

THE STAR, THURSDAY 11 MARCH 1993

Sanctions happy

THE contrast could hardly have been more marked. While state legislatures in New York, Oregon and Massachusetts under pressure from ANC supporters in the US, were preparing to press ahead with new sanctions, Andrew Young, former US ambassador to the United Nations and staunch anti-apartheid campaigner, was urging multinational corporations "to get back into South Africa when the time is right".

Young's stand is much more in line with the ANC's position on sanctions, declared last month at a special conference designed to drum up support for the ANC in future elections. The ANC's position is that all sanctions, except those relating to arms and oil, should be lifted once a date for elections for an interim government is set and a transitional executive council established.

That implies, at the least, a moratorium on future sanctions. It puts the New York and Oregon legislatures — and their misguided ANC lobbyists — out of court. ANC leaders, with their feet firmly on South African soil, know the score: facing huge expectations of upliftment by their deprived black constituents, they need as much investment as possible once their conditions are met.

A new sanctions drive will be counter-productive. It could place post-apartheid South Africa, like "liberated" Namibia, in the anomalous situation of still having to cope with sanctions.

GUARDIAN

11 MAR 1993 LONDON

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 15

'Army officer says general ordered activists' deaths'

Buthelezi advisers
'are state agents'David Beresford
in Johannesburg

TWO key advisers to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were accused in the South African parliament yesterday of taking secret payments from the government, together with a former Rhodesian cabinet minister working for another homeland leader.

In another sensational development, a senior army officer has indicated that he will testify before a judge that his commanders ordered the murders of three anti-apartheid activists.

The murder allegation came during the inquest into the 1985 killings of the "Cradock 4" — a prominent Eastern Cape activist, Matthew Goniwe, and three colleagues.

The inquest was ordered by President F. W. de Klerk after publication of an army signal, issued on the orders of the present head of military intelligence, General Joffel van der Westhuizen, ordering the "permanent" removal from society of Mr Goniwe and two other activists.

The military have claimed that the signal — sent to the state security council 20 days before the murders — was unfortunately framed and that the order was for the long-term detention of the men.

But senior counsel representing the officer who wrote the signal, Colonel Lourens du Plessis, told the court yesterday his client would be testifying that the terms used were standard in the security establishment for "kill".

The lawyer, Glenn Goosen, said: "Col Du Plessis will testify that the signal is authentic, that he drew it up on instruction from (then) Brigadier van der Westhuizen, that what is written in the signal correctly reflects his instruction and that it was an order that Matthew Goniwe, Mbolelo Goniwe and Fort Calata be killed."

The three men accused of being in government pay were named yesterday by an opposition MP under parliamentary privilege. Mr De Klerk — facing his first parliamentary "question time", which was introduced yesterday — declined to answer to avoid, he said, setting a precedent in dealing with intelligence matters.

The two Inkatha advisers named by Cobus Jordaan, a Natal MP of the moderate Democratic Party, were the US constitutional expert Professor Albert Blaustein and a member of Chief Buthelezi's negotiating team, Walter Felgate. Mr Felgate last night described the charge as "outrageous".

It was disclosed by the Guardian in December that Prof Blaustein devised a draft constitution for a "state" of KwaZulu-Natal, which last year precipitated fears of a Zulu secessionist movement.

Mr Felgate was at the centre of a recent controversy over allegations by the minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, that white advisers were pushing the chief into a hardline position in its dealings with the government.

The third man accused of being a spy by Mr Jordaan was the Bophuthatswana cabinet minister Rowan Cronje, who served in Ian Smith's cabinet

during UDI. Mr Cronje is minister of aviation in the homeland. Over the last week there have been allegations that Russian cargo planes have been using Bophuthatswana facilities to supply Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels in the Angolan civil war.

Meanwhile President De Klerk's wife, Marike, was at the centre of stormy scenes in a coloured township outside Cape Town yesterday. She was forced to run a gauntlet of some 300 jeering ANC demonstrators, waving placards denouncing her as a "witch" and taunting her about remarks she made several years ago referring to the coloured community as "non-people" and "left-overs".

Mrs De Klerk had been invited to attend a local "tea-party" with about 250 guests by Abe Williams, the coloured MP recently appointed minister of sport.

A new opinion poll suggests 62 per cent of "coloureds" will vote for President De Klerk's National Party in a non-racial election, against 9 per cent for the ANC. The survey was carried out by the centre for development studies at the traditionally radical University of the Western Cape.

ANC and Inkatha leaders in the Natal Midlands, the region hit by three recent massacres of commuters, made a joint appeal yesterday for peace and said they were launching internal investigations in collaboration with police to identify and ensure the arrest of the killers. ANC sources, conceding responsibility for the first of the three atrocities, in which six children were killed, said they believed the children's school van was mistaken for an Inkatha "warlord's" vehicle.

GUARDIAN

11 MAR 1993

LONDON

Stability vital for economy — ANC

By Brian Sokutu

The ANC wants investor confidence restored in South Africa to boost the country's ailing economy, says ANC economist Tito Mboweni.

Mboweni, who last night teamed up with Reserve Bank governor Chris Stals and Cosatu negotiations co-ordinator Jayendra Naidoo in a panel discussion in Johannesburg on the post-apartheid economy, said economic and political stability would play a major role in getting foreign companies to invest in the country.

"We have to ensure investor confidence returns," he said.

"Gross mismanagement of the economy impacts on investor confidence."

Sapa reports that the National Party, reacting to reports that the American states of New York and Oregon want to impose new sanctions on South Africa under pressure from the ANC, has accused the ANC of economic sabotage.

NP information service head Piet Coetser said the ANC would be held responsible for jobs lost because of the new sanctions.

Also speaking at last night's panel discussion, organised by the ANC Johannesburg East zone, Stals said only with "a relatively stable financial environment" could South Africa achieve economic restructuring.

"We must fight inflation and keep the value of money as stable as possible."

"We must try to keep exchange rates on average more stable. If this can be achieved the Reserve Bank will make an important contribution towards economic restructuring."

Cosatu's Naidoo said the union federation was engaged in a reconstruction programme to redress the imbalances caused by apartheid.

"The key aspect is the question of jobs."

Cosatu, he said, was involved in job-creating programmes. Although lowering inflation was important, Naidoo said inflation was "not regarded by Cosatu as the Bible" because economic restructuring was a priority.

Inkatha remains powerful enigma in South Africa

By SCOTT KRAFT
Los Angeles Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — It was a strange afternoon, by anyone's estimation. On a rural rugby field, white Afrikaners were grilling meat on a smoky "braai," or barbecue, as their ancestors have done for four centuries. Nearby, young black Zulus performed traditional dances to the beat of cattle-skin drums.

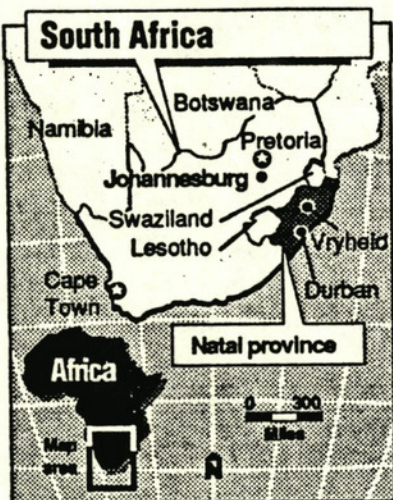
And, filling the stands, were 5,000 Zulu and 300 Afrikaner supporters of Mangosuthu Buthelezi. One of the Afrikaners even came dressed for the occasion in full Zulu regalia — animal skins and shield.

Buthelezi staged the unusual gathering recently in Vryheid, a conservative white town on the edge of the ancient Zulu-Afrikaner battlefields, to celebrate the defection of "three sons of Africa" — two whites and one Indian member of parliament — to his Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party.

As South Africa's halting march toward democracy prepared to take another step April 5 with multiparty negotiations to work out details, Buthelezi and Inkatha remain the most complex, least understood and, many say, most dangerous of the nation's political forces.

They are deeply respected by right-wing whites but feared and hated by many in Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, with whom they have been locked in mortal combat for six years in Natal province.

And their alliance with President F.W. de Klerk's government has been sorely tested in recent months. The white-minority gov-



Knight-Ridder Tribune

ernment, seeing Inkatha as a moderate black answer to the more radical and more powerful ANC, had long considered Buthelezi a friend. It even secretly helped to pay for Inkatha rallies in 1990.

But Buthelezi is a deeply suspicious man with a thin skin and a quick temper. And his relationship with de Klerk has deteriorated since September, when, miffed by a government-ANC agreement to resume their negotiations, Buthelezi broke off contact with the government.

The low point came in January, when Inkatha accused the government of making secret deals to share power with the ANC and of leaking information "aimed at making Buthelezi look like the stooge the ANC says he was."

The government, having lost patience with Inkatha, said it was "shocked" that "such a piece of banal nonsense could be pro-

duced (by) a respected political party of the proud Zulu nation."

The ANC has no secret alliance with the government. The two sides have been trying, in a series of closed-door meetings, to speed up the negotiation process by clearing away obstacles that remain between them.

But Buthelezi has reason to worry. The ANC and the government are the most important forces in the multiparty constitutional talks, and if they do not agree, negotiations will probably fail.

When negotiations do resume, Buthelezi is sure to be at odds with both the government and the ANC on a range of issues. His chief demand is for significant regional autonomy in any future constitution, and he wants that in writing before any election is held. A strong central government would probably cut deeply into Buthelezi's own power base, located pri-

marily in Natal province, where most of Inkatha's 2.2 million members live.

But the government and the ANC already have agreed on the need for an election, as early as next year, for a constitution-making body. Under their agreement, that body would write a new constitution but postpone its implementation for up to five years. During that time, the body would elect a president to govern the country with a cabinet drawn from all parties winning as little as 5% of the vote.

Buthelezi's desire for regional powers, and his willingness to scuttle the entire negotiations process to get them, is strongly supported by political leaders who share his fear of ANC domination. Among those allies are right-wing whites hoping to create their own white-controlled provinces and black homeland leaders who want to retain their authority.



Leading march: Mangosuthu Buthelezi (center) leads about 10,000 Zulus through Durban last Feb. to protest a ban on tribal weapons. Most marchers flouted the ban waving spears, clubs and sticks as police watched but did not intervene.

Associated Press

Contest for support in South Africa

The two dominant black political organizations in South Africa:

Inkatha Freedom Party

- **Leader:** Mangosuthu Buthelezi
- **Politics:** Conservative; favors devolution of powers to largely autonomous regional governments
- **Support:** Claims 2.2 million members, Zulu-based with strength mainly in Natal province

African National Congress

- **Leader:** Nelson Mandela
- **Politics:** Favors centralized rule
- **Support:** Has broad nationwide support; polls have shown the ANC with support from almost 70% of the black population. Also has members from Asian, mixed-race and white groups.

The plan to end white-minority rule in South Africa calls for an election in 1994 to create a government of national unity that would rule for up to five years. It likely would be dominated by the African National Congress, with President F.W. de Klerk's National Party as principal junior partner. That election would create a government whose executive and legislative branches would include all parties whose vote totals surpass a certain threshold. The number of ministers each party gets will be in proportion to the number of votes it polls, and the majority party will name the president.

also other races!

mise on the issues that derailed the talks in May.

Their plan calls for elections by April 1994 to choose a constituent assembly, which would write a new constitution and serve as the parliament. Parties winning 5 percent or more of the votes would also be entitled to seats in a coalition cabinet, and this unity government would serve for five years.

The most important dissenter from this plan is Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi,

DIVERSE RIVALS
GATHER FOR PARLEY
ON S.A.

A rising conviction that the differences can be resolved.

leader the Zulu-based Inkatha Party and chief minister of the Zulu homeland, KwaZulu.

Chief Buthelezi insists that before elections are held, a new constitution should be drafted by a panel of constitutional experts representing the various parties, then put to a referendum. Letting an elected assembly write the constitution, he said in an interview this week, would allow the African National Congress to run roughshod over the interests of minorities.

His main demand is that power be decentralized, with the boundaries and powers of regional governments guaranteed before elections are held.

The Government has deserted Chief Buthelezi on this issue, agreeing with the African National Congress that the status of regions should be the business of the elected assembly.

In the interview, Chief Buthelezi called this "completely unacceptable," but he also took pains to rebut his reputation as a possible spoiler.

Will Head His Delegation

The Inkatha leader said he would personally head Inkatha's delegation to the full-scale negotiations, which he had earlier boycotted in a rift over the exclusion of the Zulu king.

He also dismissed speculation that he might try to secede from South Africa if he does not get his way in the talks, saying that if defeated he would accept a role in political opposition.

"It is not in my mind to secede," he said. "I have never considered it."

Chief Buthelezi is backed in the multi-party forum by a loose coalition, including leaders of two black homelands who are loath to surrender the power they gained under apartheid, and white conservatives who believe that a decentralized system is their best hope of creating a whites-only enclave.

Thus the participants today included the Conservative Party, which shunned

the earlier negotiations and vowed it would never negotiate with black groups it regarded as terrorists.

White Homeland Sought

Thomas Langley, leader of the Conservative Party delegation, said the party came only as part of Chief Buthelezi's bloc and was unsure how long it would stay.

Mr. Langley said the party's overriding goal was an independent white homeland — or, as he put it, "a self-determining disposition for the Afrikaners and those of Anglo and European stock who are with us."

Across the table, and far across the political spectrum, sat the Pan-Africanist Congress, a black nationalist group whose guerrilla wing claimed responsibility for two deadly attacks on white social gatherings late last year. The party has refused to disavow what it calls its armed struggle.

"No, no," a Pan-Africanist delegate, Lesaoana Makhanda, said when asked if sitting alongside white racists was uncomfortable for a party whose slogan is, "One settler, one bullet."

"We feel it's just a progression of the struggle," he said. "We are not enemies, really. We are just people who disagree."

10 Blacks in Van Are Killed In an Attack in South Africa

JOHANNESBURG, March 5 (Reuters) — Ten blacks were killed today in an attack in Natal Province, the police said.

A police spokesman said the victims, four men and six women traveling in a van, had been killed near the Table Mountain area outside Pietermaritzburg. Three others in the van were wounded in the attack, which took place after leaders from 26 groups met outside Johannesburg to try to resume talks on South Africa's political future.

Six black children were killed in an ambush in the same area on Tuesday, raising fears of reprisal attacks.

Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said today that a 32-year-old man and two youths had been arrested in connection with Tuesday's killings.

South Africa

Comrades

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

IN THE past they were at loggerheads. They still have arguments to settle. But when multi-party talks resume at the end of March, the South African government and the African National Congress will in effect be on the same side of the table, defending a joint plan for ending apartheid.

Although nothing has been published, the outlines of the plan are now clear. Its centrepiece is a non-racial election, within 15 months, for a constituent assembly that will write a new constitution. After the election, a government of national unity will be formed, drawn from all parties with at least 5% of the vote, and composed of those parties in proportion to their share of the vote. The unity government will remain in power for up to five years. The ANC says that the biggest party in that government should

have the whip hand in decision-making; the present government says decisions should be taken by consensus.

Now the question is whether other South Africans will accept it. Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party does not. It says a special conference of the parties now negotiating with each other should write a constitution, and submit it to a referendum, before a constituent assembly is elected. (This is what happened when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe.) And it wants that pre-election constitution to be strongly federal, with the powers and boundaries of regions fixed. Despite these differences, it has for now agreed to take part in the talks and drop the threat of an IFP-led secession of the Zulu-dominated regions of Natal and KwaZulu.

President F.W. de Klerk likes Mr Buthelezi's idea of a federal constitution, but agrees with Nelson Mandela that writing it should be the job of the constituent assembly—given two provisos. First, decisions relating to regions should be approved by a "special majority" of regional representatives in the constituent assembly, voting separately. Second, the need for autonomous regional governments should be approved "in principle" by the multi-party conference before the election.

What happens if Mr Buthelezi and his allies—Oupa Gqozo's military government in Ciskei, Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government, Andries Beyers's Afrikaner Volksunie, and Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party—are not persuaded to change their minds? The deadlock-breaking mechanism agreed on at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa last year was the imprecise concept of "sufficient consen-

sus". What level of consensus is that?

Meanwhile a more immediate dispute needs settling: how to include traditional or tribal leaders in the multi-party talks. The government has proposed inviting the governments of the six non-independent "homelands" to send representatives. That would allow Mr Buthelezi to include the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelethini, in the Kwa-

Zulu delegation, and so satisfy one of the IFP's chief objections to last year's talks. But the ANC disagrees. It has proposed that each of South Africa's four provinces should send a delegation of traditional leaders. That would let in King Zwelethini as a leader from Natal, but also the pro-ANC Xhosa paramount chiefs from Transkei.



Now let's write a constitution

THE ECONOMIST FEBRUARY 27TH 1993

Power and the people

AROUND the world a "strong" local government has found favour, but it rests heavily on conditions and resources that are in short supply in South Africa, the Urban Foundation warns in a new report by its Development and Policy Unit.

"The apartheid legacy has left huge backlogs, insufficient capacity to address these and political conditions that are not conducive to resolving such challenges," the report concludes.

It notes at the outset that major political players have different notions of what "strong" local government means (see story alongside) — and ventures the view all "are unattainable in their pure form".

The Urban Foundation makes the following points about the foundations of "strong" local government:

- That the willingness of the central government to allow local autonomy is critical, irrespective of whether the constitution provides for a federal or unitary state.
- That effective, strong local government depends on financial and administrative capacity at that level and "the degree to which a local authority

The Urban Foundation says "strong" local government, like most things in politics, is the art of the possible. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

exercises control over its own revenues".

Local authorities are typically financed by grants from central government and by property rates. The Urban Foundation observes that, internationally, central government grants often come with strings attached, while rates require fair administrative capacity in order to assess changing property values.

"Such capacity is a scarce resource at local government level in all countries, even the most developed... local authorities therefore often lack the capacity to exercise the autonomy which strong local government requires."

The Urban Foundation adds that the common wisdom that local government is most democratic because it is "closest to the people" is an oversimplification.

In practice, "the highly acclaimed responsiveness of local government generally means responsiveness to the demands of local elites, not to the voice of the people".

On the strength of financing and capacity, it is plain that the townships cannot be viewed as candidates for autonomous "strong" local government. "The shortcomings (in townships) are so large that they will not be rectified by simply transferring revenues from white local authority areas," the report observes.

It adds that, in any event, many of the smaller white municipalities are lacking in critical engineering and finance skills.

"This raises doubts about the financial capacities of all but the largest white local authorities to actually utilise, and thus maintain, extensive autonomy."

Furthermore, it is imperative, says the Urban Foundation, that new forms of local government break cleanly with the racial past.

Looking back at the disastrous attempts to make impoverished townships self-financing, the report warns: "If the policy of self-sufficiency

for low-income areas is used again it will undoubtedly be as much a cause of instability as it was in the past."

The potential for introducing "strong" local government is further sapped by the fact that centralisation has long been entrenched in the political culture of South Africa and new traditions take time to evolve; and that, in the black community, local government has been seen as illegitimate and local development issues as "somebody else's problem".

The Urban Foundation warns against parties getting so caught up in the adversarial dynamic of negotiation that they press their ideal views of local government oblivious of the costs. The most appropriate "strength" for local government is likely to be found in a trade-off, the report implies.

"Devolution is in step with international trends and might, to an extent, be achievable provided it does not entrench the inequalities of the past," it concludes.

"Although a degree of protection for entrenched interests is needed if the future system is to be financially viable, this cannot be achieved by entrenching any sort of racial discrimination." □

How the parties see the issue

THESE are the contending versions of "strong" local government that the Urban Foundation (UF) says are favoured by different parties:

● **From the Government:** Small local authorities — down to neighbourhood level — with extensive decision-making and taxing powers, intended to "place limits on the ability of central government to intervene locally (and to ensure white, or at least middle-class, majorities in some local areas)".

● **From extra-parliamentary groups:** Local authorities responsive to civic association demands, spreading the benefits of local property taxes to residents of all races and "empowering" township residents by offering them a role in development and government.

● **From the free marketers (including Inkatha):** Local authorities functioning with high visibility (and therefore with high efficiency), vying with each other for investment and therefore compelled to offer competitive services and infrastructure.

The UF also defines a "minority" non-parliamentary position that sees strong local government as undesirable because it weakens the centre's capacity to redistribute political and economic power.

IFP men spied for Govt, says DP

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate and Bophuthatswana Cabinet Minister Rowan Cronje have spied on their own organisations for the South African Government, the Democratic Party has suggested.

President de Klerk refused yesterday in Parliament to confirm or deny the insinuation and was accused of evasion.

But Felgate strongly denied it and challenged the DP to repeat it outside Parliament where it would not be protected by privilege.

DP Umhlanga MP Kobus Jordaan asked De Klerk in Parliament whether over the past 10 years the State had been directly or indirectly funding nine persons to furnish input and/or advice about certain cultural and/or political organisations.

Without initially giving names, Jordaan ap-

parently identified three of the people involved when he asked De Klerk — after his refusal to reply to the question — whether he did not think that the activities of Felgate, Cronje and Professor Albert Blaustein (an American constitutional adviser to the IFP) were a “millstone around the neck of negotiations”.

De Klerk replied that there was certain information which it was not in the national interest to divulge.

If he denied allegations that were untrue, this would mean that any future refusal to comment on similar allegations would be construed as admission.

Sandton's ANC-aligned MP, Dave Dalling, later issued a statement saying Jordaan had implied that the three men had been secretly paid by the Government to inform and advise on their organisations.

● More reports —
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