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weekly mail 28/1/94

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CIA!

Vosloorus will lease offices to committee

JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE Vosloorus Town Council said yesterday it had agreed to lease offices on its premises to the local Wits/Vaal peace committee, which would replace the Joint Operations Communications Centre on the East Rand.

According to Vosloorus town clerk George Prinsloo, the peace committee would be required to pay for the security fencing of their block of offices.

"We had a meeting with the local peace committee last week and agreed the office would be leased only to their local staff," said Prinsloo.

Members of the peace committee would be expected to pay rent.

The amount would be decided on when the committee took occupation.

The communications centre was previously housed at the Natalspruit Hospital in Katlehong on the East Rand, but the participants were evicted from the hospital this month.

Earlier Wits/Vaal Vosloorus co-ordinator Victor Mpahleli accused the council of denying the committee the right to lease the premises.

However, he confirmed yesterday that the council had agreed to give the committee offices and said he was satisfied with the premises.

New govt 'will have fiscal problems'

THE new government would find itself in an unenviable financial position as it would be forced to grapple with massive fiscal problems, Nedbank chief economist Edward Osborn said in the latest Nedbank quarterly guide to the economy.

"Deficits as a percentage of GDP of 8% and more are likely to be commonplace, making quaint the old prescriptive 3% ascribed to the IMF."

The fiscus would be under considerable pressure from the demands placed on it, the desire to use it as a principal means of distribution of income and benefit, and from the operations of the interest mechanism, he said.

The chance of alleviating the pressure by increasing revenue was small except through the usual benefits that flowed from economic recovery and growth.

"There would appear to be relatively little scope for shifting revenues up to a higher level, unless there is a reversal of the company income tax reform and irrational change in VAT to a three-tier struc-

KELVIN BROWN

ture with a high rate on so-called luxuries," Osborn said.

The urge to increase the public debt was likely to entrench the country in a public debt trap of utmost seriousness.

"It appears likely that there will be a sharp upward movement of central government expenditures on goods and services, only part of which will have counterpart funding from the World Bank and other aid agencies."

This did not bode well for the government's interest bill, already one of the most difficult problems to solve because of the accumulation of past deficits.

Public debt was budgeted to rise to 48% of GDP at the end of the current fiscal year from 34% in 1990.

Taking the additional deficit funding and the further support for the state pension funds into account, the interest-bearing public debt ratio by March 1994 could

be in excess of 50% of GDP, Osborn said.

"The larger point in Europe is considered to be 60%. At the rate SA is going it will not take long to reach this point and break through to higher levels."

The ANC's proposal to fund part of its reconstruction and development programme through a reconstruction bond would further add to the public debt problem, he said.

"Given the pressures on government expenditure and the need to keep deficit funding as low as possible, the incoming government must be critically concerned about the opportunities for increasing taxation revenues."

Middle-income taxpayers were already contributing nearly 45% of taxable income when the 14% on consumption expenditure was included.

"Bearing in mind there will be many emergent middle-income black taxpayers, it is unlikely that the rates will be increased" Osborn said.

To NIKKIE /

CURRENT AFFAIRS

COMMUNISTS AND THE ANC

Looking under the bed

Together with "lapsed" and "reconstructed" Marxists, there may well be up to 35 communists among the top 50 names on the ANC's national election list.

This campaign point was quickly seized on by the ANC's main election rival, the National Party, when the ANC unveiled its list of 200 candidates for the National Assembly at the weekend. (A second list, containing 200 national assembly candidates drawn from the nine provinces, is due to be published this week. Taken together with provincial candidates, the ANC lists will be only 20% communist, says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, at a loss to understand what the fuss is about).

The SA Communist Party (SACP), which, with Cosatu, is an ANC alliance partner, claims that only 16 of the first 50, or a total of 34 on the national list, are card-carrying members.

The point is that the first 50 are in line for high office in any ANC-led government. Whether this is cause for particular alarm seems doubtful. After all, communists are as well represented on the ANC's national executive committee. In one sense they are the ANC, just as, say, Chris Hani, a committed communist, was as much ANC as SACP. The link is nothing new.

The question is whether this heralds sinister collectivist policies. It seems unlikely, as is reflected in the wish-list that emerged from the ANC's reconstruction and strategy conference last weekend. The resolutions adopted leave ANC policy as "open" as ever, suggesting the leadership is trying to dampen expectations and wants to keep a variety of options open. In any event, international lending agencies like the World Bank won't entertain any socialist economics.

According to the SACP, the communists in the top 50 are: Joe Slovo (fourth on the list and almost certain to become a Cabinet Minister), Ronnie Kasrils (8), Sydney Mufamadi (9), Thozamile Botha (11th and the probable next Local Government Minister), Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkadimeng (28), Essop Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjwe Mthintso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39), Philip Dexter (41), Alec Erwin (45) and Shepard Mdladlana (50).

Mayekiso, Dlamini, Dexter, Erwin and Mdladlana are also leading Cosatu unionists, as, of course, was Jay Naidoo, who is sixth on the ANC list. Though not named as an SACP man, Naidoo is thought to have been a member or strong sympathiser until not long ago.

In the same category and a one-time admitted Marxist is ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa, listed number two after Nelson Mandela, which puts him in line to become deputy president under the new constitution. Mandela, at the Treason Trial, denied being a member of the SACP, but pointed out that communists were fraternal allies who at one time were the only group prepared to throw in their lot with the liberation struggle and provide the ANC with real assistance. He is not about to ditch the SACP, whose leading figure, Joe Slovo, is a valued adviser.

The ANC chairman and likely next Foreign Minister, Thabo Mbeki (3rd on the list), is perhaps the best known lapsed communist, followed by former Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada (7th) and Mac Maharaj (17th), a talented politician and formerly a senior SACP politburo member who has been a key organiser of the multi-party negotiations process and is a strong Ministerial contender.

Among the other acknowledged commu-

nists six more possibilities" which, if true, would make 35 of the top ANC candidate MPs communist. While these "possibles" are not named, it might be hazarded they include Winnie Mandela, Trevor Manuel and MK commander Joe Modise.

It is pointed out — in view of speculation that the ANC and SACP could go their separate ways after the election — that the new constitution obliges MPs to resign should they leave the party under whose banner they got elected, which means the ANC and SACP are locked together as a single entity for the duration of the next parliament.

"ANC denials that the SACP is playing an important role in the ANC and will continue to do so, do not take this reality into account," says the NP, which goes on to accuse the SACP of "desperately trying to conceal the facts and the full extent of their influence in the ANC and on the ANC's candidates list."

Even within the ANC, broad church that it is, there are those — perhaps peeved at not having been placed as high up on the list as they expected or were originally nominated by branch or region — who would go along with the charge of undue SACP influence in the ANC. After all, the small band of communists have always had a reputation for dedicated party political efficiency if not intrigue, notwithstanding the fact that their socialist beliefs have always found fertile ground among the ranks.

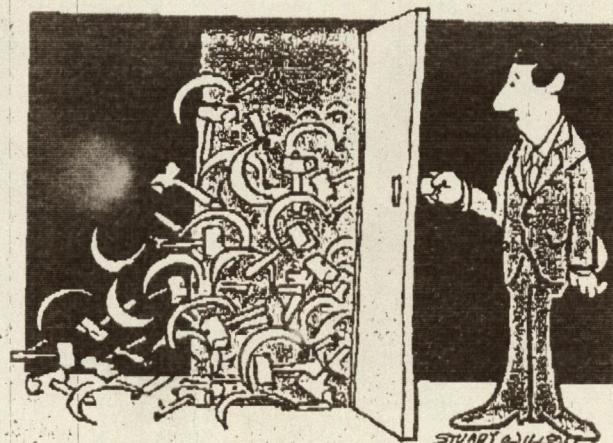
But with the death of communism in the former Soviet

Union, the world's last communist party, the SACP, now in "post-Bolshevik" mode has indubitably scaled down its socialist rhetoric and horizons and even come round to acknowledging that the free market has "a role" in a successful economy.

Whatever the precise number of communists high up on the ANC election list, the point, says Wits University's Tom Lodge, is that this has far less significance in today's world than it used to.

According to Lodge, some leading lights in the ANC may be classed as communists but have grown distant from the day-to-day workings of the party. Nor is there evidence of a conspiracy, says Lodge, who doesn't believe that their showing on the list signifies a high proportion of leaders committed to a radical programme. He points to a diversity of views inside the SACP, exemplified by the acute debate sparked by Slovo's proposal of a

Continued on page 44



nists likely to make it into parliament are: Pravin Gordhan (57th on the ANC list and talked of as a possible Speaker of the new parliament following his performance as a negotiating council chairman), Tony Yengeni (60), Geraldine Fraser (61), Jenny Schreiner (62), Reginald September (63), Nozizwe Madlala (77), Elias Motswaledi (82), Mbulelo Goniwe (85), Joyce Mashamba (92), Zou Kota (96), Nkosinathi Nhleko (121), James Maseko (124) and Brian Bunting (127).

Accusing the "devious SACP from hiding the truth," the NP claims that SACP members in the top 25% of the ANC's list also include: Jay Naidoo, Ahmed Kathrada, Tito Mboweni, Aziz Pahad, Steve Tshwete, Pen- uell Maduna, Dullah Omar, Alfred Nzo, Gertrude Shope, Gill Marcus, Mohammed Valli Moosa and Peter Mokaba. None of these are acknowledged by the SACP as being members. The Nats go further, saying "there are

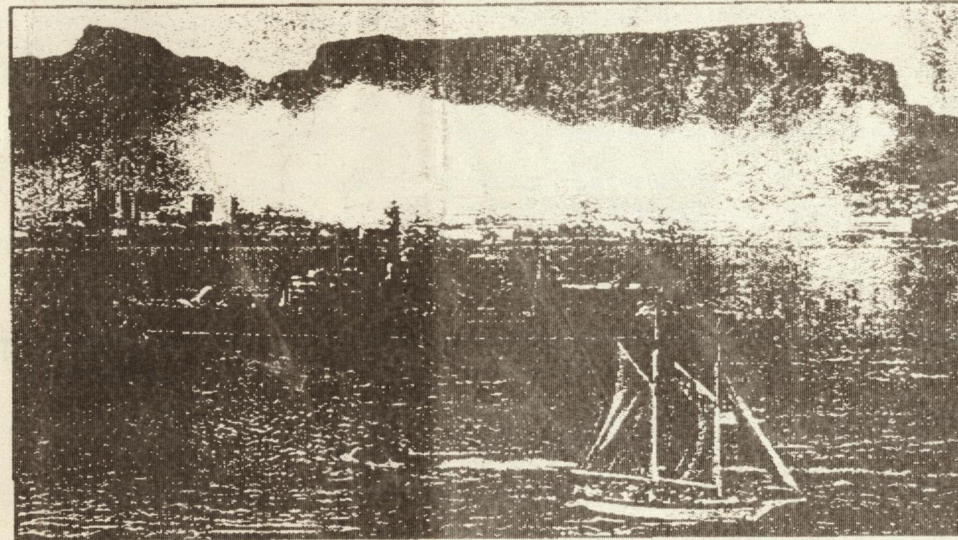
White angel leads way for Transvaal's divided races

FROM MICHAEL HAMLYN
IN DELMAS
EASTERN TRANSVAAL

WHITE rightwingers are preparing this weekend to lay the foundations of a separate homeland, or *volkstaat*, in spite of their drawn-out negotiations with the government and the African National Congress on South Africa's new constitution.

There are increasing fears that the refusal of the white right to take part in April's multi-racial election, and its determination to establish a separate homeland, will lead to violence. Certainly the message of extremists in this mining and agricultural town 45 miles east of Johannesburg is harsh and uncompromising. "Before a black puts a foot in our council chamber, we'll bulldoze the civic centre, wipe out our businesses and burn down our homes," said Barry Mare, a prominent member of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB), adding: "The blacks can have the ashes."

The voice of the responsible right is less strident. Dawid Swanepoel, 46, who chairs the council's management committee, makes it clear that he does not approve of a black takeover of his town, but



Royal Navy greets 'old chums' after 20 years adrift

HMS *Norfolk*, left, moments after she fired a 21-gun salute to announce her arrival in Cape Town's Table Bay, as two Royal Navy ships paid the first visit by British naval vessels to a South African port in 20 years. Flocks of seagulls took to the air in a panic as HMS *Norfolk*, a Type 23 frigate, and RFA *Grey Rover*, a fleet supply vessel, entered the harbour (Michael Hamlyn writes).

Captain James Perowne, commanding the *Norfolk*, said the purpose of the visit was to re-establish links with the South African navy. "This visit has nothing to do with arms sales, there are no hidden defence contractors on board. This is a goodwill visit."

Relations between the two navies were broken off in the 1970s following a United Nations embargo on defence links.

Captain Perowne said that the reunion was akin to two old school chums meeting after not seeing each other for two decades.

There are no plans for joint manoeuvres on this visit, but the *Norfolk* will return around the Cape of Good Hope to visit Simon's Town on the other side of the Cape peninsula on Monday. Simon's Town, long a favourite port of call for British tars, is the South African navy's principal base. The feelings of affection were warmly reciprocated by South Africans, and the balconies of those flats overlooking the sea were packed with sightseers as the two ships sailed in. The *Norfolk* has 16 women crew members. "I cannot see why we went for a thousand years without them," Captain Perowne said.

admits: "I'm not going to fight a tank with a .22 [rifle]."

Delmas is in many ways typical of hundreds of towns, large and small, across South Africa. The white population, some 8,000 mainly Afrikaans-speakers, lead a comfortable, middle-class existence with modern, well-equipped bungalows spread out over 1,500 acres of fertile and well-watered highveld. The blacks are huddled in a township less than a mile from the town centre — 65,000 of them crammed onto 170 acres.

The whites fear that, under

a one-person-one-vote system of local government, they will be overwhelmed and their comfort and safety sacrificed to give equal privilege to the township dwellers. They fear, too, that lack of education, lack of opportunity and lack of experience among blacks elected to rule will mean that the spectacular economic success of Delmas in the past few years, despite recession elsewhere, will be thrown away by mismanagement.

"We have no objection to reforming local government," says Mr Swanepoel, a lawyer

and Conservative Party stalwart. "It is ripe for reform, but we want to rule ourselves."

He is pinning his faith to the ability of Ferdi Hartzenberg, the national leader of the Conservative Party, and General Constand Viljoen, leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront right-wing coalition, to prevent the imposition of majority rule at local level. As agreed in multi-party negotiations so far, the town and the township will indeed be governed separately, but with a multi-racial co-ordinating

committee, a "transitional council of local unity", linking the two for five years.

It will be elected in September or October on a combined list and ward system and should work out to be half black and half white. Further than this Mr Swanepoel and his colleagues have no wish to go. "The biggest fear of the whites," said one resident, who declined to be named, "is that they will be expected to foot the bill for upgrading the township to the same level as the whites."

One hope for Delmas's

future is the relative stability in its black township. The place is called Botleng, and has been one of the local success stories.

A hostel, which had been a source of trouble, was over-run and razed. Then a feud between the African National Congress old guard and a faction of young comrades was resolved last year and both now sit amicably on the local civic association. Ampie Roux, a shopkeeper and a dynamic administrator, was appointed by the Transvaal provincial administration

and has worked wonders in acquiring land for expanding the township, and cash for its development.

Although mocked by Mr Swanepoel as "the white angel of Botleng", Mr Roux has also pioneered the first real co-operation between the structures of Delmas and Botleng: work is now done in the township by the town's electrical engineers, for example. Such a development was unheard of, and sternly resisted, by hardline rightwingers, but will become more and more essential soon.

The fact that there is still far to go was illustrated in the past few months by a disastrous epidemic of typhoid in the township. The exact cause of the outbreak is still to be established by a medical investigation, but it appears to have started in the white town and spread quickly to the densely populated Botleng.

Three thousand cases of gastric upset were reported and there were 11 deaths. A field hospital was established in a deserted factory warehouse and manned by the army medical corps. In the white town the outbreak was quickly contained and there were no deaths.

The extreme right is represented in the town by only 40 or 50 AWB men, who think like Mr Mare. Most of the whites would sympathise with Mr Swanepoel and his Conservative majority on the council. Later this month he is taking council members and leaders of the black community to a *bosberaad* (bush council) to discuss what the future holds for both population groups.

Delmas claims to be the fastest growing community in the country and neither side wants to jeopardise that. "In the end, Mr Swanepoel is a realist," said an official.

PAC militants reject surprise peace call

Farouk Chothia

SHARP divisions have emerged in the Pan Africanist Congress over its surprise decision to suspend the armed struggle — and militants hinted strongly this week that, despite the announcement, guerrilla activities would continue, possibly even after the April 27 elections.

The PAC's central Transkei region led the denunciation of the suspension by slamming it as "capitulation" and calling for the continuation of the armed struggle until "majority rule" is achieved — effectively demanding that Apla targets even the proposed government of national unity for attacks.

Other developments which pointed to opposition to PAC president Clarence Makwetu's Sunday announcement include:

- Hours after the suspension, an alleged Apla attack took place in central Durban.

- Carl Zimbiri — whom the PAC for the first time declared as dead this week to the dismay of their supporters — called newspapers to claim Apla responsibility for attacks. He told Sapa that Apla's regional and sectional commanders met in Bloemfontein this week where they vowed that the armed struggle would continue.

- In an interview published last week in the Eastern Cape-based *Imvo* newspaper, Apla commander Sabelo Phama — almost certain to have been aware of PAC plans to suspend the armed struggle — declared 1994 as "The Year of the Great Offensive" and said the "struggle will not end" after the April elections.

Pulling no punches, Transkei regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha said: "The armed struggle should continue until majority rule. The government of national unity is designed not to bring majority rule."

Political analyst Eugene Nyathi said he did not believe the suspension of the armed struggle would bring much change to the way the PAC operated as it had "always been a fairly divided constituency".

Skwatsha accused the PAC national leadership of "reneging" on a national congress resolution adopted late last year in Umtata that 1994 would be "The Year of the Bullet and Ballot".

PAC sources revealed this week

that they were shell-shocked by Makwetu's announcement as most delegates at the congress did not even want to contest the April poll, let alone agree to unilaterally suspending the armed struggle.

The sources claimed that moderate leaders — including chief negotiator Patricia de Lille, secretary general Benny Alexander and foreign affairs head Gora Ebrahim — argued the PAC would win elections and then "impose" a constituent assembly on the other parties.

In response to Zimbiri's telephone call to Sapa, PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo said he had "died a year ago" while Alexander told Radio 702 that he had died three months ago in a car accident.

In response to the alleged Apla attack in Durban, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said there was no sanction from the PAC command structure for continued attacks and blamed it on state agents — "especially the military intelligence which has infiltrated Apla and was using cadres for selfish ends".

The fact that both Mlambo and Nemadzivhanani have emerged in the frontline to defend the suspension of armed struggle is significant: both had previously been seen as militant leaders. Nemadzivhanani is extremely popular with the PAC rank-and-file and could play a key role in attempts to convince militants to accept the suspension and to campaign vigorously for an election victory.

Mlambo is Apla's former commander-in-chief, placing him in an ideal position to convince at least sections of the army to lay down their weapons.

The change of heart arises from the fact that the PAC leadership, rather than seeing its armed struggle as a drawcard to win over militant black voters, regards it as an albatross around its neck.

"You cannot win the elections with guns. You must win the elections and rule. Guns play no role," said Alexander.

The suspension of the armed struggle could lead to an influx of foreign cash into the PAC's electoral coffers. "There are European countries which were going to give us money, but who kept it on hold until the PAC is completely in elections," said Alexander.

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TEC turns heat on kwaZulu cop

THE Transitional Executive Council has quietly set the stage for a showdown over kwaZulu Police hit squads with their commander, Lieutenant General Roy During.

During has resisted the TEC order to report on the killer commando discovered in the KZP by the Goldstone Commission and on the possible existence of other hit squads, saying he had instructions

from the kwaZulu cabinet which prevented him from appearing.

But the TEC, in two formal resolutions, has told During that he "is obliged to co-operate."

The request for information on the hit squads, the first resolution notes, "was directed to Lieutenant General During and not to the kwaZulu government", thereby placing the onus on the KZP's top

cop personally.

In a second resolution adopted this week, reference is made to a section of the TEC Act which says that any minister or head of department can be required to appear before the interim body.

Should During fail to appear, the TEC could turn the heat up on him by involving the special Electoral Court.

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Saturday, Sunday Star first to go

Weekly Mail reporters

In one week, three newspapers have done a disappearing act and dozens of journalists have been put out of work.

First to go will be the *Sunday Star* and the *Saturday Star*, which will appear for the last time this weekend. The two publications will merge into a *Weekend Star* to be published on Saturdays. About 25 redundancies are expected.

And the last edition of Afrikaans independent weekly *Vrye Weekblad* will appear on February 2, editor Max du Preez said on Tuesday. Ten journalists are out of work as a result.

Announcing the *Saturday/Sunday Star* merger, the chairman of Argus Newspapers, Doug Band, attributed the decision to "continuing *Sunday Star* losses and an overtraded Sunday market". In the PWV area, five *Sunday* titles compete ruthlessly for the ever-shrinking advertising cake.

The *Sunday Star* has been publishing for more than nine years and now "we have concluded that our efforts would be better focused on our daily and Saturday publications", said Band.

Argus "deeply regretted" the job losses that would result from the merger "in view of the dedicated efforts of editorial and other staff involved in the *Sunday Star*".

The demise of these publications brings to mind what has been described in the media as an ANC daily newspaper. The ANC's head of publicity and information, Pallo Jordan, was adamant this week that the newspaper would not be an ANC publication, but merely a "daily in which the ANC is going to have an interest". The ANC was "cautiously optimistic" that the newspaper will be on the streets before the April 27 elections.

It is understood that the plans took a recent nosedive when attempts to buy *The Sowetan* fell through. It is understood that agreement had been

reached that a black-controlled trust would buy a large share of *The Sowetan* and it would merge with the *Sunday Nation* to provide a daily, ANC-supporting paper. By agreement between all the parties, it would be edited by Zwelakhe Sisulu.

However, at the last minute this was blocked by Argus' main shareholder, mining house JCI. Sisulu took a senior post at the SABC.

All of this comes against the background of attempts to separate the two major English-language media groups, Argus and TML. It was reported that the intention was for Argus to reduce its 36 percent share in TML and for TML to sell to Argus the *Cape Times*, its 45 percent stake in *The Pretoria News* and its 30 percent interest in Natal Newspapers.

JCI would be left with a controlling interest in both groups.

The deal, however, was blocked when there was an outcry about its inadequacy in dealing with cross-ownership and lack of diversity in the English media.

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Health professionals scurry abroad 6

Vuyo Mvoko

POLITICAL instability and low pay are driving highly skilled South African health professionals into exile.

Physiotherapists, occupational therapists and professional nurses with a degree are the special target of overseas employers, says recruiting agent Ron Seymour, who processes 100 foreign job applications a year.

The main destinations are Canada and America, which need 20 000 of these health workers.

"A brain drain has already happened," says Lo-an Roux, editor of the South African Society of Physiotherapy's journal, *Physio Forum*. Roux believes that "a lot of people do not want to be involved in the upsets of the revolution".

Some professionals later return to South Africa, but there are fears that, influenced by South Africa's political upheavals, more may settle abroad.

Advertising consultant Rory Macnamara says overseas employers are prepared to spend huge sums on advertising because of the overwhelming and immediate response. Advertising has become more aggressive, and includes full-page ads in professional magazines.

In contrast to what one occupational therapist called "pretty shocking" local salaries — R2 286 a month for physiotherapists with four-year university degrees — packages in the US include a salary of at least \$36 000 (R122 000) a year, a fully insured company car or down pay-

ment on a new car, free air tickets and relocation expenses, free accommodation of up to a year, and health and professional liability insurance.

Additional benefits may include help in acquiring drivers' licences, permanent housing and bursaries for further education.

Recruitment agencies are doing a roaring trade. On average, they charge 12 percent of each recruit's annual salary for their services. Fly-by-night recruitment agencies are also said to be mushrooming.

For physios and occupational therapists, the application process takes between three and four months. Recruits write an "acceptance test" in their adoptive country, which most South Africans are said to pass with flying colours.

Local physio Joanne Enslin did her postgraduate studies in America and spent two years practising in a general hospital. She goes back to the US to work each year, earning \$40 (R136) an hour.

Enslin said America offered unique opportunities for skills upgrading on new therapeutic techniques and advanced technology.

Commenting on the exodus, Professor Muriel Goodman, head of physiotherapy at both Wits University and Johannesburg Hospital, said: "There is worldwide shortage of physiotherapists. It makes no sense that cleaners at South African Breweries want a minimum wage of R1 800 a month, when our graduates get R2 286 after four years of BSc training."

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ANC controversy over abortion plan

The ANC's draft plan on health care backs abortion on demand, report **Pat Sidley and Reg Rumney**

THE ANC's tentative backing for abortion on demand in its draft health policy has already drawn criticism from pro-lifers. It is one of several highly contentious suggestions in the ANC's draft plan for a national health policy plan released this week, which emphasises public sector health at the expense of the private sector.

The support for women's choice on abortion is hedged with a note that "the issues around abortion remain contentious and need to be discussed and debated further".

The move to support abortion is also likely to stir up feelings within the ANC itself, where the issue of abortion is by no means settled. Another issue likely to cause controversy is the suggestion that medical graduates be forced to work for the state for a period — or repay state loans.

The reaction of the Medical Association of South Africa to the plan has been muted, with the association saying it is "encouraged" by the policy proposals in general. Masa merely notes that

"to discourage growth in the private sector is debatable". It also says ambitious time schedules could create unrealistic expectations.

Centre for Health Policy Studies' Max Price comments that there is a contradiction in the document which later talks about contracting the private sector to provide services for the public sector, which would entail growth.

Price believes that overall the document offers health care workers a rosy future, albeit in a regulated environment. The move to bar doctors dispensing medicines they themselves have prescribed will cause unhappiness among some members of Masa itself.

It is also unclear how the bar on medical practitioners buying shares in private clinics is to work. Dr Gordon Cohen of Clinic Holdings notes the move could not be done retrospectively and he doubts its feasibility. "Our doctors are free to buy Clinic Holdings shares on the JSE."

The plan proposes free basic medical care. Some proposals are also likely to send shivers up the spine of the pharmaceutical industry.

The ANC plan, which runs to 100 pages and was presented this week in Johannesburg by health and welfare supremo Cheryl Car-



Cheryl Carolus ... radical new plan

olus, calls for a strengthening of the public health sector and the availability of basic medical care to the whole population. Free health care would be available to children under six, pregnant and nursing mothers, the elderly, disabled and chronically ill.

Free medical services would include immunisation, regular screening procedures to detect cancer, ante-natal care and child delivery, contraceptives, feeding support and treatment for TB.

The national health service would be financed through current income tax levels, claims the ANC. Extra revenue would come from steep increases in the prices of tobacco and alcohol. Patients with health insurance or medical aids will face steep charges at public hospitals.

In an attempt to redirect resources towards the public sector, the plan would regulate private health care, which it says currently channels resources disproportionately to wealthier, healthier people.

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mail

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This approach would be modified if the international public order experts are drawn into the training process. Their system puts unarmed crowd control in the forefront, and envisages the use of firearms only in an emergency.

I weep for my betrayed king



The world saw
Impis marching
belligerently on the
Union Buildings.
But other Zulus
were weeping at
what this week's
protest march meant
for their people,
writes **Mondli
waka Makhanya**



Louis Botha must have turned in his grave as Inkatha supporters swarmed over his statue

Weekly Mail
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Seating the MPs

Chris Louw

A SPECIAL session of parliament is possible if changes to the transitional constitution are accepted to accommodate some of the demands of the Freedom Alliance.

Parliamentarians may find, however, when they arrive in Cape Town, that there won't be any seats for them in the Grootzaal where they normally assemble.

Work has already started to enlarge the number of seats in the Grootzaal (big hall) to accommodate the 400 members of the new parliament after April 27.

At present the Grootzaal has only 350 seats available. It was used for joint sessions of the 308 members of the three chambers of the tricameral system. The seats have already been removed from the chamber. The arm-rests of chairs in the back rows will be removed to allow more to be fitted in. When work is completed there will be 430 seats.

The new senate, which will consist of 90 members, will be accommodated in the chamber at present used by the House of Representatives. There are enough seats available and no changes will be necessary.

S.D.S.

Electricity the green light for peace

Electrification could be the key to peace on the East Rand, according to a plan presented to the TEC this week.

Stephen Laufer reports

As a veteran of the communist movement, the Transitional Executive Council's Mac Maharaj may have had Lenin on his mind as he searched for a peace plan for the East Rand over the past fortnight.

Communism, Lenin explained, is people's power plus electrification. Maharaj is convinced that the comprehensive electrification of Thokoza, Kallangong and Vosloorus will be the key to bringing calm and social justice to the area.

Eskom, Maharaj told the TEC this week, had promised to start electrifying every house in the area within a week of a TEC go-ahead.

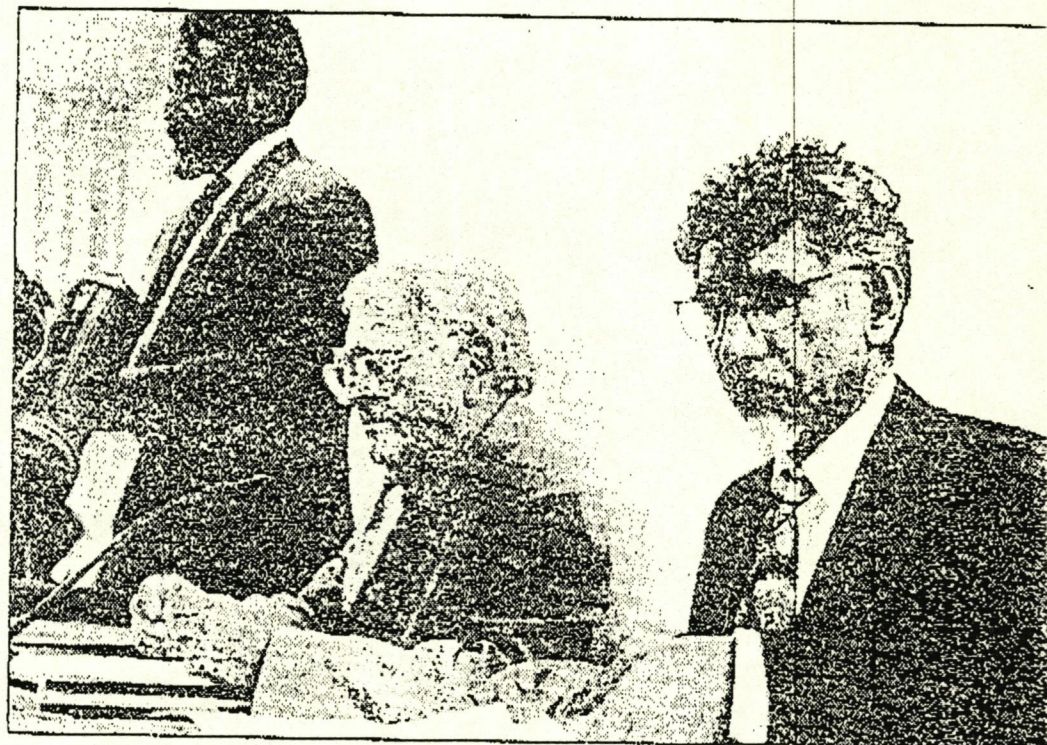
The overall solution for the East Rand might lie in the proclamation of a disaster area, said Maharaj. Alluding to the Los Angeles earthquake, he hinted at direct TEC intervention: "In a disaster situation, a single authority has the power to override other institutions and to call on them for help."

The East Rand disaster relief authority is likely to be part of a composite plan due to be published this weekend. It is expected to combine massive funding for urban development projects like electrification with a new approach to security, including the replacement of the ISU by SADF elements and joint patrols by all parties to the conflict.

Maharaj gave a graphic and impassioned report on the crisis in the East Rand townships.

Maharaj painted the picture of an area where water was a precious commodity, railway lines were sabotaged regularly and hostels had become armed encampments.

On a tour of the area, the TEC officials were driven into Schoeman



Power to the people: Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo and Mac Maharaj at the TEC this week. PHOTO: GUY ADAMS

Road, which can only be used by armoured vehicles.

"Any other movement — vehicular or pedestrian — is a guaranteed death sentence, whether from the snipers on the left or on the right. The road is flanked by deserted houses on either side, many gutted and most with bullet marks clearly visible. The eeriness of the situation is made more marked by the visibility of human life at the end of the no-go zone."

The area was such a death trap, said Maharaj, that cars left abandoned were still intact. "No one dares strip them — they know Schoeman Road means death." Maharaj described how one man was allowed to walk through the road freely. Mentally disturbed, he enjoyed the protection of both sides.

Other areas had their own unwritten laws, and not knowing them could — and every night did —

mean execution for the unsuspecting. The test in Inkatha-held areas, said Maharaj, was proof of IFP membership.

In the ANC-dominated areas, the test was also IFP membership. "Inkatha members normally face death, but members of other parties such as the PAC are generally safe."

There was a clear correlation between the existence of no-go areas and the proximity of hostels. Butafuthi hostel, from which shots were fired at Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo, houses so many weapons that residents were able to sustain a three-hour gunfight with the SADF.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer told the council R33.5-million had been available for hostel upgrading for some time. "It's been impossible to get consensus on spending the money," he said.

Hostel dwellers had sent their families home. "They are caught in a

war psychosis," said Maharaj.

Even without the daily bloodletting, the East Rand was a horrific environment. Phola Park, where shacks had been built cheek by jowl for security reasons, had neither water supply nor sewage and garbage disposal.

Eight taps were available to the thousands living in three other settlements. Formal townships were often without sewage disposal, Meyer said. "Pumping stations have been sabotaged several times. Repairs run at R 1.2-million each time."

Despite signs of civic pride such as neatly kept gardens, said Maharaj, there was widespread despair on the East Rand. "This includes the ISU," he said. "However well-intentioned, the policemen cannot see the fruits of their efforts. There is an aimless task of body collection and running after criminals, where their lives are at risk."

Weekly mail 28/1/94

MY blood — like that of many others of Zulu extraction — boiled as radio bulletins and newspaper headlines told of marauding "Zulus" wreaking havoc across the Reef before, during and after this week's march on the Union Buildings.

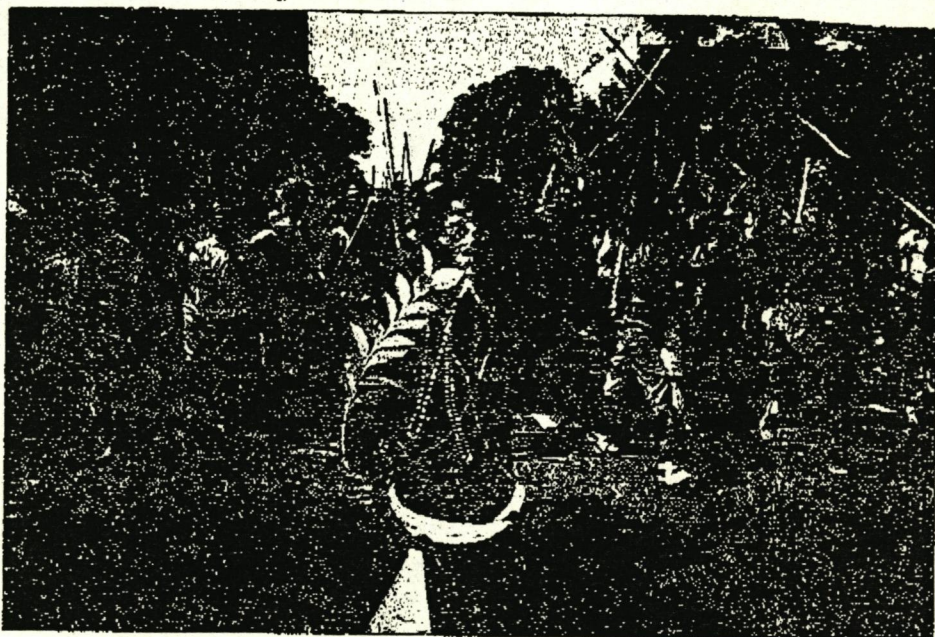
What incensed me most was the media's seeming inability to distinguish between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Zulu nation. They billed what was essentially an IFP demonstration as a Zulu event. Whatever denials Inkatha may have issued regarding their role in organising Monday's event, no newsman worth his salt should have been fooled. Instead Tuesday's headlines screamed "Chaos as Zulus march, '11 killed in Zulu march'".

One might have thought from the coverage that wild animals had escaped from a game park and were roaming the streets.

On second thoughts, however, sadness overcame me as I realised that the death of 15 people and the destruction of property would be laid at the feet of the supposed ruler of the Zulu nation, King Goodwill Zwelithini. The drunken Impis marching on the Union Buildings were doing it in the name of the restoration of Zulu dignity and in defence of the Zulu monarchy.

The king, I realised, was once again allowing himself to be abused by a politician bent on using ethnic mobilisation to salvage his career. In the process Zwelithini is selling out his people, progressively alienating them from the rest of South Africa and even endangering the continued existence of his monarchy. By letting himself be publicly dragged by the nose, the king has eroded whatever respect he had among those of his subjects who do not align themselves with the IFP, and among non-Zulus who may have respected him simply because of his stature.

If His Majesty broke free of the leash his uncle Mangosuthu Buthelezi has placed around his neck and ventured beyond his palace gates, he would weep on hearing the ridicule many of his subjects now heap on him. Millions of Zulu-speaking people — especially those who have suffered untold woe from the violence wracking Natal — now despise him for not acting authoritatively to prevent the disintegration of the nation and choosing to toe the line of the party that pays his bills. His failure to prevent Inkatha from hijacking and misusing Zulu symbols has done damage to many traditions of the Zulu people. In the townships of Natal today little children no longer excitedly line the streets on Shaka's Day to watch regalia-clad warriors from the hostels march down the streets singing traditional songs, as I once did. Instead the sight sends children scurrying indoors screaming "Mama, okdoval!" "Okdoval!"



Olive branch? Marchers on the Union Buildings in Pretoria brought the city to a standstill

PHOTOGRAPHS: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

means an ugly monster, and is used to describe Inkatha members in urban Natal). His Majesty has not carried himself in the manner expected of one who follows in the line of Shaka, Cetshwayo and Dingane. His parasanship has done nothing but help tear apart the kingdom built by these kings. It is threatening to undo the great nation-building work done by Zulus such as Langalibalele Dube and Albert Luthuli, just as much as by non-Zulus like James Moroka and Tengo Jabavu. It is creating enemies for his subjects, as the IFP's tribally motivated attacks on the Reef breed tribal animosity among the victims. If he is engaged in political gamesmanship, he is backing the wrong horse. Unless his uncle prohibits him from reading newspapers, he should by now be aware that the bulk of Natal Zulus reject the

"If His Majesty broke free of the leash his uncle Mangosuthu Buthelezi has placed around his neck and ventured beyond his palace gates, he would weep on hearing the ridicule many of his subjects now heap on him"

party whose platforms he so regularly graces. His children — heirs to his throne — have moved ahead of him and are regularly seen at the rallies of other parties. Nobody is asking the king to exchange his IFP colours for those of the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo or the ANC. All that is being asked is that he be King to all his subjects, that he exercise his royal duties and help heal the bloody rift in his kingdom.

Despite what he may be told by his prime minister, the threat to the Zulu people and his crown does not lie in the Interim Constitution or with a unitary South Africa. This has already been dispelled by Jacob Zuma, the man who will probably be the next premier of Natal. In a commendable show of goodwill, Zuma has repeatedly assured the king that his throne is safe, even stating that he has no objection to discarding the "meaningless" Portuguese name "Natal" for kwaZulu.

The biggest threat to the things the king holds dear lies in the continued bedevilling of the Zulu name by his uncle's party, and His Majesty's failure to recognise that his subjects are not politically monolithic.

Only when the king realises this, and starts to behave like a king, shall I and millions of others find it within ourselves to say "Bayethe, Uyindlovu. Wena silo sama bandla onke". (Hail, the Elephant! You are king of all the regiments!)