregularities regarding schoolbooks. The other two reports are expected to be published during the next few months.

In essence, the latest report details a breakdown of financial administration due to unqualified officials, unauthorised actions and contempt for the legislative process. De Meyer's task was not easy. He complained of a lack of co-operation bordering on obstruction from senior Lebowa government officials.

While losses are virtually impossible to determine, they clearly run into hundreds of millions of rands.

In just one instance, the unauthorised reduction in working hours for 24 000 civil servants (excluding teachers) from 40 hours to 38,5 hours a week since December 1974 and other time off decreed by the Cabinet since 1988 has cost around R500m.

De Meyer said there were "serious shortcomings in the administration of departments" and a significant number of senior officials lacked the necessary skill to manage their departments. These included departmental heads, accountants and their senior staff. There was also lack of control by the secretary of the Treasury and the Accountant-General.

In many cases, officials admitted they had only a "vague idea" of their financial responsibilities. They were also unmotivated and undisciplined. The bureaucracy was bloated because new posts were created for jobs that could have been done by existing staff had they been properly trained.

The De Meyer report also uncovered:

- ☐ Irregularities in the promotion or appointment of officials, unjustified payments for overtime and irregularities in the payment of salaries including payments to fictitious employees;
- ☐ Theft of pensions by people who claimed payment on behalf of pensioners who had died and the use of funds earmarked for pensions to subsidise overspending in other departments;
- ☐ The inability of officials to locate at least 254 of the 1 130 new motor vehicles bought between 1985 and 1989. During the investigation, the commission discovered five new Mercedes-Benz cars in a workshop. They had apparently been bought in 1988 and never used;
- ☐ Irregularities in building contracts worth millions of rand;
- ☐ Alleged corruption in the allocation of liquor licences;
- ☐ The abuse by civil servants, members of the Cabinet and members of the Legislative Assembly of the State's scheme to subsidise motor car travel and purchase costs; and
- ☐ Irregularities in the purchase of equipment, including a computer system for R234 000 which was subsequently found to be unsuitable.

Democratic Party deputy spokesman on land affairs Errol Moorcroft says the report again shows that the apartheid dream has become a nightmare. ■

LABOUR

Sudden agreement

While the provisions of the pathbreaking agreement between government and Cosatu on farm and domestic worker rights were generally expected, employers are concerned at the way in which the deal was done.

In particular, it appears that the National Manpower Commission (NMC) was bypassed — and taken by surprise — at Monday's announcement of the agreement. It was signed exclusively — and suddenly — by new Manpower Minister Leon Wessels and Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo last Friday.

Cosatu only recently announced, after a great deal of discussion, that it is to re-join

SA clings to bad stepchildren

W/mail 13/11 - 19/11/92 (101)

The South African government appears to see the homelands as election partners, judging from its feeble response to commission reports of massive corruption in Lebowa and kwaNdebele.

FERIAL HAFFAJEE

reports

THE government appears bent on holding on to the homelands as a future power base despite the publication of two hard-hitting commission reports released this week.

About R1-billion has been lost to graft in Lebowa and the kwaNdebele police force was found to be so dangerous, corrupt and incompetent that the commission recommended it be reincorporated into the South African Police.

The South African government's response has been lukewarm, sparking comments that it cannot come down too hard on homeland leaders it sees as key election partners in the future.

Responding to the De Meyer report, Minister of Land and Regional Affairs Jacob de Villiers told a press conference he would neither initiate corruption inquiries in the other homelands, nor guarantee the prosecution of those officials named in reports.

The corruption, he said, was "the failure of administrative follow-through in only some departments of the self-governing territories". He later said on television: "Other than this, the self-governing territories are doing a great job."

The reports come hot on the heels of recently announced government plans to transfer about 1,2-million hectares of land to the homelands.

The government this week said it has no intention of rethinking the transfer of 380 000 hectares of land to Lebowa. About 52 000ha will be transferred to Qwa-Qwa and 500 000ha will go to kwaZulu.

Aninka Claassens, a key land policy thinker, describes the land transfers as a cynical election ploy. Nobody in the department can explain the transfers, she says.

The government responded: "No one is in favour of proceeding with a process towards independence. In fact, we all expect the self-governing territories to be dealt with as part of the RSA in a negotiated settlement."

A member of the National Land Committee, Harald Winkler, believes there will be no effective government action on the corruption charges. Homeland leaders were key to the National Party's election strategy and the transfer of land to sympathetic chiefs was a sign of the government's desire to court homeland leaders.

The Parson's Commission report on kwaNdebele, published yesterday, recommends that the territory's police force be reincorporated into the South African Police.

The commission also recommends that the system of *kitskonstabels* be urgently investigated and recommends a "strong South African Police team" look into all offences committed and urgently investigate the functioning of the kwaNdebele police force.

During the three years the commission sat, the police force was shown to be inefficient, under-qualified and often brutal, especially during the political turmoil of 1986.

Detention without trial was rampant and millions were paid out in damages claims to plaintiffs without cases ever going to court.

"The commission is in no doubt that serious mismanagement, malpractices or irregularities occurred in the administration of the Department of Law and Order of kwaNdebele," Parsons writes.

He says that "many extremely serious offences were committed by police officers, including actions that would amount to the obstruction of justice".

The relationship between the kwaNdebele commissioner of police and the chief minister was "so thick" that no differentiation could be made between the political and administrative offices.

The Conservative Party has called for the resignation of the government and Auditor-General Peter Wronsley expressed serious concern over the transfer of R6,1-billion to the homelands in the 1990/91 financial year.

Wronsley said he had twice reported the unauthorised expenditure of R1-billion in Lebowa since 1986 to parliament, but nothing had been done.

Neither he nor his predecessors, Stoffel van der Merwe and Gerrit Viljoen, could be held responsible for the corruption in the homelands, said De Villiers. Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike blamed seconded South African officials for the corruption in Lebowa.

Responding to the Parsons Commission report, the government said:

- The SAP had already completed an investigation into the kwaZulu Police and their report had been presented to the territory's cabinet.
- The kwaZulu Police would not be reincorporated into the SAP.
- All offences reported in the commissions would be investigated by the attorney-general.

South African officials will be seconded to Lebowa and kwaNdebele to assist with implementing the commission's recommendations. De Villiers could not say how much the corrective exercises will cost.

Case of one acre, one vote?

Are the Nats robbing land from poor to gain political support?

By LENNOX DIVER

IT seems that with this government all's fair in love, war – and land

Land, an issue at the heart of the struggle for SA, is being given away willy-nilly by the Nats to individuals, private companies and homeland bureaucrats. And you can bet on it that they're all buddies or potential allies of the Nats.

So say the government's opposition, an equally interesting assortment of community bodies, land activists, priests, and parties – especially the ANC.

They say the latest manoeuvrings on the issue can be put down to rank electioneering.

They trace the government's decision to hand out 12 000 square kilometres of State land – or one percent of the country – to blacks, to a statement from Foreign Minister Pik Botha earlier this year.

Botha said that, according to his calculations, the Nats could win over 50 percent of the vote in a non-racial election.

He mentioned that this figure included key support from the homelands.

Facing a call to stall the land transfers – the activists want a moratorium on the policy – the government has come out fighting in a manner reminiscent of days gone by.

Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers ripped into "the ANC" for trying to "jeopardise development".

He said the ANC had a "political agenda" to get into a position where it called the shots on the redistribution of State land.

However, opposition groups and observers found his assertion regarding land more than a little humorous. Earlier the government said in a statement that "further consultation with affected communities was not deemed necessary", invoking the angry accusation from critics that the government was "returning to its old, autocratic style".

The government's attitude also seemed to nullify previous policy set down in 1991 in a White Paper which stated that transfers of land to the homelands were to stop. This was followed by a law which abolished "racially based land measures".

The National Land Committee, a coalition of organisations representing people deprived of land under apartheid, said the government was trying to "pre-empt any real solution to the land question in SA".

It said that at a time when dissolving the homelands was supposed to be on the agenda, the government was trying to build up the system.

The committee said that the land being given away had for years been owned by the State through the SA Development Trust (SADT). It said: "It is this land which should be made available for redistribution to needy communities. Clearly, the present government is seeking to put this land beyond the grasp of any future government.

"The transfer of land is also aimed at redrawing the boundaries of SA to make a federal system of government a reality before it is even negotiated."

Who are the beneficiaries of the government's new-found generosity?

The government has said each homeland's development corporation and agricultural department will benefit, while private agricultural corporations such as the Zebedelia Citrus estate, will also get a bite.

"What the hell is happening? Why these free gifts to these people? The homelands' authorities have proven to be notoriously corrupt. Who the hell are these estates to get land when millions of rural people are running around desperate for extra grazing land?" said an incensed organiser for the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (Trac).

It helps the government little to know that one of the beneficiaries, Lebowa, was this week slammed for rampant corruption by Johannesburg chief magistrate Oelof de Meyer.

De Meyer's one-man commission was set up by the government in 1989 to investigate graft precisely in Lebowa's Development Corporation and its Agricultural Corporation!

Among 750 pages of findings was the revelation that whole departments were created without authorisation and were run by highly paid non-existent officials. The cost to taxpayers ran into billions.

In the midst of chaos and uncertainty on the land question, the National Land Committee had recommended that, despite its shortcomings, the government ought – as an emergency measure – to return to its own Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (Acla).

It said: "We believe that the future of all this land should be determined under a properly constituted Land Claims Court whose decisions would be binding, and which would serve under an interim government."

However, Trac said that the government had already gone ahead with the transferral of 380 square kilometres of land to Lebowa and 52 square kilometres to QwaQwa.

Still to come is the handing away of 168 square kilometres of land to KaNgwane and KwaNdebele and other smaller homelands.

"The biggie," said the Trac source, "is 600 square kilometres to KwaZulu."

The additional tension this would create in war-torn Natal was, he said, enormous

Meanwhile, Minister Scheepers does not agree that land reforms are being overridden.

On the contrary, he said the government was in fact addressing the disparity in the black and white ration in land ownership.

The government's aims were philanthropic. He said it wanted "to improve the quality of life for the people".

He said: "The government will still endeavour to address this sensitive issue responsibly and with understanding."

However, a land activist said, "That's pure Nat-speak, which means bull...".

Landing rights take issue back down to earth

By ZB MOLEFE

OVER the years some black politicians have been more vocal about it. Others talked about it in hushed tones. But there is no mistaking that these discussions have one thing in common: SA belongs to blacks.

And it is the PAC, since its founding 34 years ago, which has been more vocal and unwavering in its demand for the return of "usurped land".

Last week the land question was again brought to the front burner of the country's political arena

The ANC joined forces with Human Rights groups in attacking the government's latest action on the land issue where thousands of hectares of former SA Development Trust land was handed over to unnamed corporations in Lebowa and QwaQwa.

Meanwhile, in Australia it was announced that Aborigines and government leaders are to begin a series of urgent talks to sort out their country's land ownership laws.

That must have struck a familiar chord with most South Africans who have read SEM Pheko's recently-published *South Africa: The Betrayal of a Colonised People.*

The SA-born Zambian jurist argues that Britain betrayed Africans in 1909 when the Union of SA came into being. And this betrayal, according to Pheko, was completed in 1961 when the Union committed an unconstitutional unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) and declared itself a Republic.

The author, who studied at the universities of SA, Zambia and London, bases his argument on principles of international law which raises the question of SA's legality as a sovereign nation.

"The 1961 South African Constitution was illegal," writes Pheko

He quotes Zimbabwean international lawyer Mudimuranwa Mutiti who said: "the 1961 Republic Act was never ratified or assented by Britain, therefore, it was an unconstitutional unilateral political action."

In the same breath, Pheko reminds the reader that historically Britain has always crushed rebellions against the Crown – but only when they were led and inspired by black leaders.

Pheko argues and advances a number of international law points when he writes that SA was never a so-called independent or sovereign state of Britain

This is in spite of some lawyers and European politicians who have said Britain's Westminster Statute of 1931 conferred independence or sovereignty of SA, Pheko points out

Pheko also reminds his readers that when General JB Hertzog hailed Britain's 1931 Westminster Statute as meaning that SA had "sovereign independence and finality with regard to the country's freedom" it was described as "more sentiment than substance" in the House of Commons.

"Even some African leaders were led to believe that SA was an independent state," saidPheko.

Indigenous

Wits University's Professor John Dugard advanced the argument saying that because SA was a member of the then League of Nations it is evidence that SA is indeed an independent state

Another flaw Pheko finds is the argument that the dominion status elevated SA to an independent or sovereign state. But, he argues further, "dominion" is neither a term nor a concept of international law.

Instead he finds "dominion" racist in origin. For instance, colonies such as Australia, SA and New Zealand, where Britain settled its own population, were the only ones termed "dominions".

Pheko then quotes constitutional lawyer HJ May who declared that "On strictly legal grounds the dominions were subordinate to Great Britain"

Adds Pheko. "Britain is not the only colonial power which tried to manipulate international law by applying concepts that were foreign to international law.

"In international law a territory is either a state, a colony or a protected state."

Despite the political arguments, what are the feelings of black South Africans?

Pheko pulls no punches: "The indigenous people of Azania have never accepted the so-called independence of SA, except the advocates and minority adherents of the Freedom Charter."

Africanist Muziwakhe Anton Lembede advocated the policy of fighting for independence of Azania while PAC leader-founder Mangaliso Sobukwe said his organisation stood for "the complete overthrow of white domination. That means that the Act of 1909 – that fossiled relic of the white man's privileges and prejudices – must be scrapped".

Pheko also argues strongly against the historical misconception that whites found most of SA an "empty land"

There are Portuguese records of shipwrecks that provide ample evidence that SA was inhabited by African people long before 1652 when Jan van Riebeck landed in the Cape.

There is a section in the book where Pheko gives the authentic native names of numerous South African areas proving that blacks peopled SA long before white colonialism.

WAITING FOR THE PROMISED LAND ... While the government lavishes a handful of friends and allies with gifts of land, millions of dispossessed and impoverished rural people wait desperately for a glimpse of hope.

■ Pics: GILLE DE VLIEG

ANC warned on marches

PRETORIA. — The ANC alliance's persistence in staging marches on white towns and "even to attack independent states from South African territory" can no longer be tolerated, the Conservative Party said yesterday. CT 26/11/92

CP MP for Middelburg Mr Pikkie Coetzee, said President F W de Klerk should now take steps to prevent the ANC from disturbing the peace and breaking the law. — Sapa

The great land hoax continues

Wmail 27/11 - 3/12/92

State dispossession of black land is far from over — and the patience of its victims is wearing dangerously thin. **Weekly Mail Reporters**

THERE is growing evidence to suggest that the government may be engaged in a giant hoax against victims of forced removals and that the authorities are moving behind the scenes to block restitution

Thirty-eight dispossessed black communities have issued an ultimatum to President FW de Klerk to act on the land issue, or face a renewal of the re-occupation campaign which threatened to precipitate racial clashes last year.

The threat comes amid other developments which throw doubt on the genuineness of the government's reform plans with regard to land restitution They include:

●The virtual collapse of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (Acla) — De Klerk's initiative to defuse the controversy over restitution — as it becomes apparent that it was designed in such a way as to be almost totally ineffective.

●Indications that the authorities are selling off state land in order to move title to the properties beyond the reach of the dispossessed.

In the face of growing disillusionment with De Klerk's promises to deal "fairly" with the land issue, the African National Congress is investigating proposals for the creation of a "land claims court" with powers of expropriation.

A confidential discussion document circulating within the organisation suggests that such a court be given powers to investigate claims going back to 1948 — or 1913, when the notorious Land Acts were introduced, carving up the country into racially defined territories and giving the black majority 13 percent of it.

But the volatility of the issue was underlined this week when Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche told a rally in Durban that Nelson Mandela would be "necklaced" if the ANC tried to seize white farmland The AWB staged a horseback parade through the streets of Durban on Tuesday night and burnt the ANC flag to chants of "burn Nelson".

The 38 dispossessed rural communities have given De Klerk until the end of January 1993 to take effective action on land restitution. In a statement sent to the president last week, under the aegis of the National Land Committee, they said "we have very little patience left" with Acla.

The ultimatum follows last month's government announcement that it was transferring large chunks of state land to the homelands of Lebowa and QwaQwa, with other transfers expected to follow. This step has the effect of making it more difficult to recover land lost to black communities under apartheid's laws

Acla, set up by De Klerk last year to defuse bitter controversy surrounding efforts by victims of forced removals to re-occupy their land, is believed to have completed some 15 investigations into specific claims. But neither the commission nor the state president — to whom it is meant to report — has produced any conclusions

Apart from the delays, the credibility of the commission has been shattered by an extraordinary case in Kimberley in which the supreme court refused to halt the government's sale to white farmers of land from which the Majeng community had been forcibly evicted in the 1970s

Evidence led in the case described a bizarre series of events leading up to the court action. After the repeal of the Land Acts last year, the Majeng community, with 13 others, asked the state president to restore their land Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Dr Jacob de Villiers appealed to them at the meeting — and subsequently on television — to take their cases to Acla, which would deal "fairly" with them.

The Majeng people lodged a claim with Acla, but before it could be heard the state sold the disputed land to six white farmers. Government officials persuaded the registrar of deeds in Kimberley to rush through the transaction on the grounds that there was a danger "squatters" would occupy the land

The Majeng community discovered the transaction by chance and applied to the supreme court for an order to halt completion of the sale until Acla had had a chance to hear their application for restoration.

Incredibly, the government — which had persuaded the Majeng people to go to Acla in the first place — then appointed lawyers to oppose the court action, on the grounds that the matter could not be heard by Acla anyway because it fell outside its jurisdiction.

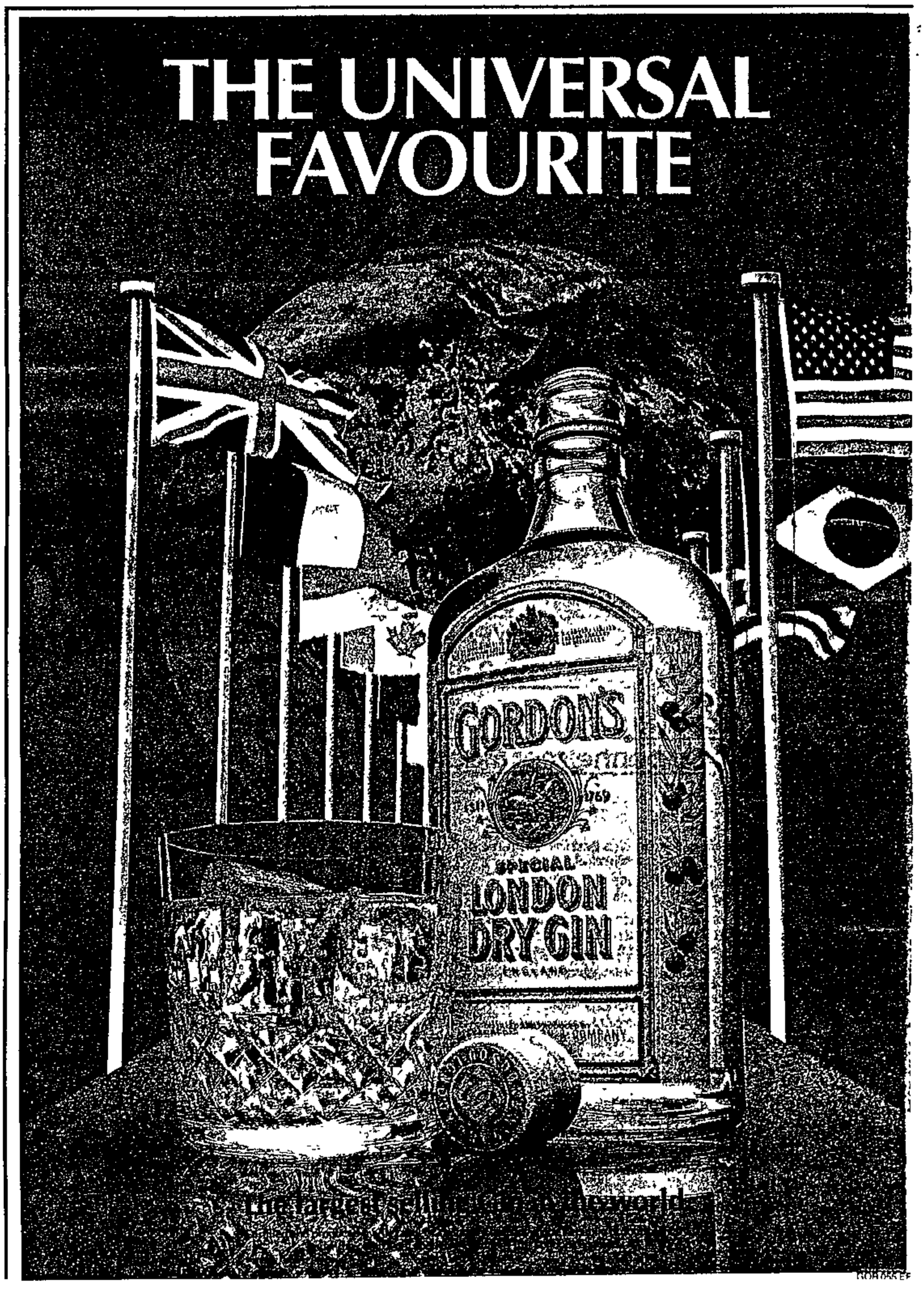
The terms of reference given to Acla by De Klerk restrict it to hearing applications relating to land owned by the state, which has been acquired by the state under the race laws and "which has not yet been developed or allocated for a specific purpose".

There is legal opinion that these restrictions are so tight that the only cases the commission is in fact empowered to hear are applications by white farmers whose land has been expropriated for incorporation into the homelands.

Other evidence that the government may be actively working to undermine any future restitution programme has been uncovered by the Surplus People's Project in Cape Town

Its researchers have established that the Community Development Board was registered late last year as the owner of over 5 000 urban properties, a large proportion of which were expropriated under the Group Areas Act By July this year, the figure had fallen to 3 241 — suggesting that large-scale selling is taking place A search on April 14 this year showed that in the Zeekoevlei area, 34 properties were registered with the board; by July 9, only three were left.

The researchers investigated two individual cases where families had been forced off their land in the 1970s, receiving less than R6 000 each in compensation. Last year, the families made inquiries at the development board about whether they could get the land back, but were told the properties had been sold Records showed they were in fact sold to a private property developer in January this year, for R100 000 each. The families appealed to Acla to investigate, but were told the cases fell outside its terms of reference.



25%

discount and a free calendar ... if you subscribe to *The Weekly Mail* NOW!!!

(See PAGE 6)

TBVC debt goes to market

B/Day 2/12/92

GRETA STEYN (10)

GOVERNMENT has started addressing the R7bn TBVC overdraft problem as part of a new strategy to take over the management of these states' debt.

Government's investment arm, the Public Investment Commissioner (PIC), is at present converting this fiscal year's R2,5bn overdraft into marketable stock debt.

PIC chief Wessel Badenhorst confirmed the organisation had taken over the debt management of these states and that it would be managed collectively, rather than individually.

However, paper issued would still be in the names of the individual states. Bankers said this would create obstacles, as investors were aware the ANC had described the borrowing as "apartheid debt".

Badenhorst said there were three advantages to the PIC taking over the debt management. Firstly, centralised and collective management would bring greater power for negotiating terms of loans. Secondly, it saved on costs and thirdly, measures would be taken to ensure that the debt was not allowed to build up without steps to reduce the burden. A "redemption element" had now been built into the debt management, he said.

☐ To Page 2

TBVC debt

B/Day 2/12/92 (10)

☐ From Page 1

This fiscal year's R2,5bn overdraft debt would be replaced by short-term marketable debt instruments, ranging in maturity from three to 18 months. The result would be a saving on interest costs. A source said the interest costs would be up to 3,5 percentage points lower than on overdraft.

A source said the PIC was "testing the water" with the present issue and that it was a precursor to the remainder of the built-up overdraft debt being converted into marketable stock debt.

Badenhorst said the PIC had held discussions with banks and institutional investors and was confident it would be able to place the debt at a respectable interest rate.

Bankers said the next step would be for government to bring the debt on to its books. This could not be done, however, without making provision in the Budget. It is understood the move has been discussed at a high level. Such a step would lift government's debt-to-GDP ratio even higher than the present 45%.

FW requested to stop land deals

THE National Land Committee this week urged State President FW de Klerk to declare a moratorium on the further sale of public land, including land allocated to the self-governing territories, as a first step to creating the basis for an equitable and just land dispensation.

The NLC said the land question and land hunger in SA was a potentially explosive issue.

Appealing to De Klerk on behalf of 38 communities attempting to have their land restored to them, the NLC said in the past year and in spite of the creation of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, there was no victory in sight for the dispossessed. Cpress 6/12/92

So beat your head on your desk, and pay up, pay up

(101)

ST Times 6/12/92.

THE passion of Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo is so intense that he weeps, and sometimes he beats his forehead on his desk as he explains to visitors that he has a divine mission to fight the godless communists who threaten southern Africa. His behaviour, to put it mildly, is unpredictable.

General Bantu Holomisa, assiduously training officers at the expense of South African taxpayers, solemnly warns the South African government not to violate the integrity of his territory, not even in hot pursuit of the violent gangs who operate across his borders. He is all too predictable.

Between the Ciskei and the Transkei, anarchy begins to spill across the landscape. A recrudescence of terrorism, aimed at the harmless class of whites who hold the country together, will surely drive an impoverished region into deeper misery.

And, in Natal, Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi puts forward a constitution for what masquerades as a federal state, but which is better described as a confederal blueprint and which may, indeed, set him on the perilous path of the late Moise Tshombe of Katanga.

Thus apartheid's children have returned to haunt the Nationalist government, which dutifully doles out billions of rands to keep its fractious offspring afloat, even as it runs up another R21-billion in debt to pay its increasingly ineffectual bureaucracies.

Finance Minister Derek Keys promised a gathering of businessmen this week that he would take care of the "debt trap", into which the country has been falling, if they would deal with the "doubt trap", into which the investors have fallen.

A "debt trap" occurs when a country borrows so much money that the interest on the debt rises faster than the annual increase in government revenue. We are very close to that condition, and the reasons are plain: a bureaucracy that does little useful work, but whose members have adopted the lifestyle of millionaire company directors: roomy offices, Mercedes-Benzes, private dining rooms, first-class air travel.

A "doubt trap", of course, occurs when intelligent people see the "debt trap" looming. We are close to that, too.

The path of escape is arduous: lower expenditure, higher taxes and tight monetary policy. These are remedies that demand from a government great honesty, resolution and courage; they are not weapons for wimps.

If Derek Keys says he will deal with the debt, I believe him; but if he says it will be done because this government will lop off pieces of its ample anatomy, I must confess, I doubt. A government which buys Brigadier Qqozo a desk on which to beat his head, or doles out cash for General Holomisa's new officer corps, or subsidises Chief Buthelezi's American constitutional advisers, is not a government of fierce resolution.

Paul Kruger, bitten by a snake, shot his thumb away to save his life, but this government's character is better typified by the smart modern cabinet minister, now happily departed, whose response to discomfort was to stuff himself with tranquillisers. And cash, after all, is a wondrous tranquilliser.

So let's see what Mr Keys can do. Let's see how many of the half-empty government buildings are shut down and sold off, preferably by auction. Let's see how much the Mercedes fleet shrinks. Let's see how many more Swiss aircraft we buy. Let's see how many more politicians and civil servants opt for plush diplomatic posts abroad rather than taking posts at home.

AND let's see how much longer the government doles out billions of borrowed money — to be repaid by our children and our children's children — to give Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi the freedom to bite the hand that feeds him, and Brigadier Gqozo to beat the head that guides him.

The challenge from Ulundi is anyway formidable. The constitution put forward by Chief Buthelezi for Natal is actually better crafted, more enlightened and more intellectually coherent than anything that has come from the Nats. But its pretence to be a federalist document is deceptive.

It is, rather, the basis for a separate Natal state loosely positioned in a South African confederation. For example, in terms of the proposals the Natal constitution would take precedence over federal law. Natal's rights would not be embodied in the federal constitution, subject to interpretation by federal courts, but would be immune to the central state.

The state government's powers would be extensive, including the right to raise a conscript militia in Natal, which forces would be available to the federal government for the defence of federal territory; but no federal forces could be deployed in Natal without the consent of the state government.

The federal government could raise revenue in Natal only with the "advice and consent" of the state government, and the supreme court of Natal would be the final court of appeal. In effect, Natal would hold the whiphand.

THIS is a secessionist document, thinly disguised as a federal proposal. For less than it proposes, Abraham Lincoln embarked on a civil war; the South African government huffs and puffs — and continues to pay the bills. Anything for a quiet life.

One foreign diplomat has suggested to me that the Kwazulu constitutional proposals might, in fact, have been drawn up with the connivance of the South African government as a Machiavellian ploy to put pressure on the ANC. That's hardly likely; even the Nationalists, with their rich history of duplicitous schemes, are unlikely to dream up so dangerous and unpredictable a stratagem.

But perhaps the document is Chief Buthelezi's opening shot in a new round of negotiations. If so, it is an intelligent and truly challenging riposte to the government's latest bilateral flirtations with the ANC. President de Klerk's reform has begun to produce its own momentum.

The future is slipping from the hands of men into the swirling current of events, and well may Brigadier Gqozo beat his head on his desk.

KEN OWEN

Right-wing and homeland leaders discuss joint action

(101) (3SCEA) BIDM 8/12/92

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Right-wingers and homeland leaders met yesterday to bolster and synchronise their plans for a federal dispensation, resolving to resume multilateral negotiations but not in a revived Codesa.

The Concerned South Africans Group gathered yesterday in preparation for the meeting between homeland leaders and President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

The discussions included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

The group discussed Buthelezi's constitutional plans for Natal/KwaZulu but was apparently unable to agree on the relationship between central and regional government.

The group agreed only that states in various regions would have varying degrees of power and autonomy, reflecting differences in the approach being adopted by the CP and Inkatha. Residual powers should belong to the states and only a limited and listed number of powers would be reserved for central government.

It agreed that transformation should originate from the regions and not from the centre. Codesa, described by Gqozo as a "centrist" organisation, was therefore not an appropriate forum for negotiations. But the group resolved it was imperative that multilateral negotiations should resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum for negotiating a new constitution".

It again rejected a transitional government, a transitional constitution and a constituent assembly, all key elements of government and ANC plans.

The group opted to prepare constitutional proposals, embark on a plan of action and organise a conference in early 1993. Details of the plan of action are still to be decided.

Buthelezi, referring to his federal plan, told the meeting the way forward was to begin institutional democracy from the bottom up.

He was "astonished" at De Klerk's reaction to his plan. "The message I received was extremely arrogant and condescending in its tone and betrayed the conviction of a man who thinks he has the exclusive right to determine the process and the pace of the transformation of our society."

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, left, in conversation at yesterday's Concerned South Africans Group meeting. Picture: SUE KRAMER

LLOYD COUTTS

Appeal to beauty queens

THE Miss World pageant at Sun City was being used to legimitise the Bophuthatswana government and international participants should withdraw, civic and political organisations said yesterday.

The Civics Association of Southern Transvaal; the western Transvaal branches of the ANC, its Youth League and the SACP, and the SA Commercial Catering and Allied Workers' Union appealed to the international community not to be misled "by this product of apartheid"

The organisations said in a joint statement that Sun International was trying to "sell" the administration of President Lucas Mangope to the international community.

"We regard the Miss World pageant as an internationally acclaimed occasion which should not be hosted by a 'government' which has no warranted international status.

"We would like to make it clear that (we) have no objection to the event taking place anywhere in SA, except in all bantustans and 'independent' states."

German embassy spokesman Michael Schmunk said his government would not give orders to individuals participating in events in the homelands.

□ Sapa reports that the Transkei Appeal Court in Umtata yesterday dismissed an application to order Sun International to negotiate wages and service conditions at a centralised forum.

Thumbs up for pensions payouts

DUMA GQUBULE

MORE than 70 000 homeland pensioners' payments are now safeguarded by a new technology and a thumbprint.

Cash Paymaster Systems (CPS), a joint venture by First National Bank and computer group Datakor, has used US space technology to come up with an unusual method of fingerprint identification to activate immediate cash payments through autoteller machines (ATMs).

The ATMs are adapted to technology that can stop widespread fraud and irregularities of the type discovered by the De Meyer Commission in Lebowa.

CPS senior manager Edmund Rudman says each beneficiary has to have his fingerprint recorded and stored in a database. To receive payment, the beneficiary inserts a magnetic ID card through a card reader and places a thumb on the ATM. The cash is dispensed with a receipt seconds after the identity of the person is verified.

Fraud and irregularities discovered in homelands include people receiving more than one payment, payments made after the death of a pensioner, and people as young as 22 receiving pensions.

Rudman says homeland authorities in KwaZulu and KaNgwane have saved millions of rands because of the dramatic decrease in fraud and irregularities.

The system reduces the time taken to pay beneficiaries who, in some areas, wait hours to receive their money.

The system will soon be used to offer traditional banking services, payment to unemployment insurance beneficiaries, wages and salary payments, cheque payments as an alternative to cash, and voter registration, Rudmand says.

Govt confident about early poll – Meyer

STAR 9/12/92

Political Staff

In spite of negative political developments in recent weeks, the Government is still confident about quick progress toward democratic elections, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night.

Meyer said in a statement after a Government strategy conference in Natal that there had been broad consensus at the meeting that President de Klerk's transitional timetable should be followed.

But, he added: "If other parties co-operate and the steps can be completed more quickly, an election can be held earlier — even before the end of next year."

Addressing the opposition of the "Concerned South Africans Group" to agreements reached between Government and the ANC, Meyer said Cosag — which includes KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and the Afrikaner Volksunie — "made no provision for the macro-situation in South Africa.

"The country's leaders must agree on a national level, as quickly as possible, on how a regional dispensation, by means of a transitional constitution, can be brought into existence."

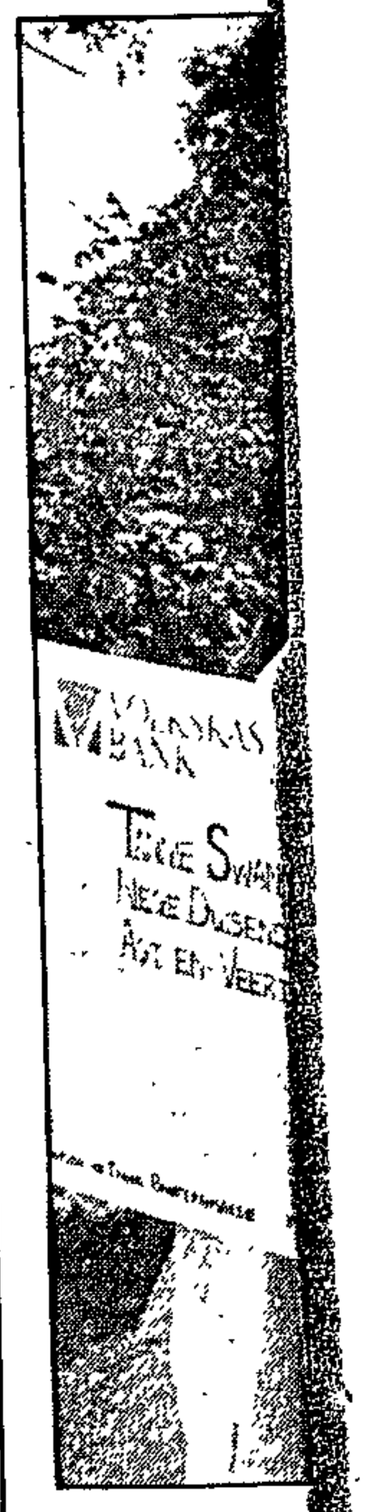
It was therefore essential that the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups should return to the negotiation process.

●Sapa reports that the future of the much-awaited summit between Mandela and Buthelezi remained uncertain yesterday, with even a preparatory meeting scheduled for today running into problems.

Although ANC head office spokesman Carl Niehaus said preparations were going ahead for today's meeting with the IFP, ANC sources in Natal said they were still deciding whether this would be appropriate.

Their hesitation is reportedly due to the KwaZulu government's controversial constitutional proposals, which Buthelezi unveiled last week.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday IFP delegates were ready for the scheduled meeting in Durban today to pave the way for a full meeting of the IFP central committee and ANC national executive committee.



Helping hand cheque for R9 Johanna Swan nesburg. The p

Car c

An estate agent w car left the road, top of a garden smashed into the of a house was fine six months' jail) y

Homelands issue R630m in securities

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three of the nominally independent homelands yesterday issued R630m in short-term marketable securities as part of a new programme to convert the TBVC's R2,5bn overdraft debt. (101)

Nine-month bearer bonds and 18-month zero-coupon bonds, which raised R320m and R170m respectively, were both more than twice oversubscribed, while the three-year stock — which raised R140m — was R20m undersubscribed.

Public Investment Commissioner (PIC) chief Wessel Badenhorst said the issue was made on behalf of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. He said the securities had raised R315m, R205m and R110m respectively for the states and constituted a rollover of existing debt as opposed to new funding.

He declined to comment on Bophuthatswana's non-participation in the issue. CT 10/12/92

The nine-month bearer bonds were allotted at a yield to maturity of 12,425%, the zero-coupon bonds at 12,536% and the three-year stock at 13,55%.

Last week Badenhorst said the PIC was addressing the R7bn TBVC overdraft problem as part of a new strategy to take over the management of these homelands' debt.

Reuter reports Badenhorst said any future issues were unlikely to be in stock with maturities of more than three years.

As trustee, Badenhorst said the PIC could not tender for the stock. However, arrangements had been made to buy R50m bearer bonds in the secondary market.

BUSINESS Policy on agriculture will have to be pragmatic and realistic

ANC's land reform guidelines

Soweten 10/12/92

By Mzimkulu Malunga

THE STATE HAS to create a policy framework to ensure the viability of the agricultural sector, says the head of the ANC's agricultural desk, Derek Hanekom.

Though the movement has yet to emerge with a comprehensive land and agricultural policy, the approach to the issue would have to be pragmatic and realistic, he said.

"It requires breaking down the whole sector into component parts and studying all the various aspects such as the entire marketing system, research and technology, as well as credit and financing.

"All these are issues which affect the white dominated commercial farmers and would also put constraints on the landless African people," argued Hanekom.

Giving people land without adequate support services was of no use, he said.

The ANC had identified a number of categories which needed to be addressed when the whole question of land was resolved.

CATEGORIES IDENTIFIED Giving people land without adequate support services will be of no use:

"There won't be one single model of land provision," said Hanekom adding that the simplistic approach of seizing land from whites and giving it to blacks or wholesale nationalisation would not work.

Hence, the ANC was proposing the establishment of a land claims court which would look into judicial mechanism to restore land to those who were able to present a "legitimate" claim according to set criteria.

A detailed criteria is yet to be mapped out but among others strong considerations would have to be given to people who were forcibly removed under apartheid laws and consequently suffered losses.

Secondly, there are people who were rendered landless due to the homelands policy, inheriting a series of losses in the process.

Though most of the land is still State owned - which could make land reallocation easier for a future government - there were still instances where white people bought land in areas which certain black groups had a historical claim.

In some cases, there could arise a situation in which more than one group laid claim to one piece of land. The role of the LCC would be crucial to the resolution of such disputes.

In another category were the black farmers. They could also be broken down into various interest groups.

First are a handful of medium to large scale commercial farmers who would not have problems with buying the land at market value rates, but only needed the agricultural sector to be restructured, so that they could have access to facilities such as bank loans.

This group is comprised of people like the president of the African Farmers Association, Matome Maponya, who owns a 1 050 ha farm near Pietersburg.

Then are the small-scale farmers who would require strong support services to be viable.

In the majority are the subsistence farmers who traditionally depended on the remittances from their relatives working in the urban areas to plough a handful of crops only enough to last until the next harvest.

"The majority of rural people and agricultural producers are at the moment unable to produce a surplus or make a living from their agricultural activities.

"They would need additional land as a pre-requisite to become viable farmers," he said.

Farm workers, who, despite the fact that they worked and lived on white-owned farms for generations, did not qualify to live there, would have to be granted security of tenure.

"It is possible that when that happens, owners of those farms will be compensated," said Hanekom.

While an ANC government would ensure satisfactory redistribution of land, it won't neglect productivity

Certain options to effect land redistribution are being explored.

"While an ANC government would ensure satisfactory redistribution of land, it would not neglect productivity"

Debt-ridden states raise R630m

Homeland securities in great demand

B/DAY 10/12/92.

B/DAY 10/12/92

(101)

HILARY GUSH

THREE of the independent homelands yesterday issued R630m in short-term marketable securities as part of a new programme to convert the TBVC's R2,5bn overdraft debt.

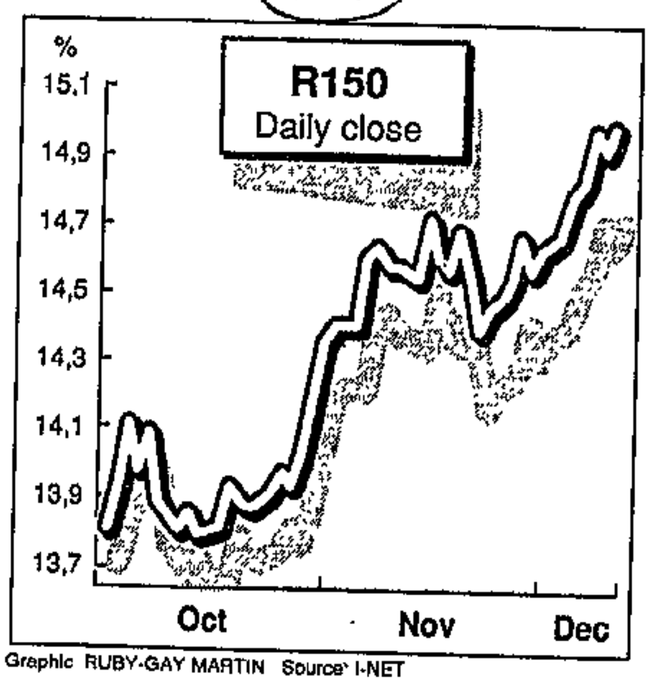
Nine-month bearer bonds and 18-month zero-coupon bonds, which raised R320m and R170m respectively, were both more than twice oversubscribed, while the three-year stock — which raised R140m — was R20m undersubscribed.

Public Investment Commissioner (PIC) chief Wessel Badenhorst said the issue was made on behalf of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. He said the securities had raised R315m, R205m and R110m respectively for the states and constituted a rollover of existing debt as opposed to new funding.

He declined to comment on Bophuthatswana's non-participation in the issue.

The nine-month bearer bonds were allotted at a yield to maturity of 12,425%, the zero-coupon bonds at 12,536% and the three-year stock at 13,55%.

Last week Badenhorst said the PIC was addressing the R7bn TBVC overdraft problem as part of a new strategy to take over the management of these homelands' debt, and was converting this fiscal year's R2,5bn overdraft into marketable stock debt. Depending on funding requirements next year, Badenhorst said further issues could be expected "in due course".



Graphic RUBY-GAY MARTIN Source: I-NET

Reuter reports Badenhorst said any future issues were unlikely to be in stock with maturities of more than three years.

As trustee, Badenhorst said the PIC could not tender for the stock. However, arrangements had been made to buy R50m bearer bonds in the secondary market.

Yesterday, after Tuesday's brief buying interest, gilts resumed their bearish trend with yields on key long-dated stock breaching — and sticking at — 15%.

In a jobber-driven, thin capital market the yield on benchmark R150 stock broke

☐ To Page 2

Homelands

B/DAY 10/12/92

(101)

☐ From Page 1

resistance at the 15% level early in the day and remained at around 15,04% until the close, when it dropped to 14,97%.

Similarly, the rate on Eskom's bellwether E168 bond climbed to 15,02%, before ending a little firmer at 14,98%.

Dealers said institutional activity had been limited and buying interest small. Traditionally December was a quiet month in the gilts market.

One player said: "Medium-dated stock seems to be a better bet than the longer-dated bonds at the moment, and that is why the SA Breweries S001 corporate bond issue was so well placed — it satisfies a niche market."

The S001 moved in sympathy with the rest of the market yesterday, with the yield rising to close about 16 points above its 14,90% placement level.

However, the gap between the yield on the S001 and that on government's similar-dated benchmark R147 stock remained at around 93 basis points, as the rate on the R147 rose to end the session at 14,13%.

Government, homelands for 'bosberaad'

ARG 11/12/92

Political Staff

THE government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to try to thrash out major differences about negotiations and the future of South Africa.

In a joint statement after a six-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday — the first between the government and the homelands since the latter broke off talks in September — they agreed on the need for inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President De Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties — including other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to the bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear there had been blunt talking at the meeting and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a "bottom-up" negotiation process for an autonomous Kwazulu/Natal state.

An unrepentant Chief Buthelezi told Mr De Klerk he had "erred" in the way he was undertaking negotiations.

Mr De Klerk should not think that he and the ANC could "steamroller" other parties with private decisions affecting the whole negotiation process.

Chief Buthelezi vowed that he would not return to Codesa, which Mr De Klerk had "buried" when he followed a policy of appeasing the ANC. He insisted that Mr De Klerk lay all the government's bilateral agreements with the ANC before a multi-party conference of review.

He rejected the government/ANC agreement on a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. It was unreasonable to negotiate about who should write a new constitution until there was agreement on how the constitution should look.

If a federal constitution was to be produced, it might be advisable that it should be written by individuals representing member states.

NEWS Govt, IFP differences to be thrashed out in January ● Court convicts guerilla

Tough talking at FW, Buthelezi indaba

Sowetan 11/12/92

■ Government plans 'bosberaad' with homeland leaders and rightwing:

AFTER a tough, straight-talking, six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "*bosberaad*" to try to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement after yesterday's meeting - the first encounter between the SA Government and the homelands since the homelands broke off talks in September - they agreed on the need to move toward inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by De Klerk, Bophuthutswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties - including the other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie - would be invited to attend the two-day *bosberaad* on 8 and 9 January.

The statement said at yesterday's meeting, the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism. De Klerk said no agreement had been reached but differences would be discussed in January.

Homeland leaders and govt to meet

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — The move back to the negotiating table was given impetus yesterday after government and three homeland leaders met and decided to hold a two-day bosberaad early next year.

The leaders of SA, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu — citing the pressures of the stagnant economy — agreed on the need to move towards inclusive multiparty negotiations as soon as possible.

At a short media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday, the leaders spoke of the "new hope" the meeting had engendered. Asked about the differences between them, President F W de Klerk said: "Judge us by our smiles."

The meeting will take place on January 8 and 9 and may include members of the Concerned South Africans Group, which includes other homeland groups, the CP and the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting. The governments' leaders will not attend.

Asked about the format for negotiations, which government and the ANC have agreed should be a streamlined Codesa, De Klerk said the delegations had discussed problems and possible scenarios. This and the ANC/government record of understanding would be taken further next year.

Asked if all his problems were resolved, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi compared the discussion yesterday with having an argument with his wife. "Once she has had her say, and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system."

NEGOTIATIONS (101)

Minding own affairs

FM 11/12/92

On Monday, the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) rejected a transitional government, Codesa, and a constituent assembly. President F W de Klerk was not expected to react until after his meeting on Thursday with the homeland contingent of the group.

Cosag, which was formed in reaction to the government/ANC Record of Understanding last September, includes KwaZulu and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie's Andries Beyers and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sketching their alternative path, they have decided to prepare their own constitutional proposals, embark on a "plan of action" and organise a conference including more parties early next year.

United by their rejection of a unitary State, they affirmed their belief in the principle that regional "states" should be established with varying degrees of power and

FM 11/12/92 (101)

autonomy. Only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved for central government in what effectively amounts to the CP's ideal of a consociational federation.

They again abjured negotiations of the kind they see as being "restricted to a process of bilateral meetings and understandings."

Cosag wants multi-party negotiations to resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum to guide the drafting of the new constitution."

The rejection of Codesa comes only days after the government and the ANC at their *bosberaad* "reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already arrived at in Codesa." More important are indications that the two main players have reached compromise on an election date — late 1993 ■

Govt, Cosag to hold indaba

STAR 11/12/92.

(101)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

After a straight-talking six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement issued after yesterday's meeting — the first encounter between the SA Government and the disaffected homelands members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) since the homelands broke off talks in September — they agreed to move toward inclusive negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President de Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties — including the other Cosag members such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to attend the two-day bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

The statement said that at yesterday's meeting the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism.

De Klerk said at a press conference that no agreement had been reached but that differences would be discussed when they held the January meeting.

Buthelezi issued the text of a statement he had delivered at yesterday's meeting which made it clear there had been blunt talk and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a bottom-up negotiation process for an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal state, which would be at odds with the current negotiation process.

His announcement of his plans last week prompted De Klerk to warn him his bilateral initiatives were threatening negotiations.

Inkatha move threatens to block general election

Clipper 13/12/92. (Ulb) (101) (South)

WITH South Africa's first free elections likely to take place around the end of next year, the constitutional debate has opened up on two new and unexpected fronts.

Both issues could scuttle the elections before they happen.

One was the announcement last week of chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposed constitution for KwaZulu/Natal. The other was the implied proposal that the new SA becomes a confederation of more-or-less independent, regional states bound together, only loosely, by a central government.

Buthelezi's bombshell, plus his proposal that his suggested federal constitutional be put to a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, was a sidestepping of all negotiation forums established so far.

This week Buthelezi, speaking at the Pretoria City Hall, took his plan a step further when he formally rejected agreement reached at Codesa to leave drawing up of the new constitution for a unitary state to a popularly elected constituent assembly.

Arguing strongly for regional self-determination, Buthelezi went on to call on all South Africans to consider his regionalist proposal as a possible blueprint for the new SA.

Buthelezi also rejected the Record of Understanding concluded in late September between the government which paved the way for an ANC/government working alliance and a government of national unity which would play the major role in the transition phase.

Also this week Buthelezi and his allies in the Concerned South Africans group (CSAG) – white rightwingers along with homeland leaders including Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo – met in Pretoria.

While disagreeing on the theoretical relationship between regional and central government, they joined Buthelezi in his rejection of the new ANC/Government power sharing prospects and his dismissal of Codesa as a negotiating forum.

The new dispensation, they said, would have to be negotiated by multi-party talks, but they were adamant that these would not take place under the auspices of Codesa.

Apart from the dominance of the ANC and the government in Codesa , what particularly concerns the CSAG members, many of whom were Codesa participants, is the agreement, contained in Codesa's founding Declaration of Intent, that all participants commit themselves to seeking solutions within a unitary SA.

Bop refused to endorse this clause asserting that its wanted to see a "constellation of states".

Buthelezi's proposals revive intitiatives launched during the later 1980s under KwaNatal Indaba where the idea was first explored of merging Natal and KwaZulu.

Such intitiatives – which were rejected out of hand by the PW Botha government – represented a joint drive by the KwaZulu government and wealthy Natal businessmen towards the same kind of federal system Buthelezi proposes today.

That informal alliance still exists with much of Inkatha's funding still coming from many of the same businessmen.

The Indaba backers continue to play key – and usually pro-Inkatha – roles in the National Peace Accord structures.

Similar alliances between white conservatives and black homeland leaders have been emerging in both Bop and Ciskei.

Even before Codesa emerged representatives of the Bop government and white farmers, the Conservative Party and later the Afrikaner Volksunie have been engaged in discussions aimed at creating a single regional political power.

Such a region would, in their view, function as a largely independent and self-determining member of a confederation of SA states. It is known that Bop has been working on its own constitutional proposals – which are likely also to reject the idea of a central election constituent assembly.

Though such moves have not yet been taken up in the Ciskei/Border region, it is believed that secret agents of the SADF, who until this month were basically running the show in Ciskei, have developed a similar regional and federal arrangement based on the government's allocated development regions. Gqozo and the AWB have also explored the possibility of forming an alliance.

The big picture then is the one in which a number of federal initiatives have been launched partly in order to challenge Codesa as the main negotiating forum, and to propose a strongly federal alternative to the unitary state which the ANC wants to create.

Ironically, it was the De Klerk government which first became the driving force behind the federal moves, moves which are now threatening De Klerk's new power sharing arrangement with the ANC.

On the same day that Gqozo's troops, under the command of De Klerk's soldiers, mowed down tens of ANC protesters at Bisho killing many, De Klerk was hosting a conference of political groupings committed to federal options and exploring the possibility of constituting them as a formal alliance.

Though the Record of Understanding, which De Klerk was pressured into signing in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre, resulted in rifts between his own party and his federal allies, the option is far from rejected.

Even before Bisho, and with Buthelezi still working closely with De Klerk, it was evident that Inkatha had altered its strategy and that it had ceased trying to project itself as a national power player.

Retreating to its power base in Natal (with the Transvaal violence dropping dramatically too), the party set about consolidating its regional influence in Natal. Part of this process has involved the handing over of SAP police stations in the major townships outside Natal cities to the KwaZulu cops, a process which is now reaching completion.

This has led to increased repression of ANC political activity and can be expected to impact significantly on any popular poll which may be held in the territory – despite Inkatha's relatively small support base even in Natal.

Which of the two – the federal or the power sharing options – the government will finally pursue, remains to be seen.

While for the Nats the idea of a power sharing alliance with the ANC remains more attractive, the ANC may well return to some version of the federal option!

Govt agrees to return land to communities

Picture: AP

BDMM 14/12/92

LLOYD COUTTS

AT LEAST two communities have made successful applications for the return of land which was taken away from them under apartheid.

An Advisory Commission on Land Allocation statement said on Friday that President F W de Klerk had accepted several of its recommendations for the restitution of land.

Land claimed by the communities of Roosboom in the Kliprivier district and Charlestown in the Newcastle district is to be restored to their ownership.

The statement said a claim by the Ga-Mampuru tribe for the return of ownership of the farm Brakfontein in the Groblersdal district had been turned down, but that De Klerk had ordered that other state land be identified and made available.

The commission said it had identified undeveloped and unallocated state-owned land suitable for historical claims.

"The commission will now proceed in terms of its normal procedure to make details of the land public with a view, inter alia, to inviting individuals or communities who have a historical claim to the land to submit representations.

"It must be pointed out that certain pieces of land offer no viable use for agricultural nor settlement purposes and the recommendation that the Department of Public Works offer these small portions of land for sale has been accepted."

The Association for Rural Advancement (Afra) welcomed Friday's announcement but said the land the commission was eligible to consider was limited to state-owned property.

"In the light of recent widespread public opposition and concern around the transfer of state land to the homelands, we are particularly disappointed by the decision to incorporate farms in the Harrismith district into QwaQwa.

"Once again Afra calls on government to abandon its current and future land transfer deals with the homeland governments and to place a moratorium on the sale and transfer of all state land to the homelands ... pending an interim government and acceptable consultation.

Four farms in the Harrismith District are to be incorporated into the QwaQwa Tourism and Nature Conservation area.

● See Page 4

All-in-one commuter tickets soon

STEPHEN COPLAN

ONE ticket could eventually be used for all modes of commuter transport in SA, Metro Services director of the SA Rail Commuter Corporation R P Snyders said at the weekend. BDMM 14/12/92

As a first step, the corporation would be installing new computerised ticket issuing machines, developed by Telkor, at Pretoria Station today, Snyders said.

The tickets would have magnetic strips on the back which could lead to the use of an "intermodal" ticket for trains, buses and taxis in what Snyders described as a "major development". He said Telkor had tendered to supply London Transport with a similar system.

Because the machines, using conventional computer technology, would be connected through a regional computer to a national centre, the flow of data would be immediate and far more accessible than in the past, Snyders said.

The machines, 650 of which would be installed across SA, had been tested in Johannesburg over the past six months.

Installation would continue in Pretoria on January 4, Johannesburg on January 18 and in Durban and Cape Town on February 1. The corporation hoped that installation wwould be completed by the end of March, Snyders said.

Although ticket clerks would continue to operate the machines manually, fully computerised versions were being developed by Telkor.

Automatic turnstiles reading the magnetic stripe had been investigated and the corporation intended testing prototypes next month at Dube, Johannesburg and Cape Town stations.

Train conductors would be retrained as necessary, Snyders said.

Monday December 14 1992

SA has 37,5 million people

Sowetan 14/12/92

■ Only 37,5 percent is employed:

SOUTH Africa's burgeoning population, including the TBVC states, exceeded the 37,5 million mark in 1991, according to a census conducted in March last year.

Census findings

The Central Statistical Service, which released the findings of its population census last week, said 37 737 620 people resided in the five regions comprising South Africa, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

In a racial breakdown of the population, the census found there were 5 068 110 whites, 3 285 718 so-called coloureds, 21 646 471 blacks and 986 620 Asians in South Africa.

The TBVC states had an approximate population of 6 750 620.

Economically active

It estimated that 37,5 percent of the total population was economically active in 1991. The census defines as "economically active" anyone working or unemployed but looking for work.

Of the economically active population, 18,25 percent were unemployed.

Millions unemployed

The census put the unemployment figure at 2,1 million, the breakdown showing 95 000 whites, 229 000 coloureds, 48 000 Asians and 1,746 million blacks to be out of work.

Of the people who stated their income, it was found that most whites (38,6 percent) and Asians (40,1 percent) fell in the income group of R10 000 to R29 999 a year.

Against this, most coloureds (28,4 percent) and blacks (32,8 percent) fell in the annual income group of R1 000 to R2 999 a year.

Speak English

A surprisingly high figure of 49,1 percent of all people of seven years of age or older indicated they could speak, read and write English.

For the population as a whole the proportion of people in possession of a Standard Six or higher level of education increased from 32,6 percent in 1985 to 37,4 in 1991.

The proportion of black people in possession of a degree had almost trebled since 1985, while the proportion for coloureds doubled, for Asians increased by half and for whites by a quarter.

It was found 48 percent of South Africans lived in houses, 24 percent in huts and nine percent in shacks. - *Sapa.*

Resolving the land issue remains the toughest task of all

B/Day 14/12/92.

TIM COHEN

(101)

HOWEVER difficult it might seem for political groups to agree on a new constitution, however troublesome the development of an economic forum might be, however formidable it might be to find ways of preventing South Africans from killing each other, all these problems pale into insignificance compared with the land question.

By all appearances, South Africans can now conceive of a new constitution, they can hope for economic harmony, they can dream of a country at peace, but an agreement on the land question that satisfies anyone still seems remote, despite signs last week of a reconciliatory government approach.

The reasons for this are diverse and numerous. However, at the root of the problem is a single, pivotal statistic: 70% of SA's land is held by 60 000 white farmers. The incapacity of a mere government to rectify this overwhelming imbalance is matched only by the desire of black South Africans that it should be attempted.

The powerful symbolic importance of land and its historical and cultural significance feed an almost insatiable land hunger, not to mention the political injustices that grand apartheid perpetrated.

More than 475 000 people can still remember being forcibly removed from their land between 1960 and 1983. In many parts of the country, the colonial deprivation of land is only a generation old. Ancestors' graves, now located in the midst of large white farms, are still respected and tribal people still hanker after the valleys of their birth. However tempting it may be to argue that black South Africans would now be well advised to leave their rural past behind and concentrate on getting the education necessary to participate in a modern world, it just cannot be done. Centuries of culture cannot be wished away with something as cold and simplistic as logic.

Apart from the problem of the concentration of land in white hands, there are other chasm-like differences. How should it be used? How should it be transferred? What form of land tenure system should be employed? Should the black spot removals be reversed, and how? Is nationalisation the answer?

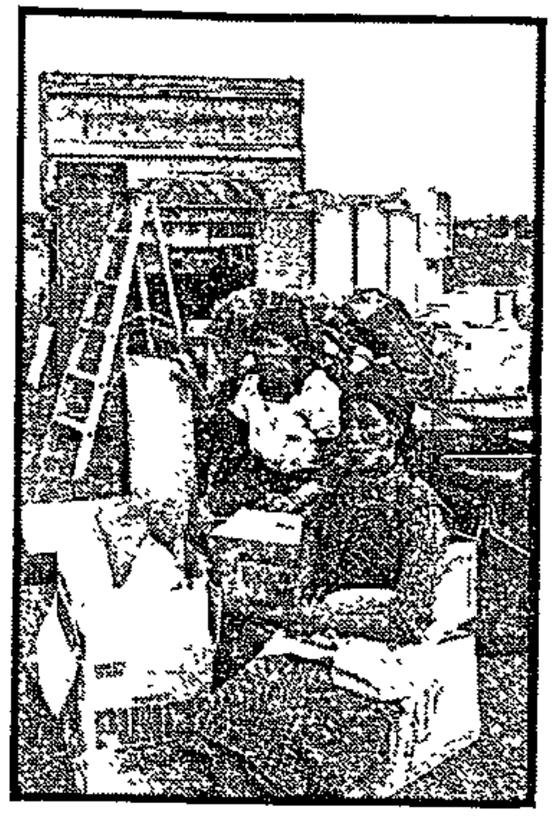
It is a measure of the difficulty of the problem that these issues are not even being jointly addressed, despite a series of useful Consultative Business Movement multiparty meetings. The groups are still floundering on the question of what kind of forum might eventually get round to grasping the nettle, and even on this preliminary issue they are miles apart.

Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johann Scheepers gave impetus to the debate recently by suggesting the establishment of a commission on land policy. The commission would be drawn from the community, it would be of a temporary nature and it would meet on an ad hoc basis, he said. The National Land Committee was quick to reject the idea, demanding that government first institute a moratorium on the sale of state-owned land.

The committee argues that a policy group such as the one suggested by Scheepers could work only if government agreed first to desist from unilateral and pre-emptive actions. Trust and a true consultative process require it.

The committee and the ANC are particularly irked by government's decision to hand over pieces of state land to homeland governments, and speak darkly of bribing potential political allies.

From here the argument bounces back and forth like a ping-pong ball.



Forced removals deprived many black families of their land

Scheepers refuses to implement a complete moratorium on the transfer of state-owned land. To do so would be ridiculous — governing the country cannot be put on ice just because the ANC thinks it would be a nice gesture. Anyway, the current land transfers were negotiated, planned, promised, agreed to by Cabinet, and legislated. Going back now would be seen as betrayal.

National Land Committee head Joanne Yawitch says all those decisions were made under a different (apartheid) policy.

But, says Scheepers, government took into account the new policy and did not transfer the land outright. It will be jointly administered by SA and the homelands.

Yawitch counters that these administrations are corrupt and incompetent. The transfers (which amount to about 1,2-million hectares) are explicable only in terms of political opportunism.

Scheepers says this does not make sense. One of the biggest transfers was to Lebowa, a supporter of the ANC at Codesa.

And so the two sides' eloquent spokesmen lock horns and get nowhere. The only solution is that the ANC and its allies must be satisfied with something less than total control of the process and government must make every attempt to listen with sympathy, understand carefully and act on their sensible suggestions. This, Scheepers claims, he will do even if it is on a bilateral rather then multilateral basis. However, government's record in doing so is not good, while the ANC and its allies must at some stage realise that demand and prerequisite politics are serving them badly.

Assuming this preliminary issue can be dealt with, what could be agreed on? Not much, says Inkatha's Errol Goetsh. The idea that there is a treasure chest of land waiting to be dispersed is just wrong. Much of the state-owned land is already occupied, and what little there is left no one would want to occupy, let alone farm.

And so the focus of the debate turns on what can be done to resolve conflicting claims to land and how it can be redistributed.

On these issues, the current debate revolves around the question of a land claims court. The court is favoured by such diverse organisations at the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU), the Urban Foundation, the National Land Committee and the ANC. But government disagrees, although Scheepers says it is an issue his proposed policy body could look at. Perhaps the underlying issues could be dealt with by a reconstituted commission on land allocation, he says.

The weekend announcement that government had accepted the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation's recommendations that its powers be extended is a promising one. At present, it is restricted to considering claims to undeveloped state land.

Yawitch said earlier that government's refusal to accept the idea of a land claims court was inexplicable. But Goetsh points out that many of the parties have different expectations of the court. The ANC thinks it will redistribute land and return land to the victims of forced removals. The SAAU does not think it will do that at all; it thinks such a court will protect its members' freehold rights, many of which extend back centuries.

Where changes can be made, and where debate would be most fruitful, is on rural development and agricultural policy, and here much work has already been done.

Government's White Paper on land reform, the Urban Foundation's rural development policy document and the SA Development Bank's research work ought to be the focus of the debate. Whether the political groups will now wrench themselves away from potentially endless land justice questions remains to be seen, but they could at least spare a passing thought for rural development. Here some of the lost ground can be made up.

New round of TBVC bills

HILARY GUSH

THE Public Investment Commissioners (PIC) announced the second round of short-term marketable securities issues, worth R810m, on behalf of Transkei and Ciskei on Friday.

Tenders for three-, four- and five-month project bills worth R270m, R185m and R190m respectively and six-month bridging bonds of R165m were invited.

Last week the PIC issued R630m in nine-month bearer bonds, 18-month zero-coupon bonds and three-year stock to convert the TBVC's R2,5bn debt for the current fiscal year into marketable securities.

The bearer and zero-coupon bonds were twice oversubscribed and allotted at yields to maturity of 12,425% and 12,536%, respectively, while the three-year stock, which was R20m undersubscribed, was issued at 13,55%.

Dealers said interest in the new issues of R349m and R461m for the Transkei and Ciskei respectively would probably be keen.

The PIC last week announced that any future issues were unlikely to be in stock with maturities of more than three years.

17 million face crucial choice

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93

(101)

THE government and the ANC are inching closer to an agreement on a date for a democratic election.

Following their bosberaad two weeks ago, negotiators from both sides agreed that they had to press forward and set a date soon.

The government wants elections to be held in March or April 1994 while the ANC believes they could be held as early as September next year.

Both parties hope that they can convince the other participants at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to accept their proposals.

The ANC and the government have one more round of talks to complete — hopefully on January 20 next year — before taking their proposals to Codesa.

Their optimism means that South Africans who have never participated in an election before should begin to learn what an election means and to prepare themselves to make that crucial choice which will shape the future of the country.

More than 17 million South Africans are expected to vote in the election, according to the Department of Home Affairs.

This excludes the 3,1 million Africans in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states).

A racial breakdown of the potential voters shows that there are 12 million Africans, 3,3 million whites, 1,8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians.

These figures make up 77,5 per cent of the population — all the people over the age of 18.

However, less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters are without identity books.

The position of the TBVC states, their participation in an election and the position of their citizens living in South Africa are being negotiated.

Parties will also negotiate the qualifications for voters and the method of identification in the elections.

THIS PAGE WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUPP

17 million face crucial choice

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93

(101)

THE government and the ANC are inching closer to an agreement on a date for a democratic election.

Following their bosberaad two weeks ago, negotiators from both sides agreed that they had to press forward and set a date soon.

The government wants elections to be held in March or April 1994 while the ANC believes they could be held as early as September next year.

Both parties hope that they can convince the other participants at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to accept their proposals.

The ANC and the government have one more round of talks to complete — hopefully on January 20 next year — before taking their proposals to Codesa.

Their optimism means that South Africans who have never participated in an election before should begin to learn what an election means and to prepare themselves to make that crucial choice which will shape the future of the country.

More than 17 million South Africans are expected to vote in the election, according to the Department of Home Affairs.

This excludes the 3,1 million Africans in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states).

A racial breakdown of the potential voters shows that there are 12 million Africans, 3,3 million whites, 1,8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians.

These figures make up 77,5 per cent of the population — all the people over the age of 18.

However, less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters are without identity books.

The position of the TBVC states, their participation in an election and the position of their citizens living in South Africa are being negotiated.

Parties will also negotiate the qualifications for voters and the method of identification in the elections.

THIS PAGE WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY THE SUPP

HOMELAND — GENERAL

1993

JANUARY — JUNE

Louw satisfied with increase in pass rate

C/Press 3/11/93.

101

DET director general Dr Bernhard Louw expressed satisfaction this week at the 1992 matriculation results. despite the fact there has been only a marginal increase in the pass rate.

Louw said 130 341 full-time candidates passed the Std 10 examinations, an increase of 4,6 percent.

Of these, 30 542 had achieved university entrance.

He also told a press briefing in Pretoria that 20 schools from 10 departments of education throughout SA had obtained a 100 percent pass rate in the 1992 examinations, and a further 10 obtained a pass rate of above 96 percent.

Louw said the schools were from the DET institutions in SA as well as from homelands and self-governing territories (Lebowa, KwaZulu, Gazankulu. Kangwane, KwaNdebele, QwaQwa, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei).

The results had been dispatched to regional offices and to head offices of the various departments for distribution to schools, he said.

The results were expected to be available to candidates tomorrow.

The results were as finalised by the SA Certification Council, but 16 839 (12 777 in 1991) of those who sat for the examinations in 1992 would not receive complete results.

"This is because some candidates wrote subjects on grades other than those for which they had registered. Also, some candidates registered at one examination centre but wrote at another centre.

Incomplete

"These candidates will receive incomplete results. They are asked to contact their principals who will forward their names to the department," Louw said.

"Their results will be finalised as soon as their information has been received."

He added that some of the 11 353 candidates who had failed to sit for examinations because of reasons such as illness, were eligible to write the March 1993 examinations, but would need to present a medical certificate when registering.

"Candidates who have passed, but who wish to improve their results, as well as the 103 934 (116 000 in 1991) who have failed the Senior Certificate but have achieved an aggregate of at least 25 percent, may enter for supplementary examinations in either March or May/June 1993.

"Candidates who have achieved an aggregate of less than 25 percent may enter for the examinations as private candidates in May/June 1993," Louw said.

He announced that 17 (19 in 1991) candidates achieved A-symbol aggregates, while a total of 1 873 subject distinctions were attained.

One candidate achieved five distinctions, three obtained four each, 12 obtained three each, 67 obtained two each and 1 686 candidates achieved one distinction each. – Sapa

CP, IFP 'can't be split'

PRETORIA. — The government would not succeed in its alleged strategy to drive a wedge between the Conservative Party and Inkatha at its meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today, CP MP Mr Tom Langley said yesterday.

Media speculation to this effect was aimed at sowing distrust between the CP and the IFP but there was "too much common ground" between them.

Cosag was unanimous in its rejection of a unitary state and in its support for regionalism and strong autonomous regional powers, he said.

A government spokesman said the government delegation's priority at the meeting with Cosag — which consists of the CP, Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — would be to "discuss the earliest possible resumption of multi-party talks". Also on the agenda will be the government/ANC Record of Understanding. (101) CTB 1/1/93

The CP said all Cosag members also agreed that residual powers belonged to the various states and only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved by the states for the central government. — Sapa

FM 8/1/93

BOND MARKET

Short on sweetener

The yield gap between the three-year stock, issued recently on behalf of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, and comparable Eskom stock reflects lower tradeability rather than higher risk.

Like all homeland issues, the stock is guaranteed by the SA government, but no one is to make a market in it — meaning the paper will not be quoted on trading screens with a two-way price.

Despite a yield to maturity of 13,55%, favourable when measured against the yield of around 12,77% for comparable Eskom stock, the three-year stock was R20m undersubscribed, raising only R140m. The size of the issue was too small to attract major investors. Gilt players say R1bn is the minimum needed to create an active screen-based market because institutions prefer to hold large blocks of securities.

Trading in stocks which meet this minimum has become more active since the lifting of legislation requiring institutions to hold prescribed assets. Where previously they bought bonds and held them to meet these requirements, they now buy mainly for trading purposes. To take advantage of this buying interest, the State consolidated over 50 issues into four mega issues — RSA 144, RSA 147, RSA 150 and RSA 153 — to make them more tradeable. The largest is the RSA 150 with a nominal value of R31bn, while the benchmark Eskom 168 has a nominal value of R16bn.

Only issues in Eskom, Transnet, Telkom, the Land Bank, the Development Bank, the SA Housing Trust and the Umgeni Water Board are actively traded with these institutions themselves making markets in their issues.

The homeland states will not be in a position to do the same, though they have moved into the capital and money markets, replacing maturing commercial bank overdraft with short- and long-term paper guaranteed by the government. Transkei, Ciskei and Venda combined issued R630m in securities, which included nine-month bearer bonds, which raised R320m, and 18-month zero-coupon bonds which raised R170m, as part of a new programme to convert the homelands' overdraft debt. The issue has been privately placed.

Public Investment Commissioner (PIC) chief Wessel Badenhorst says total homeland overdrafts presently stand at R3,4bn but a further R2,5bn may be required in the current fiscal year. A further R810m in three-, four-, five- and six-month paper was issued last week.

Badenhorst says the PIC is addressing the overdraft problem as part of a new strategy to take over the management of homeland short-term debt. The overdrafts resulted from homeland administrations spending more than the funds allocated to them by the SA central government. ■

The trigger fingers are twitching — will we make their day?

The options are clearcut: either the negotiators reach a speedy truce, or they give sway to militants and irreversible chaos.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

Van Zyl Slabbert

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

WHEN negotiators sit down for the next round of multiparty talks, they will do so with guns at their heads. It may be their last chance to find a formula for interim government and the constitutional process before the country sinks into irreversible chaos.

As parties push frantically ahead with bilateral talks, hopes are high that a multiparty forum will be in place by early March at the latest.

This time the African National Congress and the government will not have the luxury of scoring constant election points against each other. Increasingly, the two are moving closer as the "moderates" on whose compatibility the country's future depends. The recent activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army have given renewed purpose to militants at both ends of the spectrum.

The ANC and government will enter a friendlier tournament, but with different handicaps.

Last year the government, on a high from its sweeping referendum victory, could afford to play hard to get. But corruption scandals, divisions in the cabinet over whether to party with the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, the sinking economy and encroaching anarchy have thwarted any hopes of hanging on to power by dragging out moves towards power-sharing.

The presence of foreign monitors, forging a stronger link between the international arena and what happens here on the ground, puts new pressure on the government to honour its democratic professions. And with Bill Clinton in the White House, delaying tactics will find less favour in the United States than under the Republicans.

The ANC is better off than it was last year, having seized the moral high ground over the calamity-struck government. It has also managed to sell the concept of power-sharing to the bulk of its constituency — a coup for a movement whose militants were given a healthy fillip by the months-long mass action campaign.

As the government and ANC prepare for another round of extended bilateral negotiations at the end of the month, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is lobbying against their September Record of Understanding — a clear sign that co-ordinating agreements at various bilateral talks will not be easy. As Van Zyl Slabbert said recently: "Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy."

"Codesa 3" will be shorn of the cumbersome working groups and committees that made last year's negotiations so laborious. Says National Party constitutional expert advocate Chris Fismer: "From a managerial point of view, having five different committees dealing with overlapping issues and having different people dealing with the same issues in different meetings made it difficult to co-ordinate the process."

The reconvened forum will have smaller delegations. By all accounts, the forum will do little more than rubber-stamp existing bilateral deals.

Says ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa: "When we get to Codesa, the various parties will have processed things already at bilaterals. Hopefully, in one or two sessions we can work it out."

He predicts that multiparty agreements could be ratified in a matter of weeks and that transitional executive councils, managing the first phase of interim government leading up to elections, could be in place early next year.

Moosa holds the view, accepted by most parties, "that if multilateral discussions are to succeed, they have to be concluded in a reasonable time and not go on aimlessly as Codesa did. We cannot disappoint the nation with another series of deadlocks."

Many obstacles still stand in the way: three important parties (Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party) are still out of talks and political violence continues, as does squabbling over guarantees for regional powers.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recalcitrance and rejection of pre-existing Codesa agreements continues. As the cabinet fights over how to deal with Inkatha, with Natal NP leaders vehemently against dropping the alliance with the IFP, Buthelezi is showing signs of discomfort with his new home of predominantly confederalist allies in Cosag.

The two-day meeting between Cosag and the government starting today may bring a lukewarm commitment from the latter on guaranteed regional powers and boundaries before an elected constituent assembly sits.

Inkatha, the major player in the group, is likely to distance itself more from its current allies — Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the CP — and move closer to the NP.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha this month, paving the way for a meeting between their respective leaders, may go some way towards bringing the three major players into a more amicable triangle and containing the ANC/IFP violence.

Still hotly contended is the question of reincorporation of the homelands and — for the ANC — the lack of free political activity, particularly in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the thwarting of negotiations by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: "President de Klerk should be cutting off their water. He has the power to do so."

He, like many other politicians, expresses cautious optimism about the success of the next Codesa meeting, noting a sincerity among most players for the speedy establishment of a government of national unity.

Negotiations '93: kick-off

(10) Star 9/1/93.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Reporter

THE first test of South Africa's negotiating prospects for 1993 got under way in Pretoria yesterday, as the Government faced the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in a bid to woo its members into multiparty talks.

The Government-Cosag bosberaad — the first in a series of bilateral meetings between major parties scheduled for this month — is being seen by negotiators as a litmus test of how quickly the Codesa process can be reconvened, and whether hopes of interim government by June are realistic.

Cosag's members are keeping at arm's length from the negotiating process, and are united in their opposition to what they describe as unilateral deals being struck by the Government and ANC.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) — jointly planned its strategy on Thursday afternoon.

Inclusive

The agenda for the two-day session was hammered out yesterday in a meeting of all participants at the Presidensie in Pretoria.

AVU member Andries Beyers told Saturday Star he was hopeful that the meeting could lead to a resumption of multiparty talks which would be more inclusive than what had gone before.

But observers would only express "cautious optimism" about the possible outcome of the meeting. They pointed out it was unlikely that the talks could lead to the immediate resumption of multiparty negotiations as the meeting would not be attended personally by the political principals — President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

It was likely that the delegates would first discuss any decisions reached at the meeting with their principals before any final agreement could be reached.

A Government source said the Government's negotiators would concentrate on the resumption of multiparty negotiations and the issues of regionalism and federalism.

The negotiators would seek to determine the IFP's view on the status of agreements reached at Codesa which were not ratified at the failed Codesa 2.

commissions would need to be set up to ensure free and fair

Mr Mandela appealed to those who feared democratic change,

Hani as saying. — Sapa

its plans for the year

Govt in bid to get Cosag to talks

101 CT 9/11/93

PRETORIA. — The government will walk a tightrope with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today to capitalise on yesterday's "positive" meeting and continue its bid to woo Cosag members back into negotiations.

Participants in the talks in Pretoria said that strong consensus had emerged yesterday that multi-party negotiations should resume as soon as possible.

This development highlighted the question of the future participation of one Cosag member, the Conservative Party, in negotiations at a multi-party forum at which the African National Congress is present.

However, members said a number of grievances, notably Cosag's objection to the bilateral Record of Understanding reached between the government and the ANC, would be discussed.

The government delegation is led by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and includes senior Ministers Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr George Bartlett, Mr Hernus Kriel and Mr Leon Wessels.

Cosag delegates include the Inkatha Freedom Party members, led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Afrikaner Volksunie members led by Mr Andries Beyers and the Conservative Party headed by deputy-leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Govt, Cosag agree on talks

THE government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) have agreed that a "multi-party planning conference" involving all parties should be held to prepare for multi-party negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told a news conference after the two-day meeting between Cosag and the government in Pretoria yesterday that the government would canvass all parties to participate in this "planning conference".

CP delegates Tom Langley and deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg were not immediately able to say where the agreement had left the CP, which has up to now refused to participate in talks with the ANC.

They said the CP decision would be announced later "after consultations with their principals".

Cosag and the government said: "It was further agreed that all parties who participated in Codesa as well as other parties with proven support, and governments of the self-governing territories, should participate in the multi-party planning conference."

Leaders of the self-governing territories were included in an attemptto resolve the issue of the Zulu King being included in negotiations, Meyer said, adding there had been general agreement yesterday that multi-party negotiations should proceed as fast as possible.

In terms of the government's announced decision to have a multi-party negotiating forum in place before the end of next month, the multi-party planning conference should take place well in advance of this date, he said.

Inkatha delegate Dr Frank Mdlalose and Bophuthatswana delegate Rowan Cronje said they did not consider themselves bound by Codesa agreements.

Bophuthatswana did not sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent, while Mdlalose said that the Codesa agreements were void because "Codesa is dead and we're quite happy starting afresh".

Mdlalose said they had "very thoroughly" discussed an alleged remark by Meyer that the government would be prepared to "go it alone" with the ANC in the event of other parties not participating in the negotiation process.

He said he was happy that Meyer had denied these reports. – Sapa

Govt-Cosag talks remove obstacle

8 STAR 11/11/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A further hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Government and Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria at the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The planning conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible route to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on a conference of review — a precondition he has set to returning to the negotiating forum.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conferencem as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said last night the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-Government meeting before commenting.

However, the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of talks.

In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-Government meeting on Saturday, they said the planning conference should "assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation", and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multiparty negotiating forum, the instalment of a transitional executive authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend's summit was that it facilitated contact between the Government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the Government and ANC reached a Record of Understanding in September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the CP into some form of discussion and would get the party at least to discuss the pros and cons of multiparty talks.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Rowan Cronje, said after the meeting that "serious differences" still existed between Cosag and the Government.

The issues would be addressed at another meeting, for which a date was still to be set. These issues were bilateral agreements between the Government and ANC, the need for a transitional government, regionalism, and the status of decisions reached at Codesa.

News in brief

Chiefs to meet FW

(101) Sowetan 11/1/93

THE Congress of South African Traditional Leaders will formally introduce itself to President FW de Klerk in Pretoria tomorrow, the president of Contralesa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said yesterday.

Holomisa said the constitutional role of traditional leaders in a future democratic South Africa would be discussed. He said the alleged harassment of traditional leaders in homelands such as Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana was also on the agenda for tomorrow's meeting.

New laws for new future

THE ANC and the government meet this week to discuss draft laws that could pave the way for interim government and scrap the homelands.

The laws set the basis for a transitional constitution, the integration of homelands and the removal of racist statutes and certain security laws.

However, key sources in the government and the ANC have made it clear that any new laws will be subject to ultimate approval by a multiparty forum like Codesa.

The proposed laws have developed from intense discussions between both groups at committee level and the release late last year of the ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act".

By CHARLENE SMITH

Focus

That act, the ANC proposes, would abolish the tricameral parliament, as well as the laws that gave independence to the TBVC states, and the constitutions of the self-governing territories. It is designed to concentrate on the creation of a constitution-making body, such as a constituent assembly.

It would make provision for a single house of parliament of 400 representatives voted in by an electoral system based on proportional representation.

While the ANC has approved this act, the other draft laws still have to be approved by the cabinet or the ANC's national working committee, which meets tomorrow.

The draft legislation will form the focus of an intensive six-and-a-half-day bosberaad beginning on Wednesday.

The bosberaad, which will see two teams led by Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, will have 20 members on each side. Agreement at those talks and in meetings with other parties in the near future could see a transitional executive council in place by June.

Such a multiparty council will be responsible for government and pave the way for interim government and national elections.

The government meets with Inkatha next week and is hoping for further talks with the Concerned South Africans Group soon.

The ANC met again with Inkatha in Durban on Friday to facilitate a meeting in the near future between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The planning committee will meet again on February 11.

This week's bosberaad will attempt to set dates for South Africa's first one-person, one-vote national elections, and time frames leading up to those elections.

Critical to this is a suggested ombudsman law, similar to that found in Namibia before elections. This would render laws or by-laws that discriminate on the basis of race or gender invalid.

The removal of certain security legislation including the Public Safety Act and the Internal Security Act will again be on the agenda.

The bosberaad will discuss a national electoral commission and its composition, the structure and members of a media commission — including the members of the new SABC Board which has to be elected by the end of March, ways of integrating the armed forces and the dissolution of the TBVC states.

At Codesa, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda agreed to such dissolution. However, Ciskei has taken a different stance in recent times and Bophuthatswana remains opposed to reincorporation.

Sources say the government believes citizenship should be restored to the citizens of independent states at the same time as those states are reincorporated into SA, probably after elections.

However, the ANC is believed to be demanding that those citizens be given dual citizenship at the same time as the transitional executive council comes into being. This would enable them to vote in SA elections.

But Bophuthatswana is a sticking point. The ANC is loathe to serve on the council while SA gives de facto recognition to Bophuthatswana.

Safeguards

The issue of regions will again come under the spotlight. While the ANC wants central government to have concurrent powers with regions, and the ability to withdraw delegated powers from regions, the government is opposed to this.

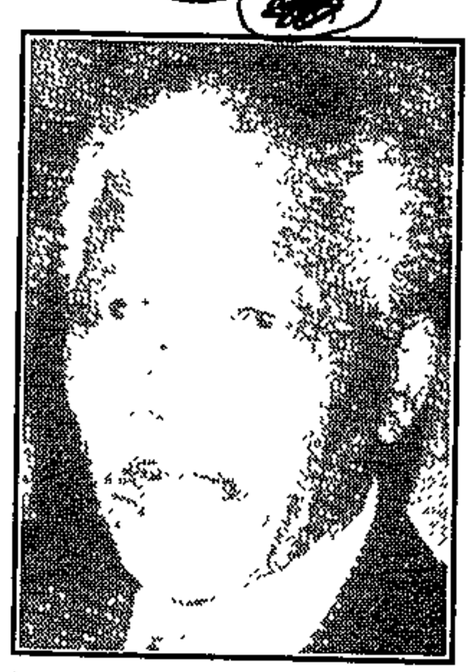
The ANC says the withdrawal of powers could, as an example, arise when health services break down and a region lacks the resources to restore them. But the government wants safeguards against central government usurping powers from the regions.

The ANC also wants to convince the government that power sharing should not form part of any future constitution.

Brigadier Gqozo, Chief Buthelezi and President Mangope are unhappy with decisions of ANC/Government summit and becoming spoilers in present negotiations

FW de Klerk

Oupa Ggozo



Nelson Mandela

A NUMBER OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED recently which predict that homelands will become the major focus of political activity and tension in the months to come.

Notably, in the wake of the Mandela/De Klerk summit meeting on 26 September, three beleaguered homeland leaders - Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope - met "white homelanders", the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie, in Johannesburg on October 6.

Various observer groupings, including representatives of the Gazankulu homeland, the South African Chamber of Business and the National Peace Secretariat, also attended.

The outcome of the meeting was a joint statement calling for the scrapping of Codesa and the creation of a new negotiating forum in its place. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, participants set themselves up on a semi-official basis as spoilers in relation to the negotiations process as presently constituted.

The so-called Conference of Concerned South Africans also reiterated, jointly, their rejection of decisions taken at the September 26 Mandela/De Klerk summit.

Decisions included the release of remaining political prisoners, the banning of dangerous so-called "cultural" weapons and the isolation of violent hostels from their surrounding communities.

Little of this is particularly significant in practical terms of course. Only the issue of dangerous weapons - KwaZulu having its own legislation legalising so-called traditional or cultural weapons among Inkatha members, which will have to be separately addressed if the ban is to hold good throughout the country - is likely to be directly affected by the rancour of the homelanders.

And indeed Inkatha shows few signs of abiding by the decision, even outside KwaZulu. Nor has the Government yet seen fit to enforce it.

What was far more important in practical terms, though unexpected, was the rejection by the conference of two recent double steps by the authorities on the question of mass action.

While the government has long paid faint lip service to the democratic right of the ANC and other groupings to engage in protest through mass action, its real and effective position on the subject, as reflected in reactions by key spokesmen, has been markedly less sanguine.

Mass action, its representatives and its media have shrilly insisted - often in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary - is inextricably bound up with promoting violence; it constitutes an illegitimate intervention in the process of negotiations; it serves to obstruct the attainment of peaceful solutions.

But despite this basic distaste, with the Government backed up against the wall at the recent summit, the ANC was able to extract as part of the Record of Agreement, a strong admission of the legitimacy of mass action as a democratic right, as long as it was guided by the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

Since then of course, Government spokesmen have backtracked with various speakers at the recent Cape Congress of the National Party lapsing into the old equivalences of mass action and violence. But such sabre rattling is to be expected at party congress and should be seen against the backdrop of concern over key ally Buthelezi's alienation from the National Party.

More important in the long term was the report released by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Bisho massacre on September 7.

Two of the eight recommendations contained in the report are of special significance.

One insists: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

And the second says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

And in the body of the report Judge Goldstone notes: "Public protest has become the order of the day . . . This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised."

Now what this amounts to is a sharp rap over the knuckles for homeland governments continuing to deny the ANC's right of political freedom and political demonstration within their territories.

But, and this is the crucial point, to allow the ANC to operate in those territories is tantamount to handing over power. Hence the dilemma which the more ambitious of the homeland leaders are attempting to solve by means of such stratagems as the Conference of Concerned South Africans. The bottom line here is of course holding power, the *sine qua non* is an avoidance of direct democratic confrontation with the massively more powerful ANC; and the means to the end is the strongly regional or federal constitution which the government also is wanting to put in place.

Failing this the "problem homelands", Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, as they have each sparely threatened, and jointly hinted, are holding in reserve the threat of outright secession.

Bop has of course considered the possibility from the outset, as its refusal to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent as well as its continued and shrill insistence on sovereignty makes clear.

But even in the case of Bop, the possibility of secession will be employed only as a last resort. More seemingly viable and more seriously considered is the notion of creating a strongly regionally empowered federal constitution, coming as close as possible to the constellation of states originally envisaged by the architects of grand apartheid.

This article is reproduced with permission from *The VryeWeekblad - Sowetan State of the Nation* report.

Whither negotiations, ask traditional leaders

STAR 19/11/93

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

President F W de Klerk will have to explain when he meets the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in Pretoria today where negotiations are heading, Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said yesterday.

The meeting, which will be held immediately after the Government's two-day talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, is one of a series of bilateral meetings scheduled by at least three organisations with the Government this week.

This last round of bilaterals is expected to be a precursor to the resumption of full-scale multiparty negotiations in the near future.

Before its first direct meeting with the Government since President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding agreement on September 26 last year, the IFP delegation held talks with its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies in Pretoria yesterday. They will continue today.

Contralesa leader Holomisa said the direction in which negotiations were heading would be one of the issues on the agenda of his organisation's meeting with the Government today. Also on the agenda would be violence and land issues, on which Contralesa now wanted to be consulted before any action was taken.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said his party had been shocked by reports that the Government and the ANC were negotiating an interim constitution and the reincorporation of homelands.

Referring to the week-long "bosberaad" the Government will hold with the ANC from tomorrow, Treurnicht said it was intolerable that while the planning committee for multiparty talks agreed to by Pretoria and Cosag in their meeting two weeks ago had not yet materialised, De Klerk was preparing totally unacceptable legislation with the ANC.

A member of the IFP-led Cosag, the CP has also tentatively given its nod to multiparty negotiations — a move which some political observers believe could precipitate a split in a party which has so far refused to talk to the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The ANC holds its "bosberaad" with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue tomorrow.

The "bosberaad", which is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, comes after a similar bush indaba between the two major players last month.

Both the ANC and Pretoria hailed the meeting as having been a success.

Traditional leaders 'have role in future'

PRETORIA. — The government hopes that multi-party negotiations will resume early in March, a delegation led by President De Klerk told traditional leaders in Pretoria. (101) DRG 20/1/93

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contralesa), led by its president Chief Patekile Holomisa, met government representatives to express its views on its participation in the negotiation process, the future position of traditional leaders and on violence.

In a memorandum to Mr De Klerk, Chief Holomisa indicated Contralesa's disapproval of the homeland system and its political leadership.

The government's admission that the homeland system would have to go should be followed by actions, Chief Holomisa said.

"We request Mr De Klerk to remove the shackles that homeland administrators seek to place on traditional leaders and also to set up a mechanism to facilitate the investigation of harassment and victimisation," Chief Holomisa said.

Contralesa recognised however that existing structures provided employment and services to homeland residents.

Chief Holomisa also warned it would be difficult for any government to succeed without the co-operation of traditional leaders.

Traditional leaders were still regarded as administrators, triers of cases, land allocators and through traditional gatherings, the law-makers, the chief said.

After the meeting a government spokesman stressed there should be a dignified and meaningful role for traditional leaders in a modern democracy complying with the values of the best societies world-wide. — Sapa.

Nat, ANC bosberaad begins today

Inkatha talks with govt end in stalemate

BIDM 20/1/93.

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government negotiators begin a five-day bosberaad with the ANC alliance today, after emerging from an acrimonious meeting with Inkatha where no agreements of consequence were achieved.

The two-day meeting with Inkatha ended yesterday without substantive comment from either of the parties, but it is understood that the discussions deadlocked on government's alleged "connivance" with the ANC.

The failure of the meeting dims the hopes raised by the successful meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group last week, which had seemed set to invigorate negotiations.

The joint statement released by the parties to yesterday's talks was unusually terse, saying only that they had met and would do so again. Both parties would report back to their principals and meet again on January 27.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It is understood that the main items on the agenda — including Inkatha's proposed conference of review, the status of agreements made at Codesa and even the resumption of multiparty talks — were not substantively broached.

Government was known to have been prepared to submit Inkatha's federal constitutional plan to other parties for "wider constitutional debate", but this was insufficient to satisfy Inkatha negotiators.

The lack of any agreements places government negotiators in a difficult position for the talks with the ANC.

Observers speculated that government negotiators had hoped to emerge from the meeting with a clear idea of Inkatha's demands for the resumption of negotiations, to discuss with the ANC.

Government was also hoping to discuss the transitional executive council with the ANC, but would now have to do so without knowing whether Inkatha would be prepared to participate in the new structure.

In stark contrast to the Inkatha meeting, President F W de Klerk met members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) where the government delegation agreed there should be a "dignified and meaningful role for traditional leaders" in the new constitutional dispensation.

Government again expressed itself in favour of a role in negotiations for traditional leaders, including, perhaps, the Zulu king who is not part of Contralesa.

The delegations agreed that some of the issues raised, including land ownership and rural development, would be discussed in greater detail in follow-up talks.

The government delegation said it hoped multilateral negotiations would be resumed early in March.

The Contralesa group expressed the view that self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into SA soon.

Government responded by saying there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● Comment: Page 10

Bitter blow to IFP, govt talks

CT 20/1/93 (101)

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

FRESH optimism over a speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations was dealt a blow yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party's two-day meeting with the government ended in acrimony.

Sources from both organisations last night flatly refused to discuss the meeting, but it is reliably understood that it was characterised by tough talking and that no agreements were reached.

Central to the dispute is understood to have been IFP allegations that the government has been "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in bilateral discussions.

A terse joint statement after the meeting simply reflected that talks had been held and delegations would meet again here next Wednesday.

Failure to reach agreement at that meeting could seriously set back hopes for a projected resumption of multi-party talks by early March.

The breakdown comes on the eve of the government's critical six-day "bosberaad" with the ANC at which it was hoped consensus could be reached on details of the transitional stage.

However, they will now have to broach such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council without knowing if the IFP will participate.

The government delegation to the meeting in Pretoria was led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, while national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose led the IFP group.

A host of issues central to recent differences between the government

To page 2

ill
at
AP

IFP-govt tension

(101)
CT 20/1/93

and the IFP that were on the agenda for the two-day meeting were apparently not discussed.

Among these were the IFP's insistence that agreements already reached at Codesa should be subject to review and possible revision, and the IFP's proposed conference of review and its proposed federal constitutional model for Natal.

In a separate development yesterday President F W de Klerk met a delegation from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Follow-up meetings will be held to discuss issues such as the future role of traditional leaders, according to a government statement.

It is understood that the government may be reviving its attempts to open a way into multi-party negotiations for the Zulu king by having a Contralesa delegation attend.

The Contralesa group, led by its president Mr Nkosi S P Holomisa, said self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa soon.

The government responded that there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

● The Qwa Qwa chairman of Contralesa, Chief Motebeng Mopeli, 40, died on Friday. — Sapa

German plans hurt local bond market

B/DAY 21/1/93.

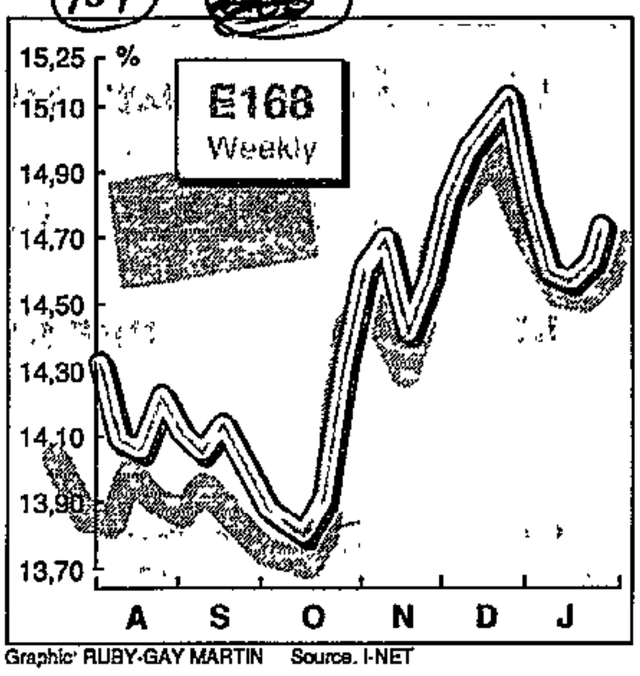
TIM MARSLAND

BOND prices weakened for the fifth consecutive day on the capital market yesterday as news that Germany was planning a withholding tax on interest income from foreign investment funds sent jitters through the local market, dealers said.

Negative sentiment was further fuelled by the call by Public Investment Commissioners, which manages the state's investments, for R1,2bn in tenders to fund TBVC short-term debt, with maturities from six months to three years. The body acts as a trustee for the TBVC states.

A dealer said the TBVC issue would "only temporarily interrupt cash flow" to the bond market. He said medium-dated bonds weakened in active trade on the back of the TBVC issue, which had a short maturity date. Institutions had sold stock in that area to tender for the TBVC issue.

Eskom's E168 long bond yielded 14,750% yesterday compared with its previous 14,650% close. For every 0,01% rise in the E168 yield, bond holders lost R490 on R1m invested. Government's R150 long bond ended at 14,690% from 14,570%. The medium-dated government R147 ended at 13,920% from 13,810%.



Graphic: RUBY-GAY MARTIN Source: I-NET

Another dealer said local investors had sold on news of the German issue. A number of German investors hold SA bonds.

However, the selling was overdone as the withholding tax, if implemented, would only be effective from 1995.

Homelands raise stakes on debt

(101)
ST 29/11/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three homeland states borrowed R1,37bn from the money and capital markets yesterday to cover short-term debt, bringing the total they have raised in recent months to R3,6bn.

Transkei, Venda and Ciskei participated in the issue, which was handled by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC).

Reuter reports that six-, seven-, eight- and nine-month bridging bonds raised R1,2bn at yields of between 12,618% and 12,658%, while the 17-month zero coupon bonds raised R120m at a yield of 13,03%. The three-year stock raised R50m at 13,60%.

Homelands raise R1,37bn to cover debt

(101) *TIM MARSLAND

THREE homeland states borrowed R1,37bn from the money and capital markets yesterday to cover short-term debt, bringing the total they have raised in recent months to R3,6bn.

Transkei, Venda and Ciskei participated in the issue, which was handled by the Public Investment Commissioners (PIC).

Reuter reports that six-, seven-, eight- and nine-month bridging bonds raised R1,2bn at yields of between 12,618% and 12,658%, while the 17-month zero coupon bonds raised R120m at a yield of 13,03%.

The three-year stock raised R50m at 13,60%. BTDay 22/11/93

A dealer said the PIC had hoped to raise R110m in three-year paper. But institutions were reluctant to lend cash to the homelands for that long a period and had made bids unacceptably low to the PIC.

Medium-dated capital market bonds weakened in response to the issue. Government's R147 issue ended at 13,980% from

☐ To Page 2

Homelands

(101) ☐ From Page 1

13,920%. BTDay 22/11/93.

The dealer said there was a growing queue of borrowers in the capital market.

"Not only do we have government's debt to contend with, we also have a number of corporates seeking to tap liquidity from the market."

PIC director Badie Badenhorst said the homeland issue, the fourth in recent months, would be the last for some time, and was the last in new money for the homelands. "Whatever is done now will be rollovers," he said.

Nedbank chief economist Edward Osborn said the R3,6bn should be added to central government's total interest bearing debt, which was R137,2bn in September. Government lists homeland debt as separate from its own.

Osborn said this policy was wrong.

"They do not have the tax base to fund their spending and are therefore Pretoria's responsibility."

Placing the rural poor of SA on the economic agenda

BD Any 25/1/93.

GRETA STEYN

POVERTY-stricken families make up a smaller proportion of the rural population than about five years ago, according to a recent study on rural poverty in SA conducted for the World Bank. On the face of it, it seems SA has made some small progress in curbing rural poverty.

The report, based on secondary sources as time was limited, was handed to the World Bank last week The authors are Simon Bekker and Catherine Cross of the University of Natal's Centre for Social and Development Studies, and Norman Bromberger of the university's economics department.

The study emphasises that numbers of poor have fallen as a percentage of the total rural population The "very poor" made up 55% of the black rural population in 1990, down from 58% in 1985. The "very poor" are defined as people living in rural households with annual incomes of R2 000 or less (1985 prices). These statistics were derived using an Urban Foundation income distribution model.

It is important to note that absolute numbers did not fall; the growth in the number of poverty-stricken people was slower than the growth in the overall population.

Some academics regard the figures noted in the study as some small progress because of "trickle-down effects". The Urban Foundation income distribution study said "unless economic growth drops to very low levels indeed, further progress against poverty can be expected during the first half of the 1990s".

By contrast, the authors of the World Bank study emphasised that a statement on "across-the-board gains against poverty" was open to question. "It is questionable whether or not the apparent small percentage decrease in the proportion of rural households in poverty represents a significant gain in rural development terms."

Are the trends in rural poverty over 1985-1990 to be viewed as progress or not? Do these trends signal any important conclusions for policy formulation? One needs to examine the economic factors that have affected rural poverty.

The study notes that economic growth in the homelands (including the TBVC states) has been more rapid than the rest of the country, both in aggregate and per capita terms. Gross Geographic Product per capita in the homelands rose at almost 6% per year in the late 1980s, compared with less than 4% in the 1970s and 5% in the early 1980s. (In absolute terms, there is still a very large gap between per capita GDP in SA and the homelands).

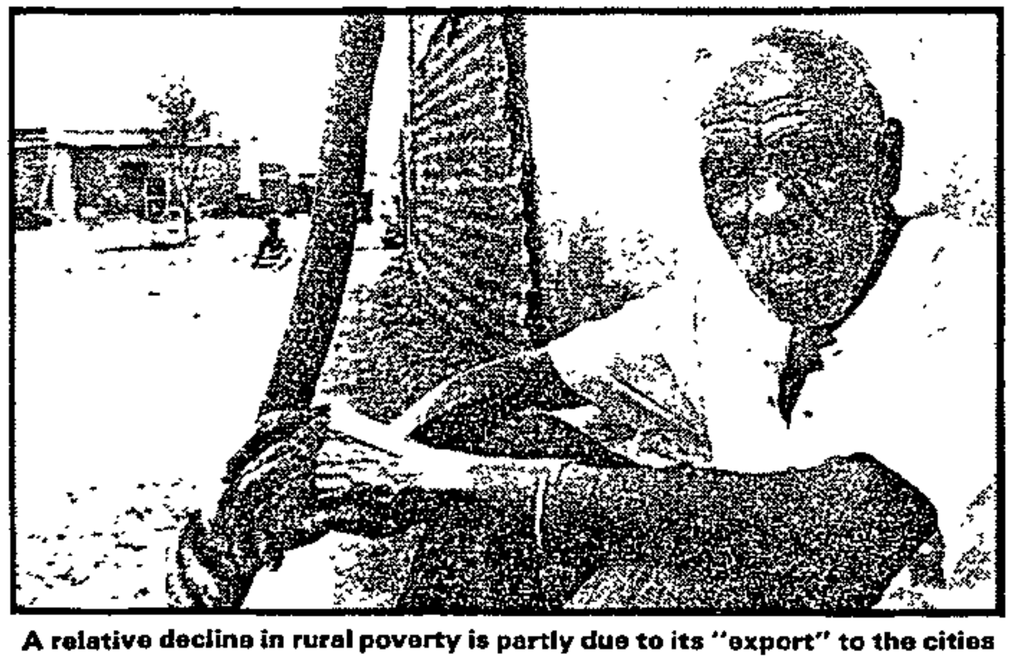
"To conclude from this, however, that the average black rural homeland household is better off (and that the poor and very poor rural households have also benefited through trickle-down) is too simplistic," the report says. It emphasises the structure of economic growth in the homelands did little to benefit them.

Economic growth in the homelands reflected two factors — firstly, civil servant remuneration and, secondly, large agricultural projects and farmer-settlement schemes. The agricultural projects made large contributions to homeland economic growth, but often made a loss and were too capital-intensive. The study notes that the redistributive effects of these projects on communities were small. It also questions the extent to which civil service remuneration contributes to the redistribution of wealth beyond the urban and rural bureaucratic elites of the homelands.

If economic growth in rural areas should be discounted as making any contribution to alleviating poverty, to what extent did remittances from urban areas play a role? While the number of migrants rose over the last decade, formal employment did not grow at the same rate. There was real growth in black wages in the non-primary sectors, but there was evidence of moderate real wage declines in less skilled occupations.

The flow of real remittances did not rise, the authors argue, and probably fell in the last few years of declining SA GDP since 1989. (They noted, however, that the Urban Foundation model on which the statistics were based assumed a real increase in remittances between 1985-1990).

The possibility that better conditions in the cities were "trickling down" to rural areas was further scotched by trends in urban poverty. The study notes that in the five years since 1985, poverty in urban areas had risen by 28%. The rapid rise in the numbers of urban poor represented poverty "exported" from rural districts.



A relative decline in rural poverty is partly due to its "export" to the cities

"Exporting" of poverty probably also accounts for the fall in the actual number of rural poor in the provinces (non-homeland rural areas) In commercial farming areas, a preference for skilled labour appears to have combined with the drought and debt crisis to displace significant numbers of unskilled farmworkers and their families.

However, the report states there is no doubt that increased social transfers by the state made a large contribution to cushioning the blow of negative economic factors. Average old age pensions received by blacks grew by roughly 50% in real terms between 1980 and 1987. The number receiving old age pensions rose by more than 40% over the same period. By 1985, 56% of households were receiving old age pensions.

Rapid growth in the core economy would benefit poverty-stricken households, but the rural poor would probably be the last to gain from economic expansion in SA, the report argues. This implies the need for specific action to deal with poverty, of which direct transfers from the state seem to offer the best results.

But, the authors add: "In the absence of a viable rural economy, providing employment and opportunities for production, transfer payments may be creating a dependent welfare culture." Channelling further direct assistance into rural districts carries a high risk of promoting further dependence.

The authors recommend implementing public works programmes linked to infrastructure and service delivery. They also call for assistance with agriculture, and education and skills training, and emphasise the need for effective rural government. Breaking the isolation of rural communities is important.

While the report is yet another in an endless series of studies on the SA economy, its analysis focuses on the truly destitute. It places the 17-million people defined as "poor" firmly on the economic agenda.

Economic policymakers should take note when they decide on matters such as the zero-rating of VAT, equalisation of pensions, job creation programmes, support for small business, support for capital-intensive export projects, and monetary and fiscal policy

Huge crop losses on the cards

STAR 28/11/93.

By Shirley Woodgate and Brendan Templeton

Billions of rands worth of crops are facing drought devastation nationwide, according to the National Consultative Forum on Drought.

The forum blames well-below average summer rainfalls for its gloomy predictions.

But Transvaal Agricultural Union chief executive Johan Hartman said it may be a bit too early to make predictions about summer crops. A clearer picture would come about only at the end of next month.

He pointed to good rains over many areas in the Transvaal and Free State at the weekend as a good sign.

Hartman agreed, however, that a repeat of last year's drought would be catastrophic.

"Last year the Government paid out R3,6 billion in drought relief, but it's clear the State cannot continue with this."

Cattle

The report said drought-related timber and fruit tree losses in the eastern and northern Transvaal were estimated at R980 million, and many other crops were reduced to a third of their previous yields.

It is also claimed that 80 000 cattle have been lost in the northern parts of the country, mainly in Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa.

The forum is a combination of 68 widely represented organisations

parts of the country, mainly in Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa.

The forum is a combination of 68 widely represented organisations including the Government, churches, civics, welfare institutions and homeland governments which met in June last year to tackle the drought crisis.

The report predicts that staple crops such as maize and wheat will be particularly hard hit.

According to the forum's January report, the wheat crop will be only half of last year's and the maize crop will not be enough to meet domestic consumption.

The winter wheat crop was estimated at 1,2 million tons, well below the previous crop of 2,1 million tons.

The forum said only the winter rainfall areas had largely escaped the drought.

Hartman said conditions in eastern and parts of northern Transvaal were looking grim. Irrigation farmers, such as citrus farmers, were facing disaster because of falling water levels in dams and rivers.

Water sources

Although the recent rains had brought relief, they had not done enough to affect levels in water sources.

The forum said scattered, low rainfall had caused total dam levels to plunge from 68 percent in mid-January 1992 to the current 39 percent mark, representing a 29 percent drop overall. Exceptions were western Cape (63 percent full) and eastern Cape dams (36 percent).

The report said a vast range of other crops including plantings of cotton, tobacco, groundnuts, paprika and soya beans were 30 percent down in the central Transvaal.

The forum emphasised that a long-term solution to drought had to be found.

● Dirk Nel of The Star's Northern Transvaal Bureau reports that good rains have fallen this week in the north-western bushveld and along the north-eastern Transvaal escarpment, but the low levels of dams remain unchanged.

This may not be the last white Parliament after all

B/Day 29/11/93. (101).

TIM COHEN in Cape Town

TODAY marks the opening of SA's last "white" Parliament ... or does it? Perhaps because the political coterie's confidence was so shell-shocked by the failure of Codesa II, perhaps because SA's political landscape is so craggy, perhaps because political transitions are always so turbulent and uncertain, what ought to be a confident assertion claims a question mark.

All the areas of difference still to be settled ought to have been decided almost a year ago at Codesa II or soon afterwards. Political observers expected the last parliamentary session to be the final assembly under the auspices of the tricameral constitution. But with a sigh, the politicians gathered again in Cape Town this week once again to face an uncertain session. This will surely be the last, was the consensus.

What makes the birth of the new SA in 1993 so doubtful in spite of the unmistakable requirements?

At root, the problem is that change in SA is not the result of any standard or traditional cause. It is not taking place as a result of a fundamental technological and philosophical social shift (although there have been some major social changes). It is not taking place as a result of a dire economic necessity (although the poor economy was a factor). Neither is it taking place as a result of a wartime victory (although the fast developing siege society was a component).

But for all the caveats, it is not for the victorious new class or party to dictate the terms of the peace. It is for the not quite vanquished to negotiate the terms of surrender with the not quite victorious — a peculiarly volatile scenario.

The situation is made more complex because the non-victorious believe they have won, and the unvanquished do not believe they have necessarily lost. The prospect of having to actually secure victory, as opposed to getting it served on a platter, seemingly irritates and frustrates ANC members who tend to regard victory as their natural right.

Perhaps more astounding, government tends to patronise the ANC's ability to govern, as though the NP has performed faultlessly. The most they can claim is that they now know how not to do it, but yet, incredibly, government Ministers often imply that a new government could not function properly without their participation. The ANC only encourages this tendency by occasionally proposing strategies that are so out of touch with reality that they would be funny if they were not so frightful.

There is, in fact, a lack of clarity about what government hopes to gain out of the negotiations. Is it to retire with grace, speed and the minimum fuss? Is it to secure the best possible result for the (white) middle class? Is it to ensure the country functions from now on according to the finest Western values? Or is it, as many suspect, to secure an extended lifespan for the present ruling group?

The conventional wisdom is that there has been a sea change in both government and ANC thinking since Codesa II. They are both older and wiser men now, the theory goes. Before Codesa II, the ANC thought power was there for the taking, but this dream died with the faithful and naive peasants of Bisho.

Before Codesa II, government thought it could possibly win a democratic election — or at least a veto over a future government's actions — by drawing together a coalition of anti-ANC groups from the right-wing to homeland political parties. But Inkatha, in particular, lost the confidence of government, and anyway this would never work. After Codesa II, (the theory goes) government changed its strategy fundamentally, considering its best option to be a coalition of sorts with the ANC, which would extend the life (and benefits) of the ruling elite.

So now a new scenario emerges: government and the ANC have done a deal; stability is to be placed above democracy; government does not have the legitimacy, the ANC does not have the ability, they will rule together in an unholy alliance for the good of the people, the country and themselves.

Tempting, but unrealistic. In any event the negotiations have simply not yet reached this advanced stage.

Nevertheless, under pressure from the international community, which believes (perhaps unfairly) that government was responsible for not securing an agreement at Codesa II, deals will soon have to be struck on the two main points of difference: power sharing at executive level and regionalism.

On regionalism, the prospects are good and negotiators are closing the gaps. The ANC always said it was in favour of regionalism, but other parties were not convinced. In the most recent discussions, it has become clear the ANC was not in fact simply paying lip service to the concept. This obviates the need for some other constitutional safeguards, and the apparently petty argument about a 70% versus 75% majority requirements for constitutional change are unlikely to recur.

Agreement is also elusive on when the regions (and their powers) should be finalised — before or after elections for a transitional government. If this is done before the first set of elections, then the regions will have a stake in a constitutional assembly as regions. But this would also mean dictating some irrevocable conditions on the constitutional assembly — an apparent contradiction. The implementation of regions also poses problems for the TBVC states which will have to be dismantled before elections take place.

On the question of power sharing at executive level, government still proposes a constitutionally entrenched power-sharing model — but this is just a proposal. What it will finally accept is open to question and it will have to decide soon whether its proposals will meet with international acceptance. The Swiss model of power sharing was often cited as an example SA ought to follow, but in fact, power sharing in Switzerland is more a voluntary pact than a constitutional model.

The transitional executive council, the body intended to ensure free and fair elections, has not yet received negotiators' full attentions but there are signs that when discussions begin in earnest agreements could be struck without too much difficulty. Negotiators are predicting that these discussions might provide the current session of Parliament with at least something of a swansong. The legislation establishing the council could be of an enabling nature so that even if agreement is reached after the end of the current session, the council and its subcouncils could be implemented by proclamation.

The one piece of legislation that will be pivotal will be the Budget, although most of the important trends have cleverly and carefully been announced over a period of time. The shocks that the Budget must contain will therefore not come as a surprise to most. We already know the parameters; civil servants will get less, petrol will cost more and the tax burden will increase. Nevertheless, the way Finance Minister Derek Keys deals with the revenue shortfall, among other problems, will be watched with interest.

Despite the dependence of the parliamentary session on what happens in the negotiation process, it promises to be far from uneventful, and preparations for a new regime are everywhere. The new orientation for the police force and the proposals for a new education system are just the tip of the iceberg. The media, the TBVC states and the security forces, among others, are all ripe for renewal. "Community orientation" is the new buzzword. But, as radical philosopher Antonio Gramsci said: "In the interregnum before the old is dead and the new is born, a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

PROFILE: *The judge who presides over land disputes*

Sticking to the letter of the law

The new chairman of the Land Commission is more lawyer than politician and his legalistic approach may disappoint those hoping for quick land reform.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

TO Mr Justice William McCreath has fallen the unwelcome task of undoing forced removals and giving effect to the catch-all phrase of "land redistribution".

But expect no sweeping changes or crusades for a meatier Advisory Commmission on Land Allocation from him: McCreath is firstly a lawyer with a deep respect for laws, no matter how tainted they may be.

His legalistic approach to the task before him may be an impediment. But it may be a bonus, promising the 70-year-old judge, recently appointed chairman of the commission, will lend the same objective ear to land cases as he has to the problems which have come before him in his 12 years on the Bench.

He is a very polite man who pours your tea and shows a genuine interest in everyone he meets, but getting to know him and what makes him tick is a little more difficult.

There is no black and white answer as he neatly side-steps controversy with carefully chosen responses:

Will he visit the communities who are reclaiming their land and whose claims he will rule on? "The secretariat does this sort of work."

Does he agree that land reform needs more than just a legal interpretation and that historical, political and social tensions all need to be taken into consideration? "Each case presents its own problems, depending on the matter under consideration."

What does the commission think about the transfers of land to the homelands? "It is not in the commission's ambit to deal with that."

But the one thing that has his unequivocal support and raises passion in his soul is the law:

"The ambit of the commission's work is defined by the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation Act and its jurisdiction is defined by the Act.

"The commission's handling of matters must obviously be done within the ambit of that which is laid down in the Act and beyond that the commission should not and cannot go; it has its defined powers."

This just about puts paid to calls by the National Land Committee (NLC) for drastic changes to the Advisory Commission on Land Affairs.

Mr Justice William McCreath Photo: GUY ADAMS

The NLC believes there should be no provision for secret judgments.

It believes the commission should be able to make findings over all land, not just state-owned land.

The organisation also believes the commission should have legislative force, not just recommendatory powers which would effectively make it a Land Claims Court.

"The commission is a creature of statute and it is for parliament to consider what the commission's powers should be," says the chairman.

But confines of the law can be too confining for the vexed question of land retribution.

In his first three weeks in office, Justice McCreath has already had to negotiate a number of storms: an outcry greeted the commission's recent findings in the Group 4 community's claim for RA60, an area bordering Ciskei in the eastern Cape.

The finding provided that the land would go to the Zulukhama people instead of the Group 4 residents. Both groups live on the same land — called RA60.

The RA60 judgment amounted to the transfer of land to Ciskei, believes the Grahamstown Rural Committee (GRC) which assists the Group 4 residents. "The land will go to people who are at least nominal residents and citizens of Ciskei," said the GRC.

"There is no way that land can be transferred to Ciskei. The White Paper on land is very clear that in no ways will land in future be incorporated into the self-governing territories or the independent states with a view to state-forming," says the director of the Commission Secretariat, Nico van Rensburg.

But the government's plans to transfer nearly a million hectares of land to the homelands have attracted the criticism of even Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who said this could exacerbate violence.

Another problem of the RA60 decision was it was not made public, while the more acceptable decisions on the future of communities in Roosboom, Charlestown and the Asiatic Bazaar in Pretoria were.

Land transfers and the controversy around secret findings are burning issues which could rear their heads again in the 48 cases before the commission.

A narrow interpretation of the commission's terms of reference which ignores these issues is not going to win it any friends.

Perhaps Judge McCreath hesitates to take up issues like these because he is more lawyer than land man.

"I have over the years been connected with land in all its various forms," he says. But the only time he worked consistently with land affairs was before he went to the Bar in 1956 when he served on the Pretoria City Council's Lands and Estates department.

Since then, land cases have occasionally come before him, he says.

First steps to undoing homelands

(101) CT 30/11/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE first steps towards dismantling the homelands — a key element of Dr HF Verwoerd's grand apartheid policies — and the race-based own affairs system are to be taken soon.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday that the six non-independent homelands would have the option of deciding whether they wanted to become part of the process of unifying South Africa's 18 education departments.

He said in his opening speech to Parliament: "It would be ideal if the rationalisation from own to general affairs could go hand-in-hand with similar steps in respect of the self-governing territories."

The government had begun exploring possibilities for sharing administrative functions with the homelands.

"It will also look at joint political decision-making and co-operation with the regions," he said.

Mr De Klerk said the position of the education departments of the four "independent" homelands — Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — would be determined "by developments in the constitutional field".

Mr De Klerk also announced that the racially-based own affairs system would be ended sooner than originally anticipated.

Own affairs agriculture, health and local government would be transferred to general affairs departments from April 1, while welfare and housing own affairs would lose this status "as soon as possible", he said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the position of of the homelands would have to be handled with great sensitivity in negotiations. He gave no indication whether any homelands had already decided to participate in the unification of education departments.

The Democratic Party said yesterday that while the first steps towards the dismantling of race-determined departments and government structures have been initiated, Mr De Klerk was moving far too slowly.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said: "It is very disappointing that the State President is still pussy-footing around the problem of the so-called TBVC states.

"These allegedly independent countries are not and never have been independent: They are the most grotesque of the creatures of apartheid. They are an expensive nuisance and they should be got rid of without delay," Dr De Beer said.

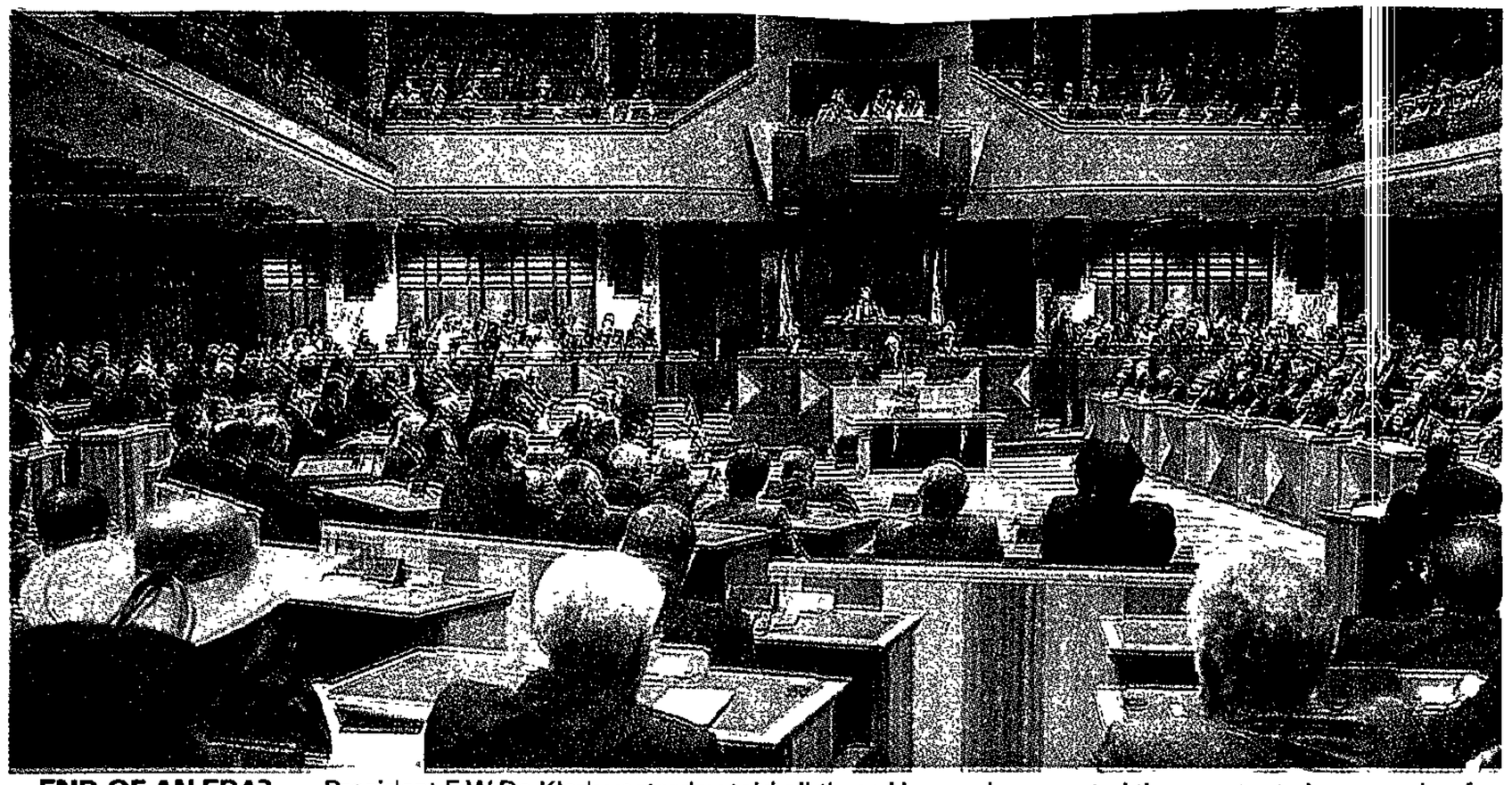
More shared power in Natal-KwaZulu likely

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday indicated that the government could soon give the Natal-KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority additional powers "so that certain functions may be carried out jointly as soon as possible".

The announcement drew a sharp response from the ANC, which said it was a "course fraught with dangers".

Addressing the opening of Parliament yesterday Mr De Klerk said the government had begun exploring administrative co-operation.



END OF AN ERA? . . . President F W De Klerk yesterday told all three Houses he expected the country to be preparing for elections before the end of the year.

Pictures: STEWART COLMAN and BENNY GOOL

EXOTIC TOUCH . . . NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi with his wife Ashaderi.

IN THE PINK . . . Independent MP Mr Koos van der Merwe with his wife Annette who wore a striking pink single-breasted jacket over a summery floral dress.

HIGH NOTE . . . Carike Keuzenkamp, wife of MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl.

SIMPLE ELEGANCE . . . Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and his wife Juliette, who chose a cool white crossover frock and matching hat.

Scrap homelands — Holomisa

(101)

JOHANNESBURG. — The homelands must be quickly abolished if there is to be a climate of free political activity, said the president of the Congress of Traditional Healers (Contralesa), Chief Patekile Holomisa.

He was delivering a memorandum during a meeting in Johannesburg yesterday of the Organisation of African Unity mission in South Africa.

Chief Holomisa said that during negotiations on a new constitution, administration of the homelands should be depoliticised by selecting department heads on the basis of merit and expertise only. ARG 1/2/93

The failure of the government and the liberation movements to define a proper role for traditional leaders both during the transitional phase and in the future, had resulted in some of the leaders taking sides in party politics, he said.

He also reiterated his call for an international peace-keeping force, following allegations of police, defence force and homeland security force involvement in violence. — Sapa.

Traditional leaders welcome negotiations

JOHANNESBURG. — The possible resumption of multi-party talks has been welcomed by the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) and the special representative of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) observer mission.

Contralesa president Chief Patekile Holomisa met OAU ambassador Mr Legwaila Joseph Legwaila here yesterday and discussed negotiations and the continuing violence in South Africa.

In a statement Mr Legwaila and the Contralesa delegation welcomed prospects for the resumption of multi-party negotiations and said they hoped talks would begin soon "to save the people of South Africa from further misery and suffering". — Sapa

Scrap the bantustan poppycock, says Zac

101

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff ARG 2/2/93

THE government has been asked to get rid of the bantustans which had become "tragic, farcical frauds".

The call came from Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Speaking in a debate on the president's speech at the opening of parliament, he said the so-called independent homelands and the self-governing territories had received far too little attention in the speech.

In regard to the TBVC countries, Mr De Klerk had indicated that their future would be determined by constitutional development.

The fiction was being maintained that these territories were real constitutional entities, to be treated as though they were independent.

"This is poppycock. The whole purpose of creating these territories and the client regimes which rule them on Pretoria's behalf was simply to provide a fig-leaf or quasi-respectability to cover the naked denial of basic human rights to black people.

"Black people were denied franchise in South Africa and it was pretended that a vote in a bantustans was a substitute.

"It never could have worked and it never did work. No-one in the whole wide world except the National Party ever pretended to believe in it."

Dr De Beer said the president had announced that the own-affairs system was to be done away with because it was racist and expensive.

The bantustan system was much more expensive and racist, much more corrupt and had been going on for a whole lot longer than own-affairs.

The bantustans had to go . Pretoria's financial stranglehold was all that was needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over the so-called self-governing states was not in question.

"These bantustans are the living proof that apartheid is not dead.

"They cost the South African taxpayer a fortune and they do no one any good, least of all their poor inhabitants.

"The only purpose of these structures was a futile attempt to justify the denial of votes to black people.

"Now the National Party, to its belated credit, was actually commited to give the vote to the blacks — so why are they still pussyfooting around with the bantustans.

"For the sake of the people who live there, for the sake of the National Party's own battered and bruised image and the sake of South Africa's international reputation let us be rid of these tragic, farcical frauds."

Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said 1993 was a decisive year.

Fundamental questions that must be addressed in negotiations included a bill of fundamental rights, regional government and power-sharing.

The fact that the government and the ANC were discussion partners in negotiations did not mean that the two could be allies in the coming elections.

In the coming elections the National Party would stand for a clear objective. It would follow its own clear path. Other parties would then be free to accept the NP's leadership.

Referring to regional government Mr Meyer said the government and the National Party were looking at five to nine provinces.

The powers, functions and boundaries of each were to be entrenched in the constitution.

Homelands spent funds 'unwisely'

B1 DAY 3/2/93

101

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The incorporation of the six homelands into SA and the dismantling of their bureaucracies could bring about an annual saving of at least R2bn, says Econometrix director Azar Jammine.

A monthly saving in total salaries paid to the 230 000 public servants in the homelands of up to R500m would be possible, on a conservative estimate, he said.

According to CSS figures the total salary bill of the six territories will exceed R5bn this financial year.

Jammine said much of the funds channelled to the homelands over the years had been — "to put it kindly" — unwisely spent.

The wastage and corruption was on record in some homelands.

However, Jammine said, teachers and nurses and others engaged in essential services would obviously have to continue their work no matter what kind of constitution was in place.

It was at the executive and administrative levels where big savings were possible.

Lavish perks on top of generous salaries for chief ministers and their cabinet colleagues had loaded total costs significantly.

The six homelands have a combined total of 57 ministers, including chief ministers.

Gazankulu has 9, KaNgwane 9, KwaZulu 12, Lebowa 10, QwaQwa 8 and KwaNdebele 9.

Their grant from the SA government in the current financial was just under R9bn.

Under a new constitution — whether this was federal or unitary — Jammine hoped that the spending of funds would be far more closely monitored and much of the current wastage by the homelands would therefore be eliminated.

Greater efficiency in the use of public money would also — in theory anyway — bring about big savings.

In Parliament this week DP leader Zach de Beer said the homelands had become "tragic farcical frauds".

President F W de Klerk had stated the own affairs system was to be abolished because it was "racist and expensive".

But, De Beer said, the homelands were far more costly to the taxpayer.

POLITICS

End ethnic structures, DP urges government

(101)

ANC 4/2/93

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

ETHNIC structures still reflecting the apartheid philosophy should be scrapped as soon as possible and new, non-racial, democratic regional structures should be created, Mr Colin Eglin (DP, Sea Point) has told parliament.

He was speaking on the third day of a debate on President De Klerk's opening-of-parliament speech.

He said the DP had made out a compelling case for the abolition of ethnically based homeland structures. But instead of phasing these out, the government appeared to be reinforcing them.

"What we cannot have is existing ethnic homeland structures standing out like sore thumbs while South Africa under a transitional constitution has a non-racial parliament and an integrated executive structure."

EGLIN: U-turn by government

Referring to the government's draft bill of rights, Mr Eglin paid tribute to those South Africans who, over the past 45 years, had fought for civil liberties and the rule of law.

"All suffered, in one way or another, at the hands of a series of repressive governments that trampled, often with fierce determination, on the very rights and liberties which the government, through its bill of rights, now says it wishes to uphold."

HENDRICKSE: Apology call

Mr Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, said that, while Mr De Klerk acknowledged that mistakes had been made, he had not yet clearly and in humility acknowledged the sins of the National Party.

He still had to apologise and ask for forgiveness.

Mr Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman and Cape leader of the Conservative Party, said there would not be peace in South Africa unless the Afrikaners were given their freedom in their own country.

Referring to trouble in the taxi industry, Minister of Transport Dr Piet Welgemoed said he was considering reorganising the permit system.

FM licence for Wits radio

B/DAY 4/2/93.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

LISTENERS from all over Johannesburg can now tune into the Voice of Wits radio station next week after it was granted a five-day FM signal licence for a 50km radius.

And the station is optimistic the licence will be extended permanently.

The move is seen as a relaxation of the stringent broadcasting laws enforced by the Home Affairs Department and the SABC.

Voice of Wits station manager Damian Hardy said he hoped the temporary licence could signal the beginning of "community radio" in SA.

The commercial station Showtime Music Radio and Pretoria University had also been given temporary FM signals, Hardy said.

The station can broadcast stereo on 95.9 FM within a 50km radius.

Homelands' water beyond govt control

B/DAY 4/2/93

EDWARD WEST

GOVERNMENT had a water supply target of at least 15 litres a person a day in drought-stricken homeland rural areas, Water Affairs and Forestry Department deputy director-general Tiny Krige said this week.

Krige told the SA Association of Consulting Engineers forum his department was unaware of the serious problems of water supply in those areas as affairs of homeland governments were outside its jurisdiction.

Barring a few exceptions, homeland structures did not have the expertise or capacity to maintain existing water supply schemes, he said.

A survey by the department had found that during the past two months no maintenance work had been done and water pumps had broken down again.

The drought had emphasised the fact that SA, with its severe climatic conditions and water scarcity, could not fragment development and control over the country's water resources.

Central government should be responsible for overall development and control, with any work done at regional or local level falling within the policy framework determined by central government, he said.

Krige said government was developing a management strategy to deal with future droughts, but in the meantime it would continue maintenance work, supplying water by tankers to some areas and with a borehole drilling programme.

Drought Consultative Forum convener Len Abrahams said in June 1992 the Development Bank of SA estimated that 2,5-million rural people could be faced with the need to relocate to survive the drought. To date, the forum had provided drought relief aid to about 750 villages.

The forum concluded the underlying issues in black rural communities were mainly poverty, neglect, and inadequate investment.

A policeman stands guard as a taxi is towed away after drivers tried to barricade a city street in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture BRIAN HENDLER

Early warning system would help relief workers

B/DAY 4/2/93.

RAY HARTLEY

SA IS in urgent need of a national early warning system on food security to enable relief workers to respond to emerging crises more efficiently, says a Consultative Forum on Drought committee report.

The system would also need to provide early warning of "hazards that affect the ability of households to obtain adequate food and water".

The report proposed a system involving the disciplines of meteorology, hydrology, agriculture, natural resource management and finance. While the major risk was drought, others were pests, hail and flooding.

While warning systems were relatively well developed for large-scale farm production, the effect of weather on small farms and in the homelands had not yet been analysed fully.

Recommendations had been formulated for nutrition surveillance of children younger than five.

ANC misused R2,3m Norway

OSLO — Norway had demanded the ANC explain the fate of a R2,3m grant intended to help set up a print shop and provide jobs, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

Foreign ministry spokesman Ingvard Havnen said the 5-million kroner were placed in an investment company instead of being used to buy printing equipment, Sapa reported. B/DAY 4/2/93.

"Clearly, it wasn't used for the purpose for which it was allotted," said Havnen. "It is definitely in the best interest of the ANC to clarify this."

The ANC had asked for an urgent transfer of the promised funds, he said.

Norwegian state radio network NRK said it had reason to believe key ANC members were on the board of directors of the investment company, TB Invest.

It said a foreign ministry official was checking ANC records in Johannesburg to track down what had happened to other contributions.

The Norwegian government gave about $5,8m to the ANC last year.

DIRK HARTFORD reports an ANC spokesman was yesterday unable to comment on the Norwegians' allegations.

He said the matter had been referred to ANC NEC members and the organisation would comment as soon as information was available.

No early end for homelands

CT 5/2/93 (101)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday reassured South Africa's 10 homelands that Pretoria would not use its financial and political muscle to bring about their early demise.

In a clear bid to lure the millions of rural voters — more than 50% of the potential electorate — he praised the "democratically elected" homeland parliaments and as well as their "respected" traditional leaders who through the tribal authorities exert enormous power on rural peasants.

Mr De Klerk dismissed calls for the government to pressure the homelands to be summarily abolished, saying such a step would jeopardise multi-party talks and destabalise the territories.

The State President's reply to the four-day debate on his opening of Parliament speech was marked by robust heckling which forced the Speaker to call protesting opposition MPs to order on a number occasions.

Mr De Klerk told MPs that he was not prepared to allow the disruption of essential services in the homelands such as education and health — structures which afford ethnic administrations power and control.

He said while the eventual incorporation of homelands was desirable this could only take place after a new regional dispensation was negotiated.

"Therefore there will not be a misuse of our powers. We will act responsibly," he said.

FW defends Verwoerd

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday defended former prime ministers Mr D F Malan, Mr J G Strijdom and Dr H F Verwoerd, stressing that they were men of "great personal integrity".

He was replying to ANC Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling, who had described them as "evil".

Mr De Klerk said the three former National Party leaders had "acted in what they believed to be the public interest" and had been consistent and sincere in their beliefs.

They had been loyal to the voters who had mandated them. The same, however, could not be said of Mr Dalling who had been elected as a DP MP and had then crossed to the ANC.

Mr De Klerk also pointed a finger at DP leader Dr Zac de Beer who entered Parliament as a United Party member.

Codesa agreed on homelands

(101)

THE Democratic Party as well as other parties at Codesa had agreed the self-governing territories' status should stay unchanged until a new constitution determined otherwise, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, he asked if the government was expected to intervene militarily to restore them to South Africa?

APR 6/2/93

Pik: Disarray in homelands

CT 6/2/93 (101)

THE South African government was concerned at the state of the internal administrations of the TBVC states, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Speaking at a media briefing in Cape Town, Mr Botha said there were signs of dissatisfaction, disarray, inadequate services and poor financial control in these homelands.

"If we had the only say in the matter these states would be brought under our jurisdiction," said Mr Botha.

However, any activity which would increase the tension and violence should be avoided.

The government had the means to exert pressure on the TBVC states to improve administration and ensure law and order.

Mr Botha said it was conceivable that after an election the IFP and the NP could "work together".

He said the NP was very close to the IFP as far as basic policy was concerned. Differences between the two were of a procedural nature.

He also said South Africa should not make an issue of claiming its seat in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

"Let sleeping dogs lie. We owe the UN a substantial amount of money which we do not have available right now." — Sapa

State moves to stem flow from customs union

S| Times (Buss) 7/2/93

By CIARAN RYAN

THE GOVERNMENT is moving to cut back the payment of billions of rands of taxpayers' money to SA's partners in the SA Customs Union (SACU).

One official says Minister of Finance Derek Keys intended to unilaterally withdraw SA from the customs pool last year once he became aware of the financial burden it imposed on SA, but was dissuaded from doing so by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Perhaps the most contentious aspect of the customs pool is the R1,7-billion paid to the TBVC homelands in 1991/2 from SA's share of the customs pool.

This additional source of funding for the homelands — over and above the 1992 budgeted assistance of R3,7-billion — has only recently been brought to light. It has never been voted by Parliament.

An ANC spokesman says: "It's absurd. This is a way of disguising government subsidies to the bantustans."

The government is attempting to devise an alternative customs agreement, a development which has serious implications for Swaziland and Lesotho, which rely on the customs union for more than 50% of their total revenues.

"We gave notice a year ago that the financial burden of the customs pool was becoming too high," says Gerrie Breyl, deputy director-general at the Department of Trade and Industry.

"We have to look at an alternative system of economic co-operation which perhaps goes beyond the present boundaries of the customs pool."

Friends

SA contributes 90% of all revenue to the customs pool, yet its share of receipts declined from 73% to 44% over the last decade, prompting calls for the disbanding of SACU.

SA received just R3,64-billion of the R8,14-billion collected in the common customs area (CCA) from customs and excise duties and surcharges in 1991/2. Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland (the BLNS countries), SA's partners in SACU, took R2,8-billion from the pool in 1991/2 and this year will take in excess of R3-billion.

This, say some observers, is the price SA had to pay for buying friends in the region. But with a SA budget deficit of nearly R30-billion this year, SACU is coming under intense scrutiny.

The same formula that applies to Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland for purposes of calculating their share of the customs pool is applied to the TBVC states.

Nedbank economist Magan Mistry, writing in the latest Nedbank Guide to the Economy, says a major reason for SA's declining share of the pool is the slower rate of increase in its imports compared to that of the BLNS and TBVC states.

Because excise duties are counted in the formula, SA's partners receive payment for beer and other excisable goods even where these are made and consumed in SA.

Department of Trade and Industry director-general, Stef Naude, says the payments to SA's partners "are becoming unaffordably high to us".

"The distribution formula of the common income pool has the effect that the BLNS countries receive a minimum payment equal to 17% of the value of their total imports, including their imports from SA which of course make no contribution to the pool."

Mr Breyl says SA's partners in the customs pool receive closer to 20% of the value of their imports.

The BLNS countries are unhappy with aspects of the current agreement, particularly the time lag between the end of a fiscal period and payment for that period (Customs and Excise waits up to two years before paying).

In terms of the formula for sharing the revenue pool, the value of imports to BLNS and TBVC states are inflated by 42% to compensate them for loss of fiscal discretion and the price-raising effect of a SA-determined tariff structure.

Rejected

Because of sharp fluctuations in revenue received by the BLNS countries in the 1970s, a stabilisation factor was introduced into the formula which guaranteed revenue of between 17% and 23% of the value of each country's imports. Repeated attempts to increase the stabilisation factor were rejected by SA.

Professor Colin McCarthy of Stellenbosch University, a former adviser to the government on the SACU, says the effect of this stabilisation factor is to inflate the value of BLNS imports by 60%.

Withdrawing the TBVC states from the customs pool would enable the government to lower or avoid increasing VAT by about one-and-a-half percentage points, but would leave the homelands with about R3,6-billion less revenue than spending.

Commentators have advised government not to disband the SACU in order to solve short-term budgetary problems.

"The feeling in the ANC is that the SACU can become a building block for a wider regional trading bloc," says the ANC spokesman. "But we have to decide whether the compensation paid to our partners is fair in view of the inflationary effects of submitting to SA's trade policy."

Homelands closer to reincorporation

(101) CT 10/2/93

Political Correspondent

THE reincorporation of the non-independent homelands moved a step closer yesterday when the government resolved to introduce legislation to allow these territories to co-operate more closely with provincial administrations.

The decision to allow for bilateral or multilateral agreements between these bodies was announced after a meeting in Cape Town yesterday between cabinet ministers, homeland chief ministers and the four provincial administrators.

A statement issued after the meeting by the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Jacob de Villiers, said the participants had adopted a number of resolutions aimed at promoting more effective development management and inter-governmental co-operation.

The agreement would also allow for "improving the efficiency of the existing institutional system for rendering development support in the interim".

The parties also discussed ways to improve the administration and accountability of homeland governments.

Chief Minister James Mahlangu of KwaNdebele said later the homeland system had proved unworkable and this was the first step towards their reintegration into the greater SA.

Agreement on rationalisation

(101)

THE government and the six self-governing territories have agreed on legislation which will enable them to rationalise services.

But this should not be interpreted as a move to by-pass multiparty negotiations

Deputy Regional Development Minister André Fourie was commenting on a meeting between the four provincial administrations and the governments of the six territories.

The meeting resolved that the government could proceed with legislation enabling self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach bilateral or multilateral agreements.

'Homeland moves premature'

TIM COHEN (101)

CAPE TOWN — The decision by government and homeland leaders to proceed with enabling legislation to establish new regional structures was premature and a unilateral act, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Senior government members, including President F W de Klerk, and homeland leaders gave the go-ahead on Tuesday for the promulgation of legislation to enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach agreements on new forms of administration.

Marcus said government was attempting to press ahead with legislation which would establish new regional administrations in an effort to make it difficult for these to be revised in negotiations.

She said that the proper place for this was at the multiparty conference to allow all role players to contribute to the process.

Government sources said the meetings were simply the first step in establishing new structures, suggesting that after new administrations had been set up, further regionalisation on new boundaries could take place.

Marcus said this was a "tortuous" process and pressing ahead without full participation would mean the new structures would not be considered legitimate.

Government sources said the nature of the joint administrations and the time frames for their implementation had not been decided in discussions to date.

However, the process of integration was being aligned with the development requirements of the areas concerned.

□ To Page 2

Homeland

The conference which gave the go-ahead dealt to a large extent with corporate development institutions.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that DP finance spokesman Douglas Gibson said yesterday government delays in negotiating the reincorporation of the six homelands were costing taxpayers millions of rands a month.

□ From Page 1

Gibson said that with the reincorporation of the six territories, a large number of the 230 000 bureaucrats employed in the territories could be rationalised, with a saving of tens of millions of rands a year for SA taxpayers.

Latest figures indicated the total salary bill for the homeland public services exceeded R5bn a year.

Star 11/2/93

Govt, homelands to rationalise services

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the six self-governing territories have agreed on legislation which will enable them to rationalise services.

But this should not be interpreted as a move to bypass multiparty negotiations and dismantle the homeland governments, the Government said yesterday.

Deputy Regional Development Minister Andre Fourie was commenting last night on the meeting between the four South African provincial Administrations and the governments of the six territories in Cape Town on Tuesday.

The meeting resolved that the Government could proceed with legislation that would enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach bilateral or multilateral agreements.

This has been interpreted as a step towards incorporation of the self-governing territories into South Africa.

Fourie agreed that the agreement was a move towards an interim regional dispensation but denied any intention to preempt multiparty negotiations.

He said President de Klerk had stated categorically — in Parliament last week — that the Government would not use its powers to dismantle the homelands summarily or unilaterally.

Fourie said it had been agreed at the Tuesday meeting that constitutional change was irrevocable but that any future regional dispensation would have to be agreed to at a multiparty forum.

In the interim there was much room for joint administration. All the meeting had agreed to was that enabling legislation could be passed allowing for joint agreements to avoid duplication of services.

This was already happening in the Joint Executive Authority set up between the KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

Fourie said the agreement did not affect the status of the self-governing territories. No new boundaries would be drawn but an attempt could be made to move towards an interim regional dispensation by sharing administration.

He mentioned pension payments, education and health clinics as areas of possible cooperation.

De Klerk said, when he opened Parliament on January 29, that the Government intended negotiating with the self-governing territories about drawing them into the desegregation of South African State education.

Fourie said the scrapping of own affairs education had opened the way for such discussions, but that they had not been embarked on at Tuesday's meeting.

It is understood that the meeting also explored ways of tightening up control of spending by the self-governing territories.

ANC 'welcome to take part in regional bodies'

B/DMy 12/2/93.

CAPE TOWN — Government would not object if political parties, including the ANC, participated in regional committees established to co-ordinate the consolidation of provincial authorities and self-governing states, Deputy Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said yesterday.

It was unclear whether such a move was practical, or whether the self-governing states would react favourably, but government would have no objections in principle, Fourie said in an interview.

He was reacting to ANC objections to the announcement that enabling legislation would be promulgated to allow the integration of government and self-governing administrations.

He said the intention was not to create new structures or to preempt the negotiations process A major aim was to reduce duplication of services.

For instance, pension payments were handled by provincial authorities as well as by self-governing states. Significant savings could be gained if the payment process was rationalised, Fourie said.

The administration of roads and even education could also be rationalised, if the

TIM COHEN

separate administrations were to come to an agreement on how this could be done.

Government envisaged the establishment of committees involving representatives of the states, government and provincial authorities, but even this was subject to the approval of the parties concerned.

None of the structures had been formally set up, although discussions had taken place with the self-governing states.

Fourie said no time frames had been set, but it was possible that quick progress could be achieved.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha national chairman and Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday welcomed the prospect of the proposed legislation.

He said: "This is a step towards a federal state type of constitution, as an interim measure."

It would give the joint authority a greater and more effective say on decisions affecting the region, he said.

There would be a widening of powers on such issues as health, education and housing, Mdlalose said.

Bill will help councils' fund-raising

CAPE TOWN — A Bill enabling local authorities to surmount their fund-raising difficulties on the capital market has been tabled in Parliament. B/DMy 12/2/93.

The memorandum to the Local Authorities Loans Fund Amendment Bill said the need for an amendment arose from the problems experienced by local authorities in obtaining sufficient loans on the capital market. The Bill proposes to allow the Local Authorities Loans Fund Board to grant loans to specified local authorities which do not have to be repaid by means of annuities, as required at present.

In terms of annuity loans, a portion of the capital and interest payments have to be paid back in six monthly instalments.

Local Authorities Loans Fund Board secretary Neill Marais said yesterday the

LINDA ENSOR

amendment would allow larger local authorities to use the money they had set aside each year to repay the loan as collateral to raise additional finance.

Further funds would be released for utilisation by the local authorities as the amount set aside each year would be less than would have to be paid back to the board in six monthly instalments.

Marais said all annuity loans granted to date would continue on an annuity basis and only local authorities who met the criteria of the board's executive committee would be granted non-annuity funding. Once applications for non-annuity funding were received, the committee would consider the criteria to be employed.

LYDENBURG PLATINUM LIMITED

Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa
(Registration No. 01/08063/06)

DECLARATION OF INTERIM DIVIDEND

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that an interim dividend (No 78) of 39 cents per share, in respect of the year ending 31 October 1993 has been declared payable to members registered at the close of business on 26 February 1993.

The register of the company will be closed from 1 March 1993 to 5 March 1993, both days inclusive

DAVID LERMER

SA's little-known tax advantages

FM 12/2/93

101

David Lermer is senior international tax consultant at Coopers Theron du Toit. Before relocating to SA a year ago, he worked in the London office of Coopers & Lybrand, where he specialised in UK and international tax.

Few overseas investors realise that SA taxes neither residents nor nonresidents on income earned outside SA, unlike many developed countries that tax residents on their worldwide income. In addition, dividends are exempt from normal taxation and there is no tax on capital gains.

SA's tax system has the basic characteristics to attract foreign investment in the form of international holding companies. Other countries have had to create these characteristics with special privileges and tax exemptions.

Attracting the holding companies of multinational groups is big business, and the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium and Gilbraltar are leaders in this field. SA, with its large domestic market, is often referred to as the powerhouse of Africa and it can become an investment stepping stone to the rest of Africa. With proper structuring, offshore income can often generate little or no global tax and result in real cash savings for the foreign investor in SA.

But there are several obstacles to overcome:

☐ Foreign perceptions of SA must improve;

☐ Capital gains tax and tax on dividends should be avoided or, if introduced, a special tax regime should be created similar to the relief available to holding companies in the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Belgium and Gibraltar;

☐ Tax incentives for expatriate executives should be introduced. This suggestion is not made without a little regret, since another positive aspect of our tax system is that, in general, it does not distinguish between residents and nonresidents. But the economic reality is that the country lacks the executives and managers needed to lead and sustain growth during the Nineties.

Belgium, the Netherlands and Gibraltar have lowered taxes on relocated executives and people who have management or special skills. If developed countries see a need to attract skilled labour and foreign investment by providing a favourable tax regime for foreign executives and management, so should SA, especially during its transition.

The high level of personal tax is a disincentive to foreign businesses wishing to relocate key staff here since, invariably, a salary equalisation calculation is required. This means that the employer incurs the extra cost of guaranteeing a similar take-home pay to what the employee had overseas. This additional cost can render a project commercially unattractive; and

☐ SA needs to negotiate more tax treaties with other countries. The Netherlands has about 50 treaties compared with SA's 19 — including treaties with the TBVC states (see preceding report).

From the perspective of a holding company, the lack of treaties means dividends withholding tax, on repatriation of profits from the holding company, can be high.

In SA, Non-Resident Shareholders' Tax is 15%, but this is not seen as a big obstacle. While more tax treaties are being negotiated, an overseas investor often can structure his affairs to use SA's treaty network and reduce the rate of Non-Resident Shareholders' Tax to 5% and possibly lower.

An alternative route would be to follow Gibraltar's lead — it has no tax treaties. It applies no withholding tax on dividends to EC parent companies and a 1% withholding tax on dividends to non-EC parent companies.

During treaty negotiations, which can take years to complete, an interim measure could be introduced reducing Non-Resident Shareholders' Tax on dividends to parent companies to 5% or lower.

While SA's tax code can serve to attract investors, exchange controls certainly discourage investment. Foreign investors need to believe that their investment is secure and that should they wish to disinvest, they would be allowed to repatriate funds (including capital amounts) to their home country. In general, our exchange control system already allows this and it is foreign perceptions that need to be changed.

In Ireland, exchange-control authorities give undertakings on repatriation before an overseas investor commits any amount.

It is understood that as part of the negotiation for the transfer of Hong Kong to China in 1997, the Chinese authorities have guaranteed the *status quo* for the business community in Hong Kong, including the free movement of income and capital into and out of the colony.

Certificates containing an exemption from the requirement to repatriate all overseas earnings could be approved for holding companies investing in the country, thus putting SA on the same footing as many other countries.

Perhaps more important would be government's statement — and its effect on foreign perception — that a foreign investor granted a certificate would be free to move capital brought into SA and profits of a capital or income nature, without exchange control intervention.

This statement would need a wide spectrum of political support to be credible in the eyes of a foreign investor. The *status quo* regarding the currency medium of a transaction, in financial or commercial rands, would not be affected and would continue to depend on the nature of the transaction, provided that the holding company would be allowed to invest overseas in the same medium in which the funds were introduced or generated in SA.

The relief inherent in SA's tax system is one of the world's best-kept secrets. It's time to sell it to the world.

From dumps to trump cards

W|M&G 12/2-18/2/93

The homelands used to be regarded as apartheid's dumping grounds; now they're the jackpot in a raging hearts-and-minds battle.

By **PATRICK GOODENOUGH** *and* **ANDREW TRENCH**

A BATTLE is raging between Pretoria and leading Volkstaat protaganist General Tienie Groenewald for the hearts and minds of homeland leaders within the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Groenewald, a former military intelligence chief of staff, has emerged as the top strategist within Cosag. Through his Pretoria-based consultancy company, Multi Media Services (MMS), he is heavily involved in Ciskeian affairs and is busy closing in on Bophuthatswana.

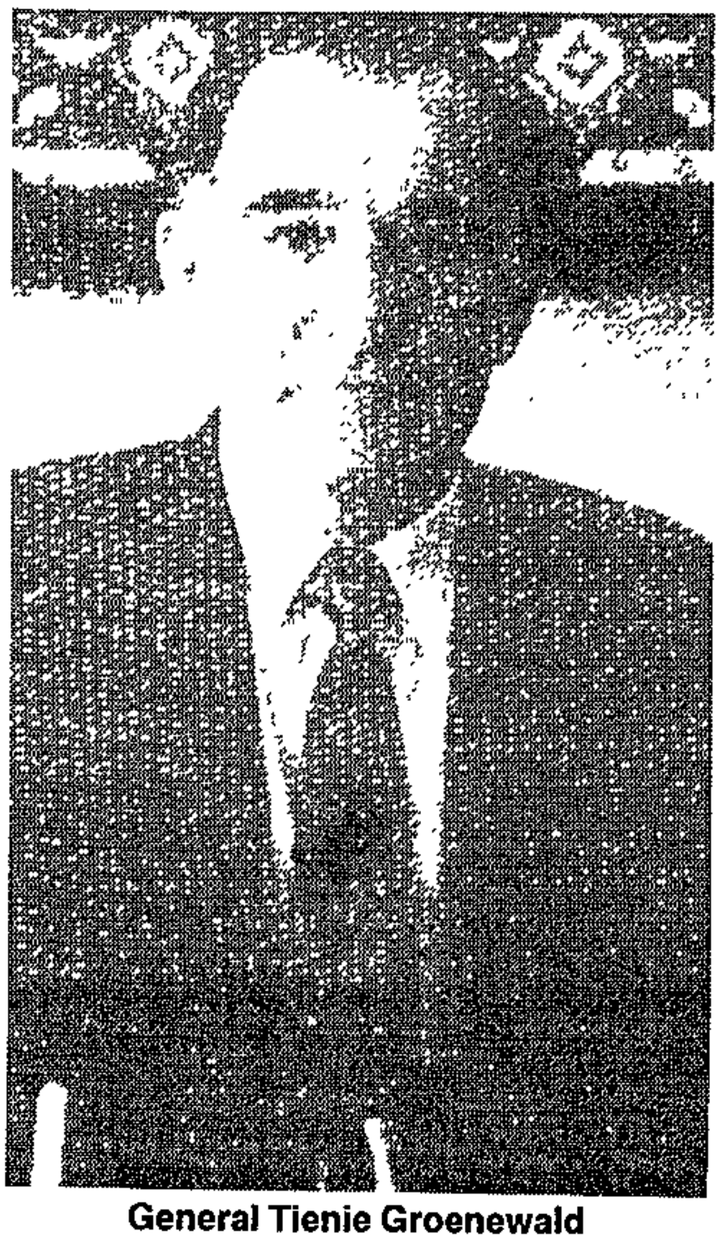
MMS chairman and Groenewald's partner Riaan van Rensburg this week accused the South African government of orchestrating an information leak within MMS in an attempt to drive a wedge between Groenewald and the Cosag parties. The government viewed MMS as a threat because "we are strengthening (Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo in Cosag, contrary to the beliefs of those who want a Codesa type of thing", he said.

In parliament last week, President FW de Klerk appealed to Cosag to drop racist elements. And last month, Pretoria accused Groenewald of souring relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the government.

Groenewald is said by well-placed Ciskeian sources to have been influential in Gqozo's recent avowal to hang on to the "independence" of the homeland, as well as Gqozo's growing antipathy towards both the South African government and the African National Congress.

The sources also linked Groenewald's involvement in Ciskei's affairs to the recent sackings of ministers and hardline statements emanating from Bisho, the homeland's capital. And, for the first time since Gqozo seized power, Ciskei will this year commemorate "independence day" — as a "celebration of Ciskei's nationhood".

This type of rhetoric, common during the reign of Gqozo's predecessor, Lennox Sebe, indicates a marked reversal of Gqozo's stated policy on Ciskei's reincorporation with South Africa.



General Tienie Groenewald

MMS helped to produce the document unveiling Gqozo's "Kei region plan" last December, and has an employee in the Bisho government offices. It was involved in Gqozo's claims about a plot between the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Umkhonto weSizwe and the Transkei Defence Force targeting Ciskei and kwaZulu. These claims were widely dismissed as a staged media event aimed at slowing down negotiations.

MMS has also tendered for a contract for "certain services" for the Bophuthatswana government.

Groenewald said this week MMS was "completely separate" from his other projects: the Eenheidskommittee and the Institute for Strategic Analysis, "new right" think-tanks which research issues relating to "the survival of the different nations in Africa".

He said it provided a "public relations and image-building" service to Gqozo, and "plays no role in trying to influence the council (of state) or the leader in any direction. He uses our knowledge, and my extensive background".

MMS had discussed providing training for political organisations, including Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, but funding remained a problem, he added.

Groenewald said Gqozo had consulted him "over a period, on a number of matters". Their relationship had crystallised through Cosag, and MMS had held three days of extensive talks with the Ciskei government, leading to the presentation of the "Kei plan".

Van Rensburg explained that the Kei concept "fits in with the Volkstaat idea ... What we propagate as far as a Volkstaat is concerned is exactly what we propagate for the Kei region, and for that matter for the Zulus and Tswanas and so on."

Groenewald has also opened the door for the return to Ciskei of a former training officer for the Bureau of State Security, General "Tai" Minnaar. Minnaar recently ran a VIP-protection training course for the Ciskei, set up by Groenewald.

Minnaar worked for Ciskei intelligence in the Sebe era, and in 1983 was detained on suspicion of plotting against the government. He feigned mental illness, was transferred to a South African hospital and managed to avoid returning to face charges.

Groenewald said there was no link between MMS and Minnaar's company, Military Technical Services (MTS). He had chosen MTS to organise the course, run at the Wesley military base, because it was "very good in the field", Groenewald said, adding that further courses are envisaged.

Minnaar this week described MTS as a "completely apolitical concern providing training, security surveys and so on, with a small but confidential client base. We're not mercenaries, we're not fighting a war."

John Lambson, of the "anti-communist" University Freedom of Speech Association, has also joined the growing collaboration between the rightwing and conservative homeland leaders. He has recently begun issuing statements on behalf of Gqozo's ADM.

Lambson says Gqozo "respects" his thinking, but denies any part in shaping Ciskeian policy. However, the homeland's government recently duplicated almost to the word a Lambson-drafted ADM statement.

Time to bring on the king and let the games begin

STAR 13/2/93

~~Star~~ (101)

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

ALTHOUGH there are still a few crucial issues to iron out, negotiations, this time round, are a much more mature affair and the time is ripe to pick the fruit. The politicians just have to keep acting sensibly for a while longer.

THE politicians did their level best to muck up South Africa's fragile new mood of optimism this week, but thankfully they did not succeed. The "smuggled weapons" row is no longer being talked about as a grave threat to the resumption of negotiations, but rather as a problem which must be dealt with separately from the crucial talks on the constitutional way forward.

A word about the gun-running sagas, before turning to the next negotiating hurdle which awaits us. The Star has for a long time urged an unprecedented clampdown on illegal weapons, and has over the months reported on gun running by elements connected to the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the security forces. All hands have been dirty, and are still dirty. To greater and lesser extents, the top political leadership of each party has ducked its responsibility: that responsibility is to state publicly that any member of an organisation caught smuggling weapons will be summarily kicked out, and will moreover be made an example of. Only through such an unequivocal step will the signatures on the National Peace Accord mean anything; the step is woefully overdue.

The flood of weapons is, to state the obvious, what keeps the monthly death toll in our country so high. It is also the single biggest threat to the holding of free and fair elections. The arsenals hidden who-knows-where around our country are a literal time-bomb: if the guns are hauled out and cocked on election day, emigration to Angola will be a better option than sticking around. We have to lock gun-runners up as soon as they are caught, no matter what party they claim allegiance to or how high their rank, and we have to keep them locked up until we are well into the new South Africa.

That said, there is another difficulty looming on the path to an interim government, that essential next step in our historic transition. The difficulty turns on, specifically, the role in negotiations of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, and generally on the part to be played by traditional leaders.

A brief recapitulation of how we got to where we are now is necessary before any solutions can be proposed. When Codesa was first planned, it was a multiparty forum — there was no question of attendance by the king, or any other traditional leaders. Then the governments of the TBVC states were brought in, and there the problems started. Chief Buthelezi was angered by the fact that people he regards as illegitimate upstarts — "junta" leaders Holomisa, Ramushwana and Gqozo — were given delegate status, while his established KwaZulu government was excluded. Although in terms of individuals the IFP is all but indistinguishable from the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi insisted that the IFP is a political home for people other than Zulus: therefore he demanded three delegations, one for the IFP, one for the king and one for the KwaZulu government. This formed the basis for a long and still unresolved wrangle.

Buthelezi is digging in on the issue, and the ANC is in an equally recalcitrant mood. Some negotiators are beginning to express concern that on this rock the transition could still founder. Is there a way out?

The Government has come up with a proposal which, I believe, could do the trick. The thinking is that if you accept the presence of the TBVC states as a *fait accompli* (in other words, having invited them in you can't toss them out), then why not widen the net in such a way that King Goodwill can be included, *along with* other governments and traditional leaders? This would be done by means of inviting the governments of the six self-governing territories (as well as the TBVC states) to the next multiparty conference. Those governments would be free to assemble their own delegations and, presto, the titular head of KwaZulu, the king, would be at Codesa along with paramount chiefs and nobles from KwaNdebele to QwaQwa. Faces saved all round.

In the nature of current negotiations, where the principal actors are agreed on the next step in the transition, the presence of the newcomers would have little or no effect on power-balances. The breakthrough would be symbolic, but crucial.

I hope this proposal comes into effect. A remaining problem is that Buthelezi wants more: three delegations is his demand, not two. But I think that the public perception would be that his concerns had been reasonably addressed, and he would be under tremendous moral pressure to come on board. Also, the ANC seems not to be in the mood to bend on the issue of the king, but they too will come under pressure from their allies in the self-governing territories who will rather like the Government proposal. The ANC should gracefully accede to this one.

Negotiations are a much more mature affair in February 1993 than they have been at any other time, and the issue of the king is indicative of this fact. We are down to specifics, and the specifics are resolvable if the current constructive mood can be maintained.

● *Shaun Johnson is going abroad. Undercurrent Affairs will resume on March 20.*

ANC storms at scramble for state land

S/Times 14/2/93. 101

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE government has launched a scramble for 300 sq km of state land — but the ANC has vowed not to honour any allocations made.

Interested parties have been invited by the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation (Acla) to lay claim to the undeveloped trust lands "within a reasonable amount of time".

State President FW de Klerk will have the final say on who gets the land.

The announcement has angered the ANC, which this week reiterated calls for a moratorium on the allocation of state land until an interim government is in power.

The organisation's spokesman on land and agriculture, Derek Hanekom, said this week the ANC would not honour these land deals.

Most of the land — advertised in newspapers in recent weeks by Acla — was part of a controversial parcel earmarked for "utilisation" by Lebowa and Qwa Qwa in October last year by Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers.

The rest of the land, about 50 000ha, is dotted throughout the country, from Cape Town to Messina.

Acla spokesman Nic van Rensburg said yesterday: "If there are no claims, Acla will make recommendations in terms of its objectives, inter alia, planning, developing and allocation of the land.

"Acla has consulted experts in the field of small farm development and will probably make recommendations along these lines."

The move has earned the commission the tag "tool of the state" from land-based organisations and the ANC.

Mr Hanekom said no public land should be disposed of. If an exception was made, it should be fully negotiated.

Transvaal Rural Action Committee spokesman Harold Winkler said: "Acla should be a mechanism to give land back to communities that were forcibly removed.

"However, it appears to have become a participant in the hurried disposal of state land and a tool for transferring land to a government seeking to extend its support base in the face of coming elections."

But Mr van Rensburg said there had been a misunderstanding on the role of the commission in the affair.

In terms of an agreement with the Lebowa and Qwa Qwa cabinets, a parcel of 380 000ha and another of 52 000ha of former South African Development Trust land could be "utilised".

However, 207 000ha of the Lebowa package and 42 000ha of the Qwa Qwa package was undeveloped and as such had been identified as falling within Acla's brief for consideration and allocation to whatever party the commission considered appropriate.

Asked whether the land would then be incorporated into the homelands, Mr van Rensburg referred to the White Paper on Land Reform: This states that no more land will be incorporated into homelands for state-forming.

TPA spends R252m on squatter camps

B|DFM 15/2/93

THE TPA spent a total of R252m on squatter settlements in the Transvaal last year. And rapid urbanisation is likely to make greater demands on provincial resources this year.

The TPA's annual report, released on Friday, said providing opportunities for settlement of lower income groups had become a priority.

Land had been provided at several sites.

Urbanisation director Johan du Plessis said he hoped his department would receive a higher allocation in the next financial year.

However, with many pressing demands — such as health and education — on the GNP, he did not believe the allocation for housing could be increased substantially.

As part of the TPA urbanisation programme, about 5 000ha had been purchased for R200m. At a further cost of R52m, 21 000 serviced erven had been made available to low income groups.

"To address the problem of illegal squatting, the TPA has developed into one of the largest town developers in SA," the annual report stated.

KATHRYN STRACHAN

Because of the strain the urbanisation process placed on financial and manpower resources of the TPA, appeals had been made to the private sector.

Private consultants for town and regional planning had become involved in managing many facets of the problem.

The report said another drain on TPA resources had been the funding of "non-viable" black townships.

"Due to the shortage of funds, black local governments could not meet their commitments for services such as water, sewage and refuse removal," the report said.

Inter-governmental grants of about R588,7m had been made available to black local governments to compensate for the non-viability of these towns — and not as support for boycotts, the report stated.

The TPA said it had spent more than R225m on its road network, but the shortage of funds had limited its focus to maintaining existing roads, rather than building new ones.

Picture BRIAN HENDLER

Govt slated on land disposals

MARIANNE MERTEN

GOVERNMENT was disposing of unallocated state land too rapidly, the Association of Rural Advancement said at the weekend.

This was in reaction to the announcement of plans by the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation for the disposal of 250 000ha of state land adjoining Lebowa and Qwa Qwa.

The land in question was handed to the commission after a controversial agreement on land transfer and joint administration between government and the homelands.

The commission had become a participant in government's manipulation of land allocation, a statement by the association said.

It said the commission planned to proceed with the reallocation of about 500 000ha of state land in Natal despite the fact that the Goldstone commission had recommended a halt to land disposals in the province because of the likelihood it would fuel violence.

The ANC said at the weekend it would not honour any allocations made. B|DFM 15/2/93

It also reiterated its call for a moratorium on the allocation of state land until an interim government came to power.

Motivating new voters must be central goal, says report

B|DFM 15/2/93

WASHINGTON — To ensure a high turnout, newly enfranchised South Africans must be convinced that simply by going to the polls on election day and completing a ballot they will guarantee themselves better schools, houses and job prospects.

This is the conclusion of Washington polling firm Peter Hart Research Associates, hired by the National Democratic Institute to develop a strategy for its US taxpayer-financed South African voter education programme.

"Motivating" new voters, many of whom are not only ignorant of voting procedures but also fear intimidation and do not believe elections will make much difference in their lives, must be a central goal, according to the firm's Dr Fred Hartwig.

Another key issue that must be addressed in negotiations is voter IDs, Hartwig says in his report to the National Democratic Institute.

"Requiring non-whites to obtain any form of documentation from the present government" would be "the government's most effective way to suppress voting by non-whites".

He argues against the use of traditional leaders as voter trainers on the grounds that they have "a vested interest . . . in the status quo".

Hartwig conducted focus groups with paid black volunteers around the country last September. Sites included Pietersburg, Richards Bay, Umtata and Grahamstown, and Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein townships.

SIMON BARBER

His findings were used to develop multilingual election "kits" to be distributed as part of Project Vote, a joint venture of the National Democratic Institute and the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies. Project finance includes a $1m grant for the US Agency for International Development.

The institute is a subgroup of the National Endowment for Democracy, a government chartered entity established during the Reagan administration to promote democracy.

The "kit" contains an instruction manual for community voter trainers urging them to adopt slogans identifying voting with education, jobs, housing and peace.

Forty-four of the 205 focus group participants found this message "convincing".

Thirty-three preferred "Vote for Democracy", 29 "Vote for a Better Future for Our Children". Only 15 liked "Vote to End Apartheid Forever". Eight backed "Vote to Support your candidate and your party". These findings are reflected in Voting Times, a pamphlet Project Vote has prepared for mass dissemination.

lkom says it ill do better

MARCIA KLEIN

OM is to spend R7,5m over xt 18 months on an advertis- mpaign which admits it has mistakes and pledges to do in the future.

campaign will include TV wspaper ads, with the first mmercial flighted today.

advertisement, by ad agen- ilvy & Mather RS-T & M, es Telkom MD Danie du ddressing 64 000 employees kom's past shortcomings.

ays many people were un- that Telkom did not stop es sooner, that it "didn't put lines in more places quick- d because it "didn't appear e them the phone service e paid for".

Telkom was "working to things better".

om senior GM, finance, Erasmus said on Friday as n looked back on 16 months blic company, "we have to at 1992 was a most disap- g year".

culture change process was longer than expected, the rvice turned out to be "a ete debacle" and there had ncreased client demands.

R4,5bn overspent by govt

BT DAY 16/12/93.

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Provincial governments, self-governing territories and own affairs administrations were responsible for almost half the estimated R4,5bn overspent by government.

Figures provided by State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter yesterday show that institutions outside of central government overspent by R1,8bn, excluding the R2,4bn spent on drought relief channeled through the House of Assembly's budget.

Venter announced that the Additional Appropriation Bill, presented yesterday, made provision for R661m in additional expenditure by provincial administrations, R2,9bn by the own affairs adminstrations of the three Houses of Parliament and R629m for self-governing states.

Excluding the R2,4bn provided for drought relief, this amounted to R1,8bn.

Assistance to the self-governing territories were broken down into, among others, R175m to reduce socio-economic backlogs, R169m for capital projects from the sale of assets, R123m for drought relief.

Of the provincial administrations, Transvaal was granted an extra R290m, the Cape R186m, the Free State R96m and Natal R88,4m.

Addressing the question of capital expenditure for socio-economic backlogs, Venter said it was originally estimated that an amount of R695m would be spent in the 1992/93 financial year.

Administrations and departments had subsequently indicated that an amount of R516m would be required. This amount, and the amount of R265m spent last year were provided for from the R1bn gained through the sale of strategic oil reserves.

R500m had been made available for the building of housing and related infrastructure and R264m had been requested this year, he said.

come under the attention of the Department of Trade and Industry.

(2) All cases which come to the attention of the Department of Trade and Industry are, as appropriate, investigated in collaboration with concerns such as the South African Reserve Bank, the Commissioner of Customs and Excise, other departments, the Office for Serious Economic Offences, the Government Attorney and the Commercial Branch of the South African Police.

Furthermore, external verifications of GEIS claims are undertaken by the Department on an ongoing basis.

(3) In regard to cases of fraud under the General Export Incentive Scheme, refunds are demanded from claimants who have acted illegally and such cases are handed over to the Commercial Branch of the South African Police for further action. In cases where fraud is proven, exporters are deregistered.

Telkom: bad debts

*27. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

(1) Whether Telkom had any bad debts during the period 1 February 1992 to 31 January 1993; if so, (a) what is the total amount involved and (b) how is this amount made up;

(2) whether any portion of this amount is due to the premium rate (087) industry; if so, what portion? B104E

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS:

(1) Yes, Telkom had bad debts during the period 1 February 1992 to 31 January 1993.

(a) As the figures for January 1993 are not as yet available, the figures quoted below are applicable to the period 1 January to 31 December 1992. During this period bad debts amounted to R65,0 million.

(b) Approximately 98% of the above-mentioned amount represents telephone debtors whilst the balance is made up by other telecommunication services.

(2) Yes. Part of the R65,0 million can be attributed to the 087 service. It is not possible to furnish a reliable estimate of the amount involved at this stage as the billing system does not provide detailed information in respect of calls made. There are, however, still a number of cases that are receiving attention but which have not yet been recorded as bad debts and where the amounts obviously include an 087 service component.

Military Intelligence/self-governing territories: contact

*28. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether a previous head of Military Intelligence, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, at any time established contact with any chief ministers of the self-governing territories; if so, what (a) is the name of such head and (b) was the nature and extent of the contact;

(2) whether any of his successors as chief of Military Intelligence continued this contact; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B105E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) No, not while he was associated with Military Intelligence.

(2) No. This is not a task of the Military Intelligence Division.

Sentences: correctional supervision

*29 Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

How many persons had been sentenced to correctional supervision as at 31 December 1992? B107E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

During the period 15 August 1991 to 31 December 1992, 2 523 persons were sentenced to correctional supervision in terms of section 276(1)(h) of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977).

The number of persons whose sentences of imprisonment have been converted to correctional supervision by the court *a quo* or the Commissioner of Correctional Services respectively, in terms of sections 276A(3), 287(4) and 276(1)(i) of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act 51 of 1977) for the period 15 August 1991 to 31 December 1992 is 523.

The total number of persons who have therefore been placed under correctional supervision for the period 15 August 1991 to 31 December 1992 is 3 046.

The hon member is also referred to my reply of 17 February 1993 in the House of Assembly to question number 17 for oral reply (see col 90).

Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act: promulgation

*30. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the Interception and Monitoring Prohibition Act, 1992 (Act No 127 of 1992), has been promulgated; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether a judge of the Supreme Court has been designated to consider applications to monitor and intercept communications over telecommunications lines of individuals; if so, which judge;

(3) whether any applications to monitor any telephone or telecommunications line have been made; if so, how many as at the latest specified date for which information is available? B108E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes, on 1 February 1993.

(2) Yes, the Honourable Mr Justice M T Stewart has been designated in terms of section 3(1)(a) of the Act.

(3) Yes, for the period 1 to 10 February 1993 two applications were received in terms of the Act.

Development Aid: disposal of toilets

*31. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 7 on 3 June 1992, any of the toilets valued at approximately R15 million purchased by the former Department of Development Aid are not in use at present; if so,

(2) whether any further plans have been made to dispose of these toilets; if so, what plans;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B109E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) The hon member is referred to the reply furnished to him on Question No 7 on 3 June 1992. As indicated, the original value of the 4 600 toilets which had not been used at that stage, amounted to ± R2 900 000 and not R15 000 000.

The toilets concerned on former South African Development Trust land have been disposed of by means of allocation and/or by making them available to bodies for utilization in existing and developing formal and informal residential areas.

(3) No.

KwaNdebele: third report of Commission of Inquiry

*32. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether the Commission of Inquiry into the 1986 Unrest and Alleged Mismanagement in KwaNdebele has brought up a third report; if so,

(2) whether the Government has received the said report; if not, why not; if so, when (a) was it so received and (b) is it expected to be made public? B110E

cont ... →

Homelands 'unable to repay billions in debt'

(101)

B|Diny 23|2|93.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A financial mess in the 10 homelands has been exposed by former auditor-general Peter Wronsley, who warned yesterday that they were unlikely to be able to repay the debts running into billions of rands.

Their loans and overdrafts have been guaranteed by government, which means taxpayers will end up paying for them.

In his report for the 1991/92 financial year, Wronsley also disclosed that an R18m hotel school had been built in Bophuthatswana although this project had been rejected by the budget working group.

Wronsley expressed concern about the lack of effective accounting in the six non-independent homelands.

Regarding the four independent homelands, Wronsley said he had on several occasions criticised SA's reluctance to act more forcefully and had proposed fiscal action to enforce order. "The failure to adopt these proposals may have been politically correct, but has undoubtedly contributed to the undisciplined conduct of the recipients of the aid."

He said the outstanding loans and bank overdraft facilities of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei amounted to R3 316 422 000 at the end of the 1991/92 financial year. These were guaranteed by SA.

A further R478 734 228 in loans and overdraft facilities was guaranteed by SA for the six non-independent homelands, in spite of an increase in grants during the year from R6,1bn to R7,7bn.

Wronsley warned that:

☐ The TBVC states were unable to keep to financial guidelines;

☐ The general composition of their budgets indicated overspending on salaries;

☐ They had gone ahead with projects in spite of budget working groups' opposition;

☐ They kept on borrowing money to finance budget deficits and additional aid, outside the SA Budget, with the interest burden escalating and the TBVC states unable to service or redeem these loans;

☐ Steps taken by Foreign Affairs to deal with deficits appeared to be unsuccessful;

☐ These homelands did not have national development plans, and projects seemed to be undertaken on an ad hoc basis;

☐ No interest was levied on arrear loan instalments by Foreign Affairs because the contracts made no provision for this and the ability of the four homelands to redeem loans was not taken into account properly in evaluating projects; and

☐ The TBVC states would probably be unable to repay the loans.

Wronsley said initiatives to improve accounting in the six non-independent homelands were bearing fruit, but their full effect would take time to be realised.

"The effective solution to the problem is not, however, to be found only in the intensification of the audit effort, but also in urgent corrective steps to ensure that financial administration in the various self-governing territories is placed on a sound footing as soon as possible," he said.

Traditional leaders: New move

(101) ANC 23/2/93

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and its Codesa allies have taken a decision to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multi-party negotiations and at next week's negotiations planning conference.

The decision, taken at a meeting at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday, could pave the way for the inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in negotiations — a demand Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) have made repeatedly.

The meeting, attended by the ANC's "patriotic front" allies within Codesa said the participation of traditional leaders in negotiations should be "in accord with their unifying role".

The organisations said the delegation of traditional leaders would have to be composed "by the traditional leaders themselves, and this should not be on a party-political basis".

Asked if the agreement meant that King Goodwill could now attend multi-party talks, ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma did not want to commit himself.

ANC National Executive Committee negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said his delegation had briefed the other parties on decisions made at the ANC's three-day NEC meeting last week.

ARG 23/2/93

Nats can't 'stop TBVC debt rot'

(101)

Political Staff

THE TBVC states had slid into debt of more than R3 billion of South African taxpayers' money — and government efforts to stop the rot were failing, former Auditor-General Peter Wronsley has revealed.

Mr Wronsley, who has now retired, slammed the failure of financial control in the six self-governing territories and four nominally independent homelands which together absorb about R12 billion of South African taxpayers' money each year.

In his annual report on the government's finances for the 1991/1992 financial year, Mr Wronsley reveals poor accounting systems and wasteful expenditure of the R7,7 billion which is given to the self-governing territories and the R4,4 billion chanelled to the TBVC states.

And, giving a comprehensive report on "performance audits" of several government departments, Mr Wronsley deplored widespread "deficient management arrangments" in the Defence Force, the police, Public Works, Development Aid (now defunct) and Regional and Land Affairs.

On the auditing of the self-governing territories, he expressed concern about the adequacy of measures to ensure public accounting.

In Lebowa, for example, he found all five members of the legislature's public accounts committee, which is supposed to be the watchdog on government spending, had been appointed from the governing party.

There were also serious shortcomings in the collection of income tax in the self-governing territories.

Mr Wronsley said he had informed the Commissioner of Inland Revenue about this last year, but had received no reply.

In his performance audit of Foreign Affairs, Mr Wronsley honed in on aid to the TBVC states and found a general inability to keep within financial guidelines and overspending on salaries.

He criticised the department for failing to take into account the TBVC states' inability to repay loans when evaluating projects.

In other departments he also found wastage of taxpayers' money:

- In Development Aid, the Seshego day clinic was completed by August 1988 at a cost of R11 million but had not yet been used.
- Three police stations were built in Kwazulu for more than R1,5 million but had not yet been used.
- Seven houses for members of a Ministers' Council had been built at a cost of R2,8 million by May 1989 but had not been used by October 1991.
- The SADF's 1 Military Hospital had 17 ambulances but used only four
- Military hospitals in general were only 40 percent used.

Auditor-General slams failure of financial control

HOMELANDS DEBT ROT

STAR
23/2/93.
(101)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The TBVC states have slid into debt of over R3 billion of South African taxpayers' money — and the South African Government's efforts to stop the rot are failing, the former Auditor-General has revealed.

In his last annual report on the Government's finances for the financial year 1991/1992, Auditor-General Peter Wronsley — now retired — takes a swipe at the Department of Foreign Affairs for ignoring his warnings to tighten financial control in the TBVC areas.

And he slams the overall failure of financial control in the six self-governing territories and four nominally-independent homelands which together absorb about R12 billion of South African taxpayers' money every year.

Giving an comprehensive report of "performance audits" of several Government departments — aimed at establishing how efficiently they use their budgets — Wronsley deplored widespread "deficient management arrangements" in the SADF, SAP, Public Works, Development Aid (now defunct), Foreign Affairs and Regional and Land Affairs.

There were also serious shortcomings in the collection of income tax in the self-governing territories.

● More reports — Page 8

Wronsley said he had informed the Commissioner for Inland Revenue about this last year but had received no reply.

The state of audit in the self-governing territories was also poor and his staff sometimes had to draw up appropriation accounts themselves since the accounting officers were unable to do so.

In his performance audit of other SA Government departments, Wronsley also found vast wastage of taxpayers' money on unnecessary projects:

- In the SAP, he found the control of vehicles was deficient and among other problems he discovered that 45 special armoured vehicles had been stored unused in a garage for two years awaiting a repair programme.
- In Development Aid, the Seshego day clinic was completed by August 1988 at a cost of R11 million, but had not yet been used.
- Three police stations were built in KwaZulu for more than R1,5 million, but had not been used.
- The SADF's 1 Military Hospital had 17 ambulances, but only used four; military hospitals in general were only 40 percent utilised.

He also reported that the SADF had had to pay R1 million compensation to a farmer for damage caused when bombs fell on his farm. No details are provided of how this happened.

Reference was also made to unauthorised expenditure of over R4 million in all departments and several cases of misappropriation of funds and theft.

Wronsley recommended a wide range of measures to increase efficient use of available funds.

STAR 23/2/93

'Traditional leaders for talks'

The ANC and its Codesa allies yesterday decided to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multiparty negotiations and next week's negotiations planning conference. (101) ● Page 8

Husband in court over death

STAR 23/2/93.

'100 killed in faction fights'

Inter-tribal faction fights, which usually started in the hostels, had contributed to the many killings in the Transvaal's black townships, a representative of Ubumbano, a Natal-based traditional leaders' organisation, told a conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Ubumbano spokesman Ephraim Ximba said about 100 people had died in inter-tribal fights in Transvaal hostels over the past four months.

In their bid to stop the faction fights, Johannesburg-based representatives of the organisation had invited six chiefs from Umsinga in Natal to address a peace rally at George Goch Stadium on Sunday.

Ximba appealed to all interested Zulus to attend the rally. — Staff Reporter.

Traditional leaders sought as negotiators

STAR 23/2/93

Political Reporter

The ANC and its Codesa allies yesterday decided to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multiparty negotiations and next week's negotiations planning conference.

The decision, taken at a meeting at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, could pave the way for the inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in negotiations — a demand KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party have made repeatedly.

The meeting, attended by the ANC's "patriotic front" allies within Codesa, said the participation of traditional leaders in negotiations should be "in accord with their unifying role".

The organisations said the delegation of traditional leaders would have to be composed "by the traditional leaders themselves, and this should not be on a party-political basis".

Asked whether the agreement meant that King Goodwill could now attend multiparty talks, ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma did not want to commit himself either way.

Homeland money mess

(101) CT 23/2/93

Taxpayers will have to foot bill of billions

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A FINANCIAL mess in the 10 homelands has been exposed by the former auditor-general, Mr Peter Wronsley, who warned they were unlikely to be able to repay their debts running into billions of rands.

Their loans and overdrafts have been guaranteed by the South African government, and this means the taxpayers will carry the debt burden

Mr Wronsley also revealed in his report for the 1991/2 financial year that a R18 million hotel school had been built in Bophuthatswana, although this project had been rejected by the official budget working group.

He expressed concern about the lack of effective accounting in the six non-independent homelands, saying the quality of auditing did not comply with accepted government standards.

Regarding the independent homelands he had on several occasions "criticised the reluctance of the government to act more forcefully" and had proposed fiscal action to enforce order.

"The failure to adopt these proposals may have been politically correct, but has undoubtedly contributed to the undisciplined conduct of the recipients of the aid."

The outstanding loans and bank overdraft facilities of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei with financial institutions amounted to R3 316 422 000 at the end of the 1991/2 financial year. These were guaranteed by South Africa.

A further R478 734 228 in loans and overdraft facilities has been guaranteed by South Africa for the six non-independent homelands.

Mr Wronsley warned:

- The TBVC states were unable to keep within their financial guidelines.
- The general composition of their budgets indicated overspending on salaries.
- The independent homelands had gone ahead with projects despite opposition from budget working groups.
- They kept on borrowing money to finance budget deficits and provide additional aid, outside the South African budget, but "the interest burden is escalating and the TBVC states are not able either to service or redeem these loans".
- The independent homelands did not have national development plans, it appeared projects were undertaken on an ad hoc basis.
- No interest was levied on arrear loan instalments by the Department of Foreign Affairs because the contracts made no provision for this.

In KwaZulu three police stations were built at a cost of R1,5 million each and six primary schools and a high school were built in 1989 at a cost of R2 million but were not taken into use.

FW pledges action on corruption

BDM 24/2/93

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday reaffirmed his commitment to clean government — even as more details of fraud and maladministration were disclosed in Parliament.

The report of the joint committee on public accounts highlighted apparently illegal Civil Co-operation Bureau activities and fraud involving the Unemployment Insurance Fund. It was tabled a day after the auditor-general's, which noted losses of millions of rands in the homelands.

De Klerk, speaking after a meeting with British Deputy Foreign Secretary Lynda Chalker, said legal action would be taken against wrongdoers. If, after investigation, it was found that charges could not be brought, "other steps" would be taken.

He said simultaneous disclosures of corruption in more than one department were "disconcerting", but the way government was handling the issue should instil confidence in the interpational community.

It showed government was not running away from the issue, but was prepared to take effective steps to rectify the situation.

Chalker commented: "Any government must deal with corruption when it occurs. There is so much to be done and there are many good people, like President de Klerk, who are trying to get it right.

"I do not believe SA will be seen in a negative light for these reasons. The main task now is a peaceful trahsition and to make sure that any assistance received is spent on that for which it is given."

TIM COHEN

The report of the joint committee on public accounts, which scrutinises public spending, focused on CCB secret projects in which about R13m was at issue. It covered:

- ☐ The R3m involved in Project Samoosa, in which CCB members were paid pensions shortly before the secret project was closed down. This had been recovered;
- ☐ Project Goldie, where expenditure was directed inland and was therefore prima facie unauthorised. As this was the subject of a police investigation the committee refrained from making a recommendation;
- ☐ The 10 remaining projects of the CCB's "Region 6". There was insufficient information on the expenditure and the committee was therefore obliged to regard the R577 000 involved as unauthorised.

The committee noted that "progress in this matter has been hampered by the fact that certain members require indemnity before revealing information". Steps had been taken to trace the missing files;

- ☐ The remainder of the CCB operations involved R10,5m. This was verbally approved by successive commanding officers Maj-Gen Eddie Webb and Maj-Gen A J M Joubert. The committee found the expenditure was not regarded as unauthorised.

The committee also detailed the loss of R1,6m by the Foreign Affairs Department. The money was paid to and stolen by a Nigerian businessman after an abortive attempt to set up a chain of pro-SA magazines in West Africa.

☐ To Page 2

Corruption

☐ From Page 1

The committee also expressed concern at the extent of fraud involving UIF benefits, noting that 3 257 benefit cheques valued at R2,6m had been intercepted and unlawfully cashed.

BDM 24/2/93

Meanwhile, the ANC said Monday's disclosures in the auditor-general's report should come as no surprise.

Sapa reports the ANC said the misuse was blatantly expressed in the golden handshakes proffered to all who collaborated with or ensured the implementation of apartheid.

"Homelands were never economically viable and were established to further a narrow, ethnic agenda. The enormous expenditure incurred to establish and maintain the Bantustans is a result of grand apartheid designs."

It added: "But what occurs in Bantustans merely mirrors what takes place at a central government level. At no level of government is there planning. The economy is run on an ad-hoc basis and the disastrous consequences are there for all to see."

Bophuthatswana's Finance Minister Martin van den Berg took issue with the report, saying the claims that all four TBVC states were unable to repay their debt did not apply to Bophuthatswana.

Bophuthatswana was financially in a better position than most countries in Africa, with no debts in arrears and an expected surplus in its budget.

The Ciskei Council of State said the homeland's government had taken over from "a corrupt regime" three years ago. It pledged to do everything within its power to place the Ciskei economy on a sound footing.

"The steeply declining economic situation in the region and the crippling effects of the unremitting drought are all factors which have negatively affected the pace of economic reform in Ciskei."

DP leader Zach de Beer said the report showed the time had come for the voters to turn against the NP at the ballot box.

DP finance spokesman Jasper Walsh said no government which displayed such utter ineptitude in managing state funds deserved to stay in power.

"There can be no doubt that since then, the extent of corruption and rip-off has increased dramatically as civil servants line their own pockets before time runs out. The government should hang its head in shame."

● See Page 4
● Comment: Page 12

Income from customs union has plummeted

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The auditor-general has warned that SA's income from the SA customs union agreement — a tariff-sharing agreement but effectively a substantial aid package to SA's neighbours — has plummeted, almost halving over the past decade.

The attorney-general's report, tabled in Parliament this week, said SA's share of the pool, which includes Lesotho, Botswana, Namibia and Swaziland, had decreased from 75% in 1984 to only 44% in 1991/92. SA had handed over a total of more than R4,5bn to neighbouring states in the 1991/92 financial year. The payments consisted of about R1bn to Botswana and Namibia, R424m to Lesotho, R356m to Swaziland, R470m to the Transkei, R868m to Bophuthatswana, R134m to Venda, and R266m to Ciskei.

It is understood negotiations to restructure the fund are currently at a standstill pending discussion of the issue at the national economic forum.

The auditor-general said SA receives only the remainder of the joint revenue pool after portions of the other countries had been calculated.

The pool, the total amount of receipts from tariffs for goods entering all of the countries, was distributed according to a formula, to which a 42% surcharge was added. This amount was subject to a "stabilisation factor" which ensured that the countries concerned received a minimum share of 17% of the pool.

The Margo commission had recommended in 1986 that the surcharge of 42% and the stabilisation factor be replaced by direct conditional assistance or by a development fund from which assistance could be rendered.

The commission had also recommended that SA's share of the pool be calculated on the same basis as the shares of other member countries.

court on day of *Sowetan* story

Noose tightens around homelands

Sowetan 24/2/93

■ Back to self-governing status first step for TBVC states:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE noose is tightening around the homelands as the Government prepares to bring them into the administration of the four provinces.

The Government this week released the Auditor-General's report on General Affairs in which the financial affairs of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were shown to be in a parlous state.

While the ultimate objective is to bring the TBVC states back into South Africa, the Government's short-term strategic objectives are to "roll back their status as independent states to that of self-governing territories".

Sowetan has learnt that the Government has done extensive investigations into the viability of the homelands and has put the reports on them to the various leaders of the TBVC.

It was decided earlier this month that if the leaders of the TBVC states showed any "recalcitrance" the reports would be made public.

It is believed that the Auditor-General's report specifically on the parlous state of affairs in the TBVC was released on Monday to increase the pressure on the four.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also "in a non-prescriptive and non-threatening manner" also explained, through an exchange of memoranda, the "pro's and con's of returning to South Africa and of staying out".

In the report, the now retired Mr Peter Wronsley criticised the Government severely for not "acting more forcefully with the TBVC" and for not "applying restrictive fiscal action and to enforce order". This had led to "undisciplined conduct". According to the report, South Africa paid R4,4 billion to the TBVC states in 1991/1992.

Sannieshof Hospital	39,90%
Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital, Carltonville	59,80%
South-Rand Hospital, Johannesburg	44,50%
Tara H Moross Centre, Johannesburg	92,90%
Van Velden Memorial Hospital, Tzaneen	43,80%
Ventersdorp Hospital	67,50%
Vereeniging Hospital	50,90%
Far East-Rand Hospital, Springs	52,80%
Voortrekker Hospital, Potgietersrus	40,30%
Warmbad Hospital	47,50%
Waterval-Boven Hospital	82,90%
Witrand Care and Rehabilitation Centre, Potchestroom	95,50%
Willem Cruywagen Hospital, Germiston	54,30%

Building of housing units

11 Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Housing and Works

Whether his Department intends building any housing units in the Republic in 1993; if not, why not; if so, (a) in which centres will they be built and (b) how many units will be built in each of these centres? B153E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS

Yes, the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works has approved projects for the erection of housing units in 1993 in the regions as listed below in respect of local authorities and welfare organisations

(a)	(b)
Northern Transvaal	901
Southern Transvaal	1 170
Natal	579
Eastern Cape	313
Western Cape	964
Northern Cape	24
Orange Free State	227

State subsidies on bus fares for school pupils

12. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether his Department announced at any time that State subsidies on bus fares for school pupils would be phased out over a period of seven years; if so, when;

(2) whether this policy has been changed since; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(3) what are the costs in bus fares in respect of school pupils for the various distance categories in 1992 and 1993, respectively? B192E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) No, but the South African Schoolbus Contractors Association was informed;

(2) yes, the Minister's Council approved on 16 April 1991 that the full contribution by parents for the transport of pupils, organised by the Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly), would be phased in over a period of three years and that parents would have a choice of either paying a larger amount or making alternative transport arrangements for the pupils;

(3) costs of pupil transport per contract school bus in respect of existing state contracts only

Distance	Costs per term	Costs per term
km	1992	1993
0 – 3	R92,50	R192,50
4 – 10	R97,50	R206,25
11 – 20	R108,75	R233,75
21 – 30	R122,50	R266,25
31 – 40	R135,00	R300,00
41+	R142,50	R317,50

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Extradition treaty: RSA/Transkei

*1. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Transkei have entered into an extradition treaty; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether a request has been received from the Republic of Transkei for the extradition of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when was the request received and (b) what are the names of these two persons;

(3) whether the request has been or will be acceded to; if not, why not;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C3E

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes. An extradition treaty was entered into between the Republic of South Africa and Republic of Transkei on 19 June 1987 as promulgated by Proclamation No. 99 of 19 June 1987 (*Government Gazette* No 10778).

(2) Yes.

(a) 16 May 1991

(b) In respect of the two persons whose names have been supplied.

(3) The request, as well as a possible amendment to the Extradition Act, 1962, are still under consideration.

(4) A statement is not necessary.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to point out that he has not given us the names of the two persons involved. Will he please provide the House with those two names?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, for the very reason that that hon member has refrained from providing those names, I think that it is equally inappropriate for me to provide those names, since these people have, as yet, not been charged as such and convicted. I think it is inappropriate that, since we are dealing with the dispensation of justice in a foreign country, we should provide these names at this point.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask whether he does not find it strange that no progress has been made in this regard after a lapse of almost two years since the request was made

The MINISTER: No, Mr Chairman, I do not find it strange, for the very reason that the hon member would perhaps try to discover something strange about the fact that two years have elapsed. I should perhaps ask him why he has suddenly become interested in this issue. Why the sudden concern about this issue? I can counter his question quite easily with such a reply As a matter of fact, since the hon member has obviously been made aware of the situation, he should perhaps also be made aware of the fact that these two gentlemen are not in the country, or do not find themselves in a position in which these orders can be considered. That is apart from the technical situation

Mr L T LANDERS Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask whether he is saying to this House that both Mr Sol Kerzner and Mr Sol Bloomberg are not in South Africa, and is he also saying to us that no hon member in this House or in Parliament should take up issues of this nature, and that—according to his reply—there must be a specific time when hon members should take up these issues? Perhaps the hon the Minister could also tell us what charges have been levelled against these two individuals.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am not suggesting that the hon member should not ask questions. I am merely saying that for the very reason that he is refraining from providing the names, I think it is appropriate that I should refrain from doing so as well. Since he has now

mentioned their names, since he has now seen fit to use these names in the context in which he has used them, I think it is still my privilege to decide whether I am going to divulge the charges, since such charges have either not been proven in a court of law, or the persons in question have not been convicted. I am not going to continue with a situation in which such people are discussed in public as though they have been convicted.

The hon member said that I suggested that a certain period should expire before such a question is put No, I am not saying that at all. I am saying that there is a perfectly valid reason why such a consideration has not been finalised yet. Such a consideration could be that these people are not in the country. I think the hon member's question implies that I am saying that they are not in the country, while he is saying that they are If that is his position, then he is welcome to let us have the time, the place, etc.

Furthermore, I think that it should also be noted that I said that what is under consideration is perhaps an amendment to the Extradition Act What would come into play then would be whether the papers were in order or not There are various factors which could delay such a consideration.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, he says it could be that these gentlemen are not in the country. I must assume that hon the Minister is referring to the Republic of South Africa *per se* and not including the TBVC states. I say this because it is common knowledge that one of the gentlemen I referred to has been in the Republic of Bophuthatswana, for example Yet no effort was made by the authorities of the RSA Government to apprehend the gentleman and to extradite him to the Republic of Transkei

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have been waiting for the hon member to put his foot into this trap He is now saying that we have jurisdiction over the Republic of Bophuthatswana. That is obviously his position He cannot counter this That is the inevitable conclusion I must draw. He maintained that the Republic of Bophuthatswana was not an independent country Yet he has come here to question me on the matter of extradition as though Transkei were such an independent country. In other words, he is contradicting himself completely. I have been waiting for him to put his foot into that trap I think that that now really finalises this debate

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That is now the fifth and last question I shall be allowing The hon member for Durban Suburbs may proceed.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, I want to ask the hon the Minister if he is aware of the fact that it was reported in *The Citizen* of this morning that one Lucky Malaza was arrested in Soweto and taken from there to Bophuthatswana to face charges of bank robbery, etc Perhaps the hon the Minister can explain to this House why it is possible to arrest Lucky Malaza in the Republic of South Africa . .

An HON MEMBER: Without delay

Mr L T LANDERS: . without delay.

The MINISTER Mr Chairman, I hasten to reply. I will not explain it I will give the hon member a lecture. He has obviously not been associated with the Joint Committee on Justice for some time Hence he does not understand the position It is quite clear that we have an extradition agreement between Bophuthatswana and the RSA. There is an extradition agreement between the Republic and Bophuthatswana. Obviously those papers, or the request, were in order. Furthermore, Lucky Malaza was in the Republic. In other words, it was possible to give effect to such a request or arrangement We have no authority over people living in Bophuthatswana Equally we have no authority over people living in Namibia, even though we had such authority there before The hon member can surely not argue that we should go to Namibia, arrest someone there and then extradite him to Britain, for example. If that is his position, it is ludicrous.

Certain person: deportation

*2 Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was deported from the Republic on or about 23 July 1992; if so, (a) what is this

person's name and (b) why was he (i) deported from and (ii) allowed to enter the Republic;

(2) whether criminal charges in respect of alleged criminal activities were brought against this person during his stay in the Republic; if so, what charges,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C5E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) The person concerned was not removed from the Republic. He however left the Republic on 17 July 1992 after he had been formally declared a prohibited person on 10 July 1992 and instructed in writing to leave the Republic by 24:00 on 17 July 1992.

(a) Bruce Anderson, alias John Whyte.

(b) (i) As already indicated he was instructed to leave the Republic owing to the fact that he had been declared a prohibited person The aforesaid formal steps were taken because his application for the extension of the validity of his work permit that expired on 28 February 1992, had been refused

(ii) Mr Anderson entered the Republic on a temporary residence permit for business purposes on 27 July 1983.

(2) The Department of Home Affairs has no information which suggests that criminal charges in the Republic were brought against Mr Anderson during his stay here. For the honourable member's information however it may be mentioned that particulars of alleged criminal activities abroad were received during February 1988 Mr Anderson had however left the country on 8 August 1988 before he could be confronted with that information. It was later established that he entered the RSA again afterwards under the name "John Whyte" and that he manipulated his continued stay here by way of using false names, fictitious address, fictitious work particulars and unauthorised exceeding of residence permits

(3) No.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him whether the Department of Home Affairs declared Bruce Anderson a forbidden person because of the false information he supplied to the Department?

The MINISTER. Mr Chairman, I thought that I had been explicit I said that the decision had been taken because he had failed to renew his temporary residence permit That was not granted, and therefore he became a person who was not wanted in the Republic of South Africa.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is it true, as has been alleged—and I am not saying that it is so—that Bruce Anderson signed an affidavit in which he said that he had supplied arms to the Inkatha Freedom Party?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have no knowledge of such an affidavit, and I do think that it is irrelevant to the question which has been asked

---

Food parcel distribution

*3 Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of National Health:†

Whether her Department recently made food parcels available to members of Parliament for distribution among the needy; if so, (a) to which members, (b) on how many occasions, (c) in which cases were there no welfare organizations that could have undertaken this distribution and (d) what was the total cost thereof to her Department? C13E

The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE (for the Minister of National Health):

No

Own Affairs

Farm school teachers: transport subsidies

*1. Mr C I NASSON asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether transport subsidies payable to teachers teaching at farm schools but residing elsewhere were abolished on or about 31 December 1992; if so,

ANC 'no' to homelands

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC said yesterday it remained opposed to the homeland administrations attending the multi-party negotiations scheduled for next weekend. CT 25/2/93

A statement by the ANC's information department supported the view of the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, expressed on Tuesday at the end of a two-day meeting with the government here, — and said "limited progress" was made on the issue of delegates. — Sapa (101)

Sannieshof Hospital	39,90%
Sybrand van Niekerk Hospital, Carltonville	59,80%
South-Rand Hospital, Johannesburg	44,50%
Tara H Moross Centre, Johannesburg	92,90%
Van Velden Memorial Hospital, Tzaneen	43,80%
Ventersdorp Hospital	67,50%
Vereeniging Hospital	50,90%
Far East-Rand Hospital, Springs	52,80%
Voortrekker Hospital, Potgietersrus	40,30%
Warmbad Hospital	47,50%
Waterval-Boven Hospital	82,90%
Witrand Care and Rehabilitation Centre, Potchestroom	95,50%
Willem Cruywagen Hospital, Germiston	54,30%

Building of housing units

11. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Housing and Works:

Whether his Department intends building any housing units in the Republic in 1993; if not, why not; if so, (a) in which centres will they be built and (b) how many units will be built in each of these centres? B153E

The MINISTER OF HOUSING AND WORKS:

Yes, the Department of Local Government, Housing and Works has approved projects for the erection of housing units in 1993 in the regions as listed below in respect of local authorities and welfare organisations.

(a)	(b)
Northern Transvaal	901
Southern Transvaal	1 170
Natal	579
Eastern Cape	313
Western Cape	964
Northern Cape	24
Orange Free State	227

State subsidies on bus fares for school pupils

12. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) Whether his Department announced at any time that State subsidies on bus fares for school pupils would be phased out over a period of seven years; if so, when;

(2) whether this policy has been changed since; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(3) what are the costs in bus fares in respect of school pupils for the various distance categories in 1992 and 1993, respectively? B192E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) No, but the South African Schoolbus Contractors Association was informed;

(2) yes, the Minister's Council approved on 16 April 1991 that the full contribution by parents for the transport of pupils, organised by the Department of Education and Culture (House of Assembly), would be phased in over a period of three years and that parents would have a choice of either paying a larger amount or making alternative transport arrangements for the pupils;

(3) costs of pupil transport per contract school bus in respect of existing state contracts only

Distance	Costs per term	Costs per term
km	1992	1993
0 – 3	R92,50	R192,50
4 – 10	R97,50	R206,25
11 – 20	R108,75	R233,75
21 – 30	R122,50	R266,25
31 – 40	R135,00	R300,00
41+	R142,50	R317,50

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Extradition treaty: RSA/Transkei

*1. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Transkei have entered into an extradition treaty; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether a request has been received from the Republic of Transkei for the extradition of two persons, whose names have been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, (a) when was the request received and (b) what are the names of these two persons,

(3) whether the request has been or will be acceded to; if not, why not;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C3E

†The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes. An extradition treaty was entered into between the Republic of South Africa and Republic of Transkei on 19 June 1987 as promulgated by Proclamation No 99 of 19 June 1987 (*Government Gazette* No. 10778).

(2) Yes.

(a) 16 May 1991

(b) In respect of the two persons whose names have been supplied.

(3) The request, as well as a possible amendment to the Extradition Act, 1962, are still under consideration.

(4) A statement is not necessary.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to point out that he has not given us the names of the two persons involved. Will he please provide the House with those two names?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, for the very reason that that hon member has refrained from providing those names, I think that it is equally inappropriate for me to provide those names, since these people have, as yet, not been charged as such and convicted I think it is inappropriate that, since we are dealing with the dispensation of justice in a foreign country, we should provide these names at this point.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask whether he does not find it strange that no progress has been made in this regard after a lapse of almost two years since the request was made.

The MINISTER. No, Mr Chairman, I do not find it strange, for the very reason that the hon member would perhaps try to discover something strange about the fact that two years have elapsed I should perhaps ask him why he has suddenly become interested in this issue Why the sudden concern about this issue? I can counter his question quite easily with such a reply As a matter of fact, since the hon member has obviously been made aware of the situation, he should perhaps also be made aware of the fact that these two gentlemen are not in the country, or do not find themselves in a position in which these orders can be considered. That is apart from the technical situation.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask whether he is saying to this House that both Mr Sol Kerzner and Mr Sol Bloomberg are not in South Africa, and is he also saying to us that no hon member in this House or in Parliament should take up issues of this nature, and that—according to his reply—there must be a specific time when hon members should take up these issues? Perhaps the hon the Minister could also tell us what charges have been levelled against these two individuals

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am not suggesting that the hon member should not ask questions. I am merely saying that for the very reason that he is refraining from providing the names, I think it is appropriate that I should refrain from doing so as well. Since he has now

mentioned their names, since he has now seen fit to use these names in the context in which he has used them, I think it is still my privilege to decide whether I am going to divulge the charges, since such charges have either not been proven in a court of law, or the persons in question have not been convicted I am not going to continue with a situation in which such people are discussed in public as though they have been convicted.

The hon member said that I suggested that a certain period should expire before such a question is put. No, I am not saying that at all. I am saying that there is a perfectly valid reason why such a consideration has not been finalised yet. Such a consideration could be that these people are not in the country. I think the hon member's question implies that I am saying that they are not in the country, while he is saying that they are If that is his position, then he is welcome to let us have the time, the place, etc.

Furthermore, I think that it should also be noted that I said that what is under consideration is perhaps an amendment to the Extradition Act What would come into play then would be whether the papers were in order or not There are various factors which could delay such a consideration

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, he says it could be that these gentlemen are not in the country I must assume that hon the Minister is referring to the Republic of South Africa *per se* and not including the TBVC states. I say this because it is common knowledge that one of the gentlemen I referred to has been in the Republic of Bophuthatswana, for example. Yet no effort was made by the authorities of the RSA Government to apprehend the gentleman and to extradite him to the Republic of Transkei

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have been waiting for the hon member to put his foot into this trap. He is now saying that we have jurisdiction over the Republic of Bophuthatswana. That is obviously his position. He cannot counter this That is the inevitable conclusion I must draw He maintained that the Republic of Bophuthatswana was not an independent country Yet he has come here to question me on the matter of extradition as though Transkei were such an independent country. In other words, he is contradicting himself completely I have been waiting for him to put his foot into that trap. I think that that now really finalises this debate.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That is now the fifth and last question I shall be allowing The hon member for Durban Suburbs may proceed.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, I want to ask the hon the Minister if he is aware of the fact that it was reported in *The Citizen* of this morning that one Lucky Malaza was arrested in Soweto and taken from there to Bophuthatswana to face charges of bank robbery, etc. Perhaps the hon the Minister can explain to this House why it is possible to arrest Lucky Malaza in the Republic of South Africa . . .

An HON MEMBER: Without delay

Mr L T LANDERS: without delay.

The MINISTER Mr Chairman, I hasten to reply. I will not explain it I will give the hon member a lecture. He has obviously not been associated with the Joint Committee on Justice for some time. Hence he does not understand the position. It is quite clear that we have an extradition agreement between Bophuthatswana and the RSA. There is an extradition agreement between the Republic and Bophuthatswana. Obviously those papers, or the request, were in order. Furthermore, Lucky Malaza was in the Republic. In other words, it was possible to give effect to such a request or arrangement. We have no authority over people living in Bophuthatswana. Equally we have no authority over people living in Namibia, even though we had such authority there before. The hon member can surely not argue that we should go to Namibia, arrest someone there and then extradite him to Britain, for example. If that is his position, it is ludicrous.

Certain person: deportation

*2. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, was deported from the Republic on or about 23 July 1992; if so, (a) what is this

person's name and (b) why was he (i) deported from and (ii) allowed to enter the Republic;

(2) whether criminal charges in respect of alleged criminal activities were brought against this person during his stay in the Republic; if so, what charges,

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C5E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) The person concerned was not removed from the Republic. He however left the Republic on 17 July 1992 after he had been formally declared a prohibited person on 10 July 1992 and instructed in writing to leave the Republic by 24:00 on 17 July 1992.

(a) Bruce Anderson, alias John Whyte

(b) (i) As already indicated he was instructed to leave the Republic owing to the fact that he had been declared a prohibited person The aforesaid formal steps were taken because his application for the extension of the validity of his work permit that expired on 28 February 1992, had been refused

(ii) Mr Anderson entered the Republic on a temporary residence permit for business purposes on 27 July 1983.

(2) The Department of Home Affairs has no information which suggests that criminal charges in the Republic were brought against Mr Anderson during his stay here For the honourable member's information however it may be mentioned that particulars of alleged criminal activities abroad were received during February 1988 Mr Anderson had however left the country on 8 August 1988 before he could be confronted with that information. It was later established that he entered the RSA again afterwards under the name "John Whyte" and that he manipulated his continued stay here by way of using false names, fictitious address, fictitious work particulars and unauthorised exceeding of residence permits.

(3) No.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, I want to ask him whether the Department of Home Affairs declared Bruce Anderson a forbidden person because of the false information he supplied to the Department?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I thought that I had been explicit I said that the decision had been taken because he had failed to renew his temporary residence permit. That was not granted, and therefore he became a person who was not wanted in the Republic of South Africa.

Mr L T LANDERS: Mr Chairman, further arising from the hon the Minister's reply, is it true, as has been alleged—and I am not saying that it is so—that Bruce Anderson signed an affidavit in which he said that he had supplied arms to the Inkatha Freedom Party?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I have no knowledge of such an affidavit, and I do think that it is irrelevant to the question which has been asked.

Food parcel distribution

*3 Mr J C OOSTHUIZEN asked the Minister of National Health:†

Whether her Department recently made food parcels available to members of Parliament for distribution among the needy; if so, (a) to which members, (b) on how many occasions, (c) in which cases were there no welfare organizations that could have undertaken this distribution and (d) what was the total cost thereof to her Department? C13E

The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE (for the Minister of National Health):

No

Own Affairs

Farm school teachers: transport subsidies

*1. Mr C I NASSON asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether transport subsidies payable to teachers teaching at farm schools but residing elsewhere were abolished on or about 31 December 1992; if so,

Homelands reject criticism

B/Day 25/2/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The TBVC states have rejected criticisms of their financial affairs published in the auditor-general's report.

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa challenged former auditor-general Peter Wronsley to "find a single white elephant" in his territory, rejecting criticism over the lack of financial controls and inadequate auditing procedures.

The structural adjustment programme, implemented in conjunction with the SA Development Bank, ensured the territory's financial affairs functioned effectively.

Holomisa admitted the territory had used funds from its state pension fund to pay for public service salary increases, but this was done out of necessity because of the lack of co-operation from SA.

Transkei had since raised a loan to cover this debt and was strictly maintaining its debt servicing obligations..

The Ciskei Council of State and the Venda government have expressed disappointment at the auditor-general's report, while Bophuthatswana Finance Minister Martin van den Berg has said his state was by no means in dire financial straits.

GERALD REILLY reports he said expected expenditure in the 1993/94 budget was less than 10% above that of 1992/93, which was well within the guidelines set by the joint financial adjustment committee. "We have no bank overdrafts backed by the SA government and have never reneged on repayments of any loan."

The servicing of state debt represented a mere 2,6% of Bophuthatswana's budget.

DIRK HARTFORD reports that Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said yesterday the people responsible for the "appalling government corruption" should be tried and jailed if found guilty — instead of being rewarded with golden handshakes.

The disclosures of more corruption underlined Cosatu's argument that there should be no tax increases on individuals this year. "Why should ordinary people pay more money to feed this corrupt bureaucracy? " Naidoo asked.

Any move to increase PAYE, VAT or petrol tax would be vigorously opposed as it shifted the tax burden onto the poor.

Cosatu wanted an independent commission to audit all government departments.

Naidoo said the combination of government corruption and massive private sector fraud was bleeding the economy dry.

OUT OF CONTROL (10)

FM 26/2/93.

Former Auditor-General Peter Wronsley has confirmed the chaotic state of finances in the homelands (See *Leaders* January 29).

In his last report to parliament (tabled this week) before retiring, Wronsley highlighted the lack of effective accounting controls in the six non-independent homelands and the four TBVC states.

In effect, he showed that government has lost control over spending in the 10 territories.

Wronsley concluded that R3,3bn in loans and overdraft facilities extended by SA to Transkei, Ciskei and Venda were unlikely to be repaid and expressed concern about the adequacy of measures to maintain effective public accounting in the non-independent homelands.

Land applications under review

BDDay 26/2/93

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — More than 50 individuals or communities had applied to have land they had previously owned or lived on returned to them, the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation reported yesterday

Set up following the passage of the Abolition of Racially-based Land Measures Act in 1991, the commission has identified more than 900 000ha of government-owned land which may be parcelled out for farming, settlement or development purposes.

One of the commission's objectives was to allocate land to those disadvantaged by the racially based laws repealed by the Act, said the commission's annual report, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Commission chairman Judge S W McCreath said seven claims for the reinstatement of ownership rights had been investigated. (101)

McCreath said the commission was involved in four investigations into the reinstatement of ownership rights with 40 further applications waiting to be considered. New applications were arriving daily.

The commission had submitted advice to President F W de Klerk on a number of claims including claims on state land, former SA Development Trust land and the reinstatement of ownership rights, he said.

The commission's annual report stated that the SA Agricultural Union and the Development Bank of SA had been approached for advice on a number of issues.

"The commission took note of the viewpoint of the SAAU that the utilisation of agricultural land is of prime importance," McCreath said.

More billions down the drain

S/Times 28/2/93.

THE government last year guaranteed loans totalling R2,5-billion for the independent homelands despite being warned by Auditor-General Peter Wronsley that it was pouring money down the drain.

In his annual report submitted to Parliament this week Mr Wronsley disclosed that he had on several occasions criticised the government's reluctance to act forcefully to restore financial order in the homelands.

He was particularly concerned that the government had agreed to guarantee R3,3-billion worth of loans which the homelands had raised from banks. He pointed out that the homelands could neither pay the interest on these loans nor begin to pay back the capital they had borrowed.

Despite these warnings the Cabinet in July last year agreed to guarantee a further R2,5-billion worth of loans to the homelands.

SO WHERE DID ALL THE GRAVY GO? Page 8

Together with project aid loans granted to the homelands by the government itself, the homelands' total debt burden now stands at R10-billion.

Because the homelands, with the exception of Bophuthatswana, are in a financial mess South African taxpayers will have to foot the bill when they are re-incorporated.

Transkei owes almost half of this debt. Bophuthatswana owes R700-million.

In his report, Mr Wronsley cited as reasons for the homelands being forced to resort to borrowing from banks to pay their bills.

- The fact that civil servants are paid on the same scale as their SA counterparts even though the nature and scope of work undertaken is different
- That the homeland bureacracies are vastly overstaffed. The foreign service in the Ciskei is, for example, overstaffed by as much as 60 percent.
- That homelands go ahead with projects even after they have been rejected by budget working groups (the mechanism to control their spending). An example was the building of an R18-million hotel school in Bophuthatswana.

In his report, Mr Wronsley noted that the SA government was sensitive about infringing the sovereignty of the homelands.

But, he said, while this reluctance to intefere might be politically correct, it had "undoubtedly contributed to the undisciplined conduct of the recipients of the aid".

Government officials responded to his criticisms by saying that they had attempted to restore financial order in the homelands by refusing to guarantee loans. However this had created further problems.

When the SA government refused to guarantee loans to the Transkei it had plundered its pension fund.

Punitive measures could result in the homelands withholding salary payments to teachers, nurses and public servants — a situation for which the SA government would ultimately be blamed.

None of the TBVC states has a viable tax base and have always been dependent on aid from SA. (Last year they received R4,4-billion).

But even this has never been enough to meet their spending requirements.

Until 1986 they could borrow money from financial institutions. But this source of funds dried up.

They could get loans only if the SA government guaranteed them. The government, at the time still committed to its apartheid ideology, agreed to this.

Now taxpayers are having to pay for that decision.

Government officials expressed amazement and cynicism this week at Mr Wronsley's criticism of South Africa's handling of the TBVC problem

"He sees fit to criticise when, in fact, he was present at the same meetings where solutions were explored. He knew very well what the problems were," said one official.

Mr Wronsley, who was secretary to the treasury from 1982 to 1986, was the SA Finance Department representative at these meetings with the TBVC states.

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

INTERPELLATIONS

The sign * indicates a translation The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Constitutional dispensation: referendum/election

*1. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

(1) Whether citizens of the TBVC countries, the self-governing territories and other states will be able to take part in the proposed referendum and/or election with a view to a new constitutional dispensation for the Republic; if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether any precautionary measures are being considered to ensure that only persons legally entitled to vote will take part in the proposed referendum and/or election; if not, why not; if so, what precautionary measures are being considered?

B348E.INT

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS Mr Chairman, in his first question the hon member for Sasolburg asked whether citizens of the TBVC countries, self-governing territories and other states would be able to take part in the proposed referendum or election with a view to a new constitutional dispensation.

He mentioned the "proposed referendum". I am not sure what he means. [Interjections.] I therefore answer his question on the supposition that it could be any referendum [Interjections.]

The citizens of the self-governing territories are South African citizens and they are issued with South African identity documents. They therefore, like any hon member of this House, are entitled to take part in referendums and elections, except when such a referendum or election is restricted to a population group to which they do not belong.

I assume that by "citizens of other states" the hon member means persons who are not citizens of the RSA or the TBVC countries They would not have the right to vote unless they have in good time become naturalised South African citizens in terms of the normal requirement of five year's permanent residence in the RSA.

The consequences for the citizens of the TBVC countries are more complex Negotiations have taken place at Codesa regarding the development of procedures to test the support for reincorporation into the RSA and, in the event of a positive result, to award them citizenship of the RSA and consequently the right to vote through legislation. These negotiations are still to be finalised.

The answer to the hon member's question is that citizens of the TBVC countries as such will of course be entitled to take part in the internal referendums and elections of those countries and, naturally, after a positive decision on reincorporation into the RSA has been taken, to take part in referendums and elections in the RSA.

As far as the hon member's second question is concerned, I wish to give him the assurance that it is our intention to take all the normal precautions to ensure that only registered voters vote. The proper and reliable identification of registered voters is a prerequisite. As there will probably be a proportional voting system, there will be no constituencies in the usual sense of the word and therefore no voters' rolls. That is why so much emphasis is being placed on the identity document as a means of identification. It shows a person's citizenship and age. If for some reason identity documents cannot be issued in time for an election or referendum, an alternative document, such as a voting card with a signature or a thumb-print, may have to be considered. [Time expired]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister's answers are just as vague as those given in the elections we have had up to now.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that at the moment his Government is taking away the freedom of the independent peoples in South Africa [Interjections.] The hon the Minister knows that the Afrikaner released the TBVC

countries, these independent states of Southern Africa, from the yoke of British imperialism [Interjections.] In their clandestine way the Government is now placing these countries and their citizens under the yoke of the ANC, the SACP and even the PAC in South Africa. That is what the hon the Minister is doing.

I now want to remind the hon the Minister that a few years ago they themselves said that the policy they are now advocating, namely power-sharing in a unitary state in which all the peoples of Southern Africa must be accommodated, will not solve our problems. On the contrary, it will create more problems and give rise to one of the most fearsome power struggles this continent has ever seen. The following report appeared in yesterday's issue of *Die Transvaler*:

> Dokumente wat nie foto's van die draer bevat nie, kan nie voldoende identifikasie in 'n komende verkiesing wees nie, sê die direkteur-generaal van Binnelandse Sake, mnr Piet Colyn.
>
> Hy het gereageer op 'n uitlating van die sekretaris-generaal van die SA Kommunistiese Party, mnr Chris Hani, dat alle vorms van identifikasie, insluitende geboortesertifikate en pensioenboekies, aanvaarbaar moet wees in 'n verkiesing.

Listen to what the hon the Minister's own director-general had to say:

> Mnr Colyn sê sulke vorms van identifikasie is wyd oop vir wanpraktyke.

He went on to say that we simply have too many aliens in our country.

I wish to ask the hon the Minister and his Government whether they are creating a state of anarchy in this country. Are they creating a state of anarchy? Through the tireless, wearisome labour of their predecessors, peoples in Southern Africa were liberated. Are they now taking away their freedom and allowing the influx of people into South Africa to continue?

The hon the Minister will be retiring soon. He should take his canvassing book and go to the squatter camps in the Peninsula. He should canvass from one squatter shack to the next and see what he finds there.

*Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, I wish to concentrate on the TBVC countries, because there is concern that the Government is not doing enough to ensure that the citizens of the TBVC countries will have full participation in a democratic election. Unfortunately the hon the Minister's reply this afternoon only served to strengthen the impression that he does not understand the urgency in this regard.

It is the policy of the DP, and it is a decision of Codesa's Working Group 4, that the people of the TBVC countries must have full participation in the constitution-making processes, including elections, which are agreed to during negotiations. Their participation must be arranged in such a way that the votes recorded in the TBVC countries indicate either support for or rejection of reincorporation. The result of such an election would therefore serve as an adequate test of the wishes of the population, because it will indicate whether they are prepared, as the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe put it, to live under the yoke of the NP-ANC-SACP-DP alliance.

A decision of that nature has two implications. Firstly, citizens of the TBVC countries will vote using their present identity documents, regardless of what regional borders an electoral commission may decide on. Secondly, as a result of its participation in Working Group 4 the South African Government is as of now obliged to consult the TBVC countries on these preparations.

The Government always hides behind constitutional protocol when it comes to these countries, as we have seen repeatedly during this session. Approaches made through the Department of Foreign Affairs do not seem to be working. We understand there is a serious lack of documentation in at least one of these countries, and probably all of them except Bophuthatswana, which could result in very few people being able to vote and our even having to deal with a constitutional crisis The hon the Minister has held informal meetings, but we are afraid that his successor will have to do something about taking active steps in this regard. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe referred to a remark to the effect that the system we were developing would be open to

cont—p

abuse. I have already told the hon member that we are concentrating on issuing identity documents as a means of identification, because they contain a photograph and indicate age and citizenship There is therefore no problem in that respect

I know that in some circles the use of birth certificates, marriage certificates and drivers' licences has been suggested, but I am afraid those documents are easily forged. If I could have my way, I would definitely not use those documents for identification purposes That is why—this is in reply to the hon member for Groote Schuur too—I am talking about a short method. When push comes to shove and we see that 95 % or 99 % of the voters have not been issued with identity documents in the usual sense of the word, then we can look at alternative methods. For example, we could consider issuing a voting card to registered voters, but one which contains an element of identification such as a signature or a thumb-print. [Interjections.] I would like to inform the hon member that that kind of voting card was used with great success in the elections in Namibia. [Time expired.]

*Mr L LOUW Mr Chairman, it is my contention that the NP is not concerned about what sort of control there will be over who may or may not vote in a so-called election or referendum.

After *Agenda* on Sunday evening they are especially worried about who will vote for them if there is ever an election or a referendum. [Interjections.] The hon member for Worcester who on Sunday evening was either behind the curtain, a member of the editorial team or supplying the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives with answers, must have put his hon colleagues in the picture. [Interjections.] Now the NP is complaining about the unfair treatment they received from the SABC. Imagine that! [Interjections.] They should be the last to complain about that

The NP has suddenly realised that they now have the least support in the other population group from which they had hoped to get the most votes. [Interjections.]

I should like to point out to the hon members on the other side—I do not think they understand this—what will be left of their party in this Parliament if they were to get their way and force an election like this on South Africa If there is to be a Parliament with 400 representatives, which is what the ANC proposes and what the NP will agree to, on a proportional basis the NP will have 100 representatives in Parliament if they get 25 % of the votes, which in any event is far too many for them An equitable composition of these representatives would be 40 Black, 20 Coloured and 10 Indian representatives Furthermore, 10 seats would be reserved for Ministers and Deputy Ministers and five to eight for MECs and ambassadors. In other words only 12 to 15 seats will remain for the ordinary members of that party. I therefore ask the NP to inform their members of that reality. [Interjections.] They say the NP attaches great importance to the truth. They feel the truth is so important that they use it very sparingly. [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to say to the DP that the NP was unsuccessful in their implementation of the policy of separate development, which was the correct policy. [Interjections.] Now the hon members of the DP are seeing the NP failing in and making a mess of their implementation of the DP's policy, which involves power-sharing. However, I wish the hon members of the DP would open their eyes and ears, and not just go along with the NP. They are an excellent example of what power-sharing looks like.

I want to tell the hon the Minister that I heard that on Sunday evening one of the Coloured people called Mr Jac Rabie, the hon the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, a zero. I want to tell the hon the Minister that he is a minus. [Interjections.] They are all minuses. [Interjections.]

I want to tell South Africa for the umpteenth time that the NP and the hon the State President are creating in South Africa the worst state of anarchy that has ever been seen on this continent. [Interjections.] Ask the hon the Minister for Public Enterprises what they told those hon members, and tell that hon Minister as well as the hon the State President

I want to warn those hon members that that time is coming and that it is very close in South

Africa. This Government is turning South Africa into a land of anarchy [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS. Mr Chairman, both the hon members who have just spoken did not really talk about the question and I do not think there is much more to tell them. [Interjections.] The debate was too general. However, what I can say is that while they may have reservations, we have confidence in our ability to hold a fair election in this country in which only registered voters will participate and which will produce a fair result. [Interjections.]

Debate concluded.

IOCU: consumer rights

2. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Trade and Industry:

   (1) Whether a comparative study has been made of the legal position of South African consumers in respect of consumer rights and that of consumers in Europe and the United States of America; if not, why not; if so, with what result;

   (2) whether he will consider introducing legislation which will define and protect consumer rights in terms similar to those laid down by the International Organization of Consumer Unions (IOCU); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

B309E INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY: Mr Chairman, a specific comparative study of consumer law per se has not been conducted. However, the comparative study of consumer law is an ongoing process. This is conducted by various bodies. Academics, the legal profession and the SA Law Commission are, on an ongoing basis, engaged in the study. We have an ad hoc technical committee on consumer legislation, under the chairmanship of Prof Louise Tager, who is, on an ongoing basis, engaged in updating and continuous research of this issue. The Government is taking cognisance of this research all the time.

We believe that the cornerstones of commercial and entrepreneurial freedom, and therefore of consumer welfare, are the recognition and protection of freedom of contract and property rights Any effective consumer law must be built on these foundations Without these foundations the consumer is doomed to poverty, irrespective of any laws that may stand on the Statute Book.

With regard to the second question, we are not envisaging a specific Act describing consumer rights. However, it is our endeavour that the rights of specific groups be addressed by way of legislation applicable to specific fields We believe that there are approximately 62 parliamentary Acts which pertain to consumer protection. They are too many to mention, but some of the most important ones are the Housing Development Schemes for Retired Persons Act, the Usury Act, the Credit Agreements Act, the Estate Agents Act, the Price Control Act, the Standards Act, the Trade Metrology Act, etc. The main Act recently implemented, which is our cutting edge for consumer protection, is the Harmful Business Practices Act. Because of time restrictions I will not be able to discuss this more fully

The hon member also referred to the International Organisation of Consumer Unions, and let me state specifically that they do not have legislation as a prototype They provide guidelines for consumer protection. These guidelines are with regard to the consumer's right to safety, to be informed, to choose, to be heard, to redress, to consumer education and to a healthy environment. [Time expired.]

Mr D H M GIBSON: Mr Chairman, I thank the hon the Deputy Minister for his interesting and informative reply. He will forgive me if I say it was a bit lacking in dynamism, because the impression he creates is that it has all been done and that the consumer has all the protection and all the rights which he or she should have. [Interjections.] I want to assure him that in the real world that is not so.

South Africa has an abysmal record when it comes to the rights and the protection of consumers. The consumers should be the most important people in the country, because every man, woman and child in South Africa is a

cont—p

Tribal leaders set for indaba

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Delegations representing the Zulu king and other tribal leaders from all four provinces are likely to swell the ranks of those attending tomorrow's multiparty planning conference to get negotiations back on track.

The two-day conference will be the broadest-yet gathering of parties and other groupings for negotiation, from the PAC on the Left to the Conservative Party on the Right.

The PAC confirmed yesterday that it would be there and the Government said it would not object, although the PAC refuses to abandon its armed struggle.

The PAC, which walked out of Codesa, said it would also continue to take part in negotiations and would attend the full multiparty conference which negotiators hope to convene before the end of the month.

Indications are that no one will walk out when a delegation representing the Zulu king and other Natal traditional leaders arrive at the World Trade Centre for the meeting, even though the ANC has in the past opposed this.

Negotiations sources said yesterday they expected a delegation representing the king and other KwaZulu-Natal tribal leaders to attend, although the king himself would not.

Invitations had also been sent to traditional leaders of the other three provinces.

Allowing the Zulu king to be represented through a delegation of traditional leaders seems to be a compromise to get round the ANC's objection to his attending as the head of a KwaZulu government delegation.

A House of 'Lords' for the new SA

W M ail 5/3 - 11/3/93.

101

Chiefs are the country's only legitimate leaders right now — and the traditional leadership structure should be incorporated in the new South Africa, argues **NKOSI HOLOMISA**, *a member of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa*

Too many chiefs ... Should they play a role in a future government ? Photo: GUY ADAMS

THE institution of hereditary (or traditional) leadership is the oldest and most resilient form of government in South Africa. Until the total abolition of apartheid is achieved, it remains the only legitimate form of government.

The traditional leader epitomises the social fabric of his community. He is all things in one. In the classical sense he is the High Priest, the judge, the lawmaker, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the administrator and, above all, the symbol of unity over his community. These powers and functions are all concentrated in him, and yet are exercised in council for the benefit of the people as a whole.

The arrival of whites, their take-over of the land and the government of this country as well as their use of the institution of traditional leadership in promoting their self-serving goals, have eroded the institution to the extent that some misguided individuals, among the indigenous people themselves, hold the view that it should be abolished with apartheid.

Modern day developments and technology render it impossible for the institution to operate in the way it used to; this will be so even when our freedom has been attained. But there is still conclusive evidence that, in spite of all the hammering it has had to endure, it is relevant in so many respects that it would be folly to leave it out of a democratic constitution.

Out of his original functions, already referred to above, the traditional leader is still the trier of cases, the administrator, the law-enforcement agent and the custodian of customs, traditions and the communal land.

The constitution of Contralesa (Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa) binds us to recognise and respect the principles of democracy, non-racialism and non-sexism which are espoused by the movement fighting for a free South Africa. But we must take into account our particular circumstances.

The element of election does not come into play where the institution of traditional leadership is concerned. The fact of heredity is what confers legitimacy on the traditional leader. Councillors to the Traditional Authority will, however, have to be elected by the eligible voters of the community so as to meet this tenet of democracy. In areas where headmen are hereditary rulers the community might have to be consulted for purposes of establishing their wishes on this aspect. The traditional leader is required at all times to act according to the wishes of his people. The law should make provisions for cases where the traditional leader violates this principle.

The nature of traditional leadership is patrilineal in that only the eldest male issue from the great house is eligible to succeed to the throne; daughters are generally not eligible. Traditional leadership is modelled along the lines of the family. The traditional leader is the head of his own house or houses, his clan and then his tribe. Presently it is not practicable for daughters to be eligible for the position because their children inevitably belong to clans which are not designated to give birth to traditional leaders on the girl's tribe.

The current practice of having the mother of the heir act as a regent upon the death of the traditional leader and during the minority or incapacitation of the heir should be encouraged so as to safeguard the interests of the House.

Certain categories of civil and criminal cases, which are uncomplicated and contain a bent towards custom and traditional norms, should be defined and continue to be heard by traditional leaders. The informal and democratic nature of the proceedings renders the trial fair and the results generally acceptable to both parties to the dispute or case at hand. At the same time a programme of teaching and training traditional leaders as judicial officers of the same standard as Western-educated magistrates or judges should be embarked upon.

Homeland parliaments, irrespective of the motives of the apartheid system, were constituted in a way which recognised the law-making nature of the institution of traditional leadership. Under a democratic constitution, this capacity should be given effect in a way that does not unduly violate the principle that laws must be made by people whom the taxpayers have elected in free and fair elections.

Like any citizen of the country a traditional leader should be entitled to contest election for membership of the legislative bodies. Where he chooses this path he should not expect to go to parliament in his capacity as a traditional leader but as one having competed on the same basis as other contestants.

As a body, traditional leaders should have a provision made for them whereby they can play some part in law-making. In each legislative assembly, be it local, regional or national, in areas where there are traditional leaders, a certain number of seats could be reserved for occupation by traditional leaders. This option has the inherent problem in that it taints the dignity that is associated with the institution because it lays the way open for traditional leaders to be embroiled in the hurly-burly and mud-slinging that goes with parliamentary debates.

The second option appears more attractive. This involves the creation by the constitution of a House of Traditional Leaders composed exclusively of traditional leaders at both the regional and national levels.

The unique quality of traditional leaders of being the embodiment of the unity of their communities can come in handy in the legislative process. The Western-style democracy epitomised by multi-partyism has the inherent danger of subjecting the interests of the followers of the losing party to those of the followers of the ruling party. Traditional leaders, upper guardians of all the people of the country, would be in a position to oversee the legislative process and review laws emanating from the legislative assembly and thereby ensure that they are fair and just for everybody. In their House the traditional leaders would also be in a position to assist the elected legislators in drafting laws that touch on customs and traditional norms thereby help in selecting between those customs and traditions which enhance the lives of our people from those that are destructive and oppressive.

The sitting together of traditional leaders from African communities speaking different languages would also help in healing the wounds that have been caused by apartheid's tribal policy and help restore the belief and the truth that their apparently divergent communities belong together as one nation with a common destiny.

A decision will also have to be taken on the question of who elects traditional leaders to sit in their reserved seats or in the House of Traditional Leaders. Pure democracy would demand that they be elected by the electorate of the region or nation. On the other hand if consideration is given to the notion that they sit in the House as symbols of national unity, it would be more desirable that traditional leaders themselves elect those of their number who should represent them on a non-party political basis.

De Klerk shocked at wrongs

CAPE TOWN — The fact that corruption had been found was because the Government was looking for it and was not covering up anything, President de Klerk said yesterday.

"That which the Government has taken the initiative to investigate is now on the table and the result of continuing efforts to contain corruption better," he said at a press conference.

"It shocks me too that so much corruption has been found."

Most of the corruption referred to in the reports of commissions of inquiry published had been found in other dispensations and structures.

"It must be realised that although we all do not agree with the present constitution, most of the corruption referred to happened in other structures," the President said.

"I do not appoint Ministers or Chief Ministers of the self-governing states.

"They are responsible to their electorate and not to me. This is even more true of the TBVC states."

De Klerk said he had as little say when a Minister in a TBVC state did anything wrong as he did if a British Prime Minister did anything wrong. — Sapa.

Legislation to be changed (101)

DRAFT legislation to allow documentation from the TBVC states to be accepted as evidence in South African courts was published yesterday.

A memorandum on the Documentary Evidence from Countries in Africa Bill said an existing statutory provision for admission of certain documents as evidence "upon their mere production" in civil and criminal proceedings applied only to documents originating in the Republic. Sowetan 10/3/93.

Sowetan 10/3/93.

April 1 date for negotiations:

Legislation to be changed (101)

DRAFT legislation to allow documentation from the TBVC states to be accepted as evidence in South African courts was published yesterday.

A memorandum on the Documentary Evidence from Countries in Africa Bill said an existing statutory provision for admission of certain documents as evidence "upon their mere production" in civil and criminal proceedings applied only to documents originating in the Republic. Sowetan 10/3/93.

Ambushes to be probed

THE Natal Investigation Unit of the Goldstone Commission is probing the three ambushes near Maritzburg that have left 20 people dead, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday. — *Sapa*.

Sowetan 10/3/93.

REGION H: EASTERN TRANSVAAL

Prison	*% over-populated*
Barberton Maximum	36,0
Barberton Medium A	56,2
Barberton Medium B	35,5
Bethal Male	7,7
Ermelo	0,8
Lydenburg	27,2
Middelburg (Tvl)	38,6
Nelspruit	2,3
Newcastle	23,2
Standerton Medium A	13,0
Standerton Medium B	8,6
Utrecht	17,1
Vryheid	12,7
Waterval Medium A	49,6
Waterval Medium B	50,3
Witbank Male	37,2

REGION I: NATAL

Prison	*% over-populated*
Bergville	43,8
Bulwer	34,9
Dundee	29,4
Durban Medium B	63,9
Durban Medium C	32,4
Durban Medium D	5,8
Empangeni	101,6
Eshowe	39,6
Estcourt	20,9
Glencoe	10,3
Greytown	11,8
Ixopo	30,4
Kokstad	83,1
Kranskop	78,1
Ladysmith (Natal)	35,9
Matatiële	14,3
Melmoth	18,2
Pietermaritzburg	51,3
Port Shepstone	57,9
Sevontein	37,8
Stanger	32,2

A new prison for 350 prisoners is planned at Umzinto.

The Department of Correctional Services annually provides a priority list of identified building projects to the Department of Public Works with a view to incorporating them in the Department of Public Works's five year building programme according to which building work is programmed for a term of five (5) years

This programme is revised annually according to the availability of funds. The fact that a specific project appears on the major works services programme does not imply that it will be executed within five (5) years.

The average rate of over-population in South African prisons on 31 December 1992 was 28,2% in comparison with 15,67% on 31 December 1991.

ANNEXURE A

ANALYSIS OF THE PRISON POPULATION AS ON 31 DECEMBER 1992

Sentenced	
Up to and including 6 months	6 973
More than 6 months to under 2 years	11 316
2 years to 5 years	33 698
Longer than 5 years to 10 years	22 746
Longer than 10 years to 20 years	7 626
Longer than 20 years and imprisoned for life	1 761
Indeterminate sentences	3 886
Unsentenced	20 408
Other categories	284
TOTAL	*108 698

*Not daily average as mentioned in (1) (b) above.

Self-governing territories/TBVC countries: land purchased (101)

97. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What was the total accumulated amount spent on purchasing land for the purpose of consolidation in respect of the (i) self-governing territories and (ii) independent Black states as at 31 December 1992 and (b) how much land was added to each such territory or state in 1992? B232E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(a) In terms of the White Paper on Land Reform it is no longer the policy of the Government to acquire large extents of land for addition to the TBVC States and Self-governing Territories. The acquisition of land can, however, not be summarily terminated and the Government is therefore, prepared to adopt a flexible approach to this matter. Land

will, however, no longer be incorporated into the TBVC States and the Self-governing Territories for the purpose of state forming as in the past. (101)

(i) and (ii) Separate statistics are not available. The total accumulative amount spent from 31 August 1936 until 31 March 1992 in respect of the acquisition of land amounted to R1 403 373 297. The South African Development Trust has been abolished on 31 March 1992.

(b) Former SA Development Trust properties which had already been included in the areas of jurisdiction of the various self-governing territories on 31 March 1992, have been transferred in ownership to the said authorities on 1 April 1992 by Proclamation R28/1992 on the understanding that, where practically feasible, it will be transferred to tribes/communities.

No land, being the property of the former South African Development Trust, situated outside the areas of jurisdiction of the self-governing territories, has however, been incorporated into the areas of jurisdiction of the said authorities during 1992, or transported to the Self-governing territories.

The extent of the land transferred to the various self-governing territories on 1 April 1992 by Proclamation R28/1992, is as follows:

KwaZulu	1 013 487 hectares
Lebowa	506 325 hectares
Gazankulu	304 086 hectares
KaNgwane	146 821 hectares
KwaNdebele	16 738 hectares
Qwaqwa	46 499 hectares
TOTAL	2 033 956 hectares

Prisons: provision for disabled persons

127. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Correctional Services:

(1) (a) How many members of the current prison population are (i) physically, (ii) visually and/or (iii) auditorily disabled and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(2) whether any prisons make special provision for disabled persons; if not, why not; if so, (a) which prisons and (b) for what categories of disablement in each case? B297E

The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES:

(1) (a) (i) 67 (of which two are dependent on wheelchairs)

(ii) 61 (only one eye in all cases)

(iii) 14 (partially in all cases)

(b) 2 March 1993.

(2) No Structurally prisons do not cater specially for disabled persons except for those prison hospitals which are designed in such a way that a wheelchair can be accommodated in passages and bathrooms. However, provision for disabled persons is made in the sense that such persons are accommodated where it is convenient for them with due consideration of the nature of their disability. This sometimes necessitates a transfer to a large prison where a 24 hour nursing service is available.

(a) and (b) Fall away.

Own Affairs:

Teachers: retirement on accelerated pension

6. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) How many teachers in his Department retired from service on accelerated pension in 1992;

(2) whether any of these teachers have since been re-employed as teachers by his Department; if so (a) how many as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) why? B92E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) 5 492 (early retirement 234; medical grounds 74; retrenched 5 045; prior to 1–4–1992 converted to state-aided school 139) in the two main categories which are considered for accelerated pension, namely

P TO P

Patrick Laurence looks at the deeper significance of the plot to overthrow Sebe

Star 16/8/93

Kingmakers of the homelands

(101)

THE military conspiracy to overthrow the Ciskei regime of Lennox Sebe in 1986-87, detailed in secret documents released last week by Bantu Holomisa, represents — in extreme form — a recurring feature of government policy from Hendrik Verwoerd to F W de Klerk.

The central government and its agencies intervened for decades, either overtly or covertly, in the political life of black communities in an attempt to shape events to their advantage. They were not always successful.

Verwoerd, who wielded immense influence from the National Party's triumph in the 1948 election until his assassination in 1966, interfered incessantly in tribal affairs; hereditary chiefs who dared to resist him were demoted and/or banished while more amenable subordinates rose to power in his apartheid empire.

One of the men rewarded for co-operating with Verwoerd was Nelson Mandela's cousin, Kaiser Matanzima.

The same Matanzima was identified in the mid-1980s by Joffel van der Westhuizen, the then military commander in the Eastern Cape and alleged architect of the plot to overthrown Sebe, as a strong leader who could be used to promote the idea of a greater Xhosa state as a bulwark against the ANC and the United Democratic Front.

Matanzima, a relatively minor chief, rose steadily through the ranks of the political and tribal hierarchy with the backing of Pretoria, ending as the first Prime Minister of Transkei and, equally important, with the title of Paramount Chief.

Matanzima actually lost the 1963 popular election in Transkei but he was able to emerge as the eventual winner because, with the help of the then Commissioner-General in Transkei, he won the support of most of the chiefs who served as ex-officio members of the Legislative Assembly.

In the 1970s apartheid ideologists attempted repeatedly to manipulate events in the black community to their advantage or what they thought was their advantage.

To quote another example: in 1973, Patrick Mphephu, a conservative tribal leader in Venda, was defeated in a popular election, winning only five of the 18 contested seats.

He was nevertheless chosen as Chief Minister after nominated chiefs were taken on a four-day trip to the Manyeleti Game Reserve, reportedly given or promised gifts, and brought back just in time to vote in the election of the Chief Minister.

Five years later there was another intervention in Venda: it has intriguing parallels to Van der Westhuizen's master plan to topple Lennox Sebe, replace him with his brother, Charles, a former agent of the dreaded Bureau for State Security or BOSS, as a step toward the establishment of an anti-ANC greater Xhosaland.

The intervening agency in Venda in 1978 was BOSS. It decided the Venda opposition leader, Baldwin Mudau, was a more credible salesmen for an independent Venda, in the same way as Van der Westhuizen preferred Charles as an auxiliary to Lennox Sebe.

Secretly backed by BOSS — which made funds available to his Venda Independence Party — Mudau, a sociology graduate, triumphed, winning more than three-quarters of 42 contested seats.

Mudau and BOSS, however, miscalculated: Mphephu, backed by white officials in his administration, struck a pre-emptive blow and detained scores of his opponents, including 11 victorious candidates; Mudau's party boycotted the legislative assembly in the hope of denying Mphephu a quorum but failed to do so.

Mphephu, surprisingly, prevailed against BOSS and Mudau to become Venda's first president, just as Lennox Sebe prevailed, temporarily, against Van der Westhuizen's machinations with his enemies in Ciskei and Transkei.

The 1970s saw two attempts by central government agencies to unseat Mangosuthu Buthelezi in KwaZulu; Buthelezi's offence was that he was too independent-minded for Pretoria. One of the attempts involved BOSS and secret payments to Charles Hlengwa, the founder of the anti-Buthelezi Umkhonto ka Shaka (Shaka's Spear).

In the 1980s, as Verwoerd's empire of independent and partially self-governing black states began to collapse under pressure from a resurgent ANC, P W Botha's regime reverted increasingly to Machiavellian stratagems.

Van der Westhuizen's plan for a greater Xhosaland — which exploited the quest of Kaiser Matanzima and his brother, George, for a united Xhosa state stretching from the Umzimkulu River in the north to the Fish River in the south — was but one of these stratagems.

Another, pioneered by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, involved a secret deal with Swaziland: in terms of the deal, South Africa proposed to cede the Swazi "homeland" of KaNgwane and a strip of KwaZulu, known as Ingwavuma, to Swaziland; in return Swaziland undertook to accept South Africa's Swazi people as its citizens.

The proposed deal between South Africa and Swaziland was a convenient device for depriving more black South Africans of their citizenship, in the same way as millions of blacks had been stripped of their citizenship when Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei became nominally independent states between 1976 and 1981.

The deal, however, was defeated by concerted opposition from the then KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza, and Buthelezi (a similar but less advanced plan to transfer the Basotho "homeland" of Qwaqwa to neighbouring Lesotho was abandoned after the Botha administration was forced to retreat on the Swazi deal).

Manipulative and covert intervention did not stop with the advent of President De Klerk in September 1989.

There was, of course, the payment of R250 000 to help finance rallies of Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in Durban in November 1989 and March 1990 and the continued channelling of taxpayers' money to the Inkatha-aligned United Workers' Union of South Africa until mid-1991.

There was the bloodless coup in Venda in April 1990 which overthrew the incompetent administration of Frank Ravele in Venda. The SADF was suspected of orchestrating the coup to pre-empt an ANC-led rebellion and to forestall the rioting which had accompanied a successful coup against Lennox Sebe in Ciskei the month before.

Suspicions abound in Transkei, and elsewhere, that South African security forces turned a blind eye to the failed attempt by Transkei dissident Craig Duli in November 1990 to overthrow Holomisa's military regime in Transkei.

Then, finally, there was the disclosure last November of the existence of the Directorate of Covert Collections (DCC) and its use of former members of the supposedly disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau in a surreptitious campaign to besmirch and disrupt the ANC.

In a sense the unveiling of the DCC closed the circle: it falls under military intelligence, which is now headed by Joffel van der Westhuizen. □

UN focuses on homelands

JOHANNESBURG. — Political freedom in homelands is a key concern of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa), according to a report made to the UN secretary-general last week. (101)

Unomsa spokesman Mr Kevin Kennedy said Unomsa had visited all homelands, urging the authorities and the SA government to promote free political activity and remove obstacles to free and fair elections. — Sapa CT 16/3/93

Govt plans special deal for homelands

Star 17/3/93

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government is considering a carrot-and-stick approach towards homelands still unwilling to rejoin South Africa — offering them "special status" if they soften their opposition, and threatening a subsidy cut-off if they do not.

It is understood that Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu in particular might be offered the "special status" incentive to induce them to agree to reincorporation.

Government strategists are working on the idea to persuade those homelands and self-governing territories that are resisting reincorporation to make the move voluntarily.

Sources close to negotiations say, however, that punitive actions are also being considered if the territories refuse to budge from their recalcitrant stances.

The Star was told that if the "special status" offer — as yet undefined — did not produce results, the Government would consider withdrawing grants, seconded civil servants and SADF officers, and end customs rebates.

At Codesa, the Government wanted the reincorporation of homelands and self-governing territories to be dependent on the testing of the will of these citizens by means of referendums.

(10)

But the Government now believes reincorporation should go ahead regardless.

Observers feel the Government's "special status" idea might have prompted a statement on Thursday from Inkatha Freedom Party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said Pretoria should accept "the need for the kind of asymmetry which will be needed to accommodate the regional realities of the KwaZulu-Natal region".

At a meeting with the ANC this month, the Government said it was prepared to restore South African citizenship to residents from these areas provided they were prepared to be reincorporated immediately. The ANC has rejected the proposal.

The ANC said yesterday it was disturbed to learn that the Government was touting the concept that Bophuthatswana should be treated as a "special-case bantustan" and not be subject to agreement on reincorporation.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the South African conflict could not be resolved until all the TBVC territories had been reincorporated.

Details on import sums disclosed

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — SA issued import permits for new clothing to the value of R237m and second-hand clothing to the value of R22m during 1992, according to the Trade and Industry Department.

In answer to a question asked by CP MP Andries Bruwer, the department said import permits were issued in monetary value only and no mention was made of quantities or tonnage.

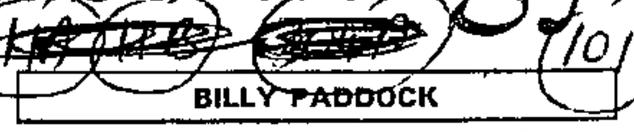
The question was asked in the context of complaints of the local clothing manufacturers that the comparatively high quantity of imports of second-hand clothing was affecting the viability of the local industry.

The department said the rand value of imports issued for meat during 1992 was R262m.

Import permits issued for milk powder were valued at R21m.

Because of high import duties on meat, permits were often not fully used and actual imports amounted to only 42,8% of the total value of the permits issued.

Parties meet to plan talks strategy



BILLY PADDOCK

ALL THE major negotiating parties were locked in discussions yesterday to finalise their positions for tomorrow's meeting of the facilitating committee where the name, agenda and structure of the new negotiations forum will be decided.

The ANC's negotiations commission was meeting in Johannesburg, while government's team was meeting in Cape Town and the members of the Concerned SA Group, led by Inkatha, gathered in Pretoria for a two-day meeting.

Sources in the parties said the caucusing would not only focus on tomorrow's meeting but would also be developing strategies for the first meeting of the new multiparty forum on April 1 and 2.

The major decisions likely to come out of the meeting tomorrow are the endorsement of proposals thrashed out by a 10-man subcommittee last week on the structure of the new forum and how it will be run.

It is expected that the four-tier structure will be approved. It consists of a plenary, meeting irregularly when major decisions need full party ratification; a negotiating forum, meeting every two weeks; a negotiating council — heads of the negotiating teams and an adviser who will meet three to four days each week; and a planning committee of 10, meeting every day to ensure smooth functioning and help with dispute resolution.

There is likely to be some contention over the name of the new forum. Government and the ANC want to retain Codesa for continuity while Inkatha, the PAC and some other smaller parties want another name. A suggested name is the Negotiating Forum of SA (Nefsa) or a combination of Nefsa/Codesa.

Another likely point of contention is the proposal that foreigners not be allowed to advise delegations and be part of technical committees. Associated with this is the proposal that all delegation members and advisers be full members of the parties and not be "foreign constitutional experts".

Inkatha and the Bophuthatswana government are protesting that this proposal is aimed at them and designed to deprive them of the best possible advisers.

The agenda for the first meeting of the new forum may be finalised.

Inkatha and its pressure group consisting of the Ciskei government, Bophuthatswana, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, among others, wants regionalism and federalism to be the first item while government and the ANC would like to defer negotiations on this until later.

Meanwhile government and the ANC sit down on Friday for "at least a one-day bilateral meeting" to seek common ground and a similar approach on regionalism.

Another meeting between government and Inkatha is also scheduled before the resumption of multiparty talks.

End independence of homelands — ANC

(101)

THE ANC yesterday called on the government to unilaterally end the "independence" of the TBVC states.

And, it said, the government must restore South African citizenship to all people who "without their consent, were subjected to such social engineering".

CT 17/3/93

The ANC warned in a statement that there could be no resolution of the South African conflict unless this was done.

Homeland overdrafts set to rocket by R2bn

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The bank overdrafts of three of the four independent homelands, more than R3bn at the end of last year, are to rocket by another R2bn during the 1993/4 financial year. (101)

These overdraft facilities for Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are guaranteed by government and taxpayers will be responsible for them. BIDAY 18/3/93

The transfer aid to these three homelands and the other independent homeland, Bophuthatswana, during 1992/3 amounted to R6,2bn, 21% more than originally budgeted.

The six non-independent homelands are to receive R10,757bn in the new financial year, a 22,1% increase on the 1992/3 figure.

The increasing financial demands of the 10 homelands were outlined in the Department of Finance's Budget Review, which was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

It said that since 1985 Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei had used bank overdraft facilities to supplement their deficits.

Their total short-term debt had reached R3bn at the end of 1992 and they would require R2bn more in 1993/4 to finance their budgets.

Apart from the R6,202bn granted to the four independent homelands, including R5,145bn in budgetary aid, R3m had been provided for judges' salaries and allowances.

Payments to the four homelands from the Customs Union were estimated to amount to R2,071bn and R761m for VAT payments.

TBVC states to get 21 % more — despite rows

(101) ARG 18/3/93

Political Correspondent

TRANSKEI, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are getting a 21 percent bigger slice of the South African Budget this year — in spite of controversy over large-scale wastage.

The annual allocation goes up to R6,2 billion.

The biggest portion is budgetary aid amounting to R5,1 billion. The rest is made up of provisions for manpower purposes, project aid, technical and other help, tax compensation and a contribution to the industrial incentive scheme.

There will be a R3 million provision for the salaries and allowances of judges serving in the TBVC states.

An additional R72,9 million will be provided in the form of transfers under the Common Monetary Area Agreements — an increase of just more than 10 percent.

Payments to the TBVC countries under the Customs Union Agreement and payments of VAT are estimated at R2 billion and R761 million respectively in 1993/'94 (before tax proposals). These are made direct from the state revenue account.

The six self-governing states will get a total of R10,6 billion — up 22,1 percent on last year.

Tax compensation — for VAT and income tax on individuals, which is paid direct to the self-governing territories — is estimated at R1,5 billion.

The proposed allocations include funds for education — R4,9 billion, 28 percent up on last year — and health services — R1 billion, 2,5 percent up on last year.

Homelands get bigger slice of the pie

Star 18/3/93

Political Staff

Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda are getting a 21 percent bigger cut from the SA Budget this year.

The annual allocation goes up to R6,2 billion.

The biggest portion is budgetary aid amounting to R5,1 billion. The rest is made up of provisions for manpower purposes, project aid, technical and other help, tax compensation and a contribution to the industrial incentive scheme. There will also be a provision of R3 million for the salaries of judges serving in the TBVC states.

(10)

An additional sum of R72,9 million (an increase of 10 percent) will be provided in the form of transfers under the Common Monetary Area Agreements.

Payments to the TBVC states under the Customs Union Agreement and payments of VAT are estimated to amount to R2 billion and R761 million respectively in 1993/94 (before tax proposals). These are made directly from the State Revenue Account.

The six self-governing states will be getting transfers totalling R10,6 billion — up by 22,1 percent on last year. Tax compensation — for VAT and income tax on individuals — is estimated at R1,5 billion.

Transvaal explores regional options

(10)

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Talks on reincorporation of the self-governing territories through a system of joint administrations were well advanced, a TPA spokesman confirmed yesterday. B/DAY 19/3/93

TPA MEC Olaus van Zyl said this week negotiations with self-governing states, including Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and Lebowa, had been in progress for several months. Discussions with independent homelands in or near the Transvaal concerning a regional dispensation had also been undertaken by the TPA, he said.

Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough is expected to make an announcement on progress in regional negotiations next month during the TPA's budget debate.

Joint administrations were envisaged to implement a form of "autonomous regionalism", the spokesman said.

More than 20 joint administration agreements had been signed between black and white local authorities in the Transvaal, with another 30 on the point of being finalised, Van Zyl said. It was believed that the principles of joint administration — collective, nonracial decision-making on developmental, budgetary and local affairs — could be extended to the regional level.

Van Zyl said the TPA was preparing itself for the Transvaal's subdivision.

The TPA had begun a process of decentralisation focusing on economic development regions, to allow for the likely restructuring.

Anger at increased homeland payouts

(101) ARG 20/3/93

■ Anger is mounting over increased budgetary payouts to South Africa's self-governing territories and nominally independent homelands.

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

TOUGH questions are to be put soon to the government over the dramatic 42 percent multi-billion rand increase in payouts to South Africa's widely discredited homeland states and self-governing territories.

Anger over the increases is expected to intensify demands on the government to act more ruthlessly in curbing fat-cat spending sprees by free-wheeling homeland elites, and a closer watch is expected to be kept on vital but frequently ill-planned development schemes hatched by often over-paid, corruption-plagued administrations.

Yet, ironically, the bulk of the extra money to be spent this year in the TBVC states — Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda — and the six self-governing territories, will go, as proposed by budget plans, towards much-needed development in education, health, housing and infrastructure and achieving pension parity

South African taxpayers will be paying out more than R6,2 billion to the TBVC states this year — 21 percent up from last year — and more than R10,6 billion — 22 percent up from last year — to Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa and QwaQwa

There are more than 16,7 million people living in the 10 homeland territories

Government opponents have sharply criticised the high levels of spending

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said "We have expressed concern about these huge amounts in the past because so much of the money seems to end up in the bottomless pit of corruption and mismanagement

"We would prefer to see a speedy process to get these states back into South Africa so that there can be proper, centralised budgetary and fiscal management."

Democratic Party spokesman on homelands Mr Peter Soal said "These sums prove the myth of the independence of the homelands and we are deeply concerned about the squandering of money on fancy buildings and infrastructure for homeland fat cats, and carefree spending on limousines, entourages and guards

"This is just money down the drain, and we will be probing the government during debates to come on just where all this money is going

"There should be payments against invoices, rather than just the handing out of cheques and if they fail to toe the line, we should get tough"

Earlier, DP leader Dr Zac de Beer described the "bantustans" as "tragic farcical frauds" and urged the government to scrap them "for the sake of the people living there and South Africa's international reputation"

Some of the strongest recent criticism of affairs in the TBVC states came from former auditor-general, Mr Peter Wronsley, whose performance audit of budgetary and project aid found that

■ "There is an inability (in the homeland states) to keep with financial guidelines — the general composition of budgets indicates overspending on salaries — and cases were identified where the TBVC states proceeded with projects despite opposition from (joint SA/homeland) budget working groups,

■ "Steps taken by the Department of Foreign Affairs to deal with the budget deficits of TBVC states appear to be unsuccessful since these deficits are increasing year by year;

■ "The TBVC states do not have national development plans, and it would appear as if projects are undertaken on an ad hoc basis"

Mr Wronsley noted that on several occasions he had "criticised the South African government (for failing) to act more forcefully, and proposed restrictive fiscal action to enforce order The failure to adopt these proposals may have been politically correct, but has undoubtedly contributed to the undisciplined conduct of the recipients of aid"

However, in defence, a Foreign Affairs paper released recently noted that South Africa had "by no means been remiss" in applying pressure on the homelands to ensure financial discipline

But it added "In one case, the finalisation of the country's budget was delayed and finally the overdraft facility was not approved

"This led to the government concerned exploiting its government pension fund to cover running costs.

"Therefore, experience has shown that it is counter-productive to exert too much pressure on the TBVC states. As the countries are independent, careful note must be taken of the effect which punitive measures could have"

Negotiations are presently underway with the TBVC states on details of their 1993/94 budgets Officials say cost-effectiveness will be a chief criterion in assessing priorities

Among the most costly priorities would be achieving pension parity, paying salary increases and tackling backlogs in health and education

The explanatory memorandum to the Foreign Affairs budget vote on development co-operation with the TBVC states gives some of the reasons for this year's increased grants

■ "Carry through costs" of the August 1992 general salary adjustment for seconded personnel;

■ "Carry through costs" of the July 1992 teachers salary increase, and August 1992 pay rise for other public servants,

■ Provision for a possible further salary adjustment,

■ Provision for the improvement of social pensions, and

■ An increased contribution to the Loan Fund to promote economic co-operation

Own affairs 'still costing millions'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The urgent need for government to accelerate the process of merging own affairs departments with general affairs and in doing away with the six homelands was highlighted by last week's tough Budget, DP finance group spokesman Brian Goodall said. BDAY 22/3/93.

While government was dragging its heels, the two apartheid remnants were costing taxpayers hundreds of millions of rands a year in excessive bureaucratic expenditure, he said.

Goodall estimated at the weekend that between 10% and 15% in staff salary expenditure alone could be saved through incorporation. A saving of R1bn was "very possible".

This was especially so if a ruthless private sector approach to overstaffing and efficiency was adopted.

In the current financial year merely to pay public servants in own affairs departments and the six homelands would cost R12,5bn. Own affairs departments employed 230 000 workers and the salary bill for 1992/93 would exceed R5,2bn.

Sapa reports a Bill proposing to give effect to the fact that certain own affairs functions in local government were being assigned to Ministers for general affairs and administrators, was published on Saturday.

Certain provisions similar to those contained in the own affairs legislation are also being incorporated in general affairs legislation. From April 1 functions for agricultural development, health services and local government are to be transferred to general affairs departments.

vision. This member sees to it that all prescribed directives regarding the care of the children are strictly adhered to and that the children's general health and well-being are promoted.

In general it can be mentioned that the Department of Correctional Services places a high premium on the medical treatment of all persons entrusted to its care. In this regard the nursing staff of the Department of Correctional Services are guided by the medical officer (district surgeon) and his prescriptions and directives are meticulously carried out. This includes general treatment which can be provided in the prison and prison hospitals, hospitalization in private or provincial hospitals and treatment by specialists.

SADF officer attached to State Security Council

*24. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether, with reference to his replies to Question No 28 on 17 February 1993 and Question No 21 on 3 March 1993, a former senior officer of the South African Defence Force, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, was employed by the Defence Force during the period in which he was attached to the Secretariat of the State Security Council; if so, what is the name of this officer,

(2) whether this officer made direct or indirect contact with any chief ministers or governments of the self-governing areas at any time during the above-mentioned period; if so, what was the (a) nature and (b) extent of this contact;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B508E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) and (2)

The former senior officer whose name has been furnished to me was functionally in the employ of the Secretariat of the State Security Council and only fell under the SA Defence Force administratively. The finer details of the contacts he may have made during this period are consequently not known to my department.

(3) No.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Press freedom

*25. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether, with reference to the free flow of information and reporting by the Press, any further steps have been or are being taken or are being contemplated in respect of the repeal of the 11 Acts referred to in the reply to Question No 7 on 18 March 1992; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when? B509E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

As stated in the reply to Question No 7 of 18 March 1992 (Hansard: Column 419), of the 11 Acts referred to, the Department of Home Affairs administers only the Electoral Act, 1979 (Act 45 of 1979), and for the reason furnished in the aforesaid reply, it is still not the Department's intention to repeal the provision concerned.

I further recommend that my colleagues who administer the other Acts concerned be consulted by the hon member in that regard.

TBVC states: pension funds

*26. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on whether pension funds in the TBVC states are being monitored in any way, if not, why not; if so, (a) in what way are these funds monitored and (b) what is the state of each of these funds;

(2) whether any large payments were made by any of these funds to any individuals in the past 18 months; if so,

(3) whether he will furnish details of such payments; if not, why not; if so, what are the details? B510E

The MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) Yes, but it is primarily not my function.

(a) On the one hand, pension funds in the TBVC States are administered by the independent state in question and monitoring occurs in terms of the pension and financial instructions as well as through auditing by the Auditors-General of those states. On the other hand, it is monitored in terms of Structural Adjustment Arrangements if actions regarding the pension funds have a fiscal impact on the adjustment measures In such cases the Chairman of the Structural Adjustment Committee, in accordance with the agreement, would take the matter up with the two governments

(b) I refer the hon member to the latest reports of the Auditors-General of the various states.

(2) Yes.

(3) According to available information the Venda Government decided to privatise its pension fund and in the process amounts were paid to financial institutions on behalf of individuals. Members of the pension fund were unhappy about this and this led to strikes To solve the crisis the Venda Government appointed the Venda Pensions Crisis Committee to investigate all payments made from the pension fund. The Venda Government is assisted by Dr J de Loor in the investigation The Committee has made good progress with its investigation and according to Dr De Loor a report will soon be submitted to the Venda Government.

Regarding the pension funds of the other States, the calculations of the amounts were made in accordance with the formulae laid down in the laws of the respective countries.

It must be stressed that the various TBVC States, as independent states, administer their own pension funds.

SADF: legal fees

*27. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Defence:

What was the total amount paid by the Government during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available for the legal fees incurred by members of the South African Defence Force in respect of (a) defence in (i) criminal and (ii) civil cases, (b) inquests, (c) commissions of inquiry and (d) other legal actions? B513E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

R2 907 389,53 since 1 April 1992. The figures are unfortunately not available in the cost components specified and the time and effort required to calculate them thus cannot be justified.

Reply substituting reply to Question No 9 on 17 March 1993, put by Dr F H Pauw (col 592).

National Cancer Association: funds

*9. Dr F H PAUW asked the Minister of National Health:†

(1) Whether the State makes any funds available to the National Cancer Association; if not, why not; if so, (a) what was the total amount so made available during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available and (b) on the budget of which State Department or Departments are donations to this association indicated;

(2) whether it is required of this association to apply the above-mentioned donations on a racial basis; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) why and (b) what procedure is being followed? B397E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HEALTH:

(1) Yes,

(a) R465 000 for the financial year 1992/93 and

(b) Administration: House of Representatives,
Administration: House of Delegates,
Provincial Administration of Transvaal,
Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State,
Provincial Administration of the Cape of Good Hope;

(2) no, the Association applies for subsidy at different State institutions who subsidise social worker posts for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. The application of these personnel is not prescribed.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

ruary 1993 and instructed pupils to leave their classrooms daily at 11 00. These actions were presented as protest against the payment of examination fees by Std 10 candidates and to force the Government to do away with these fees

As a result of these actions no significant education took place at primary and secondary schools in Soweto for the period 15 February 1993 to 26 February 1993.

(3) No.

(4) No.

Road Traffic Act: amendment

*11. Mr L FUCHS asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether his Department was consulted by the Department of Transport in respect of the proposed insertion of a new subsection (5) in section 122 of the Road Traffic Act, 1989 (Act No 29 of 1989); if so, what (a) are the details of this consultation and (b) was his or his Department's response;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B420E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes.

(a) On 29 April 1992 and 13 July 1992 my Department formally commented on the Bill On the latter date comments obtained from the various Attorneys-General were also brought to the attention of the Department of Transport. In addition hereto officials from my Department and representatives of the Attorneys-General of Transvaal and the Cape attended a demonstration of the apparatus concerned on 8 September 1992 in Pretoria. Various discussions followed and on 9 February 1993 the Attorneys-General of Transvaal and of the Cape personally attended a demonstration of the apparatus in Cape Town.

(b) Although the principle in respect of the establishment of a more efficient method to expedite the process by which drunken drivers are being brought before our courts of law, is supported, practical problems were foreseen with the application of the provisions concerned and they were brought to the attention of the Department of Transport.

(2) Yes. After discussions between myself and the Minister of Transport, the latter indicated during the Second Reading debate of the Bill that the provision concerned would not be put into operation before the Department of Justice had submitted proposals to obviate the practical problems which are foreseen. It is expected that the Attorneys-General will soon give a co-ordinated opinion on possible solutions.

Transnet: employment policy

*12. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister of Public Enterprises:†

(1) How many (a) Whites and (b) Non-Whites were taken into employment by Transnet during the period 1 April 1992 to 15 March 1993;

(2) whether, since 1 January 1990, any policy guidelines in respect of the employment of applicants containing a reference to the race of an applicant have been in existence or have been furnished to any employment offices; if so, what are the relevant details;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B484E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited replied as follows to the hon member's question:

(1) (a) 271 } (15 April 1992 to 15 February 1993)
(b) 385 }

(2) Yes. Since August 1991, Transnet has been following a recruitment policy whereby business units have to obtain the approval of its Management Board for the employment of White applicants.

(3) Yes. Transnet Limited is a public company with a Board of Directors. As such they manage their own human resources affairs. It is one of Transnet Limited's

business goals to become an equal opportunity company. To reach this goal it is imperative that the recruitment of White people be addressed. From January to July 1991, eight times more Whites than Non-Whites were recruited by the Company. This led to the implementation of the above-mentioned policy to inhibit the historical benefit enjoyed by Whites in terms of recruitment.

As can be seen from the statistics supplied in part (1) of the reply, this goal is being successfully addressed by Transnet's Management.

SAP/SADF: criminal conduct of members

*13. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether the criteria applied or discretions exercised by the Attorneys-General in deciding whether to prosecute members of the South African Police or Defence Force for alleged criminal conduct are the same as those applicable to the general public; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what respects do the criteria applied and discretions exercised in respect of the Police and the Defence Force differ from those applicable to the general public? B489E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

Attorneys-General have for decades followed the guide-lines laid down in *Beckenstrater v. Rottcher and Theunissen, 1955 (1) S.A. 129 (A.D.)*, when deciding to prosecute or not. According to this authority the criterion is whether the prosecuting authority has a reasonable and probable cause for prosecuting, to wit that he has such information at his disposal as would lead to a reasonable man to conclude that the accused is probably guilty of the offence as charged.

Attorneys-General apply this criterion fearlessly and independently in all cases that come before them for decision, and, what is more, this criterion would and should apply to members of the South African Police and the Defence Force and the public alike. There is no evidence to the contrary.

Self-governing territories: territorial allowance

*14. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Tourism: (101)

(1) Whether he or the Commission for Administration has been approached to eliminate the so-called territorial allowance paid to seconded public service personnel in the self-governing territories; if so, (a) by whom was he or the Commission approached and (b) what was his or the Commission's response to this approach;

(2) whether he or the Commission intends eliminating this allowance; if not, why not; if so, when;

(3) whether this allowance is paid to any South African public service officials who were previously classified as Black and have been seconded to self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B491E

The MINISTER FOR ADMINISTRATION AND TOURISM:

(1) No; (a) and (b) Fall away;

(2) no, the possible abolition of the payment of the National State territorial allowance depends on constitutional developments;

(3) yes; the National State territorial allowance is payable to all South African public servants who are seconded to the self-governing territories;

(4) no.

Public service: gender/race distinctions

*15. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister for Administration and Tourism:

(1) Whether any conditions of service, including remuneration packages, in the public service are racially or gender distinctive; if so, which conditions of service;

(2) whether only persons previously classified as White can be seconded to the service of self-governing territories; if so, why; if not, what is the present policy in respect of the secondment of people of colour;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B494E

Cont →0

Pension funds are monitored

PENSION funds in independent homelands were monitored in terms of pension and financial instructions and auditing requirements, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday (101) (350)

They were also monitored in terms of Structural Adjustment Agreements. CT 26/3/93

Replying to Mr Peter Soal (DP Joburg North), Mr Botha said the homelands administered their own funds, but Venda had privatised its fund.

The Venda Pensions Crisis Committee was investigating all payments.

Fokker to lay off 2 118

AMSTERDAM — Dutch aerospace company Fokker NV said yesterday it was axing 2 118 jobs, about 16% of its workforce, and cutting aircraft production sharply because of a continuing slump in the market for airliners.

Production of its 100-seat Fokker 100 jet is being slashed to 40 a year from 59 and output of the 50-seat Fokker 50 turboprop to 20 from 27.

No quick market improvement is expected. "We do not expect the aircraft market to recover until sometime in 1995," Fokker spokesman Bart van Veen said.

The move will save 270-million guilders a year, including 200-million guilders in wages and salaries. The job cuts will all take place this year and will include 1 789 forced redundancies, Fokker said.

A cut in output to more sustainable levels was seen by industry analysts as inevitable before a takeover of Fokker by Germany's Daimler-Benz AG went through.

While the slump has hit all participants in the market for civil aircraft, Fokker has suffered badly because it is one of the smallest and least diversified producers.

It had been seeking a strong partner for several years and in February, after a year of tortuous negotiations, terms were agreed for control of the company to pass to Daimler's Deutsche Aerospace subsidiary. Final Daimler approval is due on April 1. — Sapa-Reuter.

SOWETAN Monday March 29 19

plans to readmit TBVC homelands

Holomisa dares De Klerk to act

Sowetan 29/3/93

SWIFT REACTION Press reports of possible reincorporation of Transkei angers politicians:

TRANSKEI military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday warned that any plan to terminate the independence of his country would mean "the end of the road."

He was responding to reports which said President F W de Klerk was considering taking over the administration of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda after demands from within his party to adopt tougher tactics with Transkei.

And the African National Congress said it rejected any unilateral attempt by the Government to force the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa.

Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC's director of information and publicity, and constitutional expert Professor Khader Asmal both said such an attempt would wreck the new negotiation process.

"That will be the end of the negotiations," Asmal said.

The Government said Transkei was found to be the base of the Azanian People's Liberation Army — the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress — by the Goldstone Commission last week.

Holomisa said violence addressed in the context of South African politics should encompass State violence as well.

He said Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's recommendations that the international community be encouraged to put pressure on Transkei should be rejected.

"The wishful thinking of Mr Goldstone who wants to pressurise other political parties, while others are given a licence to kill, is to be rejected," the general said.

He said there was a "veil of secrecy" surrounding De Klerk's terminating the duties of certain security officers.

He claimed dismissal of such officers would lead to more cans of worms being opened.

Reacting to the news of the plan, Government spokesman Mr David Steward told *Reuters*: "The *Sunday Times* story about the plan to terminate the independence of Transkei is based completely on unfounded speculation."

Homelands

From Page 1

any party," Holomisa said.

Meyer said the question of violence had to be dealt with in the multiparty forum starting this week because some parties, including the Transkei government, the PAC and the CP were not signatories to the national peace accord.

"Government sees it as essential and in the national interest that all parties jointly decide on co-ordinated measures against violence in accordance with the resolutions already accepted by the multiparty planning conference," said Mayer.

Jordan said government needed to account for its reversal from its former position which rejected calls for reincorporation of the TBVC states. It also needed to explain its omission of Bophuthatswana.

Roelf reacts to row over homelands

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT was not planning to unilaterally terminate the nominal independence of Transkei, Venda and Ciskei, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He was responding to an outcry over weekend reports that the Cabinet was considering ways of taking control of the homelands in the wake of repeated claims that Transkei was harbouring Apla guerrillas responsible for terror attacks in SA.

The ANC warned of serious consequences if government tried to force the reincorporation of Transkei into SA.

ANC information director Pallo Jordan and NEC member Prof Kader Asmal said yesterday any such attempt would wreck the negotiations process. Jordan said the organisation was in favour of reincorporation "but not into apartheid SA".

Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa threatened that should government act against Transkei "it will be the end of the corrupt and murderous NP" government. "When addressing violence, you cannot do so without addressing the mother of all violence, which is the NP and the security council which functions to permanently remove people it considers interfering.

"I suggest that the way to deal with the violence is that the multiparty forum look into both state violence and that of the liberation movements. The solution should be arrived at through a political settlement with time-frames and not through unilateral or bellicose approaches from

To Page 2

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply.

General Affairs:

Self-governing territories: loans/overdraft facilities

14. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Finance:

(1) Whether any guarantees have been given by his Department on behalf of any of the six self-governing territories in respect of (a) outstanding loans and (b) overdraft facilities in the 1992–93 financial year; if so, (i) why, (ii) to which such territories have these guarantees been given, and (iii) what are the amounts involved, in each case;

(2) whether any (a) loans are outstanding and (b) facilities are overdrawn at present; if so, (i) what, in respect of each such self-governing territory, is the total amount so outstanding or overdrawn and (ii) in respect of what date is this information furnished;

(3) for what purposes have these loans and overdraft facilities been utilized? D103E

The MINISTER OF FINANCE:

(1) (a) and (b) No. No guarantees are issued by the Department of Finance. In terms of section 35 (1) of the Exchequer Act No 66 of 1975, the relevant line function department was however authorised to grant guarantees.

Questions (i), (ii), (iii) are not applicable as the Department of Finance itself did not issue guarantees.

(2) (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(i) *Overdraft facilities:*

Gazankulu	8 841 000
Kangwane	16 971 000
Kwandebele	19 000 000
KwaZulu	Nil
Lebowa	296 200 000
QwaQwa	Nil

Loans:

Gazankulu	76 475 000
Kangwane	Nil
Kwandebele	5 000 000
KwaZulu	Nil
Lebowa	86 761 300
QwaQwa	1 500 000

(ii) 30/4/92 and 31/3/92, respectively.

(3) To fund unfinanced budget expenditure.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

Own Affairs:

Durban College of Education: applications/admissions of different race groups

29. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) How many (a) Whites, (b) Coloureds, (c) Indians and (d) Blacks applied to be admitted to the Durban College of Education as first-year students in 1993;

(2) whether the same admission requirements applied to each of the above-mentioned categories; if not, (a) why not and (b) what are the relevant details;

(3) whether any of these applicants were refused admission to the said college; if so (a) (i) how many in each category and (ii) for what reasons, in each case, and (b) how many in each category were admitted;

(4) whether any of the applicants who were refused admission have been accommodated at other colleges of education under the control of his Department; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many in each category and (b) at what colleges, in each case? B404E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) (a) 180,

(b) 5,

(c) 3,

(d) 1 500;

(2) yes,

(a) and (b) fall away;

(3) yes,

(a) (i) Whites: 53
Coloureds: 0
Indians: 0
Blacks: 1 494,

(ii) Whites: quotas were full or students did not comply with criteria for admission

Blacks: quotas were full or students did not comply with criteria for admission,

*(b) Whites: 77
Coloureds: 4
Indians: 2
Blacks: 6

* Not all students granted admission turn up for study at the beginning of the academic year.

(4) yes,

(a) Whites: 1,

(b) Onderwyskollege, Potchefstroom.

Colleges of education: students/lecturers

34. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) How many (i) students and (ii) lecturers are there at each of the colleges of education falling under his control and (b) what is the applicable lecturer/student ratio for each such college? B449E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

	# (a) (i)	(ii)	(b)
Boland	398	42	1:9,5
Cape Town	548	52	1:10,5
*Port Elizabeth	97	16	1:6.1
Durban	224	51	1:4,4
Edgewood	778	**76	1:10,2
▲Natal	591	***29	1:20,4
Bloemfontein	273	29	1:8,4
Pretoria	1 250	105	1:11,9
Potchefstroom	552	47	1:11,7
Johannesburg	1 157	93	1:12,4
▲South Africa	2 695	124	1:21,7

* Closes December 1993.
** 6 lectures are remunerated by the KwaZulu Government.

POLITICS

MI accused of plotting against ANC

(161)

ARG 1/4/93

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party claims it has been leaked secret information about a Military Intelligence plot to establish dictators in the homelands to counter the ANC.

DP Umhlanaga MP Kobus Jordaan told parliament last night Inkatha Freedom Party official Mr Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Mr Rowan Cronje were key elements in the strategy to sabotage negotiations.

Mr Felgate's task was to sway IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Cronje's task was to do the same for Ciskei leader Chief Lennox Sebe and then Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope.

The overall aproach was that democracy could not work in South Africa and that several dictators must be established who would stand together against the ANC. Behind the dictators, whites would pull the strings.

Mr Jordaan said he accepted President De Klerk's assurances in parliament that he knew nothing about this plan, but doubted Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel "fully shared the State President's sentiments."

According to the documents, Mr Felgate succeeded with Chief Buthelezi. Mr Cronje failed with Chief Sebe, but was successful with Mr Mangope.

Mr Jordaan said his information was based on documentation leaked to him in September 1990, but some of it had been corroborated by further leaks last November.

He believed those behind the strategy were still fighting democracy "with might and main".

Mr Jordaan, a former government official intimately involved with negotiations, also named former Military Intelligence chief General Tienie Groenewald as a kingpin of the strategy.

Star 1/4/93

'MI plot to install homeland dictators'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party claims it has been leaked secret information about a Military Intelligence (MI) plot to establish dictators in the homelands to counter the ANC.

DP Umhlanaga MP Kobus Jordaan told Parliament during the Budget vote last night that Inkatha Freedom Party official Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje were key elements in a bid to sabotage negotiations.

Felgate's task was to sway IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Cronje's was to do the same for Ciskei leader Lennox Sebe and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

According to the documents, Felgate succeeded with Buthelezi. Cronje failed with Sebe but was successful with Mangope.

Jordaan said his information was based on documentation leaked to him in September 1990, but some of it had been corroborated by further leaks last November.

He believed those behind the strategy were still fighting democracy "with might and main".

He also named former MI chief General Tienie Groenewald as a kingpin of the strategy. Jordaan — a former Government official intimately involved with negotiations — said that during September 1990 he had received from unknown sources a comprehensive intelligence packet with information on various covert operations.

Certain leaders — Kangwane chief Enos Mabuza and Ciskei chief Lennox Sebe — were identified as "problem children".

Other aspects were:

- IFP members were trained in Caprivi and Israel. Jordaan said the SA Defence Force had subsequently told him these were Zulus and not IFP members.
- IFP constitutional adviser Albert Blaustein had also largely drafted the constitutinal proposals of John Gogotya's FIDA.
- The funds for the campaign came from MI.

. The overall aproach was that democracy could not work in South Africa and that several dictators must be established to stand against the ANC.

Jordaan said he accepted President de Klerk's assurances in Parliament that he knew nothing about this plan but expressed doubt that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel "fully shared the State President's sentiments".

'MI wanted homelands to fight ANC'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SHOCK disclosures about secret Military Intelligence documents and meetings to fight the ANC through the homelands were made in Parliament last night by the Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan.

He also quoted from an "information package" about covert actions, which he received anonymously in September 1990, in which the role of prominent Inkatha Freedom Party member Mr Walter Felgate with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was described as "an absolute success".

The same document said Mr Rowan Cronje, a former Rhodesian Front cabinet minister, had been "sent" to Ciskei, but could not counter the negative influences around the then president, Mr Lennox Sebe. "In Bophuthatswana, however, he (Mr Cronje) has been extremely successful."

Mr Jordaan named General Tienie Groenewald, former secretary of the State Security Council, as the key figure behind the strategy of using the homelands against the ANC.

The document said the strategy also included the involvement of former ANC member Mr John Gogotya and the establishment of the Federal Independent Democratic Association (Fida), whose constitutional proposals had largely been drawn up by Professor Albert Blauwstein, an IFP constitutional adviser.

TBVC reincorporation 'near'

Political Staff

The reincorporation of the TBVC states could be imminent, following the circulation of a confidential document by the Government to homeland leaders last week.

The document spells out a number of steps for swift reincorporation, accelerating the process which was expected to take place only when a transitional government of national unity was installed.

President de Klerk has said elections for such a government could take place early next year.

Now sources are saying that reincorporation could be tied to the earlier transitional step — the installation of multiparty transitional executive councils and perhaps even precede it.

Earlier this week, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer pointed out that it would be difficult for the TBVC states to participate in the TECs while remaining fully "independent".

The document was presented to homeland leaders last week, and Government sources confirm that bilateral meetings are under way.

It is understood that a Government committee under Regional Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has been working closely with the Departments of Constitutional Development and Foreign Affairs.

The steps outlined in the document include the appointment of administrators-general and administrative councils for the territories in the period between reincorporation and the birth of an interim government.

Transkei and Venda have in the past agreed to reincorporation, while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the Government's position at a meeting last weekend.

Tensions between South Africa and Transkei appear to have injected urgency into the Government's approach on this issue.

Homeland sources yesterday indicated that the financial implications of not accepting reincorporation had been spelt out in cold terms.

The document refers to an annexure on "the financial implication with regard to non-incorporation".

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent on South African money, which also accounts for more than half of Bophuthatswana's budgetry requirements.

Homelands sources said last night that they had been told to pass legislation stripping themselves of independence by the end of May.

A top Government source said the talks were at a "highly sensitive stage".

Homelands on way out

CITY/NATIONAL
ARG-24/4/93

Political Staff

THE TBVC states are poised to be reincorporated into South Africa by the end of next month.

A "confidential document" handed to the homelands within the last week spells out a number of steps for reincorporation.

These include the appointment of administrators-general and administrative councils for the territories in the period between reincorporation and the establishment of an interim government.

Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, while Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the government's position last weekend.

Tensions between South Africa and Transkei appear to have injected urgency into the move.

Homeland sources yesterday indicated that the financial implications of not accepting reincorporation had been spelt out in cold terms.

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent on South Africa, which also accounts for more than half of Bophuthatswana's budget.

Homelands sources said last night they had been told to pass legislation stripping themselves of independence by May 31.

A top government source said the talks were at a "highly sensitive stage", but confirmed reincorporation could take place by the end of May.

The document specifically omits Bophuthatswana when it spells out "a temporary measure from the time of reincorporation to the establishment of a transitional government of national unity".

Bophuthatswana could be afforded differential treatment because it is not a military dictatorship and its financial situation is comparatively favourable.

Top government sources today confirmed bilateral talks with the TBVC territories on this issue.

They pointed out that these areas could not be included in transitional arangements on the way to a new democratic system if they were not formally part of South Africa.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, welcomed the move.

He recalled President De Klerk's sharp reaction when he (Dr De Beer) had proposed this in parliament two months ago.

Factors which had influenced government thinking had been disclosures of financial mismanagement in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda and indications of Apla operating from Transkei.

Dr De Beer said these territories could not fall under transitional arrangements and their citizens could not vote in an election affecting their future if they were not South African citizens.

The excuse for the Bantustan policy when it was launched in 1959 was not to give South African citizenship to many blacks.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt AIDS decision

GOVERNMENT will not be making the HIV infection and AIDS notifiable, in line with the AIDS advisory committee's advice, National Health Minister Rina Venter has told Parliament. She says HIV infection should be made notifiable only if linked to mass screenings, which are not feasible in SA.

MP defects to Inkatha

INKATHA gained its second MP in the House of Delegates yesterday when Tongaat representative Michael Abraham left the NP to become the fifth Inkatha representative in Parliament. Abraham is also a former DP member.

Homeland assistance

THE four independent homelands received R6,12bn in assistance from SA during the 1992/93 financial year, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday. Bophuthatswana received R2,3bn, Transkei R2,2bn, Venda R665,6m and Ciskei R914,1m.

SA gains doctors

SA GAINED a large number of professionals last year, particularly in the medical field, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday. Last year 289 doctors immigrated to SA against 35 who emigrated.

REPORTS Political Staff Political Correspondent

Govt changes stance on VAT rate dates

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — Government has announced that the old VAT rate will still apply for goods supplied before April 7 but delivered before April 28, reversing its previous stance.

The provision of a 21-day period of grace follows urgent public representations, particularly from Sacob, which argued that applying the new VAT rate to goods delivered after April 7 was administratively complex and unjust.

Opening debate on the VAT Amendment Bill in Parliament yesterday, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said urgent representations had been received in the last few days from vendors, whose commercial practice it was to deliver goods to their clients a few days after the sale transaction had been concluded.

They argued the present provision in the VAT Amendment Bill resulted in friction between vendors and their clients, Alant said. An amendment would be introduced later in the session in terms of which the supply of goods which took place before April 1, and where the goods were delivered within 21 days, would be subject to the lower rate of tax.

Similar representations had been received concerning lay-buy sales, and an amendment would also be introduced on this issue.

The legislation would also provide that the old VAT rate would apply where the agreement had been entered into before April 7 even though the goods were delivered at a later date

DP MP Geoff Engel said during the debate his party would not support the Bill because government was steadily bastardising a fine system of tax collection into one that would become unmanageable.

Sapa reports he said government was shifting a greater portion of the tax base onto the poor. In addition, VAT on medicine and medical services taxed misfortune and misery, he said.

ANC-supporting Independent MP for Simon's Town Jannie Momberg said the VAT increase from 10% to 14% was unacceptable to the ANC.

It represented an attack on the living standards of workers and the poor because it shifted the fiscal burden onto their shoulders. The increase was not only inflationary, but would dampen economic growth by reducing consumer spending when manufacturing production levels were critically low because of the recession.

The ANC supported progressive taxation which differentiated between taxing on the capacity to pay, such as a progressive PAYE system.

The organisation welcomed the exemption of basic foodstuffs, but believed there should be more relief.

Essentials, including medicine and medical services, electricity and water, should also be exempted.

General affairs expanded further

CAPE TOWN — Agriculture, health and local government became general affairs yesterday, ending an expensive, fragmented and race-based system of own affairs management, House of Assembly Ministers' Council chairman Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

The own affairs aspects of welfare, housing and works were receiving attention, and would be transferred to general affairs early in the second half of the year, he said in a statement.

An education co-ordination service had been implemented on April 1 to transform the prevailing system into executive regional departments as quickly as possible.

Functions carried out by own affairs administrations would be executed by the equivalent general affairs departments.

The old own affairs dispensation was being replaced by a more efficient, cost-effective and decentralised system.

About 10 500 members of the House of Assembly administration were affected by the transfer of functions and were being posted with the least possible disruption.

Funds for the newly transferred services had already been included in the 1993/4 budgets of the recipient departments.

The Cape Provincial Administration announced yesterday that two own affairs functions, local government and health, had been handed to the CPA.

The effect of the transfer of own affairs functions to the CPA means that 2 600 officers and posts of the administration of the houses of Assembly and Representatives now fall under the CPA.

All former own affairs Cape hospitals, some of which had reen run on an agency basis up to now, and all oral hygiene services, have been transferred to the CPA. — Sapa.

MI agents infiltrated IFP — MP

Sowetan 2/4/93

■ Agents were used against the ANC:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT was still using Military Intelligence to infiltrate its political opponents and had placed agents provocateurs in the administrations of homelands that were friendly with the ANC, Parliament has heard.

The DP MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, told Parliament on Wednesday that the covert operation had started during the '80s when it had relative success.

The programme was still active, he said.

Jordaan said he had anonymously received a "package of information" detailing the placement of certain people, notably Mr Rowan Cronjé of Bophuthatswana and Mr Walter Fellgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party, in homelands that were hostile to Pretoria.

Cronjé was first placed in Ciskei, after which he was "sent" to Bophuthatswana where he was an "absolute success". Success was also achieved in KwaZulu, where, it is alleged, Fellgate, a member of the IFP's central committee, had managed to bring Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi back from closer co-operation with the ANC and towards Pretoria.

Jordaan named General Tienie Groenewald, former secretary of the State Security Council, as the person behind the strategy

Jordaan said the State had also paid Professor Albert Blaustein, an American constitutional expert, to write constitutional proposals for Mr John Gogotya's Federal Independent Democratic Association. He spoke during the Budget Debate and defended a question he had put to President FW de Klerk last month on the placement of agents in opposition parties.

De Klerk was kept informed of developments, he added.

Cosatu warns of walkout

Sowetan 2/4/93

■ Laws for farm workers cause rift:

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has threatened to review its participation in negotiation forums with the Government following the Cabinet's decision to defer the promulgation of labour laws for farm workers.

"Cosatu is extremely disappointed and angered by the turn of events. This move makes a mockery of the entire negotiations process," the union said yesterday.

The congress was reacting to Minister of Manpower Leon Wessels' statement that the Cabinet had not decided on the issue of basic rights for farm workers at its regular meeting on Wednesday. Wessels gave the assurance, however, that the extension of legislation to agriculture would receive special attention at a Cabinet meeting next week.

Cosatu said in terms of an accord signed by Wessels and Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo on November 6, the Basic Conditions of Employment Act for farm workers would be promulgated by April 1.

EXCLUSIVE

Homelands: Shock plan

CT 2/4/93 (101)

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The independent TBVC states are poised to be reincorporated into South Africa by the end of next month.

A confidential government document handed to the homelands within the last week spells out a number of steps for their reincorporation.

These include the appointment of administrators-general and administrative councils for the period between reincorporation and the establishment of an interim government.

Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, and Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were presented with the government's position in a meeting last weekend.

Tensions between SA and Transkei appear to have injected urgency into the government's approach on this issue.

Homelands sources indicated yesterday that the financial implications of not accepting reincorporation had been spelt out bluntly.

The document refers to an annexure on "the financial implication with regard to non-incorporation".

Transkei, Ciskei and Venda are almost totally dependent on South African money. More than half Bophuthatswana's budgetary requirements are met by SA.

Homelands sources said last night that they had been told to pass legislation stripping themselves of independence by the end of May.

A top government source said talks were at a "highly sensitive stage" but confirmed it was feasible that reincorporation could take place by the end of May.

However, it seems that Bophuthatswana is being treated differently, ostensibly because it is not a military dictatorship and because of its comparatively favourable financial situation.

The document omits Bophuthatswana when it spells out "a temporary measure from the time of reincorporation to the establishment of a transitional government of national unity".

In this measure "suitable names" to fill the posts of administrators-general in Transkei, Venda and Ciskei will be submitted to President F W de Klerk.

"After consultation" he will appoint the successful candidates.

The administrative councils will be composed of members of the homeland government and other "knowledgeable and experienced" South Africans.

Members of this council will also be appointed by the president.

To page 2

From page 1

The document says the "granting of South African citizenship to the citizens of the TBVC states will take place simultaneously with reincorporation". 36(101)

It adds that "testing the will of the people" — it had been proposed that separate referenda on re-incorporation should be held — "is no longer an absolute requirement". CT 2/4/93

The document says facilitating committees for each of the TBVC states will be appointed to advise on all steps to be taken to facilitate the reincorporation.

In the plan the boundaries between the homelands and SA will fall away. However, administrative structures will be retained.

Significantly, it says the president will "have the authority to transfer any legislative powers exclusively to the administrator-general for as long as it is necessary".

Laws in the homelands which are not transferred to the administrator-general would be retained during the transition.

"Affected areas will be police, defence force, prisons, finance and home affairs," it says.

ANC backs TBVC plan — almost!

(101)
ARG
3/4/93

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

PLANS by the government to speed-up the re-incorporation of the TBVC states, possibly as early as next month, appear to have the backing of the African National Congress.

It is understood that the Government has proposed to the TBVC states that they should be effectively reduced to the status of self-governing territories.

Administrators-general will run them under ultimate SA Government control until an elected interim government is installed.

A Government delegation under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer met delegations of the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments last weekend to present the government's plans.

He told them it would be difficult for them to remain independent and yet still participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) which has been proposed as the first phase of interim government.

They had to choose between being in or out of the process leading to a new South Africa.

Meyer adopted much the same position in public this week during an address to Parliament and the ANC is known to hold the same view.

The TEC should be established by June, according to the negotiation timetable of the main parties, which would mean the TBVC states being re-incorporated before that.

Bothuthatswana and Ciskei Government sources were last night extremely cautious in their reaction to reports about the plan.

Neither homeland rejected the plan outright although both expressed reservations about it.

They said they were unwilling to be re-incorporpated until they knew what sort of new South African they would be joining.

If negotiations could reach that point before re-incorporation, it would make the decision easier.

But it seems unlikely that they will be given this much choice. The SA Government is believed to have pointed out to them that if they do not go along with the scheme, their vital financial support from Pretoria could be cut off.

Transkei and Venda seem likely to go along with the scheme. Both are closely allied to the ANC which is in favour of early re-incorporation and may even have launched the initiative.

However, ANC sources have made it clear that the plan must be applied to all four TBVC states equally.

This was said in reaction to suggestions from Government that Bopthuthatswana might be exempted from the plan because it is the only one with an elected civilian government.

The other three are all military dictatorships.

For both the ANC and Government, the new plan represents a departure from their official positions.

In Codesa working group four last May, they and all other parties agreed that the TBVC states would only be re-incorporated at the stage when a full elected interim government was installed in SA.

The elections for this government would serve as referenda to test whether the people of the TBVC states wished to be re-incorporated.

This plan to test the will of the people now seems to have been dropped. It is understood that the initiative to accelerate re-incorporation came from the ANC which feared that it would be impossible for it to conduct election campaigns in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei while these remained under the control of governments hostile to them.

This argument was difficult to resist as the TECs are specifically tasked to level the political playing fields for all parties to allow them an equal chance in elections for an interim government.

The tragic Bisho shooting last year resulted from an attempt by the ANC to force the Ciskei Government to allow it freedom to canvass support in the homeland.

But the SA government has also come to see the merits of an early re-incorporation of the homelands, largely because of the military activities of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army launched from Transkei.

However, it is not yet clear what the Government's attitude is to Bopthuthatswana.

It is possible that Government may be contemplating a two-phase approach with the TVC states coming under some form of joint administration at an earlier stage,, followed by Bopthuthatswana at the stage when the TEC is installed.

The ANC is sure to resist this strongly.

The case for traditional courts

South 3/4 - 7/4/93 (101)

HOLOMISA

The president of the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, **Patekile Holomisa**, argues that there is a role for traditional courts in a future judicial system:

WITHOUT flinching, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) maintains that traditional courts (or traditional leaders' courts) do have a future which will not compromise democratic principles.

It is nobody's fault that only the African aristocracy produces traditional leaders; but this "defect" can be cured if laws ensure that traditional leaders at all times deal fairly with all people living under their jurisdiction — without regard to race or colour.

In communities where women are precluded by custom from becoming traditional leaders, the same requirement must hold.

Traditional leaders, who preside over the traditional courts, must act impartially when dealing with affairs affecting women.

The traditional leader acquires his position without being elected. He is decreed by custom and birth to be the leader.

Heredity and the fact that he comes from the correct lineage confer legitimacy. This is unlike Western democracy where legitimacy is conferred by popular elections.

But the fact that the traditional leader is required to act in the interests and according to the wishes and the will of the people, ensures that he does not undermine the democratic rights of his people.

Where he does violate these rights, a mechanism ought to be formulated to ensure that he is brought into line.

There are other attributes attached to the institution of traditional courts — attributes which are appreciated by communities which cherish their traditional values and norms.

The test of whether to continue with traditional courts or not, lies with whether or not communities consider themselves as having so developed and become so sophisticated that they no longer see the need for it.

We would thus like to warn that the issue be treated with caution and wisdom so as to, inter alia, avoid a Somalia-type situation where we have warlords who exploit the division of the nation along clan or ethnic lines.

'It is nobody's fault that only the African aristocracy produces traditional leaders'

It goes without saying that the traditional leader, as a human being, is not necessarily endowed with congenital wisdom.

He relies heavily on the counsel he gets from recognised and respected elders of the community whenever he is called upon to perform his duties.

The traditional court comprises the traditional leader, who presides, and councillors, who normally come from the ranks of lesser chiefs or so-called headmen and people who are either appointed by the traditional leader or elected by the community.

Needless to say, the element of appointment will have to be done away with in favour of elections.

How the courts work

Proceedings are held at all times in open court.

One of the councillors leads the witnesses for both parties — this is the case in civil and criminal trials.

Other councillors and members of the public are given a chance to examine and cross-examine the parties and their witnesses.

The parties are allowed to cross-examine each other and each other's witnesses.

The proceedings are conducted in a relaxed and somewhat informal manner. At the end of the hearing, the chief and councillors confer among themselves on the evidence that has been led.

They reach a verdict and agree on a fine or an award in damages in favour of the successful party.

The traditional leader, either by himself or through one of the councillors, pronounces the verdict and the punishment to be meted out or the compensation to be paid.

The parties are free to appeal against the verdict and/or the punishment if they are not satisfied.

The court of appeal can in certain cases be the court of the senior traditional leader or king of the community, particularly where the case involves customs and traditions.

Normally, however, "appeals" are heard in a magistrate's court where the case is heard afresh without regard to the previous hearing.

Usually however, the parties are satisfied with the outcome of the proceedings because in the course of the trial suggestions are put to the litigants as to whether or not they would be satisfied with one or another course of action.

Criminal and civil cases are tried in traditional courts. Criminal cases that are heard involve petty crimes that do not call for terms of imprisonment or heavy fines.

With regard to civil cases, the determinant is the amount of compensation to be paid by the wrongdoer.

Custom and tradition usually influence the decision of the court and the amount to be paid.

Traditional courts do not send the guilty to jail nor do they impose heavy fines. The courts are interested in the conclusion of amicable settlements that will satisfy both parties and the restoration of harmony in the community.

The aim is to avoid acrimonious litigation which can result in the exacerbation of bad relations as is usually the case in the western legal system.

Traditional courts cannot escape the impact of technological and economic developments. Consequently the types of disputes that arise call for sophisticated arguments.

There is thus a need for the officers of the traditional courts to improve their level of education, and to undergo some form of legal training to improve their skills so that dispute resolution will be enhanced.

This would obviate the need to take matters to the common law courts when the disputes are not of a intricate nature.

Accordingly, rather than try to abolish, side line or ignore these forums, it is in the interests of the traditional communities that these courts be retained and improved.

TBVC states oppose FW's hasty proposal

THE government's behind-the-scenes moves to engineer the reincorporation of the TBVC states is going to be far more difficult than envisaged.

Details of the plan – contained in a confidential document handed to the four homelands – were published on Friday April 2.

It envisages the incorporation of the four states by the end of next month.

The Ciskei government confirmed it had received and was studying the document, but that it would insist on a referendum on the issue first.

Transkei too is unimpressed. State President FW de Klerk raised the issue of Transkei's reincorporation when he met Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa at Tuynhuis on Thursday. Holomisa said he had made it clear the issue had to be dealt with in multiparty talks.

In a statement issued, De Klerk hinted that the reincorporation of Transkei "could take place within a few months".

Holomisa confirmed De Klerk had raised the issue, "but I told him that was the domain of the multilateral forum".

De Klerk had stressed that SA did not intend bypassing the multiparty process, and suggested committees be appointed "to look into technical matters" such as pensions and loans, Holomisa said.

"Political decisions, such as when incorporation will occur, are not our baby – but for the multilateral forum to decide."

He also said Transkei had not yet seen the document and queried what he saw as a strategy to bring the homelands under SA government control.

"We see through that smokescreen," he said.

"It is wishful thinking on De Klerk's part if he thinks that he is going to control Nelson Mandela, Clarence Makwetu, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others as reflected in this latest transparent strategy. He is day-dreaming."

Meanwhile, a Ciskei Council of State official said the homeland was reserving comment on the document's suggestions "until all aspects had been thoroughly considered".

"It must be remembered that Ciskei obtained its independence by means of a referendum. The people of Ciskei will have to be consulted on any envisaged change in the status of Ciskei," he added.

The SA government is keeping its cards close to its chest. Foreign Affairs spokesman Patrick Evans said that the department knew nothing about the document and referred inquiries to the Constitutional Development department – where ministry official Isak Retief referred the matter back to Foreign Affairs.

With the possible exception of Venda, the TBVC states appear far from amenable to the prospect of rejoining SA now. Transkei supports incorporation, but has stressed it would not return to SA under the De Klerk government.

Bophuthatswana is insistent it should remain independent, while also considering an option of joining SA as an expanded region with a high degree of autonomy, and including sections of the northern Cape and western Transvaal.

Ciskei wants to retain considerable autonomy – including having its own defence force – and is agitating along with its Concerned South Africa Group (Cosag) partners for a strong federal dispensation.

Although the ANC has been arguing for TBVC reincorporation for years, the organisation issued a statement yesterday saying it wanted the decision to come out of the multiparty talks process.

The ANC said it did not, however, support De Klerk's reported proposal for immediate reincorporation.

"The key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a SA that has a democratic constitution, and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution," said the statement.

The scheduling of the establishment of the multiparty Transitional Executive Council for the end of May is putting the squeeze on.

The government agrees that the homelands cannot participate in the TEC while still independent. – Ecna, Sapa.

Tough talk ahead
Cape Times 4/4/93

Politicos gear up to woo traditional leaders

By SEKOLA SELLO 4/4/93

WITH elections around the corner, the much-maligned traditional leaders could once again see themselves being placed at the centre stage of SA politics.

Once the battle for the hearts and minds of people hots up – particularly among those living in the homelands and rural areas – traditional leaders could find themselves suddenly courted by a wide range of political interests.

The Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA (Contralesa), which represents a sizeable number of chiefs, has already entered the fray. After being excluded from Codesa, they finally managed to get a place at the multiparty planning conference last month and also attended this week's negotiations.

However, they attended this week's conference at the World Trade Centre, not as a single entity, but split along provinces. They are opposed to this arrangement, saying it is a new way of perpetuating the government's policy of divide and rule along tribal lines.

Contralesa president Inkosi Phatekile Holomisa said they would like the multiparty talks to spell out clearly the role traditional leaders are expected to play in a future dispensation.

Right now the campaign to have traditional leaders on one's side is still low-key and played behind closed doors. The chiefs are also playing their cards close to their chests, saying they cannot take political sides because their followers have diverse affiliations.

No one believes this. As electioneering nears and battle lines become distinctly drawn, the positions of the various chiefs will also crystallise.

It will not be anything new for the blue-blooded to find themselves suddenly a focus of interest by politicians.

Down the years traditional leaders have played a role and at times even a pivotal one – whether for good or bad depends on your political persuasion – in shaping the politics of this country.

Pretoria has, in the past, used traditional chiefs to advance its political goals. The balkanisation of the country into several homelands succeeded in large measure because of the collusion of traditional leaders.

In cases where traditional leaders opposed Pretoria's machinations, pliant and malleable chiefs were sought and others even created to sell the idea of homeland politics.

When Chief Sabata Dalindyebo opposed independence for Transkei, Pretoria ignored him, took some of the lands under his jurisdiction and ceded them over to a junior chief, Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima, who was then made paramount chief of western Tembuland.

The other trick was simply to load the legislative assemblies with more chiefs, so that whatever the outcome of the homeland elections, the chiefs would be there to support their master's choice.

This strategy was used with great effect in Venda where Chief Patrick Mphephu lost against Baldwin Mudau. The local chiefs were taken to Manyelethi Game Reserve and after being plied with gifts, including in some cases oversized "monkey suits", Mphephu was assured of their support.

The strategy of appointing pliant chiefs to senior positions in the tribal hierachies was inherited from the British in colonial times.

Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope has also dismissed traditional leaders, some of them considered senior to him, for refusing to bow to his imperious rule in the homeland.

In KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shore King Goodwill Zwelithini's powers and reduced him to the status of a figurehead when it seemed Zwelithini was aligning himself to forces opposed to him (Buthelezi).

Zwelithini was advised by Buthelezi to keep out of politics. Strangely enough, last year Buthelezi cried foul when Zwelithini or his delegation was excluded from Codesa.

While it seems chiefs are likely to play an important role in their little fiefdoms, some voices have questioned whether a new SA still needs an institution whose positions have been abused and their influence diminished during colonial and apartheid rule.

Feminists, who are likely to be an important constituency in the coming elections, are also critical of the institution because of its patriarchal disposition.

Holomisa says it is precisely because of such issues that the role of the traditional leadership has to be clearly spelt out.

He says they are aware of chiefs who are political appointees. "It will not be a problem to sort out this issue. In the villages, elders know which clan produced chiefs and from which family the senior members came from."

Holomisa, who is a practising advocate, says the institution is democratic and does have a future role to play in a new SA.

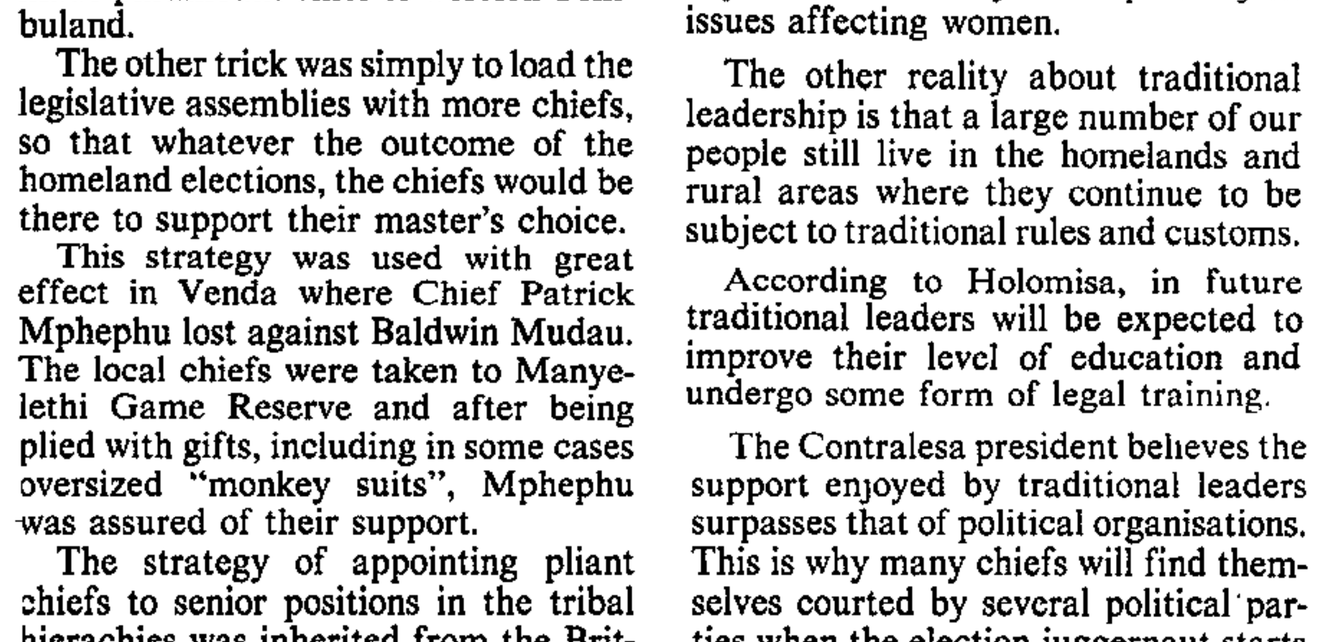
Although the leadership is predominatly male, except in a few cases, women are not prejudiced because, according to Holomisa, the traditional leader is expected to act fairly and impartially on issues affecting women.

The other reality about traditional leadership is that a large number of our people still live in the homelands and rural areas where they continue to be subject to traditional rules and customs.

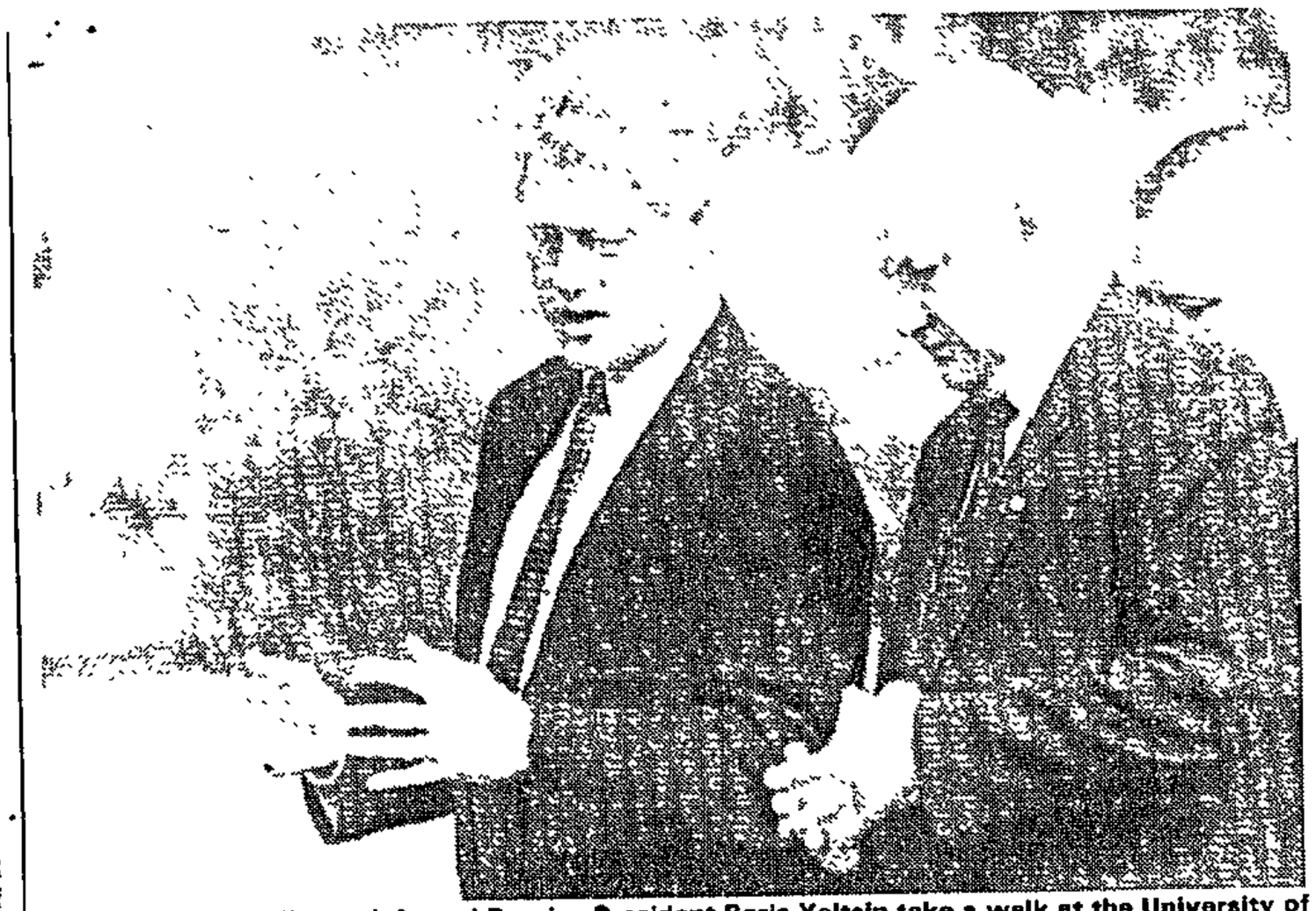
According to Holomisa, in future traditional leaders will be expected to improve their level of education and undergo some form of legal training.

The Contralesa president believes the support enjoyed by traditional leaders surpasses that of political organisations. This is why many chiefs will find themselves courted by several political parties when the election juggernaut starts rolling in earnest.

THE CHIEFS BOUNCE BACK



RURAL POWER . . . SA's traditional leaders are back in the negotiations picture after being snubbed at Codesa.



US President Bill Clinton, left, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin take a walk at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver on Saturday. Picture AP

Frontline states set up SA mission

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — The Frontline states had established a joint "resident mission" in SA, Frontline states chairman and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said at the close of a one-day summit of the group in Zimbabwe on Friday.

The mission, established a week earlier, would work alongside the liberation movements "to analyse all the forces at play so that we may together find a way forward to the democratic and peaceful state of affairs we all yearn for, both in that area and in our region as a whole", he said.

Diplomatic sources believe the mission has temporary premises in Johannesburg and paves the way for the eventual establishment of formal diplomatic ties still shunned by Zimbabwe, Tanzania and the more militant of SA's black neighbours who only recently dropped calls for continued international boycotts.

The meeting, joined by ANC and PAC leaders Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu, said continuing violence threatened the SA democratic process.

The leaders reiterated their demand President that President F W de Klerk's government fulfil its responsibility to maintain law and order, and appealed to all political parties "to contribute to the creation of a tolerant climate"

Disunity "among the representatives of the oppressed majority" continued to compromise their efforts in the quest for a new SA, while violence haunted society and disrupted the search for a new order.

Delegates called on the UN to send an additional inspection team to SA to verify its nuclear weapon capability had been destroyed.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said Frontline state leaders believed full disclosure of SA's nuclear activities had not been made.

Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have set in motion concerted efforts to persuade the nominally independent homelands to accept a transformation from "independence" to self-governing status prior to the first round of elections in a year's time.

The key to resolving this problem would be progress in negotiations on regionalism and security of tenure of political heads and officials under a new dispensation.

A senior government source said yesterday the approach to Bophuthatswana was different to that being employed with the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Venda and the Transkei were "reasonably keen to come back into the fold" but Bophuthatswana was more difficult

Officials and politicians in Bophuthatswana had a great deal more to lose than those in the other administrations.

However, despite Venda and the Transkei having committed themselves to reincorporation, they would not move and the ANC would not accept it if Bophuthatswana was not treated equally.

The government source said it was very difficult to persuade Mangope's administration to accept reincorporation prior to elections But he said the evaluation the territory had done on the viability of non-reincorporation had surprised Mangope considerably.

It had gone a long way to show that the territory really could not go it alone. Government was in regular discussion with the homeland to convince it that the advantages of reincorporation far outweighed any disadvantages and that to remain separate was virtually a guarantee of economic and social collapse.

The government source said the major exercise was going to be the negotiations over regionalism. He said the ANC was already contributing largely to settling nervousness through regular discussions with the homeland leaders and shifting, not only their position on regionalism but also their language: "Instead of marching on Bop they are talking."

Ciskei, which appeared to be backing off its earlier commitment to reincorporation, would be easier to convince, especially if Bophuthatswana was moving towards acceptance.

● Comment: Page 4

ANC repudiates FW's latest plan for reincorporation

Sowetan 5/4/93.

THE African National Congress has denied it supports President FW de Klerk's reported plan to speed up the reincorporation of the nominally independent homelands into South Africa.

In a statement issued on Saturday the ANC said while it was correct that the organisation supported the reincorporation of all the homelands, it was incorrect that the ANC supported President de Klerk's reported proposal for the immediate reincorporation of the homelands..

"Reincorporation into South Africa, after a comprehensive agreement has been reached at the multiparty negotiating forum, has long been the proposal put forward by the ANC," the statement said.

Referendum rejected

According to the ANC this approach had also been repeatedly publicly proposed by both the Transkei and Venda administrations, coupled with a rejection of Pretoria's insistence on a referendum to test public will on reincorporation.

"But the key element of this proposal is reincorporation into a South Africa that has a democratic constitution and not in terms of the existing apartheid constitution."

■ End supported but not the method, says ANC:

An international news agency reported that the South African Government wanted the reincorporation of the nominally independent states soon to simplify democracy negotiations.

Homelands warned

Homeland leaders would be warned that they could not expect to take part in the talks on a new constitution if they were not sure of being part of the new dispensation.

The reported plan envisaged cutting off budgetary aid from Pretoria if the homelands did not fall in line.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa, reacting to Press reports of the reincorporation plan, said Transkei would "not come back to an apartheid South Africa".

He said the authors were indulging in "wishful thinking" if they believed Transkei would return at the behest of the SA Government, although he remained committed to reincorporation negotiated at the multiparty talks. — *South African Press Association*

Govt, ANC working on homelands deal

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have set in motion concerted efforts to persuade the nominally independent homelands to accept a transformation from "independence" to self-governing status prior to the first round of elections in a year's time.

The key to resolving this problem would be progress in negotiations on regionalism and security of tenure of political heads and officials under a new dispensation.

A senior government source said yesterday the approach to Bophuthatswana was different to that being employed with the Transkei, Ciskei and Venda. Venda and the Transkei were "reasonably keen to come back into the fold" but Bophuthatswana was more difficult.

Officials and politicians in Bophuthatswana had a great deal more to lose than those in the other administrations.

However, despite Venda and the Transkei having committed themselves to reincorporation, they would not move and the ANC would not accept it if Bophuthatswana was not treated equally.

The government source said it was very difficult to persuade Mangope's administration to accept reincorporation prior to elections. But he said the evaluation the territory had done on the viability of non-reincorporation had surprised Mangope considerably.

It had gone a long way to show that the territory really could not go it alone. Government was in regular discussion with the homeland to convince it that the advantages of reincorporation far outweighed any disadvantages and that to remain separate was virtually a guarantee of economic and social collapse.

The government source said the major exercise was going to be the negotiations over regionalism. He said the ANC was already contributing largely to settling nervousness through regular discussions with the homeland leaders and shifting, not only their position on regionalism but also their language: "Instead of marching on Bop they are talking."

Ciskei, which appeared to be backing off its earlier commitment to reincorporation, would be easier to convince, especially if Bophuthatswana was moving towards acceptance.

● Comment: Page 4

ANC rejects homeland plan

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied it supports President F W de Klerk's reported plan to speed up the reincorporation of the homelands.

In a statement at the weekend, the ANC said although it supported the reincorporation of all the homelands, it did not back Mr De Klerk's reported proposal for immediate steps.

"Reincorporation, after agreement has been reached at multi-party negotiations, has long been the proposal of the ANC." — Sapa

2 homelands owe R1,14bn

Political Staff

THE government granted overdraft facilities totalling R1 473 million to the Transkei and Ciskei during the 1991/2 financial year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Replying to a question by Mr Ken Andrew (DP, Gardens), he said R1 142 588 000 was still outstanding. Foreign currencies were not involved.

Transkei's overdraft guarantee had been R892 million and Ciskei's R581 million.

FM 9/4/93. (4823)

by the TBVC states themselves who will have to pass the necessary enabling legislation. The main advantage to agreement is participation by TBVC leaders in the proposed Transitional Executive Council.

Holomisa's attitude is that Transkei's reincorporation must coincide with that of the other "independent" homelands and the dismantling of the tricameral parliament. He refuses to be reincorporated into "apartheid" SA. He dismisses the possibility of SA's refusing to fund Transkei. He argues that government created the homeland for political expediency and has a moral obligation to ensure the continued wellbeing of its people.

Transkei remains a potentially explosive issue. It will require special attention by the multiparty negotiators to prevent it becoming a serious obstacle to progress. ■

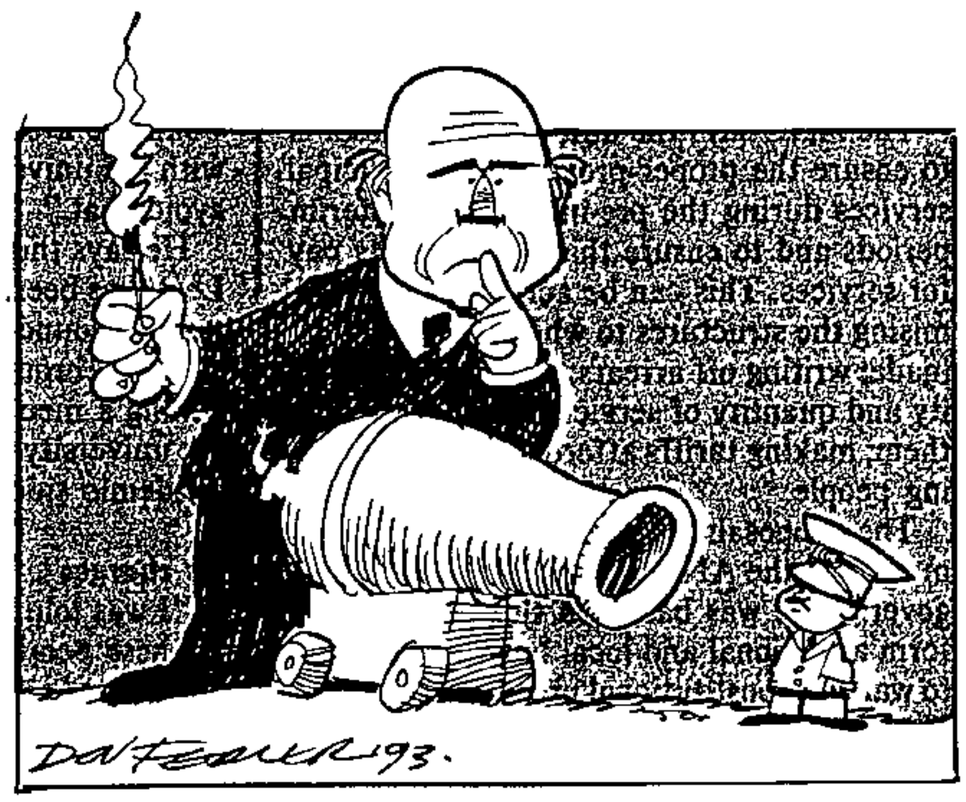
TRANSKEI FM 9/4/93.

Hostage to a stepchild

President FW de Klerk's approach to the difficulty of Transkei was the equivalent of sending a gunboat to remind a smaller power of its place in the world. But then Transkei is no ordinary smaller power, which is why De Klerk's action in trying to use a security cordon to protect the eastern Cape from terrorism runs the risk of backfiring.

Transkei is independent yet recognised by no other country besides SA. The ANC does not recognise the independent homelands — yet it perceives Transkei's military ruler, Major General Bantu Holomisa, as a powerful ally. Everyone agrees that the homelands must be reincorporated into SA but there is disagreement on the timing. The situation is fraught with dangerous absurdities.

If Holomisa is to get special treatment after his country disappears — good pension, top job in the new SADF, place at the main negotiating table — then the ANC will find it hard to object if the leaders of the other "independents" (Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana) demand and get similar treatment.



Meanwhile, indications are that the border blockade by SA has been boosting rather than undermining support for Holomisa. Unless the crisis is resolved quickly, SA may be sucked into further actions that could even threaten the national negotiation process.

If, for example, there are further terror attacks in the eastern Cape in spite of the latest security measures and De Klerk's severe dressing down of Holomisa in Cape Town last week, government may be forced to take military action simply to save face.

There is also a real danger of violence at the border. A major incident was narrowly averted last week when angry Transkei taxi operators hijacked a petrol tanker and threatened to blow it up in the middle of the bridge over the Kei River unless SA security forces eased the delay in border crossings. In response to any deterioration of the situation in Transkei the ANC might even feel forced to break off negotiations.

However, apart from a relatively small street demonstration in Cape Town last week protesting against the border blockade, the ANC's reaction so far to SA's tough talk on Transkei has been muted. The ANC was not happy with Holomisa's dismissive reaction to the Goldstone Commission's preliminary findings that Transkei effectively harbours and supports Apla terrorists operating in SA. The general said the commission was being manipulated by government for party political gain. It was this reaction that effectively sparked the current crisis.

The ANC is also anxious to resolve the issue of TBVC reincorporation into SA and does not want to be seen to be backing what appear to be efforts by Holomisa to delay the process for as long as possible.

However, Holomisa seems to have substantial support among members of Umkhonto we Sizwe and township youths and the ANC cannot afford to alienate him. He claims to have no political ambition but, if driven into a corner, he could probably mobilise enough backing from within ANC ranks to embarrass the organisation severely and seriously disrupt negotiations.

Holomisa believes De Klerk is being pushed into uncharacteristic actions by pressure from his caucus and security chiefs — and told him so during their meeting last week. It was also attended by SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe and SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg.

(A source close to the Nat caucus says De Klerk's new nickname among some Nat MPs is *Die Weifelaar* — the waverer — because of what is perceived as increasing indecisiveness). De Klerk in turn chastised Holomisa for his implied threat that whites would be murdered if SA took action against Transkei.

In a written introductory statement, De Klerk said: "Let me make it clear that if SA citizens inside or outside Transkei are harmed or their property is damaged or destroyed as a result of the actions or omissions of the Transkei government, I will hold you and your government responsible."

Holomisa later indicated that he acceded to at least one of De Klerk's demands. He agreed to appoint a judicial commission to investigate the Apla allegations in the Goldstone report and said it could co-operate with the Goldstone Commission.

"We even went further and said both forces (SAP and Transkei police) must work hand in hand to beef up and bring the evidence to this proposed inquiry to be headed by the Chief Justice of Transkei," Holomisa said. If the new inquiry found that anyone was involved in illegal action "the law must take its course."

He said Apla was unconditionally unbanned in Transkei (as it is in SA) and again denied that his government supplied arms to the organisation. Holomisa appealed to De Klerk to scale down the blockade so that nobody was inconvenienced. He described the situation as extremely sensitive.

Briefing journalists after the meeting, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said he gained the impression that Holomisa realised the seriousness of the situation.

The authority with which the Goldstone Commssion reported was stressed to the Transkei delegation. "We are not dealing only with a matter between the SA and Transkei governments. We are dealing with a matter initiated by the Goldstone Commission which was appointed as a result of a resolution of the UN Security Council. It is not going to help for any individual to try to wriggle out of this."

Botha said co-operation between Holomisa's proposed judicial commission and the Goldstone Commission was essential because the UN would not recognise a Transkei commission. He added that developments in the immediate future would determine if and when the security operation on the Transkei border would end. However, the meeting between De Klerk and Holomisa had contributed to an easing of tension between the two governments.

De Klerk briefly raised the issue of TBVC reincorporation during last week's meeting. He said to Holomisa: "I would like to know from you when we can expect to discuss the steps which will be necessary to effect reincorporation. I realise that the multiparty conference will give attention to this matter, but there are certain aspects that have to be addressed on a bilateral basis."

De Klerk added that all obstacles to the smooth progress of negotiations had to be removed. Documents leaked at the multiparty talks in Kempton Park last week indicated that a blueprint for TBVC reincorporation has been prepared and discussed by the main parties.

However, it will still have to be agreed to

Homeland honeypots

Chief ministers secretly raking in huge salaries

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE leaders of the six self-governing territories have the power to pay themselves whatever salaries and perks they please without the knowledge or approval of the SA government.

Although they are financially dependent on the South African taxpayer for millions of rands every year, not even President FW de Klerk knows — or can dictate — how much his counterparts pay themselves.

And, according to legislation amended by each of the homelands from 1987, not even their own inhabitants and parliaments have the right to know what their chief ministers earn.

There has been growing concern in the Department of Regional and Land Affairs following reports of corruption and mismanagement that the spending in the homelands is out of control.

The department took over the function of channelling the funds to each homeland when the Department of Development Aid was disbanded last year.

But attempts by the department to get a grip on the expenditure of the six territories — and in particular the remuneration of political office-bearers — has been proving to be a nightmare.

Once the money is handed over to the homelands, the SA government has no power — except diplomatic persuasion — to dictate how the money is spent. More than 40 percent of the budgets are spent on public servant salaries, sources in the department said this week.

Attempts by the department to ascertain the remuneration of political office-bearers reached deadlock last year with most of the territories telling the department that it was none of their business.

A question by Homeland DP spokesman Peter Soal to Parliament in February this year sounded alarm bells in the department that the remuneration of office-bearers in the homelands had reached a stage of "anarchy".

Mr Soal asked the government to find out whether the homelands had paid themselves bonuses of any kind. Mr Soal said yesterday he had received information that several of the homelands had paid their political office-bearers hefty bonuses.

After two months, the department had still not received satisfactory replies from the six homelands.

And reports this week indicated that Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike's remuneration package of R358 000 exceeded President FW de Klerk's package by R100 000. Even the ordinary ministers' remuneration packages were more than Mr de Klerk's.

While Lebowa hotly denied that these figures were correct, there is little that even the SA government can do to test their word.

The pay packages of the homelands are decided by their cabinets in consultation with the Treasury once a year.

Squeeze

Prior to 1987 the Act which governed the remuneration of political office-bearers was amended each year to give the precise details of what each minister and chief minister earned.

The amended Act would be signed by President de Klerk and then placed before the legislative assemblies for approval. However, since 1987, all the homelands amended this Act, thus enabling the salaries of political office-bearers to remain the knowledge only of the Treasury and the Cabinet.

Attempts by the Sunday Times to establish the salary of Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi were unsuccessful. His secretary, Mr George Smit, said the salary of Chief Buthelezi was confidential. He said it was Chief Buthelezi's prerogative not to make it known. It was information that they did not even disclose to the SA government, he said.

And officials at the Department of Regional and Land Affairs said they were having the same kind of luck. Trying to "squeeze" the information out of the homelands was proving time consuming and frustrating. Many of the homelands were being evasive, they said.

Mr Soal said it appeared that affairs in the homelands were out of hand. He said the SA government should send in auditors to establish the exact state of affairs.

"The rumours of excessive payments must be put to rest. It's intolerable that a situation has arisen where taxpayers' money is spent on rewarding and enriching political office-bearers in secret. It is taxpayers' money. We are entitled to know how it is being spent," he said.

CLOSURE OF GALLERY

MULTI-MILLION RAND STOCK LIQUIDATION SALE
OVER 1 000 PAINTINGS, 300 BRONZES, 600 PERSIAN CARPETS AND RUGS, 400 CHINESE PORCELAIN ITEMS

FORCED, SUDDEN AND UNEXPECTED CLOSURE OF ART GALLERY AT 156 FIFTH STREET, SANDOWN, SANDTON
CANCELLATION OF LEASE DUE TO TAKE OVER OF THE BUILDING BY STANDARD BANK
PREMISES MUST BE VACATED BY 18TH APRIL 1993.

STARTING ON SUNDAY 11 APRIL
10 AM-6 PM
OPEN ON MONDAY 12 APRIL
10 AM-6 PM
AND WEEKDAYS DAILY
9.30 AM-6 PM

URGENT LIQUIDATION SALE OF A VAST COLLECTION OF QUALITY FINE INVESTMENTS AND DECORATIVE WORKS OF ART AT 40%-60% BELOW MARKET PRICES.
A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO ACQUIRE DESIRABLE ART AT AFFORDABLE PRICES.
ALL ITEMS MUST BE CLEARED REGARDLESS OF COST!

IMPORTANT SOUTH AFRICAN PAINTINGS AND WATER COLOURS:

FEW EXAMPLES:		REDUCED TO:
F CLAERHOUT	R400	R145
W H COETZER	R4 000	R1 650
CHRIS TUGWELL	R2 500	R950
TINUS DE JONGH	R4 500	R2 200
HUGO NAUDE	R1 900	R550

INTERNATIONAL BRONZES, PAINTINGS, WATERCOLOURS, ETCHINGS:

FEW EXAMPLES:		REDUCED TO:
FREDERIC REMINGTON	R3 500	R1 400
DALLIN	R4 000	R1 800
KAUBA	R3 800	R2 100
MOIGNIEZ	R4 500	R2 400
MASSON	R3 750	R1 600
MOREAU	R6 500	R2 100

FEW EXAMPLES:		REDUCED TO:
HAND PAINTED CANTONESE VASE	R1 500	R450
IMDRI VASE	R400	R175
FAMILLE-ROSE PLANTERS	R1 400	R450
CANTONESE TEMPLE JAR	R1 500	R650
CANTONESE FRUIT BOWL	R475	R190
DRAGON VASE	R1 600	R600
ROYAL DOULTON CHARACTERS	FROM	R110
PERSIAN MINIATURE PAINTINGS	R400	R145

Over 5 000 lots of Persian tablecloths from R8 each

Contralesa chief slams assassination

UMTATA. — The enemies of peace, freedom and justice would gain from the slaying of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa president Chief Patekile Holomisa said (101) (2554)

He said his organisation would urge its followers and supporters not to do Mr Hani's memory injustice by resorting to violence. ARG 14/4/93

A speedy conclusion of the negotiation process would be a just reward for the blood that spilled by Mr Hani. — Sapa.

Homeland network's 'dark secrets' revealed

A DP MP has disclosed secret documents detailing the efforts of a 'security family' to mobilise homeland leaders against the ANC.

IAN CLAYTON *reports*

A SECURITY "family" under the leadership of one-time director of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald is continuing to mobilise the homelands against the African National Congress and negotiations, secret documents indicate.

And the documents imply that Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana's minister of state affairs, defence and civil aviation, Rowan Cronje, are part of this strategy.

Details of the documents were divulged in parliament on Wednesday night by Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan, a former constitutional adviser to the government whose security clearance was removed when he advocated that the government and the ANC should negotiate with one another

A document which reached Jordaan from an anonymous source in November last year indicates that a secret homeland network, designed to thwart the ANC and constitutional talks, was still operating, albeit in a scaled-down form.

The documents also state:

- That through the infiltration of homelands and extra-parliamentary organisations, the government was kept thoroughly briefed on the programmes and strategies of "other parties",
- That the "family" believed the National Party lacked the will to mobilise all the homelands in its total strategy against the ANC;
- That the "family" also believed democracy could not work in South Africa and "a number of enlightened *(verligte)* dictators had to be established to work against the ANC — with whites in the background pulling the strings and in reality dominating the situation".

Jordaan clashed with the security establishment at a time when Groenewald, who served in PW Botha's all-powerful State Security Council between 1982 and 1985 and retired from the Defence Force in June 1990, was influential. Since his retirement, Groenewald has supported the Conservative Party

The former Minister of Defence, Gene Louw, who retired from office this week, said earlier this year he had not established contact with the chief ministers of homelands "while he was associated with Military Intelligence" and it was not the task of MI to do so.

However, Jordaan's disclosures directly contradict this and indicate that the "security family" had indeed been trying to mobilise homeland leaders against the ANC and deal with "problem children" — Ciskei's one-time life president, Lennox Sebe, and kaNgwane's former chief minister, Enos Mabuza.

Jordaan said in parliament that he had anonymously received two intelligence packages about covert actions, one in September 1990 and the other in November 1992

The first package had described the role of prominent Inkatha Freedom Party member Walter Felgate in relation to kwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "an absolute success."

The same document said Cronje, a former Rhodesian cabinet minister, had been "sent" to Ciskei but that he could not counter the negative influences, who were listed, around Sebe. "In Bophuthatswana, however, he (Cronje) has been extremely successful," the document said.

Jordaan has been criticised since he asked President FW de Klerk in parliament whether Felgate, Cronje and IFP adviser Professor Albert Blauwstein had been ever been paid with covert funds.

Afterwards, he revealed in parliament this week, a senior member of the cabinet, whom he did not name, had appproached him and said: "You want the destruction of our intelligence abilities, don't you?"

Jordaan revealed that he had once attended a meeting of MI personnel, under the chairmanship of Groenewald.

"In contrast with the good reception we received elsewhere, we were literally lambasted and accused of naivety — that we underestimated the enemy (the ANC) and they had to be destroyed."

Jordaan said the second package stated that Groenewald was still playing a crucial role in trying to mobilise the homelands

He concluded by saying: "The DP will continue to expose these darker secrets."

EASTERN CAPE

FM 16/4/93.

101

Sniffing the wind

The Kei dictators have responded differently to a peculiar history

Though overshadowed by ANC secretary-general Chris Hani's murder, the Transkei crisis simmered on this week, threatening to add yet another obstacle to peace and negotiations. Stung by Pretoria's refusal to lift the security cordon around his homeland, in spite of indications that it would do so before the Easter weekend, Gen Bantu Holomisa lashed out with allegations that Hani's assassination was part of government's continuing dirty tricks conspiracy.

In an apparent fit of pique, probably due as much to the border blockade as to Hani's killing, he cancelled an undertaking given to President F W de Klerk this month to convene a judicial inquiry to work with the Goldstone Commission on investigations into Apla activities in Transkei.

Government responded with accusations of irresponsibility but seemed intent on maintaining the security clamp in what appears to be nothing more than old-style *kragdadigheid*, out of keeping with De Klerk's famed ability to negotiate his way out of difficult corners.

It may be that he underestimates the future role of the eastern Cape homelands. But then again he also may know they are lost to the NP, so why not make life a little uncomfortable in the ANC heartland?

Peter Vale, co-director of the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape, says the eastern Cape is "wall-to-wall" ANC territory and symbolically important to the organisation. It's where many of the ANC's major national leaders come from (including Hani) and where the resistance movement is rooted.

But it is also one of SA's most economically depressed regions, producing only 5% of GDP and suffering from massive unemployment and environmental degradation due to drought and overpopulation. This means a future government may have to consider special financial measures, at the very least to stop the slide. Vale says this won't be a popular suggestion in some quarters but politically there may be no choice.

Holomisa ... *an impact on regional politics*

"Apart from spelling disaster for the region, the impact on the national economy and political situation if the eastern Cape collapses could be profound. We would be looking at the development of situations like Mexico City."

This is one of the reasons Holomisa is reluctant to rush into reincorporation. He argues that independence has boosted Transkei's economy, particularly since his coup in December 1987 when he cleaned up the administration.

But the debate on the future of the TBVC states (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) no longer centres on whether they should be reincorporated into SA but when and how.

The unravelling of the complex statutory provisions of nominal independence cannot simply be decreed. It must be negotiated. Once achieved, the states will be incorporated into wider regions currently being determined by negotiators.

Transkei and Ciskei will probably form the bulk of a single region stretching roughly from Knysna in the south to the Natal border in the north, and inland as far the Free State.

It will contain about 15% of SA's voters and 70% of them will be Xhosa. Only two regions are likely to be more populous: Natal with 25% of voters and the PWV with 20%.

The futures of Holomisa and Brig Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei, who took power in a coup in March 1990, could in the end be in the hands of the voters.

Holomisa denies any political ambition but is well placed to follow a political career if he chooses to do so.

Gqozo, who now heads his own political party, the African Democratic Movement, sees himself as a future leader, but appears to have no real support. Vale says Gqozo is "totally out of his depth" and has no credibility among Xhosas.

Holomisa, on the other hand, is probably destined for bigger things in a new SA. Vale says he is perceived as a "charismatic and talented" soldier whose services are likely to be used in a top slot in the new army. Both soldiers overthrew allegedly corrupt civilian

P. T. O.

Homeland separation to end

(10) DT 22/4/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE cornerstone of 45 years of National Party rule — the creation of separate homelands for the black majority — was quietly buried in Parliament last night.

President F W de Klerk announced, with little fanfare, that the four "independent" homelands should be reincorporated into South Africa as soon as possible.

His call reflected official NP acceptance that its dream of creating 10 separate homelands and denying black people the vote in rest of the country had collapsed.

Mr De Klerk said the government believed it was rational and reasonable to incorporate Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei "as soon as possible".

This would mean they would surrender their independence and that their citizens would become South African citizens.

These areas would also have to be given the full opportunity to participate in the mechanisms of the transitional process, including elections.

Mr De Klerk stressed that the confidence in the different regions should not be undermined and care had to be taken that the destruction of existing structures did not have a destabilising effect.

than what he thinks. It is a complicated matter, but the judgment on this appeal will be delivered in the near future.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Lebowa: committees/commissions of inquiry

268. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) (a) How many (i) commissions and/or (ii) committees of inquiry have been appointed to date to conduct investigations into (aa) the affairs of statutory bodies, (bb) allegations of fraud and/or (cc) the misappropriation of funds in Lebowa and (b) in respect of each of these commissions and/or committees, what (i) was its name, (ii) was the name of its chairman, (iii) were its terms of reference, (iv) were its recommendations and (v) was the total cost involved;

(2) (a) which of the recommendations of each of these commissions and/or committees were (i) implemented and (ii) not implemented, (b) (i) why, (ii) in what manner and (iii) when was each of the recommendations in question implemented and (c) why were the other recommendations not implemented? B610E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(1) Two Commissions of Inquiry have been appointed, namely:

(i) the Dekker Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr L W Dekker, whose terms of reference to investigate, report and make recommendations on the possible misappropriation of funds in the Lebowa Government Service; and

(ii) the De Meyer Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr O A de Meyer, whose terms of reference was to inquire into any mismanagement that may have occurred in the Lebowa Government Service, the Lebowa Development Corporation or the Lebowa Agricultural Company.

Recommendations of Dekker Commission

The Commission recommended that:

(a) the Lebowa Department of Agriculture and the Department of Environmental Conservation must exercise stronger control over capital assets with regard to their function and cost implications;

(b) capital budgets be compiled in greater detail and that transfer of budgetary funds not only take place at management meetings with project developers, but be authorised by the Secretary of the relevant Department so that potential misuse of unapplied funds already paid to project developers, be avoided.

(c) the delivery of material and services by one government department to another will take place within the budget and be financially calculated against each other, to determine the actual costs of capital expenditure;

(d) under the guidance of the Department of Finance, registers be kept of capital assets indicating the full costs thereof and subject to internal and external audit;

(e) the Commission recommends that the Lebowa Development Corporation Ltd decrease its loan to Kgosi L C Mothiba with R22 474,34 and that the latter be compelled to summarily repay the said amount *minus* any prepayments on compulsory instalments. After capital redemption and advanced payments an amount of R3 933,85 was paid by Kgosi Mothiba on 14 June 1989.

Recommendations of the De Meyer Commission

The First and Second Reports were tabled in Parliament during January/February 1993. Its recommendations are not repeated here.

The total costs of the Commissions were as follows:

Dekker Commission: R21 686

De Meyer Commission: R376 168

(2) The recommendations of the Dekker Commission were carried out by the Lebowa Government Service. With regard to the De Meyer Commission, some recommendations were carried out, whilst others are still receiving attention.

Citizenship certificates issued

272. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many citizenship certificates (a)(i) had been issued and (ii) remained to be issued as at 31 December 1992, and (b) were issued in 1992, to citizens of each self-governing territory? B619E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

	(a)(i)	(a)(ii)	(b)
KwaZulu	1 611 787	3 122 743	244
Lebowa	278 322	1 379 184	0
Qwaqwa	176 508	199 802	3 258
Ganzankulu	98 444	446 833	0
KaNgwane	4 574	398 405	0
KwaNdebele	47 430	228 874	0

The figures furnished under (a)(ii) are projections based on the latest adjusted 1991 Census figures as supplied by the Central Statistical Service.

Cosag warns of trouble ahead

Star 29/4/93 (101)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) yesterday gave notice that negotiators at tomorrow's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre were heading for another round of confrontation.

Speaking after their meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Cosag members said they were concerned about threats to exclude from negotiations those "retarding the process".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje said although Cosag might not be "the biggest players in the opinion of some", collectively it represented millions of people.

"Nobody should underestimate our anger just because we do not throw stones. We have the chance to get it right," Cronje said.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, whose party circulated a statement at Monday's talks alleging a conspiracy by the Government and the ANC with regard to violence against IFP members, said Pretoria and the ANC were labelling them spoilers because they wanted some issues resolved before elections.

3 homelands to join SA soon – Pik

Star 30/4/93

CAPE TOWN — At least three of the TBVC states would return to South African jurisdiction soon, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha predicted yesterday.

(101)

Introducing debate on the foreign affairs vote, he said he hoped the TBVC states would be reincorporated soon, because public services in Transkei and Ciskei were collapsing.

He and his department remained concerned about misappropriation in the TBVC states. "The worse the misappropriation becomes, the more difficult it will be to repair the damage."

However, the Government had established controls and procedures, such as joint financial adjustment arrangements and measures to strengthen financial management.

Significant progress had been achieved in reducing budgetary deficits but towards the end of the 1980s increased allocations had been made to these states to eliminate pension backlogs.

Botha said Bophuthatswana's financial position was different from that of the other TBVC states as it had a much broader income base. — Sapa.

Tough talk: A blast of hot air

W\Mail 30\4-6\5\93

Angry public statements by political leaders this week amount to little more than pre-negotiation posturing, reports

CHRIS LOUW

NEGOTIATIONS towards a democratically elected constituent assembly by early next year are on track, despite last-ditch efforts by homeland leaders and conservatives to delay the process.

Angry public utterances this week by political leaders amount to pre-negotiation posturing, belying an underlying realisation that they have little option but to follow the democratic process through. They included:

●Strong statements by kwaZulu's Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana's president Lucas Mangope, which are little more than bravado. Inkatha accused the government and the ANC of collusion in murderous attacks on IFP followers, while Mangope said there was no "question whatsoever of Bophuthatswana giving up independence".

●The African National Congress' threat to resort to unprecedented mass action if its deadlines are not met. This was equally hollow and served only as a warning and a show of force.

●President FW de Klerk's assurance on Wednesday evening that South Africa would not unilaterally reincorporate the TBVC states. This was little more than diplomatic posturing.

The reality is that the "independent" homelands will in the end have no option but to become part of a unified South Africa. Their bluff will be called the moment the two major players — the National Party and the ANC — start implementing the transitional executive structures on which they have agreed.

The TBVC states are almost entirely dependent on South Africa for their annual budgets. If the government and the ANC go through with the agreed process, the "independent" homelands will depend next year for their budget allocations on an unsympathetic ruling constituent assembly dominated by the ANC.

The mere thought of losing their financial privileges — including membership of the Southern African Customs and Trade Union — will help concentrate their minds.

Despite the air of political uncertainty created by tough rhetoric following the postponement of the negotiations on Monday, government officials are privately confident the process is on track. Undisturbed by the bluster of the past week, they say only that it would be "preferable" to take along all the negotiating parties — and especially the IFP — rather than strike a bilateral agreement with the ANC.

But if push comes to shove, there is no doubt the government and the ANC will go it alone.

A countrywide referendum to break the deadlock and to approve the transitional process, as suggested by Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert this week, has now become a distinct possibility. The advantage would be that the major parties in the negotiations could phrase the referendum question to suit themselves, as the government did when it embarked on the present road of reform.

If an overwhelming majority vote yes to a question such as "should we proceed with an elected government of national unity?", the no-voters will immediately lose the moral argument, as happened with the Conservative Party after the last white referendum.

The government's insistence on implementing its agreements with the ANC was confirmed on Wednesday when De Klerk repeated his assurances that a transitional executive council (TEC) would be in place by June.

Addressing parliament, he said: "If it appears at the end of May or early in June that we are close to a deadlock, the government will very seriously consider whether initiatives can be undertaken to allow the process to continue."

Addressing a news conference at Tuynhuys on Wednesday after talks with visiting Norwegian Foreign Affairs Minister Johan Jorgen Holst, De Klerk said it was for the new structures in the TEC to set an election date. If good progress was made, he said, elections could take place by the end of the year.

Ironically, De Klerk may find more resistance within his own ranks to his plans to force through the process. Many Nats, both in the cabinet and in the caucus, believe strongly that the form of state must be finalised by the present negotiators, rather than by an elected constituent assembly which they accept will be ANC-dominated.

They want the boundaries, powers and functions of regional states in a new dispensation to be determined by the present multi-party forum, and the principles of a new constitution to be referred to experts and approved by a referendum before elections for a new government.

The differences find expression even within the NP's negotiating team, with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer preferring a constituent assembly to make the final decisions, and Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delport insisting that the present forum finalise the constitution.

Caucus members who are unhappy with the government's strategy include cabinet minister George Bartlett, who wants closer co-operation with Inkatha. Other Nat MPs who would prefer to accommodate Inkatha in the process include Natalians Piet Mathee, Aubrey Thompson and Jaco Maree.

Pik says TBVC to end soon

(101)

ARG 1/5/93

■ TBVC states should be re-incorporated soon because services are collapsing, says Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

AT least three of the TBVC states will return to South African jurisdiction soon, predicts Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha.

Introducing debate on the Foreign Affairs Vote, he said he hoped the TBVC states would be re-incorporated speedily, because public services in Transkei and Ciskei were collapsing.

He and his department remained concerned about mismanagement and misappropriation in the TBVC states.

"The worse the misappropriation becomes, the more difficult it will be to repair the damage."

However, the government had established controls and procedures, such as joint financial adjustment arrangements and measures to strengthen financial management. Structural adjustment programmes had been introduced in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda during 1991/92.

Significant progress was achieved in reducing budgetary deficits, but toward the end of the 1980s, increased allocations had been made to the TBVC states to eliminate backlogs in social pensions.

Mr Botha said Bophuthatswana's financial position was different from that of the other TBVC states. It had a much broader income base, especially from mining, which contributed significantly to its fiscus.

It also recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

Mr Botha said South Africa was now represented in 79 countries. In Africa, full diplomatic relations were now maintained with Ivory Coast, Gabon and the Congo.

Many other countries in Africa and the Middle East had shown increasing interest lately in relations with South Africa.

Budgetary constraints would prohibit residential representation in each African state, but existing representative offices in Nigeria, Senegal, Egypt, Ethiopia and Jordan would have to assume regional responsibilities.

Residential representation in the Gulf States of Bahrain, Oman, United Arab Emirates and Qatar was, however, necessary because of their potential as trade partners.

South Africa could assist in countering the increasing marginalisation of Africa through trilateral projects with other Western countries. South Africa was not a donor country, but South African expertise and knowledge of the African environment would act as an important catalyst for development in the rest of the continent.

New criteria now governed the relations between countries in the post-Cold War era. Ideological alignment was now less important than the extent to which governments provided for the political and economic needs of their people.

The arms race was being replaced by an economic race in which the formation of economic blocs played a major role.

South Africa should carefully consider the need to establish a Council on Foreign Relations to assist the government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the private sector to prepare for new challenges in the country's foreign relations. — Sapa.

Admin hold-ups the least of the problem

Star - 1/5/93

"HOLDING up negotiations" ... "derailing the new South Africa" ... "spoilers". None of these was particularly complimentary, but the men at whom this invective was directed weren't in the least bit contrite.

Key figures in the Concerned Southern Africans Group (COSAG) — an alliance embracing white right-wing parties and some homelands — this week insisted that they were not responsible for the fact that Monday's opening round of Negotiating Council talks produced only frustration and dismay.

The immediate cause, they said, was the fact that delegates were not given the time or means to prepare properly. "We received the documentation at 10 on Monday morning," said Ciskei's chief negotiator Mick Webb. "Then we were expected to take part in the most important debate yet on the future of our country."

Focused

But the problems ran deeper than mere administrative bungling. COSAG leaders said their view of how the talks should be structured differed significantly from those of the Government and the ANC. And that, it seems, would have generated a fair-sized logjam of its own.

Bophuthatswana's principal negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said: "The Government and the ANC have engaged in certain discussions and reached certain understandings, so they are clearly focused on issues on which they have agreed. We believe bilateral meetings are helpful, but not bilateral agreements ... we are not sure of the parties' degree of open-mindedness when these issues are raised in multiparty talks."

COSAG leaders said urgency was not the sole preserve of the Government and the ANC.

Said Webb: "We also believe that there is an urgency, but we are not prepared to sacrifice any part of the process just to allow an imperfect system to be introduced. We don't believe we should be tied to any time-limit. The method of time-limits as exploited at Codesa was its failing. If discussions had carried on at Codesa for a few more hours it would have succeeded."

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate insisted that the IFP's transition proposals reflected far greater urgency than the ANC's and Government's. The latter organisations' plans for a transitional executive council (TEC) and a government of national unity would "exacerbate things. From our side we're looking at a process where negotiations determine the form of state, then a group of constitutional experts and eminent people produce the constitution in two months."

Such a constitution would be put to the people in a referendum, and a final solution would be in place by "the end of 1994. That is our commitment to haste," he said.

The IFP felt the Government and the ANC were using the Negotiating Council and its subcommittees to "move as rapidly as they can to entrench a TEC. They have decided where they want to go, but there is no consensus along the route they are seeking."

Some of the static, the COSAG men said, was the result of mutual mistrust. Said Webb: "Everybody is looking behind the debate for hidden agendas."

Cronje felt accusations of spoiling had "not helped to improve the atmosphere".

Webb said wrangling over the order in which issues were tackled was more than just political point-scoring. Ciskei wanted violence at the top of the agenda, followed by discussion of the "form of state".

"To have an election date when you don't yet know the constitutional form means you are always working to a crisis," he said. An election date would mean "intimidation and political intolerance is bound to increase. Our first task should be to talk about the violence, to take all the fuses out of the situation. Then ... the constitutional principles should be determined and referred to a committee of experts."

Felgate said the IFP, which had lost 270 office bearers to violence, wanted the issue addressed first, in a very specific way. "Umkhonto we Sizwe must go, full stop. No party has suffered anything like such casualties. ANC members have died in mob violence and in mass action, but they haven't been singled out for killing in their beds and in their houses. That is serial killing. We have a special claim to say 'no more violence'."

Cronje, describing the wrangling as a "regrettable but inevitable part of the start-up process", said: "Where issues are put on the agenda doesn't matter to me. But there are people who say the negotiations process is unpredictable, with major issues to resolve. How can you set a date and then try to force the process to meet that date?

Cornerstone

"We would prefer that we determine in broad terms the nature of the constitution at a very early stage, because this influences other issues ... like the boundaries, functions and powers of the various states."

A cornerstone of COSAG policy was a belief in a federal-type state, with significant powers devolved to individual regions. Embodying that in a constitution, rather than setting an election date, would defuse political tension, said Webb. "You won't have Joe Slovo leading an election campaign in the western Cape. The trouble usually comes from outsiders."

COSAG also differed from the ANC and others which believed that the final constitution should be drawn up by an elected assembly. Said Cronje: "All the parties here will not necessarily be part of a new government. We say it is better that the process should be as all-inclusive as possible. The fact that a decision is taken by a majority doesn't make the decision right."

Mum's the word for women delegates

Star 1/5/93

COSAG leaders say they won't sacrifice any part of the process just to allow an imperfect system to be introduced, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

SOME people might say the multiparty talks are delaying the new South Africa, not hastening its birth, but some of the delegations are at least trying.

After all, the Government has an Indian woman as a delegate to the Negotiation Council, one Xhosa homeland is led by a ginger-haired lawyer, and an Afrikaans-speaking ex-Minister in the Rhodesian Cabinet speaks for the Tswanas.

Rowan Cronje, a Minister under Ian Smith and under President Lucas Mangope since 1982, is — on the conference floor at least — effectively the sole voice of the Bophuthatswana delegation. The Ciskei team is similarly partially mute, leaving the talks to Mick Webb, a King William's Town lawyer, who has been an adviser to Oupa Gqozo ever since the brigadier seized power.

At the other end of the horseshoe-shaped conference floor, Devagie Govender — Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates — sits alongside Roelf Meyer with heavyweights like Tertius Delport and Faan van der Merwe taking a back seat.

There is a similar situation at the adjoining table where Dawie de Villiers has Mathilda Ngcobondwane alongside him as a National Party delegate. She is involved with the National Party in Tembisa.

Neither Govender nor Ngcobondwane have said a word in two days of talks, but then not many women have, despite the decision taken that every party should include one woman as a delegate — "allow the ladies into our meetings", as Webb put it.

Two delegates sit in the front row of tables and have speaking rights, while advisers sit in the row behind.

On Monday, for instance, 27 men said their say before the first woman spoke up. There was a brief flurry of speeches by women just before lunch, including a tongue-lashing from S Ismail of the National People's Party who said it was no surprise that little progress had been made when the men simply talked on and on. That was said without so much as a glance at her NPP teammate Amichand Rajbansi. But after that, as the debate got hotter the women seemed to go *shtum*.

The only party that has not accepted the instructions on women's delegates is the Conservative Party. That prompted Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party to ask whether the Le Roux on their list was Mrs or Miss. Even Frank le Roux, member of Parliament for Brakpan, couldn't resist a chuckle.

South 116 – 5/6/93

'One nation, one army'

Rockland Williams

JOINT control over the security forces is desirable for two reasons. The first is the fact that South Africa possesses at present no less than seven different armed forces (MK, the SADF, the TBVC armies and APLA).

This is a highly unfavourable and fragmented situation in a country desirous of attaining a degree of national unity and nationhood.

The second reason pertains to the immense problems of command and control over seven disparate armed formations.

Each of these armies has a particular political affinity, military identity and institutional past.

Unless grouped under an appropriate joint command structure, these armed forces can and have been used in the pursuit of partisan and party political agendas.

In the interests of a non-violent electoral campaign it remains imperative, therefore, to ensure that these forces are deployed in a neutral and non-partisan manner.

There are two different forms of control which can be exerted over the armed forces. The first is political control and the second is military control.

Political control over the armed forces refers to the supreme control exerted by both the political and civilian authorities.

In the transitional scenario in South Africa such control will be vested in a sub-council on defence and will be concerned with the principles, guidelines and policy framework within which the armed forces are deployed before the elections.

However, joint political control can only be effective to the extent that it translates itself into practical operational measures on the ground.

Joint military control over the different armed forces would require control exercised over the deployment, training and discipline of the different armies by their commanders.

This provides the commanders with the authority to ensure the deployment of the armed forces takes place according to the guidelines agreed to by the political authorities.

It is best effected by a joint high command upon which senior officers of all the armed forces are represented. This will have authority over the different areas of military activity of all the armies — joint inspection teams to inspect facilities; joint operations committees to co-ordinate and oversee joint operations; joint intelligence committees to share information and joint training committees to standardise training requirements.

The institution of a joint high command makes both political and military sense. No major military actor in the present transition can claim a monopoly over the skills, expertise and experience required to constitute a new defence force.

While some armed forces posess technical advantages over their counterparts, others enjoy greater levels of legitimacy than their technocratic rivals.

South Africa can neither afford the real or potential divisiveness inherent in the maintenance of seven different armies, nor the inequalities entailed in the dominance of one military structure over another.

(Rocky Williams is the coordinator of the Military Research Group).

Own Affairs *Hospitals*	*Admissions* (a) *Black*	(b) *White*	(c) *Coloured*	(d) *Indian*
Sybrand van Niekerk	6 845	6 189	0	0
Van Velden Memorial	234	1 915	0	2
Ventersdorp	735	789	0	0
Vereeniging	3 273	13 388	192	227
Voortrekker Memorial	0	3 052	0	20
Warmbaths	3	2 661	0	0
Waterval Boven	371	577	0	0
Willem Cruywagen	7 444	7 108	253	91

Provincial Administration of Orange Free State

Hospital	*Admissions* (a) *Black*	(b) *White*	(c) *Coloured*	(d) *Indian*
Universitas	535	21 375	180	74
National	0	10 432	114	0
Pelonomi	39 289	0	4 199	0
Boitumelo	13 459	0	355	0
Phekolong	11 038	0	202	0
Welkom	13 385	15 198	681	0
Bothaville	2 840	799	0	0
Botshabelo	6 633	0	0	0
Clocolan	2 180	624	0	0
Ficksburg	824	2 910	27	34
Frankfort	2 559	622	3	0
Harrismith	2 592	1 164	25	15
Heilbron	3 500	866	268	0
Hoopstad	2 414	497	0	0
Jagersfontein	1 376	0	4	0
Ladybrand	2 798	556	98	9
Odendaalsrus	6 502	3 112	0	0
Parys	3 896	1 825	0	0
Reitz	3 855	734	0	0
Senekal	2 553	688	0	0
Smithfield	780	181	27	0
Virginia	4 183	4 663	28	2
Vrede	1 447	358	1	0
Winburg	2 246	743	5	0
Zastron	2 025	0	26	0

Other Provincial Administrations

Statistics according to race are no longer maintained at Natal and Cape provincial hospitals.

Hospitals: patients turned away

244. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

Whether any provincial hospitals turned patients away in 1992 because they were members of a race group other than White; if so, (a) which hospitals and (b) for what reasons? B454E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

All four provincial authorities report that they have no knowledge of any patient being turned away.

Self-governing territories: officials seconded

261. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Education and Training and of National Housing (Minister responsible for the Commission for Administration):

(1) (a) How many officials in the Public Service had been seconded to each self-governing territory, (b) what post was held by each such official, and (c) what was the cost of the secondment of such officials, as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(2) whether all posts in these territories in respect of which secondment is required are filled at present; if not, how many remained vacant as at the latest specified date for which figures are available;

(3) whether any further secondments are envisaged; if so, how many? B618E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING AND OF NATIONAL HOUSING (Minister responsible for the Commission for Administration):

(1) (a) and (b) The latest date for which information is available is 31 March 1993 and, as requested, this information is contained in the attached Schedules, and

(c) the cost of the secondment of such officials for the period 1 April 1992 to 31 December 1992 amounted to R88 308 186;

(2) no; a survey indicated that 1 159 of the posts concerned were vacant on 31 March 1993;

(3) yes; numbers will be determined on the basis of stated requirements and the availability of funds and manpower.

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO GAZANKULU

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Agricultural Adviser	3
Agricultural Extension Technician	1
Administration Clerk	2
Artisan (B Group)	1
Artisan Foreman	2
Artisan Superintendent	1
Chief Magistrate	1
Chief Nature Conservator	2
Chief Surveyor	1
Control Agricultural Techinician	1
Dentist	1
Dietitian	1
Director	1
Director: Agriculture	1
Director-General	2
Engineer	2
Intern (Medical)	7
Magistrate	1
Medical Officer	24

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Nature Conservator	1
Occupational Therapist	6
Pharmacist	4
Physiotherapist	3
Plant Production Techinician	2
Police: Function Personnel	3
Principal Artisan Superintendent	1
Principal Dentist	1
Principal Medical Officer	10
Principal Medical Technologist	1
Radiographer	1
Senior Magistrate	3
Senior Family Practitioner	1
Senior Medical Officer	2
Senior Medical Technologist	1
Senior Occupational Therapist	2
Senior Pharmacist	2
Senior Physiotherapist	1
Senior Professional Nurse	1
Senior Specialist	1
Senior Speech Therapist and Audiologist	1
Senior Superintendent	2
Senior Works Inspector	2
Specialist	20
State Veterinarian	2
Superintendent	2
Total	131

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO LEBOWA

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Administration Clerk	1
Agricultural Adviser	17
Agricultural Extension Technician	7
Artisan (A Group)	59
Artisan (B Group)	26
Artisan Foreman	9
Artisan Instructor	1
Artisan Superintendent	3
Assistant Director: Administration	1
Assistant Director: Agriculture	1
Chief Administration Clerk	1
Chief Forester	1
Chief Nature Conservator	1
Clinical Psychologist	2
Control Agricultural Technician	1
Dentist	1

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Deputy Chief Engineer	2
Deputy Director: Administration	1
Deputy Director: Forestry	1
Deputy Director: Veterinary Services	1
Deputy Secretary: Agriculture	1
Deputy Secretary: Financial Management	2
Engineer	3
Ethnologist	1
Farm Foreman	1
Forester	1
Forestry Scientist	1
General Foreman	1
Industrial Technician	5
Magistrate	7
Medical Officer	8
Nature Conservation Scientist	3
Nature Conservator	3
Occupational Therapist	1
Personal Secretary	1
Personnel Officer	1
Physiotherapist	1
Plant Production Technician	5
Police: Functional Personnel	13
Principal Forestry Scientist	1
Principal General Foreman	6
Principal Medical Officer	9
Principal Nature Conservator	3
Principal Typist	1
Provincial Inspector	2
Secretary: Financial Management	1
Senior Accountant	3
Senior Administration Clerk	1
Senior Administrative Officer	1
Senior Artisan	17
Senior Engineer	1
Senior Magistrate	1
Senior Occupational Therapist	1
Senior Physiotherapist	1
Senior Public Prosecutor	1
Senior Provisioning Administration Clerk	1
Senior Superintendent	1
Senior Works Inspector	2
Specialist	13
State Veterinarian	3
Veterinary Technician	2
Works Inspector	8
Total	276

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO KANGWANE

Post occupied (101)	*Number of officials seconded*
Administration Clerk	5
Administration Officer	2
Animal Health Technician	1
Artisan (A Group)	3
Artisan Foreman	4
Assistant Director	2
Assistant Secretary	1
Chief Administration Clerk	2
Control Works Inspector	1
Deputy Director. Secretary: Government Service Commission	1
Deputy Secretary: Financial Management	2
Director	1
Engineer	2
Industrial Technician	2
Intern (Medical)	6
Magistrate	2
Medical Officer	19
Nature Conservation Scientist	1
Nature Conservator	4
Nurse Assistant	1
Occupational Therapist	1
Personal Secretary	3
Pharmacist	1
Physiotherapist	1
Police: Functional Personnel	1
Principal Dentist	1
Principal Forester	2
Principal Forestry Scientist	1
Principal Medical Officer	11
Principal Specialist	1
Professional Officer	1
Provincial Inspector	1
Provisioning Administration Officer	1
Regional Director	1
Secretary	2
Senior Accountant	3
Senior Administration Clerk	4
Senior Administration Officer	1
Senior Deputy Secretary	1
Senior Occupational Therapist	1
Senior Personnel Officer	1
Senior Pharmacist	1
Senior Physiotherapist	1
Senior Professional Nurse	1
Senior Radiographer	1
Senior Specialist	2
Senior Superintendent	2
Specialist	7
State Accountant	1

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
State Veterinarian	2
Superintendent	2
Works Inspector	3
Total	125

(101)

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO KWANDEBELE

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Administration Clerk	1
Artisan (B Group)	8
Artisan Foreman	2
Artisan Superintendent	3
Assistant Director	5
Assistant Secretary: Financial Management	1
Chief Engineer	1
Chief Industrial Technician	1
Chief Nature Conservator	1
Chief Personnel Officer	1
Chief Works Inspector	3
Control Computer Operator	1
Deputy Chief Engineer	1
Deputy Secretary: Data Processing	1
Deputy Secretary: Financial Management	1
Engineer	1
Industrial Technician	1
Magistrate	3
Nature Conservator	1
Personal Secretary	2
Police: Functional Personnel	21
Project Superintendent	1
Provincial Inspector	1
Regional Court Magistrate	1
Secretary: Administration	1
Secretary: Department of the Chief Minister	1
Secretary: Public Service Commission	1
Senior Accountant	5
Senior Administration Officer	4
Senior Magistrate	3
Town and Regional Planner	1
Works Inspector	4
Total	83

Cont-d

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO QWAQWA

Post occupied (101)	*Number of officials seconded*
Agricultural Adviser	2
Agricultural Resource Technician	1
Artisan	7
Artisan Foreman	11
Artisan Superintendent	16
Assistant Director: Community Liaison	1
Assistant Secretary: Administration	1
Chief Industrial Technician	5
Chief Magistrate	1
Chief Roads Superintendent	1
Clinicial Psychologist	1
Control Agricultural Technician	1
Control Industrial Technician	2
Deputy Secretary: Financial Management	2
Director: Administration	2
Dentist	1
Drilling Inspector	1
Engineer	2
Industrial Technician	2
Medical Officer	3
Personal Secretary	1
Police: Functional Personnel	7
Principal Installation Superintendent	2
Principal Works Inspector	1
Secretary: Department of the Chief Minister	1
Secretary: Financial Management	1
Secretary: Interior	1
Senior Accountant	1
Senior Artisan Superintendent	3
Senior Engineer	1
Senior Programmer	1
Senior Storekeeper	1
Senior Works Inspector	2
Specialist	2
State Law Adviser	1
Works Inspector	3
Total	92

RSA PUBLIC SERVANTS SECONDED TO KWAZULU

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Administration Clerk	10
Administrative Officer	11
Agriculturist	2
Architect	2
Artisan (A Group)	36
Artisan (C Group)	8
Artisan Foreman	14

Post occupied (101)	*Number of officials seconded*
Artisan Syperintendent	8
Assistant Director: Administration	5
Assistant Secretary: Administration	10
Assistant Secretary: Medical Technology	1
Chief Magistrate	1
Chief Medical Superintendent	2
Chief Medical Technologist	1
Chief Pharmacist	1
Chief Physiotherapist	1
Chief Programmer	1
Chief Radiographer	1
Chief Surveyor	1
Clerk: Finance	1
Commissioner: Prison Service	1
Control Industrial Technician	7
Control Physiotherapist	1
Control Radiographer	1
Control Works Inspector	2
Dentist	11
Deputy Chief Engineer	2
Deputy Director: Administration	1
Deputy Director: Efficiency Services	1
Deputy Director: Forestry	1
Deputy Director: Trade and Industry	1
Deputy Director: Veterinary Services	1
Deputy Secretary: Administration	5
Deputy Secretary: Administration (Regional Director)	3
Deputy Secretary: Computerised Information Systems	1
Deputy Secretary: Financial Management	1
Deputy Secretary: Technical Services	2
Director: Secretary: Government Service Commission	1
Engineer	5
Ethnologist	1
Foreman: General (Grade III)	1
Head: Agriculture	1
Head: Operations	1
Head: Personnel	1
Housemother	2
Industrial Technician	6
Laundry Manager	1
Magistrate	5
Medical Officer	244
Medical Superintendent	11
Medical Technologist	5
Motor Mechanic	1
Nature Conservation Scientist	4
Nature Conservator	2
Occupational Therapist	2
Oral Hygienist	4
Personal Secretary	4
Pharmacist	15

cont→

Post occupied	*Number of officials seconded*
Physiotherapist	4
Plumber	1
Police: Functional Personnel	20
Principal Dentist	3
Principal Forester	2
Principal Medical Officer	15
Principal Nature Conservator	2
Principal Pharmacist	4
Principal Specialist	15
Professional Nurse	2
Project Superintendent	7
Quantity Surveyor	2
Radiographer	7
Receptionist/Typist	2
Secretary (Chief Director)	1
Senior Account	2
Senior Administration Clerk	7
Senior Administrative Officer	11
Senior Deputy Secretary: Administration	4
Senior Deputy Secretary: Local Government	1
Senior Engineer	2
Senior Forestry Scientist	2
Senior Magistrate	6
Senior Medical Superintendent	2
Senior Pharmacist	8
Senior Professional Nurse	2
Senior Programmer	1
Senior Project Superintendent	11
Senior Public Prosecutor	2
Senior Security Officer	1
Senior Specialist	19
Senior Works Inspector	3
Specialised Auxiliary Services Officer (Laboratory)	4
Specialist	73
Staff Head	1
Staff Nurse	1
State Veterinarian	3
Surveyor	6
Town and Regional Planner	1
Works Inspector	3
Total	739

Primary schools in PE: end-of-year examinations

264. Mr E W TRENT asked the Minister of Education and Training:

How many pupils in each of the primary schools falling under his Department in the Port Elizabeth metropole (a) wrote and (b) passed the end-of-year examinations in 1992? B623E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

Primary Schools in Port Elizabeth Metropole

(W) Wrote examinations
(P) Passed end-of-year examinations in 1992

Name of school	*SSA*		*SSB*		*STD 1*		*STD 2*		*STD 3*		*STD 4*		*STD 5*	
	W	*P*	*W*	*P*	*W*	*P*	*W*	*P*	*W*	*P*	*W*	*P*	*W*	*P*
Masangwana									90	68	112	101	149	129
S Mazungula									190	155	241	175	165	156
New Brighton									42	33	64	58	105	97
Molefe									32	28	60	48	106	92
Ernest Skosana									258	213	125	92	33	25
Ilungelo									175	141	165	141	144	115
Isaac Booi									317	195	232	86	233	212
Myezo									217	152	231	213	241	237
Garret									336	277	363	330	335	315
Aaron Goadu									397	299	242	205	188	164
Mvisiswano									243	196	292	277	288	261
Henry Nginza									333	287	335	308	289	251
Matodlana									223	213	249	223	222	217
Emfundweni									304	276	242	224	280	275
Esitiyeni									304	246	280	251	217	146
Sithembile									203	162	187	183	193	178
Inkqubela									323	249	276	245	255	228
Ben Sinuka	179	169	138	119	115	107	157	146						
Ntyatyambo	262	216	50	39	48	41	42	35	87	72	52	45	72	54
Lamani	160	127	140	128	127	121	133	127						
Charles Duna	262	254	257	251	216	195	210	205						
Kama	140	135	154	141	132	100	130	130						
Arthur Nyobo	192	175	100	93	102	92	152	144						
Jarvis Gqamlana	120	97	90	71	67	61								
S Nongogo	232	192	148	141	114	108	98	90						
Kwa Ford	114	92	121	98	104	94	109	107	81	74				
Pendla	163	142	121	105	143	117	138	131	51	50	30	29		
David Vuku	225	106	180	165	135	125	135	127						
BJ Mnyanda	228	164	147	120	148	117	141	128						
Daniels	232	185	320	262	237	205	185	156						
Ebongweni	160	160	210	205	210	205	220	215						
Elumanyanweni	314	249	255	226	204	180	257	242						
Emsengeni	334	275	324	297	268	235	253	210						
Emozomncane	333	314	192	182	170	161	164	156						
Ilita	225	200	214	202	193	177	151	147						
Funimfundo	376	334	230	211	141	131	128	121						
JK Zondi	227	167	157	145	145	137	154	144						
Kayser Ngxwana	234	214	150	138	167	155	191	172						
KK Ncwana	180	179	180	178	177	168	180	174						
Masakhane	130	111	162	148	163	148	142	134						
Mnqophiso	192	160	140	127	143	114	153	136						
Mzimhlophe	300	270	274	249	241	216	172	157						
Mzomtsha	200	165	198	164	178	155	189	173						
Nkuthalo	236	209	150	136	160	141	149	138						
Phakama	251	232	201	185	183	167	172	149						
Seyise	135	129	178	162	179	149	135	133						

Contd

ing out of the hon the Minister's reply, is she happy to have a circular sent out to teachers in which the deputy director-general is noncommittal and uncertain in respect of the agreement reached between his Department and Sadtu and in which he says "to the best of my knowledge?"

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I cannot answer for that.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I am only going to allow one more supplementary question. Since this is a matter of such great importance, I want to make a suggestion. I am sure the hon the Minister is prepared to make time to see hon members in her office in order to debate this matter in such a manner that a solution can be arrived at Order! I am going to accept the hon member Mr P Naidoo's question.

Mr P NAIDOO: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, what measures, if any, have been taken by the Department to fill the void created by those teachers involved in the chalk-down?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, none at the moment. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I wish to conclude this matter now. I appeal to hon members for their co-operation. I always try to run the affairs of this House as democratically as possible, but there are certain constraints My appeal to hon members is that, in view of the graveness of this matter, hon members make arrangements with the hon the Minister to discuss the matter with her.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I am prepared to meet anyone who wants to come and offer their advice.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister has extended an open invitation, and I am sure she will even treat hon members to a cup of tea. Hon members must please make use of her offer.

Mr N SINGH: Mr Chairman, from this side of the House I would like to thank you for your indulgence.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! It was a pleasure. I am at the service of the House.

For written reply.

Own affairs:

Luncheon for staff members

37. Mr A RAJBANSI asked the Chairman of the Ministers' Council·

(1) Whether he or any other member of the Ministers' Council arranged a luncheon for staff members of a Department in the Administration: House of Delegates on or about 24 March 1993; if so, (a) what was the purpose of the luncheon, (b) who (i) arranged and (ii) paid for it, (c) how many persons (i) were invited to and (ii) attended the luncheon and (d) what Department was involved;

(2) whether any taxpayers' money was used to pay for this luncheon, if so, (a) why and (b) in accordance with what regulations;

(3) whether any persons who did not intend attending the luncheon were required to furnish reasons for their non-attendance orally or in writing; if so, why? D189E

The CHAIRMAN OF THE MINISTERS' COUNCIL

(1) Yes

(a) To bid farewell to the retiring Chief Director: Finance

(b) (i) Ministers' Council

(ii) Entertainment Vote of the Chairman—Ministers' Council Total cost R563,65

(c) (i) 52 persons

(ii) 49 persons

(d) Chief Directorate: Finance, Heads and Officials of other Departments and Parliamentary staff which was associated with the retiring of the Chief Director.

(2) Yes

(a) To bid farewell to the retiring Chief Director: Finance

(b) In terms of the entertainment allowance on the budget the Chairman of the Ministers' Council and appropriated by Parliament.

(3) No. However, for catering purposes persons invited were requested to indicate whether they would attend.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Self-governing states: remuneration packages

34. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs·

Whether any cabinet members of each of the six self-governing states received any (a) Christmas bonuses, (b) other bonuses, (c) extra remuneration, (d) travelling allowances and (e) housing allowances during the period 1 January 1991 up to and including 31 December 1992; if so, (i) which members received payments, and (ii) what amounts were paid (aa) in total, and (bb) to each member involved, in respect of each of the above categories? B70E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

Information regarding bonuses, allowances, policy, and procedures with regard to vehicles and the use and selling thereof are not readily available. From what I could establish motor vehicles for official use in the self-governing territories were purchased by means of government contracts, tender and under the motor vehicle financing scheme. In most of the self-governing territories motor vehicles were sold on public auction or by tender to the public after an approved amount of kilometres and on recommendation of a board of survey.

Guidelines for the adjustment to the remuneration package of political office bearers is forwarded to the Self-governing Territories each year. To the best of my knowledge they adjust their packages according to these guidelines.

As you are interested in data of self-governing territories, which, according to Act No 21 of 1971, have autonomy over those aspects you now touch on, and as this information is considered confidential, I suggest that you approach the Chief Ministers, with whom you hopefully have a relationship of trust, to personally supply the information to you. I trust that your need will be satisfied in this way

Self-governing territories: motor vehicles for cabinet members

41. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs

(1) (a) What policy is followed by each of the six self-governing territories in regard to the purchase of motor vehicles for the (i) official and (ii) personal use of cabinet members and (b) how many vehicles were purchased for the said cabinet members of each territory during the period 1 January 1991 up to and including 31 December 1992;

(2) what procedure is followed by each such territory in regard to the disposal of such vehicles when replaced;

(3) whether any such vehicles were sold during the above period; if so, (a) to whom, (b) at what price and (c) what was the book value of each such vehicle? B71E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

(See reply to Question No 34 above.)

Mossgas: costs/production figures

307. Mr G C ENGEL asked the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs:

With reference to the Mossgas project, what (a) is the total capital cost, including interest subsidies, to date, (b) are the anticipated further capital costs in respect of this project, (c) are the production figures in respect of fuel and other related products expressed as percentages of total fuel consumption and (d) in respect of each of the latest specified five years for which figures are available, was the total amount (i) saved in foreign exchange, at ruling prices, and (ii) forfeited in fuel levies and taxes which are levied on imported fuel but not on Mossgas fuel? B688E

Cont'd

'Cop out' answers to MP's questions

Star 7/5/93

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government was covering up corruption in some of the self-governing territories, the Democratic Party charged yesterday.

DP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said a response to questions tabled by him on "Christmas bonuses", the purchase of cars and other perks for Cabinet members in the territories was a "cop-out".

Autonomy

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie had replied that information on "bonuses, allowances, policy and procedures with regard to the vehicles" was not readily available. He said the self-governing territories had autonomy over the issues raised in the questions and "I suggest you approach the Chief Ministers".

An angry Soal last night said: "I know they (the Government) have some of the information. I know a number of the homelands gave themselves substantial Christmas bonuses. There were also irregularities in the selling of cars."

Soal said he believed Fourie had "chosen not to answer the question properly because the public is angry about corruption scandals".

Fourie, in his written reply, said that "from what I could establish motor vehicles for official use in the self- governing territories ... were purchased by means of government contracts, tender and under the motor vehicle financing scheme.

"In most of the self-governing territories motor vehicles were sold on public auction or by tender to the public after an approved amount of kilometres and on recommendation of a board of survey."

Soal said the response was a "dreadful indictment of the Goverment, because what it means is that Parliament has no control over its money".

Autonomy for homelands?

(101) Political Staff

THE government was negotiating with the four "independent" homelands about their reincorporation into South Africa as largely autonomous regions, President F W de Klerk said in an interview yesterday.

"We are negotiating with the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) states about a possible model for their reincorporation," he said in an interview in yesterday's issue of Vrye Weekblad.

Homelands live beyond their means

SI Times [Buss] 9/5/93

101

By KEVIN DAVIE

THE independent and self-governing homelands are spending five times more than they earn.

Revenue shortfalls are particularly acute in the independent TBVC states, which collectively owe R5,8-billion. Transkei's revenue last year, mainly from taxing public servants, was only R780-million compared with spending of R5,2-billion.

Bophuthatswana, the best-off financially, collected revenue of R1,7-billion last year and spent R4,3-billion.

Bophuthatswana this week cut its company tax from 35% to 30% when announcing that its budget had increased from R4,1-billion to R4,9-billion.

The TBVC and self-governing states last year collected R5,3-billion from their own sources and spent R24,4-billion.

The shortfall was partly made up by transfer payments from the SA Government of about R13,8-billion, R2-billion in payments from the SA Customs Union, tax transfers of R509-million and rand monetary area payments of R70-million.

These transfers were topped up by borrowings of R3-billion by the TBVC states, mostly from the SA Government and the Development Bank

Homeland finances are in the spotlight because of SA's R28,5-billion Budget deficit and disclosures of widespread corruption in the homelands and in the infamous Department of Development Aid.

The SA Government, which has budgeted to increase transfers by 21% to the TBVC states and 22% to the self-governing territories, has been attacked by the Democratic Party for not being accountable for homeland spending.

The TBVC states audit their own spending. The Auditor-General's office audits the self-governing territories, but these reports are not tabled in Parliament.

A document produced by SAPRO, the secretariat set up to oversee structural adjustment programmes in the homelands, says spending has increased significantly since 1989-90 because of political and socio-economic considerations.

"A further contributing factor was the non-compliance of the TBVC governments to the orginally agreed guidelines.

"The situation has subsequently deteriorated to such an extent that R2,5-billion is needed during (1992-93) to cover the deficit of the TBVC states," the document says.

SAPRO chairman Deon Richter says financial management has been neglected over many years with some highly questionable spending.

He says most of the spending on white elephants has been stopped, although "one or two still slip through".

Mr Richter says SA's regional governments have limited income of their own. VAT income, for instance, for the self-governing areas last year was a paltry R34-million.

"Nowhere on the planet will you find regional governments with such a limited revenue basis," says Mr Richter.

Disparities

About 40% of SA's population — the poorest of the poor — live in these areas. Many are of schoolgoing age or pensionsers.

Mr Richter says homeland spending was increased this year to equalise pensions. He says there are huge disparities between the level of services provided in the homelands and other areas.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says the homelands are a shambles of incompetence, corruption and waste. He says it is unacceptable that the Government will not take responsibility for the taxpayers' money it transfers to the homelands.

"Rationalisation will get rid of duplication so that services can be provided at a far lower cost."

DEON RICHTER: Most white elephant spending is over Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

Homelands agree on joint services

ST Times 9/5/93

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government will introduce, within 10 days, a law which allows the joint administration of services in the six homelands.

The legislation was approved by representatives from the six homelands at a meeting with Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie in Pretoria this week.

It will effectively leave the political structures of the states intact, but will remove the administration of a large number of its functions — like the provison of health services and pensions — to the provinces.

Also in draft form is legislation which will allow State President FW de Klerk to proclaim the reincorporation of the TBVC states once agreeent has been reached in negotiations.

This legislation, which will go to the Cabinet shortly, will be introduced before the end of the parliamentary session and allows Mr de Klerk to amend their status by proclamation in a parliamentary recess.

Mr Fourie said this week the legislation concerning the six territories would allow Mr de Klerk to proclaim the joint provision of services once agreement had been reached with the provinces.

Lebowa, Gazankulu and the Transvaal Provincial Administartion have already had their first steering committee meeting to agree on what functions can be jointly administered to do away with duplication in the region.

There is also a bilateral arrangement with the TPA and Kwandebele while discussions for the setting up of a steering committee for Kangwane still need to be finalised.

Plotting and planning in the 10-man committee

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee.

Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA's future in the full glare of the world's spotlight.

But each one of these men has a mandate from his leader — to cut the best deal possible for his party. And it is here that the compromises that will dictate the course of this country are bashed out before being scrutinised in the public forum.

When the 10 men enter the room, they leave behind them the rhetoric and antagonism that has become the daily fare of the press.

In their "personal capacities" they represent the main political forces in the country.

They are the Concerned South Africans Group consisting of the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — but not the CP, the government, the ANC alliance with the Transkei and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses.

On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Cosag lobby is Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party's national chairman and the planning committee's self-appointed elder statesman.

Stubborn

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Cosag alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party — in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timeously intervenes to settle the feathers with the kindly voice of Cosag reason. He can be stoically stubborn and maintains a tolerant but dignified silence at the waves of hilarity that often convulse the room.

Seated on his left is his Cosag ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and red-faced adviser to Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and a King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, over-anxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

He is bolstered in his querulousness by Bophuthatswana minister of defence Rowan Cronje, a former minister under Rhodesia's Ian Smith and brother-in-law to CP MP Tom Langley.

Meticulously toupeed, he is smooth and articulate, always agreeable to ensuring the continuation of negotiations but careful to often reserve the tiny homeland's right to abstain from binding decisions.

Separating the Cosag lobby from the government representative is the PAC's Benny Alexander, neatly dressed in a suit and tie, having forsaken his grenadilla-coloured wrestling outfit and uncompromising rhetoric displayed at the talks forum last month.

The youngest participant in the room, he is an enthusiastic first-time player, thriving on the process, but subdued by the courtship dance of the government and the ANC of the Cosag lobby. He takes a middle road in promoting the process, careful never to rock the boat.

His neighbour to the left is the slightly built and boyish Constitutional Minister and chief negotiator Roelf Meyer. He takes a fair and apparently honest approach in debate, always maintaining his cool when riled.

When trying to convince the participants, he seldom raises his voice and often uses a self-effacing manner.

Across the table is the ANC's secretary-general and chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings. When his intervention is necessary — and in a manner too smooth even for a margarine advertisement — he slowly and patiently explains his party's viewpoint.

He will magnanimously concede an insignificant point to a Cosag opponent and then shrewdly scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zam Titus, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and diligent fashion, but without the keen sensitivity to nuance that the other facilitators display.

Logical

Often forgetting to switch on his microphone, he will irritably boom forth what he sees as the most no-nonsense approach to a particular issue, and for some reason, the rest of the squabblers come to heel.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, habitually dressed in his tired red socks, makes his points best by leaning forwards on his crossed arms.

His arguments are always calm, reasoned and logical, never disregarding principle for consensus, but neither sacrificing progress for political gain.

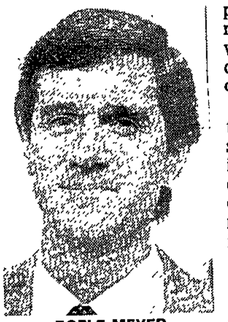
The proceedings of the 10 are kept for the record by Gillian Hutchings, a seconded employee from the Consultative Business Movement,

Ever watchful over the proceedings is the CBM's Theuns Eloff, head of administration for negotiations who constantly anticipates the moment which will spell either breakthrough or chaos.

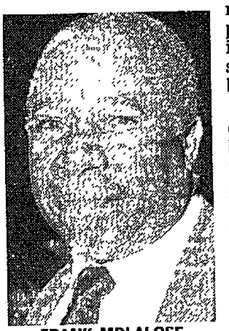
— EDYTH BULBRING

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA
He gives a point while he scores an advantage

COLIN EGLIN
The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel



ROELF MEYER
The Minister with a cool, fair and honest approach



FRANK MDLALOSE
The kindly voice of reason who settles ruffled feathers

Cosag tries to flex negotiating muscles

Star 10/5/93

The Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) has begun to makes its presence felt at the talks to determine South Africa's future. Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA puts the spotlight on the group.

THEY have leap-frogged to the top of television and radio news bulletins over the past few weeks and have had more than their share of newspaper headlines.

And last week spokesmen for the newly formed "Committee of Generals", which seeks to unite the rightwing, gave as one of their reasons for existence the . bolstering of Cosag in multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

They call themselves the Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag — because some of them cherish their territories' "independence" and therefore do not see themselves as South Africans — and seek to strengthen one another's position in negotiations.

But who are they, and how did they come to be allies, these members of Cosag?

Theirs is a strange political marriage of convenience, and political observers expect it to go the way of all such marriages when the relationship among them sours and the chemistry ceases to exist.

Cosag was formed in Sandton in October following the signing of the September 26 Record of Understanding by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

That agreement, which included the fencing in of hostels regarded as violence flashpoints and the banning of the carrying of all dangerous weapons — including "traditional" or "cultural" weapons — angered Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He immediately suspended contact with the Government, accusing Pretoria and the ANC of having embarked on an "ethnic cleansing" campaign against Zulus.

He said while he was not against the holding of bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC, he was opposed to agreements reached in such meetings if they had implications for people and parties not represented in the meetings.

Buthelezi, whose relationship with De Klerk's Government was gradually cooling off, met in Mmabatho with Bophuthatswana President Chief Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The three met again a week later in Sandton and extended an invitation to right-wing and homeland groups which shared their antipathy to the ANC and the Government.

Present at that meeting were Buthelezi and his party, Mangope and some members of his government, Gqozo and members of his government, the late Conservative Party (CP) leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and his delegation, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and his delegation, as well as delegations from other lesser-known groups such as the Afrikaner Vryheid Stigting (Avstig) and the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association.

Except for the IFP, none of the organisations and parties present could claim that the Record of Understanding had any direct implications for it and its members.

And so Cosag was born, and its first public statement was a call for a multi-party conference which would review both the Record of Understanding and agreements reached in the moribund Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The group seems to be functioning only at leadership level

Mangosuthu Buthelezi . . . angered by agreement between the ANC and the Government.

— Gqozo and IFP western Transvaal leader Humphrey Ndlovu attended Treurnicht's funeral in Pretoria two weeks ago — but one can hardly imagine any camaraderie between, say, IFP members with their CP counterparts on the ground.

Asked what binds them together, Cosag secretary Johan Ferreira told The Star what they had in common was their opposition to a unitary state in favour of a federal/confederal state providing for self-determination.

Although its KwaZulu-Natal constitution adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in December last year is more confederal than federal, the IFP insists it wants a federal system for South Africa.

Gqozo and Mangope do not want to relinquish the power they now enjoy in their respective territories, and would like a confederal system for South Africa. Unlike Buthelezi, they have little support in their own backyards.

Gqozo is extremely unpopular in Ciskei, and there was jubilation and excitement on the streets of Mmabatho when Mangope was ousted in a coup in February 1988 — before the then President P W Botha stepped in to restore him to office.

The CP and the AVU have support in the Afrikaner community, and both want a confederation. The difference between them is that while the CP remains racist in outlook, the AVU has doffed racism and also embraces "brown Afrikaners" — coloureds — in its vision for an Afrikaner state.

All Cosag members are opposed to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly, and maintain that the multi-party negotiations forum will have to write the country's new constitution before presenting it to the populace for approval through a referendum. Only then, they contend, should elections be held.

While the IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the AVU may be the better known Cosag members — being involved in negotiations — they are by no means the only ones.

With them are Professor Carel Boshoff's Avstig, the Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association, Action Save South Africa, the Volkseenheid Komitee, Gqozo's African Democratic Movement, KaNgwane's Inkatha Party, Natal's Reform Party, KwaNdebele's Sindawonye Party and Transvaal Member of the Executive Council John Mavuso's National Forum. □

There are around 38 million people in South Africa, and the population is growing at more than 2 percent a year. By next May there'll be roughly 39 million of us, by the turn of the century 45 million, by 2020 more than 70 million, and so on. What we need is a population policy — or at least a revamped one — to curtail this growth. Health Writer DAVID ROBBINS reports.

POPULATION development, birth control, family planning — call it what you like — is a political issue for the majority of South Africans. Not really surprising, since politics here has been so essentially bound up in the numbers game.

In the 1960s, a Cabinet minister won instant notoriety by urging every white family to have another baby to bolster the Republic. Those were the days of the "swart gevaar", with the extent of the danger being, of course, in direct relation to the size of the black population.

But times have changed. Most people accept that a planned population is essential for development. The country's expanding numbers exacerbate the crises we are experiencing in education, unemployment, housing and health.

It also plays havoc with resources. How long can South Africa remain one of the few countries on the continent to produce all its own food? And it's been estimated that the country's water resources — including regional schemes like the Lesotho Highlands project and another planned for the Zambezi — can support only around 80 million people.

That's the figure at which the Department of National Health and Population Development hopes to stabilise the population by the end of the 21st century. The department's Population Development Programme (PDP) has as its other major objectives the acceleration of social and economic development and

†The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) No,

(a) and (b) fall away;

(2) no.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, arising from the hon the Deputy Minister's reply, I would like to know whether he would be in favour of certain panels being removed from the monument if certain population groups or persons were to object to them because they took offence?

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, once again my reply is "no". I would object.

Tamboerskloof: payment of school fees at primary school

*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

(1) (a) What percentage of the pupils at a certain primary school in Tamboerskloof, die name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, paid their school fees (i) in full and (ii) in part in the first school term of 1993, (b) what amount in school fees is required per pupil per term and (c) what is the name of the school concerned;

(2) whether any legal action has been taken against any parents in order to collect arrear school fees; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B760E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(1) (a) (i) 80%

(ii) 11,14%

(b) R135,00,

(c) Tamboerskloof Primary School;

(2) no, as the first term only ended at the end of March parents are given enough time to meet their obligations. Each case is treated individually and all the known facts are taken into consideration. Each case is considered where fees genuinely cannot be afforded.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Self-governing territories: financial/development aid

319. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(a) What (i) financial and (ii) development aid was granted by the South African Government to each of the self-governing territories in the 1992–93 financial year and (b) what amounts were involved in each case? B714E

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS:

Financial aid referred to in part (a) (i) of the question was rendered by the South African Government to the selfgoverning territories in the 1992–93 financial year in terms of the provisions of sections 6 (2) (c) and 6 (2) (d) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971). Section 6 (2) (c) determines the extent of the amount payable as the Statutory Grant to the Revenue Funds of the self-governing territories from the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government.

In addition to this amount an Additional Amount appropriated by Parliament in terms of the provisions of section 6 (2) (d) of the same act is paid annually to the revenue funds of the self-governing territories by the South African Government. The extent of this amount is determined according to the affordability of the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government. The result of this factor is that the growth in the Additional Amount differs from year to year.

In the financial years in which improvement of conditions of service for exchequer remunerated personnel are announced and implemented funds are drawn on the Vote: Improvement of Conditions of Service which is being administered by the Office of the Commission for Administration and paid to the revenue funds of the self-governing territories in order to enable the territories to fund

the increased expenditure resulting from the salary improvements. Salary improvements for officials came into effect on August 1, 1992 and for teachers on July 1, 1992, consequently funds were drawn on the aforementioned Vote in the 1992–93 financial year and paid to the self-governing territories.

The South African Government decided during the 1991–92 financial year to make an mount of R1 000 million available from the sale of strategic reserves in order to promote investment in capital projects. Interested government institutions were requested to identify projects that could be financed from the amount of R1 000 million. Projects to the value of almost R283 million were approved for the self-governing territories. A further amount of R100 million was made available for housing during the 1992–93 financial year. Cash-flow information obtained from the self-governing territories indicated that an amount of R240,243 million could be utilised on these projects for the 1992–93 financial year. Claims certified for payment by line function departments totalled only R106,234 million with the result that an amount of R134,009 million will be enrolled over to the 1993–94 financial year in order that the programme may be continued.

The development aid referred to in part (a) (ii) of the question consists mainly in the secondment of personnel to the departments of the self-governing territories in terms of the provisions of section 5 (4) of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act 21 of 1971). Expenditure incurred by the Department of Regional and Land Affairs in this matter amounted to R17,025 million (rounded) for the 1992–93 financial year.

Final expenditure in respect of which the particulars are not yet available will be published in the 1992–93 Report of the Auditor General.

In addition to this aid the South African Government also rendered professional assistance (legal, agricultural and in the field of infrastructure creation and town establishment and management, to name but a few examples) to the self-governing territories. The monetary extent of this aid is not determinable in view of the fact that it is included in the overhead costs of a variety of line function departments.

As far as part (b) of the question is concerned a total amount of R9 679 514 000 was made available in the 1992–93 financial year from the State Revenue Fund of the South African Government to the selfgoverning territories. Amounts of R12,35 million, R134,009 million, R15,4 million and R11,568 million will, however, be rolled over to the 1993–94 financial year with the result that an amount of R9 506 187 000 was directly transferred to the revenue funds of the self-governing territories. Details of the total grant of R9 679 514 000 are reflected in the attached schedule. Except for an amount of R322,631 million in respect of capital expenditure the balance reflected in columns 3, 4 and 5 is mainly for current expenditure.

GRANTS TO SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES: FINANCIAL YEAR 1992–93

Territory	*Social assistance allowances* Column 1 R'000	*Development assistance* Column 2 R'000	*Other assistance* Column 3 R'000	*Improvement of conditions of service* Column 4 R'000	*Statutory grants* Column 5 R'000	*Total* R'000
GaZankulu	39 959	70 418	885 334	47 367	91 767	1 134 845
KaNgwane	24 397	17 868	498 179(a)	25 521	76 092	642 057
KwaNdebele	14 961	25 684	375 701	20 241	78 744	515 331
KwaZulu	289 099	51 646	3 518 789	166 797	285 582	4 311 913
Lebowa	130 826	54 337	2 184 598	122 549	140 031	2 632 341
Qwaqwa	17 525	20 290	346 818	31 073	27 321	443 027
Total R	516 767	240 243(b)	7 809 419	413 548	699 537	9 679 514(c)

Explanations

(a) R12,35 million will be rolled over to the 1993/94 financial year.

(b) — R134,009 million obtained from the sale of strategic reserves will be rolled over to the 1993/94 financial year.
— R15,4 million allocated to the food nutrition programme will be rolled over to the 1993/94 financial year.
— R11,568 million allocated for drought relief will be rolled over to the 1993/94 financial year.

(c) Includes R625,014 million of Additional Appropriation, 1993.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

General Affairs:

Illegal drivers' licences

1. Mr A E REEVES asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether he or his Department intends accommodating persons in possession of illegally obtained drivers' licences; if not, why not; if so, in which way? C100E.INT

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT: Mr Chairman, the hon member for Klipspruit West will remember that we debated this subject during the Second Reading debate on the Road Traffic Second Amendment Bill on 22 April 1993. I am therefore not going to repeat all the information which was furnished then.

The question, and especially the word "illegally", can be interpreted in two ways, and therefore my reply will be drafted in accordance with this approach.

If the hon member is referring to "illegally" with reference to the card-type of drivers' licences which were issued in accordance with the Provincial Ordinances on Road Traffic, 1966, and which became invalid because they were not included in identity documents in time, then the answer is "yes".

As I mentioned, one of the steps which were taken was to pilot the Road Traffic Second Amendment Bill through Parliament. The decision of the question on the Second Reading of the amending Bill has been put on the Order Paper. Thereafter it will be submitted to the hon the State President for his assent, and our aim is to have it come into force by July 1993.

The procedure which is envisaged can be divided into two categories. Firstly, a person who is still in possession of the old licence has to apply to any drivers' licence testing centre to exchange this licence for a new valid licence within a period of six months of the Road Traffic Second Amendment Bill coming into effect. The drivers' licence testing centre will then ascertain whether a valid drivers' licence was, in fact, issued to this specific person on the specified date by the original issuing authority. If such a licence was in fact issued, the normal issuing procedure will follow.

*Secondly, in the case of the applicant no longer being in possession of the old licence, he must obtain confirmation on a prescribed form from the authority that originally issued the licence to him that the licence was in fact issued to him. Subsequently the same procedure is adopted as for a person who is not yet in possession of a driver's licence.

It is important to note that all applications must be made within this period of grace of six months. After that the period of grace will finally elapse. The key word is "apply". The issuing of the licences could therefore take longer.

As regards the second possible interpretation of the word "illegal", I want to reply as follows. If by "illegally acquired" it is meant licences that had been bought or falsified, my answer is an unequivocal "no". [Time expired.]

Mr A E REEVES: Mr Chairman, my question concerns those people who are in possession of licences that are illegal according to the hon the Minister's second interpretation.

We are aware of what happened in the past. We know how our people were treated when they had to apply for licences. We know how they were turned away and how rudely they were treated by the officials, who are still there today. We are aware that these people had to be tested five, six, seven and eight times to obtain licences, and if they did not pass the test they went for the alternative, namely acquiring a licence illegally.

If the hon the Minister merely replies with a blank "no" it means that he does not want every driver on the road to be licensed. We want the people to be licensed, and if we want that, we have to make provision for it, because we know what the laws did to people in the past. We know how people were turned away from testing stations in their hundreds. Whether one passed or failed was immaterial. They turned the

Prostitution: arrests

*7. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) How many women were arrested for prostitution during the course of 1992;

(2) whether these women were tested for sexually transmitted diseases; if not, why not; if so, how many of them were found to be HIV-positive? B766E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) 1 789

(2) No.

The South African Police has no authority to subject women to such tests.

*8. Mr E K MOORCROFT—Agriculture. [Question standing over.]

Drivers' licences: self-governing territories

*9. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Transport:

Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 9 on 17 June 1992, any discussions have taken place in regard to the issuing of drivers' licences in (a) KwaNdebele and (b) other self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what was the outcome of these discussions? B771E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(a) and (b) Yes, discussions took place with the Commissioners-General of all the self-governing territories with regard to the issuing of drivers' licences. The SA Police, Department of Home Affairs and Provincial Administrations were also involved in the discussions.

From the discussions it was clear that as a result of the provisions of the Self-Governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971, the Department of Transport has no authority in respect of the issuing of licences in the territories which possess the necessary legislative authority in regard thereto. All self-governing territories, with the exception of KwaZulu, exercise legislative authority in respect of the issuing of drivers' licences.

Therefore the matter is being addressed in a twofold manner. Further discussions with the Cabinet of each of the relevant self-governing territories on a bilateral basis are being initiated. These discussions are to be followed by a multilateral meeting of all the territories involved. In the meantime, all information in respect of the alleged misconduct in self-governing territories is brought to the attention of the SA Police for their investigation in conjunction with the police in these territories. In order to investigate the allegations in respect of all the territories in an effective manner, the SA Police is forming a specific task group for this purpose.

Pilatus company: contract for PC 7-MK II aircraft

*10. Mr P J GROENEWALD asked the Minister of Defence:†

(1) Whether any (a) persons, (b) companies and/or (c) other organizations received any (i) remuneration and/or (ii) commission arising from the granting of a contract to the Pilatus company for the supply of a number of PC 7-MK II aircraft to the South African Air Force; if not, why not; if so, (aa) for what services, (bb) what are the names of the persons, companies and/or other organizations concerned and (cc) what amounts are involved, in each case;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B651E

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The contract was concluded between the company, Pilatus, and Armscor. According to Armscor no remuneration or commission was paid to any other persons, company or organization as far is known.

Forged identity documents

*11. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) Whether any cases of the use of forged identity documents in the Republic were brought to his or his Department's attention recently; if so, what is the estimated extent of this;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B774E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) and (2) Malpractices such as for example the submitting of forged documentation in order to acquire identity documents, the forging of identity documents and the using of forged identity documents do in fact occur. An amendment of the Identification Act, 1986, to introduce more stringent measures for the better safeguarding of the integrity of the identity document, was consequently enacted by Parliament earlier this session.

Aforementioned malpractices come to the Department's attention sporadically as a result of investigations by the SA Police and internal investigations by the Department. For the hon member's attention I may mention that the Department furnished 104 and 120 sworn statements, respectively, to the SA Police during March and April 1993 in respect of confirmed instances of forged identity documents as a result of investigations by the Police regarding such identity documents.

It can also be mentioned that the Department is at present investigating 100 instances where identity documents have been acquired by means of the submission of forged documentation.

The Department regards each such case as serious and will leave no stone unturned to bring offenders to justice.

Attorneys: appearance in Supreme Court

*12. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether, with reference to his announcement in Parliament on or about 23 April 1993 in regard to the appointment of a commission of inquiry into attorneys' rights of appearance in the Supreme Courts, the terms of reference of this commission have been finalised; if not, why not; if so, what are the terms of reference;

(2) whether the chairman of this commission has been appointed; if not, why not; if so, what is the name of the person so appointed;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B775E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes. A copy of the terms of reference is attached.

(2) No. The hon Chief Justice of South Africa has agreed to mediate between the legal professions on the question of a joint recommendation for a chairman. As soon as this question has been settled I shall be in a position to approach the State President for the appointment of the Commission. The Commission will then be requested to complete its task in the shortest possible time.

(3) A statement is not necessary.

TERMS OF REFERENCE

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE GRANTING OF WIDER POWERS TO ATTORNEYS AND RELATED MATTERS

To inquire into, report on and, where appropriate, make recommendations in regard to—

1. whether, in principle, it is desirable, feasible and in the public interest that certain attorneys in private practice be accorded the right to discharge all or some of the functions of an advocate, including the right of appearance in court, in any proceedings in the Supreme Court of South Africa (hereinafter referred to for convenience as "audience rights");

2. irrespective of the conclusions reached and recommendations made in regard to paragraph 1 above, and on the assumption that the principle is to be accepted that certain attorneys in private practice are to be accorded audience rights, the practical implementation of the principle and in particular—

2.1 the academic qualifications to be required of an attorney in order that he may be accorded audience rights;

2.2 whether an attorney wishing to be accorded audience rights should be required to pass an examination in

Homelands to get R9,7bn

(10)

B/DFM 13/5/93.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government had allocated R9,7bn to the six non-independent homelands during the 1992/'93 financial year, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie said yesterday in Parliament.

Nearly half, R4,3bn, had been allocated to KwaZulu.

Replying to a question by DP MP Peter Soal, Fourie said these amounts included R134m from the sale of strategic oil reserves, R15,4m allocated to the food nutrition programme and R11,6m for drought relief, all of which were rolled over into the 1993/94 financial year.

In 1991/'92 the homelands were granted R6,4bn while the original 1992/'93 budget was R8,4bn.

Bop not to be 'forced'

MMABATHO. — South Africa respected Bophuthatswana's independence and would not force it to be reincorporated, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Dr Andre Fourie said yesterday in an interview with Bop TV.

"We will not use what the Democratic Party refers to as the 'Pretoria stranglehold' to force Bophuthatswana back into South Africa, but will negotiate its reincorporation," he said.

He added, however, that SA viewed the urgent reincorporation of Bophuthatswana "as both desirable and necessary". He said it was in the interests of both for Bophuthatswana to be part of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

He said Bophuthatswana could not be part of the TEC as an independent state, but agreed that it was different from the other TBVC states as it had a democratically-elected government and a "high-calibre" administration. — Sapa (101) CT 14/5/93

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Ennerdale: distribution of food parcels by organizations

17. Mr A E REEVES asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether any organizations are involved in the distribution of food parcels in Ennerdale; if so, how many;

(2) whether there is any duplication in respect of the distribution of such food parcels; if so, what are the relevant details;

(3) whether any employed persons are receiving such food parcels; if so, (a) why and (b) what criteria are applied in this regard;

(4) whether her Department exercises any control over the distribution of these food parcels; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

(5) whether any irregularities in respect of the distribution of these food parcels have been reported; if so, what irregularities? C93E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes, ten;

(2) yes, hundreds of hungry people and squatters inundated the premises of some of the service-rendering organisations and certain food parcels were stolen. The culprits were ultimately identified and measures are being taken by the organisations that have been funded to eliminate duplication and to co-ordinate the rendering of services at ground level more efficiently;

(3) yes,

(a) mainly those who have only piecejobs earning as little as R50 to R70 per month. In order to avert legal action income is paid to the local authority, who is demanding payment for rent and water and lights and

(b) assay of destitute families is done on a continuous basis by social workers;

(4) yes, the regional and district committees of the National Nutrition and Social Development Programme co-ordinate actions to avoid duplication. This task, however, is mainly the responsibility of the service-rendering non-governmental organisations who have been funded;

(5) yes, as set out in (2).

Ennerdale: distribution of food parcels by political parties

18. Mr A E REEVES asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether any political parties are involved in the distribution of food parcels in Ennerdale; if so, which parties;

(2) whether the said political parties are distributing these food parcels under their own names; if not; what names are used in each case;

(3) whether she intends investigating the matter; if not, why not; if so, when;

(4) whether she will make a statement on the matter? C94E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) No;

(2) and (3) fall away;

(4) no.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Plots available/development of townships for Blacks

326. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of National Housing:

(1) With reference to the reply to Question No 189 on 22 April 1992, how many plots (a) were surveyed in (i) the Cape Province, (ii) the Orange Free State and (iii) Natal in 1992, and (b) are available, with a view to the (i) 99-year leasehold and (ii) freehold title scheme;

(2) (a) how many applications for the development of townships for Blacks in the Transvaal were (i) submitted in 1992 by (aa) private developers and (bb) local authorities and (ii) approved and (b) how many residential erven will be available in the approved townships? B751E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) *Cape Province*

(a) (i) 30 623

(b) (i) 205 381

(ii) Figures are not available as township registers must first be opened before a person can obtain ownership on an erf. In total 742 township registers had to be opened in the Cape Province to allow ownership on all surveyed and approved erven. Of the 742 township registers to be opened 350 or 47% have already been opened. Enquiries to the Surveyor-General's Office and Deed Office regarding the number of erven involved have shown that this information is not readily available. To determine the number of erven all the general plans for which town registers have been opened, will have to be examined.

Orange Free State

(a) (ii) 15 325

(b) (i) 86 994

(ii) 89 738

Natal

(a) (iii) 15 262

(b) (i) 17 694

(ii) 6 849

(2) (a) (i) (aa) 13

(bb) 56

(ii) 48

(b) 19 077 residential erven

Self-governing territories: family housing units

334. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of National Housing:

(1) (a) How many family housing units were built in 1992 in each self-governing territory by the (i) authority of the territory and (ii) private sector and (b) what was the total amount spent by each in respect of each territory;

(2) whether there was a shortage of housing units in any self-governing territory as at 31 December 1992 or the latest specified date for which information is available; if so, how many units are required in respect of each territory? B753E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) and (2) Although the Department of Local Government and National Housing and the self-governing territories have an overall formal working relationship regarding the co-ordination of housing policy and the allocation of housing funds, details regarding building programmes and housing backlogs should be obtained from the self-governing territories directly in view of their autonomous status in respect of housing matters.

Pupils entered for/failed/passed Std 10 examinations

338. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) How many male and female pupils, respectively, (a) (i) entered for and (ii) failed the 1992 Standard 10 examinations and (b) passed these examinations (i) with and (ii) without exemption, in respect of each of the regions of his Department;

(2) whether he will furnish the information requested in paragraph (1) in respect of each of the self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what are the corresponding particulars? B781E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Education and Training

(a) (i) Entered

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	3 612	4 025
Cape	5 414	8 593
Natal	3 433	4 463
Northern Transvaal	5 667	7 361
Orange-Vaal	5 513	6 258
Johannesburg	5 636	7 609
Highveld	8 184	10 410
Diamond Field	2 781	3 345

(ii) Failed

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	1 824	2 485
Cape	2 422	5 061
Natal	1 464	2 299
Northern Transvaal	2 984	4 256
Orange-Vaal	3 100	4 089
Johannesburg	3 406	4 835
Highveld	4 997	6 940
Diamond Field	1 325	1 926

(b) (i) Passed with exemption

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	456	244
Cape	737	547
Natal	574	583
Northern Transvaal	689	682
Orange-Vaal	523	264
Johannesburg	546	620
Highveld	708	672
Diamond Field	293	211

(ii) Passed without exemption

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	1 332	1 296
Cape	2 255	2 985
Natal	1 395	1 581
Northern Transvaal	1 994	2 423
Orange-Vaal	1 890	1 905
Johannesburg	1 684	2 154
Highveld	2 479	2 798
Diamond Field	1 163	1 205

(2) Yes

Self-governing Territories

(a) (i) Entered

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	2 614	3 393
Lebowa	33 327	44 843
Gazankulu	8 228	10 593
KwaZulu	19 598	26 783
Kangwane	5 099	6 420
KwaNdebele	4 044	5 285

(ii) Failed

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	1 378	2 135
Lebowa	20 900	28 822
Gazankulu	3 471	5 007

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
KwaZulu	10 999	16 712
Kangwane	2 644	3 911
KwaNdebele	2 538	3 566

(b) (i) Passed with exemption

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	275	192
Lebowa	2 899	3 179
Gazankulu	1 421	1 349
KwaZulu	2 385	2 400
Kangwane	534	443
KwaNdebele	271	252

(ii) Passed without exemption

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	961	1 066
Lebowa	9 528	12 842
Gazankulu	3 336	4 237
KwaZulu	6 214	7 671
Kangwane	1 831	2 066
KwaNdebele	1 235	1 467

Note: The information is as on 2 March 1993.

Teachers who wrote Std 10 examinations in 1992

339. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(a) How many teachers at schools under the control of his Department who previously did not have a Standard 10 qualification wrote the Standard 10 examination in 1992 or the latest specified year for which information is available and (b) how many of these teachers (i) passed this examination with (aa) matriculation exemption and (bb) a school-leaving certificate, and (ii) failed this examination, in that year? B782E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

It is impossible to provide the statistics as candidates are not required to furnish such information on entering the examination.

Teachers' colleges: number of students/examination results

340. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) In respect of teacher-training colleges situated in each specified region of his Department, how many students (a) enrolled in 1992 for the (i) first, (ii) second, (iii) third and (iv) fourth year of their studies and (b) (i) entered for, (ii) passed and (iii) failed their examinations at the end of their (aa) first, (bb) second, (cc) third and (dd) fourth year;

(2) whether he will furnish the information requested in paragraph (1) in respect of each of the self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what are the corresponding particulars? B783E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) (a)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	*Total*
Diamond Fields	139	186	131	0	456
Highveld	659	476	585	0	1 720
Johannesburg	328	205	210	0	743
Cape	783	892	742	0	2 417
Northern Transvaal	432	299	222	0	953
Natal	481	453	356	0	1 290
Orange-Vaal	394	422	420	0	1 236
Orange Free State	171	172	147	0	490
Total	3 387	3 105	2 813	0	9 305

(b) This information is not yet available in the required format.

(2) (a)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	*Total*
Gazankulu	1 259	1 054	842	227	3 382
Kangwane	641	906	547	0	2 094
Kwandebele	287	322	603	0	1 212
Kwazulu	2 513	2 161	2 036	0	6 710
Lebowa	4 079	5 845	3 325	0	13 249
QwaQwa	846	642	426	0	1 914
Total	9 625	10 930	7 779	227	28 561

(b) This information is not yet available in the required format.

Education budget: expenditure

343. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

What (a) amount and (b) percentage of the education budget of his Department was spent in (i) the Republic, (ii) the Orange Free State and (iii) Natal on (aa) pre-primary, (bb) primary, (cc) secondary and (dd) tertiary education during the 1991–92 financial year or the latest specified 12-month period for which information is available? B779E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

		(a)	(b)
(i)	(aa)	R592 447,00	0,02%
	(bb)	R1 743 657 912,00	49,62%
	(cc)	R1 041 124 901,00	29,63%
	(dd)	R364 317 253,00	10.36%
(ii)	(aa)	R47 673,00	0,002%
	(bb)	R295 759 541,00	8,42%
	(cc)	R130 730 717,00	3,72%
	(dd)	Nil	Nil
(iii)	(aa)	R26 750,00	0,001%
	(bb)	R135 888 021,00	3,87%
	(cc)	R55 542 673,00	1,58%
	(dd)	Nil	Nil

The information is for the 1991/92 financial year.

Self-governing territories: family housing units

347. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of National Housing:

(1) (a) How many family housing units were built in 1991 and 1992, respectively, in each self-governing territory by (i) the authority of the territory, (ii) private owners and (iii) the South African Government and (b) what was the total amount spent by each in respect of each territory;

(2) whether there is a shortage of housing units in any self-governing territory; if so, how many units are required in respect of each territory;

(3) whether any family housing units are being built in the self-governing territories at present by (a) the authority of the territory, (b) private owners and (c) the South African Government; if not, why not; if so, (i) how many units are being built by each in territory and (ii) when are they due to be completed in each case? B787E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL HOUSING:

(1) and (2) Although the Department of Local Government and National Housing and the self-governing territories have an overall formal working relationship regarding the co-ordination of housing policy and the allocation of housing funds, details regarding building programmes and housing backlogs should be obtained from the self-governing territories directly in view of their autonomous status in respect of housing matters.

Furthermore, it has to be pointed out that the South African Government itself is not involved with the building of housing units in the self-governing territories.

(3) Falls away.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

Telkom employees: malpractices

11. Mr L T LANDERS asked the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications:

(1) Whether, during the latest specified period of 12 months for which information is available, any employees of Telkom were found guilty of (a) using subscribers' telephone lines without the permission of the subscribers concerned or Telkom, (b) defrauding, and/or embezzling funds belonging to, Telkom and (c) soliciting bribes from the public; if so (i) how may in each case, (ii) how many were found guilty (aa) by a court of law and (bb) following an internal investigation and (iii) what steps have been taken against each employee so found guilty;

(2) whether any such employees have been dismissed from the service of Telkom; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many, and (b) when, in each case;

(3) whether any of the employees so dismissed have since been re-employed by Telkom; if not, why not; if so, (a) how many and (b) on what grounds;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter? C37E

The MINISTER OF POSTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS:

The Managing Director of Telkom SA Limited replied as follows to the hon member's question:

(1) (a) No
(i) 0
(ii) (aa) 0
(bb) 0
(iii) None

(b) Yes
(i) 24
(ii) (aa) 2
(bb) 18
* 4 resigned prior to the disciplinary hearing
(iii) 2 Serious written warnings
8 Final written warnings
2 Demoted in job title
6 Dismissed

* 4 Resigned
1 Breach of contract
1 Died

(c) Yes
(i) 6
(ii) (aa) 0
(bb) 6
(iii) 6 Dismissed

(2) Yes
(a) 12
(b) 1992-03-16 (1 employee)
1992-06-15 (1 employee)
1992-07-20 (2 employees)
1992-07-30 (3 employees)
1992-09-30 (2 employees)
1992-11-16 (1 employee)
1992-12-31 (1 employee)
1993-01-25 (1 employee)

(3) Yes
(a) 1
(b) Due to extenuating circumstances in one instance the employee was re-employed in a lower job title.

(4) No

Pupils entered for/failed/passed Std 10 examinations

338. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) How many male and female pupils, respectively, (a) (i) entered for and (ii) failed the 1992 Standard 10 examinations and (b) passed these examinations (i) with and (ii) without exemption, in respect of each of the regions of his Department;

(2) whether he will furnish the information requested in paragraph (1) in respect of each of the self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what are the corresponding particulars? B781E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Education and Training

(a) (i) Entered

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	3 612	4 025
Cape	5 414	8 593
Natal	3 433	4 463
Northern Transvaal	5 667	7 361
Orange-Vaal	5 513	6 258
Johannesburg	5 636	7 609
Highveld	8 184	10 410
Diamond Field	2 781	3 345

(ii) Failed

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	1 824	2 485
Cape	2 422	5 061
Natal	1 464	2 299
Northern Transvaal	2 984	4 256
Orange-Vaal	3 100	4 089
Johannesburg	3 406	4 835
Highveld	4 997	6 940
Diamond Field	1 325	1 926

(b) (i) Passed with exemption

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	456	244
Cape	737	547
Natal	574	583
Northern Transvaal	689	682
Orange-Vaal	523	264
Johannesburg	546	620
Highveld	708	672
Diamond Field	293	211

(ii) Passed without exemption

Region	Male	Female
Orange Free State	1 332	1 296
Cape	2 255	2 985
Natal	1 395	1 581
Northern Transvaal	1 994	2 423
Orange-Vaal	1 890	1 905
Johannesburg	1 684	2 154
Highveld	2 479	2 798
Diamond Field	1 163	1 205

(2) Yes

Self-governing Territories

(a) (i) Entered

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	2 614	3 393
Lebowa	33 327	44 843
Gazankulu	8 228	10 593
KwaZulu	19 598	26 783
Kangwane	5 099	6 420
KwaNdebele	4 044	5 285

(ii) Failed

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	1 378	2 135
Lebowa	20 900	28 822
Gazankulu	3 471	5 007

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
KwaZulu	10 999	16 712
Kangwane	2 644	3 911
KwaNdebele	2 538	3 566

(b) (i) Passed with exemption

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	275	192
Lebowa	2 899	3 179
Gazankulu	1 421	1 349
KwaZulu	2 385	2 400
Kangwane	534	443
KwaNdebele	271	252

(ii) Passed without exemption

Self-governing Territories	Male	Female
QwaQwa	961	1 066
Lebowa	9 528	12 842
Gazankulu	3 336	4 237
KwaZulu	6 214	7 671
Kangwane	1 831	2 066
KwaNdebele	1 235	1 467

Note: The information is as on 2 March 1993.

Teachers who wrote Std 10 examinations in 1992

339. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(a) How many teachers at schools under the control of his Department who previously did not have a Standard 10 qualification wrote the Standard 10 examination in 1992 or the latest specified year for which information is available and (b) how many of these teachers (i) passed this examination with (aa) matriculation exemption and (bb) a school-leaving certificate, and (ii) failed this examination, in that year? B782E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

It is impossible to provide the statistics as candidates are not required to furnish such information on entering the examination.

Teachers' colleges: number of students/examination results

340. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) In respect of teacher-training colleges situated in each specified region of his Department, how many students (a) enrolled in 1992 for the (i) first, (ii) second, (iii) third and (iv) fourth year of their studies and (b) (i) entered for, (ii) passed and (iii) failed their examinations at the end of their (aa) first, (bb) second, (cc) third and (dd) fourth year;

(2) whether he will furnish the information requested in paragraph (1) in respect of each of the self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, what are the corresponding particulars? B783E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) (a)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	*Total*
Diamond Fields	139	186	131	0	456
Highveld	659	476	585	0	1 720
Johannesburg	328	205	210	0	743
Cape	783	892	742	0	2 417
Northern Transvaal	432	299	222	0	953
Natal	481	453	356	0	1 290
Orange-Vaal	394	422	420	0	1 236
Orange Free State	171	172	147	0	490
Total	3 387	3 105	2 813	0	9 305

If we ask the Government today, however, who the enemy of South Africa is, they are silent. They say there is no longer an enemy. [Interjections.] Over the years MK and Apla have been regarded as the enemy because they committed acts of terror and aggravated the revolutionary climate in the RSA. That is why they were banned organisations.

*Mr R V CARLISLE: What about Derby-Lewis?

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the State President unbanned and legalised this organisation, however.

That member is just a Boerehater. That is all he is.

*Mr R V CARLISLE: Derby-Lewis is not a Boer! [Interjections.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: At the same time he promised South Africa solemnly that violence and terror would not be tolerated. Meanwhile the bloody wave of violence has engulfed South Africa, however [Interjections]

Mr R V CARLISLE: [Inaudible.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility . . .

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Wynberg must contain himself. [Interjections.]

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Apla accepts responsibility for one act of terror after the other. [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That also applies to other hon members.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: The hon the Minister of Law and Order himself says that many members of MK are nothing but criminals but the NP Government refuses to ban Apla and MK because then the negotiations will fail. [Interjections.] This Government regards negotiations more highly than the lives of men, women and children.

The new enemy, according to this Government, is the rightwing. Covert and overt operations have to be carried out against right-wing organisations. Agents, informants and infiltrators of the security forces are now being used against right-wing organisations. [Interjections.]

It would be interesting to hear how many CP MP's telephone conversations are tapped. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, the fact remains that we are dealing here with a confirmed declaration of war on soft targets, namely White aged people on farms.

I just want to make this last comment. The Government is responsible for the large-scale disruption in Defence Force intelligence services which was caused by the destruction of the Directorate of Covert Collection of the Defence Force and the dismissal of intelligence officers.

By the way, at the time a great fuss was made about the fact that certain of these intelligence officers would be prosecuted criminally To date we have not heard anything about this. They were not prosecuted The Government owes these men an apology. Their names were dragged through the mud, and this must be rectified.

I contend that the good character and integrity of officers were infringed upon by the Government at the insistence of the ANC and the PAC. I think that this Government owes those officers who were falsely accused of crimes that they did not commit an apology.

*The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER: Mr Chairman, I had high hopes that the hon member for Pietersburg would tell us why the hon member for Potgietersrus was not here, but apparently that is a secret. [Interjections.]

The hon member for Rustenburg made a big fuss about the fact that we sit at the negotiating table and negotiate with these people. What are they doing at the negotiating table? Why are they doing? [Interjections.] Is he not there now, or was he there yesterday? Surely they are free to say that they are not negotiating until such time as these things have occurred. Why do they lay the blame and the responsibility only on us?

Dr W J SNYMAN: [Inaudible.]

*The MINISTER: No, wait a bit. The CP must accept responsibility now.

*Dr W J SNYMAN: It is the Government's fault.

The MINISTER: I wish to thank the hon member for Hillbrow for his contribution. The hon member is 100 % correct, and he also answered

the question put by the hon member for Stilfontein. Will the banning of these organisations solve the problem?

*They are not going to disappear; they will merely go underground. If a person goes underground, one has not disappeared yet [Interjections.] Let us therefore please deal with the matter in a pragmatic way.

The hon member said that we were no longer taking steps against the so-called enemy by means of intelligence. It is the policy of this Government that we do not investigate political parties as such with a view to security. This does not include organisations, however, that are still involved in the so-called armed struggle. It does not include those organisations.

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: Who is the enemy?

*The MINISTER: The hon member knows who I am talking about. He also asked how many CP MPs' telephones were being tapped

*Mr P J GROENEWALD: That is a good question.

*The MINISTER: Oh, no! I can tell that hon member that in the sphere of security he is really not so important that we want to listen to his conversations. [Interjections.] He can say whatever he likes to whoever he likes. We shall not know about it. He must enjoy himself! [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

Self-governing territories: abolition of Act

2. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether it is the intention to bring the self-governing territories into a single South African political dispensation through the abolition of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No 21 of 1971); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B857E.INT

*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon the State President announced in his Opening Address on 29 January 1993 that the Government, together with the self-governing territories, had started to investigate the possibility of joining forces in the administrative sphere. He also said that the Government would look at joint political decision-making and co-operation in a regional context.

In reply to a question from the hon leader of the DP, the hon the State President said the following on 4 February this year in the debate on his Opening Address, and I quote from Hansard, col 401:

> There is no question about the self-governing territories, as they are, not disappearing . . The leaders of those territories say the same thing. They do not want to continue as they are. There is consensus that a new, non-racial, geographically regional dispensation has to come about to replace the present racially based regional systems. However, this, the how of it, must be negotiated first.

The hon the State President went on to say (col 402):

> As I have indicated, steps are being taken in the meantime to negotiate transitional measures. These include rationalisation and joint administration wherever possible They also include measures to ensure clean administration

†In the interim we have gone far ahead of this situation. At a meeting of a Conference on International Development Management on 9 February this year, the central Government, all six self-governing territories and the four provincial Administrations collectively resolved that constitutional change was inevitable and irrevocable, that final arrangements with regard to regional government would be formalised at the multiparty negotiating forum, that the Government would facilitate bilateral and/or multilateral discussions between the various provincial Administrations and the relevant self-governing territories in order to expedite more effective and efficient development and administration in the interim, and lastly that Government may proceed with the necessary legislation which would enable self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations, where applicable, to reach bilateral and/or multilateral agreements.

*Discussions have since been held with all the self-governing territories and the provincial Administrations involved on the introduction of

joint administrations. Steering committees will be introduced with the instruction to identify functions which they can administer jointly, to consider the practical implementation of joint administrations and to provide advice on this.

The idea is that all parties involved will be represented on the steering committees. The self-governing territories will be represented by a Minister and a senior official, the provinces will send an MEC and a senior official, and the Departments of Regional and Land Affairs, of Finance and of State Expenditure, as well as the Commission for Administration, will each be represented by an official. (101)

†The following practical arrangements are already in place. Lebowa, Gazankulu and the TPA, with Venda as an observer, have agreed to a multilateral steering committee. They have already met. A bilateral steering committee between KwaNdebele and the TPA has been instituted and will probably meet shortly. [Time expired.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, the purpose of this interpellation is, quite clearly, to elicit the information which the hon the Minister has begun to give us. It is important that we proceed with this, because the incorporation of the self-governing territories has to proceed through negotiation, as the hon the Minister quite rightly said. However, we are concerned that the bodies he has named as having negotiated so far are entirely those of the establishment. We are particularly concerned that there has to be much broader agreement. We have to understand that the process by which this incorporation takes place in the self-governing territories has to be agreed upon, not only by the establishment parties of the self-governing territories and the South African Government, but also by other participants at the multiparty talks.

The reason we raised the question of the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, is that certainly it would be possible, if this Government were to repeal that Act, to eliminate the self-governing territories immediately, but that does not necessarily mean that it would result in chaos. In 1991 this Government passed the amendment of section 25 to this Act which rules that all such executive powers, authorities and functions as are necessary to be exercised or performed in terms of this Act for ensuring the continuation of the administration and government, may be exercised or performed by the Minister or a person designated by him. Therefore, it is entirely possible for this hon Minister and all the administrations of the provinces to begin to take over some of the functions.

What we as a party are concerned about, is that we have an existing body such as the JEA, which is representative of the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu cabinet, and there is talk that that is the concept which the NP wants to create around the country. We would hope not, and I am glad to see the hon the Minister is shaking his head. That is good, because we need to ensure that the functions that are to be performed as agreed to, are eliminated from the self-governing territories and, I might add, from the own affairs structures as soon as possible.

I know, for example, that the hon the Minister of Welfare, the hon the Minister of Housing and Works and, to a lesser extent, the hon the Minister of Education and Culture, are exasperated because the process has not moved faster to bring about a general affairs Ministry in the centre to consider these matters in the country as a whole. We would have hoped that the process which the hon the Minister is now in the midst of co-ordinating could have been speeded up after discussions at the multiparty talks to be completed as rapidly as possible, so that South Africa could be united as a single nation.

*Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Chairman, while according to the modern trend worldwide it is the order of the day to recognise and accommodate the right to self-determination of peoples in a geographical territory of their own, in order to create peace and order between peoples, here we are dealing with the nonsensical situation that peoples are being forced together into one constitutional dispensation. That is a sure recipe for conflict and friction. Hon members can ask any patriotic Zulu, Shangaan, Venda or whatever people whether it would be satisfied with a Xhosa-dominated ANC government. The answer is that they do not want it. [Interjections.]

Yes, it is a fact that through intimidation and violence peoples can sometimes be forced into such a dispensation for decades. Ultimately the irresistible force of ethnic nationalism breaks through, however, as happened in Eastern Europe, to escape foreign domination. We on this side of the House have on occasion, when I

have been present myself, paid visits to self-governing states in the Northern Transvaal. Those governments were, without exception, not prepared to relinquish control of their own geographic territories In fact, many of them laid claim instead to the addition of extra territory to their existing area. (101)

Every people with self-respect has the burning desire to govern itself. If this cannot be accommodated in a negotiated settlement, there can be no lasting peace.

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, may I just deal with the hon member for Pinetown. I think that he came forward with this proposal in order to get a positive solution to a problem, and I want to thank him for that.

Obviously we are also concerned about the situation. I would like to agree with him that we must speed up the process. However, there is one very important issue. Existing structures cannot be summarily dismissed. That is why the self-governing territories and the four provincial administrations, when we met on 9 February, accepted that a new regional dispensation was in the process of coming into being, and we do not want to pre-empt what is taking place in the multiparty conference. That must go on.

In the interim, however, we are prepared to talk to each other about a number of issues regarding joint administration which we think are important. These are, *inter alia*, eliminating the duplication of services, providing effective and efficient services, addressing the socioeconomic imbalances, integrating and co-ordinating Government processes, improving the identification of community needs and ensuring the efficient utilisation of resources.

If we have to accept the proposal by the hon member, we must do the same in this Parliament. We do not agree with that.

Mr R M BURROWS: Yes, own affairs is going.

The MINISTER: The proposal of the Government is that if we stick to our programme we can hopefully have a transitional executive council by the end of June. There is nothing that stops the multiparty conference from making a proposal in regard to a transitional executive council on a regional level too. That is a matter to be discussed at the multiparty conference.

Mr R M BURROWS: With veto rights.

The MINISTER: The Joint Executive Authority is obviously a very sore point as far as the hon member is concerned. Nobody wants to perpetuate the JEA. KwaZulu is on record in that regard. They have been having their KwaZulu-Natal Indaba for years. They have never said that they want to stick around with a JEA.

*The hon member for Pietersburg is the new deputy leader of his party now. We should very much like them to put their plan on the table too so that we can hear what territory he is talking about. [Interjections.] There is not a single self-governing territory in South Africa that wants to go the way that those hon members are going. [Time expired]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, I was pleased to hear some of the things the hon the Minister was saying in his reply to my colleague the hon member for Pinetown, because he must move with some determination to bring the farce of the autonomy of the self-governing territories to an end as soon as possible. They are really self-governing territories in law only, that is the law of 1971.

In the past financial year we handed over R9,5 billion to those self-governing territories That is a great deal of money. It seems, however, that there is no control over the money that we hand to them. I say at the outset that we accept that development in those areas is necessary, but that the money which is to be spent there has to be spent in a controlled manner. It would appear that the hon the Minister has no control over the money that is spent there.

In answer to question no 34 which I asked him concerning bonuses and various allowances to cabinet members in the self-governing territories, he replied in part "from what I could establish . . . in most of the self-governing territories". He said that he could not give me the information because these self-governing territories "have autonomy". We need accountability and disclosure, and that is not coming from these self-governing territories. We need to have the sort of thing that happens in the USA, for instance. A report in *The Citizen* of today says that Mr Clinton's financial disclosure for last year included the figure of $33 000 which was paid to him as Governor of Arkansas last year. That is the equivalent of R106 000.

Hon Ministers in this Cabinet get more than that

cont'd

for living in their own houses. [Interjections.] However, there is no disclosure unless we ask these questions. In addition, there are allegations of corruption and maladministration in these territories. We had the De Meyer Report and the Parsons Report. We are still waiting for the last De Meyer Report. I hope that is not going to be made public after we leave this place.

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Why were you not here when I discussed it? You were absent that day.

Mr P G SOAL: I told the hon the Minister that I was going to be absent. [Interjections.] I went to the multiparty talks. [Interjections.]

We need transitional executive councils for the self-governing territories. This Government must not act unilaterally. The hon the Minister talks about the multiparty conference, but we must move towards transitional executive councils for the self-governing territories in order to bring the extravagant, wasteful system of self-governing territories to an end.

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I thought there would be another speaker before me.

I would like to reply briefly to the hon member for Johannesburg North. I think we must just establish one point.

It is the point of view of this side of the House—and I hope the DP will support that—that we stand for strong, autonomous regional government If things are wrong in terms of the present system, we must rectify them. There is a full opportunity to discuss these things now, at the multiparty conference, for instance, the functions and the responsibilities of regional government, how this will be financed, etc

However, in the interim these territories exist in terms of an Act of this Parliament. We cannot just dismiss them as if they do not exist.

I think the hon member abused the situation today by bringing up many arguments that are not related to this specific issue. [Interjections.] I would like to say to the hon member we have also introduced the Sapro system, the Structural Adjustment Programme, where my department, the Department of Finance and the Department of State Expenditure sit together, to discuss with the self-governing territories their budgets and their financial controls. [Interjections.] We are discussing these aspects with them.

Mr R M BURROWS: [Inaudible.]

The MINISTER: Yes, but they are autonomous in terms of an Act of this Parliament. We cannot argue about that. [Interjections.]

What surprises me is that the hon member for Johannesburg North has such a bad relationship with the Black leaders of South Africa that he has to ask me for answers. Why does he not go to the self-governing territories and and ask them for the information that he requires? It is because he is *persona non grata* and they do not want to see him. They have no trust in him. [Interjections.] But I shall help him in that regard.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 12 May 1993:

Hartebeespoort Dam: pollution

*3. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Water Affairs:†

Whether there is any pollution in the water flowing into the Hartebeespoort Dam; if so, (a) what is the (i) nature and (ii) extent of this pollution and (b) what steps are being taken to (i) combat and (ii) prevent the pollution? B762E

†The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

(Reply laid upon the Table with leave of House):

Yes. Whenever there is human activity and land use, there is an influence on the quality of the rivers and other water sources. The quality of the water in the Hartebeespoort Dam, however, is at present in compliance with the quality requirements for the purpose for which it is utilised.

(a) (i) Storm water drainage from the rural and urban areas, which comprise large parts of the catchment of the Hartebeespoort Dam, causes drainage of pollutants such as phosphates, nitrates and micro-organisms, as well as salts, to rivers. Chemical, physical and biological pollutants resulting from industrial effluent also occur in the catchment on a small scale.

The main water source for the Hartebeespoort Dam, especially during drought periods, is treated effluent from nine sewage treatment works in the catchment. Two large residential areas, namely Alexandra and Tembisa, with sub-standard infrastructure and informal housing on the banks of the rivers in these areas, are of major concern. Littering and dumping of waste also causes aesthetic pollution.

(ii) Sporadic sewage spills cause unacceptable situations from time to time. Such spills can be attributed to a number of factors such as blockages, breakages in the system, poor maintenance and operation as well as sabotage. This type of pollution causes mainly aesthetic problems and health risks in the immediate vicinity and to a limited extent in the Hartebeespoort Dam. Excessive algal growth in the Hartebeespoort Dam, resulting from eutrophication, has various negative impacts on recreation, aesthetic alues, and water use for agriculture.

(b) (i) and (ii) The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry is continuously in contact with local authorities and special committees have been established to facilitate liaison with interest groups. Examples are the Jukskei and Hennops River Water Quality Community Committees. The objective is to promote, in co-operation with the community, the aim of fitness for use of the various water sources.

Urban pollution is controlled by local authorities and they endeavour to combat and solve sewage related problems, as well as other pollution related problems within their areas of jurisdiction. Regular cleaning-up operations are instituted to remove litter. Stormwater is monitored at various locations to identify sources of pollution.

Effluent from sewage treatment works is monitored to ensure compliance with the Department's General as well as the Special Phosphate Standards. The aim of the phosphate standard is to prevent eutrophication of the Hartebeespoort Dam. Bodies in control of sewage treatment works were initially granted a period of grace in which to improve their works to comply with the specified 1 mg per litre phosphate standard, but this period has since expired. The implementation of the phosphate standard has already resulted in a drop in the presence of phosphates in the runoff to the Hartebeespoort Dam from sewage treatment works and the expectation is that this will improve further once the betterment works to all of the sewage treatment works have been completed and the specified phosphate standard complied with.

Vlekpoort Conservation Area: status

*8. Mr E K MOORCROFT asked the Minister of Agriculture:

(1) Whether the status of the Vlekpoort Conservation Area near Hofmeyr in the Eastern Cape is to be changed in any way; if so, in what way;

(2) whether the said area or any portion thereof has been leased to any persons; if so, (a) to whom and (b) under what terms;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B768E

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE:

(1) No. In view of the high erosion tendency of the land, the status of the Vlekpoort Conservation Area known as Spitskop, in extent 4 742 ha, is not to be changed at all. It is at present managed by a multi-disciplinary committee within the Department of Agriculture on which is represented the Directorate: Soil Conservation and Drilling Services and the Grootfontein Agricultural Development Institute.

Soil conservation works are being maintained and research into soil conserva-

Discrimination is geographical as well as racial

Blory 21/5/93.

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

THE distorted distribution of income and state expenditure in SA is usually seen only as a black/white issue. The geographical dimension is usually overlooked.

There are discrepancies between the country's nine development regions, and the manner in which resources are to be shared out between them will have to receive attention in constitutional talks.

To take but a few examples (from Development Bank statistics):

☐ Personal income a head in region G (northern Transvaal, including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda) was R725 in 1985 prices, but in region H (the PWV area) and in region A (western Cape) it was about six times that amount;

☐ The unemployment rate in region E (KwaZulu/Natal) is twice the figure for region F (eastern Transvaal), and in region D (Transkei, Ciskei, and the eastern Cape) it is three times the region F figure;

☐ Region E and region H each have a population of about 8,8-million, but the economy of region E is not much more than a third of the size of region H's.

The distribution of public sector personnel differs both racially and regionally.

For example, in Venda there was an average of 21 nurses for every 10 000 people in 1989, and in KaNgwane, 15 for 10 000 — both less than half the national average of 45.

Comparing "black Natal" with the rest of Natal, there were 17 nurses for 10 000 people in KwaZulu and 111 for every 10 000 outside KwaZulu.

Doctors are also unevenly spread. While in 1989 there was an average of six doctors for 10 000 people in the whole country (including all 10 homelands), this figure varied from one for every 10 000 in parts of Bophuthatswana to 13 for 10 000 in the western Cape. In "white" Natal there were 13 doctors for every 10 000 people, while KwaZulu had one doctor for every 10 000 people.

To address these and other distributional inequalities the state essentially has two choices. Either it will have to increase the number of nurses, doctors (and teachers) in poorer regions to bring them up to the levels in better off regions (which would increase the size and the cost of the public sector), or it will have to transfer people from one region to another. This would mean reducing the number of teachers, nurses and doctors in some areas, an option which would be unpopular both with areas of the country losing their services and with the transferred personnel.

If there are disparities between regions (which incorporate both homeland and non-homeland areas), there are also discrepancies between the former white-designated area and the homelands.

Many people are familiar with the ratio of four to one in state spending on white versus black education. But if one takes state spending on black education in the white-designated area and compares it with state spending on black education in KwaZulu, for example, there is a gap there, too, of two to one.

A study a few years ago showed that in Ciskei the infant mortality rate was three times what it was in Soweto. Other research disclosed that a third of metropolitan black households were living below a minimum living level of R700 a month. In the rural parts of the homelands, the figure was 84%.

Some people believe that finally getting rid of apartheid will yield a huge dividend. In the long term this may be true. In the short term it will make the average person poorer. Because the four independent homelands are poorer than the rest of the country, reincorporating them will reduce average national GDP a head. If getting rid of apartheid includes getting rid of discriminatory state spending (as it obviously must), the costs will be enormous.

Reintegrating the 10 homelands with the rest of the country will cost far more in equalising public spending than it will save in dismantling ethnic bureaucracies. It is well known that the state spends more on white people than on black. Less well known is that rural black people are the victims of double discrimination when it comes to state spending: once because they are black, and then again because they live in the homelands.

A Standard Bank study pointed out that R15bn was spent by government on the 14-million inhabitants of the 10 homelands in fiscal 1990/91, while R67bn was spent on the 22-million people living in the rest of the country — in per capita terms, nearly three times as much.

If public spending on people in the homelands had been on the same level as on people outside them, the cost would have been an extra R28bn on the 1990/91 national Budget. This is what it would have cost merely to bring homeland spending up to the level of non-homeland spending, without altering the racially discriminatory structure of such spending.

Far from the final disappearance of apartheid yielding a huge dividend, our experience is much more likely to be akin to that of Germany, where the old federal republic has found the cost of reincorporating East Germany to be much higher than expected.

This is not an argument against reintegrating the homelands with the rest of the country.

It is an argument for finding ways to meet the costs rather than carry on pretending that there will be some huge "post-apartheid" dividend, until we discover the hard way that it is a mirage.

☐ **Kane-Berman is executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.**

Fewer SA public servants

(101)

(250) CT21/5/93

THE number of public servants is dropping, although the decline is more than offset by an increase in the number of employees in the self-governing territories, the Commission for Administration has reported.

According to the commission's annual report tabled in Parliament this week, 6,5% of South Africa's economically active population was employed in the public service on September 30 last year. The figure for 1991 was 6,9%. The drop was attributed to both an actual drop in the number of public servants as well as to an increase in the economically active population.

The commission only has jurisdiction over 44,7% of the "exchequer personnel", which also includes those employed by homeland governments and parastatal institutions. If these employees are included, then 14,5% of South Africa's economically active population were remunerated with public funds.

The report says from October 1991 to September 1992 the number of government emplopyees dropped by 12 865 people.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

SAP: members discharged from service

29. Mr N SINGH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether any members of the South African Police Force were discharged from service for reasons other than normal retirement during the period 1 January 1992 up to and including 31 March 1993; if so, how many were discharged (a) as a result of (i) criminal and (ii) fraudulent activities and (b) for other specified reasons;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D221E

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) (i) and (ii)

2 466

(b) Resignation—3 369

Medically Unfit—1 098

(2) No.

Note: A total figure is supplied as a differentiation cannot be made easily.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For written reply:

General Affairs:

***Per capita* expenditure on pupils**

305. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

What was his Department's *per capita* expenditure, (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature, in (i) each of the self-governing territories and (ii) the rest of the Republic on pupils at (aa) government schools, (bb) community schools, (cc) state-aided schools and (dd) state-aided farm schools during the 1991–92 financial year or the latest specified 12-month period for which information is available? B703E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

The Minister of National Education allocates, on an annual basis, a single amount to each education department for the provision of CS education (excluding private ordinary schools). Each education department divides its allocation between government schools, community schools, state-aided schools, state-aided farm schools as well as special schools, technical colleges and teacher training colleges. The *per capita* expenditure for 1991–92 (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature in (i) each of the self-governing territories and (ii) the rest of the Republic for all *public ordinary schools* was derived from information in respect of the expenditures of the respective departments as contained in the SANEP information system and is shown in the attached table.

Per capita state expenditure for public ordinary schools* in the RSA for 1991–92

Department	Per Capita *State Expenditure (R)*	
	Capital expenditure included	*Capital expenditure excluded*
Gazankulu . . .	1 145	1 061
KaNgwane	937	817
KwaNdebele . . .	1 229	1 051
KwaZulu	755	710
Lebowa.	1 068	1 001
Qwa-Qwa	1 583	1 397
Rest of the Republic	2 395	2 297

* Includes government schools, community schools, state-aided schools and state-aided farm schools.

***Per capita* expenditure on pupils/students**

322. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of National Education:

What was the *per capita* expenditure, (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature, on pupils or students at State (i) (aa) pre-primary, (bb) primary and (cc) secondary schools, (ii) colleges of education, (iii) technical colleges, (iv) technikons and (v) universities during the 1991–92 and 1992–93 financial years, respectively, or the latest specified 12-month period for which information is available? B742E

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

The *per capita* expenditure for 1991–92 for public ordinary schools, teacher training colleges, technical colleges, technikons and universities (a) including and (b) excluding expenditure of a capital nature, is shown in the attached table.

The Department of National Education (DNE) does not have information on the *per capita* expenditure with regard to pre-primary schools, primary schools and secondary schools.

Per capita state expenditure for education in the RSA according to education sector for 1991–92

Three Bills open the way to reincorporate homelands

CAPE TOWN — Three Bills published yesterday will clear the way for reincorporation — with their consent — of the six self-governing states.

The Revocation and Assignment of the Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill empowers the President to issue a proclamation revoking the legislative powers and executive authority of self-governing territories.

In order to do so, the President must have the consent of the territory's government or be acting at that government's request.

The Bill empowers the President to retain powers and authority or to assign these powers to another person or body, the Bill's memorandum says.

The Bill also seeks to enable the President to assign the administration of a law in force in a self-governing territory to another person or body.

The second Bill, the Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill, empowers the

TIM COHEN

President to proclaim that matters currently administered by a department in SA and separately in self-governing territories be administered in a single department.

The Bill also empowers the President to amend or repeal laws in order to facilitate such joint administration.

The third Bill, the Regulation of Joint Executive Action Regarding Certain Land Bill, makes provision for joint administration of land which belonged to the SA Development Trust.

The Bill's object is to authorise the President to give effect to agreements between government and the governments of self-governing states.

Executive actions with respect to the land will be carried out jointly by the relevant government ministers and the ministers of the self-governing states in terms of agreements reached, the Bill's memorandum says.

news in brief

Sowetan

Apartheid revoked

26/5/93

GRAND apartheid was dealt a blow yesterday when legislation was tabled in Parliament revoking the autonomy of six self-governing territories (10)

The Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill will, when it becomes law, give President FW de Klerk the power to, with the consent or at the request of the administration of any self-governing territory, revoke the legislative powers and executive authority of these homelands.

This clause effectively gives self-governing territories such as KwaZulu an option to remain autonomous.

"The main objective of the bill is to provide for the manner in which the autonomy of the self-governing territories can be revoked," the memorandum explains.

Bill strips homelands' power

(101) CT 26/5/93

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE first legislative moves to end a major cornerstone of grand apartheid, the homelands, were made yesterday when a bill to reincorporate the six non-independent homelands was tabled in Parliament.

The Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill makes provision for the powers granted to the six homelands to be revoked.

It formally reverses the policies of separate development, initiated by the late Dr H F Verwoerd in the 1951 Native Authorities Act and the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act

In terms of those policies, the 10 bantustans, as they were known then, were to become independent states

The homelands affected by the bill are Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, QwaQwa and KwaZulu

Wiseman Nkuhlu is unable to find tangible economic gains in the TBVC states

Fruits of independence a mirage

Star 26/5/93

THE independent states have been self-governing for many years, in Transkei's case since 1977. Yet, in that time, independence has yielded no tangible economic benefits.

The vast disparities between the South African economy and that of the homelands remain. The hard facts are that the TBVC states have lower GDPs, lower levels of services, higher levels of poverty and more jobless.

No one can claim with any degree of legitimacy that the TBVC states and the homelands should remain independent "because we can do things better".

In truth, the degree of economic dependency is still very high: in 1992/93 the independent states raised only 16,8 percent of total expenditure from their own tax structures with Pretoria providing the balance.

I am in no doubt that there can only be positive benefits from reincorporation. While it will reduce regional autonomy on matters such as taxation and business development strategies, the independent states have never had real control over their economies. The SA Reserve Bank has always retained control of financial policy.

Reincorporation will result in a more legitimate claim to a share of national resources in addressing backlogs in infrastructure.

In addition, the homelands will offer the private sector a more predictable environment when policy is determined for South Africa as a whole.

Also, reincorporation will enable development institutions to rationalise. Transkei has at least five development corporations, all with executive structures and dependent on State subsidies. Not one is self-sustaining.

(101)

It should lead, too, to improved access to development support from non-government organisations and international development agencies. Some of them have been reluctant to become involved in the homelands.

Benefits should flow from special affirmative action programmes likely to be introduced by the new government in South Africa.

It is essential that the TBVC states successfuly motivate a formula that takes the reduction of backlogs into account. Such a formula must recognise for example that Transkei has an average of 90 children per classroom as against South Africa's 40 and that similar disparities exist in categories such as health care.

Finally, even if appropriate constitutional arrangements are made, a paramount factor in successful reincorporation will be the management skills of, and confidence in, the regional governments that will take over.

Without that, reincorporation in terms of the benefits it will bring to the populace will fail.

● *Professor Nkuhlu is chief executive of the Independent Development Trust. These are extracts from his address at a recent conference organised by the Transkei Chamber of Commerce.* □

Bills revoke homeland autonomy

Two Bills to facilitate reincorporation of the self-governing territories into SA were tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The main objective of the Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill is to provide for the manner in which the autonomy of self-governing territories can be revoked.

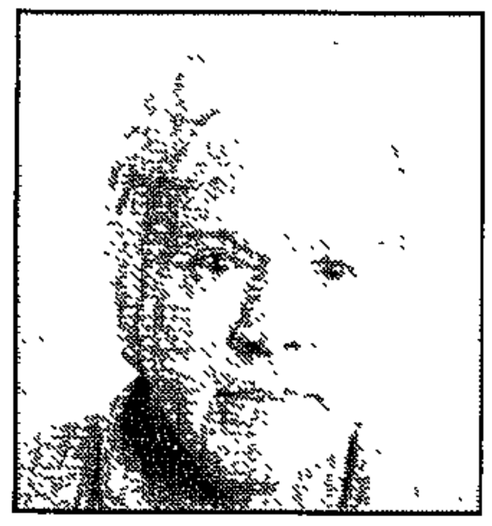
The Bill empowers the State President to revoke the legislative powers and executive authority of any self-governing territories, provided he has the consent of the government of the particular territory.

The Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill empowers the State President to place certain matters, at present administered in separate departments and in the self-governing territories, under a single department. — Sapa.

Star 27/5/93

A healthy way forward

The Steinmetz recommendations, reported last week in The Star, could change the face of the health care system in South Africa, and save billions of rands. The recommendations will also stimulate much-needed debate on the health crisis, reports Health Writer DAVID ROBBINS.



A COMPLETE restructuring of health-care delivery systems and an important change in the method of health funding are among the major recommendations in the Department of National Health and Welfare's Steinmetz Report.

Last September, a national committee comprising representatives of South Africa's multiplicity of health authorities (but excluding the four independent homelands) was formed, headed by a private sector financial and managerial expert, Sage Group head Gerard Steinmetz.

The committee had to "formulate a strategy and proposals to enable government to render an effective health service within the financial resources available".

This the committee has done, and it has estimated that around R1 billion a year could be saved through rationalisations and improvements. That's a sizeable bite out of a total public sector health budget of R11 billion.

The Steinmetz committee took as its starting point the muddle of apartheid health care which still exists to a large extent in the country.

The Department of National Health, three "own affairs" departments (until April 1 this year), four provincial administrations and six self-governing homelands all contributed to a situation where the "fragmentation and duplication of the service became the order of the day".

In terms of the recommendations, a single health department replaces the current muddle with a three-tier system of administration.

The central or national department will control overall health policy, standards and norms, training and research and overseas liaison, but will have no direct service responsibility.

This responsibility will be vested in **regional departments**. The current suggestion is that the country's nine economic regions (or any future geographic regions as delineated by the Constitution) shall be the basis for the regional administration of health.

The district authorities within each region will be responsible for the actual running of the health services on the ground, from primary to tertiary health care.

This system is a far cry from today, when provision of actual health services is divided between the Department of National Health, the four provincial health administrations, the six self-governing states, and scores of city councils and other local authorities, resulting in considerable overlapping of services.

The Steinmetz Report estimates that these structural changes alone will set free around R400 million a year.

The report also has important recommendations for the funding of health institutions and services. The present situation is turned on its head.

The implications for hospitals are enormous, and some observers see a national health service coming in South Africa.

Hospitals should be funded from income derived from charging all patients at medical schemes rates (funded from the regional health budget where necessary), and from other sources such as laboratory and laundry services.

The Steinmetz Report says this system would encourage the efficient use of equipment and personnel and oblige hospital administrations to tighten their budgets.

The report calculates, however, that a 7 to 14 percent surplus should be possible in most institutions, a proportion of which would be used to improve facilities and to pay staff an incentive bonus.

The report looks closely at the interface between the public and the private health care sectors.

Main recommendations to emerge are that State hospital facilities should be made available to private practitioners, in return for services rendered to State-dependent patients; and that specialised services and equipment in the private sector should not be duplicated in the public sector, and vice versa.

The report also takes a look at the future of South Africa's seven academic hospitals.

"Is it not necessary to re-evaluate the role of these costly complexes? Should there not be some attempt at rationalisation of scarce academic manpower, expensive equipment and capital resources?"

Basing its calculations on a national requirement of 750 new doctors a year, and a ratio of 10 academic beds per final-year student, the Steinmetz committee recommends that three academic hospitals be converted to tertiary care. Although it is known that the Cabinet is not in favour of closing academic hospitals at this stage, this recommendation could save R150 million a year.

Further savings of R350 million could be achieved, says the report, if the buying and control of pharmaceuticals was rationalised. At the moment, pharmaceutical items covered in State contracts total 2 386, while the number of essential items proposed by the World Health Organisation is 260.

The Steinmetz Report recommends the South African figure be reduced to around 500 items, and that controls be placed on the number of items, and their individual quantities, per prescription.

The control of pharmaceuticals in hospitals is also examined.

"It is estimated," says the report, "that fraud, theft and trafficking in institutions managed by the State can amount to as much as R500 million per annum."

The recommendation here is in the form of a detailed proposal for a new stock control system for hospitals.

Finally, the Steinmetz committee examined the serious maldistribution of doctors. Although the current doctor/population ratio in South Africa is 1:978, the ratios in the self-governing states range from 1:10 000 in QwaQwa to 1:30 000 in Lebowa.

Among the recommendations to redress this imbalance are that contractual obligations such as serving in the rural areas should be attached to medical bursaries and loans that one year's service in selected areas should be introduced prior to full registration with the Medical and Dental Council; and that the proposed funding of patients rather than institutions would encourage new private practices in underserved areas.

If the number of doctors serving in these areas should be doubled, the report says, and if increased benefits are paid, an additional R60 million would need to be spent. But the savings on patient travel and admittance to regional hospitals would amount to R150 million, thus effecting a net saving of R90 million a year. □

Star 27/5/93

A healthy way forward

(101)

The Steinmetz recommendations, reported last week in The Star, could change the face of the health care system in South Africa, and save billions of rands. The recommendations will also stimulate much-needed debate on the health crisis, reports Health Writer DAVID ROBBINS.

A COMPLETE restructuring of health-care delivery systems and an important change in the method of health funding are among the major recommendations in the Department of National Health and Welfare's Steinmetz Report.

Last September, a national committee comprising representatives of South Africa's multiplicity of health authorities (but excluding the four independent homelands) was formed, headed by a private sector financial and managerial expert, Sage Group head Gerard Steinmetz.

The committee had to "formulate a strategy and proposals to enable government to render an effective health service within the financial resources available".

This the committee has done, and it has estimated that around R1 billion a year could be saved through rationalisations and improvements. That's a sizeable bite out of a total public sector health budget of R11 billion.

The Steinmetz committee took as its starting point the muddle of apartheid health care which still exists to a large extent in the country.

The Department of National Health, three "own affairs" departments (until April 1 this year), four provincial administrations and six self-governing homelands all contributed to a situation where the "fragmentation and duplication of the service became the order of the day".

In terms of the recommendations, a single health department replaces the current muddle with a three-tier system of administration.

The central or national department will control overall health policy, standards and norms, training and research and overseas liaison, but will have no direct service responsibility.

This responsibility will be vested in regional departments. The current suggestion is that the country's nine economic regions (or any future geographic regions as delineated by the Constitution) shall be the basis for the regional administration of health.

The district authorities within each region will be responsible for the actual running of the health services on the ground, from primary to tertiary health care.

This system is a far cry from today, when provision of actual health services is divided between the Department of National Health, the four provincial health administrations, the six self-governing states, and scores of city councils and other local authorities, resulting in considerable overlapping of services.

The Steinmetz Report estimates that these structural changes alone will set free around R400 million a year.

The report also has important recommendations for the funding of health institutions and services. The present situation is turned on its head.

The implications for hospitals are enormous, and some observers see a national health service coming in South Africa.

Hospitals should be funded from income derived from charging all patients at medical schemes rates (funded from the regional health budget where necessary), and from other sources such as laboratory and laundry services.

The Steinmetz Report says this system would encourage the efficient use of equipment and personnel and oblige hospital administrations to tighten their budgets.

The report calculates, however, that a 7 to 14 percent surplus should be possible in most institutions, a proportion of which would be used to improve facilities and to pay staff an incentive bonus.

The report looks closely at the interface between the public and the private health care sectors.

Main recommendations to emerge are that State hospital facilities should be made available to private practitioners, in return for services rendered to State-dependent patients; and that specialised services and equipment in the private sector should not be duplicated in the public sector, and vice versa.

The report also takes a look at the future of South Africa's seven academic hospitals.

"Is it not necessary to re-evaluate the role of these costly complexes? Should there not be some attempt at rationalisation of scarce academic manpower, expensive equipment and capital resources?"

Basing its calculations on a national requirement of 750 new doctors a year, and a ratio of 10 academic beds per final-year student, the Steinmetz committee recommends that three academic hospitals be converted to tertiary care. Although it is known that the Cabinet is not in favour of closing academic hospitals at this stage, this recommendation could save R150 million a year.

Further savings of R350 million could be achieved, says the report, if the buying and control of pharmaceuticals was rationalised. At the moment, pharmaceutical items covered in State contracts total 2 386, while the number of essential items proposed by the World Health Organisation is 260.

The Steinmetz Report recommends the South African figure be reduced to around 500 items, and that controls be placed on the number of items, and their individual quantities, per prescription.

The control of pharmaceuticals in hospitals is also examined.

"It is estimated," says the report, "that fraud, theft and trafficking in institutions managed by the State can amount to as much as R500 million per annum."

The recommendation here is in the form of a detailed proposal for a new stock control system for hospitals.

Finally, the Steinmetz committee examined the serious maldistribution of doctors. Although the current doctor/population ratio in South Africa is 1:978, the ratios in the self-governing states range from 1:10 000 in QwaQwa to 1:30 000 in Lebowa.

Among the recommendations to redress this imbalance are that contractual obligations such as serving in the rural areas should be attached to medical bursaries and loans; that one year's service in selected areas should be introduced prior to full registration with the Medical and Dental Council; and that the proposed funding of patients rather than institutions would encourage new private practices in underserved areas.

If the number of doctors serving in these areas should be doubled, the report says, and if increased benefits are paid, an additional R60 million would need to be spent. But the savings on patient travel and admittance to regional hospitals would amount to R150 million, thus effecting a net saving of R90 million a year. □

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State

(a) 80 and

(b) Black—40; White—38; Coloured—2

Other Provincial Administrations

The Provincial Administration of Transvaal, Natal and the Cape of Good Hope do not keep statistics of causes of death.

Lung cancer: deaths

314. Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

How many persons (a) in total and (b) in each race group died of lung cancer in each province in 1992? B706E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

Provincial Administration of the Orange Free State:

(a) 80 and

(b) Blacks: 40 Whites: 38 Coloureds: 2

Other Provincial Administrations:

The Provincial Administration of the Transvaal, Natal and the Cape of Good Hope do not maintain statistics on causes of deaths.

***Per capita* allocation of health funds**

316 Mr M J ELLIS asked the Minister for National Health and Welfare:

(1) Whether her Department has made any calculations regarding the *per capita* allocation of health funds for 1991–92 in the four provinces of the Republic; if so, (a) which (i) census year's statistics and (ii) financial year's expenditure were used as the basis for these calculations, (b) what allowance was made for rapid urbanization, (c) how was the expenditure per province calculated and (d) what factors were taken into account in reallocating funds between provinces;

(2) whether the independent Black states (TBVC states) were included for the purpose of these calculations; if so, as part of which provinces; if not, what allowance was made for cross-border flows;

(3) whether the (a) self-governing territories and (b) various departments of health in the (i) Republic, (ii) self-governing territories and (iii) TBVC states were included for the purpose of these calculations; if not, why not; if so, in what way;

(4) whether provision was made in these calculations for (a) health facility planning, (b) construction expenditure, (c) expenditure on equipment and (d) extraordinary expenditure; if not, why not; if so, (i) what items of extraordinary expenditure were provided for and (ii) how did their inclusion affect the *per capita* allocations;

(5) whether the figures derived from these calculations are updated annually; if not, why not; if so, what are the most recent estimates? B708E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

(1) Yes,

(a) (i) 1985, as adjusted and

(ii) 1991/92 budget allocations,

(b) none,

(c) the total budget allocations to the town affairs administrations, provincial administrations and the self-governing territories within each of the geographic regions of Transvaal, Cape Province, Natal and the Orange Free State respectively, are divided by the total populations in each of the mentioned geographic regions.

The budget allocation of the Department of National Health and Population Development is not included in the allocations mentioned above because the Department—

— has a national overall responsibility in respect of health services which can only with great difficulty be divided into regions; and

— has limited responsibility for the delivery of health services and

(d) the Department divides the national health budget on the basis of a financing formula which has been approved by the Cabinet. The relative need for health services in the different geographic regions is the principle on which the formula is founed. The need for health services is determined by the size of the population in a specific geographic region, as well as the health status of the population. The latter takes mortality rates, loss of potential years of life and utilisation rates of health care facilities into consideration;

(2) no, accurate figures are not available;

(3) (a) yes, as stated in paragraph 1 (c) and

(b) (i) yes, as stated in paragraph 1 (c),

(ii) yes, as stated in paragraph 1 (c) and

(iii) no,

the TBVC States are excluded because of the fact that the health services of these states are not funded from the national health budget. The Department of National Health and Population Development carries no responsibility for allocation of the budget for health services in these states.

Regarding the health departments which are included, refer to paragraph (1) (c);

(4) (a), (b), (c) and (d) yes,

(i) the total allocations to each of the health authorities are used in the calculations. Specific items are not referred to and

(ii) because specific items are not referred to in the calculations, the per capita effect of the allocations cannot be determined;

(5) yes,

1993/94 (provisional estimates)

	Rand *per capita*
Cape Province	401
Orange Free State	293
Transvaal	266
Natal	235

In an effort to establish the *per capita* allocation in the four geographical regions on a more comparable basis, steps have been taken to improve the backlog in the Natal region. The results are as follows:

Percentage disparity in the *per capita* allocation between the Cape Province (highest) and the Natal region (lowest)

1991/92	85,9%
1992/93	76,6%
1993/94	70,6% (provisional figure)

Political violence in Natal Midlands: inquests

324. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) How many inquests pertaining to death resulting from political violence were conducted in each magisterial district in the Natal Midlands (a) in 1992 and (b) during the period 1 January 1993 up to the latest specified date for which information is available;

(2) in how many of these inquests (a) was death attributed to persons unknown and (b) were findings referred to the Attorney-General for his decision;

(3) in how many cases (a) did the Attorney-General decline to prosecute and (b) were prosecutions instituted? B748E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

The required information is not readily available. In an effort to be of assistance to the hon member, a few magistrates of districts (Pietermaritzburg, Glencoe, Howick and Estcourt) in the Natal Midlands were requested to furnish information regarding inquests pertaining to deaths flowing from violence. The following information for the period 1 January 1992 to 31 December 1992 is available.

(1)	Pietermaritzburg	745
	Glencoe	39
	Howick	53
	Estcourt	74
(2) (a)	Pietermaritzburg	459
	Glencoe	37

cont—d

Bill spells end of Verwoerd's bantustans

(101)

W\Mail 28/5 - 3/6/93.

By IAN CLAYTON

THE first legal steps to disband the Verwoerdian bantustans were taken in parliament this week when a Bill providing for the reincorporation of the six non-independent homelands was tabled.

The Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill makes provision for the powers granted to the six homelands to be revoked.

The Bill officially reverses the policies of separate development, initiated by the late Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in the 1951 Native Authorities Act and the 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill.

The government intended at the time to turn the 10 bantustans, as they were then known (they were later labelled "homelands" and "national states"), into "countries". In terms of these policies, every black South African was to lose his or her citizenship and become a citizen of one of these bantustans.

Four of these homelands — Transkei (1976), Bophuthatswana (1978), Venda (1979) and Ciskei (1981) — became "independent" and are not directly implicated by yesterday's Bill.

The Department of Regional and Local Affairs said in a memorandum attached to the Bill that it empowered the state president "with the consent or at the request of the government of a self-governing territory, to issue a proclamation revoking the legislative powers and executive authority of such self-governing territory.

"The Bill empowers the state president to retain such powers and executive authority himself to assign to another person or body," the memorandum said.

The Bill gives the power to revoke the legislative powers and executive authority of the six non-independent homelands.

The homelands directly implicated by the proposed measure are Gazankulu, Lebowa, kwaNdebele, kaNgwane, QwaQwa and kwaZulu.

the police but no one was wounded.

ANC's Gwala infuriates Inkatha

C/Press 30/5/93

INKATHA filed a complaint with the National Peace Committee on Friday after alleged inflammatory statements by ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala at Technikon Natal recently.

Gwala is alleged to have said: "We call on students of the South African Students Congress to learn how to handle firearms because if negotiations fail you must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47."

Inkatha said Gwala's statements were intended to "incite violence and hatred".

Mangope lashes out at ANC

BOP President Lucas Mangope says the ANC-alliance is paying students to instigate revolt at the homeland's Setlogelo Technikon.

Mangope said Bop was "in the grips of a sinister and well-orchestrated campaign to throw education into disarray". C/Press. 30/5/93

He accused the ANC of paying Student Representative Council members to disrupt the institution.

Inkatha woman necklaced

INKATHA confirmed that the woman who was necklaced in the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park on Tuesday was Inkatha branch secretary Julia Mtshali.

An Inkatha statement said Mtshali was abducted last weekend and Inkatha officials had spent several days searching for her.

SABC board announcement soon

C/Press 30/5/93

THE names of the new SABC Board members will be announced by FW de Klerk early next week, according to a recent government statement.

The statement said the original list "created concerns which De Klerk discussed twice with the panel".

An amended list has now been submitted.

Sisulu calls for reincorporation

C/Press 20/5/93

THE ANC yesterday called for the reincorporation of all homelands into SA as well as the unconditional restoration of SA citizenship to all homeland inhabitants.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, speaking at Wits University, said linked to this central issue was the demand for free political activity and association in the homeland territories.

Sisulu moots plan against homelands

Sunday Times Reporter

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu yesterday called for a two-pronged attack against repression in Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu.

Speaking at the ANC's anti-Bop conference at Wits University, Mr Sisulu said democratic forces were being subjected to a "savage onslaught".

"We have experienced a phenomenal increase in organised violence against the people and repression has reached unprecedented heights," he said.

Mr Sisulu said the ANC would continue to "engage these tinpot dictatorships" in negotiations within the context of the multi-party talks, but at the same time would wage a "relentless" campaign for political space.

A composite plan of sustainable action against repression in Bophuthatswana was needed, and a cardinal component of the plan should be the demand for reincorporation of all independent homelands into South Africa.

'Reincorporate homelands'

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress called for the reincorporation of all homelands into South Africa as well as the unconditional restoration of South African citizenship to all inhabitants of these areas.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, opening a conference on repression in Bophuthatswana at the University of the Witwatersrand, said — linked to this central issue — was the demand for free political activity and association in the homeland territories.

"While we have been successful in winning to our side or neutralising some homelands, the same cannot be said of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu," said Mr Sisulu.

"In these areas, repression against the democratic movement has reached unprecedented heights.

"In fact, an undeclared war is being systematically waged against progressive forces. Significant parts of our country have become no-go zones for the democratic movement."

Reincorporate homelands—call

CT 31/5/93 (10)

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC has called for the reincorporation of all homelands into South Africa as well as the unconditional restoration of South African citizenship to all inhabitants of these areas.

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu made the call while opening a conference on repression in Bophuthatswana at the University of the Witwatersrand at the weekend. — Sapa

The case for reincorporation

Extracts from an address made by Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu, chief executive of the Independent Development Trust, at a recent conference organised by the Transkei Chamber of Commerce.

(101) ARG 31/5/93

THE independent states have been self-governing for many years, in Transkei's case since 1977. Yet, in that time, independence has yielded no tangible economic benefits.

The vast disparities between the South African economy and that of the homelands remain. The hard facts are that the TBVC states have lower GDPs, lower levels of services, higher levels of poverty and more jobless.

No one can claim with any degree of legitimacy that the TBVC states and the homelands should remain independent "because we can do things better".

In truth, the degree of economic dependency is still very high: in 1992/93 the independent states raised only 16,8percent of total expenditure from their own tax structures with Pretoria providing the balance.

I am in no doubt that there can only be positive benefits from reincorporation. While it will reduce regional autonomy on matters such as taxation and business development strategies, the independent states have never had real control over their economies. The SA Reserve Bank has always retained control of financial policy.

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu ... "positive benefits".

Reincorporation will result in a more legitimate claim to a share of national resources in addressing backlogs in infrastructure.

In addition, the homelands will offer the private sector a more predictable environment when policy is determined for South Africa as a whole.

Also, reincorporation will enable development institutions to rationalise. Transkei has at least five development corporations, all with executive structures and dependent on State subsidies. Not one is self-sustaining.

It should lead, too, to improved access to development support from non-government organisations and international development agencies. Some of them have been reluctant to become involved in the homelands.

Benefits should flow from special affirmative action programmes likely to be introduced by the new government in South Africa.

It is essential that the TBVC states successfuly motivate a formula that takes the reduction of backlogs into account. Such a formula must recognise for example that Transkei has an average of 90 children a classroom as against South Africa's 40 and that similar disparities exist in categories such as health care.

Finally, even if appropriate constitutional arrangements are made, a paramount factor in successful reincorporation will be the management skills of, and confidence in, the regional governments that will take over.

Without that, reincorporation in terms of the benefits it will bring to the populace will fail.

wanted the parents to become more involved years ago. This campaign has caused that to happen.

If Sadtu takes a decision in Pretoria and gives an undertaking, and its members in the Western Cape pay no attention, surely it is not the fault of the Minister and the department if a rebellion takes place in Sadtu and there is no control. Is it my fault or that of the department if there is a power struggle, which has nothing to do with education or with what the department is doing, among teachers' associations outside? [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Cost of government

*1. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of State Expenditure:

(1) Whether, with reference to the alleged stated goal of the Government to achieve greater economics of scale and rationalization within government, the cost of government to the nation has increased in real terms; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, to what extent;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B273E

The MINISTER OF STATE EXPENDITURE:

(1) No. The cost of government refers to more than that of central government. It encompasses that of the general government, i.e. central, provincial and local government (including TBVC states and self-governing territories). According to the latest information of the Central Statistical Service (PO441) the change in real terms in expenditure for the general government over the past five quarters was as follows:

1992	1	0,2 %
	2	0,1 %
	3	0,0 %
	4	−0,3 %
1993	1	−0,4 %

(2) No.

Mr M F CASSIM: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, are we then to assume that there is positive saving on the part of the Government?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, on the face of it, that would seem to be the case. I shall pursue the point the hon member has raised, and try to give him a more substantial reply. In the meantime, may I refer him to the bulletin of the Central Statistical Service, PO441, of which I shall enclose a copy when I reply to him.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister referred to the governments of the TBVC and other states. Further arising out of his reply, is it not correct that anyone who wants to argue in favour of dismantling own affairs as part of the rationalisation programme should also ask, amongst other things, for the dismantling of the KwaZulu government?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I take it that the hon member does not want to initiate a debate on this right now. However, I will consider what he has said, because a debate on this issue is necessary. The trend of saving and reducing expenditure shows that we are moving in a positive direction.

Death at Pollsmoor: inquest

*2. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether an inquest has been conducted into the death of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, in Pollsmoor Prison on or about 29 June 1989; if not, why not; if so, by whom;

(2) whether any findings have been made in respect of the conduct of prison staff allegedly involved in the incident resulting in the death of the above-mentioned person; if so, what were the findings;

(3) whether a report on the inquest has been handed to the Attorney-General of the Cape; if not, why not; if so, when;

(4) whether the Attorney-General has taken any decision as a result of the findings contained in this report; if not, why not; if so, what was the decision;

(5) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D278E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) Yes, it was conducted by a magistrate of the Magistrate's Court, Wynberg.

(2) Yes, he found that the death was not brought about by any act or omission in-

Contract No.	*Contractor*	*Amount*
D11/91	Newtra Holdings	R 861 186,01
D12/91	Newtra Holdings	R 1 883 788,44
D13/91	Newtra Holdings	R 425 649,87
Total		R57 717 058,62

Your attention is drawn to the fact that all the above amounts are as yet unaudited and are therefore possibly not the final figures. Final figures for each financial year are published in the annual report of the Department of Transport.

Independent Black states: RSA citizenship

349. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

How many Blacks from each independent Black state regained their South African citizenship in 1992 in terms of the provisions of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act No 73 of 1986)? B789E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

The Department of Home Affairs does not keep record of the number of persons who acquired their South African citizenship in terms of the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act, 1986 (Act No 73 of 1986).

Transnet: travel benefits for current/retired employees

354. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister for Public Enterprises:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on the travel benefits, other than those utilized in the course of duty, afforded by (a) Spoornet, (b) the South African Airways and (c) Autonet to (i) current and (ii) retired employees of Transnet; if not, why not; if so, what was the total cost of the benefits so afforded during the latest specified 12-month period for which information is available, expressed in terms of the equivalent full fare cost thereof;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B835E

The MINISTER FOR PUBLIC ENTERPRISES:

The Managing Director of Transnet Limited furnished the following reply to the hon member's question:

(1) (a), (b) and (c): Yes. Spoornet, SA Airways and Autonet do not afford travel benefits to Transnet employees and retired employees of Transnet. The divisions, business units and service centres of Transnet Limited grant travel benefits to their employees and retired employees and these units and their employees/retired employees compensate Spoornet, the SA Airways and Autonet for the accommodation or seats utilised.

For the 1992–93 financial year this compensation amounted to:

(i) Spoornet R60 492 659
SA Airways R18 421 217
Autonet ..... R 312 000

(ii) Spoornet R14 079 293
SA Airways R16 297 634
Autonet ..... Nil

The accounting system does not differentiate between payments received from full-fare paying passengers and payments received for the portion of certain travel benefits which the concession holder is required to pay. Consequently, only the concession value of the travel benefits can be furnished.

Furthermore, the figure for concessionary air travel does not include journeys undertaken by SA Airways employees/retired employees as the accounting system does not differentiate between service and concessionary travel in the case of employees of the SA Airways.

Reservation procedures for complimentary travel is so structured that mainly accommodation and seats which would otherwise go unused, are made available to concession holders. The figures furnished can thus not be seen as an expenditure or a total loss of income.

(2) No.

Own Affairs:

Pupils completing 1992 school year

79. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

How many pupils who, in 1992, were in (a) Grade 1/Sub A, (b) Grade 2/Sub B, (c) Std 1, (d) Std 2, (e) Std 3, (f) Std 4, (g) Std 5, (h) Std 6, (i) Std 7, (j) Std 8, (k) Std 9 and (l) Std 10 at schools falling under his Department, failed to complete the 1992 school year? B866E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

These statistics are not available.

Adv C H PIENAAR: Mr Chairman, could I ask the virgin hon Minister, arising out of his reply, whether the Government intends taking control of housing or whether it merely intends to co-ordinate it? Could he tell us what the Government's intentions are at this stage?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, the intention is to achieve co-ordination, but this has to be done in the light of changing circumstances. It is not a question of taking control at all, however. There must be a large amount of autonomy in various areas.

Adv C H PIENAAR: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, is he saying, in other words, that despite the fact that the bulk of the funds would be emanating from the taxpayers, there will not be any control over the way in which those funds are spent?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I think, in terms of the reply that I gave initially, that such a detailed request should be tabled so that I can reply adequately in due course. [Interjections.]

SADF vehicles: transportation of passengers

*3. Mr D H M GIBSON asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether any South African Defence Force regulations and/or other provisions provide for safety checks to be carried out on military vehicles used for the transportation of persons on public roads; if not, why not; if so, (a) which regulations and/or provisions and (b) (i) when, (ii) by whom and (iii) according to what procedures are such safety checks carried out? B847E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

Yes.

(a) SADF Logistics Policy and Procedures 14, Pamphlet 1, part 3: SADF Policy and Procedures for the Planning and Execution of Logistics read in conjunction with the Military Disciplinary Code, Section 19, "Disobeying Lawful Commands or Orders".

(b) (i) Before each trip.

(ii) The driver.

(iii) The prescribed procedures for First Parade, which comprises a complete check of the vehicle using a prescribed checklist.

Samil vehicles transporting school cadets

*4. Mr A J LEON asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether it is common practice to use Samil military vehicles for the transportation of school cadets; if so,

(2) whether these vehicles comply with the relevant safety and other requirements for the transportation of passengers on public roads; if not, why not; if so, what is the maximum speed at which passengers may be transported on such roads;

(3) whether any specific regulations and/or rules are applicable in respect of the use of Samil vehicles; if so, what regulations and/or rules;

(4) whether such regulations and/or rules differ from those applicable to other vehicles; if so, what are the relevant details? B849E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) Yes.

(2) Yes. 80 km per hour.

(3) No.

(4) Falls away.

Transportation of school cadets

*5. Mr E K MOORCROFT asked the Minister of Defence:

Whether any specific regulations and/or rules apply to the (a) transportation of school cadets and (b) loading of equipment in military vehicles; if not, why not; if so, (i) what regulations and/or rules in each case, (ii) under whose command do such vehicles fall when transporting school cadets and (iii) who is responsible for ensuring that such regulations and/or rules are complied with? B851E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) and (b) All SA Defence Force vehicles are subject to the same regulations and prescriptions.

(i) SADF Logistics Policy and Procedures 14, Pamphlet 1, Part 3, Chapter 5 (Road Transport in the SADF) and Army Training Instruction 2/91 with regard to the loading of equipment and the Loading Tables in respect of personnel read in conjunction with the Military Disciplinary Code, Section 19, "Disobeying Lawful Commands or Orders".

(ii) It differs depending on the specific circumstances.

(iii) The driver and/or the non-commissioned officer or member of a higher rank who has been appointed for the specific task.

Black Education: capital programme

*6. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Training:

(1) Whether, with reference to certain information furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, the major capital programme in respect of Black education recently announced by him applies only to areas falling under his Department; if so, why; if not,

(2) whether any funds allocated in terms of the said programme will be spent in the self-governing territories; if not, why not; if so, (a) in which territories, (b) what total amount will be so spent and (c) in respect of what date is this information furnished? B880E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING:

(1) Yes. The Department of Education and Training has no jurisdiction over the provision of education in a self-governing territory. Therefore the budget voted for the Department of Education and Training may only be spent in the Republic of South Africa, excluding the self-governing territories.

(2) Falls away.

Guardian's Fund: minor heirs

*7. Mr J CHIOLÉ asked the Minister of Justice:†

(1) Whether, with specific reference to information on minor heirs who have come of age in the mean time, the full particulars regarding the amounts of R100 or more that were claimable in the books of the Guardian's Fund: Transvaal Provincial Division as at 31 August 1992, were published by Notice 884 in the *Gazette*, No 14329, on 9 October 1992, in accordance with the provisions of section 91 of the Administration of Estates Act, 1965 (Act No 66 of 1965); if not, (a) why not and (b) when will the full information in this regard be published in the *Gazette*;

(2) whether he or his Department intends taking steps in this regard; if not, why not; if so, (a) what steps and (b) against whom? B593E

†The MINISTER OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES (for the Minister of Justice):

(1) No. The Master, Pretoria, reports to me that three names were omitted from the published list for 31 August 1992. I have asked the Master to ensure that there are no other omissions and to report to me on measures taken to avoid a recurrence of such omissions and oversights. I thank the hon member for bringing the matter to my attention.

(2) Steps are being taken to notify the persons concerned. The information will be published in the *Gazette* on Friday 4 June 1993.

INTERPELLATION

The sign * indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

Own Affairs:

Model A and C schools: admission

*1. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(1) Whether governing bodies of Model A and C schools have the right to deny any persons admission to such schools on the grounds of language, cultural and/or religious considerations; if not, why not; if so, why;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B895E.INT

cont'd

*HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

*Mr L F STOFBERG: . . . the CP is warning the NP. We say that they should beware. They may laugh now but they do not understand that Mandela does not want to share power. He wants total power in the country. [Time expired.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to tell the hon member for Groote Schuur that this afternoon she was very definitely not a mother of the people. She is an old-time liberal.

*Miss M SMUTS: I am a Boer liberal!

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: If a White man or an Afrikaner makes a mistake, they jump on him but the Blacks of Africa can make all kinds of mistakes and they will support them. They are Jean Jacques Rousseau types. I want to tell the DP and the NP that Mandela is not just an ordinary leader in South Africa. He is accepted by the NP as the next president with the powers which the present hon State President holds. What do hon members think is going to happen? Hon members can speak as frivolously as they like today, where there are no Black people present, but I say that it is not a case of after meat mustard. This is the reality of South Africa. In another world there can be a J R Ewing in Dallas, but this is the reality.

Here is the leader of the ANC, whom they regard as the president of tomorrow, and he announces these things The NP and the DP are living in a fool's paradise which will catch up with them in the reality of South Africa. In a year or two or three they will remember that the CP tried to talk to them for 10 years. Let him who does not hear, feel. The NP and the DP will still feel in this country. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member has only a few seconds left.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I want to repeat this. That hon member will, as an old-time liberal, learn the reality of Africa the hard way. Hon members will still find out the problems regarding what Nelson Mandela really thinks of democracy. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the two hon members contended that this Government had elevated Mr Mandela to an enormous figure. I want to suggest that there is a measure of justification for that argument, but it is not because this Government released him now. It is because the former Government kept him in prison for years, for too long. This is what enhanced his image. I am not saying this in reproach but, if he had been released earlier, he would not have acquired that image.

I shall conclude simply by saying that those hon members and the country may rest assured that this Government will see to it that civilised standards are maintained, as regards the age of those entitled to vote as well.

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That ends the first interpellation. Before I put the second interpellation, I want to express the hope that the discussion of the next interpellation will take place in a more orderly fashion and that more attention will be paid to calls for order from the Chair, otherwise I fear we are not going to conclude this question session at full strength.

Debate concluded.

Transfer of funds to TBVC states

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> Whether any financial controls are in force in respect of the transfer of funds to the TBVC states; if not, why not; if so, what procedures are followed in this regard?

(101) B900E.INT

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, during the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote on 29 April this year, the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs made the following comment on the financial affairs of the TBVC states. He said the following (Hansard 1993, col 6349):

> My department and I are aware of the impression that financial maladministration, fraud and corruption are prevalent in the TBVC states and that not enough is being done to curb what is believed to be a wastage of taxpayers' money.

He acknowledged that there were irregularities, but in that debate he also stressed at length that important steps had been taken to put the matter on a sound footing. The steps taken and results achieved were dealt with extensively during that debate, as I said, and it is not possible,

in the short discussion we are having today, to repeat that.

However, the fact is that co-operation in terms of those joint financial adjustment programmes and the structural adjustment programme do represent progress, but that progress will have to be further strengthened. We acknowledge that at the outset.

I would like to remind hon members that, despite the agreements and the degree of success achieved in managing the problem of financial control and planning in respect of these states, their independent status is a hard fact of political life. As a responsible Government we must take that into account, but that does not remove the onus on us to be responsible in the way we act.

During the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote this same hon member raised this issue, as he is doing now by way of this interpellation, and he was given a comprehensive reply by the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The hon the Minister pointed out that the audit report to which that hon member referred in that debate, which was a performance audit, had been debated on 3 March this year by the Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

Although everything is certainly not faultless by any stretch of the imagination, the evidence laid before that committee clearly demonstrated that the Department of Foreign Affairs, the other functional departments and the Development Bank of Southern Africa are doing everything possible to try to strengthen financial control under the given circumstances.

I would urge that hon member, and any other hon member of this House that shares his concern, to study the evidence submitted to that committee. I think that if they did that in an open-minded way, they would then acknowledge that the matter is not as simple as I suspect the hon member is going to try to portray it this afternoon.

A fundamentally important objective of the structural adjustment agreements is mutual co-operation between the Government of South Africa and the governments of the countries concerned. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister quite rightly refers to debate on the hon the Minister's Vote.

In the course of that debate I put a number of specific questions to the hon the Minister concerning the transfer of more than R6 billion to the TBVC states last year. I asked him whether the department merely acted as a conduit, with cheques merely being forwarded to the four states, or whether normal accounting procedures were employed. I also asked whether funds were transferred against audited vouchers of expenditure to meet specific items, or whether globular amounts were simply sent to the homelands to be spent at will.

In his reply the hon the Minister ignored my request. He did not give me a comprehensive reply, as the hon the Deputy Minister suggests. He ignored my request for information, which was an extraordinary attitude to adopt, because the debate in Committee of Supply is to determine whether the funds which we are asked to approve are being properly expended.

The hon the Minister's reply was arrogant and dismissive. He told me to consult the record of a meeting of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts which was held on 3 March, as the hon the Deputy Minister indicated, a meeting at which he said senior officials of his department took two hours to inform the members of the committee "about exactly the matters he raised here today". He accused me of wasting taxpayers' money by raising the matter in Parliament. [Interjections.]

I want to say that I am doing my duty as a member of Parliament and as a taxpayer. I am concerned about how this money is being spent, and all other taxpayers in this country are concerned and want to know how R6 billion of their hard-earned money is being spent in the TBVC states.

Let me say that I have taken the trouble to read carefully, and at great length, the proceedings of 3 March and the documentation which was handed out as a result of the meeting.

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: Then you know exactly what happened!

Mr P G SOAL: I note the concern of the department in dealing with these internal financial arrangements within the TBVC states, but nothing was said at that meeting, and no documents were presented, to explain how the expenditure of the R6 billion is controlled by his department.

cont. →

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: That is simply not true!

Mr P G SOAL: In fact, at one stage Mr L H Evans said, and this is recorded on page 42 of the record of proceedings, and I quote: (101)

> Ek is persoonlik van mening dat die Departement van Buitelandse Sake nie rekenpligtig behoort te wees vir die oordrag van begrotingshulp nie.

They themselves feel that they should not be involved in this mess. So much for the assurance from the hon the Minister that everybody knows which steps are being taken to strengthen financial control in these states. [Interjections.]

We and the taxpayers want to know what steps are taken to ensure—as I have said during the course of the debate—that the funds we vote for these states are spent on the items for which they are intended.

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: [Inaudible.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I have to appeal to the hon member for Germiston to stop interjecting. The hon member for Johannesburg North may continue.

Mr P G SOAL: Or is it perhaps possible for the money allocated to be diverted to the purchase of expensive motorcars, or even to Swiss banking accounts, for example? That is what I asked in the debate, and the hon the Minister declined to answer. [Time expired.]

*Mr D S PIENAAR: Mr Chairman, the DP has inquired about financial control measures with regard to the transfer of funds only to the four TBVC states that South Africa provides with development aid. This is an unfair generalisation in any event. They are geographically removed from one another and they differ fundamentally as regards the availability of resources and financial systems. One can consider Bophuthatswana, for example. Their performance is far better than that of South Africa under the NP.

The CP is in favour of the principle of development aid on the basis of, firstly, aid to the recipient in order to help himself and, secondly, aid in one's own interest, for example, by the creation of markets, infrastructure or manpower development which will entail mutual advantages for the giver and the recipient.

It stands to reason that not only the transfer of funds—as indicated by the DP's question—but also its expenditure should be subject to strict control. Not only is the CP's standpoint in this regard unambiguous, but our hands are clean. No less a person than the hon the Leader of the Official Opposition, when he was a Minister and later, when he was the Deputy Leader of the CP, appealed repeatedly for stricter financial controls and specifically the implementation of the system of project financing.

The DP's hands are not clean. Because they despise every form of nationalism and ethnicity and are still trapped in their traditional, liberal, hypocritical paternalism they are Boer-haters, Tswana-haters and Zulu-haters. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member must withdraw the word "hypocritical".

*Mr D S PIENAAR: Mr Chairman, I withdraw it. With this question they are once again trying to discredit the governments of four of the Black peoples. The essence of their argument is that Black governments are by definition corrupt. The question is why the DP is campaigning to unite the entire South Africa as a unitary state under a Black-dominated, communist-inspired ANC government. Now it can attack Black governments from its safe position in this dispensation, but it will not by any means be able to do that from the prison of an ANC-dominated new South Africa.

The NP's hands are not clean either. [Time expired.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I would like to keep the tone of the debate as sedate as it was in the earlier part of the discussion and revert to the hon member for Johannesburg North. Unfortunately he reminds me of the person who said, "do not confuse me with the facts, my mind is made up". He has decided that the Government is not interested in controlling to any degree, within the parameters I have outlined, and in dealing with the situation. That is simply not true.

I would like to say to that hon member, with respect, that he does not have the monopoly on concern for the taxpayers' money. Certainly not! We reject that inference completely. [Interjections.]

The structural adjustment agreements to which I have referred allow the Government a say in the preparation, the approval and the control of the independent states' budgets, but within the parameters I have outlined. That is why I stressed the importance of co-operation. (101)

Within that framework intergovernmental committees have been established to handle a number of aspects in terms of those agreements. I just want to refer to two or three of them for the benefit of the hon member and other hon members.

The first is the overall structural adjustment committee, which handles the overall strategic situation in respect of the budgeting and financing of those states. The second is a very important body, namely the budgetary task team, which does the preliminary sifting of budgetary proposals to assess and evaluate those proposals and gives a very specific input in that respect. Thirdly, an institutional steering committee addresses all institutional matters. Provision has also been made for a formal bilateral ministerial committee to discuss economic and financial management.

Once the budgetary task team that I have referred to has finalised its proposals, the draft budget is discussed by the structural adjustment committee I was talking about. From there the proposals are submitted to both governments and both governments have to approve a budget before it can be implemented. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister clearly has not read the documents that I referred to, because they undermine his case. Almost every page of the transcript of the meeting of 3 March, which I was referred to, undermines his case. [Interjections.]

My colleague the hon member for Bryanston, whom the hon the Minister told me to consult, asked at that meeting whether the TBVC states were able to keep adequate financial control and Mr Witthoft of the Auditor-General's office replied that it was a question of financial control. They were concerned about financial control and the inability of the TBVC states to keep financial control.

The hon member for Heilbron asked whether, when the Development Bank was established, it was not, *inter alia*, to monitor the flow of funds from central Government to the regional governments. This is what my question is about. Dr Richter, the chairman of the Sapro Committee, responded by saying that one of the most important pillars, namely the financial arrangements between goverments, "is nooit werklik deurgevoer nie, en dit is waarom ons met 'n groot probleem te kampe het".

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: That was in 1991!

Mr P G SOAL: That is what he said. This is what is in the document. [Interjections.] I think that I have shown that the record of the meeting of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts, to which the hon the Minister referred me, does not put our minds at rest. The public wants to know. Parliament is the place in which the Government should explain how it spends the public's money.

This hon Deputy Minister and his hon Minister, who is not here today because we are not taking photographs, have not properly explained to us why this money is being spent or how it is being spent. [Interjections.] We want to know. [Interjections.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, I thought that the hon the Deputy Minister was going to give specific answers to the specific questions put by my hon colleague.

For 15 years one Minister, with successive Deputies, has given the same unsatisfactory explanation to basically the same pointed question.

The reality is that those 15 years have been unhappy years for the South African taxpayer—the hon the Deputy Minister will know—years which have been punctuated by examples of financial misdirection, of administrative incompetence, of ineffective control by his department, of shady deals and million-rand bribes, of shaky companies like Jalc and Disa Garments drawing money from the taxpayers, of shadowy characters such as El Hadj and Palazzolo, ending up with political fronts and political intrigues, and military coups and military governments.

Given the economic realities of those four territories and the fact that their independence is in fact a game of mirrors manipulated by the SA Government, I want to ask the hon the Deputy Minister whether it has been appropriate for the Department of Foreign Affairs to have been

cont'd

controlling the finances of that country. [Time expired.]

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I think that the floundering hon member for Johannesburg North owes the hon member for Sea Point a debt of gratitude for trying to come to his rescue, but unfortunately what the hon member for Sea Point said implied that for 15 years the position has been static and nothing has been done. This does not stand up to critical examination. [Interjections.]

Ever-increasing attention has been given to this matter, so much so that there has not been a point at which more incisive attention has been given than at this very moment. [Interjections.]

I was on the point of trying to inform the hon member for Johannesburg North because I am trying to shed some light on the subject for him. He generates a lot of heat on the subject. I am trying to shed some light on the subject. [Interjections.]

I wanted to tell him, for example, of one specific mechanism in the whole process, namely suspensions. It actually happens frequently that proposed expenditure on specific items is suspended during the budgetary discussion. Before such suspension can be lifted, the affected party has to give full reasons justifying the lifting of that suspension, and these reasons have to be acceptable to the SA Government.

As I said earlier, the SA Government has a say in preparations made for these governments, but I must also remind hon members that the independent states frequently remind us of their independent status when the question of effective forms of control is discussed.

There is no disputing that taxpayers' money has to be protected and that proper financial control should be in force at all times. What I have been dealing with refers precisely to that. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Questions standing over from Wednesday, 26 May 1993:

Swedish aid to political organization

*9. Mr J H MOMBERG asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

(1) Whether South Africa's ambassador in Sweden exerted any pressure on the Swedish government to discontinue financial assistance to a certain political organization, the name of which has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply; if so, what is the name of this organization;

(2) whether he or his Department gave (a) instructions and/or (b) approval for such pressure to be exerted; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, why;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B856E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

(1) No.

(2) (a) and (b) No, not previously. I am of the opinion that benefits which are granted exclusively to the ANC result in heightened tension and do not contribute to reconciliation. This point of view was on more than one occasion conveyed to the relevant governments.

(3) Falls away.

Citizenship: White males

*12. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Home Affairs:†

(1) How many White male persons who renounced their South African citizenship and left the Republic before 1 January 1990 and before reaching the age of 30 years, were readmitted to the country after the said date (a) after regaining South African citizenship and (b) on a temporary basis in terms of the Aliens Act, 1937 (Act No 1 of 1937), and the Aliens Control Act, 1991 (Act No 96 of 1991);

(2) whether the admission of such persons was subject to any conditions; if not, why not; if so, what conditions;

(3) whether any of the persons referred to in paragraph (1) (b) are still in the Republic; if so, what are the relevant details with regard to the residence of such persons in the Republic;

(4) whether the South African Defence Force has been notified of the admission to the Republic of and the regaining of South African citizenship by the persons referred to in paragraph (1); if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B853E

The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS:

(1) to (4) Statistics on the required basis are unfortunately not available. However, for the hon member's information it may be mentioned that during the period April 1985 until December 1989 a total of 470 persons of all population groups, sexes and ages, whilst inside or outside the Republic, renounced their South African citizenship in terms of section 16 (2) of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949. It must also be pointed out that South African citizenship cannot be resumed whilst a person is abroad after he has renounced his citizenship in terms of section 16 (2) of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949. Such a person must first be admitted to South Africa lawfully and can only resume South African citizenship if he settles here permanently.

Persons who have renounced their South African citizenship and left South Africa and subsequently return to the country on a temporary basis are in terms of Departmental policy admitted to the country on temporary permits for holiday or business purposes only. Such persons must also hold return tickets.

When a former South African citizen resumes South African citizenship in terms of section 25*bis* of the South African Citizenship Act, 1949, or if he is in any way exempted from the loss of his South African citizenship, the South African Defence Force is advised thereof in writing. However, the South African Defence Force is not informed when a former South African citizen returns temporarily to South Africa since such persons are not eligible for military service.

New questions:

RSA citizenship: national service for White males

*1. Mr D S PIENAAR asked the Minister of Defence:†

Whether any of the White male persons who before 1 January 1990 and before reaching the age of 30 years had renounced their South African citizenship before they could perform their national service, performed such national service after they had regained their South African citizenship; if so, (a) how many and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished; if not, why not? B854E

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) 15.

(b) 1988. Statistics of this nature were not kept before this date.

Housing finance: co-ordination

*2. Adv C H PIENAAR asked the Minister of National Housing:†

Whether the Government intends co-ordinating all aspects of housing financed on the first, second and third tiers of government; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B814E

The MINISTER FOR NATIONAL HOUSING:

Mr Chairman, I am grateful to the hon member for Heilbron for asking me this question, because I am told that as a new boy I am supposed to make a maiden speech, and here I am giving a maiden reply. Regretably, it is a very short reply as well, under the circumstances.

As a new national housing policy and strategy for South Africa are at present being negotiated between all interested parties, unfortunately it is at this delicate stage not possible to reply to the hon member's question.

I would like to add that it is expected that at least three months will be required before full details are available.

cont'd

;ays N2 victim

· warned — my par-
approve of us driv-
N2. But since there
en any recent inci-
elt quite safe," she

r, Mr William Lan-
a school inspector,
angry about the in-

uld see the car — I
at it with all the
said.

Miss Langenhoven is a dietician at the Medical Research Council.

Her mother, Mrs Grace Langenhoven, said she was "devastated" that her child had lost her eye but that Deidre's positive attitude was "giving her the strength to cope".

Deidre is to undergo surgery to rebuild her cheekbone, and will be fitted with an artificial eye.

Arms cache found at school

JOHANNESBURG. — Three AK-47 rifles, a shotgun, a 9mm magazine and ammunition were discovered at the caretaker's quarters of an East Rand primary school early yesterday.

Four people were arrested after policemen searched the room at the Enkangeni Primary School in Actonville, near Benoni.

Independence a '15-year game'

CT 3/6/93 (101)

By BARRY STREEK

THE government had played games with the "independence" of four homelands for 15 years at the taxpayer's expense, Democratic Party caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin said yesterday.

The minister and successive deputy ministers of Foreign Affairs had given the same unsatisfactory replies to the same questions about financial control of TBVC funding for 15 years, he said.

They had been years of financial misdirection, misappropriation, shady deals, R1 million bribes, shadowy characters, shady companies, military coups and military governments.

Within these realities, it was inappropriate for the Department of Foreign Affairs to control these homelands' finances.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Renier Schoeman, said the financial controls in these homelands were tighter than ever. It was not true that the issue had received very little attention over the last 15 years.

Call for ANC, IFP summit

CT 2/6/93

DURBAN. — The ANC in southern Natal issued a comprehensive eight-point plan for peace and political tolerance yesterday and called on Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to prepare for their summit as a matter of urgency.

The organisation called on both the ANC and the IFP to "preach the right to free political activity and an end to the militarisation of politics".

The peace document was approved at the weekend by representatives from the organisation's 126 branches in the region.

Regional chairman Mr Jeff Radebe mooted joint rallies and said local organisers of both groups should "creatively involve themselves and their supporters" in nurturing tolerance.

On the question of the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, the organisation suggested that the two leaders hold an initial meeting and then give further instructions to the committee preparing for the summit.

Responding to the programme, the IFP said the proposals "might prove constructive" but that it would "reserve judgment until we see more tangible signs of the ANC's commitment to peace".

Peace and progress in Natal?

An ANC chief shows how

A remarkable young ANC-supporting traditional leader in the Natal Midlands achieves the near-impossible — and proves to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive, and succeed, without Ulundi's backing.

By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

PEACE has dawned on the rolling brown hills of rural kwaXimba, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and a 1 000-strong crowd is celebrating the launch of a R10-million water project in an area once racked by sectarian strife.

After the traditional dancing and gospel singing, the local traditional leader, Zibuse Mlaba, addresses his subjects from a makeshift podium on a piece of land where African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party supporters waged fierce battles in 1990, leaving scores of people dead. "We have not come to mourn, but to celebrate. We have not come to protest, but to see things happen."

With his headmen, Mlaba has held negotiations over the past few years with the Umgeni Water Board, the Port Natal/Ebhodwe Joint Services Board (JSB), Telkom and the Independent Development Trust (IDT), with an eye to the development of kwaXimba.

The results have been remarkable: apart from the water scheme, other projects under way include an electrification scheme — Eskom has already provided 6 000 homes with electricity; a sanitation project, to be financed by the JSB to the tune of R1-million; the extension of the health clinic with the help of IDT funding; and the installation of telephone lines — Telkom has already installed 3 000 telephones in the community's homes.

The 33-year-old chief's achievements are even more extraordinary considering that he has received no help from Ulundi.

He is an ANC supporter — in fact, the only traditional leader serving on the regional executive committee of the ANC in the Natal Midlands. "Not having a relationship with Ulundi has been good for us. It has taught us self-reliance," he says.

During the 1990 violence, Inkatha supporters from nearby kwaNyavu — allegedly with the assistance of the South African Police — tried to force Mlaba out of the area.

The reason is clear: with a signed-up membership of 5 653, the ANC's kwaXimba branch is the second largest in the Midlands.

Despite his ANC links, Mlaba tries to practise tolerance: "We do not discourage anyone from joining Inkatha, but people here prefer the ANC. The South African Communist Party also launched a branch in kwaXimba about a month ago and has a signed-up membership of 300."

Significantly, the youth — often portrayed as opposed to the tribal system — idolise Mlaba. Says ANC Youth League organiser Jetro Msomi: "He is my political leader and my tribal chief. I fear him and I respect him. It comes automatically."

Mlaba has laid down strict guidelines for the ANC in the area: either he or his headmen must approve the agenda and resolutions adopted at meetings. The ANC cannot raise funds from door to door in the district. "Elders object to the youth collecting money. There are bad elements among them. It is only the *induna* (headmen) who can do that," Mlaba explains.

He believes he commands more respect among his subjects than pro-Inkatha chiefs do among theirs. "Their position has been undermined. An Inkatha leader will come to an area and call a political meeting without the permission of the local chief. Such things never happen in kwaXimba."

He has set out to woo Inkatha members in kwaNyavu, some of whom attended the celebrations held last Sunday. "The past is forgotten. We want to live in peace with the people of kwaNyavu," he says.

As the ANC attempts to win over traditional leaders in Natal, Mlaba has become an essential cog in the organisation: a chief who is proving to his Inkatha counterparts that they can survive — and, more importantly, succeed — without Ulundi's backing.

He spends much of his time visiting fellow chiefs, urging them to throw their weight behind the ANC-aligned Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

And he believes he is winning: "The homeland system is collapsing. The chiefs are realising that their future lies with the ANC, not with (Inkatha president) Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is using Zuluness and the chieftainship for his own interests."

He points out that 23 chiefs, most of them aligned to Inkatha, had agreed to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela in the Natal Midlands last weekend, and that the talks were only called off because Buthelezi had ordered the chiefs to Ulundi. "It would have been the biggest meeting between the chiefs and Mandela in this region. It (Buthelezi's summons to the chiefs) is a sign that he is afraid."

Mlaba believes Buthelezi is increasingly antagonising traditional leaders, and that they are slowly beginning to stand up to him. He cites the unprecedented case involving 14 headmen from Babanango, in the Nquthu district in kwaZulu, who took the Inkatha leader to the Durban Supreme Court in a bid to prevent him from installing three foreign chiefs in the area.

In his recent budget speech, kwaZulu minister of justice CJ Mthethwa disclosed that only one tribal court was functioning in the homeland. "They are are admitting that their system is collapsing. Chiefs are rejecting the bantustan," comments Mlaba.

The director of the Centre for Adult Education at the University of Natal, John Aitchison, believes the problem goes deeper. "In spite of all the fuss around traditionalism, tribal structures are not working," he says. "Mthethwa was unwittingly giving away the fact that real allegiance to the traditional past is, in fact, nonsense. It won't stand up to the changes in South Africa. The ANC, essentially a modern political party, will capitalise on this in an election."

While he is at odds with Buthelezi, Mlaba respects Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini: "I recognise the king as my superior by tradition and custom. I respect him. He is in a tight corner because of resources and housing — all of which happens through Buthelezi."

In the multi-party negotiating forum, traditional leaders from across the country, including those aligned to Ulundi, are represented. But chiefs aligned to Contralesa in Natal are not represented.

"We have made submissions to the negotiating council. We believe we can make a contribution," says Mlaba, who is Contralesa's Natal secretary.

On the future role of traditional leaders, he says: "There should be a house in parliament for chiefs. They should have observer status, but should be consulted on matters concerning them."

Mlaba is following in the footsteps of two of his heroes: his brother and predecessor, Msinga Mlaba; and the former president of Contralesa, Mhlabunzima Maphumulo.

Both were ANC sympathisers, and both were assassinated by unknown gunmen — Msinga Mlaba in 1988 and Maphumulo in 1991.

Is he afraid of death? "Fear doesn't solve anything," Mlaba replies. "I am only a slave of the people, and I'm doing what I'm expected to do. Killing me would only worsen the situation."

(101)

with their consent.

The Revocation & Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill, tabled in parliament last week, provides for the State President, by proclamation, to revoke the legislative powers of a homeland legislative assembly and/or the executive powers of a homeland Cabinet.

But the President must be requested to do so by the government concerned, or at least have its consent.

The Bill also provides for the President to assign the administration of a homeland to any other person or body, once the territory's legislative and executive powers have been revoked.

The President's proclamation must be tabled in parliament and in the legislative assembly concerned within 14 days of its being issued and it will lapse if rejected by either body.

In essence, the Bill means the way is now open for government to negotiate the reincorporation of the non-independent homelands into SA's administrative structure. However, it seems unlikely that the measure will be used until detailed agreement on the future of the homelands is reached at the multiparty talks.

The Bill does not affect the four independent homelands, which will have to be dealt with under separate legislation. A draft bill has been prepared ■

HOMELANDS FM 4/6/93

Back home

(101)

Government has taken the first legislative step towards reincorporating the non-independent homelands — but it can happen only

CP's fear or truth: Moment of truth: election date set

6/6/93 CIPress 61

By MOSES MAMAILA

WHILE most delegates came out of the negotiation council relieved that a provisional agreement on the election date had been reached, the Friendly Parties Group led by the CP and Bop government described the agreement as "frustrating".

After a protracted debate on the issue of the election date, the negotiation council agreed that April 27, 1994 – the recommended date for elections – be submitted to the next council meeting to be held on June 15.

Addressing journalists after the adoption of the provisional agreement in Kempton Park this week, Bop chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said: "What is important is not the date. We want sufficient progress on crucial issues like the determination of boundaries of regions to be made before the date is agreed upon."

The CP announced it vehemently opposed the setting of the election date. It said it deplored the procedures followed in the Thursday deliberations aimed at forcing delegates to agree to an election date.

Joe Slovo, speaking as a member of the ANC delegation to the multiparty talks, said yesterday that the resolution for the election date was "total" and for the good of the country.

He said 18 of the 26 parties were in agreement and those who were not would not be allowed to scuttle the agreement.

The FPG includes Inkatha, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ximoko Progressive Party, Dikwankwetla, Avstig, and the Ciskei and KwaZulu governments.

Delegates from the organisations advocating setting of an election date maintained the moment of truth had arrived and that those who were hiding behind minority rule had realised they could only maintain their positions by delaying elections.

However, FGP members argued they were not afraid of majority rule saying there had not been binding agreements on any of the major issues.

Motivating the setting of the election date immediately, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the date would give people hope and assurance that steps were being taken to resolve the political crisis in the country.

Ramaphosa's proposal, which was later adopted as a resolution, suggested that the council accept April 27 as an election date provided the matter would still be discussed and the final ruling be made by June 15.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Sowetan 8/6/93

Back into the family

(101)

NEGOTIATIONS on the reincorporation of the TBVC states into South Africa were well under way and Transkei and Ciskei could be reincorporated within the next 18 months, Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Mr David Graaff announced yesterday

Call to halt land transfers

Political Staff

MUFFLED disputes on land issues boiled over yesterday with a government-appointed forum calling for a freeze on homeland land transfers and interest groups calling for the scrapping of the Land Affairs department.

The discord follows the resignation of Land Affairs Deputy Minister Mr Johan Scheepers.

Land Rights Advisory Forum chairman Professor Louise Tager called for an immediate freeze on all land transactions involving the former Development Trust and other state land

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie said the proposal to freeze the transfer of trust land had "merit" and undertook to discuss this with the relevant organisations.

Prof Tager said the transfer of state land now would be a serious mistake, removing an important resource which would be needed to address the "problem of landlessness".

The National Land Committee, which advises the ANC, repeated its call for a moratorium on the sale of state land and suggested the Land Affairs department be scrapped.

Growing discord over land issues

Buss. Day 8/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

SIMMERING disputes on land issues boiled over in public yesterday, with a government-appointed forum calling for a hold on homeland land transfers and land interest groups calling for the scrapping of the Land Affairs Department.

The discord is a sequel to the resignation of Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers, whose intention to leave his post reportedly stems from frustration with the bureaucracy.

Department officials said legislation proposed by Scheepers almost a year ago to rectify forced removals was likely to be published this week, although sources said it differed significantly from what was originally proposed.

Land Rights Advisory Forum chairman Prof Louise Tager yesterday called on government immediately to freeze all land transactions involving former SA Development Trust and other state land to avoid potential conflict.

Scheepers, in response to Tager's comments, said the call had merit and would be given "the necessary attention", SABC-TV news reports.

The forum, appointed by Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie, is responsible for implementing land transfers and placing trust land under the joint administration of homeland and state authorities.

In a statement Tager said transferring state land to homeland governments at this stage would be a serious mistake, removing a critical land resource which would be needed to address the "serious problem of landlessness" in SA.

She said she had called this issue to the urgent attention of the multiparty negotiating council, the SA business community and the national peace accord structures — in particular the peace committee responsible for implementing a programme of socioeconomic reconstruction and development.

"The transfer of land is a serious and sensitive matter with many potential implications, in particular for future equitable land distribution," she said.

"Whatever form the proposed transfer might take — whether it be alienation or administration — we call for an immediate moratorium, until the future of this land can be resolved by a properly constituted democratic authority or a representative negotiating body."

Tager said it had come to the forum's attention that government intended plac-

☐ To Page 2

Land disputes

Buss. Day 8/6/93

☐ From Page 1

ing 1-million hectares of trust land under the joint administrations and also possibly under various homeland development corporations.

The transfer would be implemented through proposed legislation and various agreements.

The National Land Committee, which advises the ANC, repeated its call for a moratorium on the sale of state land, saying it was familiar with the "intransigence and incompetence of bureaucrats" in the department.

Committee head Joanne Yawitch said most of the officials in the department had been taken over from the Development Aid Department, which was responsible for forced removals. "They have caused so much pain to so many people. The whole department should be scrapped," she said.

Scheepers said he still hoped that legislation restructuring the Advisory Committee on Land Allocation, which he initiated, would be passed during the current session. The legislation was intended to allow the Minister to refer disputed land to the commission so that all past forced removals could be considered.

The legislation would also allow the commission to provide alternative land to forcibly removed communities whose land had since been developed.

The aim was to meet parties that called for a land claims court halfway, correcting past wrongs without disturbing the right to private property, he said.

The commission on the demarcation of regional boundaries met for the first time in Kempton Park yesterday. Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete and organiser Theuns Eloff addressed the media afterwards. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Demarcation of new boundaries begins

Buss Day 9/6/93

WILSON ZWANE

THE process of demarcating new regional boundaries began in earnest yesterday when a 15-member commission asked interested parties to make submissions on the issue.

The commission, appointed by the multiparty negotiating council on May 28, met for the first time yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete told a media briefing the meeting looked into the organisation's terms of reference and time frames within which to accomplish its task.

The commission would meet again on Saturday to consider criteria it would use to demarcate regional boundaries.

Nomvete, a University of Cape Town academic, stressed that the commission would not be investigating the structures, powers and functions of regions because that was not its brief.

He said since the regional question was important for SA's future economic, political and social prospects, the commission would ensure that submissions on the matter were received from all interested parties.

Commission member Chief Ncamashe-Burns said no submissions would be rejected because they emanated from certain political organisations. He said the commission would, if necessary, consider regional boundaries from the colonial days.

Co-chairman and Pretoria University academic Prof Flip Smit said the commission would use internationally accepted criteria when considering the submissions.

Ncamashe-Burns said the commission would also inquire into whether the demarcation of regions was possible before certain laws were repealed.

Also on the commission are the Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein and the Independent Development Trust's Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu.

KwaZulu government negotiator Ben Ngubane said the commission had "enough credibility" to make proposals which the negotiating council could not reject.

The commission will make its recommendations to the council within six weeks.

Nkuhlu said the recommendations would not undermine the rights of people who had been deprived of their land to seek restitution.

Stop homelands building — ANC

Buss Day

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC yesterday called for a moratorium on the building of new government buildings by homelands.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the construction of such buildings on the eve of a new constitutional dispensation was a "total waste" of resources, which should be reserved for a common parliament.

Mamoepa's statement followed disclosures that the KwaNdebele government had recently built new government buildings in KwaMhlanga. 9/6/93

A source close to the homeland said yesterday it spent about R30m on the buildings, which were completed some months ago.

He would not give reasons for the building of the complex, referring inquiries to the homeland's chief minister's office.

Attempts to get comment from the office proved fruitless yesterday.

The source also confirmed that about R5m had been earmarked for the building of a police station in the area. (161)

Mamoepa said the ANC would consult KwaNdebele's ruling Intando Ye Sizwe Party about the circumstances surrounding the construction of the buildings.

Only after consultations would the ANC be able to make an informed comment on the matter.

Department of Land Affairs defends role

BIDay 10/6/93

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The Regional and Land Affairs Department replied yesterday to calls for the department to be scrapped, hotly denying suggestions that its officials were reluctant to carry out land reform.

In an open letter to the national land committee, which has called for the department to be abolished, department director-general Coennie de Villiers said every official was aware of the importance of land reform to stability and peace.

The national land committee's call was made in the wake of the resignation of Land and Regional Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Schëepers. According to news reports, one of the reasons for his resignation was bureaucratic delays in land reform legislation.

The committee based its call on a claim that many of the department's officials were delaying land reform because they came from the Development Aid Department, responsible for forced removals.

De Villiers rejected this "unfounded" suggestion, saying the department had been established in 1991 from components of four other departments and offices.

Officials from the Development Aid Department were seconded to 18 departments after its abolition in 1992.

De Villiers said in an interview that about 500 officials, or about 20% of the existing department's staff, came from Development Aid, denying that these officials were against land reform.

During the past year, the department had dealt with about 1 200 inquiries, half of which dealt with land matters.

Asked why legislation first mooted in August last year to rectify forced removals had still not been tabled in Parliament, De Villiers said this legislation required careful consultation. The legislation was the top priority of the department and was due to be tabled in Parliament today.

The department had generated 10 pieces of legislation this year, one of which was an extremely important Bill providing for joint administration of trust land.

In his open letter to the national land committee, De Villiers extended an invitation to committee members to meet "so we can further enlighten you on this department's dedication to land reform".

● Comment: Page 10

Bill eases probing of crimes by police

BIDay 10/6/93

CAPE TOWN — A Bill compelling the SAP or military police to withdraw from investigations into alleged serious offences by security force members was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Security Forces Board of Inquiry Bill provides for a Supreme Court judge, assisted by an attorney-general or experienced lawyer, to inquire into alleged serious offences by security force members.

The Bill follows the Law and Order Minister's announcement in August 1992 that far-reaching steps would be taken to restore the SAP's credibility.

Serious offences which the Board will investigate include murder, kidnapping, serious assault on people in custody, and corruption.

The board's chairman and CEO can, however, define and have investigated any offence they deem to be serious.

The country would be divided into areas, with the President designating area directors to head investigations. — Sapa.

RAWING ROOM 1987

Bills curry homelands' favour

W\Mail 11\6-17\6\93 (101)

By CHRIS LOUW

WHILE the disbanding of the homelands is being discussed in negotiations at the World Trade Centre, two Bills have been tabled in parliament effectively enlarging the self-governing territories and giving homeland governments the right to veto their own dissolution.

They are seen as a last-ditch effort by the National Party government to win the favour of homeland leaders with a view to an anti-African National Congress alliance during the coming non-racial elections.

The Regulation of Joint Executive Action Regarding Certain Land Bill was tabled by Andre Fourie, minister of regional and land affairs. Its effect may be to allocate about a million hectares of land presently controlled by the South African Development Trust to homeland governments before the present parliament disbands itself.

Rejecting the Bill as "an absurdity", the ANC's co-ordinator on land and agricultural policy, Derek Hanekom, this week said government actions were "cheap and obviously motivated by political gain".

The land involved forms part of the so-called "*beloftegrond*" which was promised to the self-governing territories in the heyday of apartheid in an effort to get them to accept independence. The government is now belatedly fulfilling its promises — at a time when, in terms of multi-party talks, the disbanding of the homelands is imminent.

According to observers, kwaZulu will benefit most from the Bill when it becomes law. Agreements have already been made with Lebowa and QwaQwa to transfer land to the Development Corporation and tribal authorities, described by Hanekom as "completely discredited".

The agreements were signed last year, shortly after the De Meyer Commission exposed widespread corruption in Lebowa.

The Development Corporation, in turn, has a reputation of being corrupt and is controlled by white right-wingers, among them well-known members of the Conservative Party.

Some of the best agricultural land in the country will be allocated, in terms of the Bill, for communal use by specific ethnic groups.

In practice the Bill means that the self-governing territories will acquire de facto control of adjacent land, even though these areas will de jure not be part of the homelands.

The other controversial Bill tabled this week, the Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill, states that the homeland administrations cannot be disbanded or integrated with other government departments "without the concurrence of the government of the self-governing territory concerned".

Opposition spokesmen point out that this leaves open the possibility that homeland leaders may refuse to give up their positions, challenging decisions taken by the multi-party negotiations forum in Kempton Park.

Decisions at the negotiations are taken on the basis of "sufficient consensus". The effect of the government's unwillingness to offend the homelands is that they have left a loophole in the law for homeland leaders to refuse to accept these decisions.

Democratic Party MP Kobus Jordaan has now proposed that the word "concurrence" be replaced by "consultation".

No trace of Apla target

Sowetan 11/6/93

101

By Themba Molefe and Mathatha Tsedu

WHO IS the homeland Cabinet Minister saved by police from an alleged assassination plot by the Azanian People's Liberation Army?

The mystery of the identity deepened yesterday as all six homelands denied any knowledge of the alleged plot, announced by the South African Police on Wednesday.

Police said that seven Apla members had been arrested in connection with an assassination plot against a Cabinet Minister of a "self-governing State". They refused to identify him or his homeland.

Sowetan yesterday phoned the six self-governing States of KwaZulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, Lebowa, Gazankulu and QwaQwa. They all said no member of their cabinets had been threatened.

None of them had been informed of the plot before it was revealed by the SAP to the media.

By defining the homeland as a "self-governing State", police meant that Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda, as "independent States" were not affected in the plot.

Venda, which was identified in reports yesterday as the area where the Minister was supposed to be based, also denied any knowledge of the plot.

Confronted with this information late yesterday, SAP spokesman Major Ruben Bloomberg said the police would not identify the homeland or Minister concerned.

He said police stood by their earlier information that Apla members arrested this week had been planning an assassination.

When told that all homelands had denied any knowledge of the plot, Bloomberg said: "Our information is that the person concerned was informed. Who did you speak to — a junior clerk? We are not prepared to say anything on this matter."

Sowetan spoke to Chief Ministers' offices and where this was not possible, Commissioners of Police were contacted.

The assassination allegation was yesterday dismissed by the Pan Africanist Congress as a smokescreen by the police to launch raids on its members.

First deputy chairman Mr Johnson Mlambo also questioned the authenticity of documents — alleged to have been found at PAC offices — displayed by police at the Press conference.

The documents, sketches of police stations and military installations, were said by police to be proof of impending Apla attacks.

The organisation said police were "clutching at straws in their attempts to pin Apla and the PAC to some imaginary attacks after failing to prove anything with the first swoop".

● The PAC yesterday issued a circular to its regional headquarters countrywide in which it disputes statements made by its general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, that the organisation had broken off bilateral talks with the "regime" over Apla activities.

Issued by information and publicity director Mr Waters Toboti, the statement said: "The national executive council is still waiting for a report-back from the PAC negotiating team ... before a decision can be taken."

Alexander told a Spanish television channel and local radio stations that the PAC would no longer hold bilateral talks with the Government but would remain at the multiparty talks.

Election date debate proceeds

Inkatha-led walkout jolts talks off track

BILLY PADDOCK and ALAN FINE

MULTIPARTY talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walkout by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before closure of proceedings and just before scheduled discussion on an election date.

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiatons be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus", in terms of which decisions are taken.

Inkatha introduced a resolution which ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that negotiations on constitutional principles not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" concerning unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the processes which would lead to attaining each goal. It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections".

In a statement to the council, KwaZulu government representative Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu". His group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed referring the matter to a technical committee, which failed to satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

During debate on the Inkatha motion, DP representative Colin Eglin pointed out that precisely the issues of concern to Inkatha would have been debated had the day's agenda not been thrown off course. The only way to get to discussing the form of state would be through a thorough debate on the constitutional principles.

When the proposal came to a vote, it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 16, including government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus", the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu. When appeals by Cosag representatives for an early adjournment (which would have precluded discussion on an election date) were refused, they staged their walkout.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

All parties present apart from the PAC agreed to put the April 27 election date resolution to the negotiating forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.

□ Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said last night he hoped the walkout was "a hiccup", but added that no firm date for Inkatha's return could be given until a full discussion of the crisis had taken place in the organisation. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha would be "the last people to delay talks".

Talks walkout drama

Star 16/6/93

Negotiators to press on with or without Cosag

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatsumba

Key negotiators have signalled that the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow will continue with or without the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which walked out of the talks last night.

Representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, KwaZulu government, Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana government, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Ciskei government made the dramatic exit to "consult their principals".

The AVU and Bophuthatswana have already confirmed they will attend the council's next round of talks tomorrow following consultations, and CP negotiator Thomas Langley said his party would still decide.

It was expected last night that the ANC, the Government and the National Party will be lobbying the defectors today in a bid to maintain the negotiation process with all parties present.

At a press conference after the Negotiating Council meeting in Kempton Park — which confirmed the recommendation to the Negotiating Forum that April 27 be the date for the first non-racial election — Cosag members denied having staged a walkout. They said they had merely asked for an adjournment to consult their leaders after an IFP draft resolution supported by all Cosag members was not carried.

The resolution had called for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state in the new SA had been decided upon.

After the meeting, IFP adviser Marinus Wiechers said he was "seriously considering" his position because of an "intolerable situation". He was "rather embarrassed by the unconstitutional proposals (of the IFP)" and would be discussing the matter with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Key negotiators accused Cosag of walking out over a procedural matter.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer said a compromise proposal — suggested by him in the 10-member planning committee — would have addressed the IFP concerns. There was no reason for the IFP to have requested an adjournment.

The only deduction to be made from the IFP's resolution was that it was only prepared to discuss "a firm decision on a particular form of a federal state". Should this attempt fail, the IFP did not want any progress in the council, he said.

It is understood that the IFP did not canvass support for the draft resolution before moving it in the council.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa stressed that Cosag had walked out over a procedural issue and not a substantive matter. From the start of the meeting, Cosag had embarked on a "disruptive and unconstructive" path, he said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo described Cosag's move as "the most unseemly display of filibustering".

Government and ANC negotiators said efforts would be made to ensure Cosag's continued participation.

Ramaphosa added: "If they are not here tomorrow, the process must move on."

Earlier in the day, most negotiators had fought off an attempt by the IFP and its Cosag allies to stall negotiations, despite threats from the IFP and the KwaZulu government that they might have to withdraw.

Towards the end of a frustrating day, an IFP resolution calling for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state had been dealt with was defeated. Of the 26 organisations represented in the negotiations, 16 voted against the proposed resolution, eight — mostly Cosag members — supported the resolution and two abstained.

'No compromise on federalism' — Page 3

NEWS Eight killed on C

Cosag back in negotiations

Sowetan 17/6/93

■ Talks go on at World Trade Centre:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

101

THE Cosag alliance will return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre today after walking out in protest on Tuesday, Mr Walter Fellgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party confirmed yesterday.

Cosag — made up of the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksunie — walked out after they failed to push through their proposal that the form of state be agreed upon before an election date is set. Fellgate said yesterday that the form of state was primary and that the IFP and KwaZulu government, as do the other Cosag affiliates, felt that until this was determined it would be futile to continue with talks.

He said Cosag would today propose that the technical committee dealing with constitutional principles should attend expeditiously to the question of federalism and the form of state before talks could proceed.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC yesterday said it was unfair for a single party "to negotiate on the basis that unless its particular proposals are accepted by everybody else it would not continue with further negotiations".

Inkatha and allies to return to talks

BIDay 17/6/93

THE Concerned South Africans Group, which staged a walkout of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to devise a strategy for today's talks.

All six parties that walked out 10 minutes before the end of Tuesday's session have said they would be back at the talks today. But it "would not be plain sailing for the ANC/NP alliance", one Inkatha source said.

A senior government source said its negotiators would not meet Inkatha or KwaZulu delegates in bilateral meetings unless their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was present. This was because assurances that federal principles were still firmly on the table had not reached "the Inkatha strategist and decision-maker".

At Tuesday's talks it was evident that the Inkatha negotiators were under regular and direct instructions from Ulundi.

17/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK

The Cosag group met last night after an earlier Inkatha executive meeting. Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting.

In a statement Buthelezi said the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations "drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process of constitutional development". Millions of South Africans did not want to see the negotiations going on for another six years.

He claimed that the constitutional principles under consideration at the talks "will be incompatible with a true federation", with all technical committee reports centred on an interim constitution and a constituent assembly. This process of establishing a final constitution would be

☐ To Page 2

Talks

BIDay 17/6/93

☐ From Page 1

completed only by 1999.

The ANC and government countered this, saying they had informally agreed that the interim phase would last only until April 1996 at the outside.

Buthelezi claimed the future form of state and a federal option had been sidelined by the negotiating council; Inkatha wanted this addressed immediately. Inkatha also wanted the council to consider a single phase transition where the final constitution was negotiated in the current forum and not finalised by an elected body. He said the Inkatha alternative would finalise the constitutional process by 1994.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and DP negotiator Colin Eglin said there was no reason for Cosag members to walk out. It was impractical to negotiate a form of state if they would not discuss constitutional principles.

● See Page 6

Business 17/6/63

Germany looks at aid

GERMAN Federal Health Ministry director-general Baldur Wagner, on a short tour of SA, said he would investigate ways whereby his country could contribute to rural development, after his visits to Lebowa and Gazankulu. (101)

Cosag filibuster sets the scene for a battle of wills

BDay 17/6/93

ALAN FINE

IT HAD its comic moments — such as Amichand Rajbansi's interventions — and was clumsily handled all round. But the initiative by Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group allies at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday signals a crucial — and possibly decisive — test of strength between the right and the ad hoc ANC/NP partnership.

Inkatha and the rest of Cosag, who orchestrated the exercise between themselves, can be thankful that finesse and slick presentation is not a prerequisite for success.

As DP MP Colin Eglin rather brutally pointed out, the Inkatha resolution to the multiparty talks effectively demanded that the negotiating council halt debate on constitutional principles and procedures until those procedures and principles have been satisfactorily dealt with. Inkatha's proposal interrupted debate on those very issues — it was the next item on the agenda.

But the conundrum goes even deeper, for the ANC has made substantial concessions to the Inkatha position. These emerged publicly last month in the party's submission to the constitutional technical committee at the talks. The ANC accepted that regional governments should have "original powers" — the essence of federalism.

In addition, the ANC accepted that the multiparty conference rather than an elected constituent assembly should have the task of determining the powers, functions and boundaries of regions. And various technical committees have been for the past few weeks devising details for the negotiators to debate.

The significance of the ANC concession was illustrated by the response of Inkatha strategist Walter Felgate. "Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position," he told Business Day at the time. His only reservation was that Inkatha was unwilling to take it on faith. He said it had to be "written in stone" to prevent the ANC changing its mind at a later stage — not an unexpected reservation, given the depths of distrust between the two parties, and Inkatha would be entitled to ask for guarantees.

But this is hardly sufficient to justify Tuesday's events. And while the ANC position leaves much room for debate on detail, that debate has hardly begun. None of which is sufficient to explain Tuesday's events.

One possibility is that not all Inkatha strategists — including Joe Matthews who has partly usurped Felgate's central role and was a prominent participant in Tuesday's debate — take Felgate's view, though it appears logical and clear.

The Inkatha resolution also mentions the need for a constitutional process which would permit "ground-up democracy building". This is a bit rich coming from a party where even the most minor tactical decisions have to be okayed by the chief minister's office in Ulundi. What it appears to refer to specifically, though, is the right of regions to adopt different regional constitutions to suit their own needs — such as the KwaZulu/Natal proposal. The constitution-makers call this concept "asymmetry". While Inkatha's main negotiating partners have not explicitly agreed to this, indications are that it would not be ruled out provided those regional constitutions were in line with centrally determined norms on democracy and human rights.

Inkatha negotiators Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose..

All this leaves the impression that, whatever the motives of Inkatha and its Cosag allies, Tuesday's pretext was a fairly flimsy and clumsily devised one. Nevertheless, unless one assumes it was done out of sheer bloodymindedness, there must be some explanation behind the orchestrated confrontation.

The explanation lies, perhaps, in certain passages from the KwaZulu position statement delivered by Ben Ngubane at Kempton Park on Tuesday, and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's follow-up statement yesterday.

The KwaZulu government, said Ngubane, "has reached the end of the road in tolerating the manipulation of this process". Added Buthelezi: "The IFP and the KwaZulu government drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process."

In other words, the ANC and NP continue to drive the process. But Cosag, led by Inkatha, see themselves as equal partners unwilling to accept whatever bones are tossed their way in response to their complaints.

The ANC/NP dominance of the process is symbolised by the election date issue, and that is why the Cosag group has linked it to the filibustering campaign Ngubane warned was about to begin.

There is logic in the Cosag position that an election cannot be held until the process leading up to it, and a post-election constitution, have been finalised.

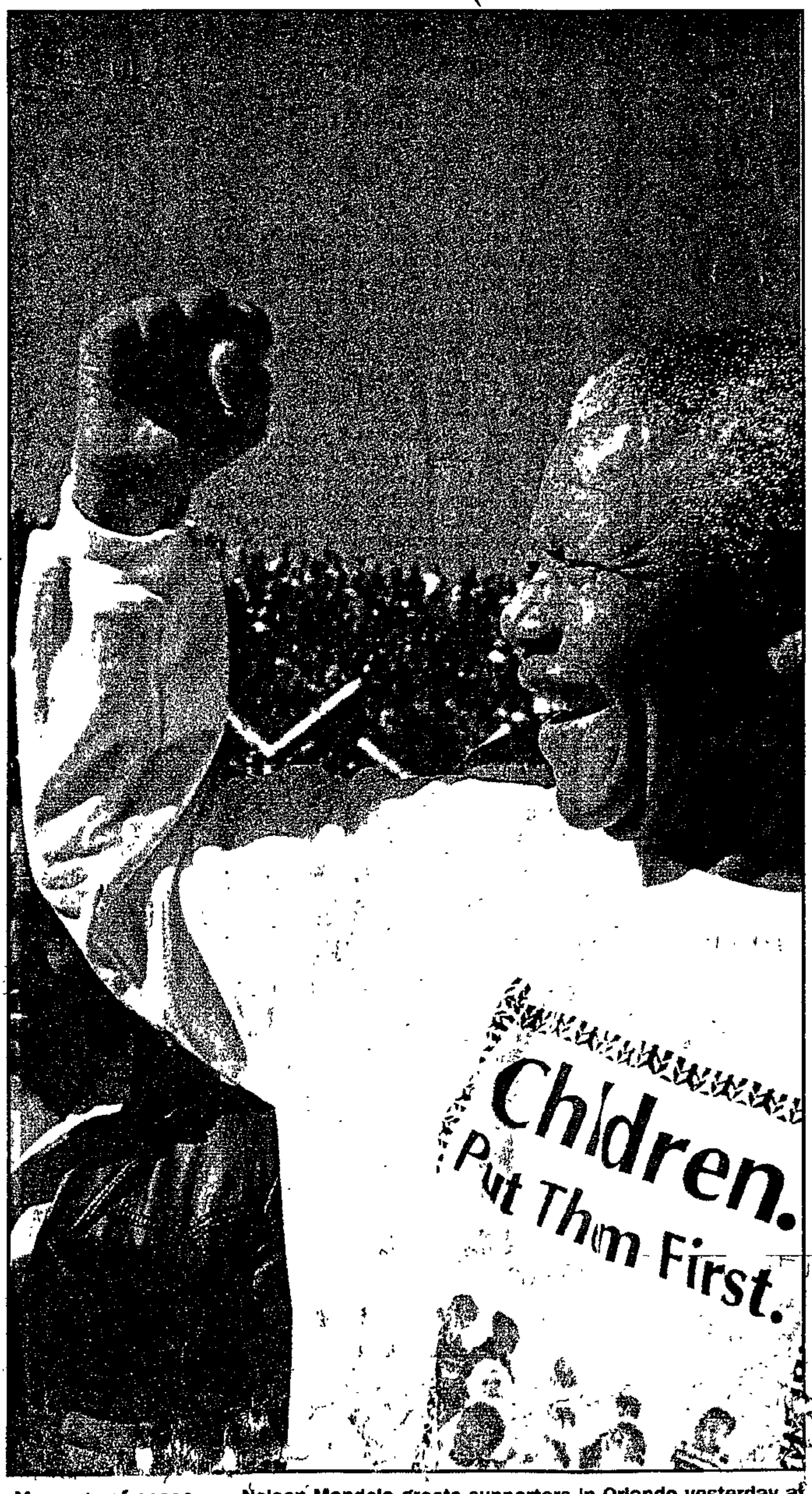
Pressure for the firm setting of an election date arose because of the ANC's own constituency problems: disenchantment at the slow pace of negotiations which was exacerbated by Chris Hani's assassination. While there may have been a point in setting an informal target date, the ANC has made a fetish of it — inviting Cosag to make it a target of a filibuster. The election date issue could itself delay the election.

In judging the likely outcome of this test of strength, it can be argued that Cosag parties, while important to a settlement, are ultimately dispensable, even though the costs would be huge in some cases.

The test of this at the talks is the "sufficient consensus" definition. That is why Cosag attempted to put it to the test on Tuesday. It wants to know whether it has the clout to push through an issue or, failing that, to block one. In reality, "sufficient consensus" has no technical definition. It is determined by the prevailing balance of power.

In weeks to come, the smooth negotiators will become the key figures: the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and government's Roelf Meyer on the one hand, and Inkatha's Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager on the other. To them, the future must already be fairly clear — multiparty technical committees have already caught its essence.

They will have to flesh out the detail and then sell it to their less accommodating leaders and/or supporters. This is crucial because the one factor that could put the process in jeopardy is a misreading on the part of those leaders and supporters of their negotiating strength and how far they can push their opponents.



Message of peace . . . Nelson Mandela greets supporters in Orlando yesterday at the ANC's main June 16 rally, a gathering of its youth league. He told the crowd that negotiations were the only way forward. Picture: Joao Silva

Cosag going back to talks

Star 17/6/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

Amid indications that the Concerned South Africans Group was returning to the Negotiating Council today, the majority of its members registered at the World Trade Centre early today.

At 8.45 am only the Conservative Party had not arrived, except for a member of its support staff, Corne Mulder.

Indications last night were that Cosag would return after it staged a walkout on Tuesday.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu governments, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the CP confirmed yesterday that Cosag would arrive at Kempton Park today.

They left the Negotiating Council on Tuesday after a resolution that a federal state be placed on the agenda — was not carried.

Today's meeting was scheduled to start at 8.30 but by 9 am the 10-member planning committee was still meeting.

Cosag is likely to reject the election date decision taken by the council after it walked out.

And in another development, which could encourage right-wing participation in the process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in Parliament last night confirmed the Government's intention to propose a federal state in which Afrikaans-speakers could exercise self-determination.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night the party and the KwaZulu government were "[illegible]" to talks today but [illegible] move would [illegible] ceedings. The IFP [illegible] sist that the form of sta[illegible] and violence top the agenda the demand that led to Monday's Cosag walkout.

'ranskei

Willard in the chest, killing him instantly.

The attackers then entered the house and demand-

Pick 'n Pay
Southern Transvaal Discount Supermarkets

Kempton Park

Compromise wins the day

Sowetan 18/6/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

COMPROMISE won the day at the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

Although negotiations got off to a halting start following a walkout by eight parties aligned to the Concerned South Africans Group, the negotiating council adopted a resolution on constitutional principles relating to regions.

The resolution, proposed by the Government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, directly addressed the problem which caused the walkout.

Cosag had demanded that the issue of federalism as a constitutional option be discussed before an election date was agreed on.

Cosag, however, failed to reach consensus on the issue as an election date, April 27 1994, had already been sealed and struck off the agenda yesterday.

This resolution proposes that the technical committee of experts on constitutional issues investigate alternative views regarding the need for state, provincial and regional constitutions and different options "for such constitutions".

Negotiators sidestep Cosag delaying move

Star 18/6/93

101

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A second attempt this week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to flex its muscles in the Negotiating Council was sidestepped yesterday, and the debate on constitutional principles finally got under way.

Attempts were made earlier by Cosag to use procedural issues to delay discussion.

Progress, however, was due only to a compromise resolution leading to a "win-win" situation, said Government negotiator Roelf Meyer.

In terms of the compromise, Cosag's concerns would be considered by the technical committee on constitutional matters while the other 20 parties could get on with discussing constitutional principles.

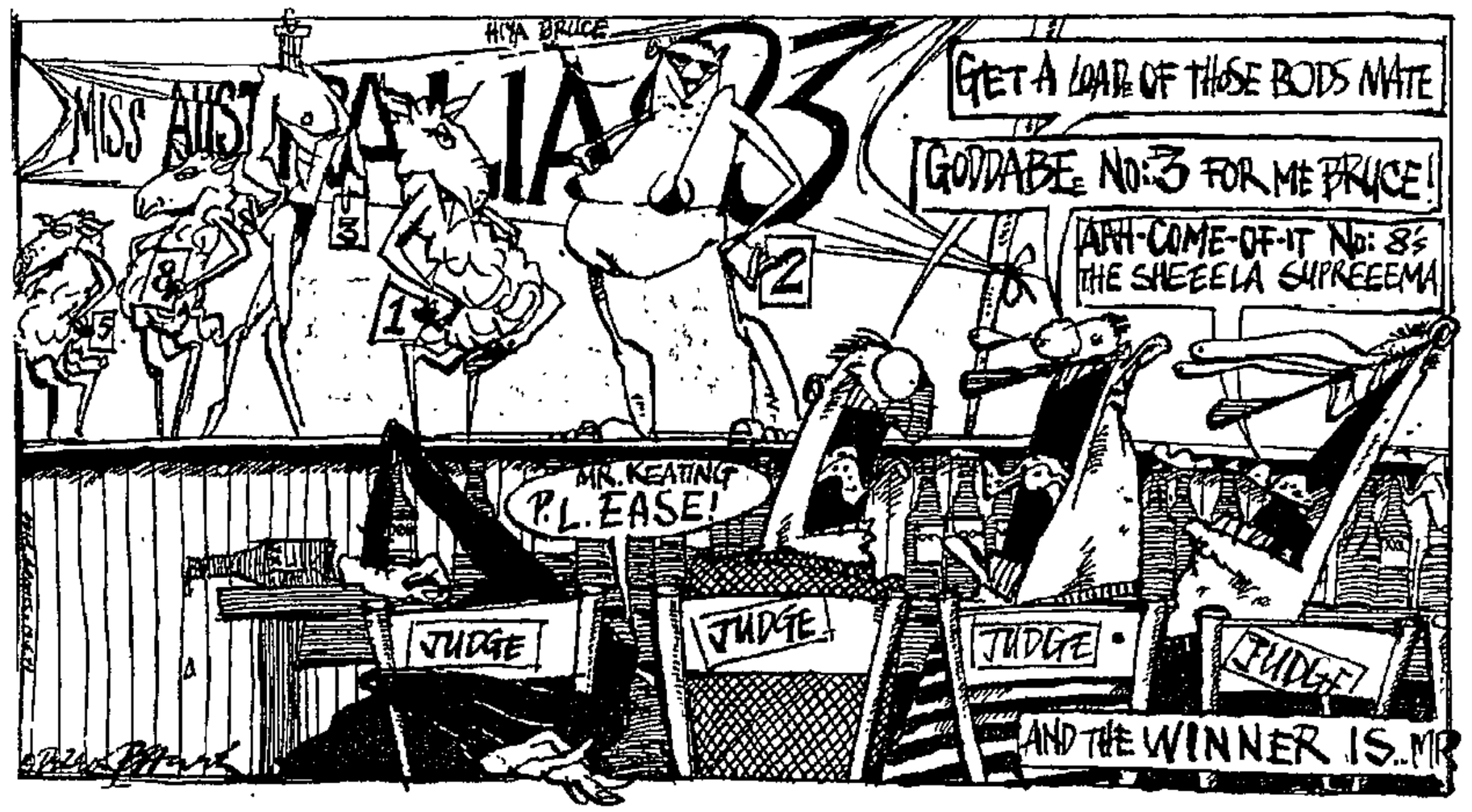
KwaZulu government negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane described the compromise as a "victory for negotiations".

Cosag walked out of talks on Tuesday after a resolution to place federalism and a single-phase transition on the agenda was not carried.

Senior Government sources last night expressed surprise at the IFP's position this week. The party had previously agreed to a two-phased transition; however, this week it firmly backed a single-phase approach.

Cosag members arrived at the World Trade Centre yesterday had planned to submit to the Negotiating Council statements on self-determination, the form of state, the process of sufficient consensus, and the election date.

Cosag also objected yesterday to sufficient consensus — the form of decision-making in the council — and rejected the proposed election date of April 27.



The ship of negotiations, and an iceberg called federalism

Star 19/6/93

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

THERE is a growing perception among COSAG's political opponents that what motivates its negativism is its fear that when elections come, its constituent elements will fare poorly.

CONSTRUCTIVE filibustering. Now there's a political non sequitur to conjure with. It comes in a long line of them, all made in South Africa. From the country that brought you the expansion of pass law restrictions and called it the abolition of pass laws; that ethnically cleansed its universities and called that an extension of education; that condemned blacks to second-class citizenship and called that separate development ... the new South Africa is preserving its traditions.

The phrase constructive filibustering appeared in a document presented to the World Trade Centre negotiations at Kempton Park this week. It came from one of the moving (some would say unmoving) forces of the Concerned South Africans Group, the KwaZulu government. The document's import, reduced to essentials, was to serve notice that while the KwaZulu delegation will remain at the talks (give or take a walkout or two), it will do so with the specific intention of seeing to it that the talks proceed painfully slowly at best. Unless, that is, its opponents agree to its demands pre-emptively.

The document was filled with threats, putting one in mind of a boy in a school playground who agrees to take part in a game as long as the others agree at the outset that he will be allowed to win. It was a frustrating week at the World Trade Centre

Two questions, among others, need to be considered in order to understand what is happening now between COSAG and the remaining majority of parties to the transition talks The first is, have the Government and the ANC, along with their respective sympathisers, secretly ruled out a federal-style option for the future South African state? The second is· are the COSAG parties so scared of the verdict the electorate might pass on them that they will stop at nothing to stall the transition?

The issue of federalism — or devolution of power, or regionalism, or any number of variations on a principled theme — is like an iceberg towards which the negotiations ship has been steaming unsteadily ever since it left port This week the ship struck the tip Political radar screens have indicated the impending collision from the outset, but there was no certainty about when it would take place. Now that it has, some initial judgments can be made

The COSAG argument is, circuitously, that constitutional principles (including the matter of federalism) cannot be negotiated until they are agreed upon The other parties reply that the reason one negotiates is to achieve agreement if you make the decisions first, what is there left to talk about? But COSAG is adopting this radical line because it does not trust the intentions of its negotiating opponents; it believes a pact has been struck and that when the negotiations are concluded, the will of the bigger parties will prevail.

But in fact there is nothing in the growing stacks of talks documentation that rules out federalism in some form. The National Party, as is well known, wants the powers of the future central government to be severely constrained. The ANC, for its part, has softened markedly in the past three years on power devolution The details are up for negotiation. In this sense, COSAG might be punching a phantom But in doing so, it is postponing the main bout, at the risk of having all the paying spectators leave in disgust.

It is not for us to pronounce on whether COSAG's fears are genuinely felt, or being used as an excuse for the filibustering. But it is important to note a growing perception among the group's political opponents that what is really motivating the negativism is COSAG's fear that when elections come, the group's constituent elements will fare poorly This is a serious problem, because it is not one on which the other parties can compromise and placate — they cannot declare the voters' loyalties for them

The problem is serious because, if it is the case, then the IFP/KwaZulu thinking is not going to change, whatever happens at the talks. They will go all-out for a "one-stage" transition because that means the unelected Negotiating Council, on which they wield considerable influence, would fashion the new country The "two-stage" model has it that once the electorate has its say, relative support-bases will be clear, and parties will exercise influence according to their proven share of the popular mandate. Some parties — and this includes parties outside the COSAG fold — will be blown away, politically speaking, and others will have their status reduced Politicians do not, as a rule, easily contemplate these sorts of prospects.

And so there are powerful undercurrents beneath the surface problems at the talks. It is not always easy to divine them, but we need to make the effort if the opaque onrush of daily events is to make any sense at all.

Sheer 19/6/93

Moments of levity amid the horse-trading

(101)

MDLALOSE: Sensing trouble, he appealed for patience and understanding.

THE "new" South Africa might be slow in coming, but its gestation is not without its share of levity . . . at least for those at the World Trade Centre who are debating our future.

Despite the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) walk-out of Tuesday's Negotiating Council meeting, much banter was exchanged by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — who chaired yesterday's meeting — and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa. When he got Mdlalose to smile, Ramaphosa said: "It's good to see you laughing."

Laughter was the stuff needed to lessen the palpable tensions flowing from Tuesday's

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

meeting. Sensing trouble, Mdlalose had appealed when opening the meeting to council members to "be patient, understanding and tolerant of one another's views".

Negotiations, he said, did not take place among people who agreed but involved those who had differences. He had hardly finished speaking when "constructive filibustering" — added to our rich political lexicon by the KwaZulu government's Dr Ben Ngubane — began in earnest.

Debate about the day's agenda lasted 35 minutes, with COSAG members demanding to be allowed to report back to the council on consultations with their principals.

A few more new phrases slipped into negotiators' vocabularies: to "friendly amendments" and "points of information" Ramaphosa added "a point of privilege".

When it was disclosed that yesterday was IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews's birthday and a Labour Party delegate's wedding anniversary, SACP chairman Joe Slovo jokingly said one of his cousins was getting married.

● See Page 10

RAMAPHOSA: The ANC chief negotiator managed to get Mdlalose to smile.

Only homeland gaming on the agenda for now

ST Times CBySSJ 20161013

By CHERILYN IRETON

HOTEL groups suspect that recommendations for the revamp of the gambling laws will gather dust until a new government is installed.

At most, only one aspect of the Howard Commission recommendations — about casino licences — is likely to be dealt with this year. It would hasten reincorporation of the homelands in SA.

The Government has yet to respond to the Howard report, released in April.

A Department of Justice spokesman says the issue could come before the Cabinet on Wednesday.

But government and opposition sources say it is highly unlikely that a bill will be tabled in Parliament this session.

"They are still merely recommendations," stresses Kessel Feinstein Consulting managing director Delano Caras. "We may not see the Government act on them at all.

"But something has to be done about the casino recommendations before the TBVC states are reincorporated in SA. It would not surprise me if nothing much else happens."

The commission recommended that 10 licences be granted for casinos located at least an hour's drive from metropolitan areas and that applicants prove sufficient demand.

Democratic Party MP Tony Leon will ask the Government in Parliament on Tuesday to react to the report.

"I think they are ducking the issue. We could have had the legislation through by now.

The licences would be granted over and above the casinos already operating in the TBVC states.

Mr Caras says in his annual study of the tourism and leisure trade: "As official policy — insofar as one can deduce it — seems to be oriented towards boosting tourism, it would be surprising if the ultimate legislation, originally promised for 1993, differs substantially from what is foreshadowed by the recommendations.

"But some interesting questions arise: how exactly will projects competing for a licence in a particular area be evaluated and whose divine inspiration will determine which is the best?"

"Will this or a future government be able to resist the temptation of treating the casinos as cash cows and taxing them to death?"

Mr Caras says the commission has sensibly suggested a levy of 15% on winnings.

Sun International managing director Peter Venison says his group is unable to plan more casinos until it knows what the rules of the game are.

Next 5 days will tell what the future holds for SA

By SEKOLA SELLO

IN the next five days the world is likely to know whether SA is headed for what one observer poignantly referred to as a racial miracle or, as many fear, a racial catastrophy.

On June 25 the Negotiating Forum is expected to endorse a recommendation by the Negotiating Council that elections be held next April 27, a decision which could precipitate a serious crisis for the fragile multi-party talks.

The Council's recommendation – made at the beginning of this year – was strongly opposed by Inkatha and their alies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and a few other homeland parties.

In the last two weeks of talks these parties have used every trick in the game to prevent the announcement of the election date. However, they have been outmanoeuvred by their principal rivals, the government and the ANC.

Predictions of a massive racial conflagration have been made in the past and all of them have been proven wrong. There is little to suggest that the country could be poised on the brink of serious trouble.

The fact that most of the country's major political players are still talking to each other also makes nonsense of predictions of looming disaster.

But the relative civility of the talks at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport belies the serious problems that lie ahead. There are serious differences between two distinct groupings, those for early elections and those opposed to them.

The government, ANC and its allies in the Patriotic Front are for early elections while Cosag are opposed and using various ploys to delay this aim.

Warning

This week Cosag once more warned against going ahead with an election date before the issues of what form the state should take, federalism and an Afrikaner homeland have been dealt with.

Afrikaner Volksunie member CD de Jager warned against making hurried decisions that "one day we will all be sorry about".

This was an ominous warning coming from a party generally considered less hardline than the Conservative Party and other rightwing formations.

It is generally accepted that, once an election date has been set, the CP will walk out. Short of an Afrikaner homeland, it is difficult to see how the CP can be persuaded to remain in the talks.

Both Inkatha and the KwaZulu government have indicated that even if they do not walk out, they will not be bound by the decisions taken at the talks. Several other minority parties from Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa could also take similar positions.

Although the PAC are for early elections, their participation in them is conditional on two factors. They insist that these must be for a constituent assembly. They also demand the question of the mutual cessation of hostilities between their armed wing Apla and the security forces be resolved.

The movement's national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani states the obvious when he says it is "practically impossible" that these two issues will have been dealt with by June 25.

According to Nemadzivhanani, until these two problems are resolved there is no basis for the holding of elections.

The positions taken by the rightwing groupings – both black and white – and the PAC is a clear indication that some important role players could boycott the April elections.

The ANC and government will in the coming days try hard to placate the CP, AVU, PAC and Inkatha to ensure their participation in the elections – an effort many consider hopeless.

Should they succeed then the racial miracle many are hoping for could be on the horizon. The alternative, in the words of the late unlamented Prime Minister John Vorster, could be too ghastly to contemplate.

The next five days could indeed be crucial to this country.

said as long ago as 1991 that it was essential that an educational forum be established. [Interjections.] Why does this hon member talk about matters which he knows nothing about? [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*The MINISTER: The hon member referred to investigating officers here. He made the same statements during the discussion of the Vote. I have made some enquiries in my department and my officials have indicated to me that no proof exists for this. I asked the hon member across the floor of the House to bring me the facts, so that I could follow up the matter in the interests of good administration. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

*The MINISTER: To this day that hon member has not yet come forward and given me the facts. I want to ask him why he has not done so. I can come to no other conclusion than that this is once again a case in which they are setting up straw dolls simply to knock them down with great satisfaction, in order to prove that we are wrong. [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

Debate concluded.

Self-governing territories: withdrawal of powers

*2. Mr J A JORDAAN asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs: (101)E

Whether it is the intention to withdraw the powers of the self-governing territories that do not agree to a new constitutional dispensation reached through multi-party negotiations on the basis of adequate consensus, by amending Schedule 1 to the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act, 1971 (Act No 21 of 1971), by proclamation; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what are the relevant details?

B991E.INT

*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the question of the hon member for Umhlanga is whether it is the intention of the Government to withdraw the powers of the self-governing territories that do not agree to a new constitutional dispensation reached through multi-party negotiations on the basis of adequate consensus, by amending Schedule 1 to the Self-governing Territories Constitution Act.

Before I reply I should really like to ask two questions. In the first place, why should we anticipate the negotiation process? In the second place, why become alarmist now about an issue which belongs at the negotiating table? We are saying very clearly—I have already said this to the hon member during three debates—that South Africa is irrevocably on the road to a new constitutional and political dispensation. There is unanimity among most of the participants in the constitutional negotiating process that the self-governing territories will become a fully fledged part of a future constitutional dispensation.

Together with the Provincial Administrations and the Central Government, the self-governing territories accepted this point of departure at a conference on 9 February. At present negotiations are being conducted on a new constitution, which also includes the self-governing territories and the Government will put it into effect as soon as our Parliament approves it.

Meanwhile it is essential that the Government ensure that the country is administered in an efficient and effective manner in the interim period. To this end we submitted two Bills to Parliament. The Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill is purely an interim measure, but the Government does not intend anticipating the constitutional negotiation process by establishing joint administrations. Please note, existing Government structures are being maintained. Only specific administrative functions will be considered in respect of joint administrations.

Secondly, we submitted the Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-governing Territories Bill. It is an enabling measure which creates the opportunity for the self-governing territories, with their consent or at their request, at this early stage to share certain powers and functions in the interim with other authorities. It is similarly essential that the respective self-governing territories support and approve this legislation. It is for this reason that discussions have been held with these governments on various occasions and that we received their consent.

Here we differ with the DP. This is why I cannot understand this question. We say that a new constitution should be negotiated; they say that one should enforce one's standpoint unilaterally on the self-governing territories.

I want to ask the hon member who this question is aimed at. Is it aimed at Dr T K Mopeli of Qwaqwa? Is it aimed at Prince James Mahlangu of KwaNdebele? Is it aimed at Chief Minister M C Zita of KaNgwane, Chief Khumalo of Gazankulu or Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa or perhaps, as I suspect, at Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu?

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, there are a number of Bills which relate to the self-governing territories to which the hon the Minister referred and which we have been dealing with recently.

The central theme that is repeated in those Bills is that the State President is being given the power to amend, supplement or repeal any Act of Parliament, except in two cases in which this has to take place with the consent of those self-governing territories.

In administrative law academics refer to clauses of this nature as the infamous "King Henry VIII" clauses. [Interjections.] The right of existence of the self-governing territories is regulated by Act 21 of 1971. In terms of section 2 of that Act the State President determines by way of proclamation the constitution of the legislative assemblies. The legislative powers as mentioned in the question, are dealt with by Schedule 1.

In section 25 of Act 21 reference is also made to the powers that can be granted to the Minister to ensure the continuation of the administration in those areas. If the interpretation of the State's law advisers is correct, can only be implemented if those areas are ungovernable.

The hon the Minister asked me a question, and I now want to make the following statement. The NP is ambivalent about the self-governing territories. [Interjections.] In his book *The Long Journey*, Stephen Friedman referred to the NP submission at Codesa in the chapter "Rescrambling the egg". This did not relate to the self-governing territories, but to the independent states.

The NP submission reads as follows:

> Were any TBVC state to decide not to be reincorporated, it would have to seriously consider the effects.
>
> The RSA would undoubtedly, in the interest of its own citizens, have to re-examine its financial relationships with such state, particularly if it claimed to be economically viable.

There is no doubt that what is contained here is the germ of blackmail—if they are not prepared to come in, then we will twist their arms in the process.

*An HON MEMBER: That is precisely your approach.

*Mr J A JORDAAN: It is not our approach.

*An HON MEMBER: Of course it is! [Interjections.]

*Mr J A JORDAAN: If that hon member reads the amendment which we proposed in respect of both these Bills to which the hon the Minister referred, he will see that we said that if there was sufficient consensus in the negotiation process, then we believed that the hon the State President could take certain steps.

Let us examine what has happened in the interim. [Interjections.] The hon the Minister has previously referred to the fact that 2 February 1990 was a watershed, but since that date wider powers have been granted to the self-governing territories by proclamation. [Time expired]

*Mr J H HOON: Mr Chairman, the NP and the Government have yielded to the pressure of the new world order and its pawn in South Africa, the ANC-SACP party. They have forced the NP to become fully committed to joining all of South Africa's territory together within a single constitutional dispensation. It is for this reason that a constitutional dispensation in which popular nationalism plays a role must be destroyed.

Such a step is essential for the ANC. The ANC is endeavouring to gain political power over the entire South African territory. Self-governing territories as power bases of various peoples are a stumbling block in the way of the ANC-SACP party, and consequently these power bases must be destroyed. It is left to the NP to do the dismantling. The NP believes that it is essential to do this. In its guidelines that party says its plan A is that the NP should win an election against the ANC. Its plan B is to draft the constitution in such a way that if the NP came second in the election, it would still form part of a central coalition government.

The NP wants to involve the self-governing territories and their conservative, traditional people within the electorate of South Africa, and in so doing the NP hopes to implement its plan A at the ballot box and its plan B at the negotiating table. This is why the NP has turned to sorcerers, ventriloquists who make puppets talk, witch doctors and traditional healers to assist them in their struggle against the ANC. It is for this reason that they hold pap and braaivleis functions, such as the one at Pietersburg, which cost them R250 000.

They must remember what happened to the DTA in South West. [Time expired.]

*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the hon member need not concern himself about witch doctors . . . [Interjections.]

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Hon members should remember that if they make such a noise they are using up some of the time that is available for hon members of their own party to participate in the interpellation. The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: The hon member for Kuruman need not be concerned about ventriloquists and witch doctors. He is a very good ventriloquist for his party, and the hon member for Hercules could easily become their bone-thrower. [Interjections.]

As usual the hon member said that we yielded to pressure and as always he is terrified of communism. I want to tell him once again, as we have already told him four times previously in debates, that there is not a single one of the six self-governing territories in South Africa which accepts the CP's policy. Not one. All six of the self-governing territories of South Africa are asking for reincorporation and participation in a larger regional dispensation in South Africa. Many of them are asking for strong autonomous regional government. [Interjections.]

*Mr J H HOON: Have you asked them specifically?

*The MINISTER: Yes, that is what they are asking for. [Interjections.]

I want to tell those hon members that they simply do not want to accept that that option . . . [Interjections.]

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: They lied to the voters.

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe must withdraw that remark.

*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I withdraw it, Mr Chairman.

*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister may proceed.

*The MINISTER: The option that is being put forward by these members did not work in South Africa. The CP can stand on their heads, but they will not get it to work either.

We must negotiate alternatives for South Africa in order to gain approval for the diverse composition in one state to be based on strong federal principles. In all honesty it is no longer possible to debate rationally with the hon members of the CP.

I want to come back to the hon member for Umhlanga. Obviously this is enabling legislation. However, the difference is that we drew up this enabling legislation on the basis that we would be negotiating with the people on a new dispensation. The hon member wants us to remove that part and to force our standpoint unilaterally on the self-governing territories.

I know at whom he is directing this. He wants to have these powers, because he hates the Zulus. He wants to use them against Chief Minister Buthelezi and KwaZulu. I would like the hon member to answer the following question, because he is going to have another opportunity to speak. If the ANC does not want to be part of a new dispensation, must we force a dispensation on them or negotiate with them? I will be pleased if he would answer this question for me.

Mr E K MOORCROFT: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister appears to be highly annoyed and irritated with my colleague the hon member for Umhlanga for having had this interpellation put on the Question Paper. The hon the Minister could not resist the temptation to get personal. I do not think there was any justification or need for that kind of behaviour.

The hon the Minister knows all about the origins of this interpellation. He knows that it arises out of his refusal to approve a very reasonable amendment to Bill 104 and Bill 105, as proposed by the hon member for Umhlanga. The hon

member for Umhlanga was not being perverse or difficult when he proposed that the hon the State President be given the necessary powers to deal with the eventuality of a leader of a particular homeland being recalcitrant about the reality of reincorporation into South Africa. He knows that there is a very good chance that this might or could occur.

When the hon the Minister closed the door on the proposed amendment of the hon member for Umhlanga, he also created a most undesirable situation in which the only possible response left to the hon the State President was to react by way of a proclamation.

We are not insensitive to the argument used by hon members on that side of the House that homeland leaders have to be urged, through negotiation, to comply with proposals for reintegration. We heartily agree with the approach suggested. Our initial amendment did not in any way impose itself on the strategy of negotiation. We were merely suggesting the implementation of a fail-safe mechanism which, hopefully, would never need to be activated. However, should the need arise, that would have been infinitely more desirable than the method of proclamation.

*Mr J A JORDAAN: Mr Chairman, I want to bring the hon the Minister back to King Henry VIII and his six wives who were at his mercy. The ability of those women to have children and their degree of fidelity or infidelity determined their fate.

The six self-governing territories in South Africa are truly also at the mercy of the governing party, in this case the NP. This is what we are trying to get across to the hon the Minister.

King Henry VIII had three Thomases who assisted him. In this case the hon the State President has as a Thomas an Andrew who became an André. The Dutch have a saying that a tortoise is always called Thomas. Another reason why I am dealing with this whole question relating to the self-governing territories is because the hon the Minister of Law and Order is allocating additional land in areas in which the KwaZulu police have jurisdiction, and this is in conflict with the Goldstone Commission's recommendations. This is precisely what is happening in the process, and this is why we are highlighting these events.

The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I would just like to repeat the whole argument.

I have listened to the hon member for Albany, and I just want to ask him why they do not want to give the the whole negotiation process a fair chance. Why do they anticipate that some of the self-governing territories will decide not to become part of South Africa? Why must we, at this stage, pre-empt the process?

An HON MEMBER: You don't understand!

The MINISTER: No, that is exactly what they are doing! They want to have it written into an Act of Parliament, in anticipation of a possibility that one of the self-governing territories will refuse to be reincorporated into South Africa, that we must force them back into the Republic. [Interjections.]

That is not our approach. That is why the hon member for Umhlanga is so concerned about King Henry VIII. There is a basic colonial paternalism inherent to that party! I have said it in the past, and I want to say it again! [Interjections.]

Debate concluded.

Subject to Resolution of House:

Property rates: schools

3. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Local Government:

(1) Whether he or his Department has taken a decision regarding the possible payment of property rates by State, State-aided and private schools; if not, why not; if so, what decision was taken;

(2) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

B984E.INT

The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT: Mr Chairman, in 1990 a permanent financial liaison committee reported on a property-rate and property-valuation system for local government. The report was submitted to the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs and thereafter to the Cabinet. On 12 September 1990 the Cabinet decided to accept 27 recommendations in the report which were to be implemented on 1 July 1992.

Qualified welcome for new broadcasting Bill

RAY HARTLEY

THE Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill publicised by negotiators at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday, was yesterday welcomed by media lawyer Wend Wendland, who acts for the National Association of Broadcasters.

But Wendland cautioned that certain provisions of the Bill would cause problems for NAB members, which included M-Net, the SABC and Radio 702, and create confusion over the status of broadcasters in the TBVC states.

He said the Bill proposed to legislate the minimum amount of locally funded and produced programmes broadcast by SA radio and TV stations. Broadcasters currently relied on overseas programming which cost about R400 a minute.

Local programmes cost substantially more — about R4 000 a minute — because they had to recover all their costs from local broadcasters due to their limited international appeal, he said.

While the NAB was in favour of stimulating the local programming industry, it remained concerned about the financial implications of this, he said.

The Bill would lead to the automatic licensing of those currently broadcasting in SA, but it did not say whether or not this included broadcasters in the TBVC states, he said.

If this was not cleared up, broadcasters in the TBVC states could be left in a state of confusion and could even be expected to reapply for licences.

Another provision prohibiting cross-ownership of the print and broadcast media could pose problems for certain broadcasters, including M-Net, which was owned by newspaper groups.

He said the NAB and other interested parties had been given two weeks in which to comment on the Bill before it was finally drafted to appear before Parliament in September.

The haste with which the Bill was being finalised resulted from a desire to have it in place by elections in April next year, Wendland said.

The Bill, which was drafted by a technical committee at the multiparty talks, makes provision for an independent broadcasting authority to regulate equal access to the airwaves by political parties during the election.

It would in future be responsible for the allocation of frequencies and the licensing of broadcasters, he said.

The NAB supported provisions in the Bill which made the control of broadcasting independent from government, he said.

Doctors draft conduct code

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Doctors were warned last night they might have to spend more time in lawyers' offices and courtrooms in SA's increasingly litigious society, a trend symptomatic of the erosion of trust in the medical profession.

In his inaugural address, newly appointed Medical Association of SA (Masa) president Johan Kruger said: "If you are unhappy you sue."

However limited the trend, it could not be denied that negligence and unethical conduct occurred in the profession.

"Our conduct should not feed the perception of being protective of errant members," he said.

Masa would do all it could to root out unethical behaviour. A code of conduct would go a long way as a guideline.

Masa's federal council yesterday adopted a credo to serve as a basis for drafting a code. It addressed areas of ehtical concern — social responsibility, discrimination and doctor-patient rights and relations.

motive to n Goniwe'

...tiative, provided any information the investigating officers.

"If you say so, it must be true," plied Snyman.

Mostert said that either the secur-

IFP, Bop to remain in Cosag

Political Correspondent

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

This assurance, made by the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana's Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje, was given to the Conservative Party yesterday.

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, who is a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those who was roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised "for what happened on Friday", CP chief negotiator Tom Langley last night denied this, and told The Star Buthelezi had accepted that the CP was not involved in the fracas.

"After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley told The Star.

Cronje yesterday said he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre, and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.

Negotiating parties declare a deadlock

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We reject out of hand the single-phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock of major proportions."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said: "We say 'no' to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We have a deadlock."

He said: "Today for the first time we are starting to face the real issues. There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the parties seek equilibrium. "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal."

In its report, the committee said the two opposing positions were incompatible and could be bridged only by compromise.

The report reinforces a two-phased transition in which the negotiating forum decides on binding constitutional principles which have a justiciable basis as a mandate to the constitution-making body. It binds the constitution-making body to drafting the final constitution within the limitations it imposes.

At the same time, it stills the fears of Cosag parties by providing for regional constitutions with their own legislatures and executives.

Ramaphosa tabled a motion stating that the equilibrium proposal "offers the best possible basis for finding agreement on the constitution-making process".

The negotiating council decided it would debate, but not decide on the resolution until today, allowing parties to discuss the issue and consult their principals.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the DP was prepared to compromise because the principles would be binding on an elected body and the powers and functions of regions would be determined by the negotiating body.

He said those parties like the ANC, which had wanted an elected body to draft the new constitution, had made considerable concessions over the past weeks. Referring to Cosag and Inkatha, he said: "I would like to ask, what are you prepared to compromise on in bridging the gap?"

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said: "If there has to be a parting of the ways, so be it." He said Inkatha was clearly afraid of placing the future of the country in the hands of the people by facing an election.

He said negotiators had to resolve the deadlock within the next 48 hours.