

USAID CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATION FY 1997

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SOUTH AFRICA**FY 1997 DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR AFRICA: \$82,723,628****Introduction.**

South Africa is strategically located at a critical point on the sea lanes and contains deposits of a variety of significant minerals and strategic materials. It has the most developed and diversified economy in sub-Saharan Africa and possesses the continent's most modern and efficient road, rail and telecommunications networks. The 1994 gross domestic product (GDP) of \$120 billion is approximately 1.5 times as large as the rest of the combined economies of Southern Africa. South Africa is the United States' largest trading partner in Africa, with a volume of bilateral trade of over \$4 billion in 1994. U.S. private sector investment in the country exceeds \$1 billion. Under apartheid, South Africa's external debt was kept low. The total foreign debt in 1994 was nearly \$28 billion. Given the strategic and economic importance of a stable and prosperous South Africa, it is in the national interest of the United States to ensure that all of South Africa's citizens are permitted to achieve the economic benefits of their new-found political freedoms. Moreover, South Africa has become a symbol and model to the world of the possibility of resolving serious political, racial and ethnic differences through negotiation and compromise. In recognition of South Africa's importance, Vice President Gore and Deputy President Mbeki established the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission, in March 1995, to facilitate bilateral cooperation on issues of mutual concern. Only two other countries, Russia and Egypt, have similar commissions with the United States.

Yet, South Africa faces serious challenges. The majority of the population has been largely denied access to health, education and economic facilities and advancement opportunities for decades. Only by fully addressing those needs can the full transformation of the country take place. A rise in crime and political violence underscores the need to show progress quickly. Otherwise, popular rejection of the current pragmatic approaches to growth and development arising from unfulfilled expectations among the majority population will become increasingly difficult to avoid. Such a rejection could lead to the type of populist and statist policies that have brought ruin to many sub-Saharan African countries. South Africa's Government of National Unity (GNU) may face a crisis of expectations in the long-term, if it cannot produce tangible gains for the disadvantaged population. The GNU's ability to produce significant social and economic gains for the disadvantaged population will depend mainly on South Africa's successes/actions in spurring economic growth.

South Africa faces four major long-term developmental challenges:

- Consolidating democracy and improving the quality of governance;
- Making sufficient progress in improving services to the disadvantaged population in education, health, housing and other areas so that popular expectations are not fundamentally disappointed;
- Making appropriate economic policy and regulatory changes to achieve higher, sustained economic

growth; and

-- Expanding participation of the disadvantaged majority in the private sector and ownership of businesses, houses, and other assets so that the benefits of growth are spread more equitably within the South African society.

Foreign assistance can play an important complementary role in assisting South Africa with its socioeconomic development challenges. South Africa is a sound investment for foreign assistance. The two-year old, post-apartheid government, led by President Nelson Mandela, is pursuing prudent social and economic policies. South Africa's strong commitment to the full implementation of participatory democracy, its strong resource base, and its efficient infrastructure guarantee solid returns to USAID investments and a medium-term graduation from external assistance.

The Development Challenge.

Two years into South Africa's transition to democracy, "dualism" (i.e., two worlds in one country) is a term that still best reflects South Africa. Its financial, industrial, and agricultural sectors exhibit many of the characteristics of first or second world economies. However, much of the economy and the majority of the population exist in conditions similar to those in most third world countries.

Growth, investment and economic assistance are needed to reduce the alarming poverty in South Africa. At present, approximately 48% of all South African households lack adequate housing. An estimated 34% lack safe water and 45% lack adequate inside sanitation. More than one third of the adult work force is jobless, while 50% of the work force is functionally illiterate.

The vestiges of the apartheid system that remain are especially formidable:

- ☐ only one out of 100 black South Africans who enter first grade finishes high school;
- ☐ only 12% of black households have electricity; and
- ☐ a black child is nearly 10 times more likely to die during the first year of life than a white child.

Poverty in South Africa is predominantly, but not exclusively, a rural problem. Roughly 40% of the total population resides in rural areas. However, the high rate of growth in the urban areas (almost 3% per year) could shift the population such that 80% of the population might live in urban areas by the year 2010. The small, poorly-constructed, over-crowded housing of the urban poor generally lacks public utilities. Housing has been ranked by historically disadvantaged South Africans as one of their three highest priorities, along with education and health. A shortage of 1.5 million units in urban areas alone needs to be addressed.

The following demonstrates the progress which South Africans are making in their transition to a pluralistic democracy: (1) a new constitution and bill of rights are being drafted; (2) Parliament has rejected its past "rubber-stamp" role and has moved to develop more meaningful oversight and legislative initiative; (3) non-governmental organizations (NGOs) continue to be active in policy debate and advocacy; (4) the judiciary is being reformed; (5) human rights are being promoted; and (6) freedom of expression is a reality. More modest progress has been made on reform of the civil service and development of policies on decentralization.

However, the full democratic transition in South Africa will take several years. There is still a complex set of political, institutional, and legal changes to make participatory democracy and human rights protection a firm reality. For example, there is a widespread lack of experience among newly elected or appointed

government officials; new government structures are just being formed in the provinces; the relationship between national, provincial and local levels of government is still evolving and is potentially contentious; political violence continues to be a problem, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal Province; and Government and NGOs are still forging new working relationships. In addition, fundamental changes in attitude and behavior are needed for democracy to become not only the letter but the spirit of the law.

The GNU's national Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) has made solid gains in child-feeding programs, maternal and child health, and electrification. More modest progress has been made in land restitution, access to education, and liberalization of economic policies. Progress has been slower on projects that involve extensive community participation.

Other Donors.

In FY 1995, the United States accounted for 24% of total official development assistance and was the largest bilateral donor. Other major donors are the European Union, Japan, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany and Denmark.

FY 1997 Program.

The USAID/South Africa program strategy is designed to assist the South Africans through the difficult, post-apartheid, transition years and leave in place irreversible, improved human capacity and institutions, and greater access to capital that will promote the consolidation of democracy and appropriate, equitable use of national resources. The areas of focus include (1) democracy and governance, (2) educational reform, (3) health system reform, (4) economic policy, (5) private sector development, and (6) housing and urban development. Both global peace and U.S. national interests are served by establishing South Africa as an effective model of non-racial pluralistic democracy. Key to this is the continued access of people to decision-making processes and government structures that are transparent, accountable and efficient.

U.S. interests will be well served by supporting South Africa's emergence as a strong trading partner that can play a leadership role in the Southern Africa region. The economy of South Africa has been faltering for several years due to low levels of investment and productivity. To address this problem, markets need to be established, especially in the area of small, medium and micro-enterprises.

Agency Goal: Building Democracy

Consolidation of democracy is the most apparent political challenge in the new South Africa. South Africa made impressive progress in building a sense of unity and reconciliation under the new democratic government -- particularly in securing the support of the white population. The GNU is succeeding in getting the main political forces in the country to work effectively together and including them in provincial and local governments. The reconciliation process, through the new Truth and Reconciliation Commission, also will soon address past transgressions by previous government officials and others during the apartheid era.

The weakest link in democratic participation in South Africa today is the connection between the formal government structures and the people at the grassroots level. Effectiveness has been hampered by the majority population's lack of experience in political participation, poverty, and lack of education. New methods for involving the majority population in government decisions are being developed.

Governance is a serious weakness of the GNU at all levels -- national, provincial and local. In part, this is due to the inherited, entrenched bureaucracy and the lack of adequately trained personnel to fill key

executive and management positions. New officials are trying to establish a new public service culture that is more innovative and less hierarchical, more product- and service-oriented and less procedure-driven, and more in touch with the people. Improvements in democratic governance is a major long-term challenge in South Africa and critical to broader economic development.

USAID provided broad assistance (e.g., voter education, electoral systems support, political party strengthening) for the historic 1994 national elections. This included USAID-funded voter education which reached nearly 25 percent of those individuals who had never before been allowed to vote. USAID also supported the 1995 local elections to deepen and strengthen the roots of democracy at the local level. New decision-makers are now being trained to take up their new posts. Violence mitigation efforts have proven highly successful throughout South Africa to the extent that skills in this area are being sought from other countries in and outside of the region.

From its inception the USAID program in South Africa sought to empower the majority population. All USAID programs maintain this as a key tenet. Throughout the portfolio, assistance is being provided to develop and institutionalize linkages between the government and NGOs and emphasize a community development approach. This builds on USAID's long-standing relationship with NGOs. In the education

and health sectors, governance assistance is being provided to strengthen the newly elected provincial governments. In housing, technical assistance is being provided to municipal governments in urban planning and linking that planning process to community organizations.

□ Strategic Objective 1: Selected Areas of Democratic Governance Deepen and Consolidated.

Agency Goal: Encouraging Broad-based Economic Growth

Economic growth in South Africa can only achieve its full potential through economic empowerment of all South Africans. Four of USAID/South Africa's six objectives actively contribute to this goal through an improved human resource base, economic growth and equity, and educational status.

The Government and NGOs are building analytical skills for examining economic issues. A bilateral agreement has been signed with the Ministry of Education to work at the national and provincial levels to reform policies, improve educational systems, and provide economics training programs. In the education sector, USAID is building on years of experience working with NGOs. Successful pilot programs of the non-government organization (NGO) community are being replicated, often using government resources. In the areas of private sector development and housing, capital is being leveraged through the Small Business Loan Portfolio Guaranty Program, and the Housing Guaranty Program. Capital is being made available to South Africans who would otherwise have little-to-no access to sufficient capital to begin or expand an enterprise or own a home. In addition, about \$12 million in private, domestic capital has been made available for small enterprises \$75 million USAID private sector housing guaranty program has created a \$225 million fund for housing mortgages. In 1995, the first year of operation, over 23,000 mortgages were provided. The accessibility of equity or long-term risk capital will become a possibility for historically disadvantaged South Africans through the Southern African Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF) and bilaterally-funded technical assistance.

□ Strategic Objective 2: Improved Policies, Systems, and Capacities, Contributing to a Transformed Education System.

□ Strategic Objective 4: Improved Capacity of Key Government and Non-government Entities to Formulate, Evaluate and Implement Economic Policies to Promote Economic Growth and Equity.

□ Strategic Objective 5: Increased Access to Financial Markets for the Historically Disadvantaged

Population.

□ Strategic Objective 6: Improved Access to Environmentally-sustainable Shelter and Urban Services for the Historically Disadvantaged Population.

Agency Goal: Stabilizing World Population and Protecting Human Health

One of the major health care challenges for the new South Africa is to provide equity in basic health care to all South Africans and rectify the underlying inequities in health services under apartheid. The impact of past inequities and the urgent need for an integrated health system can be illustrated through just a few indicators. First, the infant mortality rate among black children is nearly 10 times higher than that of white children. Second, at least a third of women in rural areas give birth at home without trained assistants and this often results in the mother's death. Third, the HIV epidemic soars with a doubling rate of infection every 13-15 months.

Health care for its citizens is a major focal point for the GNU. Under the RDP approximately one-third of program funds will be directed to the restructuring and shifting of health care resources toward primary health care. USAID will complement GNU efforts through a project designed to assist in the integration of primary health care systems. These systems will now incorporate family planning, which was a sensitive and political issue in the past. The GNU will be developing effective maternal and child health care and women's services that will meet the needs of clients to space and/or limit births in order to improve the health of both mothers and children.

Over the past year, USAID has worked with the GNU Ministry of Health (MOH) and the NGO community on the design and implementation of an integrated primary health care program, including a program to improve access to HIV/AIDS prevention services. In addition, this project includes work at the national and provincial levels to reform policies and improve systems to more equitably distribute health care benefits.

□ Strategic Objective 3: A More Equitable, Unified and Sustainable System Delivering Integrated Primary Health Care Services to all South Africans.

Agency Goal: Protecting the Environment

USAID/South Africa's limited environmental activities are largely urban and part of the housing and urban development programs. The small, poorly-constructed, over-crowded housing of the urban poor generally lacks access to sanitation, clean water, and electricity. An estimated 48% of all households do not have access to flush toilets or ventilated, improved, pit latrines and 16% have no access to any form of sanitation system. Poor sanitation among low-income households can lead to diarrhea and, in many cases, infant deaths. Currently, only two out of five low-income households are serviced by electricity. In the absence of electricity, coal and wood burning stoves are utilized for heat and food preparation, resulting in serious air pollution and respiratory problems. These conditions, combined with overcrowding, are leading to an urban environmental crisis that will be further aggravated by increased migration to urban centers.

USAID continues to support the establishment and implementation of policies which protect the urban environment. USAID-funded studies have increased the pool of information available to policy-makers and urban planning now incorporates environmentally sound interventions. In addition, through community involvement in the planning process, housing solutions are becoming more environmentally sound and sustainable.

□ Strategic Objective 6: Improved Access to Environmentally-sustainable Shelter and Urban Services for the Historically Disadvantaged population.

SOUTH AFRICA

FY 1997 PROGRAM SUMMARY

	Encouraging Broad-based Economic Growth	Stabilizing World Population Growth & Protecting Human Health	Protecting the Environment	Building Democracy	Providing Humanitarian Assistance	TOTALS
USAID Strategic Objectives						
1. Selected Areas of Democratic Governance Deepened and Consolidated - Dev. Fund for Africa				18,000,000		18,000,000
2. Improved Policies, Systems, and Capacities, Contributing to a Trans- formed Education System - Dev. Fund for Africa	21,509,938					21,509,938
3. A More Equitable, Unified and Sustainable System Delivering Integrated Primary Health Care Services to all South Africans - Dev. Fund for Africa	300,000	12,823,662				13,123,662

4. Improved Capacity of Key Government and Non-Government Entities to Formulate, evaluate and Implement Economic Policies to Promote Economic Growth and Equity -Dev. Fund for Africa	4,650,000					4,650,000
5. Increased Access to Financial Markets for the Historically Disadvantaged Population -Dev. Fund for Africa	17,395,648					17,395,648
6. Improved Access to Environmentally-Sustainable Shelter and Urban Services for the Historically Disadvantaged - Dev. Fund for Africa	3,800,000		4,244,380			8,044,380
Totals - Dev. Fund for Africa	47,655,586	12,823,662	4,244,380	18,000,000		82,723,628

USAID Mission Director: Leslie A. Dean

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA

TITLE AND NUMBER: Selected Areas of Democratic Governance Deepened and Consolidated, 674-S001

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997: \$18,000,000 DFA

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** 2005

Purpose: To deepen and consolidate selected areas of democratic governance through increased human rights protection and access to the justice system; promotion of public and civil society participation in

policy development; conflict resolution efforts, partnerships for development among provincial governments, non-government organizations (NGOs), and the private sector; and increased governmental capacity to manage a participatory development process.

Background: Democratic governance is pursued not only as an end in itself but also as a policy tool to achieve USAID/South Africa's other strategic objectives. Progress in the political arena must continue in order to provide the stability and overall framework for sustainable development in South Africa.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: USAID's program under Strategic Objective one is in transition from short-term election focused priorities to those longer-term, societal changes necessary to consolidate democracy, build governance capacity, and strengthen participatory development. Support for South African NGOs in human rights promotion and conflict resolution activities continues, with a special focus of the latter on the KwaZulu-Natal Province. A bilateral agreement with the Ministry of Justice supports increasing access to legal services by the majority population. Public and civil society participation in policy development will be promoted by assistance to both the NGOs and government (especially legislatures). Previous support for NGOs involved in community and leadership development is giving way to new programs in focus provinces to build and strengthen partnerships for sustainable development among government, NGOs, and the private sector. Short-term governance training and technical assistance will be supplemented by efforts to develop local schools of government in South African universities. Principal accomplishments of the recent past are: (1) major USAID support (e.g., voter education, electoral systems assistance, political party strengthening) to the historic 1994 national elections, which were widely viewed as successful; (2) more limited USAID assistance for the successful 1995 local elections; (3) major contributions to conflict resolution and violence mitigation (including support for selected high-level political dialogues); (4) development of leaders in civil society who moved into key positions in government; and (5) strengthening civil society organizations through training leaders, improving internal management systems and increasing outreach skills.

Description: USAID will continue to channel most of its assistance through South African NGOs and U.S. private voluntary organizations (PVOs), including much of that to assist government. Whereas most programming in this strategic objective was done through unsolicited proposals in the past (with activities selected competitively from large numbers of proposals), most new programming will be through solicited proposals linked to specific results targeted in the USAID's new strategy. To allow effective oversight and monitoring of a large number of activities by a limited USAID staff, the USAID will program a growing proportion of its assistance through "umbrella organizations" that will make subgrants for specific activities. USAID will not focus on areas where it appears the Government of National Unity (GNU) can perform adequately on its own over time. USAID will coordinate carefully with other donors to avoid duplication of assistance.

Host Country and Other Donors: At the national level, the European Union, Sweden, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United Nations, Australia and Germany, are providing assistance in the development of the new constitution, human rights, land tenure, conflict mediation, election systems, administration of justice, public administration and support for the RDP. The same group of donors is working at the provincial level to strengthen government capacity to implement voter education projects and strengthen local community support organizations. Under USAID's bilateral agreement with the Ministry of Justice, the government is providing significant contributions to expanding legal access and coordinating assistance from other donors to support related objectives. Throughout the process of developing this strategic objective, USAID has carried out extensive consultations with local NGOs, U.S. PVOs, government representatives, and other donors.

Beneficiaries: The ultimate beneficiaries of improved governance and democratic processes are the entire

population of South Africa, in particular, members of the disadvantaged majority population. Intermediate beneficiaries include national and provincial governments, parliamentarians and NGOs.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: USAID implements activities through a large number of South African NGOs, a small number of U.S. PVOs, the Government of National Unity, and a small number of U.S. contractors.

Major Results Indicators:

Baseline Targets

Long-term results:

Improved Human Development Index^{1/} (HDI) .500 (1992) .700 (2002)

for historically disadvantaged population

Improved political participation at all levels race-based (1994) non-racial (2004)

Short- to medium-term results (illustrative):

Conditions for democracy strengthened weak conditions stronger conditions

(South African Democracy Index)

Government capacity for managing 0 provinces 3-5 provinces

participatory development strengthened

Effective models of government/civil 0 provinces 3-5 provinces

society partnerships and

community participation demonstrated

and disseminated in focus provinces

Role of civil society organizations (CSOs) 0 CSOs 2 CSOs

expanded in the southern Africa region

A new census, planned for October 1996, will do away with discrepancies in the past censuses, identify villages and informal settlements, and disaggregate data to show race, among other variables, to help track changes in racial inequality.

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA

TITLE AND NUMBER: Improved Policies, Systems, and Capacities, Contributing to a Transformed Education System, 674-S002

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997: \$21,509,938 DFA

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** 2005

Purpose: To improve policies, systems, and capacities, contributing to a transformed education system through policy reform, establishment of systems to execute and implement policies, and capacity building.

Background: Without improvements in the majority population's educational level, other USAID assistance will be diminished and short-lived. Particularly critical in the immediate future is assistance in basic and tertiary education.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: USAID will support the implementation of the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) which is extremely comprehensive and defines qualifications required

for students to progress along various educational levels. USAID will focus its assistance on the areas of education policy and systems and the capacity of the GNU to manage the same. Given USAID's extensive experience with the NGO community in this sector, USAID will utilize NGO expertise to effectively implement this program and facilitate productive links between the NGOs and government. During the past year, USAID has formalized its relationship with the government at the national and provincial levels. Earlier, USAID worked with NGOs to develop exemplary models for the underserved majority population which will be replicated and used by GNU to broadly address underserved populations.

Description: USAID's support will focus on assisting the GNU in the implementation of its newly-developed NQF, which extends from primary through tertiary levels. USAID will provide assistance to the GNU at the national and provincial levels to establish and reform education policies through NGOs. Also, USAID will provide support to the various commissions established to restructure higher and tertiary education. A National Youth Commission will be established to formulate education policies with regard to majority youth. Support to education sub-systems will focus largely on accreditation and increasing the ability of students to advance through the educational system without losing credits. Also, in terms of support to historically disadvantaged universities, USAID will provide assistance to selected academic disciplines (e.g., mathematics, science, engineering, public administration, and management), faculty development, student academic support, career counseling and research skills as well as help establish Centers of Excellence.

Host Country and Other Donors: USAID has signed three bilateral agreements with the Ministry of Education and one with the Office of the Deputy President. In all cases, the government is providing counterpart support. Major donors in this sector include the United Kingdom and Canada in teacher training and basic education, Japan in technical education, the Ford Foundation and Australia in tertiary education, the Netherlands in youth activities, and Norway and Sweden in NGO strengthening.

Beneficiaries: The beneficiaries of improved educational systems are the South African students, who will receive a better education and teachers and administrators who will receive relevant training. All students and teachers will benefit through improved materials and policies. Employers will benefit through a better educated work force. National and provincial governments will receive improved technical development of their work force and clients.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: USAID implements activities through a variety of South African and U.S. NGOs, the GNU and U.S. and South African contractors.

Baseline Targets

Major Results Indicators:

Long-term results:

Improved Human Development Index (HDI) .500 (1992) .700 (2002)
for historically disadvantaged population

Improved educational status:

--increased access to tertiary education 6 per 1,000 (1992) 18 per 1,000 (2002)
for the majority population

--improved literacy index .766 (1991) .995 (2001)

Short to medium-term results (illustrative):

Improved education system fragmented unified

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA

TITLE AND NUMBER: A More Equitable, Unified and Sustainable System Delivering Integrated Primary Health Care Services to All South Africans, 674-S003

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997: \$13,123,662 DFA

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2002

Purpose: To assist the GNU to provide a more equitable, unified and sustainable system which delivers integrated primary health care services to all South Africans by increasing access to an integrated package of primary health care (PHC) services, and improving the institutional sustainability of critical PHC management and service delivery systems.

Background: The major health care challenge for South Africa is to provide equity in basic health care delivery to all South Africans, and rectify the underlying inequities in the provision of health services. This has led the GNU to designate approximately one-third of its RDP health priority areas to restructuring and shifting of health care resources. USAID will complement GNU efforts through a single, comprehensive project emphasizing the focused nature of USAID assistance in accomplishing the most critical objective of the RDP's strategy in the health sector which is to provide.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: The rationale for supporting the development of an integrated primary health care system rather than the delivery of specific health interventions, such as family planning or HIV/AIDS, is based on the fact that the GNU has identified this system as the cornerstone of its new health system. Following a year-long design process, a bilateral agreement to implement this strategy was signed with the GNU in September 1995. Other activities were carried out concurrently with the design process. These bridging activities included: (1) implementation of a nationwide demographic and health survey (DHS); (2) a national-level health system situation analysis; (3) development of an in-service training program in integrated primary health care principally for rural nurse clinicians; and (4) development of an in-service management training program for health managers at the provincial level and below. In addition, USAID has continued its work with NGOs involved with HIV/AIDS prevention work which will be part of the strengthened PHC service delivery program.

Description: USAID will implement its interventions for this strategic objective through the Equity Integrated Primary Health Project which is funded through a bilateral agreement with the GNU. Key aspects of that project include: (1) increased access to integrated PHC services for the underserved population; (2) establishment of effective health care referral systems to ensure that clients initially seek care at the appropriate level and are referred to another level when appropriate; (3) enhanced management skills of PHC managers at the provincial level and below through improvement of training and management systems; (4) increased efficiency and effectiveness of PHC service delivery through greater integration of PHC services, better resource reallocation between curative and preventive services, improvement in management systems, and greater cost-effectiveness; (5) strengthened and sustained PHC training programs at the provincial level through the implementation of training action plans and support for the development of a unified national school of public health; and (6) the effective use of information systems at provincial level and below.

Host Country and Other Donors: Key donors in this sector include: the European Union (EU), the British Overseas Development Administration, the World Bank and UNICEF. The GNU has demonstrated its support for this objective by providing counterpart support in excess of the required 25% host country contributions.

Beneficiaries: The ultimate beneficiaries of improved health systems are those individuals previously

denied adequate health care. Intermediate beneficiaries will be health care professionals and provincial ministries.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: USAID will implement activities through a variety of South African and U.S. NGOs and contractors. The principal institutional contractor will be selected in FY 1996.

Major Results Indicators:

Baseline Targets

Long-term results:

Improved Human Development Index (HDI) .500 (1992) .700 (2002)
for historically disadvantaged population

Improved health status:

- reduced infant mortality rate 1997 DHS by 30% (2000)
- reduced under 5 mortality rate 1997 DHS by 30% (2000)
- reduced fertility rate 1997 DHS by 10% (2000)

Short to medium-term results (illustrative):

Improved primary health care system fragmented unified; more equitable

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA

TITLE AND NUMBER: Improved Capacity of Key Government and Non-Government Entities to Formulate, Evaluate and Implement Economic Policies to Promote Economic Growth and Equity, 674-S004.

STATUS: New

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997: \$4,650,000 DFA

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2005

Purpose: To improve the capacity of key government and non-government entities to formulate, evaluate and implement economic policies to promote economic growth and equity through improving human resource development in economics and policy analysis for key government entities, strengthening the capacity of government departments to effectively manage economic policy matters, enhancing the ability of "think tanks" to formulate and evaluate economic policy options, and to improve the effectiveness of economic training centers.

Background: A long-term challenge for South Africa is to achieve a sustainable increase in the rate of economic growth, including increased employment and a more equitable distribution of national income. This is especially important because the unemployment rate exceeds 35%, and the labor force continues to grow rapidly. To meet this challenge it is critical to enhance the economic opportunity of the majority of South Africans by improving their technical ability to participate in the labor market. To help South Africa reach this objective, USAID is relying on both government and non-governmental organizations.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: This is a new strategic area for USAID/South Africa. The approach, which focuses on strengthening analytical skills, recognizes that the willingness of the government and other stakeholders to adopt and implement policies promoting economic growth is outside of USAID's manageable interests. Therefore, scholarships and technical assistance will be provided. There will continue to be a consultative process with a steering committee, composed of key government, NGO

and USAID/South Africa representatives to guide USAID investments in this area.

Description: Associated with this strategic objective are the following areas of activity which cumulatively will strengthen the capacity of South Africans to formulate, evaluate and implement policies that promote economic growth: 1) human resource development in economics and policy analysis for key government entities through the Mandela Economics Scholars program which will finance post-graduate economics training to improve the capacity of individuals to productively serve in government. This activity also is part of the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC); 2) strengthened capacity of government departments and "think tanks" to formulate economic policy reforms through technical assistance, training and research support; and 3) improved effectiveness of centers of economics training, especially within the historically disadvantaged institutions, through the activities under the USAID Tertiary Education Linkages Project (TELP), which has as one of its objectives the establishment of a limited number of "Centers of Excellence" in selected disciplines within South Africa's system of historically disadvantaged universities.

Host Country and Other Donors: Other donor support in the field of economics and economic policy include: Australia in building "think tank" resources, economic policy, economic information generation and dissemination and labor union strengthening; Canada in increasing governmental economic capacity, economic policy, and economic information generation and dissemination; the European Union and the Netherlands in labor union strengthening; the United Kingdom in economics training, increasing governmental economics capacity and economics research; and the World Bank in economics training, increasing governmental economics capacity, economics research and economic information generation and dissemination.

Beneficiaries: Economists who work in South African Government departments involved in economics policy formulation and evaluation, and NGOs and university economic "think tanks" and others who employ and use the services of trained economists.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: USAID will implement activities through a variety of South African and U.S. NGOs, the GNU and U.S. and South African contractors and universities.

Major Results Indicators:

Baseline Targets

Long-term results:

Improved Human Development Index (HDI) .500 (1992) .700 (2002)

for historically disadvantaged population

Improved economic growth and equity:

--3 year average real GDP growth rate .4% (1991 - 1994) 4.0% (2000 -2003)

--ratio of median household incomes of the 18.2% (1992) 21.0% (2003)

historically disadvantaged in relation to those of Whites

Short-term results (illustrative):

Centers of Excellence in Economics 0 1
established

Mandela Economics Scholars Program 0 1 (60 students)
established

Economic Policy Units established 0 6
or strengthened

Economic Policy Think Tanks
with plans for sustainability 0 2

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA**TITLE AND NUMBER:** Increased Access to Financial Markets for the Historically Disadvantaged Population, 674-S005**STATUS:** Continuing**PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE:** FY 1997: \$17,395,648 DFA**INITIAL OBLIGATION:** FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2000

Purpose: To increase access to financial markets for the historically disadvantaged population through an improved policy environment, improved capacity of the financial sector to serve the disadvantaged population, and improved capacity of historically disadvantaged enterprises to respond to financial market requirements.

Background: Access to capital has repeatedly been cited as the primary binding constraint to ownership and private sector economic empowerment by the historically disadvantaged population. This is an area in which USAID has been involved since 1987 through its work with South African microenterprise finance organizations, and one in which USAID's worldwide comparative advantage in capital markets development can be brought to bear. Given the finite resources of USAID and capital resource availability in South Africa, USAID's focus will be on increasing access to South African private sector capital resources. Innovative financial engineering techniques will be used and USAID funds will be leveraged to the greatest extent possible, including use of guarantees, equity and quasi-equity instruments.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: USAID's private sector program will focus on the formal and informal sectors. In the past, more than half of USAID's program resources in the area of private sector development were targeted to benefit the informal sector. Assistance was channeled through NGOs delivering technical assistance, training and credit. While the informal sector has generated approximately two million jobs, many of these are survivalist operations with nominal contribution to the economy at large. At present, the informal sector accounts for less than 7% of GDP. Given the need to redistribute income and assets and lay the foundation for the overall growth of the South African economy, USAID will augment its work in this area with formal sector activities in support of small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs). USAID will continue to work through NGOs to reach the informal sector as part of the continuum of SMMEs.

USAID-supported international franchising conferences resulted in nearly 70 new businesses (with links to U.S. firms) and 450 new jobs. In addition, working with six South African private sector banks, USAID helped mobilize credit for approximately 3,000 disadvantaged entrepreneurs.

Description: This strategic objective is being implemented through seven key activities: 1) an NGO Support Facility to channel grants to NGOs providing technical assistance, training and credit to the SMME sector; 2) a grant to the Department of Trade and Industry to restructure government entities supporting SMMEs and to address trade and investment policies; 3) technical assistance to improve access to equity capital; 4) technical assistance to medium and large enterprises as well as government in areas such as restructuring and buy-outs, and privatization transactions; 5) strengthening the capacity of business membership organizations to transfer technical knowledge; 6) training in banking and management skills; and 7) facilitating commercial linkages between the United States and South Africa. The Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund, which provides a source of equity capital; and the Micro and Small Enterprise Development Loan Guaranty Fund, are regional activities that also contribute to this strategic objective.

Host Country and Other Donors: USAID is the largest bilateral grant donor in the area of private sector development. Germany focuses its assistance on poverty alleviation, training for SMMEs through NGOs; and support to the Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency (NEPA) in its policy formulation function and human resources development. The United Kingdom concentrates on assistance to business skills training and counseling to SMMEs, poverty alleviation among youth, women, in rural areas, small growth businesses and technical assistance to DTI in developing the concept of local service centers. The Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), with Investec and Fedsure Mortgages, capitalized the 100 million Rand Enterprise Capital Fund (approx. \$30 million) to make equity and quasi-equity investments in medium-sized enterprises owned/managed by disadvantaged South Africans. The European Union, provides assistance to micro-lending activities. Denmark provides assistance to small business development, support to NGOs serving the SMME community, and assistance to the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) in developing its manufacturing technology centers for the NEPA. Through loan to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), Japan is providing \$100 million to lend to regional development corporations for SMME promotion. Japan also is establishing a \$100 million equity fund to help fund joint ventures and provide intermittent participant training in Japan. Through a line of credit to the Rural Finance Facility, France is funding a program of credits to small business enterprises; and social development in rural and peri-urban areas. Finally, Canada is supporting technical assistance for the design of local service centers.

Beneficiaries: The direct beneficiaries of this strategic objectives are the small, medium and micro-enterprises of South Africa.

Principal Contractors, Grantees, or Agencies: USAID will implement activities through a variety of South African and U.S. NGOs, the GNU and U.S. and South African contractors and universities.

Major Results Indicators:

Baseline Target

Long-term results

Improved Human Development Index (HDI) .500 (1992) .700 (2002)

for historically disadvantaged population

Improved economic growth and equity:

--3 year average real GDP growth rate 4% (1991-1994) 4.0% (2000-2003)

--ratio of median household incomes of 18.2%(1993) 21% (2003)

the historically disadvantaged in relation

to those of Whites

Short to medium-term results (illustrative):

Total Rand value of funds (including 200M Rand (1994) 450-650M Rand (1997)

amount leveraged) made available

for informal and microenterprises

and small, medium and large enterprises

of the historically disadvantaged population

Total number of small, medium and 13,000 (1994) 35,000 (1997)

microenterprise formal loans made to

the historically disadvantaged population

ACTIVITY DATA SHEET

- **PROGRAM: SOUTH AFRICA**

TITLE AND NUMBER: Improved Access to Environmentally-Sustainable Shelter and Urban Services for the Historically Disadvantaged Population, 674-S006

STATUS: Continuing

PROPOSED OBLIGATION AND FUNDING SOURCE: FY 1997: \$8,044,380 DFA

INITIAL OBLIGATION: FY 1996; **ESTIMATED COMPLETION DATE:** FY 2001

Purpose: To improve the shelter conditions of the historically disadvantaged population, the vast majority of whom currently live in substandard shelter conditions, through improved access to environmentally-sustainable shelter and urban services.

Background: The critical prerequisites to shelter access are good policies, the availability of credit, and appropriate shelter planning and delivery services. USAID is well-suited to undertake a multi-pronged approach to address these factors.

USAID Role and Achievements to Date: USAID has played an important role in fostering policy reform, furnishing technical assistance and providing capital for the housing sector. This role will continue through activities described in the section below. Over the past several years, USAID has developed a strong track record in these areas. There are two Housing Guaranty (HG) programs in place, complemented by an effective technical assistance project. To date, the HG has made available over \$133 million for mortgages for low income households. In FY 1995, the first year of operations, over 23,000 mortgages were provided to the target group.

Description: Improved access to shelter and urban services for the historically disadvantaged population will be accomplished through three USAID interventions in the urban sector: 1) technical assistance provided through NGOs and bilateral agreements with the GNU, national and provincial-level departments, to support the development and implementation of policies that facilitate the provision of housing and urban services to the historically disadvantaged population to ensure a better policy formulation process, and to support research and studies to provide baseline information; 2) grants, technical assistance and training provided to increase access to credit for shelter and urban services for previously ineligible borrowers (i.e., historically disadvantaged households, developer/builders, and urban service providers). The Housing Guaranty Loan Program will provide funds to the private sector for the provision of loans to low-income households; and 3) Non-credit mechanisms linked to the provision of shelter for the poorest of the poor will be strengthened through (a) capacity building grants and (b) technical assistance to entities active in the shelter sector, including community-based organizations, and public sector service providers such as municipalities and parastatals.

Host Country and Other Donors: USAID is a major player in the urban sector for the following reasons: 1) its substantial length of involvement in the sector (since 1992) which predates that of most other donors; 2) its role as coordinator of donor activities (primarily through chairing the Urban Sector Donor Coordination Committee), and 3) the comparative size of the USAID program. With a few exceptions, most donors are relative newcomers to the housing sector and are currently involved in establishing programs with community support organizations (CSO) or with the GNU. The other major donors currently active in the sector are: 1) the World Bank, with studies and project preparation/ assessment and technical assistance; 2) Japan, through bulk infrastructure loans and grants; 3) Germany, through project preparation technical assistance and training program for local officials and a \$22 million urban upgrading program in the Eastern Cape; and 4) Other Donor Assistance, through numerous small activities including a \$2.2 million policy planning unit in one province;

Also, other donors, primarily the Scandinavian countries, are implementing urban sector programs.

VISIT TO COWLEY HOUSE

126 Chapel Street
Cape Town, South Africa
Phone: (021) 45-7373

DRAFT

Date: Wednesday, March 19, 1997
5:30pm

Participants: HRC

Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Ms. Nomfundo Walaza, Director of Cowley House & Clinical Psychologist.

XXX, deliverer of opening prayer

XXX, representative of families/victims who utilise Cowley House

Press: Open

Upon arrival, HRC and Archbishop Tutu are greeted by Dr. Walaza and escorted into the courtyard for a short briefing on the history, focus, and operations of Cowley House.

The participants will then proceed to the Garden of Remembrance to deliver remarks to an assemblage of Cowley House's client/patients, supporters, and guests. Approximately 150 people will be in attendance.

The University of Cape Town's *Choir for Africa* will sing traditional songs as the participants enter the garden area.

Once positioned, XXX will offer an opening prayer.

Archbishop Tutu will then deliver brief remarks.

XXX will then deliver remarks on behalf of the families who utilise Cowley House.

Director Walaza will then deliver brief remarks and introduce Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton delivers remarks.

Upon the Conclusion of Mrs. Clinton's remarks, the HRC and Archbishop Tutu will proceed to an adjacent area for the planting of a commemorative tree in the Garden of Remembrance.

Upon the conclusion of the tree planting, HRC works a ropeline from right to left and departs.

(The *Choir for Africa* will sing during the ropeline movement.)

N.B. Invited guests and audience members will remain at Cowley House following HRC's departure as refreshments will be served.

DRAFT**VISIT TO VICTORIA MXENGE HOUSING PROJECT**

Date: Wednesday, March 19
10:30 am

Location: Landsdown Road

Participants: Patricia Matolengwe, South African Homeless People's Federation
[Ma-toe 'ling-way]
Sankie Mthembi-Mahanyele, Minister of Housing
[Sang-key Mm-tem-be Ma-han-yeah-lay]
Mayor Theresa Solomon
Joel Bolnick, Executive Director, People's Dialogue
Aaron Williams, AID Director for South Africa

Press: Open

Scenario Upon arrival, HRC is met by participants listed above. She will proceed with Matolengwe, Mthembi and Solomon into the housing project. [Note: Other staff will be tour the project in a second group after HRC's tour is underway]. HRC will walk past some houses under construction. Approximately 200 women will be singing on her left as she walks. The press will be prepositioned on her right. She will proceed to the house of Mrs. Mbeki [Mm-bay-key] for a quick visit, and then to the business office. From there, HRC will proceed to the community center building site for an informal round-table discussion. Patricia Matolengwe will introduce the Mayor who will in turn introduce the Minister. Patricia will then introduce HRC and the discussion with the residents will begin. At the conclusion of the discussion, HRC will proceed to a house immediately behind her, remove the door, and paint the door. [At this point, staff is escorted to another house to help with construction]. When HRC is finished painting, she will walk along a ropeline toward other houses under construction, where she will join rest of staff. From there she proceeds to the motorcade and departs.

Attire: Casual / work clothes

DRAFT

SPEIR WINE ESTATE LUNCHEON

Lynedoch Road
Stellenbosch, South Africa
Phone: (021) 881-3096

Date: Wednesday, March 19, 1997
12:30pm

Participants: *HRC*
Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph
Others TBD.

Press: ?

Attire: Casual

HRC and guests are greeted upon arrival by Craig Seaman, manager of Speir Wine Estate.

Luncheon Guests will be escorted to DIE OPSTAL (The Manor House) -- a South African National Monument, which dates back to 1820 -- for an informal wine tasting. Mrs. Clinton and the other luncheon guests will have the opportunity to change clothes and freshen up prior to the wine tasting.

Upon the conclusion of the wine tasting, HRC and guests will be escorted next door to the JONKERSHUIS Restaurant for lunch. Seating will be outside in a canopied area within close proximity to the estate's rose garden. The restaurant serves Dutch/East Indian/Malay cuisine which is offered as a self-service buffet. These traditional South African dishes can be accompanied by a variety of the estate's vintages.

Following lunch, Mrs. Clinton and her guests will have the opportunity to visit the WINE CENTRE. Bottles of Speir Wine -- as well as wine from neighbouring estates -- can be purchased at that time.

Departure en route Cape Grace Hotel.

Staff Note: A set price of approximately R?/person will be collected in advance to pay for lunch.

VISIT TO TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION**DRAFT**

Date: Wednesday, March 19
4:30 pm

Location: 106 Adderly Street, Capetown
Tel. (021) 245-165

Participants: Archbishop Desmond Tutu
Dr. Alex Boraine, Commission Vice Chair
Ambassador Joseph
15 TRC commissioners

Press: Pool

Scenario: HRC is met curbside by Archbishop Tutu and Dr. Boraine. They proceed to elevator and up to TRC's offices. [Note: Staff and press will follow on subsequent elevators]. HRC, Tutu, Boraine and Ambassador Joseph enter the commission room where Tutu will introduce HRC to the 15 other commissioners. They will be seated at the head of the table. [Note: there will be a few seats for staff]. Once the discussion begins, the press will be escorted into the room in two shifts. At the conclusion of the discussion, HRC and Tutu will proceed to motorcade for departure.

Note: All staff will remain in the lobby except for the following people who will follow HRC into the commission room:

Maggie Williams
Melanne Verveer
Geroge Moosc
Susan Rice

Attire: Business

VISIT OF THE FIRST LADY
TO
JOHANNESBURG, REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MARCH 18-19, 1997

EVENT: Arrival

DATE: Tuesday, March 18, 1997

TIME: 5:15 a.m.

LOCATION: Johannesburg International Airport

GREETERS: Ambassador Joseph
Mrs. Joseph

PRESS: Open

REMARKS: None

SCENARIO: Mrs. Clinton will deplane and be greeted by Ambassador Joseph and Mrs. Joseph. Mrs. Clinton will then depart for the hotel.

Staff Note: Staff may deplane at the rear of the aircraft.

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Austin American-Statesman
Austin American-Statesman

May 28, 1995

SECTION: TRAVEL; Pg. G1

LENGTH: 735 words

HEADLINE: Soweto becoming one of country's top destinations

BYLINE: CHERYL BLACKERBY

BODY:

SOWETO, South Africa -- ''Where are you going, white people?'' children shouted in Zulu, as they ran alongside a van filled with tourists.

Visitors, especially white tourists, are a new phenomenon in Soweto, the largest black township in the country. Much to the surprise of black and white South Africans, Soweto, a community more associated with anti-apartheid rioting and massacres than sightseeing, has become one of the country's top tourist attractions.

At 46 square miles, Soweto (pronounced so-weh-too; an abbreviation for Southwestern Township) is home to 3.5 million people, more than twice the population of Johannesburg eight miles away.

Increasing numbers of tourists and foreign business executives, a 35 percent increase in North American visitors for the month of September, have kept Johannesburg's hotels at full capacity since the end of international trade sanctions against the country. Many of them want to visit Soweto, the place they saw so often on the nightly news.

They want to see President Nelson Mandela's modest frame house, the huge two-story house of Winnie Mandela (separated from President Mandela since 1991) and Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu's neat brickhouse, partially hidden behind a gray wall topped with an electric fence. A dozen black-owned tour companies have sprung up to accommodate demand.

''Do any white people live in Soweto?'' a white, British college student asked Stanley Ndumo, a guide with Jimmy's Face to Face Tours, a company that has offered Soweto tours for more than a decade.

''Lady, you buy a house in Soweto, and you will be in the Guinness Book of World Records,'' he said. No whites live in Soweto.

We drove through ''Beverly Hills,'' a tiny neighborhood where wealthy blacks built opulent houses before they were allowed to live outside the townships. The houses are impossible to sell now that blacks can live anywhere, several home owners said. Today, few would want to buy a house in Soweto.

Ndumo pointed out Winnie Mandela's \$215,000 stone house, built with donations to Nelson Mandela while he was in prison.

Austin American-Statesman, May 28, 1995

'It is called Winnie's Mansion,' he said, adding that many of the people of Soweto have little affection for her since she was convicted of the kidnapping of a 14-year-old Soweto boy who was beaten to death. (Her bodyguard was convicted of the killing, and she was sentenced to five years in jail, which the Supreme Court knocked down to a \$9,600 fine.)

We saw neighborhoods of bungalows with neat green front lawns and a half-dozen shacks housing families in each back yard, and miles of squatters' shanties covering treeless brown hills as far as we could see. Ndumo pointed out portable chemical toilets spaced along dirt alleys and spigots that provide clean city water.

High school girls in pleated skirts and knee socks tossed a soccer ball near the monument to 12 children killed June 16, 1976, during a student protest of mandatory instruction in Afrikaans, the language of the white government. (Afrikaans was developed from 16th-century Dutch; apartheid is an Afrikaans word literally meaning state of being apart.) The government killed 575 people over eight months during the protest, a fourth of them under age 18.

At a shabeen, an unlicensed bar, a dozen men sat at long tables near a coal-burning stove. Plates of stiff, white porridge (similar to grits) were served along with 1-liter cartons of low-alcohol Elephants beer. Ox and goat meat sizzled in a frying pan on the stove. The men had just gotten off the night shift at the Baragwanath hospital, the largest hospital in Africa. It is across a highway from Soweto.

I went to Soweto on another day, a Sunday morning. Mothers dressed up in hats and

high heels, little girls in frilly Sunday dresses and boys in ties emerged from the rows of shanties. They went to churches -- there are more than 300 in Soweto -- and to funerals.

'So many funerals in Soweto,' an old man said sadly.

'At funerals, we have lots of food and music. Sometimes you're at the wrong funeral, but no one cares,' noted a young man.

Soweto residents are surprisingly welcoming considering that until the April election of Mandela, the township had been in a state of war since 1976.

'We want you to see us,' said one resident, 'to see how we've survived while white South Africans were sitting comfortably.'

GRAPHIC: Children in Soweto, South Africa, meet tourists, as more foreigners visit the township to see the site of bloody uprisings against apartheid.

LOAD-DATE: May 28, 1995

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 PR Newswire Association, Inc.
PR Newswire

June 3, 1996, Monday

SECTION: International News

DISTRIBUTION: TO INTERNATIONAL AND BUSINESS EDITORS

LENGTH: 542 words

HEADLINE: KENNEDY FAMILY RETURNS TO SOWETO TO COMMEMORATE RFK VISIT; TOURS
CITIZENS ENERGY SITES

BODY:

The family of Robert F. Kennedy, including his widow, returned to Soweto today, 30 years after his historic visit to that troubled black township. Mrs. Kennedy and her children arrived in Johannesburg on Saturday to celebrate the anniversary of the late Senator's 1966 journey to South Africa. The Soweto visit is part of an 8-day tour of Angola and South Africa sponsored by Citizens Energy Corporation and the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial.

The family revisited some of the sites of RFK's original journey, including the University of Witwatersrand, in the morning and traveled to Soweto in the afternoon. While there they visited the sites of several new Citizens Energy investment initiatives which could have wide social impacts throughout South Africa. Citizens Energy Chairman Michael Kennedy said about the connection between the anniversary and the new initiatives, "Robert Kennedy talked about apartheid and political freedom in 1966. Unfortunately for the people of Soweto, while apartheid has been abolished, their stomachs are no fuller than they were 30 years ago, their lives essentially unchanged. Citizens Energy's mission here is to help to raise the standard of living for the people of Soweto through investment and economic development."

SOWETO, South Africa, June 3

With a \$30,000 grant, Citizens Energy has begun working with the Women's Opportunity Fund, a Chicago-based organization, to provide microloans to women-owned businesses in Soweto. The Kennedy family visited past microloan recipients in Soweto including a woman who used a \$300 loan to start a daycare center three years ago and who now cares for more than 20 children, earning \$20 per month per child. Another recipient visited was a woman who runs a streetside vegetable stand and who used her \$300 loan to buy a frying stove in order to make french fries. As a result her revenues have doubled and she hired a neighbor to help with the business.

Citizens has also invested more than \$100,000 in several other development-related projects in South Africa. The Boston-based, non-profit recently began working with WorldWater and Lifesource International, Ltd. to provide more efficient water pumping and storage facilities, respectively, in South Africa, where 40% of the population have no running water and people spend hours each day hauling potable water for household use. In a country with 1 million homeless and another 8 million living in shacks, Citizens is also working with Amakhaya International, a manufacturer of high-quality, low-cost, poured cement

PR Newswire, June 3, 1996

building materials for affordable housing. Citizens also sponsored a conference for American pension fund administrators in Cape Town in 1994 which has resulted in approximately \$200 million in institutional investment in South Africa.

The trip will conclude on Thursday, June 6 in Cape Town with a forum at the university commemorating the 30th anniversary of Robert Kennedy's "Ripple of Hope" speech, a meeting with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a memorial mass with Catholic Bishop Cawcutt. CONTACT: Jean Fleischman of Citizens Energy, 617-338-6300, or Erin Scully of The RFK Memorial, 202-333-1880, ext. 225

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 4, 1996

8TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 Agence France Presse
Agence France Presse

June 16, 1996 16:17 GMT

SECTION: International news

LENGTH: 827 words

HEADLINE: Generations meet at Soweto school where 1976 uprising began

BYLINE: Steve Matthewson

DATELINE: JOHANNESBURG, June 16

BODY:

Past and present pupils gathered at Morris Isaacson High School on Sunday to witness the beginning of a new era in the remarkable history of the place where the Soweto uprising began 20 years ago.

On June 16, 1976, a group of pupils gathered at the school in the heart of the sprawling black township near Johannesburg to set off on a protest march against a new ruling that black children should be taught in Afrikaans, the language of what was then South Africa's white minority government.

Pupils from other Soweto schools soon joined them and the demonstrations were met with a swift and brutal response from the apartheid government.

By the middle of the following year, the protests had spread across South Africa and left some 575 people dead, at least 450 of them at the hands of the apartheid security forces, according to official figures.

The school, which produced some of Soweto's best academic results prior to the uprising, declined as it became a centre of the political struggle and more recently a haven of criminal gangs.

But the official opening on Sunday of the newly renovated Morris Isaacson school hall brought together some of the former pupils that were part of that first group of 1976 protestors, as well as a new generation that is looking to the future.

"Morris will become better as time goes on," Constance Msimango, the deputy chairwoman of the school's student council, told The Star newspaper in Johannesburg this week. "We have a solid history to build on."

The 1976 uprising drew international attention to South Africa's apartheid policies and made the impoverished and overcrowded dormitory township of industrial workers and miners a household name.

Soweto, originally an acronym for "South Western Townships," was established in the 1950s after the government was pressured into providing formal municipal housing for of migrant black workers who had settled in vast squatter camps around Johannesburg during the post-World War II boom.

Agence France Presse, June 16, 1996

Soweto's population swelled when the government forcibly moved black families from Sophiatown west of Johannesburg to Soweto, to make room for a new white suburb.

Its most famous resident in the early days, Nelson Mandela, started a family in Orlando, which was eventually to become part of greater Soweto.

Mandela still owned a house in the growing township in 1964 when he was sentenced to life imprisonment. His ex-wife Winnie Mandela continues to live in the Orlando West area.

By the time of the 1976 riots, Soweto was already one of South Africa's largest black urban areas and home to more than 500,000 people, most of whom lived without tapped water or electricity under a black cloud of pollution created by the township's thousands of coal stoves.

During the 1980s, along with the beginnings of large-scale infrastructural development, came an independent but unpopular black municipal council that was rejected as a front for the apartheid government.

The Soweto Civic Association, headed by Nthato Motlana, a medical doctor and close friend of Mandela, led a boycott of the municipal council elections.

Soweto was again a site of conflict between the establishment and democratic forces -- municipal officials were targetted by supporters of the liberation movement and when erstwhile President Pieter Botha declared a state of emergency, troops and riot policemen were patrolling Soweto's streets again.

Two day's after his release from 27 years imprisonment in February 1990, Mandela was given a helicopter tour over Soweto.

He notes in his 1994 autobiography that little had changed in "the teeming metropolis of matchbox houses, tin shanties and dirt roads, the mother city of black urban South Africa, the only home I ever knew as a man before I went to prison."

After his election as president in 1994, Mandela made Soweto a priority area for development -- and in November 1995, in the first democratic municipal elections that brought a non-racial metropolitan council to power, black Soweto finally merged with white Johannesburg.

sbm/rom

AFP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: June 16, 1996

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

The Associated Press

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June 17, 1981, Wednesday, AM cycle

SECTION: International News

LENGTH: 368 words

HEADLINE: Townships Said Calm After Unrest On Soweto Anniversary

BYLINE: By CYNTHIA STEVENS, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: JOHANNESBURG, South Africa

BODY:

Black commuters streamed into Johannesburg Wednesday apparently without incident after a day of sporadic violence in the Soweto township where they live.

Soweto and other non-white townships were reported tense, but no violence was reported the day after rioters clashed with police on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. Student demonstrations that year over the use of the Afrikaans language in schools lead to nationwide racial unrest in which 700 blacks were killed.

Twenty-six people were injured Tuesday and several thousand dollars' damage was done as black youths stoned about 150 buses in Soweto.

Police behavior during the outbreaks in Soweto and in mixed-race townships came under attack Wednesday.

L.M. Mathabathe, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, an unofficial civic organization, accused police of brutality in firing tear gas next to a Roman Catholic church during services commemorating the Soweto anniversary.

Police said they took action after vehicles were stoned behind the church.

Mathabathe said the services were peaceful and would have ended so had "the police not acted stupidly."

An editorial in the moderate Johannesburg Star called for an investigation saying "the depth of antipathy (the incident) created must not be underestimated."

Elsewhere Wednesday, the Kwa Mashu black township on the outskirts of the Indian Ocean port city of Durban was "quiet, but slightly tense," police reported. Youths stoned about 70 buses there Tuesday.

Leaders of both the mixed-race and white communities met in Pretoria with Minister of Police Louis Le Grange to discuss charges of excessive police force during demonstrations. Police reportedly used tear gas and truncheons to

The Associated Press, June 17, 1981

disperse youths.

Thousands of mixed-race students in western Johannesburg and in Cape Town boycotted classes for the third day Wednesday to protest alleged brutality against student protesters earlier this month.

Fifty-nine mixed-race pupils arrested during a June 3 march appeared in Newlands magistrate court. The students, who range in age from 12 to 19, reportedly include five primary school children. They all face up to a year in prison under the Riotous Assemblies act.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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December 1, 1995, Friday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 427 words

HEADLINE: S.Africa asks world for pavements, parks in Soweto

BYLINE: By Juliette Saunders

DATELINE: SOWETO, South Africa, Dec 1

BODY:

South Africa asked the world on Friday to come to the rescue of its Cinderella city: the sprawling black township of Soweto.

Launching the "World in Soweto" project, human rights campaigner Amina Cachalia asked diplomats from more than 50 countries to "adopt" a street in the dusty, garbage-strewn township to transform it into a city with pavements and parks.

"Soweto is long overdue for this. It is one of the most neglected cities anywhere," she said.

Cachalia is one of nine South Africans who initiated the plan and on Friday led the diplomats on a bus tour of the township bordering the commercial capital of Johannesburg.

In a marquee tent under a stone tower built to commemorate efforts by philanthropist Sir Ernest Oppenheimer to eradicate black slums in the 1950s, Cachalia said the project was designed to bring visible changes for Soweto's four million residents.

"There are lovely areas in Soweto too. But everywhere you go there are not enough trees, no pavements, or playgrounds, and local structures do not have the funds to make it a better place to live. That's why this is important.

"If one country can adopt two streets and pave it, or if someone else wants to set up a children's park, that's more than good enough for us," Cachalia said.

President Nelson Mandela's government has started a billion-dollar reconstruction programme aimed at uplifting the lives of blacks disadvantaged by almost 50 years of apartheid.

Soweto and most other black townships in the country show the signs of decades of neglect with potholed streets, bad lighting and sprawling squatter settlements.

The Palestinian envoy to South Africa, Salman El-Herfi, said the race and wealth contrasts in Soweto were sadly stark.

"It's very emotional for me (to be in Soweto). It's always reminded me of the Palestinian refugee camps either in Palestine or in the Arab countries. Areas

divided. Areas suffering. It's the same," El-Herfi told Reuters.

"Now it's time for the people in Soweto to have a better future. We're very excited for this project. We'll do what we can do...We'll also encourage other Arab countries and our friends to help," he added.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal, who kicked off the project by donating 500,000 indigenous trees, said the government wanted the world to help free Soweto from its past.

"The very fact that Soweto was Johannesburg's Cinderella means that it is ready for renewal. Now, it has that chance.

"That may sound like a dream. But our freedom, our liberty, was a dream."
11:55 12-01-95

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: December 02, 1995

10TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Post

July 21, 1996, Sunday, Final Edition

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BODY:

THEATER

Nancy Robinette will reprise her macabre comic performance as the grave-visiting monologist in "The Obituary Bowl," starting this Monday at Woolly Mammoth. Barbara McConagha's tough-minded, disturbing comedy is the perfect vehicle for Robinette, a brilliantly frazzled actress, who brings an eccentric poetry and surreal humor to her role. If you missed her the first time, you're advised to take advantage of this second chance.

-- Lloyd Rose

Woolly Mammoth Theatre, 1401 Church St. NW. "The Obituary Bowl" opens with "pay what you can" previews tomorrow and Tuesday at 8 p.m.; through Aug. 11 it runs Wednesdays through Fridays at 8 p.m.; Saturdays and Sundays at 2 and 8 p.m. (July 28 at 2 p.m. only). Tickets are \$ 22.00. 202-393-3939.

POP

Talk about the indestructible beat of Soweto: Two of South Africa's most compelling vocal ensembles find themselves in Washington this week. Ladysmith Black Mambazo, who have become frequent visitors (with a recent theatrical stint at the Kennedy Center's Terrace Theater), will appear at the Birchmere, while Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens perform at the 9:30 club. Like Ladysmith, Mahlathini is a veteran Zulu act whose personnel has remained essentially unchanged for 30 years, with leader Simon "Mahlathini" Nkabinde's deep, rasping bass vocals set in compelling counterpoint to the three Queens' harmonies. As for the band, it's one of the prime exponents of mbaqanga, the ebullient township jive that reflects South Africa's indomitable spirit. In fact, Mahlathini's version is dubbed mgqashiyo -- music that will live forever.

-- Richard Harrington

Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens perform at the 9:30 club, 815 V St. NW. Tomorrow at 8 p.m. Tickets are \$ 20. Call 202-393-0930.

Ladysmith Black Mambazo perform at the Birchmere, 3901 Mount Vernon Ave., Alexandria. Wednesday at 8 p.m. Tickets are \$ 22.50. 703-549-5919.

CLASSICAL

South Africa: U.S.-South Africa Relations

The United States and South Africa both have diverse and open societies, an attachment to democratic principles, and a shared vision of a peaceful and prospering international community. Since apartheid ended, we have moved quickly, and with considerable success, to put in place an entirely new architecture to our relationship, one defined between two sophisticated, independent, democratic partners. Sound working relationships at the senior-most levels of government, as well as burgeoning government, business, and personal links between our two countries, underscore the rapidity with which U.S.-South African relations have grown in less than three years.

Within this excellent relationship, there are some frictions. South Africa's leaders realize the only way to increase jobs, housing, and education for the masses is to foster a climate which supports private enterprise and attracts foreign investment. Yet some in South Africa retain a wariness and skepticism of the United States' immense economic and political power and its evolving foreign policy interests in Africa. Additionally, Afrikaner technocrats continue to dominate the civil service, and a number of them still harbor resentment over U.S. policy toward the former regime. South Africa's leaders also retain close ties to many pariah states, including Libya, Iran and Cuban, which aided the liberation movement during the apartheid era. These relations continue to be of concern to U.S. policymakers, especially in the area of potential weapons sales and technology transfers.

The establishment of the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC) in 1994 and a number of high-level visits by U.S. Government officials have underscored the strong bonds between the two countries. South Africa continues to regard official and private sector support from the United States as crucial to the success of its efforts to redress the socioeconomic legacy of apartheid. Accordingly, South African expectations of U.S. support are high. With aid levels set to zero out by the year 2005, the U.S. and South Africa must solidify a friendship not defined by developmental aid.

The BNC has encouraged both governments to give high-level attention to critical trade, development and commercial issues and has provided concrete demonstration of the breadth and depth of the U.S. commitment to Africa's most advanced economic power. Such widespread engagement will continue to be crucial to the relationship as the need to replace conventional aid programs increases.

South Africa: Political Overview

Almost three years into the rule of the Government of National Unity, euphoria over democracy and liberation has subsided faster than the new government has been able to replace it with delivery of jobs, housing, and education. Unfulfilled expectations are not yet a major problem but could become so in the near future. Nelson Mandela's place in history is assured. He is increasingly revered as a living legend by all elements of South African society. Until Mandela retires at this end of his term, there will be no meaningful challenge to the political status quo. Mandela have begun paving the way for a coordinated and gradual transfer of power, and will not stand for re-election as ANC president at the next party congress in December 1997. While clearly grooming Thabo Mbeki to be his successor, he stresses that the selection of the next president will be through a democratic process.

Domestically, three major political issues have taken positive turns during the past year. First, in KwaZulu/Natal Province, factional violence between the ANC and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, which controls the provincial government, has subsided remarkably since last June's local elections were carried out peacefully and fairly.

Second, South Africa's permanent constitution was adopted in December, with most opposition parties (including the National Party) joining with the ANC to provide an overwhelming margin of Parliamentary support. The widespread, multilateral support for the constitution bodes well for the preservation of democracy.

Finally, South Africa is weathering well the stress of exposing and resolving the cases of persons who perpetrated atrocities in an effort either to defend the apartheid government or to destroy it. The independent Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which the United States has supported with a grant, has demonstrated fairness and good judgment.

A somewhat troubling feature within the ANC is its tendency to deal harshly with those within its own ranks who challenge the party's authority. The central ANC authority puts a premium on unwavering party loyalty. The ANC controls seven of nine provincial councils and has the authority as the majority party in these regions to appoint provincial premiers. Thus, the ANC was legally able to replace three provincial premiers in recent months, when their actions reflected badly on the ANC, without ever calling an election.

South Africa: Economic Overview

The United States and South Africa have made great progress in establishing a normal bilateral trade relationship, with annual trade of approximately \$5 billion. Our overall trade policy dialogue is frank and has focused on resolving issues of mutual concern. In the past twelve months, we have concluded a new bilateral tax treaty and a civil aviation treaty. During the February 1997 Binational Commission meetings in Cape Town, South African Government (SAG) officials expressed interest in commencing Bilateral Investment Treaty negotiations.

South Africa has been increasingly responsive to U.S. concerns on a variety of bilateral and multilateral trade issues including Intellectual Property Rights protection, competition policy, and telecommunications policy. The SAG's February 1997 offer during the World Trade Organization telecom negotiations to conditionally open telecommunications markets created an impetus for other emerging markets to follow suit. At home, South Africa is privatizing Telkom, the telecommunications parastatal. In early March, the SAG awarded an approximately 30% strategic equity partnership, worth \$1.5 billion, in Telkom to a U.S.-Malaysian consortium led by Southwestern Bell. Many firms view this as positive indication of South African interest in U.S. investment, and believe it will facilitate related investments in South Africa and the region.

The direction of economic policy has become one of the most divisive issues for ANC leadership. The SAG wants to move away from its heavily statist inheritance, show positive economic results quickly, and deliver long-awaited social services. In June 1996, the SAG unveiled a forward-looking, market-driven economic plan, "Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy" (GEAR). The GEAR policy attempts to balance labor and business interests. While business interests supported the policy, labor leaders charged that the policy leaned too heavily in favor of business, and complained that tariff cuts and increased labor market flexibility would cost jobs in vulnerable industries and erode labor rights.

The GEAR calls for a reduction of tariffs and export subsidies, deficit reduction, budget reform, privatization of state assets, labor market flexibility, tax incentives for investors, and gradual exchange control relaxation. The plan aims for 6 percent economic growth and creation of 400,000 new jobs annually by the year 2000. (South Africa's 1996 GDP growth was 3 percent, and unemployment is estimated to be 35%.)

In late 1996, financial analysts reported that South Africa's economic growth rate was slowing. Since that time, trade statistics and other economic indicators have been positive, and analysts are now adopting a cautiously optimistic tone. Government borrowing has dropped, and it appears the SAG will meet its GEAR target of reducing the fiscal deficit to 5.1% of GDP this year. (It was close to 8% in 1992.) Inflation remained below 10%, and a three-year upward trend in domestic investment has continued.

South Africa: Women's Issues

Since taking office in 1994, the post-apartheid government has made significant progress in raising the status of women. Before 1994, women faced discriminatory laws and regulations in healthcare, childcare, tax legislation, land ownership and crimes of violence. During the 1994 elections, the African National Congress (ANC) pledged that 33 percent of its elected positions in government would go to women. With the ANC dominating the government, the percentage of women in elected office is even greater. On the national level, over a quarter of the seats in the National Parliament are held by women and both the Speaker and Deputy Speaker are women. Four of 26 Ministers are women, as are eight of the deputy minister positions. On the provincial and local levels women are well represented, with one female Provincial Premier (equivalent to a U.S. state governor) and several female mayors.

The South African government has aggressively enacted legislation to benefit women. In 1996, the government established an Office on the Status of Women in the Deputy President's Office to develop strategies for integrating gender concerns in policy and planning. The Commission on Gender Equality Bill, passed by Parliament in June 1996, established a government body to promote gender equality and to advise Parliament on any legislation affecting women. The government has worked hard to implement the goals of the UN Fourth Conference on Women and ratified in 1996 the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

The equality and rights of women are enshrined in the South African constitution. Tax legislation has been passed which removes previous discriminatory regulations against married women. A domestic violence act was passed in 1993 and is being strengthened, following consultations with NGO's and the Department of Justice. Recently a bill was passed which will provide abortion services for up to 14 weeks of pregnancy and, for certain cases, up to 24 weeks. Legislation is under consideration to strengthen women's land rights and amendments have been added to a farm workers' rights bill which includes domestic workers.

Despite legal advances and government efforts, discrimination against women remains a serious problem. Girls account for about 50 percent of primary and secondary school populations but their graduation rate is lower than that of boys because of domestic responsibilities, sexual harassment, and pregnancy. More women than men reside in rural areas where illiteracy rates equal 50 percent. Although over 45 percent of university students are women, they lag far behind in the sciences, business and engineering fields. Nearly 40 percent of law students are women, but less than 20 percent of advocates and less than 10 percent of judges are women. Traditional law, especially in the rural areas, continues to confine women and is in direct confrontation with the rights guaranteed women in the South African

constitution. The government has yet to work out the conflict between the two.

Violence toward women is a major problem. Although the absence of comprehensive statistics makes a definitive statement on the prevalence of violence against women difficult, it is generally accepted that it occurs across all socioeconomic and racial groups and is widespread and on the increase. South Africa has one of the highest per capita rates of rape in the world; several recent high-profile rapes have been covered in the international press and have increased pressure for action. The government's domestic violence legislation provides for "one stop shops" for victims of domestic violence or rape. Working with NGO's, the government also plans to create structures which encompass health clinics, police stations, counseling centers and safe houses to offer more efficient and comprehensive service to victims of violence.

On the economic front, women have a lower rate of employment in the formal sector than men. There are few women owners of business and there is only one female head of a major corporation (Transnet). Women earn less than their male counterparts in every sector of the economy, and workplace issues such as sexual harassment and maternity leave are inadequately addressed. Within all race groups, woman-headed households are significantly poorer than the average household. The female labor force remains concentrated in low-paid, poorly organized sectors of the economy, such as clerical, sales, and service sectors, which include domestic services and the informal sector.

South Africa: Children's Issues

Young people in South Africa face a wide range of problems, including abandonment, substance abuse, prostitution, domestic and other serious forms of violence, homelessness, and labor exploitation. The constitution stipulates that children have the right "to security, education, basic nutrition, and basic health and social services," and the government remains firm in its commitment to provide these services. While it has made some progress toward developing mechanisms for delivering services, the demand far outstrips available resources.

As a result of the apartheid legacy, South African children have serious problems resulting from poverty and poor living conditions. In 1995, the infant mortality rate was 50 deaths per 1,000 live births. More than 9 million children, or a quarter of South Africa's population, lived in poor households (below the poverty line). About 96% (8.7 million) of the children living in poor households were black, 3.4% were colored, 0.4% were Indian and 0.5% were white. Of the 8.7 million black children living in poverty, more than 75% lived in rural areas.

A 1994 survey to assess the extent and location of malnutrition among schoolchildren found that, although acute malnutrition was not a major problem, over one million children were either underweight or stunted. The government offers free health care to pregnant women and to children under 6 years of age, and provides nutritious meals for primary school children. Public assistance for primary school nutrition currently reaches approximately 5.5 million children in 15,800 schools, 80 percent of the identified target children. Child care provision is still poor and racially divided; 33 out of 100 white children attend mostly high-quality centers, while only 6 out of 100 black children attend child care centers, which are usually simple backyard arrangements.

Violence against children remains widespread. Crimes committed against children are currently rising at an annual rate of 29%; reported cases have increased 65% between 1993 and 1995. The increase in reported cases can be attributed to the creation of special units to deal with these crimes, a growing emphasis on children's rights, and increased public and media attention to the problem. However, a lack of coordinated and comprehensive strategies to deal with such crimes impedes the delivery of needed services to young victims.

Child prostitution is on the rise, primarily in Cape Town, but it is prevalent in Durban and Johannesburg as well. An increase in the number of children living on the streets has contributed to a rise in child prostitution. Female genital mutilation is traditionally practiced in some remote areas, although it is not thought to be widespread. Traditional circumcision of teenage boys results in the hospitalization, mutilation, or even death of several youths each year.

South Africa: Education

Education in South Africa was severely warped by apartheid policies. Separate education systems for each race and each region resulted in 19 Ministries of Education and huge disparities in resources and services. The quality of education was high for the privileged white 20% of the population and very poor for the disadvantaged majority. Reconstruction and development efforts focus on attaining equality of educational resources and opportunities, but will take decades to achieve. The challenge is to maintain and enhance the quality developed for privileged communities, while expanding education services to all.

The 19 ministries have been reorganized into one National Ministry of Education and new provincial departments of education in the nine provinces are being created. The new provincial administrations are responsible for the delivery of education services. Their handling of the daunting task of getting organized, assessing and allocating teaching and other resources, registering students and starting classes has been a mixed success.

At the school level, there are serious inequalities in education resources among ethnic groups, and the extensive efforts to mitigate the disparities will take some time. The education budget is being revised to equalize funding distributions, but the inequities built up under apartheid are enormous. Disadvantaged communities lack school rooms and qualified teachers at all levels of education. Policy reforms focus on equalizing the student/teacher ratios in all communities, and government programs are being developed to educate new teachers and provide in-service training for current teachers and administrators. New curricula are also being developed to eliminate past apartheid biases and incorporate modern content and teaching practices.

In higher education, the problems are similar to those in the rest of the system. South Africa's 15 historically disadvantaged institutions share many problems the historically black colleges and universities in the U.S. once had. They suffer from inadequate physical facilities and overcrowding, insufficient funding, and under-qualified teaching and administrative staff. They are the focal point for large numbers of under-prepared students who are the products of a flawed primary and secondary education system.

The "advantaged" higher education institutions which were largely (although not exclusively) segregated under apartheid are now integrating. Most have 50% or more of their enrollment from black students, but have the resources to provide tutorial or bridging programs.

In response to President Mandela's request for teacher training assistance, President Clinton agreed to provide \$19 million through USAID for the Ministry of Education. USAID and USIA programs, covering pre-school through university support, make the United States the largest bilateral donor in education.

South Africa: Involvement in UN Fourth
World Conference on Women

Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Minister of Health, led the 46-member South African delegation. There was strong unity among the members and with the other delegates from the southern African region. South Africa received high marks at the conference for its commitment to equality in its new constitution and the visibility of women in public life (e.g., nearly one third of MPs, including the speaker of the Parliament, are women).

South Africa formed part of the African leadership at the conference which focused on the girl child and pushed for the equal right to inherit, regardless of sex. The Beijing Platform contains three such references. South Africa was an active participant during the debate over "sexual orientation," Chapter IV of the Platform. Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and others supported the reference, stating that discrimination on any grounds should be prohibited. The South African delegation made clear that it did not want to be associated with any form of discrimination.

South Africa's commitments at Beijing included:

- * Ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).
- * Creation of a national consciousness regarding violence against women.
- * Increasing the provision of shelters for battered women.
- * Improving women's access to land and credit.
- * Helping assure that single mothers have adequate support and that fathers are financially responsible for their children.

The South African Parliament ratified CEDAW and passed the Commission on Gender Equality Act. The Act promotes gender equality and establishes a commission to advise and make recommendations to Parliament on any legislation affecting women. Other steps taken by the government include: (i) the establishment of the Office on the Status of Women in the Deputy President's Office; (ii) the adoption of a new constitution which includes an equality clause that prohibits discrimination on the grounds of gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status and sexual orientation; and, (iii) the official ending of tax discrimination against married women. The government's pledge to establish more centers for battered women, one of the most significant commitments given the high rate of domestic violence in South Africa, has not been fully implemented. By the end of 1996, few centers had been opened and women's advocacy groups have called on the Government to speed implementation of its Beijing pledge.

South Africa: Population and Family Planning

Estimates put the population of South Africa between 40 and 43.5 million in 1995. UN projections indicate that the population may increase to 46.3 million by the year 2000, and to 56.4 million by the year 2010. At the current rate of growth (___%), the population will double in the next 32 years.

The South African Government (SAG) is in the process of developing the National Population Policy, a comprehensive policy to reduce past inequities while enhancing the quality of life of all South Africans. Past population policies and programs, especially with regard to fertility, mortality and migration, were anchored in apartheid ideology. They focused on the forced and/or restricted movement and resettlement of South Africans, especially blacks. The apartheid government tried to reduce population growth by reducing fertility through the provision of contraceptive services, often by coercive means, and by restricting the access of blacks to educational and employment opportunities.

South Africa's current fertility and population growth rates are high, but are on the decline. And while overall mortality rates are low, they are unusually high for infants and mothers. South Africa's age structure is relatively young, with over a third of the population under the age of 15. High unemployment in neighboring countries and porous borders have resulted in a large influx of illegal immigrants. Infrastructure and services in urban areas are overburdened by a crush of job seekers, while there is an unusually high rural population in areas without a productive base, infrastructure or services.

The quality and effectiveness of reproductive health services are poorest for South Africa's historically disadvantaged population. At least 30 percent of women in rural areas give birth at home, and a significant proportion of these births are unassisted by trained persons. Evidence indicates that illegal abortions are a significant contributor to high maternal mortality rates. While the passage of the Termination of Pregnancy Bill will make some abortions legal, the capacity of the country to provide abortions is woefully inadequate. In addition, two of the main contributors of morbidity and mortality among adolescents are pregnancy and sexually-transmitted diseases, yet health programs specifically targeting youth are virtually non-existent.

It is generally accepted that contraceptive usage among married women is at least 60 percent. While women in South Africa bear an average of 4.3 children, surveys show that this figure is far higher than women's preferred family size. This is likely due to an unmet need for contraceptive services and the necessity for the SAG to develop maternal and child health care and women's services, and to provide for more accessible family planning services.

South Africa: Health Care Issues

The major health care challenge for the new South Africa is to provide equity in basic health care to all South Africans to rectify the inequities in health services provision created and supported by apartheid. South Africa has a population of over 40 million people, 73 percent of whom are women and children. The majority of South Africa's people -- the historically disadvantaged population -- have inadequate access to basic services, including health, clean water and basic sanitation. An estimated 35 to 55 percent live in poverty; most are concentrated in rural areas.

South Africa's apartheid public health system consisted of a three-tier, 14-ministry "system" designed to serve the different population groups separately. Health care resource allocations neglected large proportions of the black and rural populations, and favored high-technology, curative health care for the minority white population. The result was an inequitable system, with the majority of South Africans deprived of basic primary health care. Other legacies of the apartheid health care system include centralized health planning and management, fragmented information systems, and ineffective human resource development.

The health and survival statistics for white children in South Africa differ greatly for their black and colored counterparts. The infant mortality rate for black South African children at ___% is nearly 10 times higher. At birth, the life expectancy of black and colored children is ___, 10 years less than white children. While diarrheal disease is the major cause of death among 1-4 year old black and colored children, it accounts for only four percent of deaths of white children. In 1990, 74,283 cases of tuberculosis were identified for children ages 1-4; of these, black and colored children accounted for 98 percent. Early weaning of babies and low birth weight are both serious child survival problems.

In the past decade, the HIV epidemic has continued to progress rapidly, with the infection rate doubling every 13-15 months. Approximately 2 million South Africans are currently infected with HIV. The current number of AIDS cases is estimated at 43,000, of whom 10,000 are children. It is projected that 8 million South Africans will be infected by the year 2000. By the year 2010 about 25 percent of all economically active people could be HIV positive, resulting in decreases in life expectancy by approximately 15 years. HIV/AIDS in South Africa is spread primarily through heterosexual contact. The housing of large populations of young men in urban hostels far from their families exacerbates this trend through contacts with sex workers and multiple partners. The interrelationship between HIV/AIDS and sexually-transmitted diseases (STDs) has been well-documented internationally, and the aggressiveness of the African HIV epidemic has apparently been due largely to the high prevalence of STDs. In South Africa, STDs have been a neglected area of health care. Furthermore, according to calculations from the national Department of Health, approximately one out of every

twelve people in South Africa will be infected with at least one STD within the next year.

South Africa: Human Rights

South Africa's governing institutions and civil society continue to consolidate the democratic transformation initiated by the historic 1994 national elections. The government generally respects the human rights of its citizens. The country's laws and newly independent judiciary protect these rights, and provide an effective means of dealing with instances of individual abuses.

The South African Police Service has primary responsibility for internal security. It is undergoing major restructuring and transformation from a primarily public order security force largely dedicated to enforcing apartheid laws to a more accountable, community service-oriented police force. Resignations and retirements of senior police officials have permitted the infusion of new personnel at senior levels; these appointments have furthered affirmative action within the police.

Civilian authorities maintain effective control of the security forces. However, some members of these forces have committed human rights abuses, including excessive use of force during arrest, torture, and other physical abuse. Deaths in police custody remain a problem. The government has taken action to investigate and punish some of those involved. Prison conditions meet minimum international standards, and the government permits independent monitoring of prisons, including visits by human rights organizations.

Although there are still many political and extrajudicial killings, political violence has continued to decrease, not only countrywide but in the province of KwaZulu Natal, where the most political violence has taken place. In Cape Town, vigilante justice and mob justice have been problems, particularly under the organization PAGAD, People Against Gangsterism and Drugs, a community-based largely Islamic organization calling for stronger action by the Government. The Government and the U.S. have condemned PAGAD's activities of intimidation and violence. Violence against women and children throughout South Africa remains a serious problem.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, created to investigate apartheid-era human rights abuses, compensate victims, and grant amnesty for full disclosure of politically-motivated crimes, began intensive rounds of hearings in April 1996, which continue. The government-created Human Rights Commission is tasked with promoting the observance of fundamental human rights at all levels of government and throughout the general population. It also has the power to conduct investigations, issue subpoenas, and hear testimony under oath.

The constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, sex, pregnancy, marital status, or birth. Legal recourse is available to those who believe they have been discriminated

against. Parliament continues to repeal and revise discriminatory legislation. Such reform actions include passage of the divorce amendment bill and the interim protection of informal land rights act.

South Africa: Environment

The environmental debate in South Africa combines the problems and concerns of both a wealthy, industrialized country and a poor, developing one. The advent of democracy has accelerated the development of a broad-based environmental movement that insists on transparency and citizen participation in governmental decision making.

Since the 1920's, the South African Government (SAG) has been active in the "green" issues of wildlife and habitat conservation. South Africans only recently focused on the "brown" issues of pollution prevention and remedies. This was partly due to a reluctance to address the environmental costs of industrial production, but apartheid-era racism slowed government's reaction to pollution problems which did not generally affect the minority white population.

The ANC government has learned to react quickly when environmental problems arise. Heightened public awareness has focused attention on environmental problems ranging from the illegal release of nuclear waste near Pretoria to the health problems associated with the continuing discharge of raw sewage in the Eastern Cape Province. In each case the government announced actions it would take once the public complained to the press.

For the majority of citizens, basic sanitation, in particular clean water, is the most immediate environmental problem. The importance of mining and heavy industry to the South African economy means that water and air pollution and solid waste management will continue to pose widespread challenges. Issues related to pesticides and other agricultural pollution in rural areas directly affect half of South Africa's population. Uncontrolled urbanization without sufficient infrastructure and a steady influx of illegal immigrants are also significant environmental concerns.

Despite the increasing environmental awareness in the country, some domestic interests have resisted the SAG's engagement in the international arena. As a result, the ANC Government has been reluctant to embrace actively many international environmental treaties. For example, the SAG has not acceded to UN Fish Stocks Agreement since local coastal communities, most of whom are from historically disadvantaged groups, oppose the agreement because it will exclude them from exploiting resources they have long been denied. While South Africa was signatory to the Convention to Combat Desertification, as well as the Climate Convention, the SAG has yet to ratify either. (South Africa is among the largest emitters of carbon dioxide, the principal greenhouse gas.)

The SAG is also under domestic pressure to reconsider its support of the ban on trade in ivory and elephant products. South Africa's game authorities are grappling with how to manage unnaturally large and destructive herds of elephants. Locals expect to benefit from the operation of game reserves, and

increasingly call for a controlled cull of "excess" elephants with the sale of elephant products on the international market.

South Africa: U.S. Assistance

The political situation in apartheid-era South Africa prompted most countries of the world to impose economic sanctions on the government in the mid-1980s. U.S. sanctions were accompanied by an expansion of USAID assistance to non-governmental organizations in South Africa. Our assistance, which was focused on strengthening the capacity of the majority population to eventually assume leadership roles, grew from \$7 million in FY 1985 to \$80 million in FY 1993.

In April 1994, South Africa entered a new stage of nonracial democracy with the election of Nelson Mandela as President. To support that change and help redress the social and economic legacies of apartheid, President Clinton announced a three-year, nearly \$600 million assistance package. This initial assistance package was superseded in 1996 by a new ten-year, \$435 million program.

USAID's strategy for South Africa was developed in close cooperation with the South African Government, civil society, university and private sector communities, and other international donors. USAID's strategy broadly supports the three main objectives of the South African Government's Reconstruction and Development Program: 1) consolidate democracy and reform the civil service; 2) spur economic growth and job creation; 3) meet the needs of the majority population in education, health and housing.

USAID's South Africa program will continue through 2005. The overall goal is "sustainable transformation" -- assisting South Africa to the point where democracy is sufficiently consolidated, and the basic system and policies for social services delivery are in place. This includes the development of management and technical capacity in the majority population, as well as institutional change. This focus is designed to increase the participation and empowerment of the majority population. With USAID assistance scheduled to end in 2005, our bilateral relationship must move steadily onto other terrain. The USAID program is designed to prepare South Africa for this transition.

USAID assistance focuses on six strategic objectives: Democracy and Governance, Education, Health, Economic Policy Capacity, Private Sector Development, and Housing and Urban Services. USAID's program in South Africa features technical assistance and training that will transfer necessary skills to a wide range of South Africans including education and health care professionals, government officials, non-governmental organizations, and small business owners.

USAID's programs also support the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission (BNC), co-chaired by Vice President Gore and Deputy President Mbeki. USAID's Administrator co-chairs the Human Resource Development and Education Committee, one of six BNC committees.

FACT SHEET
U.S. ASSISTANCE TO THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

USAID Strategic Objectives and Projected Funding Levels
Funding Years: FY 1996 - FY 2003 (program closes in 2005)

1) Democracy and Governance	\$125.1 million
2) Education	\$137.1 million
3) Health	\$ 54.3 million
4) Economic Policy Capacity	\$ 32.3 million
5) Private Sector Development*	\$ 69.0 million
6) Housing and Urban Services	\$ 90.6 million

*includes some SAEDF funds (see below)

GSP: The U.S. grants South Africa Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) access that allows duty free entry for 4,400 products. In 1995, \$357 million worth of South Africa's exports to the U.S. benefited from this concession.

Peace Corps: The first group of 32 Peace Corps volunteers arrived in South Africa in February 1997, and 30 more will follow in October. Volunteers will help to upgrade the teaching skills of classroom teachers, to sharpen school management skills, and to strengthen the links between schools and their communities.

USIA: USIA's total budget for South Africa is approximately \$6.3 million which includes about \$2 million in USIA resources for educational and professional exchanges. USIS in South Africa also administers the \$1.3 million BNC support fund which enables South Africans to participate more fully in the BNC (i.e., funds travel for expert exchanges associated with BNC projects). USIA's program emphasizes conflict resolution, civic education, federalism, economics and rule of law.

Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF): In October 1994, the \$100 million SAEDF was established at the initiative of the President and the U.S. Congress to expand indigenous business development and ownership through equity investment, loans, loan guarantees and technical assistance. Approximately half of SAEDF resources are targeted at South Africa; the remainder is for other countries in the region.

OPIC: OPIC recently launched a \$75 million equity investment fund, the "Africa Growth Fund II," to provide venture capital for U.S.-South African joint ventures.

Trade Development Administration (TDA): TDA has been active in South Africa's transportation, telecommunications, natural resource, agribusiness and manufacturing sectors. The agency provides feasibility study grants, technical assistance and other support for projects that benefit both South Africa and U.S. exporters.

EXIM: EXIM Bank has extended \$255 million to South Africa, predominantly for the purchase of aircraft. These loans, guarantees, and insurance are all current and being serviced.

South Africa: U.S. Embassy

The United States Embassy is located in Pretoria, South Africa, and is headed by Ambassador James Joseph and Deputy Chief of Mission Robert Pringle. The U.S. Mission is comprised of 203 Americans and 252 South African employees. There are eleven agencies (USIA, USAID, Agriculture, Commerce, DEA, FBI, U.S. Customs, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Defense and Peace Corps in addition to the State Department) represented in the country with the majority assigned to Pretoria. The Commercial Service and a newly-authorized Immigration and Naturalization Service office are located at the Consulates General in Cape Town and Durban. The Embassy is co-located in Cape Town where the Ambassador resides when Parliament is in session. There is also a Consulate General in Johannesburg.

U.S. goals in South Africa include: 1) supporting South Africa's transition to an inclusive, pluralistic, market-oriented democracy, including promotion of a strong civil society; 2) encouraging restructuring towards a sustainable, market-based economy which rectifies the socio-economic legacies of apartheid; 3) promoting broader access to South African markets for U.S. trade and investment; and 4) bringing to fruition initiatives arising out of the Binational Commission (BNC) process. The recent BNC meeting in Cape Town saw the signing of a Fulbright exchange agreement and a tax treaty between South Africa and the United States.

South Africa: Etiquette

Normal American standards of etiquette and dress are applicable in South Africa.

The climate in both Cape Town and the Pretoria/Johannesburg area in March (late summer/early fall in South Africa) can range from cool (chilly in the evenings) to warm (low eighties). Fog and rain are always possible in Cape Town, along with high, gusty winds, so both a raincoat and sweater are recommended.

South Africa: U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission

President Clinton and President Mandela created the U.S.-South Africa Binational Commission during Mr. Mandela's October 1994 state visit to Washington, designating Vice President Gore and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as co-chairs. Formally launched during Deputy President Mbeki's March 1995 visit to Washington, the BNC is modeled after the Gore-Chernomyrdin Binational Commission. It is designed to: 1) revitalize a relationship which had lain largely dormant for nearly two decades; 2) cut bureaucratic "red tape" by focusing high-level attention on problems and opportunities in the bilateral relationship; 3) facilitate cooperation in areas key to South Africa's development; and 4) provide a concrete demonstration of the breadth and depth of the U.S. commitment to South Africa.

The BNC is composed of six committees: Trade and Investment, Agriculture, Human Resource Development and Education, Conservation and Environment, Sustainable Energy, and Science and Technology. Since the initial meeting in March 1995, the BNC has met three times, twice in South Africa (December 1995 and February 1997) and once in Washington (July 1996).

Already a core element of our relationship with South Africa, the BNC has an impressive list of accomplishments to its credit, and Deputy President Mbeki has made it clear that South Africa deeply appreciates the attention the U.S. has bestowed on the BNC. Each of the BNC's six committees has sponsored numerous individual projects intended to support South Africa's transformation to non-racial democracy, spur economic growth and development, and improve the everyday life of average South Africans.

Moreover, the BNC has provided the impetus for more fundamental developments in normalizing the relationship. These include conclusion of a new Civil Aviation Agreement, signature of a Bilateral Tax Treaty, establishment of a U.S.-South African Fulbright Commission, development of a cooperative effort to combat crime and violence in South Africa, and agreement on a framework to resolve the U.S. case against the South African armaments parastatal ARMSCOR.

South Africa: Children's Issues

Young people in South Africa face a wide range of problems, including abandonment, substance abuse, prostitution, domestic and other serious forms of violence, homelessness, and labor exploitation. The constitution stipulates that children have the right "to security, education, basic nutrition, and basic health and social services," and the government remains firm in its commitment to provide these services. While it has made some progress toward developing mechanisms for delivering services, the demand far outstrips available resources.

As a result of the apartheid legacy, South African children have serious problems resulting from poverty and poor living conditions. In 1995, the infant mortality rate was 50 deaths per 1,000 live births. More than 9 million children, or a quarter of South Africa's population, lived in poor households (below the poverty line). About 96% (8.7 million) of the children living in poor households were black, 3.4% were colored, 0.4% were Indian and 0.5% were white. Of the 8.7 million black children living in poverty, more than 75% lived in rural areas.

A 1994 survey to assess the extent and location of malnutrition among schoolchildren found that, although acute malnutrition was not a major problem, over one million children were either underweight or stunted. The government offers free health care to pregnant women and to children under 6 years of age, and provides nutritious meals for primary school children. Public assistance for primary school nutrition currently reaches approximately 5.5 million children in 15,800 schools, 80 percent of the identified target children. Child care provision is still poor and racially divided; 33 out of 100 white children attend mostly high-quality centers, while only 6 out of 100 black children attend child care centers, which are usually simple backyard arrangements.

Violence against children remains widespread. Crimes committed against children are currently rising at an annual rate of 29%; reported cases have increased 65% between 1993 and 1995. The increase in reported cases can be attributed to the creation of special units to deal with these crimes, a growing emphasis on children's rights, and increased public and media attention to the problem. However, a lack of coordinated and comprehensive strategies to deal with such crimes impedes the delivery of needed services to young victims.

Child prostitution is on the rise, primarily in Cape Town, but it is prevalent in Durban and Johannesburg as well. An increase in the number of children living on the streets has contributed to a rise in child prostitution. Female genital mutilation is traditionally practiced in some remote areas, although it is not thought to be widespread. Traditional circumcision of teenage boys results in the hospitalization, mutilation, or even death of several youths each year.

South Africa: Reconstruction and Development Program

The Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), the South African Government's (SAG) master plan to redress the inequities created during forty years of apartheid, was the center of the ANC's electoral campaign. The RDP is by definition highly ambitious, and popular expectations run high. The principal goals of the RDP are to provide housing, education, and health care to the previously disadvantaged community in South Africa. Electricity, telephone and sanitation also are considered essential services to be addressed by government policy. To varying degrees, these services are beginning to be provided, albeit slowly in many cases.

In June 1996, the SAG attempted to streamline RDP implementation by transferring most of the "RDP Ministry" operational functions to Deputy President Mbeki's office, and financial controls to the Finance Ministry. Regardless of which ministry is at the helm of the RDP, South Africa's voters will judge the RDP's success on whether it delivers a visible and sustained improvement in living standards for South Africa's black majority.

A certain amount of criticism has been leveled at the government for inattention to RDP goals. Critics argue the SAG's new economic policy, "Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy" (GEAR), is overshadowing the RDP and diminishing the emphasis on delivering social benefits. In reality, it seems the main hindrances to RDP implementation have been inadequate human resources capacity and disorganization within the relevant ministries.

For example, while the SAG has made progress in establishing sound housing policies over the past two years, the government has been slow in reaching its RDP target of building 1 million housing units by 1999. Estimates indicate that thus far, 200,000 to 300,000 units have been constructed. Reasons for the relatively slow pace include: high interest rates; banks' reluctance to extend loans in poor communities with high unemployment and a history of "rent boycotts"; a construction industry reluctant to put resources into the low-cost housing market; and difficulty finding improved land upon which to build low-income housing.

Nonetheless, there are some bright spots in the RDP portfolio. Eskom, the electricity parastatal, is currently ahead of its annual target to provide power to 300,000 homes in poor and rural areas. Small, medium and micro-enterprise development has made tremendous advances in bringing the previously disadvantaged into the economic mainstream. This past year saw a new national education bill that makes more resources available to the poorest communities. USAID and other USG agencies strongly support several RDP programs, including housing and electrification projects.

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BODY:

JOHANNESBURG

A ZULU woman, Mildred Mthembu, lives with her daughter in a Johannesburg township. Three years ago, her husband was shot dead. Because she was married according to African traditional law, under which property passes to the nearest male relative, her father-in-law then claimed ownership of her house. South Africa's bill of rights guarantees freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sex, but in Mrs Mthembu's case the country's Supreme Court has just ruled that African custom should prevail over the modern concept of women's rights.

Feminism in South Africa is a prickly matter. For so many years under apartheid, the campaign for women's rights was overshadowed by the bigger struggle, for political freedom. Feisty women of all colours--Albertina Sisulu, Ruth First, Winnie Man-dela, Amina Cachalia and hundreds of less famous others--made up the backbone of resistance. The African National Congress (ANC) Women's League, for example, was founded back in 1948. But its chief aim was to secure civil rights for all South Africans, not rights especially for women.

Some things that now worry feminists, white and black, are familiar the world over: how to get more women into parliament, how to give women more control over their fertility, how to protect them from domestic violence and rape.

In some respects, South Africa fares quite well when weighed on western feminist scales. Almost a quarter of its members of Parliament now are women. Two women sit on the Constitutional Court. Legislation before Parliament would allow abortion on demand up to the 12th week of pregnancy. Thanks to the growing use of contraception, the average number of babies born to each black woman seems set to drop from 4.3 today (compared with 6.5 across Africa) to 3.5 by 2000.

Some issues are more particularly African. Apartheid's system of migrant labour prevented many black women from leaving fields and family when their menfolk migrated to work in the towns or the mines. The pattern lingers. Across the country, you see women with babies strapped to the their backs walking along dusty roads and balancing hefty stacks of firewood or plastic jerrycans of water on their heads. On average, according to a government survey last year, rural women spend three hours and ten fetching water, and an hour and 20 minutes fetching firewood. Installing water taps, or connecting the villages to electricity, would do much to reduce their workload.

So far, so uncontroversial, at least for most feminists. The trouble comes when they tread on the delicate ground of traditional African practice. The right to live by customary law is enshrined in the post-apartheid constitution--but so too is the right to freedom from discrimination on the grounds of sex. Three traditional African customs particularly irk feminists: polygamy; the denial of property inheritance to women; and the payment of lobola, or "bride price".

Currently, African customary marriages, called "customary unions", are recognised only under the Black Administration Act of 1927, not by common law. This means that when such a marriage, whether or not it is polygamous, ends in divorce or the husband dies, the woman does not have the common-law right to inherit, to receive life insurance benefits, or even to custody of their children. The South African Law Commission has now proposed correcting this fault by legally recognising all customary marriages--including polygamous ones.

Such an official blessing for polygamy would be political dynamite. Thanda-bantu Nhlapo, a member of the Law Commission, is undeterred. He concedes that women in polygamous marriages can suffer. But he argues that this should be blamed on the nature of marriage in general rather on the polygamous nature of a particular marriage. Suffering is inflicted by selfish spouses, rather than by the institution itself. The only legal protection a woman needs, Mr Nhlapo adds, is a right to insist that her husband obtain her consent before he takes a second wife.

Lydia Komape Ngwenya, a member of Parliament who has long worked with rural women, says this right would provide no protection, since customary law puts financial handcuffs on a woman: she depends on her husband for as she can neither inherit herself nor, in most cases, obtain from a chief in her own name. So insisting on consent will mean little unless traditional inheritance law is reformed.

More binding still, in customary marriage, is the lobola paid by husband to the parents of his bride. Traditionally, this involved the handing over of, say, six cows in a symbolic ritual to mark the coming together of two families. It fused the importance African culture places on family with the spiritual value it places on cattle.

But these days, in practice, lobola tends to be treated as a bride price. Payment, especially in the townships, is often made in cash, or by cheque. Some parents among the new black elite demand up to 20,000 rand (\$ 4,400) for a well-educated daughter. "It's degrading," says one black woman. "It's like you're being bought from the shop." To educated women, lobola may be just a ritual. But many rural women feel that it deprives them of the right to refuse their husband's demands to have sexual intercourse, for example, or to take a second wife. And many fear being beaten, a punishment sanctioned in many traditional cultures, if they reject their husband's demands.

Besides these practical objections to polygamy, there is a less tangible one which rises up instinctively in many black women and which Mr Nhlapo accepts. "Symbolically it seems to buttress an inequality," he concedes.

The reason all this vexes black feminists is that reasoned desire to assert women's rights and an instinctive defence of African tradition. They may object to polygamy, but they object even more strongly to the way it was condemned by

The Economist, October 5, 1996

white missionaries as a barbaric African custom.

Baleka Mbete-Kgositsile, the deputy-speaker of Parliament and former secretary-general of the ANC Women's League, says she tried--but failed--to stop her father demanding lobola when she married, and that she will not ask for it if her daughter marries. Nor, she says, would she accept being in a polygamous marriage. "But you can't be high and mighty and educated about it," she continues. "In your western marriage, is there fidelity and equality? At least these women [in polygamous marriages] We shouldn't approach this just from a viewpoint of western feminism."

Even this argument is not straightforward for feminists, though. Some of its most vigorous proponents are chiefs and traditional leaders, almost all of whom are men. They tend to dress up defence of their own privileges, such as the right to sit unelected on local councils, as defence of African tradition against the imposition of western neo-imperial values.

Perhaps the real difficulty is that customary law, well understood by white magistrates in the early 1900s, has not kept up with social change. South Africa is the most urbanised country in Africa: only half its population still lives in the countryside, compared with an African average of 70%. African tradition does not survive the collision with city life intact. For all the sentimental talk about the extended African family, even Soweto has a crowded old people's home.

Likhapha Mbatha, of the University of the Witwatersrand, says that polygamy is now less common than is widely thought. Only 5% of the women she studied, in three different provinces, practised it; and almost all were in the countryside. Lobola, though, is still hugely popular: it was paid for 98% of wives.

A ritual like lobola may still be common, but its symbolism has been diluted as faceless city cheques replace cherished cattle, and young township women refuse to tolerate their grandmothers' ways. How should the law adapt? The answer, suggests Mr Nhlapo, is to strip it of its legal consequences: to make sure that a father cannot withhold permission for his adult daughter to marry because lobola has not been paid, nor attach to the payment of lobola the legal right to custody of the children.

Lydia Komape Ngwenya would go further in insisting on reform of the inheritance laws. "We should," she says, "retain our values that identify ourselves as African, that make us what we are. But not at the expense of our dignity."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 7, 1996

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PROG 03/07/97
CGO:GWENGLE
RLO:JSSEQUEIRA
NONE
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AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG
SECSTATE WASHDC, IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN, IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA, IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL DURBAN
AMEMBASSY ASMARA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY HARARE
AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AF/RA FOR ALICE DRESS

AF/S FOR JOHN SCOTT

WHITE HOUSE FOR JAYCEE PRIBULSKY

NSC FOR ERICA BARKS RUGGLES

E.O. 12958: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (CLINTON, HILLARY RODHAM), SF

SUBJECT: FLOTUS VISIT: SCENESETTERS FOR JOHANNESBURG
EVENTS (MARCH 18, 1997)

FOLLOWING ARE THE SCENESETTERS AND PROPOSED GUEST LISTS
FOR FLOTUS EVENTS IN JOHANNESBURG:

I. SOUTH AFRICA: VISIT TO ENTANDWENI LOWER PRIMARY SCHOOL

CONTEXT

Apartheid education policies, characterized by an inequitable allocation of resources, differing education standards, and extraordinary fragmentation, resulted in large numbers of poorly trained black teachers. This is particularly true for black African female teachers. Statistics note that sixty percent of black African primary teachers and twenty percent of black African secondary teachers are un- and under-qualified. It is these teachers who have been the beneficiaries of

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training provided by the Open Learning Systems Education Trust (OLSET), a USAID grantee. The OLSET "English in Action" program is being used in 3,000 plus schools.

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In order to upgrade teacher skills, President Mandela has launched the President's Education Initiative (PEI) which calls upon international donors to provide support to assist the national Department of Education and provincial Departments of Education in designing and implementing a teacher education program for pre-primary/primary school teachers.

In 1996, President Clinton pledged \$19 million to the PEI which will be implemented through a USAID Bilateral Agreement with the Government of the Republic of South Africa. This support will begin in May 1997 and will focus on four provinces -- Eastern Cape, KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Cape and Northern Province. USAID/SA support to PEI will help institutionalize innovative teacher training methodologies within provincial structures in critical areas such as math, science, multilingual education and multigrade instruction. It is expected that this will occur by drawing on those innovative models developed by NGOs during the apartheid era, such as the OLSET program being observed today. The OLSET project, represents only one of more than 30 innovative teaching training programs supported by USAID over the last ten years. Also, USAID has supported interactive radio instruction in developing countries for more than 20 years.

In selecting the Entandweni Lower Primary School, we attempted to identify a teacher with several years of experience with OLSET's "English in Action" program and a school that had experienced a substantial improvement in teaching methodology and student performance. This first grade teacher, Mrs. Vilikazi, has been using the "English in Action" interactive radio series for two years with ongoing training support from the OLSET staff. She is dynamic and not easily distracted by visitors. Entandweni is typical of many township schools, although it does have fundamental resources such as chairs, desks and toilets which is not the case for thousands of other schools.

Father Mkhathswa, Gordon Naidoo and Mrs. Sishi (Deputy Minister, OLSET Director, and Principal, respectively) will greet you and escort you on a short tour of the school grounds. A few minutes later you will arrive at Mrs. Vilikazi's classroom where you will meet Mrs. Vilikazi and her Grade 1 students. Because the "English in Action" radio lesson is broadcast at an earlier time,

After observing the class, you will be escorted to a

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classroom where you record a radio message for the children of South Africa.

You will then be escorted to a tented area just outside the classroom where an Education Roundtable/Town Meeting with about 100 people will occur. The audience will include Government officials, broadcasters, community leaders, parents and approximately 25 children from the school. After a welcome by Father Mkhathshwa, five-minute testimonials will be given by a student, a teacher, a community leader and an education expert on the importance of education in their lives. You are then scheduled to make a few remarks, which will be followed by a Question and Answer session.

OBJECTIVES

-- To emphasize the importance of teacher development in improving the quality of education.

-- To emphasize the use of innovative teaching methodologies such as interactive radio instruction as a cost-effective way to rapidly improve access for disadvantaged communities and to enhance student learning.

TALKING POINTS

-- I am so happy to be here and to see this wonderful example of creative learning and the use of media. I am also overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and joy of these students.

-- I believe that education is absolutely vital for the future of this country, and of course, all countries. Given South Africa's past, however, education here is truly the key to its future.

-- President Mandela's launch of the "Culture of Learning" campaign here in Soweto on February 20 highlights the importance of education in South Africa's new democracy. It also emphasizes the need for collaboration between government and civil society. We've seen evidence of one such successful partnership today.

-- I just want to take a moment to note another important element of education advance in South Africa. This is

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President Mandela's "President's Education Initiative," which will upgrade the skills of thousands of teachers disadvantaged under apartheid, and benefit millions of children. The U.S. Government is pleased to be able to support this effort. We are contributing \$19 million to this special initiative. I know how hard many of you are working to transform the education system. I commend you for your commitment and for the progress that has been made.

(Guest list for Entandweni Education Roundtable to be provided separately)

- 10:30 - 11:30

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II. SOUTH AFRICA: VISIT TO HECTOR PETERSON MEMORIAL

CONTEXT

The Hector Peterson Memorial commemorates Hector as the very first youngster killed in the June 1976 Soweto student uprising. Most South Africans see the Soweto student rebellion, in which students and others died, as the first step in the bloody 10-year struggle which finally led to a free South Africa in 1994.

The inscription on the memorial is dated June 16, 1976 and says, "In memory of Hector Peterson and all other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for freedom, peace and democracy."

The memorial has become a major place of veneration since it was inaugurated by President Mandela on June 16, 1992.

A visit to the site provides the First Lady with an opportunity, through the laying of a wreath and a few brief remarks, to acknowledge and honor the sacrifice the children and families of South Africa made to win their freedom.

The memorial also is a natural and appropriate site for a protocol welcome for the First Lady from the Premier of Gauteng Province and the Mayors of Johannesburg and Soweto. As the First Lady will have come to the site after a visit to the Entandweni Primary School, she will have a feeling for the vibrancy of Soweto as context for her visit.

Premier Tokyo Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay) of Gauteng Province will greet the First Lady upon her arrival at the memorial, and introduce her to the assembled guests. He then makes a few short introductory remarks (see below). The First Lady responds with a few brief remarks of her own and then proceeds to lay a wreath at the Memorial. After the wreath-laying, Premier Sexwale will escort the First Lady through a photo exhibit commemorating the anti-apartheid struggle. ...

OBJECTIVES

-- To recognize the enormous personal sacrifice the

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-- To conduct required protocol by exchanging greetings with the Premier Sexwale of Gauteng Province, the Mayor of Greater Johannesburg, and the Mayor of the Southern Metropolitan Substructure (which includes Soweto and Johannesburg's Central Business District).

TALKING POINTS

-- I am thrilled to finally be able to bring Chelsea to Soweto, for me and the President, the symbol and the soul of South Africa's struggle for freedom.

-- I have just come from an inspiring visit to the Entandweni Primary School and my heart is filled with pride at the joy and achievement I saw there.

SUGGESTED REMARKS

When I stand here and think about what the Hector Peterson Memorial signifies to South Africa and to Mrs. Peterson, I find my heart, as a mother and as a wife of the President, torn by emotion.

As a mother, I feel that no mother should ever have to bury one of her children, no matter how noble the cause. As the President's wife, I know that sacrifice for one's nation is a high and noble honor which can give some comfort to parents who lose their children in the service of their country's fight for justice and freedom.

Mrs. Peterson, you and your family have made the greatest possible sacrifice to South Africa's freedom. On behalf of the President, myself and Chelsea, we praise and honor you, and share in the pain you must feel every day as a mother who has buried a child.

Hector Peterson was a young boy when he died.

Youngsters around the world like Hector renew us daily with their boundless energy, soaring spirits and fearless pursuit of justice.

I know if Hector were here with us today he would be

poverty and violence which still grips much too much of
the world and to STRIVE with all our might, and with the

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same love and determination that fires the hearts and minds of the young, to carry forward the eternal struggle for a safe, peace-loving and caring world.

We ask all the Hectors of the world to stand beside us in this noble quest. We love them all so dearly, and need them today more than ever.

(Depending on who hosts the event, the First Lady may add the following:) I would like to ask Reverend (name: TBD) to lead us in a prayer of memorial and dedication to Hector Peterson and the people of South Africa.

Thank you.

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TENTATIVE GUEST LIST: HECTOR PETERSON MEMORIAL

Mr. and Mrs. Tokyo Sexwale (she, Judy) -- Premier,
Gauteng Province (Host)

Mrs. Victor Peterson (Hector Peterson's mother) and
daughter Mrs. Antoinette Sithole (Hector's sister)

Photographer Mr. Peter Magubane (pron: mah-goo-BAH-nay)

Johannesburg Mayor and Mrs. Isaac Mogase (pron: moh-HAH-
say") (she, Netta)

Ms. Sophie Masite (pron: mah-SEAT-tay) -- Mayor of Soweto

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sisulu (pron: sis-SOO-loo) (she,
Albertina)

Archbishop and Mrs. Desmond Tutu (she, Leah)

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Ambassador and Mrs. James J. Joseph (she, Mary)

Consul General and Mrs. Gregory Engle (she, Maureen)

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III. SOUTH AFRICA: VISIT TO ORLANDO CHILDREN'S HOME

CONTEXT

In Soweto, parents leave home before sunrise to go to their jobs, leaving their children to fend for themselves for the twelve or more hours until the parents' return. The children are supposed to go to school, but the anti-apartheid culture of non-attendance persists. Many children do not go at all, while others leave after two or three hours. They are without adult supervision for most of the day.

Parents and children in South Africa often communicate very little, partly as a result of a mother's fatigue from her job and domestic responsibilities, and partly due to tradition in some African communities. Soweto's urbanized families are suffering from the "absent Granny syndrome." In the traditional South African context, the Granny takes care of the sexual education of girls, and teaches them about adult responsibilities. She is the teenage girl's closest advisor. But only twenty per cent of children in Soweto still live in extended families. In the other eighty per cent, girls are raised by mothers whom they rarely see.

With neither sex education nor birth control, many a girl gets pregnant. Parents often do not learn of the pregnancy until it is very advanced, and sometimes learn only after the delivery. The stresses of childbirth, parental disapproval and parenthood, may make the girl severely depressed or even suicidal. If she abandons her baby, that child may become a resident of the Orlando Children's Home.

The Home's children also come from liaisons between migrant male workers and their local mistresses. If the mistress has the worker's child, and finds that marriage is not forthcoming, she may abandon the child to its father, who then brings it to the Home.

of residents are mothers with HIV/AIDS.

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Since 1940, the mission of the Orlando Children's Home has been to support girls and women of Soweto who are overwhelmed by motherhood, and to give care and find placements for their babies. The Home has 75 resident children and a crèche for 80 children of working mothers. The Home tries to find parents for the residents, but many (especially males) remain there until adulthood. For these the Home's staff are the only parents the children will ever know.

The staff reach out to families in churches and to children at schools; go to clinics throughout Soweto weekly; get referrals of new mothers from hospitals, schools, and parents; and run a drop-in center for depressed or overwhelmed mothers. A 3-year grant from the Kellogg Foundation is helping to fund a study to identify if there is a pattern to the unplanned pregnancies, child abandonments, and new-mother suicides in Soweto. The USG also has made grants to the Orlando Children's Home (in 1986 and 1989) from the Ambassador's Special Self-Help Fund.

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko, the Home's Director, will meet you and take you on a tour of the facilities in this order: crèche (where you will be greeted with a song; children's cottage (ages 3 through 19); infants cottage; and dining room. In the dining room, you will be introduced to the other guests (the Home's Committee, supporters, staff, and children). Tea will be served and a brief welcome will be offered by Mrs. Mazibuko. You will be invited to respond, at which time Mrs. Mazibuko will answer any questions you may have. You will have an opportunity to talk with the children in attendance and answer their questions. You will present a gift and receive a response from Mrs. Mazibuko. The attendees will form a queue leading to the door. You will shake their hands as you exit and Mrs. Mazibuko will escort you to your vehicle.

OBJECTIVES

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-- To emphasize the need for community organizations offering support and intervention to families and to children at risk.

-- To emphasize the importance of nurturing and educating children without families so that they can become functioning members of their communities.

-- To emphasize the importance of giving children relevant information on sexuality and birth control early enough to avoid unwanted pregnancies and their consequences.

TALKING POINTS

-- I am happy to have been invited into your home and to be able to meet the healthy and active children being raised here. It is clear that this is indeed a family.

-- I share your concern for young people growing up without the active guidance and support of parents. Both in the U.S. and in South Africa, we who take on the role of parent must be encouraged and helped to meet the responsibilities as well. For the sake of future generations, parents must guide, protect, and lend psychological, as well as economic, support to our children.

-- I congratulate the children of Orlando Children's Home who are doing so well at Pace College. I wish you the greatest success as you proceed toward graduation and beyond. Your efforts make the Orlando Children's Home and all of us very proud of you.

-- I encourage those young mothers who feel depressed and discouraged not to give up on their lives or their futures. With the help of institutions like the Orlando Children's Home, you and your children can share South Africa's brilliant future.

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-- I urge South Africa's teens to use these years to develop their minds and their skills, to prepare themselves for tertiary education, for work, and for life in the 21st century. You are all needed to build the great multicultural society which South Africa is on the road to becoming.

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TENTATIVE GUEST LIST: VISIT TO ORLANDO CHILDREN'S HOME,
SOWETO

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko (pron: mah-zee-BOO-koh) -- Director,
Orlando Children's Home (Host)

Mr. Edwin Dike (pron: DEE-kay) -- Chair, Orlando
Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mrs. Linde Myeza (pron: me-AY-zah) -- Assistant Chair,
Orlando Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mr. Malinga (pron: mah-LING-gah) -- Headmaster, Orlando
Primary School

Mr. Mazibuko -- Headmaster, Pace College (and husband of
the Director of the Home)

Dr. Mary Hlalele (pron: lah-LAY-lay) -- Representative of
the Kellogg Foundation

Staff of the Orlando Children's Home (to be identified)

Children of the Orlando Children's Home (to be
identified)

(In addition, nine other members of Committee may also be
present.)

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Ms. Chelsea Clinton

Ambassador and Mrs. James Joseph (Mary)

CG and Mrs. Gregory Engle (Maureen)

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IV. SOUTH AFRICA: ROUNDTABLE ON CRIME AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

CONTEXT

Violent crime is not a new phenomenon in South Africa but has been part of the political and social landscape for decades. While the political violence of the recent past has receded in the wake of democratic elections in 1994, criminal activity in the new South Africa is, by all accounts, more pervasive, more violent, and increasingly indiscriminate. The Mandela government is seized with the issue and has urged community organizations, law enforcement officials and the business community to get involved in tackling the problem. President Mandela maintains that government alone cannot reduce crime. He argues that the problem will persist unless all South Africans reject a culture of violence and disregard for the law.

Domestic violence and crimes against women have become the focus of particular attention recently as a result of several highly publicized--and exceptionally gruesome -- cases of rape in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and elsewhere. Girls as young as two years old have been victims of serious sexual abuse; a serial rapist was stalking coeds at Pretoria University; two young teenage girls were raped at home by an intruder; and the wife of a prominent member of Parliament was raped on Cape Town's Robben Island. These incidents highlighted South Africa's horrifying rape statistics, with conservative estimates that a rape occurs every 18 seconds. Too often, the perpetrators are relatives of the victims. Indeed, girls as young as 12 years old have ended up on the streets of Johannesburg after running away from home to escape sexual abuse.

The increasing incidence of domestic violence and crimes against women (and girls) has numerous causes, including poverty, extreme income disparities, police incompetence and insensitivity to domestic violence, and the social upheaval associated with South Africa's transition from apartheid. Equally important, however, is that the horrific violence that was commonplace in the townships under apartheid (e.g. 'necklacing,' letter bombs, assassinations, police brutality, etc.) has desensitized an entire generation of South Africans. Inevitably, society's weakest members -- women and children --

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We have arranged a roundtable discussion with a group of social workers, government officials, business leaders, and prominent women who are active in the effort to get handle on crime. The proposed site for the meeting is the U.S. Information Service office in downtown Johannesburg. The walls of the meeting room will be hung with paintings by women from a drop-in shelter for prostitutes and street children. (We also are exploring other venues, including the Consul General's residence).

The meeting will be limited to a total of 15 invited participants, seated at a round or octagonal table so as to encourage a free-flowing discussion in an informal setting. About 10-15 observers, to include Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph, will be seated along the perimeter of the room. There will be space for members of the press to cover the event.

OBJECTIVES

- To demonstrate your commitment to raising the status of women and children in society, particularly in terms of changing traditional male attitudes toward women.
- To share your ideas on how the U.S. and other countries you have visited are coping with domestic violence and crimes against women.
- To understand the challenges that South African women (and children) face in a society where crime and domestic violence appear to be on the increase.

TALKING POINTS

- I think it is appropriate to be here talking with you about crime and domestic violence so soon after International Women's Day. In far too many societies around the world, women continue to be treated as second-class citizens and continue to be subjected to discrimination and physical abuse.
- In societies where women are denied education, they are deprived of one of the few avenues that can help them achieve social equality with men.

... ~~remains~~ victims of this culture of violence
and disrespect for human dignity.

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-- Regrettably, however, the achievement of social equality does not automatically mean an end to the physical abuse of women.

-- As you are well aware, women and children remain most vulnerable to crime and violence, whether in South Africa, the united states, or elsewhere.

-- Domestic violence, often accompanied by sexual abuse, is a particularly troublesome aspect of the crime problem because it so often goes unreported and its victims feel powerless to defend themselves.

-- I know that all of you are involved in one way or another with the issue of crime and violence. I'd be interested in hearing your assessment of the problem of domestic violence and crimes against women in South Africa.

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TENTATIVE GUEST LIST: ROUNDTABLE ON CRIME AND DOMESTIC
VIOLENCE

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton -- Moderator

The Honorable Dullah Omar (pron: OH-marr) -- Minister of Justice

The Honorable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (pron: fraser-molah-KETTY) -- Minister of Welfare

Mrs. Judy Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay) -- Social Worker and wife of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale

Ms. Adele du Plessis -- Co-founder and Director of The House, a drop in shelter for prostitutes and female drug addicts

Ms. Wendy Lucas-Bull -- Chairman of Business Against Crime, and Executive Director of Rand Merchant Bank

Ms. Jessie Duarte (pron: do-ART-tay) -- Member of the Gauteng Executive Council Responsible for Safety and Security

Dr. Graeme Simpson -- Director, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Marilyn Donaldson -- Child Psychologist, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Lisa Vetten -- Sexual Harassment Education Project

Ms. Zubeda Dangor (pron: DANG-gore) -- Director, NISAA (means 'woman' in Arabic), an organization which offers protection, counselling and shelter to battered and abused women and children

Ms. Mmatshilo Motsei (pron: moat-SAY-ee) -- Director, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training, an organization which helps to empower abused women with skills training and counselling

Ms. Patience Phasle (pron: PASS-lay) -- Director, Women for Peace, an organization which trains abused women and places them in jobs

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Ms. Ingrid MacCaan -- Director, Bethany Shelter, an institution with programs for women and children from abusive environments

South African Police Service Representative -- TBD

ENGLE

South Africa: Arrival Statement

- o It is a great pleasure and honor to return to the "Rainbow Nation." I am reminded that the Zulu name for Johannesburg is "Egoli" (eh-GO-lee), the "place of gold," and that the new name of this province, Gauteng (how-TENG), which also means "place of gold," is a Sotho (SOO-too) word with Afrikaans roots.
- o I am pleased to greet you with "Hello," "Molweni" (mol-WAY-nee - Xhosa), "Sawubona" (sah-woo-BOH-nah - Zulu), "Goie Middag" (WHEE-ah mid-DAGH - Afrikaans), "Salaam" (sah-LAHM), and "Lekae" (leh-kiy - Sotho).
- o My apologies if I've mispronounced any of those greetings, but the remarkable richness of your cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity demands recognition, even if poorly pronounced by a well-meaning American.
- o When I was last here, for the inauguration of President Mandela, this was a nation riding high on the euphoria of that remarkable moment and at the very center of international attention and admiration. Now, nearly three years later, South Africa's continuing achievements, your remarkably peaceful and rapid transformation to a non-racial democracy, are even more strongly a beacon of hope for nations grappling with democratic and economic reform.
- o Of course, South Africa still faces many challenges -- pressing needs for housing, education, health care, job creation and fighting the scourge of crime -- and I want you to know that the United States remains firmly committed to being your partner. We share so much -- philosophical ideals, our people's hopes, and concrete challenges -- that it is only natural that we continue to work together to realize our common goals.
- o I look forward to spending a few days here reacquainting myself with South Africa and seeing some of the progress your people have made and are continuing to make in building a non-racial, multi-ethnic and inclusive society.

South Africa: Visit to Entandweni Lower Primary School

Context

The inequitable allocation of resources, differing education standards, and the extraordinary fragmentation of apartheid-era educational policies have resulted in a bitter legacy for South Africa's schools. Sixty percent of black African primary teachers and 20 percent of black African secondary teachers lack the proper teaching qualifications, a situation especially acute among black African female teachers. These previously disadvantaged teachers have been the beneficiaries of the training provided by the Open Learning Systems Education Trust (OLSET), a USAID grantee. The OLSET "English in Action" program is now used in over 3,000 South African schools.

To upgrade teacher skills, President Mandela has launched the President's Education Initiative (PEI), which calls upon international donors to assist the national Department of Education and provincial Departments of Education in establishing a teacher education program for pre-primary and primary school teachers. In 1996, President Clinton pledged \$19 million to the PEI which will be implemented through a USAID bilateral agreement with the South African government. This support will begin in May 1997, and will focus on four provinces -- Eastern Cape, KwaZulu/Natal, Northern Cape and Northern Province.

The Entandweni Lower Primary School was selected for your visit not only because of its substantial improvement in teaching methodology and student performance, but because it has a teacher who had considerable experience with OLSET's "English in Action" program. Mrs. Vilikazi, a dynamic first grade teacher, has been using the "English in Action" interactive radio series for two years with ongoing training support from the OLSET staff. Moreover, Entandweni is typical of many township schools, although it does have fundamental resources such as chairs, desks and toilets which is not the case for thousands of other schools.

Deputy Minister of Education Father Mkhathshwa, OLSET Director Gordon Naidoo, and Principal of the School Mrs. Sishi will greet and escort you on a short tour of the school grounds. You will then go to Mrs. Vilikazi's classroom where you will meet Mrs. Vilikazi and her Grade 1 students. Because the "English in Action" radio lesson is broadcast at an earlier time, this lesson will be based on an audiotape of the lesson.

After observing the class, you will be escorted to a classroom where you will record a radio message for the children of South Africa.

Objectives

- o To emphasize the importance of teacher development in improving the quality of education.
- o To emphasize the use of innovative teaching methods that enhance student learning, such as interactive radio instruction, which is a cost-effective way to improve access to education for disadvantaged communities.
- o To broadcast a radio message on education to the children of South Africa.

Talking Points

Classroom:

- It gives me great pleasure to be with you today in your classroom and to see just how you learn from "English in Action."
- Your teacher has done a wonderful job in working with you. I know she is very proud of your accomplishments.
- I do not need to tell you how important education is. The fact that you are studying so hard shows that you care about learning.
- Keep up the good work, and thank you for letting me join you today to see your classroom in action.

Radio Message:

- I am very happy to be visiting beautiful South Africa, and am delighted to greet the children of South Africa through this radio broadcast.
- I have just come from a classroom where students use the radio to learn the English language. These lessons from the radio are a new and effective way to learn, and I hope they are fun too.
- Your parents, your teachers, and other friends have told you how important education is for you. Through it, you can learn to read and write, to find out about new places and people, to learn a different language, to search for new ideas.

- My visit here to the Entandweni School has made it possible for me to visit not only with the people in the school but with all of you across South Africa who are listening to me speak on this broadcast.
- I hope you will keep studying hard and learning since that is the best chance for making a good life. I send all of you my very best wishes and thank you for giving me the chance to visit with you over the radio.

Suggested Guest List for Visit to Entandweni
Lower Primary School, Soweto, March 18, 1997

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton	
Ms. Chelsea Clinton	
Maggie Williams	First Lady's Chief of Staff
White House Press Person	
Ambassador and Mrs. James Joseph	
George Moose	Assistant Secretary of State for Africa
Susan Rice	National Security Council
Carol Peasley	Acting Assistant Administrator, USAID
Father Mkhathswa	Deputy Minister, National DOE
Mr. Khetsi Lehoko	Chief Director, ABET and Educational Technology, National DOE
Gordon and Catherine Naidoo	Director, OLSET and spouse
Mr. David Maepa	Chairperson, OLSET Board
Mr. Moeletsi Mbeki	Trustee, OLSET Board
Mrs. Angie Makwetla	Trustee, OLSET Board
Mr. Walter Mkwape	Soweto Chamber of Commerce
Mr. Vis Naidoo	Director, Educational Technology, National DOE
Mr. Mashala Kwape	Deputy Director, Educational Technology, National DOE
Dr. Tebojo Moja	General Manager, Educational Tv/Radio, SABC
Ms. Nicola Galombik	Manager, Educational Television, SABC
Mr. Fakir Hoosen	Manager, Educational Radio, SABC
Greg and Maureen Engle	Consul General, Johannesburg and spouse
Aaron and Rosa Williams	USAID/SA Director and spouse
Henry and Liz Reynolds	USAID/SA Deputy Director and spouse

Community Leaders	Parent representatives from school
Governing Body	Entandweni School
Principal	Entandweni School
Teachers	Entandweni School
Students	Entandweni School
District Officials	
Three Principals	American International School of Johannesburg
Three Students	American International School of Johannesburg
Julie Wilson	To Be Determined

Note: There will be 5 roundtable participants, plus 130 in audience which includes approximately 40 members of the press.

South Africa: Education Town Forum

Context

After your visit to the Entandweni School, you will be escorted to a tented area just outside the classroom where an Education Roundtable/Town Meeting with about 100 people will take place. The audience will include Government officials, broadcasters, community leaders, parents and approximately 25 children from the school. After a welcome by Deputy Minister of Education Father Mkhathshwa, five-minute testimonials will be given by a student, a teacher, a community leader and an education expert on the importance of education in their lives. You will then make a few remarks, which will be followed by a Question and Answer session.

Objectives

- o To bring greetings from the United States and to emphasize its support for assisting South Africa in the development of its educational system for all South Africans.
- o To stress the importance of education in the historic transformation now underway in the new South Africa.

Talking Points

- I am so happy to be here and to see this wonderful example of creative learning and the use of media. I am also overwhelmed by the enthusiasm and joy of these students.
- I believe that education is absolutely vital for the future of this country, and indeed for all countries. Especially in view of South Africa's past and its great potential, continued educational development and equal access and opportunity for all children is the key to a better future.
- President Mandela's launch of the "Culture of Learning" campaign here in Soweto on February 20 highlights the importance of education in South Africa's new democracy. It also emphasizes the need for collaboration between government and civil society.
- I've seen evidence of one such successful partnership today.
- I want to take a moment to pay tribute to another important element of education's advance in South Africa. This is President Mandela's "President's Education Initiative," which will upgrade the skills of thousands of teachers disadvantaged under apartheid, and benefit millions of children. The United States is pleased to be able to support this effort. We are contributing \$19 million to this special initiative.
- I know how hard many of you are working to transform the educational system. I commend you for your commitment, for your enthusiasm, and for the progress that has been made.

South Africa: Roundtable on Crime and Domestic Violence

Context

You will be meeting in "roundtable" format a group of social workers, government officials, business leaders, and prominent women who are active in the effort to rein in crime in South Africa. The proposed site for the meeting is the U.S. Information Service office in downtown Johannesburg. The walls of the meeting room will be decorated with paintings by women from a drop-in shelter for prostitutes and street children.

The meeting will be limited to a total of 15 invited participants, seated at a round or octagonal table so as to encourage a free-flowing discussion in an informal setting. About 10-15 observers, including Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph, will be seated along the perimeter of the room. There will be space for members of the press to cover the event.

Violent crime is not a new phenomenon in South Africa but has been part of the political and social landscape for decades. While the political violence of the recent past has receded in the wake of democratic elections in 1994, criminal activity in the new South Africa is, by all accounts, more pervasive, more violent, and increasingly indiscriminate. The Mandela government is seized with the issue and has urged community organizations, law enforcement officials, and the business community to get involved in tackling the problem. President Mandela maintains that government alone cannot reduce crime. He argues that the problem will persist unless all South Africans reject a culture of violence and disregard for the law.

Domestic violence and crimes against women are in focus of late due to several highly-publicized and heinous cases of rape in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and elsewhere. Girls as young as two years old have been victims of serious sexual abuse; a serial rapist stalked coeds at Pretoria University; two young teenage girls were raped at home by an intruder; and the wife of a prominent member of Parliament was raped on Cape Town's Robben Island. These incidents highlighted the country's horrifying rape statistics, with conservative estimates that a rape occurs every 18 seconds. All too often, the perpetrators are relatives of the victims. Girls as young as 12 years old have ended up on the streets of Johannesburg after running away from home to escape sexual abuse.

The increasing incidence of domestic violence and crimes against women and girls has numerous causes. These include poverty, extreme income disparities, police incompetence and insensitivity to domestic violence, and the social upheaval associated with South Africa's transition from apartheid. Equally important, however, is that the horrific violence which was so commonplace in the townships under apartheid (such as "necklacing," letter bombs, assassinations, police brutality) has desensitized an entire generation of South Africans. Inevitably, women and children are the most vulnerable victims of this culture of violence and disrespect for human dignity.

Objectives

- o To demonstrate your commitment to raising the status of women and children in society, particularly in terms of changing traditional male attitudes toward women. -
- o To share your ideas on how the United States and other countries you have visited are coping with domestic violence and crimes against women. Note that in the United States, community programs have often served as an effective means of dealing with such problems.
- o To understand the challenges that South African women (and children) face in a society where crime and domestic violence appear to be on the rise.

Talking Points

- I think it is appropriate to be here talking with you about crime and domestic violence so soon after International Women's Day. In far too many societies around the world, women continue to be treated as second-class citizens and are subjected to discrimination and physical abuse.
- In societies where women are denied education, they are deprived of one of the few avenues that can help them achieve social equality with men.
- Regrettably, however, the achievement of social equality does not automatically mean an end to the physical abuse of women.
- As you are well aware, women and children remain most vulnerable to crime and violence, whether in South Africa, the United States, or elsewhere.
- Domestic violence, often accompanied by sexual abuse, is a particularly troublesome aspect of the crime problem because it so often goes unreported and its victims feel powerless to defend themselves.
- In the United States, we have found that support through community and neighborhood programs has been instrumental in increasing public awareness of crimes against women, while providing appropriate assistance to helping solve these problems.
- I know that each of you is involved in one way or another in seeking an end to senseless crime and violence. I would be interested in hearing your assessment of the problem of domestic violence and crimes against women in South Africa.

Roundtable on Crime and Domestic Violence

Tentative Guest List

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton, Moderator

The Honorable Dullah Omar (pron: OH-marr), Minister of Justice

The Honorable Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (pron: fraser-mo-lah-KETTY), Minister of Welfare

Mrs. Judy Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay), Social Worker and wife of Gauteng Premier Tokyo Sexwale

Ms. Adele du Plessis, Co-founder and Director of The House, a drop in shelter for prostitutes and female drug addicts

Ms. Wendy Lucas-Bull, Chairman of Business Against Crime, and Executive Director of Rand Merchant Bank

Ms. Jessie Duarte (pron: do-ART-tay), Member of the Gauteng Executive Council Responsible for Safety and Security

Dr. Graeme Simpson, Director, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Marilyn Donaldson, Child Psychologist, Center for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation

Ms. Lisa Vetten, Sexual Harassment Education Project

Ms. Zubeda Dangor (pron: DANG-gore), Director, NISAA (means "woman" in Arabic), an organization which offers protection, counselling and shelter to battered and abused women and children

Ms. Mmatshilo Motsei (pron: moat-SAY-ee), Director, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training, an organization which helps to empower abused women with skills training and counseling

Ms. Patience Phasle (pron: PASS-lay), Director, Women for Peace, an organization which trains abused women and places them in jobs

Ms. Ingrid MacCaan, Director, Bethany Shelter, an institution with programs for women and children from abusive environments

South African Police Service Representative (TBD)

South Africa: Visit to Hector Peterson Memorial

Context

The Hector Peterson Memorial commemorates Hector as the very first youngster killed in the June 1976 Soweto student uprising. Most South Africans see the Soweto student rebellion, in which students and others died, as the first step in the bloody 18-year struggle which finally led to a free South Africa in 1994. The inscription on the memorial is dated June 16, 1976, and says: "In memory of Hector Peterson and all other young heroes and heroines of our struggle who laid down their lives for freedom, peace and democracy." Since it was inaugurated by President Mandela on June 16, 1992, the memorial has become a major place of veneration.

Premier Tokyo Sexwale (pron: seg-WAH-lay) of Gauteng Province will greet you on your arrival at the memorial, and introduce you to the assembled guests. He will then make a few short introductory remarks. You will respond with a few brief remarks of your own and then proceed to lay a wreath at the Memorial. After the wreath-laying, Premier Sexwale will escort you through a photo exhibit commemorating the anti-apartheid struggle.

Objectives

- o To recognize the enormous personal sacrifice the children and families of South Africa made to win their freedom.
- o To exchange greetings with Premier Sexwale of Gauteng Province, the Mayor of Greater Johannesburg, and the Mayor of the Southern Metropolitan Substructure (which includes Soweto and Johannesburg's Central Business District).

Talking Points

- I am thrilled to be able to bring Chelsea to Soweto, which for me and the President is the symbol and the soul of South Africa's struggle for freedom.
- I have just come from an inspiring visit to the Entandweni Primary School and am overwhelmed by the joy and achievement I saw there.

Suggested Remarks

- When I stand here and think about what the Hector Peterson Memorial signifies to South Africa and to Mrs. Peterson, my heart is deeply touched.

- As a mother, I find it hard to accept that any parent should ever have to bury one of her children, even in a noble cause.
- As a President's wife, I know that sacrifice for one's nation is a high and noble honor which can give comfort to parents who lose their children in the service of their country's fight for justice and freedom.
- Mrs. Peterson, you and your family have made the greatest possible sacrifice to South Africa's freedom. On behalf of President Clinton, myself, and Chelsea, we praise and honor you, and share the sorrow you must feel every day as a mother who has buried a child.
- Hector Peterson was a young boy when he died. Youngsters around the world like Hector renew us daily with their boundless energy, soaring spirits and fearless pursuit of justice.
- I know if Hector were here with us today he would be urging all of us to look beyond the sad daily news of poverty and violence which still grips too much of the world and to strive with all our might, and with the same love and determination that fires the hearts and minds of the young, to carry forward the eternal struggle for a safe, peace-loving and caring world.

(Depending on who hosts the event, the First Lady may add the following:)

- I would like to ask Reverend (name: TBD) to lead us in a prayer of remembrance and dedication to Hector Peterson and the people of South Africa.
- Thank you.

Tentative Guest List: Hector Peterson Memorial

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Archbishop and Mrs. Desmond Tutu (she, Leah)

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sislu (pron: sis-SOO-loo) (she, Albertina)

Mr. and Mrs. Tokyo Sexwale (she, Judy), Premier, Gauteng Province (Host)

Mrs. Victor Peterson (Hector Peterson's mother) and daughter Mrs. Antoinette Sithole (Hector's sister)

Photographer Mr. Peter Magubane (pron: mah-goo-BAH-nay)

Johannesburg Mayor and Mrs. Isaac Mogase (pron: moh-HAH-say) (she, Netta)

Ms. Sophie Masite (pron: mah-SEATtay), Mayor of Soweto

Ambassador and Mrs. James J. Joseph (she, Mary)

Consul General and Mrs. Gregory Engle (she, Maureen)

South Africa: Visit to Orlando Children's Home

Context

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko, the Home's Director, will meet you and take you on a tour of the facilities in this order: creche (where you will be greeted with a song); children's cottage (ages 3 through 19); infants cottage; and dining room. In the dining room, you will be introduced to the other guests (the Home's committee, supporters, staff, and children). Tea will be served. Mrs. Mazibuko will offer a brief welcome. You will be invited to respond, at which time Mrs. Mazibuko will answer any questions you may have. You will have an opportunity to talk with the children and answer their questions. You will present a gift; Mrs. Mazibuko will respond. The participants will form a queue leading to the door. You will shake their hands as you exit and Mrs. Mazibuko will escort you to your car.

Since 1940, the mission of the Orlando Children's Home has been to support girls and women of Soweto who are overwhelmed by motherhood, and to give care and find placements for their babies. The Home has 75 resident children and a creche for 80 children of working mothers. The Home tries to find parents for the children, but many (especially males) remain there until adulthood. For these the Home's staff are the only parents the children will ever know.

In Soweto, the anti-apartheid culture of non-attendance persists and many children do not go to school, while others leave after two or three hours. They are without adult supervision for most of the day. Soweto families are suffering from the "absent Granny syndrome." In the traditional South African context, the Granny takes care of the sexual education of girls, and teaches them about adult responsibilities. However, in 80 percent of families, girls are raised by working mothers they rarely see. With neither sex education nor birth control, many girls get pregnant. The stresses of childbirth, parental disapproval, and parenthood may make girls severely depressed or even suicidal. If a girl abandons her baby, the child may become a resident of the Orlando Children's Home.

The Home's children also come from liaisons between migrant male workers and their local mistresses. If the mistress has the worker's child, and finds that marriage is not forthcoming, she may abandon the child to its father, who then brings it to the Home. A third source of residents are mothers with HIV/AIDS.

The staff reach out to families in churches and to children at schools; go to clinics throughout Soweto weekly; get referrals of new mothers from hospitals, schools, and parents; and run a

drop-in center for depressed or overwhelmed mothers. A three-year grant from the Kellogg Foundation is helping to fund a study to identify if there is a pattern to the unplanned pregnancies, child abandonments, and new-mother suicides in Soweto. The USG also has made grants to the Orlando Children's Home (in 1986 and 1989) from the Ambassador's Special Self-Help Fund.

Objectives

- o To emphasize the need for community organizations offering support and intervention to families and to children at risk.
- o To emphasize the importance of nurturing and educating children without families so that they can become functioning members of their communities.
- o To emphasize the importance of giving children relevant information on sexuality and birth control early enough to avoid unwanted pregnancies and their consequences.

Talking Points

- I am happy to visit the Orlando Children's Home and to meet the healthy and active children being raised here. It is clear that this is indeed a family.
- I share your concern for young people growing up without the guidance and support of parents. Both in the U.S. and in South Africa, parents must be encouraged and helped to meet the responsibilities of parenthood. For the sake of future generations, parents must guide, protect, and lend psychological, as well as economic, support to our children.
- I congratulate the children of Orlando Children's Home who are doing so well at Pace College. I wish you the greatest success as you proceed toward graduation and beyond. Your efforts make the Orlando Children's Home and all of us very proud of you.
- I encourage young mothers who feel depressed and discouraged not to give up on their lives or their futures. With the help of institutions like the Orlando Children's Home, you and your children can share South Africa's wonderful future.
- I urge South Africa's teens to use these years to develop their minds and their skills, to prepare themselves for higher education, for work, and for life in the 21st century. You are all needed to build the great multicultural society which South Africa uniquely represents.

Tentative Guest List
Visit to Orlando Children's Home, Soweto

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Mrs. Miriam Mazibuko (pron: mah-zee-BOO-koh), Director, Orlando Children's Home (Host)

Mr. Edwin Dike (pron: DEE-kay), Chair, Orlando Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mrs. Linde Myeza (pron: me-AY-zah), Assistant Chair, Orlando Children's Home Managerial Committee

Mr. Malinga (pron: mah-LING-gah), Headmaster, Orlando Primary School

Mr. Mazibuko, Headmaster, Pace College (and husband of the Director of the Home)

Dr. Mary Hlalele (pron: lah-LAY-lay), Representative of the Kellogg Foundation

Staff of the Orlando Children's Home (to be identified)

Children of the Orlando Children's Home (to be identified)

(In addition, nine other members of Committee may also be present.)

Ambassador and Mrs. James Joseph (Mary)

CG and Mrs. Gregory Engle (Maureen)

South Africa: Victoria Mxenge Housing Project Initiative

Context

The Victoria Mxenge (phonetic: Em-ingé rhymes with hinge) Housing Project Initiative is an outstanding example of U.S. involvement in providing housing to the poorest of the poor in South Africa. This project is one of more than 800 housing saving schemes (HSS) in informal settlements throughout South Africa operated by the South African Homeless People's Federation. A unique feature of the Federation is that its membership and leadership, which do not exclude men, are overwhelmingly female and are drawn from homeless communities. The housing savings schemes are based on a daily program of savings, which are banked locally by HSS members themselves.

The Federation believes that development should be people-controlled and not just people-centered. It focuses on identifying and developing the capacities already present in poor communities. Women, who now head about 35 percent of all urban households in South Africa, are making this people-project work through the labor of their own hands.

On your way to the project, you will see a number of squatter settlements that will provide a sense of the challenges facing South Africa regarding its housing needs. As you enter the project, you will be greeted by a group of women singing in honor of your visit. Approximately 200-300 community residents will be at the site. You will see homes built by the women as well as women making materials, including bricks, for use in constructing their own homes, which they build at the rate of one-and-a-half per day.

You will also learn about the training programs conducted at the Building Information and Technology Center located on the site. You will visit one of the homes with community representatives and participate in a bricklaying and ribbon-cutting ceremony for a newly-constructed house and community center.

Housing is ranked by disadvantaged South Africans as one of their three top priorities. U.S. assistance goals are to strengthen black South African organizations to plan, build, and manage equitable housing and to undertake other urban development programs. USAID has provided training, technical assistance, and community facilitation for this site. USAID is now providing a \$300,000 grant to the Homeless People's Federation to permit it to accelerate its expansion into other low-income communities. The grant will permit the construction of additional Building and Information Technology Centers in which participating families will receive support for their projects. USAID has also provided a \$3 million grant to the National Ministry of Housing for similar initiatives.

Objectives

- o Visit a USAID-funded Community and Urban Services Support Program to see how United States assistance money is being used to help solve typical urban housing problems for homeless South Africans.
- o Observe how government projects in partnership with people can provide adequate support mechanisms leading to the building of quality housing and growing communities.
- o Emphasize the importance the United States attaches to ongoing cooperative community projects which are supported by our assistance programs, and the contribution such projects make in helping to build the new South Africa.
- o Compliment the women working on the Housing Project as an example of South African women's potential to create a stronger future for all in South Africa.

Talking Points

- One of my greatest joys is visiting cooperative project sites where people are making a difference for themselves and for the communities of which they are a part. Your work building the Victoria Mxenge Project demonstrates how important people-controlled projects are.
- Many of us in the United States believe that support for people-centered development projects should be as flexible as possible, to allow those who will benefit most from the projects to "get on with the job."
- I can see from all the work going on around me that you have certainly gotten on with the job!
- I understand that the women here have not only helped design the houses they will live in, but have contributed to their construction from their own savings. You have made a remarkable contribution not only in improving your own lives but in setting an example for other South Africans on how to establish new and improved communities.
- Our aid program concentrates on projects that directly affect people's daily lives, such as the Victoria Mxenge Project. We also have focused on self-help programs because we believe that community participation ensures the most effective projects.
- When Americans see projects such as the one you are working on here, we know that our assistance programs are on the right track in helping South Africans to help themselves.

- The hard work and vision, as exemplified by the splendid people I have met here today, bodes well for the future of South Africa. Well done, and keep up the good work!

Visit to the Victoria Mxenge Project

Tentative List of Participants

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton

Miss Chelsea Clinton

Patricia Matolengwe, Western Cape Housing Person of the Year and South African Homeless People's Federation Leader

Theresa Solomon, First Black Woman Mayor of Cape Town and Former Political Prisoner

Sankie-Nkondo, National Minister of Housing

Women for Housing Committee (TBD -- Two will be members from the Advisory Group to Minister Sankie-Nkondo on Women and Housing Issues)

Women (six) from the Victoria Mxenge Housing Site and Homeless People's Federation (TBD)

Ambassador and Mrs. Joseph (She, Mary)

South Africa: Visit to Cowley House and Tree Planting

Context

Cowley House functions as a haven and treatment center for victims of abuse and trauma, and originally treated those tortured and/or maimed by the apartheid police system. The facility operates under the auspices of the Anglican Church and is a favorite project of Archbishop Tutu. It has long been managed by Father Michael Lapsley, an Anglican priest and anti-apartheid activist whose hands were blown off when he opened a package bomb mailed to him by police agents. Cowley House has also served as a haven for the families of victims, somewhat like a Ronald McDonald house. It now serves victims of domestic and other violence, offers walk-in counseling, and provides shelter to those who are shunned elsewhere, such as HIV/AIDS patients.

The original trauma center is being rebuilt; in the meantime operations are located at Zonnebloem College, a short drive away. Behind the original site is the Garden of Remembrance, dedicated by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands in 1994. There you and Archbishop Tutu will plant a tree in the garden, marked by a permanent plaque in recognition of your visit.

Objective

- o To pay tribute to the victims of apartheid, and to make a visible gesture indicating that they will not be forgotten.

Talking Points

- It is well to remember that, although South Africa's transition to democracy is recognized as a peaceful one, for many of those at the forefront of the crusade it was anything but peaceful.
- I am honored to be able to participate with Archbishop Tutu in this ceremony, which in a small way demonstrates remembrance by the United States of those who suffered violence under apartheid.

South Africa: Speech at University of Cape Town

Context

Your most prominent activity in South Africa is likely to be a major speech at the University of Cape Town (UCT). This will be your first of two major speeches on the trip, and UCT will provide an excellent platform for elaborating our two countries' common cause on the themes of democracy and human rights. Thirty years ago, Robert Kennedy chose UCT as the forum to deliver an impassioned plea for democratic reform, a speech still remembered by South Africans today.

One of South Africa's most prestigious universities, UCT is now headed by Dr. Mamphela Ramphele, a prominent anti-apartheid activist and the mother of Steve Biko's son, born four months after Biko died in detention. Once an all-white institution, UCT is making good progress toward attaining a student body which is representative of the region's population.

Objectives

- o To demonstrate U.S. goodwill toward South Africa.
- o To emphasize South Africa's key role as the engine for southern African growth and as a model for peaceful democratization.

Talking Points

-- See speech text.

South Africa: Lunch at the Spier Wine Estate

Most of the scores of wine estates in the Cape have great scenery, food, and local wine. But Spier Wine Estate is noteworthy for expanding its business in partnership with previously excluded groups and communities. The most progressive wine estate in the area, Spier is also the only one to import and promote American wines, partly because of wine master Jabulani Ntshangase, a former Sowetan who spent two decades in the U.S. wine industry and who now is training a cadre of black South African winemakers.

Your visit to the estate provides an opportunity to view the magnificent scenery for which Cape Town and its surrounds are renowned.

South Africa: Visit to Robben Island

Context

Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela spent many of his 27 years in prison, is developing in post-apartheid South Africa as something of a cross between Ellis Island and the Holocaust Memorial Museum. Much as former immigrants visit Ellis Island today to relive memories both proud and painful, former political prisoners (who totaled 3,000 from 1961-91) are among those making day trips to Robben Island with their families and friends to visit the new museum there and view the prison cell Mandela occupied. The island lies six miles off the coast of Cape Town.

You are invited to a Robben Island Museum fundraiser -- a sold-out event for which attendees have contributed 250,000 rand (\$58,000) each. Included is a helicopter ride to the island, a visit to Mandela's cell, drinks and dinner, entertainment by Bill Cosby, and an overnight stay. Mandela and Cosby will not stay overnight, and you will return to the mainland.

The great irony of Robben Island is that the apartheid regime, by imprisoning together many of the most talented and dedicated liberation workers from across racial and ethnic backgrounds, unwittingly prepared for a far more unified and knowledgeable successor government than could ever otherwise have been the case. Former inmates of Robben Island refer to it as their "university," as many of them entered with only a grade-school education but departed with the equivalent of a bachelor's or even master's degree. In early years the learning was imparted surreptitiously by Mandela and other great minds as they worked to split rock. Later the authorities allowed prisoners to pursue more formal avenues of education, including correspondence classes, and soon realized that one of their greatest powers over the inmates was the threat to withdraw such privileges.

Objective

- o To honor Nelson Mandela and other great anti-apartheid leaders who sacrificed decades of their lives on Robben Island in the name of freedom.

Talking Points

- The triumph of the victory of South Africans over apartheid was brought home to me in an unforgettable way as I visited Nelson Mandela's prison cell.
- To see what once was, and now to address him "Mr. State President," is awe-inspiring.

(IF A TOAST IS REQUIRED)

- I toast al·lof those who have sacrificed so much to bring about the transformation of South Africa into a democratic multi-ethnic and non-racialnation. To the future of South Africa and all its people.

South Africa: Departure Statement

- o I would like to thank everyone who has helped to make our visit to South Africa so enriching and rewarding.
- o I will carry home with me a new admiration for the people of South Africa and the remarkable achievements you have made in just three years.
- o I have also learned how blessed this country is with ideas, energy and commitment to a better future.
- o The South African people display an astounding depth of talent in government, business, science, the environment, education and culture.
- o To come to know the people of South Africa is to confirm optimism about this country's future.
- o We look forward to broadening and deepening our partnership with South Africa.
- o There is still a great deal we can learn from each other and many ways we can work together to solve common problems and reach common goals

DATE: MARCH 7, 1997

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2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 4, 1997, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 22; Column 1; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 579 words

HEADLINE: The Truth About Steve Biko

BODY:

When South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission began work last April, the widow of Steve Biko feared it could grant amnesty to the people who murdered her husband in 1977. Last week five policemen said they had killed Mr. Biko, and they will probably get amnesty in return. But Mrs. Biko got something she had long been denied -- the truth. For decades the apartheid Government insisted that her husband had committed suicide or died accidentally in a struggle with police. His killers will now confess on national television to this and several other notorious murders.

Mrs. Biko has not said whether she now feels this is an acceptable compromise. It is for South Africa, the only country that has ever tried this kind of approach to dealing with crimes from its past. To further reconciliation, the Truth Commission was established with the power to grant amnesty not in blanket form, but only to those who confess to political crimes.

Without the lure of amnesty, it is likely that no one who knew of Mr. Biko's murder would have talked, making convictions impossible. The new South African Government has attempted few prosecutions. The most prominent defendant, former Defense Minister Magnus Malan, was acquitted of involvement in a massacre. Less-well-known victims have little chance of interesting the state in bringing a case.

Ideally, South Africa's courts will someday be efficient and fair enough to deliver widespread justice. Meanwhile the Truth Commission trades the impossible for the possible, namely information that is indispensable for healing after apartheid. Its investigations have implicated the highest officials and revealed how apartheid worked.

The Biko revelations are especially welcome because so far only a few prominent apartheid officials have applied for amnesty. But more applications are coming, including those of a former Minister of Law and Order and 50 high-level policemen. In addition, the African National Congress has turned in more than 300 applications from members covering crimes they committed fighting apartheid, and more are on the way. There will probably be a rush of applications right before the deadline, which was extended till May.

The amnesty applications are only one side of the Truth Commission. Since last April the commissioners, led by Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu, have held public, televised hearings around the country in which victims speak of their suffering. The stories of ordinary people -- typical is the seamstress whose son was arrested and never seen again -- continue to make news every day. A weekly television program on the commission continues to draw a wide audience.

The New York Times, February 4, 1997

The hearings are therapeutic not only for the victims. The televised statements of victims and criminals can open the eyes of whites who ignored or justified apartheid's crimes, a crucial ingredient of reconciliation and for creating a democratic culture. Many whites, perhaps most, still seem determined to ignore the Truth Commission. But if these confessions cannot convince them apartheid was wrong, probably nothing will.

At bottom, the controversy over the Truth Commission is a debate over what new democracies must do to overcome the legacy of dictatorship. Such governments should have two goals, to heal the victims and insure that dictatorship never returns. The Truth Commission alone cannot meet those aims, but it remains one of the best attempts any nation has yet made.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 4, 1997

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 2, 1997, Sunday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 4; Page 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk

LENGTH: 1143 words

HEADLINE: The World;
Biko's Case Now Offers Justice From a Travesty

BYLINE: By JOHN F. BURNS; John F. Burns, New Delhi bureau chief of The New York Times, covered South Africa for The Times in 1977.

BODY:

MANY of those who sat in the old synagogue in Pretoria nearly 20 years ago, when it served briefly as one of apartheid's most infamous courtrooms, must have paused at the news from South Africa last week. According to the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, five white security officers involved in the detention and killing of the black leader Steve Biko in 1977 have indicated a readiness to admit their part in his death, and begun the process of applying for amnesty for their crimes.

South Africa is not the only place where a seemingly impregnable political system has crumbled in recent years. But there can be few places where the victors and the vanquished of the old order meet on such improbably altered terms. Nearly three years of black-led government under the presidency of Nelson Mandela, apartheid's most famous political prisoner, have accustomed the world to surprising things, but few have been quite so arresting as the prospect of learning, from the men who killed him, what really happened to Mr. Biko.

The men who are now petitioners before the truth commission, including Col. Harold Snyman, who oversaw the interrogation of Mr. Biko, showed no remorse 20 years ago at the inquest into his death from brain injuries in a Pretoria prison cell. During the two-week hearing, they strutted about in the manner of men above the law. They joked while waiting to take the witness stand, they openly coordinated their accounts of how Mr. Biko sustained his injuries (and still offered versions that conflicted), and they answered contemptuously when cross-questioned by the Biko family's lawyers.

It is a different matter now. Lawyers for the five men have said their clients are ready to make a clean breast of their roles in Mr. Biko's death, thus meeting, they hope, the condition the truth commission has set for giving amnesty to perpetrators of apartheid-era crimes. Since there is no guarantee that the amnesty will be granted, and thus it is possible that the men could still be prosecuted for murder, it remains to be seen whether they will discard the tissue of evasions, half-truths and lies that made absurdist theater of the inquest.

But whatever the men may admit or deny, they will be adding in some measure to one of the most important chapters in the fall of apartheid. It was so, in the main, because of the miserable way in which Mr. Biko died, and the shock this administered to opinion in South Africa and the world. But it was also a turning point because it removed a man who many thought might have one day

The New York Times, February 2, 1997

challenged Mr. Mandela for the leadership of blacks in South Africa, or perhaps succeeded him.

WHEN he died, at the age of 30, Mr. Biko was the country's most important young black leader, and something of a firebrand in the anti-apartheid struggle. Only days before his arrest, he told this reporter that blacks would one day move out of their townships and into white suburbs, "destroying and burning" along the way. This appeared to put him and his black-consciousness movement on a more radical track than Mr. Mandela and the African National Congress, the older resistance group now in power. But how much difference this might have made in the compromises Mr. Mandela made with whites to secure black rule can never be known, since Mr. Biko's killers made sure he had no chance to settle into mellow middle age.

What is sure is that Mr. Biko's death speeded apartheid's end. Not since the 1960 police massacre of 62 protesters in Sharpeville had an incident so galvanized black opposition. And because the murder laid bare the viciousness at the heart of white rule, it aroused the West's conscience as nothing before. Within weeks, the United States, turning from dialogue, adopted its first trade and financial sanctions against Pretoria.

Ironically, it was the South African regime's respect for the forms of law -- courts, lawyers, open testimony designed to signal that this was still a Western society -- that helped expose how deeply it was flouting the core ideas of Western justice itself. Although questioning by the Biko family's lead counsel, Sydney W. Kentridge, devastated the policemen's increasingly fantastic attempts to explain away Mr. Biko's death, the verdict, by a magistrate who was a civil servant within the apartheid regime, was foreordained.

Initially, the Government said that Mr. Biko had starved himself to death. Days later, it adjusted to post-mortem evidence of brain injuries by saying he had intentionally banged his head on a wall. At the inquest, the policemen claimed that Mr. Biko, enraged when shown statements by fellow black leaders that purportedly implicated him in terrorist activities, had attacked them with a chair, then suffered head injuries in a fall.

But none of the shifting accounts disguised the brutal indignities of the affair. At the inquest, the policemen admitted keeping Mr. Biko naked in a cell for 18 days, and denying his transfer to a hospital even after Government doctors detected brain damage. When Mr. Biko was foaming at the mouth and incoherent, he was placed naked in the rear of a Land Rover and driven 700 miles across the country from Port Elizabeth. In Pretoria, he was dumped into a prison cell, still naked, and left to die.

Almost as frightening was the Alice-in-Wonderland world of apartheid the Biko affair exposed. For those at the pinnacle of white power, as much as for those, like the policemen, who did the dirty work necessary to uphold the system, the cost of admitting the truth had become too great, since it involved acknowledging the moral bankruptcy of their power. Instead, they adopted whatever tortured version of reality was least troubling.

Nobody better demonstrated this than James T. Kruger, Justice and Police Minister at the time. It was he who told a congress of the ruling National Party that he supported Mr. Biko's right to "starve himself to death." Later, after Mr. Biko's brain injuries were disclosed, Mr. Kruger summoned this reporter to

The New York Times, February 2, 1997

his office, brewed a pot of tea, walked over to the door frame and banged his head. "This is what he did, just to embarrass us," he said. Farcical as it seemed, Mr. Kruger gave every sign of believing this.

THE fact that the truth has caught up with Mr. Biko's killers may be small consolation to Mr. Biko's family and friends, who have demanded they be tried. Still, the lessons of the affair may give some comfort elsewhere. In Bosnia, victim of another murderous ideology, Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Serbian overlords of "ethnic cleansing" between 1992 and 1995, have been as arrogant in their presumptions of impunity as the practitioners of apartheid ever were. Perhaps, someday, history's wheel will turn for them, too, offering a measure of redress to the numberless victims of their obsessions.

GRAPHIC: Photo: A museum exhibit in Pretoria includes a replica of Steven Biko's body as it was found in his prison cell in September 1977. Five ex-officers are now willing to admit their part in his death in return for amnesty. (Associated Press)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 2, 1997

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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January 29, 1997, Wednesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 1224 words

HEADLINE: In South Africa, Confessions To Dark Era's Worst Crimes

BYLINE: By SUZANNE DALEY

DATELINE: PORT ELIZABETH, South Africa, Jan. 28

BODY:

South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission announced today that former policemen had confessed to some of the apartheid era's most notorious political killings, including the death of Steve Biko.

Mr. Biko, the young leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, died of a massive brain hemorrhage while in police custody in 1977. His killing set off international outrage but no one was ever held responsible.

But truth commission officials said that the men responsible for the killing had now confessed and were in the process of filing amnesty applications that would detail their role in Mr. Biko's death.

Commission officials also said that they had applications that described what happened to nine other prominent anti-apartheid activists.

The confessions were a major accomplishment for the commission, which has been charged with uncovering the truth about South Africa's past.

The commission, which has the power to grant amnesty in exchange for full confessions, was established as a way to put the country's brutal history to rest. It is meant to be a kind of compromise offering truth without the expense and political difficulty of prosecutions.

"We are enormously encouraged," said Alex Boraine, the deputy chairman of the commission. "Despite the controversy over amnesty and whether it was the right thing to do, there has been a result. Here we are 10, 20 years later with hard factual information of who was responsible and why and in what way. "

The commission would not name the individuals who had filed amnesty applications or even say how many were involved in what crimes. But a lawyer representing many of them, Francois van de Merwe, said that five former police officers had recanted their sworn denials and acknowledged responsibility for Steve Biko's death.

At the time, the five white policemen who interrogated Mr. Biko in a prison cell here told a public inquest that there had been no beatings or torture. They said Mr. Biko was injured when he "went berserk" and threw himself against a wall.

The New York Times, January 29, 1997

The men are Daantjie Siebert, Gideon Niewoudt, Harold Snyman, Ruben Marx and Johann Beneke. Some of them have also admitted being involved in some of the other killings, their lawyer said.

The men range in age from 40 to 75. Several are retired, while some were given medical discharges for work-related stress.

Mr. van de Merwe said most of his clients had come forward because "quite honestly, there was a lot of evidence building up."

Others, he said, had volunteered information that was not about to be uncovered in the spirit of reconciliation.

He appealed for understanding for the men, saying they had families who in many cases had no idea what they had been doing as members of South Africa's ruthless security forces and were now having difficulty accepting the news.

But some relatives of the victims who attended the news conference today scoffed at Mr. van der Merwe's pleas.

"Were they thinking about my husband's family when they killed him?" said Nomonde Calata, whose husband, Fort Calata, was killed along with Matthew Goniwe. "They were watching him all the time and he lived with me and they could see I was very much expecting a child when they took him away. Were they thinking of us?"

Ironically, the truth commission's first successes in solving the mysteries of the past are in cases where many of the victim's relatives have vehemently opposed the work of the commission.

Mr. Biko's family, for instance, was among those who went to court hoping to stop the proceedings. The family wants to see Mr. Biko's killers prosecuted.

Lawyers for the Biko family argued that the commission was unconstitutional because its powers to grant amnesties denied the victims the right to have disputes settled in court. The country's highest court, however, ruled in favor of the commission.

Commission officials said many of the amnesty applications they had received involving the 10 prominent activists were contradictory, contained yawning gaps and implicated still other people who had not yet come forward. They refused to give any details at all about the Biko killing.

"We still have a lot of work to do," Mr. Boraine said.

But in the case of Mr. Goniwe, who disappeared in 1985 along with three other activists from Port Elizabeth, commission officials said some details could be disclosed. A yearlong inquest in 1994 failed to identify any of the culprits in the case or to explain exactly what had happened to Mr. Goniwe, Mr. Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhalwuli.

The commission said the four, who became known as the Cradock Four, were apparently abducted as they were traveling between Port Elizabeth and Cradock in Cape Province. From there they were taken into the bush. One was shot trying to escape. Two others were beaten with an iron implement, then stabbed to make it

The New York Times, January 29, 1997

appear as if their deaths were vigilante killings. Their bodies were then burned.

The commission also gave some details about the death of three other activists who became known as the Pebco Three. The men, Sipho Charles Hashe, Qaqawuli Godolozzi and Champion Galela disappeared in 1985. It was well known that they had been abducted from the Port Elizabeth airport after the security police had lured them there with the promise of meeting a potential donor. But further details were unknown.

The commission said that they were taken to an abandoned police station and after being interrogated they were given coffee laced with sleeping tablets. Each one was shot by a different policeman and then the bodies were placed on a pyre and burned. It took four to six hours. The remains were then placed in plastic bags and thrown in a river.

Two other activists, Siphiwe Mtimkulu and Topsy Madaka, apparently got similar treatment in 1982, although police officials maintained that the two had left the country. Mr. Mtimkulu, a student leader, had been held in detention for five months in 1981 after participating in a demonstration. In prison, he had been poisoned with substance used for killing rats.

Home barely two weeks and still wearing slippers and using a cane, he was abducted with his friend. After they were drugged, shot and then reduced to ashes on a wood pyre, the police took their car to the Lesotho border to create the impression that they had left the country, the commission said.

Steve Biko was 30 years old when he died, but he had already developed a significant following. A passionate and eloquent speaker, he argued that blacks had to stop feeling inferior to whites. He said they had to see beauty and value in their own ways and they had to make their own future without depending on whites.

In death, he became an icon of the international campaign against white rule and inspired a successful movie, "Cry Freedom."

Evidence at the inquest showed that Mr. Biko had died from head injuries inflicted over a period of several days. In addition to the brain damage, there were other injuries as well. Although he was medically examined several times, there was no evidence that he received any treatment in the days before his death.

On September 11, naked and shackled, he was transferred 700 miles to Pretoria where he was dumped without identification outside the emergency room of a hospital. He died the next day.

GRAPHIC: Photos: Five white former South African police officers have acknowledged their roles in the killings of anti-apartheid activists in the 1970's and 80's. Two of the officers, Capt. Daantje Siebert, left, and Maj. Harold Snyman, leaving an inquest in 1977 after denying killing Steve Biko. (Associated Press); Mr. Biko, above, died of a brain hemorrhage at age 30 while in police custody in 1977. (Reuters) (pg. A4)

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 7, 1997, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 33; Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 692 words

HEADLINE: At Home Abroad;
Painful Truth

BYLINE: By ANTHONY LEWIS

DATELINE: CAPE TOWN

BODY:

South Africans thought they knew the worst about the crimes of apartheid. They did not.

In the last few days unimagined horrors have emerged from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission established as part of the country's transition to democracy. Among other things, the commission is looking into the possibility that Steven Biko was killed in 1977 not by policemen's blows, as previously thought, but by poison.

The commission's deputy chairman, Dr. Alex Boraine, told me that the poison allegedly used was one "manufactured by the country's chemical and biological warfare program." The poison is said to produce brain hemorrhages of the kind from which Steve Biko died.

The new Biko inquiry and other developments have made clear that the commission is producing what many doubted it could or would: the truth. More and more former policemen, military officers and higher-ups are coming forward to confess what they did.

But the very effectiveness of the commission in bringing out the worst is putting strains on the other half of the bargain it offers: In exchange for telling the whole truth about what they did, perpetrators of political crimes are to be given amnesty.

"The act doesn't call for repentance," Dr. Boraine said, "or for forgiveness. Amnesty is the price we pay for our political settlement and for our peace. It can be a costly price.

"Political theory, yes: amnesty is necessary and can help the country on the path to reconciliation. But when you hear the details of what someone actually did, it's hard.

"There are cases where after torturing and killing someone they burned the body to dispose of it. How? You go into the veld, start a big fire and you burn the body on one side and turn it. And at the same time you have your barbecue and your beer. Is it bestiality or barbarism or what? We went through a very dark period."

The New York Times, February 7, 1997

Desmond Tutu, the retired Anglican Archbishop, is the chairman of the Truth Commission. He is under medical treatment now for prostate cancer and is temporarily away. Until December he presided at hearings where details so ghastly were recited that at one point he put his head on the table and wept.

"It wasn't just the Bikos or the Sharpevilles," Dr. Boraine said. "It was across the country. We have listened to thousands of people."

Even widows have in many cases said they want only to know what happened, not to punish the killers. But that is not a universal reaction. Mr. Biko's widow, Notsikilelo, is expected to oppose the application for amnesty by five former security policemen who say they killed him unintentionally.

If poison turns out to have been the cause of his death, I asked Dr. Boraine, how could it have been unintentional? "Those policemen may not have known" about the poison, he replied. There were many branches of the security forces involved in suppressing opposition to apartheid.

Another anti-apartheid activist, Dr. Frank Chikane, came down with a mysterious illness several times during a trip to the United States in 1989. A doctor in Wisconsin finally diagnosed it as the result of a poisonous chemical, perhaps introduced into his clothes or luggage. Dr. Chikane survived and is now a government official.

To gain amnesty, the perpetrators must convince a panel of three judges and two lawyers that their purpose was political and they are fully disclosing their role. The commission has a staff of independent investigators who check the stories, and the panel decides on amnesty after a quasi-judicial proceeding.

If amnesty is given to Steve Biko's killers, and others like them, it will be extremely painful for many. But without the carrot of amnesty, the truth would almost surely have remained hidden -- corrupting the country's future.

One former cabinet member, Adriaan Vlok, who was Minister of Law and Order, has applied for amnesty. Dr. Boraine says that former President F. W. de Klerk ought to apply, despite his honorable role in the transition, because he had political responsibility in the last days of apartheid. It is the system, more than any individual, that now stands revealed for the horror it was.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 7, 1997

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October 8, 1994, Saturday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section 1; Page 23; Column 2; Editorial Desk

LENGTH: 882 words

HEADLINE: South Africa's Lesson for Haiti

BYLINE: By Aryeh Neier; Aryeh Neier is president of the Open Society Institute, which finances transitions to democracy.

BODY:

As Haitian lawmakers consider how to implement legislation authorizing an amnesty -- part of the deal to restore President Jean-Bertrand Aristide -- they would do well to consider the experience of other countries with such laws.

In working out the particulars of the amnesty, which the Senate approved yesterday, they would find it especially useful to look to South Africa, where the temporary Constitution under which Nelson Mandela was elected -- and under which the country is now governed -- requires that an amnesty be provided.

In drafting a bill to carry out this constitutional requirement, the South African Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, drew upon the experiences of countries in Latin America and elsewhere that have made the transition from dictatorship to democracy. His legislation represents an innovative attempt both to honor a bargain that permitted a peaceful transfer of power and to promote the interests of truth and justice.

Under Mr. Omar's bill, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission would be established to investigate all gross violations of human rights committed from March 1, 1960, to Dec. 6, 1993, and to identify the perpetrators and the victims. A full report would be published and recommendations would be made to the President for payment of reparations to victims.

In these respects, the legislation draws on the experience of Argentina, Chile and El Salvador. But Mr. Omar's proposal goes a step further. Amnesty would not be granted across the board. South African police officers and others who committed such crimes as the torture or assassination of anti-apartheid activists would be able to obtain amnesty only by approaching a Committee on Amnesty and fully disclosing the crimes that they committed. Amnesty would not be granted to those who did not acknowledge their crimes.

Human rights advocates often object that amnesties repudiate the principle of individual responsibility for criminality. It is difficult to build a society based on the rule of law unless it is understood that each of us is responsible for his or her own acts and that all of us, whether ordinary citizens or government officials, are subject to punishment if we violate the law.

Yet by providing that amnesty is individual, not collective, and by insisting that it be accompanied by full disclosure, Justice Minister Omar's proposal

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directly addresses some of the worst evils of amnesties. Of course, most of the torturers and murderers will be spared trial and imprisonment for their crimes, but only by acknowledging individual responsibility.

In Haiti, as in South Africa, there is a practical reason to favor such an approach. By covering up all the crimes of the Haitian military, police and "attaches," a blanket amnesty would make it difficult to weed out those who should be barred from serving in any reconstituted force.

Currently, the United States plan is to rely on intelligence data to identify those who should not serve in the new police force. What this means is that those fingered by paid informants would be excluded. Such information is notoriously unreliable.

A commission that proceeds with concern for fairness -- possibly appointed by the United Nations, as in El Salvador, with commissioners and staff from other countries -- is likely to do a much better job. Also, as in the Salvadoran case, fairness would be promoted by empowering such a commission to examine abuses by both sides -- that is, the relatively small number that took place while Mr. Aristide was President, as well as the vastly larger number that took place after his ouster.

No doubt many with the most blood on their hands would emulate Col. Michel Francois and flee Haiti in the time it took to establish a truth commission and a committee on amnesty and for such bodies to begin functioning. Yet by putting on record detailed information on their criminality, a commission could help to prevent them from trying to return and overthrow a fragile democracy.

Also, it would mean that those like Emmanuel (Toto) Constant, leader of a paramilitary group that has been implicated in many of the killings since Father Aristide was ousted three years ago, could not get away presenting themselves as paladins of democracy.

Even if amnesty is granted only on an individual basis to those who acknowledge their crimes, it is possible that very few of those responsible will be tried for the politically motivated violence that has caused so much suffering. But if trials are held, it is crucial that they respect principles of due process. The state of Haiti's judiciary makes this difficult. Most likely, international assistance will be needed, and it should be provided: the conduct of trials will have a profound influence on the possibility of establishing the rule of law in a country where it has never taken root.

The South African approach does not answer all the objections to amnesties. One is that the state's refusal to punish crimes invites private vengeance. Yet it seems possible that even this very real danger will be mitigated if those who have suffered greatly under the dictatorship of Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cedras and company come to understand that their persecutors must own up individually before getting away scot free.

GRAPHIC: Drawing

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April 16, 1996, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 3; Column 1; Foreign Desk

LENGTH: 767 words

HEADLINE: South Africans Revisit Apartheid's Horrors

BYLINE: By SUZANNE DALEY

DATELINE: EAST LONDON, South Africa, April 15

BODY:

Nohle Mohapi's husband had been in detention -- she didn't know where -- when someone came to her workplace to deliver two letters he smuggled from jail. They were written on toilet paper and said "the situation was bad" but that her politically active young husband, Mapetla, was all right. The letters said she must take care of the children until they would all be together again.

It was only a few days later, in 1976, that the police told Mrs. Mohapi that her husband had hanged himself in his cell with a pair of blue jeans.

One of the officers laughed at her, Mrs. Mohapi recalled today, unable to keep the outrage from her voice. "I still remember this," she said. "He said: 'They call themselves leaders, but they cannot take the pressure.' "

In the ornate Victorian city hall here, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission began its work today, inviting a half dozen victims of apartheid's brutality to come forward and tell their stories. Most were widows like Mrs. Mohapi, whose husbands disappeared in police custody. They told of their ever more frantic searches and in some cases, their own detention. One woman was falsely told that her youngest child had died, and that if she confessed, she could attend the funeral.

The women, graying now, arrived dressed in their Sunday best. Although tissues were passed around before the start of the proceedings, it was not particularly a day of tears, but a day to take aim at "official stories" and to ask the commission to find out once and for all what had really happened to their husbands.

Mrs. Mohapi seemed to step down from the witness chair just a bit taller than before. "I feel much excitement today," she told reporters afterward. "Before, I had anger, but that anger has changed to excitement because something good has happened in my life. The truth will come out now."

The commission was established as a way for South Africans to put their past to rest. It has three mandates -- to collect and investigate victims' accounts, to consider amnesty for those who confess their part in atrocities and to make recommendations on reparations for the victims.

But since its inception it has been controversial. Before today's hearings began, three suits were filed to shut the commission down. Two come from

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victims' groups who feel the committee is usurping their right to seek prosecutions and civil damages. One is from people who will probably be identified at the hearings as having committed atrocities. Arguing that they have been convicted of nothing, they want the commission barred from disclosing their names.

The first hearings are being held here because this small Indian Ocean port city was a hotbed of political activity and repression in the late 1970's and 1980's. Later, the commission, headed by Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Anglican primate of Southern Africa, intends to tour the country. It is supposed to finish its work in 18 months.

No one knows what it will accomplish in so little time. It has 60 investigators, but there are thousands of crimes, victims and perpetrators. What it may produce is a national catharsis about the sins of the past, a chance to forgive, if not to forget.

The commissioners seemed reluctant today to ask the witnesses many questions, except about what sort of reparations they hoped for.

Mrs. Mohapi said that she wanted a memorial to those who died in the struggle, someplace her children could visit. "I would like to see a place where all these fallen heroes can be remembered, a place where when you feel down you can go read the name and put a wreath there."

Mrs. Galela and Monica Godolozi, whose husbands disappeared together, asked for their bodies.

"Please bring my husband's remains so I can bury him in a very dignified manner," Mrs. Godolozi said.

Before the day was over, the commission had illustrated its intent to avoid being partisan by hearing a white witness who was probably the victim of a black terrorist.

In 1991, Karl Andrew Webber, an inspector for the local Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, was having a drink in a hotel bar when it was sprayed with automatic-weapon fire by a lone gunman, leaving five people dead and seven wounded. Mr. Webber, 38, lost his left arm below the elbow and 60 percent of the use of his right arm. He now lives on disability payments of about \$100 a month.

"My life was changed overnight, being a disabled person," he said. "It's taken some time, but I have accepted it and I have to get on with my life." He too asked the commission for financial aid.

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March 28, 1994

SECTION: WORLD REPORT; COVER STORY; Vol. 116, No. 12; Pg. 53

LENGTH: 1022 words

HEADLINE: Fighting the next battle

BYLINE: By Jerelyn Eddings

DATELINE: South Africa

HIGHLIGHT:

Neglected in the antiapartheid struggle, women push for equal rights;

BODY:

Nestled deep in the rural heartland of South Africa, in the black homeland of Bophuthatswana, is the village of Springfontein, where the residents are mostly women and all poor. They raise cattle and tend gardens that burst with produce when the rains are good. In times of drought, their families teeter on the edge of starvation. There is no electricity here. No telephones. No health clinic. And no cars. In an emergency, a messenger is dispatched on foot to the nearest telephone, 2 miles away, to call for help from Thaba Nchu, the nearest town. About a year ago, the villagers asked homeland authorities for flush toilets to replace their outhouses. They have not received an answer.

"If there were more men, there would be progress," says Martha Shuping, a widow whose children have grown up and left Springfontein. "But we've got no husbands here. We are forgotten."

The men of Springfontein and other rural villages are mostly dead or gone to the cities in search of work. Some have found new women and started new families and will never return. The pattern is typically South African, repeated generation after generation since black men began working in the gold and diamond mines that made white South Africa rich. It was aggravated by apartheid laws and practices that permitted only blacks with jobs to live in "white areas" and gave them only a few weeks off each year to see their families back home.

Always on call. While black men descended into the mines, rural black women found work as domestics in South Africa's white cities. Domestic work remains the largest occupation for black women in South Africa: More than 900,000 maids earn an average of 250 rand a month, a little more than \$ 80. Often, a maid's job comes with "accommodation," a small room in back of the main house, which is supposed to be a benefit but also means the maid is always on call. There is no minimum wage for maids and no job security.

Violence is an ever present threat in the black townships around white cities. Rape is rampant. In the roughest townships, girls are attacked on their way to school or taken from their classes by gangs. "Women are the most vulnerable group in society," says Gertrude Shope, a leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Women's League and a veteran women's rights activist.

U.S. News & World Report, March 28, 1994

White women lead more comfortable lives, but they hold no power, either. Only eight members of South Africa's 308-member Parliament are women, and there is one female cabinet minister, Rina Venter of the Ministry of Health. "In the whole history of the country, we have had 25 women in Parliament," says Sheila Camerer, the deputy justice minister, who has fought inside the white-minority government to reform laws that discriminate against women. Only in recent years have marriage statutes been changed so women married under civil law can own property and enter into contracts -- without a husband's signature.

Such changes mainly helped white women, however. The majority of black women are married under "customary law," the government's codification of tribal customs in the Black Administration Act, which considers black women minors whose business is to be handled by their husbands, fathers or sons.

"For African women, customary law takes precedence," says Mavivi Manzini, who serves as an ANC representative on a quasi-governmental panel set up to clear obstacles to the participation of women in next month's election. "We're trying to change [the Black Administration Act] now because it can be used to bar women from voting," says Manzini. "It is very difficult for women to go against their husbands or the chiefs in their villages."

Not surprisingly, those at the forefront of the new push for women's rights in South Africa are activists schooled in protest politics by the antiapartheid movement. In particular, women in the ANC have pushed that organization to embrace the concept of equal rights and to carry the commitment into the next government.

Policy vs. reality. In the past, the ANC mouthed the rhetoric of sexual equality while its top leaders remained all male and its women were relegated to the Women's League, which plays a supporting role. "The ANC leads the country on a policy level on gender issues," says Cheryl Carolus, one of the few women to head a major department in the organization, health and education. "But there is a dichotomy between the policy and the reality."

Women have been shaking up the ANC since July 1991, when it held its first legal conference inside South Africa after being unbanned the previous year. They asked that one third of the group's policy-making council be female, and when this was rejected they staged a walkout that embarrassed the men.

Now political power will change hands dramatically when a new government is inaugurated this year, presumably under the leadership of the ANC. Not only will it be largely black for the first time in history, it is expected to have a significant number of women, mainly as a result of an ANC decision to field a list of candidates that is one-third female.

"This time it wasn't even disputed when we said we wanted 33 percent," says Carolus. "The ANC is starting to grow up on the gender issue." ANC leader Nelson Mandela says the organization has recognized the fact that women make up 53 percent of South Africa's population. "Unless they play the role necessitated by their numbers, it will not be possible for us to achieve the ambition of building this country. That is why we acceded to their demand on the list."

Led by ANC activists, women from across the political and racial spectrum met in April 1992 to form the National Women's Coalition, whose mission was to draft a women's rights charter and agitate for change. The charter, adopted

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this month, demands equality "in all spheres of our lives." But the women know they are in for another battle. "Now it's a struggle against our men," says Albertina Sisulu, 76, a veteran activist and wife of Mandela's longtime colleague and prison mate Walter Sisulu. "But the women in this country are not keeping quiet."

GRAPHIC: Drawing, No caption (Illustration by Dennis Ortiz-Lopez for USN&WR);
Picture, South Africa. ANC supporters in Springfontein rally for women's rights.
(David Butow -- Black Star for USN&WR)

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BODY:

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Speech by President Nelson Mandela at the National Conference of Commitments: gender and women empowerment.

The Honourable Minister of Health Dr Nkosazana Zuma; Our Distinguished Foreign Guests; Ladies and Gentlemen; Friends and Fellow South Africans.

Hardly six months after the historic Beijing Conference, we have converged here to chart the way forward. The urgency with which our nation regards the advancement of women did not allow us to delay.

The cause of women's emancipation is part of our national struggle against outdated practices and prejudices. It is a struggle that demands equal effort from both men and women alike. Just as the fight against apartheid liberated all South Africans Africans, Coloureds, Indians, and Whites - the struggle for gender equality will benefit both men and women. The prosperous future to which we aspire calls for a united front of all South Africans across both the colour and gender divides.

When our delegation left for Beijing they were mandated by government to fight tooth and nail for the cause of women's emancipation. Upon their return, the Cabinet wasted no time in discussing their report and taking the necessary decisions.

We regard it as one of our priorities that this session of parliament should adopt the legislation needed to establish a Gender Commission. This will help in focusing the attention of the nation on the needs of women and mobilising the resources of government into systematic programmes to address those needs.

We are also committed to joining the fight against gender inequality on the international front as well. That is why we co-operate with all relevant international agencies both within Southern Africa and across the globe. And that is why our government attached so much importance to the Beijing conference.

During the Beijing Conference the United Nations Deveopment Fund for Women, UNIFEM, celebrated its twenty years of commitment to the world's women. It presented its anniversary award to the Government of South Africa in

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recognition of its pioneering efforts to the advancement of women.

The Government considered it appropriate to hand over this award, in South Africa, to a woman who embodies both Government and civil society. It is all the more appropriate that we do so at today's conference, after Government has reflected on its commitments to the Beijing Platform of Action and as we focus on translating it into practical action.

The woman who is to receive this award today has devoted her entire life to the cause of her people's liberation. Some fifty-two years ago I had the honour to be the best man at her wedding; and on that occasion I told her that she was marrying a man who was already married to the struggle. I should have told the groom that he was marrying a woman who would personify the struggle.

It is my greatest honour to call upon Mama Albertina to come and receive this award, on behalf of our government and our people.

Mama Sisulu personifies the demanding years known as the roaring fifties, including the march to the Union Buildings whose 40th anniversary we will celebrate later this year. She had a share of the hazardous times in the underground and the repression of the early sixties. She was always available to the young lions during the 1976 uprisings. When the UDF was formed in 1984, she was an automatic choice as a co-President.

For all this she was dragged before the racist court over and over again. Today she is laying a firm basis for our young democracy and for reconstruction and development as an MP. We salute you! You belong to the category of people we cannot do without.

In presenting this award we applaud all those who, in large visible campaigns and in small unrecognised struggles, give birth to our new democracy. We also honour your erstwhile colleagues like Kate Molale, Helen Joseph Frances Baard, Florence Mophosho, Lillian Ngoyi and countless others who defiantly walked on red coal with their bare feet in striving to bring happiness to our children and our nation.

Ladies and gentlemen; May the honour which the international community has bestowed on us serve as an inspiration and make us steadfast in ensuring that there is real change in the lives of millions of South African women.

I thank you.

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