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THE SUNDAY STAR, 24 OCTOBER 199+

Threats of
nationalisation
being used

as blackmail

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THE ANC still believes in nationalisation - only this time it's more a business strategy than a political policy.

That was the conclusion of bruised and battered negotiators this week after the Government, ANC, Vodacom and MTN resolved the cellular phone issue by agreeing to increase - black and public sector shareholding and participation in the two consortiums.

The deal came after an ANC threat to nationalise the cellular phone industry.

This could be the shape of things to come in the new South Africa as the ANC, fresh from its triumph in the cellular phone dispute, is tempted to use nationalisation bogeyman tactic in other industries.

The ANC has already threatened . | to nationalise the highly profitably pharmaceutical industry because of its exorbitant prices for medicines.

Don't be surprised if black business and the public sector are soon offered shares by the big pharmaceuticals, business watchers say.

Touch-and-go

Negotiators emerging from the cellular phone deal told the Sunday Star that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's threat earlier in the week to nationalise the cellular consortiums when the ANC was in power, was taken very seriously indeed.

It was touch-and-go, they agreed. In the end a deal was struck increasing black shareholding and ensuring black-run businesses would provide at least half the services in both consortiums.

After next year's elections, the ANC is likely to hold sway over government including parastatal shareholders Telkom (50 percent of Vodacom) and Transnet (20 percent of MTN). This

means ANC government interests
will score every time you insert your
Vodacard.

The solution fits ANC policy of a
mixed economy between the private
and public sector, and of empowering
blacks disadvantaged by apartheid.

But the Government accuses the
ANC of blowing hot and cold on
nationalisation to suit itself. This
showed it was not a coherent politi-
cal party and was open to influence
by different factions, notably Cosatu.

â\200\234It makes the whole process of
negotiation difficult and undermines
the credibility of . agreements
reached.â\200\235 Government sources com-

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M Early warning: ANC leader
says South Africa's civil - -
service will be reshaped under
anew government.

civil service after April, warns Ramaphosa

TOUGHTALK ...
~ANC leaders |

By Tom Ymusm

could expect significant reconsiruc-
tion al high levels after next yearâ\200\231s
general eleclion, ANC secretary-gen-
eral Cyril Ramaphosa warned yes-
{erday.

However, this did nol imply mass
retrenchments of exisling civil ser-
vice staff,

"A new government should nol
wanl lo see an increase in levels of
unemployment. Dismissals will be
avoided as much as possible,â\200\235
Ramaphosa said. "Rather, we want a

Â« which the country is moving. We can-
nol continue to have a civil service
that is still committed Lo apartheid,â\200\235
he said.

The ANC understood there was
nervousness and inseaurily about the
fulure within the existing civil ser-

vice and it sought to reassure them.

A new government is responsible for addressing these insecurities, but in so doing will have to balance that with the expectations of our people,

Our people have been locked out for

London - South Africa's civil service -

change in direction. We want a civil-service that will enhance the way in

- Cyril

So long, Ramaphosa said. He was in London yesterday. to

address a group of ANC trainees at 2 British civil service college.

Their six-week course is sponsored by the Overseas Development Administration and includes a two-week attachment period to a British government department. -

- Ramaphosa said the experience: -

gained through this training would ensure that South Africa's new government was close to the people, sensitive to their needs and responsive to their expectations.

The training course is open to all political parties and members of the PAC and Inkatha have already participated.

The experience that our people

are gaining here will ensure that we emerge not only with a good civil ser-

vice but with a good constitution, Ramaphosa said. ;

Ramaphosa . .
(left) and Thabo Mbeki - JE&
V, Mbeki (fight) - -

He thanked the British people for their commitment to the struggle against apartheid and for their continuing assistance during the transi-

tion to democracy.

The negotiation process, he said,
was moving - towards reality but

{there remained much work to be
done. - - vi s dy o
~2-â\200\234The negotiating -process s eur-
.. rently facing a few difficulties in that
- a number of parties have walked out
â\200\234and formed {heinselves into the

Freedom Alliance.

*This should correctly be called
the Apartheid Alliance.â\200\235 Rama-
phosa said the ANC remained com-
mitted to holding discussions with
the alliance, but this did not mean

" the negotiating process would be
â\200\234delayed any further. : '

â\200\234We hope that tomorrow they will
bring forward new proposals that
will pull us out of the current dead-

We'll fashion a new-style anti-apartheid:

â\200\234Yoek, A

â\200\234If they do so we are prepared to
give serious consideration to their
needs,â\200\235 Ramaphosa said. :

Meanwhile, at Limassol in
Cyprus, ANC national chairman
Thabo Mbeki told delegates at the
Commonwealth = Heads = of
Government Meeting (CHOGM) that

Â¥ â\200\230he was sure the organisation under-
" stood South Africa's economic prob-

lems and wanted to see a stable
country. .

-Thus he was confident -that it

" would take a decision in principle to

underwrite a negotiated settlement.
â\200\234Otherwise,â\200\235 he said, "we will be in
very serious trouble indeed in South
Africa.â\200\235 But he admitted that he did
not know what the Commonwealth's
capacity would be to assist the new
South Africa economically, =

- The 37 Commonwealth leaders

attending this {wo-yearly Heads of
Government Meeting (CHOGM) went
into {their customary weekend retreat
at the coastal resort of Paphos yesterday. '

They are expected to issue a statement responding to Mbeki's appeal and setting out more fully the position they have reached on South Africa. B :

Mbeki and the ANC's Mondli Maimane are attending CHOGM as guests of the rotating hosts, this time the Cyprus government, . v+ 77

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WINNIE welcomes policemen who take an oath to serve their communities

Time for war talk over

. m Serving the people:

More than 500 members of *
the Police and Prisons
Civil Rights Union in the
PWV region yesterday -
took an oath binding them
to the communities they
serve.

BY JoviaL Ranvao
POLITICAL REPORTER

WE WANT a policeman to be
someone you can ask directions
from, not someone to throw petrol
bombs at, Winnie Mandela told
black policemen and prison warders
at a Popercu rally at Soweto's Orlando
Stadium yesterday.

She stood at attention in front of a
mixed SAP/Umkhonto We

~

Sizwe/Apla platoon, saluted the
men, and described the occasion,
which was granted last minute per-
mission by the police to proceed le-
gally, as historic.

In my wildest dreams I never
thought I would stand here address-
ing the system, she said, and turned
towards the policemen. I'm sure
that you also never thought that
you'd attend a meeting addressed by
some of us, unless you were on
duty.

After the oath, Maxwell Nema-
zivhanani, Pan Africanist Congress
national organiser, said the day
would come when not a single bullet
from the Azanian People's Libera-
tion Army would be directed against
black policemen.

Mandela, chairman of the south-
ern Transvaal region of the South
African National Civic Organisation,

accepted a copy of an oath from
Popercu president General Gregory
Rockman. The oath binds the police-
men to the communities they serve.
Popercu members recited the oath
after Rockman, and pledged to
serve all communities irrespective
of colour, creed, race or religion in

an unbiased and impartial manner.
Mandela acknowledged that both
sides â\200\224 the communities and the po-
lice â\200\224 were brought together by
realities of the struggle for freedom.

â\200\234You were rightfully isolated by
the communities and your families
and people hated you not as individ-
uals, but for the system of apartheid
you joined,â\200\235 she said.

By joining the police force, Man-
dela said, black policemen put them-
selves in a no-win situation. They
were not trusted by their white
counterparts, who saw them as

spies, nor by their communities,
which regarded them as sell-outs.

Mandela observed that the two
parties had been brought together
by the violence which has hit the
townships.

â\200\234That is why they've become use-
less to the SAP. The SAP is firing
Poperuy members because theyâ\200\231re a
stumbling block to Third Force acti-
vities,â\200\235 she said.

The SAP did not understand that
there would be no peace until the
entire police force enjoyed the sup-
port of the communities they served.
â\200\234We are there to make sure that you
enjoy that support. The time for war
talk is over. The time for recon-
struction and development is now,â\200\235
she said, declaring war on poverty.

That, Mandela warned, was not an
indication that the communities
were giving up the right to defend
themselves.

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M Nats weakening: The ANC
alliance programme of mass
action is softening up the Nats
intime for April 27.

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By Davip Brenr

PANIC bells are ringing in Govern-
meni as they realise that on April 27
the once-mighly Nats could look like
a pilifl and weak ex-Governmenl
unable to attracl new voters or stand
up to the ANC.

Late this week President de Klerk
complained about what he said was a
conceried strategy (o undermine the
Government before {he Âçlections.

Bul ANC sources are unsympatlet-
ic, saying the Nats eould not expect
lo be allowed to use their power
image hased on 45 years of apartheid
rule to benefit themselves in the
elections.

Politicians across the spectrum say
â\200\234insurrectionistâ\200\235 elements in the

ANC aims to make Nats look weak

ANC-Cosalu-SACP alliance are using
this sofllening-up sirategy to weaken
the NPâ\200\231s position. Their plan is that

the Government must be made to keep on backing down on issues such as the petrol price and must be seen to lose control of the streets.

This would turn the Nats into an unappealing prospect for new voters, especially for coloured and Indian voters as well as some blacks seeking a strong council

transferred power to a duly constituted Government of National Unity and to avert the proposed elections.

There are, at the moment, concerted efforts across the spectrum to undermine this position and to establish a de facto interim government by trying to limit the Government's ability to take effective day-to-day administrative decisions," he said.

DP spokesman Tony Leon said

members of the

to the ANC.

De Klerk complained about the attempt to undermine the Government

the CAMPAIGN ISSUE :

Cosatu objects to a provision in

ANC alliance were aiming to create conditions on the ground which would

be met before the elections.

He said it had been the accepted position that the Government would continue to govern South Africa until

the proposed Bill of Rights allowing employers to lock out striking workers. It also opposes tenure for civil servants, especially whites. -

And the federation objects to the Freedom Alliance, a possible refer-

endum and to regional powers.

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show the Govesu-
ment had lost
control and it was
betler for first-
time voters â\200\234to
throw in their lot
with those who
can exercise con-
trolâ\204ç.

Some ANC members have ex-
pressed doubt about the wisdom of
the mass action campaign now gel-
ling under-way. ANC finance spokes-
man Trevor Manuel said the planned
Cosatu strike on November 15 would
undermine investor confidence.

Cosatu forms the nucleus of mass
action planned over the next few
weeks. Observers have noted that
Cosatu appeared to have decided
first to flex its muscles and then
looked for the reasons. So far it has
given five reasons for its campaign.

In addition Cosatu is the driving
force behind mass action due to be-
gin tomorrow against the petrol price
despite the Government's decision to
cut the price by 2c a litre.

The fuel-related action is due to
blockade petrol depots, oil compa-
nies and Government offices and
could bring cities to a standstill. It
begins in the Eastern Cape and will
roll around the country, reaching the
Transvaal on November 8.

THE SUNDAY STAR, 24 OCTOBER 1995

Mokaba dials M for money

m Capitalist road: A

share of the action in a
probably lucrative
business is coveted by the
. ANC Youth League.

i By BRENDAN SEERY,
VicTor DLAMINI AND
Tont YOUNGHUSBAND

FIREBRAND ANC Youth League
leader Peter Mokaba wants to buy
into the lucrative cellular phone
business.

Mokaba disclosed to the Sunday
Star that he wants the ANC Youth
League to acquire a share in the
equity of the two cellular phone li-
cences, to give the league â\200\234finan-
cial independenceâ\200\235 from the ANC
after the April 27 election.

~ â\200\234We want to get in at the equity
' side, because that is where the de-
| cisions â\200\224 about the technology to be
! used, and so on â\200\224 are made.â\200\235

Mokaba said he envisaged that
any money for a Youth League â\200\234buy
in" to the industry, would come from
the ANC.

His remarks come in the wake
of this week's agreement between
the ANC, Cosatu. and the two cellu-

MONEY-
SPINNER
Â« oo youth
leader Peter
Mokaba.

lar phone licences, Vodacom and
Mobile Telephone Network (MTN).
The agreement provides that Vo-
dacom and MTN increase the equity
held by black business, and commit
themselves to involving at least 50
percent of black business people as

â\200\234service providersâ\200\235.

In return, the ANC, Cosatu and the Posts and Telecommunications workersâ\200\231 union would recognise the validity of the cellular phone licences issued to MTN and Vodacom. :

And, despite this weekâ\200\231s agreement, ANC information technology chief Andile Ngcaba indicated that the organisation is considering a â\200\234backdoor nationalisationâ\200\235 of Vodacom. He told the Sunday Star the ANC wanted parastatal Telkom'â\200\231s shareholding in the consortium increased to a controlling 51 percent. Telkom has not yet been privatised and control over it would be exercised by a future government.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said it was a â\200\234distortionâ\200\235 to describe the organisationâ\200\231s attitude on cellular phones as nationalisation. However, he said the ANC was concerned that the public sector maintained a majority shareholding in any cellular phone operations.

Ramaphosa said the ANC felt that telephones, like water and electricity Services, were a â\200\234national assetâ\200\235 and should therefore operate for the benefit of all South Africans.

He also disclosed that the ANC's investment company, Thebe Investments, had dropped its cellular phone bid. Â¢

Gwala re-elected as

Maritzburg â\200\224 Harry Gwala was yesterday re-elected chairman of the African National Congressâ\200\231 Natal Midlands region.

This could mean he may have to resign as an elected National Executive Committee member, as holding both positions is not allowed in terms of the ANC's constitution.

Earlier yesterday the ANC Midlands regional conference was reprimanded by president Nelson Mandela for electing Gwala to the position of chairman last year.

Mandela told delegates they had contravened official ANC policy and requested them to abide by the movement's constitution and act as disciplined members of the organisation. :

Gwala later told delegates he

~ would rather resign from the NEC

ANC Natal chairman

than rescind his regional leadership position.

He explained that he preferred working at the grassroots level, particularly in Natal, where a war was raging, and where he could best: serve his constituency.

It was not clear yesterday whether Gwala would resign from the top 50-member ANC leadership structure.

However, as a regional chairman Gwala would be appointed to the NEC as an ex-officio member anyway, ANC officials explained.

Gwalaâ\200\231s newly elected deputy is Midlands traditional leader Chief Zibuse Mlaba, while Sifiso Nkabinde retained his position as secretary.

John Jefferey was elected deputy secretary, while Zweli Mkhize was elected treasurer. â\200\224 Sapa. - -

PALACE COUP? . _ | Holo

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ndela.

No secession, warns Mandela

By Brian King

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected the idea of KwaZulu seceding from South Africa.

Responding to IFPP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to secede if KwaZulu was not given a federal option, Mandela said: "The

people of South Africa and the peo---

ple of KwaZulu will decide that." Meanwhile, Transkei leader Major General Bantye Holomisa yesterday urged the ANC delegates to be prepared for a palace coup surrounding President de Klerk. Holomisa said that should National Party caucus members defect to the CP or IFP and De Klerk - was forced to resign before the April 27 election, the ANC would

have to have a plan of action. - -

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ANC: All parties with significant support should par-

ticipate meaningfully in the "

interim government of national unity, but the majority should be able to rule effectively. A deputy president from the second most popular party could boost reconciliation.

GOVERNMENT: Originally supported consensus decision-making in cabinet, but this could be adapted to loaded majorities and a significant role for a deputy president coming from a different party to the president.

DP: There should be no rigid decision-making method in cabinet, but a prime minister should be appointed to ensure the accountability of cabinet

to Parliament.

PAC: The ruling party should appoint the executive, which should be accountable to Parliament. There should be no forced coalition in the executiveâ\200\231

FREEDOM ALLIANCE:
No official view on this.

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

THERE seems to be widespread support among parties at talks for a separate constitutional court, but the judiciary is at odds with this

â\200\234busine

interfere with the work of the constituent assembly.

. FREEDOM ALLIANCE:
Should be a separate court,

but not independent of the Appellate Division, Judges should not take office as poli-

- tical appointments.

DEADLOCK

IT HAS been proposed that if the constituent assembly cannot agree on a final constitution by a two-thirds majority within two years of the first election, deadlock-breaking mechanisms should come into effect. This entails a number of complicated procedures but essentially the constitution approved by a simple majority of members of the constituent assembly will be put to a referendum. If it does not receive the support of 80 percent of the voters, the constituent assembly will be dissolved and new elections held. A simple majority of those elected will approve a constitution.

ANC: Insists that a final constitution is adopted within fixed time frames but is flexible about the mechanisms to

achieve this. In particular, the '

organisation appears to have distanced itself from the idea that, in the final event, the

SS

constitution can be approved by a simple majority.

GOVERNMENT: Also flexible on the mechanisms to be employed but its bottom line is that it will not accept the idea of a ' constitution being approved by a simple majority. Supports the idea of 60% approval in a referendum should it be necessary :

DP: There should never be less than a two-thirds majority in the constituent assembly or a referendum. If such a majority cannot be attained on a clause, the version in the interim constitution should remain in force.

PAC: A two-thirds majority should be required to entrench a clause. If such a majority is not possible on a particular

THE SUNDAY STAR, 24 OCTOBER 199

ONLY SIX MONTHS to go before crucial poll, yet negotiators drag their feet

Election peace force
exists only on paper

M Get a move on: With six months to
polling day. little has been done to set
up a National Peacekeeping Force and
other election structures. :

NEARLY three months ago a Goldstone Com-
mission panel urged "there is literally not a
moment to waste" in setting up a joint peace-
keeping force in time for the elections.

With only six months to go to polling day on
April 27, nothing physically has been done to set
up the proposed multiparty National Peace-
keeping Force (NPF) to prevent election vio-
lence.

The 10000-strong NPF is to include members
of the SADF, SAP, as well as the ANC armed
wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and other para-mili-
tary forces in equal proportions, to create a neu-
ral politically acceptable peacekeeping force
in the run-up to elections.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) Bill
passed last month makes provision for it, but the

. NPF at present exists on paper only.

Transitional mechanisms are only due to be
put into effect once the full package of deals
negotiated at the World Trade Centre is agreed
on - supposedly next month.

The time delay also applies to other transi-
tional bodies, including the TEC itself, the
Independent Media Commission, the Indepen-
dent Electoral Commission and the Indepen-
dent Broadcasting Authority. Parties are only
now in the process of nominating their repre-
sentatives on the TEC.

This means that. even if all goes smoothly over
the next few weeks, the entire transitional
mechanism will have only five months to carry
out its tough mandate of levelling the playing
fields for elections.

And with the Christmas off-season interven-
ing, it has in effect four productive months at the
most to do the job.

Work on setting up the crucial NPF can only
begin later next month and, according to mili-
tary sources, it will take at least two to three
months to organise, recruit and train, giving the

. NPF barely two months of existence until elec-

tions - hardly enough time to mould a new combined force of former enemies.

With politicians working to their own relaxed

| timetable, the SA Police has in the meantime

.gopg Ahead and set up its own new foreg

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POLITICAL ST

CORRESPONDENT |

signed to prevent intimidation during the elections.

This week the SAP announced a new Unrest and Violent Crime Investigation Unit for this purpose.

Security sources said the setting up of this unit was a reminder o politicians to get on with the job of countering violence in the Â£lections.

SAP spokesman Ruben Bloomberg said the police had made proposals for the NPF but had no feedback yet. He said the NPF's main func-

tion would be deal with â\200\234hotspotsâ\200\235 during the - election.

He, like Das Herbst of the Ministry of Defence, said it was up to the politicians to decide when to ;;t up the NPF. â\200\234It's not in our hands,â\200\235 Herbst said.

Herbst said the SADF was geared to begin work to supply the logistics, but he said it was already late. as he estimated the NPF could only be set up by mid-February. i

The NPF faces even more headaches as the Inkatha Freedom Party and other members of the Freedom Alliance (FA) have snubbed participation in any transitional structures so far.

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the NPF, giving it barely
two months of existence

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IFP controlled KwaZulu operates the Kwa-
Zulu Police and the IFP recently set up its own
200\234private army 200\235 which could qualify to serve 204
the NPF. }

But unless the FA reaches a settlement, the
NPF could find its hands full countering [FP
and KwaZulu forces during the election 204 cam-
paign. ;

In addition. the PAC and its armed wing Apla
are also sabbing the transitional structures.
adding to the NPF's problems. Apla has threat-
ened to shoot at MK members on the NPF.

_ With the NPF and other transitional struc-
tures set to have such a short lifespan before
elections, questions are being asked whether it
has been worth the while to go through such an
elaborate exercise to 200\234level the playing fields 200\235
for elections for such a short period

Some political observers believe the real
motive for setting up the NPF is not to use it as

an effective peacekeeping force but o neu-
tralise unemployed and potentially dangsrous
members of MK and other private armies during
the election campaign by occupying their ener-
gies in the NPF.

And the Government is said to favour a very -
short life and limited power for the TEC as the
Nats want their own power image as â\200\234the Gov-
ernmentâ\200\235 to survive as close as possible to the
election as a vote-catching pioy.

The TEC and other transitional structures,
with such a short lifespan, will have to depend
on Government departments to heip thex out.
The Government could end up playing a far
greater role in the elections than the ANC had Â°
bargained for. :

This could be why the Government is in no
great hurry to set up the TEC, but accepts the
elections will be on April 27.

As time catches up with negotiators and so
much remains to be done, there appears to be no
weakening of their will to retreat from April 27.

. ANC leader Nelson Mandela is adamant about
the date and the Government agrees.

But the Freedom Alliance, which is engaged
in bilateral talks with both, thinks it can delay
the elections. President FW de Klerk believes a
referendum will put the alliagce in its piace
Mandela believes if talks with the alliance dÂ¢
ot work, the elections should simply go ahea

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â\200\234bm of rightsâ\200\235 section of the copstitution partieipation in the two consort
iums,
~ which states that â\200\234every person shall have The ANC hasalso threatened to.
â\200\230the right! to lifeâ\200\235. RAP nationalise the highly profitable " |
I fiis comments â\200\230onâ\200\231 behalf. of. the iy pharmaceutical industry because of
its -
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.. Was worded would
*"outlaw abortion. ' |
-~ .He said: â\200\234... ntxs'
- part of our law. that "Â\$8
â\200\234 the foetus is entitled.
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ott and fellow NP leader

D?na.lr:1 Schutte made a brief ap-
pearance at the youth congress
where they were heralded with un-
likely chants of â\200\234ivaâ\200\235 from smiling -

youths wearing T love Wâ\204ç

rs Bartlett gave a st
?edemhsm, saying "we W&ntxoul:
own constitution for Natal-Rwa
Zulu . . . this must accommodate us
whether we are Zulus, Imhans, or

-. whites".â\200\224Sapa.

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Buthelez1 fires back at Man ela

AN angry Inkatha Freedom Party
president Mangosuthu Buthelezi

~On Saturday accused African Nat-
ional Congress [eader Nelson Man-
dela of generating anarchy in the
EwaZulu region one day and the
next day turning to the people with
â\200\234facile gestures of peaceâ\204ç.

Addressing a gathering at Mada-
denx in northern Natal, he said this

as hypoerisy and wag recognised
n such by the ANC in the region.

â\200\234The president of the ANC seems

to be an expert |n talking ont of

IF both sides of his mouth when he

\| talks peaceinone breath and inthe
next vilifles us by calling us all
som ofvile names.

e have never answered him in
kind ln the interests of peace andâ\200\231

reconciliation. Some of you 'may

have seen him on TV during his vis- ;

its abroad and even last Thursday
night,â\200\235 Buthelezi said.

He smd bis message to Mandela
â\200\234You cannot one day recruit
unpressxonable young childen to
learn to kill other black people and
generate anarchy in the regiog, and
the next day turn to them with fac-
ile gestures of peace.â\200\235

The [FP leader said there was
only one way to stop the ANC and
the government in their tracks and
that was to actively demonstrate to
South Africa and the world that
there was a force powerful enough
to oppose them.

â\200\234We will act under the banner of
the Freedom Alliance and fight to-
get.her for our demands for federal-
ism and a strong democratic consti-
tunon before elections,â\200\235 he aaig. .

" ~Sapa.

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QAood

Commonwealth leaders fret X
over half-hearted Britain

THE MOST heartfelt defence
of the Commonwealth during
the Heads of Government
meeting in Cyprus came neither
from John Major nor Paul
Keating but from a one-time
guerrilla with a less than whole-
hearted commitment to multi-
party democracy.

Smiling broadly, Yoweri

Museveni, the Ugandan Presi-
dent, last week described his
English-style school syllabus,
which left him with an under-
standing of the geology of Brit-
ain. The Commonwealth is
useful, he argued: "At the Org-
anisation of African Unity I
speak through interpreters.

Here I speak with people from

the South Pole directly. The
English brought their language
and forced it on us but we have
"captured it. I think this is a use-
ful starting point."

* . It was a rare outburst in
support of an institution whose
raison d'être is the subject of
much questioning. Most of
the 50 heads of government un-
dertake their traditional retreat
today. For most Commonwealth

wealth leaders this meeting is
primarily a round of drinking, -.

drinking and diplomatic net-

working. Better still, all this is

well away from the TV cameras.
The delegates are housed in a

scaled zone of seaside hotels
from which they emerge, occa-
sionally, for receptions aboard:
the Royal Yacht Britannia.

- Given the opportunity to
network in private it is little

wonder That many of the world
leaders value the meeting,
â\200\234Amid all the waffle,â\200\235 said one
British delegate, â\200\234there is con-
stant contact. I saw Benazir
Bhutto at the Menidien Hotel;

one minute she was talking to .

the president of the Maldives,
the next to John Major.â\200\235
Astde from its function as

an Ã@lite club, there lies uncer-

tainty about what heads of gov-
.ermmmment are doing in Cyprus,

and worry about a lack of Icad-

ership from Britain,

In fact many important pol-

_ iticians are not there at all. One

veteran described the line-up of
heads of government as the
least impressive ever scen at
such 2 meeting, The prime min-
isters of India, Canada and New
Zealand are absent â\200\224 these
countrics are heling elections.
But in the case of [ndia the fail-

ure of the Prime Minister to at-

tend chimes with a lack of

.enthusiasm for the institution. -

Cnitics know that Britain is less
concerned with its Common-
wealth links thaa its European
Communirv ties nr ite relatian.

From Stephen Castle
in Limassol

ship with the United States.
They sense both a lack of ener-
gy and an unwillingness to de-
vote resources, as proved by the
British decision to cut funding
for the Commonwealth Insti-
tute. Some also suspect latent
racism in Britain's ambivalence.

India was central to the cre-
ation of the Commonwealth as
it was the first republic to stay
within the grouping (unlike Ire-
land and Burma). But 46 years
on it is a big enough regional
power to forge its own alliznces,
diminishing the relevance :of
the Commonwealth as a diplo-

matic instrument. According to

the Indian journalist G H Jap- "

sen it is such a large cou

with such problems that we.
don't want anything else to wor-
ly about. We don't think about

the Commonwealth,
These doubts are multi-
plied by the lack of a clear and

incisive agenda now that South

Africa is no longer a bone of
contention. This, in turn, al-

lowed the early stages of the
meeting to be taken over by the .

Cyprus issue. Officials believe
that the attempt to handle the

Armenian case-

of the invasion of 1974 rebound-
ed on the Cypriots. So too, they
say, did the noisy demonstra-
tion against the Queen when
she was presented with keys to
the city of Nicosia. Britain had
fought against Cyprus being the
venue but was stymied when the
New Zealand government re-
fused to host this year's meeting
because of elections there.

They have done the decent

thing by offering to host the
next event in 1995.

The other themes highlight-
ed by the Commonwealth suf-
fered mixed fortunes. The
commitment to democracy and
good government will feature in

" the final communiqué. But it

was complicated by the pres-
ences of a handful of leaders
with few democratic creden-

tials, such as Captain Valentine
Strasser, the designer-clad

young Sierra Leone ruler. A
number of countries, including
Zambia and Kenya, have
moved towards democracy, but
progress is slow.

On GATT the conference

had more success, agreeing to-

send ministers to European

* capitals to press for a settle-

ment. [t was seen as an cffective
oounterblust to the French,
whose Commonwealth equiva-

speaking states ' recently re-
ccived fierceÂ® lobbying of the
Paris line on trade talks.

But there is more than 2
suspicion that the French are
doing things better. Richard
Gunn, a member of the delega-
tion of St Vincent and the
Grenadines, said: â\200\234The Com-
monwealth works for us, partic-
ularly in areas like technical
assistanoe where its agcncis
are of immense help. Bt it is
seen to be slightly dirainishing
while the French equivalent
seems to be gaining strength.â\200\235

â\200\230That view is shared ir Lon-
don as well. As a Conservative
Foreign Office minister, Sir
Richard Luce, now UK chais-
man of the Commonwealth
Foundation, helped rally UN
support for the British pasition
after the invasion of the Falk-
land Islands. He belieres Com-
monwealth votes swung the
decision his way. He argucs that
this bank of goodwill is being
wasted. â\200\234Somehow the Eritish
governmeat is getting the per-
ception that there is oo Hritish

interest here,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234I would .

like to think the Gowrnment
could be more positive ebout 2n
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1993

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Dictator overthrows himself

AS A military dictator, Ban-
tubonke Holomisa is one of
the most ubiquitous products
of modern Africa.

But in opbe essential
respect he does not conform
lo the usual image of a mod-
ern Major-General in black
Africa. Not only does he
intend relinquishing power
six months from now, but he
will then entirely abolish his

" country.

Major-General Holomisa,
who became military ruler of
Transkei six years ago, has
emerged as one of the most
influential political figures in
South Africa â\200\224 [rom which
Transkei is theoretically
â\200\234independentâ\200\235, The 38-year-
old soldier is a thorn in the

" side of State President F. W

de Klerk but a rose in the
lapel of South African Presi-
dent-in-waiting Nelsoa
Mandela.

Transkei took nominal
independence in 1970, as a
state for the seven million-
strong Xhosa-speaking
peoples. *Pretoria went oul
of its way to make Transkei
look credible by making it
financially viable,â\200\235 said
Archie Nkonyeni, an Umtata
businessinen, Methodist lay

preacher and President of the South African Chamber of Commerce for black businesses. â\200\234*They poured money in.

The funds still pour in, mak-

ing Transkei an Alice in Wonderland of a state. This year Transkei's budget will be nearly Â£1-2 billion, of which Â£1 billion will come from Pre-

Transkei leader to abolish his country

toria in subsidies. The consequences are bizarre.

Transkei is fundamentally one of the poorest regions of South Africa. It has no natural minerals. Its soils are poor, eroded and overpopulated. It has little industrial base. Nowhere along its spectacular 160-mile â\200\234Wild Coastâ\200\235 shoreline is there a natural harbour. And yet Umtata, the capital, is a small thriving well-run town. Its shops, half white-owned, are filled with goods. The housing would not look out of place in a Surrey dormitory suburb. But it is all sustained by wages paid to 70,000 Transkeian civil servants drawn from taxes on South Africans.

The hand-outs still arrive, even though Holomisa has made his state a stronghold for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and their military wings.

Holomisa regularly thumbs his nose at President de Klerk and General Kat Licbenberg, the Chief of the South African Defence Force. After the SADF launched a grossly incompetent raid on a house belonging to Apla (the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army), the PAC's armed wing, a fortnight ago, Holomisa ordered the expulsion of the only ambassador accredited to Umtata, South Africaâ\200\231s

by Fred Bridgland
in Umtata, Transkei

Horace van Rensburg. Pretoria meekly complied, and went along with Holomisa's demand that white SADF troops guarding the embassy be replaced with black soldiers recruited into the South African Army since the political reform process began four years ago. -

The reputation of Holomisa in Xhosa-speaking areas - soared. There were brief anti-white riots, but Umtata's 7,000 whites are staying put, knowing that

4 You can't rule out a coup.
- After all, this is Africa?

violence is much worse in places like Johannesburg and Durban.

Holomisa survives through astuteness he has thwarted two Pretoria-inspired coup attempts and through knowing that he sits in the heartland of the ANC and PAC. Nelson Mandela and the PAC leader, Clarence Makwelu, were both born in the Transkei and maintain homes here. The assassinated South African

Communist Party leader, Chris Hani, was also born and raised in the Transkei.

Holomisa works closely with both the ANC and the PAC, organisations De Klerk cannot afford to offend in the final approach to next April's

first all-race general election. Mandela believes Holomisa's

popularity can help secure nearly the entire Xhosa vote for the ANC.

De Klerk could easily cut off Transkei's money or send a battalion of troops to overthrow the military dictator, but it would wreck the con-

stitutional negotiations and possibly provoke civil war.

The general took power in a peaceful coup six years ago from the Transkei president, Chiel Kaiser Matanzima, whose regime was acknowledged as financially corrupt.

Holomisa set about cleaning up the administration, refusing to move into State House and living in a sub-

urban bungalow with his wife and three children. Asked why he had not

allowed a plebiscite in Transkei since then, he told the Sunday Telegraph: "I like the ideal of democracy, but we would have had to allow the PAC and ANC to participate. They said they would have no part of a Bantustan election. But we got the mandate of our people, who overwhelmingly support the ANC and PAC, to join in the

.

negotiations for a new South Africa. We are going to issue a decree enacting all the legislation adopted at the World Trade Centre [in

- Johannesburg, where South

Africa's constitutional negotiations are taking place].

Our people will vote in

the general election on April 27, 1993, and after that we will be reincorporated into the new South Africa. The Transkei independent homeland will cease to exist. I won't have any problem giving it up. The honeymoon for other homeland leaders and myself will be over.

It has been widely assumed that Mandela's reward to Holomisa will be a cabinet post in six months time. But Holomisa, trained as a paratrooper by the SADF, told me: "If Sandhurst were to offer me a staff course, I'd be glad of an 18-month holiday. Our standards are based on those of

the British Army.â\200\235

This suggests that Hlo-
misa is aiming to become: the
first black chief of the SADF.
In that position he might be a
diticoll man for an ANC
government to deal with.

Asked whether he thought
he was likely to have been
South Africaâ\200\231s Jast military
dictator, he replied: â\200\234I'm
only hopeful about libe
future, not optimistic.
Unless you come up with a
culturc of democracy prac-
tised on a daily basis, you
can't rule out a coup. After
all, this is Africa.â\200\235

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Inketiia Py edoth Party; KAREN MAC GREGOR talked to several of
thÂ© â\200\230new â\200\230Wlute Zulusâ\200\235 about: their redsons for joining the pa:rt,
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sion,. but the{ most common are
.that the â\200\230partyâ\200\231s policies are con-.

secyatrde; capitalist, Christian
'and conSistent FFP chief minis-

ter Mr Mangosuiiny Buthelezi is

seen as!a strong leader who
" Standsup to the ANC. | -

" The IFP is a Zulu-based party, irty, -

- and many whitt South: m

have a romantic: me' ipect â\200\230for-the

.Zulus, conquerors of the past, -

-and proud,

- lists of the present. â\200\234Zolus havez

disciplined traditiona- "

strong sense of patriotism,â\200\235

says Gavin Woods, director of .

" the Inkatha Institute. â\200\234Afrilan-

" ers, especially, can identify mth

that s i

â\200\230my support, and â\200\230they have lost. -

- all central. The ANC has beaten

them into submission, .

â\200\234I think the only real leader is =

Mr Buthelezi, He started off ' ' ,

of principles and has g

Stuck to them.. But what I really

~ like about. the IFP, is its commitment. -

merit to federalism. The whole.

world: is sliding into little States.

Geography many Natal is ideally !

suited to that

Mr Cadman has gamed a by

few meetings must owe for the

IFP and say â\200\230the party's mem-

bership drive is going quite well, '

- With whites, coloureds and In-

'dians joining,

Further down the coast. at a.

gathering held in the sumptuous '

Durban North home -of [P or-

garrison Ed Tilletâ\200\231s parentsâ\200\231 a

similar range of people discussed

setting up anâ\200\231 interim steering

committee to establish several

new branches in white, Indian

and coloured suburbs.

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Incentive

For diehard Natalians there is the added incentive of IFP insistence on a federal solution for South Africa, and for farmers there are the party's promises not to confiscate land.

The IFP does not ask the race of its members, so it has no record how many white people have

. joined. But in the past year more * than 30 IFP regional offices have

opened up in white areas around

" the country, and scores more

branches are planned.

In Vryheid, when NP MP Jurie Mentz â\200\234crossed the floor" to the

" IFP earlier this year he took

many of his voters with him. His party secretary, Marika van der Merwe, reckons â\200\234hundredsâ\204¢.

The IFP is convinced there will be a flood of new white members in the run-up to April elections. This could be campaign hype. but has been given

. some validity by a Human Sci-

ences Research Council voter survey in which people who said

- they would vote for the NP over-

whelmingly gave the IFP as

- their second choice.

Not all white JFP members, of course, are formerly National Party. Charles Cadman is a

" sugar cane farmer near Eshowe,

on the Natal North Coast, who

" used to vote for the New Repub-

lic Party. He joined the IFP in

~ April

I see the IFP as the only effective opposition to the ANC,
- which I do not believe is really

- committed to democracy. They

- speak with forked tongues. I am also not convinced that the NP has reformed enough to warrant

" The split has caused some tension, says Vryheid cattle farmer

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Mr 'f dÃ©t said &fi¬\202uei¬\201t new

IFP affiliates should be prepared

to help those brivichies it ride
We must promote a self-sufficient
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supporters, he-wargeas

always be easy to bridge. - -
But the smorgasbord of [FP

support is broadening, and the
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cand cucumber sandwiches. must

people who eat br

forge ahead with common -
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.. IFP recruits at the meeting ' agreed with that, but were ~
cheesed off with Mr Buthelezi's
exit from muMi-party negotia- .

tions.

fast in white Vryheid, but that

hasn't stopped blocks of voters

i

moving from the NP to the IFP,
More extreme whites have
Joined the Conservative Party.

Leon Solms, whd wonâ\200\231t go to -
braais any more with old friends
who have joined the CP because
they only talk about politics and
fightingâ\200\235, and abuse his views.

He is still wavering about join-

ing the IFP, but his father and brother became members. after Chris Hani's assassination when the government allowed black protesters to run riot through city centres. The Soims family wants strong government. -

Leon Solms used to be chairman of the local NP branch, but lost interest two years ago. His political reawakening occurred at a commando seminar he attended in his capacity as a captain.

In the end we agreed the federal system would work best. People on the ground know more about what's going on in their

- area than guys at the top. We

don't want apartheid in reverse: It didn't work before and it won't work now. After the seminar things opened like a book. I realised the TFP and NP had very close policies :

Most white people share with the IFP a firm belief in capitalism. Chris McQuet, chairman of the IFP's Highway constituency, says the party's free enterprise policies and strong commitment to Christianity are the most common reasons why white people in his area join the party.

Also, they respect the discipline of the Zulus. When the IFP holds mass meetings, nothing is touched.

The Solms family, Charles Cadman and the Du Plessis family, too, share a soft spot for the Zulus. The Zulus were lied to, beaten and cheated by the Brit-

Mielie pap is the staple break-

WaverliG Leon SO; IS

' wants, / strong = government.

With him are Rosie Shongwe and Muntu Sibisi and his family. wife Joan and children Joseph, Leonard and Yolanda. Picture.' PAUL WEINBERG

ish. They were strong and they were crushed, along with their traditions and culture. Mr Cadman says :

â\200\234But the Zulus have risen above all that and re-established their culture. Many are traditional and conservative, and I see that as a strength. I think what is making people stand up and listen to the Zulus is that, in the turmoil of South Africa, they have stood up and said: â\200\230No, we donâ\200\231t want to be dominated again. We want control in our regionâ\200\231â\200\235:

Francois du Plessisâ\200\231s family passed down stories about Zulusâ\200\231 helping Afrikaner farmers against the English in the Boer War, and they remain grateful. He cites three reasons for joining the IFP and, as a believer himself, the main one is Mr Buthe-leziâ\200\231's and King Goodwill Zwelithiniâ\200\231s Christianity.

The Du Plessis farm is on one of the many edges of KwaZul, overlooking one of the king's palaces, and he describes a symbiotic relationship with the family's Zulu neighbours.

â\200\234When they need help they come to us, and when we need help we turn to them,â\200\235 he says.

â\200\234You know, A for Afrikaner starts off the alphabet and Z for

Zulu ends it. All the others are in

between. We go together and have always been close to each other..Then apartheid came and drove us apart. I was a fool for believing it was right.â\200\235

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POWERS OF REGIONS

MUCH heat has been generated by the list of exclusive regional powers in Section 118 of the proposed constitution.

The number and type of regional powers will determine the extent of federalism in the constitution. Key players are discussing ways of expanding this list,

ANC: Education and health cannot be exclusive regional functions because norms, standards and curricula need to be uniform and determined by central government. The system of regional government must be streamlined and cost-effective:

GOVERNMENT: The list

of exclusive powers for

regions compiled by the technical committee could be expanded, but national standards will have to be maintained.

DF: More powers, including education, health and public works, should be given exclusively to regions, and the capacity for central government to interfere with these should be eliminated

PAC: The power to make all laws should reside exclusively with central government. Provincial authorities should only be able to make regulations and by-laws

FREEDOM ALLIANCE:

Central government powers should be confined to national matters such as foreign affairs, trade and roads. Central government should determine standards for weights and measures, education and

health, for example, but substantive powers in these areas

should reside with regions. Regions should have the

power to impose taxes,

REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

COMMITTEES set up at the World Trade Centre have produced a map consisting of nine regions. The latest

RAY HARTLEY outlines the viewpoints of the main parties on five critical disputed aspects of the interim constitution, which has to be finalised by November 5

Ky

â\200\234Eastern-:

report, which is under discussion, includes extensive arguments for and against changing the proposed boundaries,

ANC: In general agrees with the boundaries proposed by the commission, but adds that these do not need to be finalised now. It suggests that the Northern Cape region should be divided between the North-West and Western Cape. Sasolburg should be in the OFS, not the PWV.

GOVERNMENT: Differs with commission proposal. Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and OFS and North-West region should be amalgamated

DP: The Eastern Cape and Kei regions should be separate and the Northern Cape region should be absorbed into the North-West, Western Cape and other regions. East Griqualand should be part of Natal and not the East Cape/Kei region as proposed Pre-

toria. should form its own Region separate from the rest of the PWV. Sasolburg should fall into the PWV region

PAC: Demarcation should be undertaken only by an elected constituent assembly

and only provincial boundaries in a unitary state should be demarcated.

FREEDOM ALLIANCE:

Those directly affected by boundary changes should have the final say on which region they would like to reside in. More grassroots views should be canvassed before boundaries are drawn,

THE CABINET

A multi-party cabinet has been proposed. How this cabinet will take decisions and the possibility of a deputy president from the party with the second most votes is the subject of behind-the scenes discussion