Framed Communities: Translating the State of a Nation

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Declaration

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Summary

Every year, the South African President delivers a State of the Nation Address. This speech provides him with the opportunity to raise his opinion on the current state of affairs in the country. As can be expected, the country's different media channels then report extensively on the speech. These reports can, however, be regarded as much more than simple commentaries on the speech – they are in fact, reframed versions of the speech that affect and shape the opinions and ideologies of their readers. These media channels also provide the perfect vehicles through which links can be established between citizens to support their belief that they form part of an established community (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:33).

Wherever communication is present or necessary, it is impossible to escape the process or effect of framing, as framing implies “how speakers mean what they say” (Tannen and Wallat, 1993:60; in Baker, 2006:105). Therefore, the presence and effects of framing should not be ignored, instead, translation scholars should be aware of framing and how this process affects translated texts. Mona Baker introduced the idea that the translated and reformulated narratives that we are exposed to constitute the everyday stories that shape the way we perceive reality (Baker 2006:3). By studying these translated versions of the speech one can gain insight into the ideologies of the intended target readership (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:10).

In the ever-growing field of Translation Studies it is important to focus on finding an approach that provides enough freedom for scholars to elaborate on existing approaches and include new findings and results. This thesis focuses on the narrative approach and explores Baker’s views by taking a deeper look at rewritten versions of the SONA in the shape of newspaper articles. It also suggests that this approach has the potential to provide scholars with a much-needed framework.
Opsomming

Elke jaar gee die President van Suid-Afrika 'n staatsrede waarin hy sy mening lug oor die huidige stand van sake in die land. Dit is te verwagte dat die verskillende mediakanale dan breedvoerig oor hierdie toespraak verslag lever. Hierdie verslae is egter veel meer as eenvoudige kommentaar op die President se toespraak, hulle is in effek, hergekonstrueerde weergawes van die toespraak, wat sodoende deel van 'n nuwe raamwerk uitmaak – 'n raamwerk wat 'n belangrike rol speel in die vorming van lesers se menings en ideologieë. Hierdie mediakanale bied ook die perfekte mediums om kommunikasie tussen die onderskeie lede van 'n gemeenskap in werking te stel sodat hulle sal glo dat hulle deel vorm van 'n gevestigde gemeenskap (Bielsa en Bassnett 2009:33).

Waar kommunikasie ter sprake is, is dit onmoontlik om die proses van herskrywing te vermy, aangesien die plasing van inligting in 'n nuwe raam verwant is aan "hoe sprekers bedoel wat hulle sê" (Tannen en Wallat, 1993:60; in Baker, 2006:105). Dus moet die effek van herskrywing nie onderskat word nie; inteendeel, vertalers moet bewus wees van die implikasies daarvan en hoe dit vertaalde tekste beïnvloed. Mona Baker het vorendag gekom met die idee dat die manier waarop ons realiteit waarneem, beïnvloed word deur die vertaalde en herskryfde narratiewe waaraan ons elke dag blootgestel word (2006:3). Vertalings word spesifiek geskep met die doel om kommunikasie tussen die onderskeie lede van 'n gemeenskap in werking te stel sodat hulle sal glo dat hulle deel vorm van 'n gevestigde gemeenskap (Bielsa en Bassnett 2009:33).

In die steeds groeiende veld van vertaalteorie, is dit belangrik om 'n benadering te vind wat kenner genoeg vryheid toelaat om bestaande teorieë uit te brei en nuwe resultate en bevindings tot die vertaalwetenskap te kan byvoeg. Hierdie studie bestudeer dus Baker se argumente en die impak van 'n narratiewe benadering op vertaalteorie deur te fokus op herskrywings van die staatsrede in die vorm van koerantberigte. Dit suggereer ook dat hierdie narratiewe benadering van herskrywing deur inligting binne 'n nuwe raam te plaas, die potensiaal het om aan wetenskaplikes 'n nuwe teoretiese ondersoekbasis te bied.
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1. Introduction

On the 24th of May 1994, democratically elected South African President, Nelson Mandela, opened parliament with a State of the Nation Address (SONA). This speech was to stay in the minds of not only future leaders of this country, but also the people of South Africa who were now desperately in search of a determinable and unifying nationality. With this speech, Mandela attempted to emphasise the fact that the new South Africa would allow enough room for every member of its community to live together in relative harmony in the pursuit of similar goals:

The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, the youth and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world. [...] My government's commitment to create a people-centred society of liberty binds us to the pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation, freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear.

(Mandela 1994:1; bold by author)

Any speech delivered by the President, especially this address, is guaranteed to appear in the media and media publications. The media are widely considered as the President's direct line to the public, as reports on the President contribute to his character in the public mind, and allow the readers, listeners or viewers to form an opinion of their country's leader.

Mandela used the opportunity provided by his first SONA to pay tribute to Ingrid Jonker and her poem 'The child who was shot dead by soldiers at Nyanga' ['Die kind wat doodgeskiet is...']
deur soldate by Nyanga’]. In the text that follows, I also use the shortened versions of the poem’s titles – ‘The Child’ and ‘Die Kind’. As expected, on the following day, the 25th of May, Die Burger’s front page boasted the following headings: Mandela werp lig op planne met ekonomie [“Mandela sheds light on plans with economy”]; and the second page: Mandela bring hulde aan Ingrid Jonker – die Suid-Afrikaner, die digter, die mens [“Mandela pays tribute to Ingrid Jonker – the South African, the poet, the person”]; Afskaf van VN verbod kan SA wapenbedryf red [“Abolishment of UN ban can save SA arms industry”]; and SA sal ja sê vir VN se menseregte [“SA will say yes to UN’s human rights”] (among other headings – these are the ones concerning the President’s SONA and are therefore useful for this study). Immediately, the reader’s attention is focused on the fact that the President of the new South Africa quoted an Afrikaans poet, a white woman. All the headings announcing the SONA sound positive. The tone and content of these articles cause one to consider the following questions: Do these publications allow the public to form their own opinion? And do these articles change Mandela’s initial intentions with his speech? Or does the way in which parts of the speech are framed contribute to constructing the ideology of Die Burger’s readership? Or does this ideology already exist within the minds of a fixed community and is Die Burger merely satisfying its readership? The process of adapting and translating a source text, or in this case the address of the President, for a target publication, in this case a newspaper, can reveal a lot about those parties concerned in the process. In many instances this process is also accompanied by a process of framing that allows the text to fulfil or contribute to the function of the target publication.

SONAs can be considered as an important medium of communication, which uses language and narratives to establish certain ideas and goals. These speeches also imply that the listeners or readers – those who are affected by what is said – belong to a collective group, a group that must have at least one thing in common – every member belongs to and forms
the South African nation. Ultimately, this idea of a nation must be sustained in order for both the idea and the nation to exist, as they cannot come to exist spontaneously:

The pioneering work of cultural theorists such as Giyatri Spivak, Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, and Antoinette Burton, among others, has shaped compelling new analyses that interrogate the categories of race and the nation, both as “imagined” or “invented” social constructions and as subject positions.

(Walkowitz and Knauer 2009:ix)

But, it is also inevitable that one nation consists of a multitude of smaller “‘invented’ social constructions” (Walkowitz and Knauer 2009:ix). These social constructions can be considered as smaller communities whose existences are also fixed within the mind of the larger nation. This is especially true for a country like South Africa. One merely has to consider the fact that South Africa has eleven official languages to realise that for each language there must be at least one complementing community, with its own culture and ideology. Even though these communities might differ from one another, the idea that they all form part of the larger nation connects them all.

For these smaller communities to persist, it is necessary to develop and encourage appropriate national narratives that sustain and support each community’s narratives. One can even argue that a “voice” should be given to each community. Attaching a voice to each community can, however, also be considered as a forced process, because the community is made up of individuals who cannot simply be represented by a single voice. The purpose of this study is to investigate three of these so-called voices, in this case they are embodied in the form of newspapers: Die Burger; Sowetan; and Mail & Guardian. These three newspapers focus on specific target audiences as their different readerships. Each of these target audiences constitute groups of South Africans who share specific qualities and can
therefore be considered as belonging to a specific community. The purpose of this study is to determine whether articles concerning SONAs are framed differently in each newspaper, and if so, what the motivation behind the framing is. For this study to fulfil its intended purpose it will also be necessary to investigate the role of the narrative approach in translation, as well as the effect and role of framing during the translating process and, finally, within the translated product.

1.1. Background information

Benedict Andersen’s concept of “Imagined Communities” and Ivor Chipkin’s book *Do South Africans Exist?* played a great role in determining the subject of this study. In 2009 I wrote a research essay entitled “Promoting a South African nation: imagining a community through television advertising”, which investigates the way advertisements play an important role in creating a specific image of and for a community. In this sense the advertisements simultaneously stereotyped the community, and satisfied its audience in order to enhance the desirability of a product or service. Chipkin, in fact, argues “that the South African people came to be defined and produced in and through the politics and culture of nationalist struggle” and that it is mainly in the political imaginary that “the image of the South African nation looms large (2007:2). Andersen also comments on the earlier ‘creation’ of a minority nation in South Africa:

> in the latter portion of the nineteenth century, we find the Afrikaner nationalism pioneered by Boer pastors and litterateurs, who in the 1870s were successful in making the local Dutch patois into a literary language and naming it something no longer European.

(1983:73)
Andersen continues to refer to the important role communication or discourse plays in the forming of a nation or community, as the nation is imagined because the members of even the smallest [one] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communication.

(1983:15)

In 2009 I was also introduced to Mona Baker’s ideas on translation and narratives within situations of conflict, as well as the important role framing plays in contextualising narratives. I soon realised that there is a link between Baker’s arguments and the idea of an imagined community. In her book on narrative theory and framing, *Translation and Conflict: A Narrative Account*, she investigates the impact of translating narratives on situations of conflict:

Narratives ‘constitute crucial means of generating, sustaining, mediating, and representing conflict at all levels of social organization’ (Briggs, 1996:3). This book draws on the notion of narrative as elaborated in social and communication theory [...] to explore the way in which translation and interpretation participate in these processes. Narratives, in the sense used here, are the everyday stories we live by [...] One of the attractions of narrative is that it is a highly transparent and intuitively satisfying concept that can easily be understood by anyone.

(Baker 2006:3)

Baker then continues to study the way in which these narratives contribute to the lives and memories of people within a community. She argues that it is the narratives that are part of people’s daily lives that affect what they believe and ultimately the manner in which they live:
Narratives [...] are dynamic entities; they change in subtle or radical ways as people experience and become exposed to new stories on a daily basis. This assumption has a number of consequences. First, narrative theory recognises that people’s behaviour is ultimately guided by the stories they come to believe about the events in which they are embedded, rather than by their gender, race, colour of skin, or any other attribute.

(Baker 2006:3)

The last consequence that Baker gives is of significant interest, as it focuses one’s attention on the fact that it is through narratives that certain ideas and perspectives survive, but that it is also the narrative that has the potential of altering the events it relays. This also implies that narratives have the ability to define the communities of which they are a part.

Third, because narratives are continually open to change with our exposure to new experience and new stories, they have ‘significant subversive or transformative potential’ (Ewick and Silbey 1995:199). Undermining regimes such as those of Nazi Germany or South Africa under Apartheid, then, becomes – above all – a question of challenging the stories that sustain them (Hinchman and Hinchman 1997a:xxvii).

This challenge, in turn, is articulated in the form of alternative stories.

(Baker 2006:3; bold by author)

Baker’s arguments, as well as Andersen and Chipkin’s ideas on the condition of nation, triggered the idea that this concept of framing a nation through narratives can be applied to South African communities. This is especially interesting when one considers the troubled past of the segregated South African nation and the effort to create unity among the citizens of South Africa. Earlier, during Apartheid, this was done in order to empower a white
minority (Andersen 1983:73). Now, narratives are used to create unity among all South Africans, so that all South Africans can consider themselves as part of a multicultural or rainbow nation (Russell 2009:30-31), that is "composed of individuals" (Chipkin 2007:102).

Chipkin argues that according to a speech made by former President Mbeki on behalf of the ANC in 1996:

‘being African’ [or South African] meant refusing to allow ‘a few’ to describe one as barbaric. Indeed, it meant refusing to be defined in terms of race, colour, gender or historical origins...it means being able to define for oneself who one is and who one should be[.]

(2007:102)

In his essay “Broadcasting the rainbow nation: media, democracy, and nation-building in South Africa”, Clive Barnett investigates the effect of building a rainbow nation on broadcasting and television:

[the SABC’s high-profile television relaunch went ahead at the beginning of February 1996. The changes were heralded as the end of apartheid television. New channel identities explicitly reflected the ethos of “rainbow” broadcasting. Rather than addressing white and black audiences on separate channels, as in the past, the new television services mixed language groups in different proportions on different channels. The changes marked the ascendancy of English as the dominant broadcasting language.

(1999:291)

The idea of building a South African nation to accompany the changes within the South African government was, therefore, supported by the national media channels. And this
effort to create a sense of purpose and belonging among the South African people was in most cases shaped and moulded by key figures in South African politics. A very definite commentary on the South African community is the annual State of the Nation Address that is given by the current President. This political narrative is published so that it is available to the public – and recently this means that it has to be translated into all eleven official languages of the country. This narrative is also, however, used, translated and scrutinised in different publications in the media.

1.2. Research problem

The principal idea behind the research is that the process of translation not only produces a translated text, but that the translation process transfers and creates narratives. These narratives are commentaries on the source text (original narrative), they exist for a specific readership and fulfil a determined purpose. Narrative cannot, however, be created within a vacuum and therefore, it is inevitable that they relay something of the communities to which they belong, as “[n]o story exists in a vacuum, and because all narratives are embedded in other narratives they must be assessed within this broader context” (Baker 2006:146). Therefore, it is narratives that describe or allude to, and therefore frame, communities in a specific way and sustain the idea of their existence. This means that the way in which narratives are translated, presented, and displayed in the public, play a significant role in the framing and shaping of "imagined communities". The South African President's State of the Nation Address (SONA) is presupposed to be a report or commentary on the state of the South African nation and the different communities that form this nation. It is also a vision of the future of these communities and the nation as a whole.

I want to suggest that this address and the way in which it is used and translated within media channels also frame the nation and communities in a certain way, as stories are told differently depending on the expectations and ideologies of its readers or listeners, “[t]he
norms operating in different cultures will determine how a story is presented, and in consequence there are bound to be ideological implications when we compare the different ways in which the same story is told" (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:13). Thus, different publications attempt to establish the idea of framed communities – that each community will only be satisfied with a particular way of presenting a narrative. It is, therefore, also necessary to explore the different ways in which different publications reproduce and frame the state of the nation addresses to satisfy, and further frame, the different (already framed) communities.

1.3. Hypothesis
This study wants to suggest that any published commentary on the SONAs are rewritten and shaped in order to satisfy the specific readerships of the publications in which they appear. But at the same time, the final product ‘says’ something of its readership – and is in this way framed to represent its readership. The readership then appears to be a framed community, and within this community individuals are linked to one another through their interests in the same publications.

1.4. Methodology
I propose to start the practical aspect of this study by analysing commentary on SONAs that appeared in three South African newspapers (Die Burger; Mail & Guardian; and Sowetan) and other online publications with relevant commentary, and to determine whether there is an element of reframing present within these published texts. A discussion of this process and the effects of framing on the intended readership will then follow. It is also important to consider the fact that I, as the person behind the investigation, am not unaffected by the narratives that form my own attitudes towards the world and the events that shape our lives. Baker reminds scholars that “[t]he ethical systems by which we judge cultural narratives are
themselves cultural narratives” (Angela Ryan 2003; in Baker 2006:129). Therefore, a very similar investigation lead by other researchers might result in different findings, but through the works of other scholars I have sought to limit the impact of my own position on my research.

In order to understand the layout of this study a brief discussion of the contents of each chapter is necessary (excluding the introductory first chapter as it is self-explanatory). The second chapter is an in-depth overview of theoretical approaches that support and sustain the points argued in this thesis. By discussing the idea of imagined communities; the theoretical approaches that form the foundation for Translation Studies; the influence of framing; and the importance of including and studying the narrative approach, I aim to justify the reason for this study. Chapter Three mainly consists of a discussion of the research material used to conduct this study. In order to determine the author and the target audience, one first has to be able to determine the types of research material and what functions they propose to fulfil. In Chapter Four the theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter Two are applied to the research material discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Four focuses on macro level application, and includes a few points on micro-level analysis. Chapter Five is a discussion of the findings and includes my final conclusion.

1.5. Concept of framing

The following is just a brief introduction to the concept of framing and its relevance when analysing translations of, or commentary on the State of the Nation Address. This concept will be discussed further in Chapter Two. In her book on translation in situations of conflict, Baker explores the unavoidable concept of framing and to what extent this concept affects not only the translation process, but also the translated product. Baker discusses Erving Goffman as well as Tannen and Wallat's investigation into the meanings of the terms framework and frames, and comes to the conclusion that framework can be associated with
the term ideology as a set of beliefs, whereas the use of frames play an important role during discursive interaction, as the speaker, translator, interpreter and hearer uses specific frames to help reveal the meaning of the content of their narratives, and it is the use of frames that help determine “how speakers mean what they say” (Tannen and Wallat 1993:60; in Baker 2006:105). The person responsible for translating a source narrative can therefore choose to frame the product in a specific way – not necessarily the equivalent of the source narrative:

The assumption throughout is that translators and interpreters are not merely passive receivers of assignments from others; many initiate their own translation projects and actively select texts and volunteer for interpreting tasks that contribute to the elaboration of particular narratives. Neither are they detached, unaccountable professionals whose involvement begins and ends with the delivery of a linguistic product. **Like any other group in society, translators and interpreters are responsible for the texts and utterances they produce. Consciously or otherwise, they translate texts and utterances that participate in creating, negotiating and contesting social reality.**

(Baker 2006:105; bold by author)

According to Baker it is important to realise that every narrative is a priori part of a specific framed space – and that we “as scholars of translation and interpreting [...] realise that we too are firmly embedded within specific narratives” (Baker 2006:128). It is these narratives that shape our perspectives and form the ideologies of the communities to which we belong. And as communities are firmly grounded within their own specific narratives, the translator or journalist is expected to [re]frame aspects of the source narratives in order to fit their target audience, the readership’s, narrative, or ideological expectations. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the [re]framed narratives in order to learn more about the specific communities –
even if it is only the newspaper’s view of its readership – the same newspaper’s sales will
testify to its valid estimation of its readership. This statement causes one to question the
interference of the translator (or rewriter), and whether it is not simply the expectations of the
readership and the function of the translated text that force translators and journalists to
make certain decisions regarding their loyalty to the source narrative.

1.6. Framing the State of the Nation Address
In her book, Baker focuses on how conflict narratives are framed to legitimise different
versions of the same narrative, but in this case I am not contesting the legitimacy of the
articles. The aim of this study is to investigate the perspectives (i.e. frames) from and for
which the articles were created and whether these perspectives can convey any
characteristics of the readership in question. As all narratives are already considered to be
part of a framed space, it is safe to assume that SONAs also form part of a specific
prescribed framed space. To fully comprehend the significance of a framed space it is
necessary to consider Baker’s argument that

frames are defined as structures of *anticipation*, strategic moves that are consciously
initiated in order to present a movement or a particular position within a certain
perspective. **Framing processes are further understood to provide ‘a
mechanism through which individuals can ideologically connect with
movement goals and become potential participants in movement actions’**
(Cunningham and Browning 2004:348). I follow this particular scholarly tradition here
in defining framing as an active strategy that implies agency and by means of which
we consciously participate in the construction of reality.

(Baker 2006:106; bold by author)
Therefore, one can argue that within the framed space of the SONA framing is used in order to connect individuals to the goals and actions referred to in the SONA. In the same way republications of these addresses [re]frame aspects of the addresses that will connect individuals to the goals of the publications in which these republications appear. It is then necessary to analyse the frames used to link the individuals to the specific goals and causes in order to compare and understand the perspectives of the creators of the source narrative as well as the perspectives of the translators, journalists and finally the readers (target groups). There are many ways in which translators can [re]frame the source text in order to suit the narratives of the intended readership. Baker points out that the process of [re]framing

draws on features of narrativity such as temporality, selective appropriation and genericness to reconfigure patterns of emplotment and influence the narrative perspective of the reader or hearer. Processes of [re]framing can draw on practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resource, from paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as colour and image, to numerous linguistic devices such as tense shifts, deixis, code switching, use of euphemisms, and many more.

(Baker 2006:111)

These methods are discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter when the reviewed theory is applied to specific examples. Investigating the process of [re]framing narratives will allow scholars to understand more about the narratives of the communities that are involved in the translation process and also further the investigation into the development of the narrative approach to translation.
2. Literature review

2.1. Introduction

“...theories are always chasing practice in order to explain what has already been discovered”

(Eugene Nida 2001:114)

In this chapter the theory needed to conduct the investigation is provided and discussed. The main focus of this study is Mona Baker’s work in the fields of narrativity and reframing in translation. A broader review of the theoretical approaches that shaped the discipline of Translation Studies is, however, necessary in order to understand Baker’s interest in these fields. In the first section of Chapter Two I focus on the theory that will be applied in Chapter Four. I also pay close attention to the necessity of distinguishing between a source and target text during the process of translation and how this distinction is affected in this study. I continue to consider the theoretical approaches that lead to the development of the narrative approach. Unfortunately, it is impossible to include in-depth discussions of all the existing theoretical approaches to translation in a Master’s thesis; therefore, what follows can merely be considered as a selection of the theoretical approaches that are most relevant for this investigation.

2.2. The search for an integrated approach to translation

2.2.1. Introduction

Approaches to Translation Studies have in the past broadly been divided between two schools of thought, the one focuses on translation as the transferral of texts, the other uses the concept of translation metaphorically, “several approaches [use] the word ‘translation’ but do not refer to translations of finite texts” (Pym 2010:143). This second school is
recognised as cultural translation. For the purposes of this study, it is necessary to consider a third school of thought – one that can function as a link between 'translation of finite texts' and cultural translation. I want to suggest that the narrative approach to translation provides the necessary ideas to confirm this third school of thought. By applying the narrative approach in the analysis in Chapter Four I illustrate the possibilities that this approach has to offer. This section considers the implications of following the narrative approach and the effects this approach has on existing translation theories.

2.2.2. Defining the source text and the target text

For a translation to succeed, it needs to be accepted by its target readership. Each translation is only as successful as its intended readership considers it to be, otherwise there is no end-purpose for the translation, no motivation behind the process, and no readership to benefit from or use the translation. Therefore, unless the translator has another arbitrary reason for translating a chosen text, the translation can only be considered to be a translated text if the target readership accepts it as such. This idea can be traced back to Toury’s concept of "assumed translations [...] texts that are considered to be translations in the society concerned" (Brownlie 2009:77). Ultimately, a translated text is branded as a target text by the target readers, causing one to wonder who is responsible for labelling a text as the source text.

In his work, *Contexts in Translating*, Nida discusses the evolution of translation theories, and how it is possible to categorise these theoretical approaches according to specific similarities:
[a] more useful approach to the study of the diversity of translation theories is to group together variously related theories on the basis of the disciplines that have served as the basic points of reference for some of the primary insights.[2]

(2001:109)

Nida then continues to name these different points of reference, the first is philology, the second linguistics and the third semiotics, “particularly socio-semiotics” (2001:109). For the purpose of this section it is important to focus on Nida’s first point of reference, “the study and evaluation of written texts” or philology (2001:109). The study of these texts included evaluating their “authenticity, form, meaning, and cultural influence” (2001:109). As the field of Translation Studies evolved (and evolves), philological theories have fulfilled an important role:

In the twentieth century philology has also been greatly influenced by a number of French existentialist semioticians, especially Lévi Strauss (1951), Greimas (1966), Barthes (1966), and Derrida (1981). The result of this contribution to philology has been the acceptance by many persons of the separation of a text from the context out of which it has developed. Every literary text is thought to have a life of its own (a kind of autonomous existence) and its interpretation need not be related to the setting out of which it arose. This approach means that interpretation depends totally upon what the reader of such a text reads into it.

(Nida 2001:111)

If the context out of which a translation arises can be considered questionable in its import, is it not also possible to question the existence of a definitive source text and target text? As, according to Nida, it is the reader who determines the way in which a text is interpreted, a (single) text’s interpretation would then differ from reader A to reader B. This indicates that
no one text appears the same to any two different readers – even if the readers belong to
the same ideology and/or culture and even if the text was purposefully created for them.
Thus the translator always has a similar influence or effect on a translated text, as the same
text translated by translator A will never be equivalent to that of translator B. The translator
is firstly a reader of the ‘source’ text, and then becomes an interpreter (in a sense
manipulator) who then attempts to rewrite the text. In effect, this shows that a translator can
never truly be ‘invisible’ – even if a text is translated to appear as ‘seamless’ as an original.
It is however, also important to keep in mind that translation is a form of rewriting, and that
translations and rewritings are closely related, as Lefevere and Bassnett observes,
‘“[t]ranslation’, then, is one of many forms in which works ... are ‘rewritten’, one of many
‘rewritings’” (1990:10).

Lefevere and Bassnett continue to emphasise the significance of the contexts in which these
rewritten texts are created, and that these contexts ultimately form the texts, opposing Nida’s
idea of questioning the importance of context.

What the development of Translation Studies shows is that translation, like all
(re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation
takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is
transposed. Translation involves so much more than the simple engagement of an
individual with a printed page and a bilingual dictionary; indeed, the bilingual
dictionary itself is an object lesson in the inadequacy of any concept of equivalence
as linguistic sameness.

(Lefevere and Bassnett 1990:11)

When one considers the nature of the concept of equivalence in the field of translation, it is
clear that a translation cannot simply be regarded as the equivalent of an original text, as an
equivalent can never really exist. A translation is instead a type of communication: an interpretation. It is dependent on its purpose and the translator's methods. And, ultimately, the translator produces a text that is a reflection of the original – what Nida refers to as “the most direct form of commentary” (2000:126). This commentary is not only influenced by the purpose the translator assigns to the translation, but it is also influenced by the extent to which the translator understands, comprehends or considers the source text. As translations are considered forms of commentary, newspaper reports can also be considered “translations” of “source texts”, and not only commentaries on events. In this sense newspaper reports are perfect to consider for this investigation.

2.2.2.1. Foreignization and domestication in news translation
In The Translator's Invisibility Lawrence Venuti argues that an approach that applies foreignization and therefore resistancy to the cultural norms of the target language can "alter the way translations are read as well as produced" (1995:24). This 'altered' way of reading and producing translations can succeed, as a foreignizing approach "assumes a concept of human subjectivity that is very different from the humanist assumptions underlying domestication" (Venuti 1995:24). Venuti claims that in such a system

\[n\]either the foreign writer nor the translator is conceived as the transcendental origin of the text, freely expressing an idea about human nature or communicating it in transparent language to a reader from a different culture. Rather, subjectivity is constituted by cultural and social determinations that are diverse and even conflicting[.]

(1995:24)
By achieving this level of subjectivity the translator (or text-producer) enables the reader to be confronted by the text (translation or production), thereby allowing the reader to experience the text as a foreign object:

Textual production may be initiated and guided by the producer, but it puts to work various linguistic and cultural materials despite any appearance of unity, and which create an unconscious, a set of unacknowledged conditions that are both personal and social, psychological and ideological.

(Venuti 1995:24)

A foreignizing approach therefore sets out to alienate the reader, but at the same time reveals a lot more about the text than a domesticated product. These revelations challenge the reader to acknowledge the original text and realise that the translated product is affected by the translation process. Such an approach is also a lot more taxing on the translator, even if it renders her/him visible, it opens up many channels that the translator must explore when translating a text (Venuti 1995:24).

Domestication, on the other hand, encourages fluency when translating. All the choices that the translator is faced with when translating, can easily be concealed when the text is domesticated:

What is so remarkable here is that the effect of transparency conceals the numerous conditions under which the translation is made, starting with the translator’s crucial intervention. The more fluent the translation, the more invisible the translator, and, presumably the more visible the writer or meaning of the foreign text.

(1995:1)
It is, however, still up to the translator to decide whether her/his invisibility will improve the reception of the target text within the target audience. Instead of being ‘invisible’, causing the text to seem ‘real’, the translator can instead decide to force her/his readers out of their comfort zone. Venuti (1995:15) wants the translator to move towards Schleiermacher’s concept of foreignizing the translation, as “[f]oreignizing translation signifies the differences of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the translating language”. But within the process of translation it is the translator’s target audience and the skopos of her/his translation that mostly determine the methods (s)he will use during the translating process. As Bielsa and Bassnett points out, in media translation the goal is to domesticate completely, as

when we consider news translation, the translator’s invisibility is a completely different matter, and Venuti’s foreignization hypothesis ceases to hold any value. In news translation, the dominant strategy is absolute domestication, as material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so it has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations. Debates about formal and stylistic equivalence that have featured so prominently in literary translation cease to matter in a mode of translation that is primarily concerned with the transmission of information, though ideological shifts remain fundamentally important to all types of translation

(2009:10; bold by author)

Bielsa and Bassnett also point to the fact that in the process of news translation the information is [re]written so frequently that the “distinction between source and target ceases to be meaningful” (2009:11). It is clear that news translation cannot be a simple process, and the agents involved in this process have complex roles, as “news translation challenges more traditional conceptions of the translator” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:57). The
translator’s task is a more active one in this case, because the translator has to be actively involved with the media that affect the choices made regarding the rewritings and the content of the translation. On this point Bielsa and Bassnett refer to José Manuel Vidal’s (2005:386) argument (translated by Bielsa and Bassnett), that the “news translator is, maybe because of the nature of the medium in which she writes, a re-creator, a writer, limited by the idea she has to re-create and by the journalistic genre in which her translation has to be done” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:57-58; bold by author). The frequent reprocessing of information and mediums in news translation questions the very existence of a definite source and target text (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:11).

The idea that media texts influence the communities in which they are created is not new. Bielsa and Bassnett (2009:33) support Benedict Andersen’s (1983) argument that “newspapers made possible the existence of the imagined communities that would become the basis of the modern nation by establishing links between the members of a community who would never come to know each other face to face”. Newspapers link members of these communities as a constant form of communication between its different members. The only reason behind the survival of these communities is the idea that communication between its members are possible. Therefore, in order to analyse a community, it is important to study the content of their ‘communications’. Bringing us once more to the question of the source of the content. And, in this case the question is complicated by the fact that the actual source was a speech, and the only written texts available must be considered as copies (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:13).

2.2.2.2. The SONA as a source text

As mentioned before, the readers, writers and translators that affect these texts also have a part in the formation of these contexts. For the sake of this study, it is necessary to define the source texts and target texts to which the theory in this chapter is applied (in Chapter
Four). However, in this study the task is, as Lefevere and Bassnett note, “much more than the simple task of an individual with a printed page” (1990:11). The source from whence the material (or idea) for the rewritings originated are SONAs – and therefore not a ‘normal’ source text in the form of a written text. Bielsa and Bassnett point out, “[w]here the picture becomes more complex, however, is where there is no published written text that is to be translated for republication. Instead, there may be a mass of material assembled in different ways and from different sources” (2009:13-14). The SONA is, however, reproduced in the form of a text for publication on the South African government’s website, and then of course, rewritten in the forms of newspaper articles and commentaries. This study demands the use of the written publications of the SONA – as the speeches were given some time ago and the only way to analyse the rewritings successfully would be to consider a ‘rewrite’ of the source from whence it came. This study also focuses one’s attention on the importance of investigating news translations, as this direction poses new questions as to the nature of an ‘original’ text:

What the study of news translation adds to the debate is in endeavouring to define quite what an original text might be. An original may be thousands of words of text that have to be cut down to a minimum, or it may be a string of loosely connected interviews and versions that have been derived from different sources, and those sources may well have originated in entirely different linguistic and cultural contexts.

There is no clear sense of what an original is when we are looking at news translation, and in such circumstances the old idea of translation being an act that takes place across a binary line between source and target can no longer be upheld.

(Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:16; bold by author)
When one starts to question the authenticity of the source of a translation, one also becomes aware of the amount of power that the creator of a text has, especially texts that target readers consider to be suppliers of trustworthy information (as in the case of news reports). It is now necessary to further investigate the relation between translation and our perceptions of reality.

2.2.3. Moving towards a narrative approach

‘[i]t was perhaps a decade ago that psychologists became alive to the possibility of narrative as a form not only of representing but of constituting reality’

( Jerome Bruner 1991:5)

The narrative approach was developed out of the realisation that one of the subcategories of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) provided an insufficient framework for scholars to describe translations and the translating process (Baker 2007:152). This subcategory is known as Gideon Toury’s norm theory. Baker argues that there is more than one point in which Toury’s theory is lacking, the first being that,

[n]orm theory encourages analysts to focus on repeated, abstract, systemic behaviour, and in so doing privileges strong patterns of socialization into that behaviour and tends to gloss over the numerous individual and group attempts at undermining dominant patterns and prevailing political and social dogma.

(Baker 2007:152)

Secondly, she states that norm theory does not pay sufficient attention to the predetermined patterns of behaviour and repeated attempts to weaken these overshadowing behavioural patterns, what she calls “the interplay between dominance and resistance” (Baker 2007:152). Lastly, norm theory does not give thought to the circumstances, “the political and
social conditions” out of which these behavioural patterns and the need to resist them are born (Baker 2007:152). But DTS’s norm theory is not the only field that gave rise to the need for an alternative approach. The limitations placed on translators and translation scholars by Venuti’s (1995) concepts of domestication and foreignization also called for re-evaluation. According to Baker (2007:152) Venuti’s theory does not provide the freedom to allow the process of domestication or foreignization to be regarded as a “careful negotiation” (Eco 2003:94). Baker (2007:152) supports her call for a narrative approach by describing this approach as the balance needed in Translation Studies:

To balance the emphasis in norm theory on abstract, repeated behaviour and the streamlining effect of Venuti’s dichotomies, what we need is a framework that recognizes the varied, shifting and ongoingly negotiable positioning of individual translators in relation to their texts, authors, societies and dominant ideologies.

(Baker 2007:152; bold by author)

The narrative approach does not necessarily provide all the substance needed for this framework, but it does provide a means by which scholars can focus their analysis of translations on the specific and actual instead of the abstract. This framework also allows the freedom to duly consider all the factors that shape the ongoing negotiation of translating within an ever-changing construed reality, “[narrativity] acknowledges the ongoing negotiable nature of our positioning in relation to social and political reality” (Baker 2007:152). What follows is a deeper look at the narrative approach to translation.

Translation can be considered as a mode of transporting knowledge across culture and language barriers. The texts that are made available through translation contribute to their target readers’ knowledge. I want to add that translated texts should also be considered as
being part of a narrative framework and are, in themselves, narratives, as “[n]arration is the context for interpreting and assessing all communication – not a mode of discourse laid on by a creator’s deliberate choice but the shape of knowledge as we first apprehend it” (Fisher 1987:193 in Baker 2006:9). Narratives have the ability to shape not only reality as we experience it, but narratives also direct us in establishing our own identities (Baker 2006:101-102). It is therefore essential to consider narrative theory when studying Translation Studies – and to reflect on the importance of including a narrative approach to translation.

Mona Baker is the leading translation scholar in the field of narrative approach and my studies are closely related to hers (in the sense of closely analysing reframing in translation in order to contribute to a specified narrative). Therefore, my main focus in this section will be on her book, *Translation and Conflict*, which appeared in 2006. This section will also include a brief look at the works of Roland Barthes, Michel Foucault and Jerome Bruner. Unfortunately, this study is not extensive enough to include in-depth discussions of the concepts that these works include – I will however, attempt to include all that is important to fully understand the implications of this particular study.

In its most basic sense a narrative is a story – consisting of a sequence of events organised into a beginning, middle and an end (Baker 2006:19-20). Our lives and reality as we perceive it, is fully embedded in the narratives that surround us and we relate these perceptions through our own narratives. A narrative approach to translation then forces translation scholars to consider the implication of these narratives when studying the process and products of translation. In considering the narratives that shape reality, translators will have to pay attention to the cultures involved in translation, the ideologies of the readers, the functions of the texts and so on – everything that contributes to the narrative. It is important that the translators also familiarise themselves with past narratives.
that shaped the realities of the source text author and the target text readers. Consider Baker’s argument:

Narrative, including scientific narrative, categorizes the world into types of character, types of event, bounded communities. It also systematizes experience by ordering events in relation to each other – temporally, spatially, socially. And it does more than that. Narrative allows us ‘not only to relate events, but also stances and dispositions towards those events’ (Baquedano-López 2001: 343), thus categorizing behaviour along a moral and socially sanctioned cline into valued vs. non-valued, normal vs. eccentric, rational vs. irrational, legitimate vs. non-legitimate, legal vs. criminal.

(Baker 2006:10)

Therefore, it is through our daily narratives that we relate not only our identities, but also our disposition toward other identities and our attitude toward the events that constitute our realities.

Baker pays specific attention to the way in which translators and interpreters have the ability to promote the idea of an ‘Other’ through the narratives they translate, “we must continually remind ourselves that all conflict starts and ends with constructing or deconstructing an enemy, ‘an other who is so foreign and distant that who becomes it. It can be tortured, maimed, slaughtered; who cannot’” (Nelson 2002:8; in Baker 2006:14). Her main theme throughout her book is conflict and she focuses on highlighting the conflicts caused by the translation of narratives. This study focuses instead on the implications of translating a narrative in order to promote an ideology – this can also cause conflict – but in this case my focus is instead on how these narratives appease different ideologies to sustain various communities within one nation.
In order to better understand the narratives that shape one’s reality it is necessary to define narrative location and what this concept entails, as

our choice of what to categorize and how to categorize it is always dependent on our narrative location; this is why different people purportedly looking at the same phenomenon will always devise different sets of categories to account for it. Categories are never suspended in space; they are always dependent on, and in turn feed into, the narratives – including scientific narratives – of the time.

(Baker 2006:16)

Narrative locations play an important role in the process of [re]framing (more on reframing in the next section). Framing is an unavoidable companion of perspective (the way each individual experiences other narratives and events) – therefore one’s perspective will frame one’s narrative. The narrative approach also furthers the idea of a ‘visible translator’ (1995), as “knowledge is never “point-of-viewless” (Bruner 1991:3), and consequently all the different ‘views’ of the parties involved in the translation process affect the translated product. Goodwin (1994:606) similarly argues that “[a]ll vision is perspectival”;” (in Baker 2006:17). Baker (2006:17) continues to argue that “[t]here [simply] is no story there to be gotten straight; any story must arise from the act of contemplation (Kellner 1989: 10; in Mishler 1995: 103)”. This means that for every translation that is produced there is a translator who had to ‘contemplate’ the outcome of the translated text – and her/his own viewpoint. As we expect intelligible translations to be produced, we cannot expect ‘point-of-viewless’ dummies to produce them.

Where newspaper articles are concerned, it is not only the perspectives of the journalists (translators) that constrain the final product, but also the in-house rules of the newspaper and the expectations of the target readers (see Chapter Three for more on in-house rules).
It is, therefore, not just possible, but incontestable that differently framed narratives on the same events appear in different newspapers. It is also necessary to remember that the journalists are not authors of original works; they are rewriting and reporting on their accounts of world happenings. The credibility of narratives also come into question as there are so many ‘agents’ involved:

we might say that while admitting that no narrative can represent the ultimate, absolute, uncontestable truth of any event or set of events, we have to accept that events do take place in real time and space and hence are verifiable by a range of means that are always extendable and open to refinement and reassessment.

(Baker 2006:18)

As narratives, newspaper articles are also unable to represent the “uncontestable truth”, but it is not their objective to represent the absolute truth, au contraire, they encourage debate, contestations and discussions of their content, “narrative both reproduces the existing power structures and provides a means of contesting them” (Baker 2006:23). Bruner points toward the idea that “[n]arratives, then, are a version of reality whose acceptance is governed by convention and “narrative necessity” rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness, although ironically we have no compunction about calling stories true or false” (1991:4-5). Newspaper articles can then be analysed in order to determine the ‘truths’ they communicate about their readers’ realities.

In Barthes’s (1968) essay on the “Death of the Author”, he contests the existence of an author – and claims that meaning is found within language and that the existence of an author only restricts the meaning of a text (Munslow 2007). In the same way during the rewriting process the translator disappears not into the text, but into the function of the text – thereby becoming a text producer. In both instances the author and translator must
‘disappear’ from the text in order to highlight the importance of the reader, as “a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination” (Barthes 1968/77:3-4). Foucault however, contested Barthes’s idea by asking “what does it matter who is speaking?”, and that one should instead focus on the meaning of the text (1969). These are just a few of the different theoretical approaches that contest the value of different aspects of a text, but what these theorists point out is that one should not be blinded by certain elements of a text or text-production, but instead, one should be able to keep in mind all the different factors that influence this process. For this study I only want to highlight the necessity of considering these ideas – that the author and her/his functions are debatable, just as one should not blindly accept the existence of a definitive source text, one should question the descriptions of the roles of those involved in translation. The roles become vague when one considers that both the translator and the audience are considered as ‘readers’ of the text, and that the translator is the text-producer of the translation, but can never be the author of the translation.

Barthes (1968) also distinguishes between two types of texts; the one he calls ‘readerly’ texts and the other ‘writerly’ texts. ‘Readerly’ texts are easy for the readers to interpret, while ‘writerly’ texts forces the reader into “unrehearsed interpretive activity” (Bruner 1991:9). With Translation Studies in mind the ‘readerly’ texts seem to point toward the idea of Venuti’s (1995) concept of domestication. Thus, when analysing any texts and the narratives that formed them it is important to identify the roles of the author, translator/rewriter and reader so that the formative impacts that these roles had on the texts and narratives can be recognised. Barthes (1968) notes that the main focus of a text should be the language used to create the text. In the case of translation the rewriter (or translator) goes through a process of choosing her words in order to convey the message she understood from the original text (whether straying from or staying close to the original) – thereby consciously “reframing” the final product.
In considering a narrative approach to translation one should first distinguish between the different features and subcategories needed to analyse narratives. Baker neatly summarises the necessary features in *Translation and Conflict*. For this study I include some (those relevant to this study) of Bruner’s features that are also discussed in *Translation and Conflict*. Baker identifies four subcategories to “outline the special functions and political import of narrativity” (2006:28), namely ontological, public, conceptual and meta-narratives which will be explained in the next few paragraphs. It is important to realise that the features discussed in this section are features of “narrative mode of thought” and not of narrative discourse, as the narratives that are investigated are considered as forming part of our collective reality (Bruner 1991:5). Bruner, in fact, argues that “[t]he central concern is not how narrative as text is constructed, but rather how it operates as an instrument of mind in the construction of reality” (1991:5-6).

The first subcategory, ontological narratives, refers to each individual’s personal narratives, the “personal stories that we tell ourselves about our place in the world and our own personal history” (Baker 2006:28). Ontological narratives do, however, depend on a community’s collective narratives as a means of origin as “even the most personal of narratives rely on and invoke collective narratives – symbols, linguistic formulations, structures, and vocabularies of motive – without which the personal would remain unintelligible and uninterpretable” (Ewick and Silbey 1995:211-12; in Baker 2006:28). Baker (2006:28) also points out that this dependence on the collective memory is one of the main causes of complications during the translation of ontological narratives. Earlier, I have stated that it is not only the target reader’s ideological state of mind that forms the framework for the newspaper articles, but that it is also these articles that sustain the ideologies of their readers. Baker refers to a similar phenomenon where ontological narratives are concerned. Public narratives are dependent on collective narratives in order to exist, but they are also vital in preserving the same collective narratives that form them.
Ontological narratives are important in shaping each individual’s reality and stance toward the rest of the world – one can argue, as Baker does, that these narratives have such a strong hold on a community that we become “the beneficiaries, victims, or playthings of the narratives that others create and push in our direction” (Novitz 1997:154; in Baker 2006:31).

The next subcategory, public narratives, is of particular interest for this research. These narratives are not to be confused with collective narratives. As collective narratives are regarded as a loose term, public narratives, on the other hand, is more precisely defined as the “stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or educational institutions, the media, and the nation” (Baker 2006:33). Public narratives are created, supported and defended by the power structures that benefit from the perspectives invoked by these narratives (Baker 2006:33). For instance, Baker (2006:34) refers to the first public narratives created about former South African President Nelson Mandela as a dangerous terrorist and how these narratives then changed over the course of time to finally label him as a hero. Public narratives play an important role in the process of translation. As these narratives are crucial in establishing the public’s mind-set, they are also defining factors in determining the acceptability of a translated text. Baker (2006:38) argues that by familiarising themselves with these narratives translators will have the opportunity to make a translation reader-friendly for everyone in the community. In this sense, translators also have the choice of affiliating themselves with predetermined ideologies within communities and thereby create reader-specific target texts (Tymoczko 2003:201), “and this may lead [translators] to position themselves differently in relation to domestic public narratives” (Baker 2006:36).

The third subcategory is called conceptual narratives. Conceptual narratives refer to the narratives used by researchers to uphold and elaborate their field of study. Baker defines
these narratives as “the stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry” (2006:39). Even though this thesis can be categorised as a conceptual narrative, this subcategory is not really related to this research and thus is not discussed as thoroughly as the others. The final subcategory is meta- or master-narratives. These narratives are defined as narratives that carry international weight – the formative narratives of our time – they are the “narratives in which the entire contemporary world is embedded” (Baker 2006:44). The four subcategories include the smallest to the broadest narratives that contribute to each individual’s mode of thought and therefore play an important role in shaping her/his reality. And as each individual forms part of a community these narratives also determine the larger community’s reality and its perspective on the rest of the world.

In his essay, “The Narrative Construction of Reality”, Bruner (1991) names the ten features of narrative mode of thought. However, only the features that are applicable to this study are mentioned here. The first feature that is of importance is narrative diachronicity, what Baker (2006:50) calls temporality. This feature refers to time, and how narratives are placed within certain time frames. At the same time, however, narratives consist of specific sequences of experience, “[t]he set of events, relationships and protagonists that constitute any narrative – whether ontological, public or conceptual – has to be embedded in a sequential context and in a specific temporal and spatial configuration that renders them intelligible” (Baker 2006:51). It is also through narratives that events, experiences, and so on, are preserved for future generations (Bruner 1991:4-5). The next feature to consider, is particularity, which refers to all the ‘particulars’ described and included in the narrative. Bruner argues that these particulars provide the means by which readers can ‘read between the lines’, “suggestiveness’ of a story lies, then, in the emblematic nature of its particulars” (1991:7). Bruner goes on to warn that a narrative can only be understood when everything that is
suggested through the particulars are taken into account – then only can the narrative be “realised” (1991:7).

The next feature to be considered is hermeneutic composability, or Baker’s relationality. This feature points out that the human mind cannot “make sense of isolated events or of a patchwork of events that are not constituted as a narrative” (Baker 2006:61). Hermeneutic refers to the action of extracting meaning from a text (Bruner 1991:8). Bruner explain this feature as follows:

   The accounts of protagonists and events that constitute a narrative are selected and shaped in terms of a putative story or plot that then “contains” them. At the same time, the “whole” (the mentally represented putative story) is dependent for its formulation on a supply of possible constituent parts [...] parts and wholes in a narrative rely on each other for their viability.

   (1991:8)

The act of translation is considerably more complicated as a result of the integrated nature of narratives – as narratives are always situated within other narratives and can never be regarded as an isolated account (Baker 2006:62). In relation to hermeneutic composability Baker identifies causal emplotment. Causal emplotment is a means of structuring the parts of a narrative toward a predefined outcome, therefore “two people may agree on a set of ‘facts’ or events but disagree strongly on how to interpret them in relation to each other” (Baker 2006:67). Another element of hermeneutic composability is selective appropriation. In a nutshell, selective appropriation is the act of choosing specific parts of a narrative to include in a retelling of that same narrative,
[s]electing, and in some cases ‘inventing’, texts that help elaborate a particular narrative of an ‘enemy’ culture, then, is a well-documented practice that often relies heavily on the services of translators and interpreters. The narratives that these translators and interpreters help weave together, relying mainly on the feature of selective appropriation, are far from innocent.

(Baker 2006:75)

These elements are specifically important to keep in mind for the analysis of newspaper articles and the rest of this study. Writers of newspaper articles have to rely on selective appropriation when creating a text as both their time and space are limited.

Another feature I want to add to this discussion is Bruner’s *genericness*. Genericness refers to genre and the way in which a narrative that is framed within a specific genre acquires definite qualities, “we can speak of genre both as a property of a text and as a way of comprehending narrative” (Bruner 1991:14). The final three features all elaborate on the importance of culture within narratives. These features are *normativeness, context sensitivity and negotiability* and *narrative accrual*. Normativeness can be described as the way in which narratives are based upon the familiar, “narratives are ‘prone to reproducing hegemonic understandings even when used by oppositional movements’, and explains this by the fact that their intelligibility derives from their conformity to familiar plots, or storylines in our terms” (Baker 2006:98). This feature is another reason why translators may want to domesticate a text – to render the text familiar to its readers, to make it seem ‘normal’ within their culture (Baker 2006:98-99). Bruner states that “narrative is centrally concerned with cultural legitimacy” (1991:15).

Context sensitivity and negotiability is what “makes narrative discourse in everyday life such a viable instrument for cultural negotiation” (Bruner 1991:17). Context sensitivity
encompasses the difficulties that may arise when two different parties interpret a narrative differently and can then ‘negotiate’ their beliefs through their own narratives. The final feature, narrative accrual, is also included in *Translation and Conflict*. This feature is redefined by Baker as “the outcome of repeated exposure to a set of related narratives, ultimately leading to the shaping of a culture, tradition, or history” (2006:101). Therefore narrative accrual is the result of over-exposure to the same narratives – perhaps even through different channels (especially in the media). I want to end this section by including a final quote from *Translation and Conflict* which refers to the ability of the media to promote certain narratives and is rather significant for this particular study of media texts:

Public narratives [that are] promoted by powerful institutions such as the state or media not only **highlight those elements they selectively appropriate**, but also **force them on our consciousness** through repeated exposure, a process that Bourdieu describes as 'symbolic dripfeed'.

(1998: 30; in Baker 2006:102; bold by author)

### 2.2.3.1. Translation and framing

"Three characters in search of a frame"
In the first chapter I highlight specific ideas regarding framing. The following, however, is a more in-depth discussion of the concept and the implications thereof. As stated earlier, all texts should be regarded as narratives and as being embedded within a narrative framework. Therefore, where texts are concerned, translation scholars are obliged to consider the implications of these narratives and the narratives that construct their own realities and influence their work. When considering the following argument, it becomes clear that translators’ ideologies affect their work:

Translators and interpreters can make use of various other routines that allow them to inject the discourse with their own voice (in other words to actively frame its narrative) while signalling their intention to stay within the prescribed frame space for their activity.[.]

(Baker 2006:111)

She continues to highlight that “[i]t is also important for us as scholars of translation and interpreting to realise that we too are firmly embedded within specific narratives” (2006:128), a point I have already mentioned more than once. One of the features of narrativity is genericness, or the effect of specifically allocating certain characteristics to certain types of texts. With this in mind, it is necessary to consider the implications of labelling a text as a translation. This will in itself already frame the product, as “[t]ranslation may be seen as a frame in its own right, whether in its literal or metaphorical sense” (Baker 2006:106).

Translations are however, primarily done in an open manner – readers are mostly aware of the status of their reading material. It is when a translation is presented as the original that this relationship is misconstrued. For this study the translations considered are newspaper articles. And even though the chosen articles comment on a specific political event it should at all times be clear within their readers’ minds that what they are reading is merely an
interpretation. Newspaper articles always represent themselves within the framework of their respective newspapers – thus the onus rests upon the readers to make themselves aware of the status of their reading material. This process is, however, somewhat more complicated, as newspaper articles are generally considered as legitimate accounts of world events. But there is always a writer or creator behind the article and in effect newspaper articles are rewritten versions of narratives as experienced by an observer (whether a journalist or ‘witness’). These experiences are then framed within the context of the newspaper in which they appear. It is not my objective to determine whether anyone is in the wrong during this process, I merely set out to claim that during the process of rewriting narratives for newspaper articles a certain degree of reframing takes place. I further investigate whether the framework of the newspaper can then be interpreted as representing the ideologies of its readers.

Considering the implications involved when adopting a narrative approach, I want to describe the process of constructing a newspaper article as follows: when faced with the task of composing an article on a certain subject, a journalist (or, preferably, rewriter) gathers as much information as possible (by whatever means possible). The rewriter then regroups (and reframes) these fragments of information to produce a comprehensible text that fits within the framework of the subject and that of the newspaper. The final product is then inevitably embedded within the narratives of all the ‘agents’ concerned – the rewriter, the different sources of information, the newspaper and finally, the readers. The readers are perhaps some of the most important agents as they are the presence that always lurks in the shadows of the rewriter’s consciousness throughout the rewriting process.

If translators and interpreters (and essentially rewriters) fail to consider the narratives that influence and frame the production of their text, the text will still be reframed. The only difference being that the rewriter is then indifferent as to the final effect of his or her text:
Translators and interpreters, then, may want to consider the larger narratives in which a text or utterance is embedded in order to make an informed decision about how to handle names, especially rival names of places. The alternative, to simply repeat whatever name the writer or speaker uses without comment, means participating in uncritical circulation of a narrative they may well find ethically reprehensible if they stopped to ponder its implications.

(Baker 2006:127)

As an example one can consider the place name changes that took place after the ANC became the ruling party in South Africa. Many place names were changed to honour people who participated in the struggle against apartheid, or as an act to renounce black oppression – in other words, to “Africanise” the names (Mashishing 2011). The capital of the Limpopo Province was formerly known as Pietersburg, but in 2005 its name was officially changed to Polokwane. According to an online *Mail & Guardian* article, the best way to handle these changes without creating confusion is to make use of the new name and include the old name in brackets (Mashishing 2011). It is clear that this technique is popular with online news pages, as *Die Burger* as well as *Die Beeld* uses it (Louw-Carstens 2010; Wolmarans 2011). Two articles found on the online version of the *Mail & Guardian* do not make use of this technique, instead the writers simply refer to the city as Pietersburg (Vale 2011; *Mail & Guardian* 2011). Even though they might not have done this intentionally, the fact that the writers do not acknowledge the name change in their articles reveal their ignorance as to their effect on the target text and target readers. The writers’ use of the old names communicate an implicit message, suggesting that they do not agree with these name changes and are therefore challenging the authority behind the changes.

Rewriters should always be aware of the weight of their texts and the narratives that form part of these texts. Readers are prone to develop opinions concerning the different accounts
they read on the same subject. The act of rewriting and reframing can also be used to consciously attain a predefined attitude on a specified subject. Consider the use of visual aids that accompany newspaper articles with the outcome of reframing the text. As a specific example the much-publicised trail of Dominique Strauss-Kahn (DSK) comes to mind. When DSK was first accused of his alleged sex-crime in early 2011, newspaper reports were accompanied by photographs depicting DSK in a particularly unflattering light. The photographs were mainly recently taken, some even showing him after he was arrested, in handcuffs and looking haggard:

**Strauss-Kahn arrest: IMF chief may face new sex charge**

(BBC news 2011a)

Since the first accusations were made, however, the investigating officers have obtained new evidence pointing towards the untrustworthy nature of the alleged victim and only source. Now suddenly photographs of a more dignified DSK (in some instances accompanied by his smiling wife) appear:
Ex-IMF head Dominique Strauss-Kahn freed without bail

(BBC news 2011b)

There are two articles concerning this case that are of particular interest. Both articles make use of the same photograph, but appeared at different stages of the trial and have contradicting headlines. The first article sets out to support the case against DSK, while the second mentions the ‘doubts’ that have surfaced concerning the credibility of the victim. Even though the same description was kept for the photo ("Dominique Strauss-Kahn is being held under house arrest in New York") the headline reframes one’s reading of the photograph (BBC online 2011c and 2011d).

First article:

Dominique Strauss-Kahn DNA 'linked to maid'

(BBC news 2011c)

Second article:
Dominique Strauss-Kahn: 'Doubts' on maid's credibility

(BBC news 2011d)

In all these examples it is evident that the pictures and headlines are equally valuable in the reframing process, the one without the other would not have a similar effect on the reader. It is important to study the effect these reframing tactics can have on the reader's opinion, as it provides insights into both the newspaper's and its reader's perspective. For instance, is it really easier to believe that a political figure slept through an important conference if a photograph accompanies the article that portrays that same person with her/his mouth suspended in a deep yawn?

The same effect can be created by selective appropriation, where rewriters only use specific parts of an original narrative to create their final text. By only selecting specific parts of the original narrative the end-product can be moulded into a text that appears to have one main focus, where the original could have had several. When the rewritten text is placed within a certain context (as with newspaper articles) it further frames the narrative in support of a specific opinion.

Temporal and spatial framing involves selecting a particular text and embedding it in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages us to establish links between it and current narratives that touch our
lives, even though the events of the source narrative may be set within a very
different temporal and spatial framework.

(Baker 2006:112)

For this study I make use of the same modes of framing as identified by Baker (2006:112),
“temporal and spatial framing, framing through selective appropriation, framing by labelling,
and repositioning of participants”. These different modes are applied when mediating
narratives through rewriting (Baker 2006:112-113). The effect created by framing stimulates
and forms its readers’ opinions and ultimately contributes to their ideologies. This shared
ideology, as an effect of a shared opinion, can, to a certain extent, unify the readers as a
community.

To complete this investigation, I am confronted by the end-result, the published newspaper
articles, and am forced to conduct a close analysis of the articles in order to provide the
observations necessary to support my hypothesis. As Arthur Conan Doyle’s well-known
character Sherlock Holmes has noted before me, to reach an acceptable conclusion to this
study it is necessary to “reason backwards” – to consider the given results and then come to
a conclusion as to how it all came to be (1981:119). As a student and a writer I am also,
however, embedded within certain narratives that affect my reasoning and conclusions. I will
endeavour to be as objective as is possible. As Baker also notes on the subject of analysing
or translating texts ‘objectively’:

Given the version of narrative theory elaborated in [Translation and Conflict] stresses
that narrative constitutes reality rather than merely representing it, and hence that
none of us is in a position to stand outside any narrative to observe it 'objectively', we
might conclude that there can be no criteria for assessing narratives and no sensible
means for us to establish whether we should subscribe or challenge any specific narrative.

(2006:5,141)

However, considering all that is discussed in the previous paragraphs it is “[n]eedless to say, [that] the analysis is inevitably conducted from my specific narrative location, which means that others applying the same system may come up with a different analysis of the same narrative[s]” (Baker 2006:141). In the following section I discuss Descriptive Translation Studies, Translation Studies’ branch of “reasoning backwards”. The link between DTS and the call for a narrative approach has already been established, but in this section I will pay closer attention to the development of the descriptive branch of Translation Studies.

2.2.4. Descriptive Translation Studies

By reviewing the different theoretical approaches that evolved within the field of Translation Studies, it becomes clear that it is of the utmost importance to be able to look back at translations and study the choices made by the translators. Most translation theorists used to think it necessary to prescribe different “modes of translation” (Brownlie 2009:77). These ‘modes’ simply referred to the theorists' different approaches to the act of translating. The theorists also considered it absolutely crucial to justify each of their preferred approaches, each with their own set of prescriptions. Thus, initially, Translation Studies appeared to be an “ancillary discipline, a part of linguistics, which serves the practical purpose of producing better translations and better translators” (Brownlie 2009:77). In the 70s, with the emergence of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), this orientation changed. DTS brought with it a new way of looking at translations and the phenomenon of translating, its main objectives being “to describe, explain and predict translational phenomena” (Brownlie 2009:77). Finally, an approach had emerged that focused on being proscriptive instead of prescriptive.
This new approach caused a paradigm shift in Translation Studies (Pinto 2000). Translation was no longer regarded as an individual process guided by specific prescriptions, but as a cultural and historical phenomenon, as Hermans points out: “the task of the translation theory is to account for the practice and conceptualization of translation in different time periods” (in Brownlie 2009:80). Dee Pinto (2000:147), however, adds that as “thinkers and researchers began arguing that the study of man and of institutions is different from the study of objects […] in that man (also woman) makes meaning of the world”, a paradigm shift was felt in the social sciences and this shift also affected Translation Studies. Before DTS, translations were, to further quote Pinto, “studied as objects in the world, and not as part of meaning-making events” (2000:147). In DTS translations are considered as a product of specific actions and decisions, made by an affected translator. In this process, affected refers to the influence of the cultural system to which the translator belongs. The descriptive approach also gave rise to the development of new considerations regarding translation, for instance: Norms, the Manipulation School and Corpus Translation Studies. DTS itself was influenced by, and based on Itamar Evan-Zohar’s polysystem theory.

DTS not only provide new ideas on translation and the translation process, it also encourages theorists to question these ideas. In his book about DTS, Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond, Toury supports readers who (and, ironically, in a sense prescribe that readers should)

regard what they are about to read [...] a stepping stone for further developments of the discipline in one particular direction. Far from wishing to attain general agreement, [Toury’s] intention is to stir debate. The former [Toury does not] believe in anyway; the latter seems vital, if any real progress is to be achieved.

(1995:5)
These words prove that the real motive behind Toury’s approach is to encourage “real progress” (1995:5). In the form of creating new ideas, debates and new ways of thinking about Translation Studies and the phenomena of translation, real progress is precisely what DTS achieved, and is still achieving today.

2.2.4.1. A discipline in need of structure

In 1972 James S. Holmes delivered a paper in the Translation Section of the Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics held in Copenhagen (Ulrych and Bosinelli 1999:220). Many theorists consider this paper as the defining factor that fixed the term ‘Translation Studies’ within the public mind. The paper is called “The Name and Nature of Translation Studies”. Holmes had a reason for using the word ‘studies’ as opposed to science. He explains that other terms like “‘science’, ‘art’ or ‘craft’” were not suitable as they “reflected too much of a subjective point of view or were too closely linked to a passing historical phase” (Ulrych and Bosinelli 1999:220). Holmes considered the term ‘studies’ to “be active in English in the naming of new disciplines” (2000:175). In the same paper Holmes continues to

provide the scope and structure of the newly-named discipline in extremely clear and detailed terms. His main concerns were to find a common ground for the academic study of translation and translating that could encompass a variety of theoretical and applied aspects and to establish translation as a discipline in its own right.

(Ulrych and Bosinelli 1999:221)

Holmes also draws a map in order to give structure to Translation Studies, and in this map he distinguishes between two main areas of Translation Studies: Pure and Applied. The purpose of the map is to draw attention to two main problems within the discipline. The first was the “limitations imposed at the time by the fact that translation research was dispersed
the need to forge “other communication channels, cutting across the traditional disciplines to reach all scholars working in the field, from whatever background” (Holmes 2000:173). The second problem identified by Holmes not only links to Toury’s encouragement of progressive Translation Studies, it also highlights the interrelatedness of this discipline. This further links Holmes’s second problem to Snell-Hornby’s idea that, ultimately, an integrated approach to translation is essential (1990:84-85). It marks the realisation that the discipline of translation cannot be regarded as unaffected – and similarly, that it does have an effect on different systems.

The objectives of ‘Applied’ Translation Studies entail translator training, translation aids and translation criticism. More importantly, however, theorists should consider the objectives of ‘Pure’ Translation Studies, which are, firstly theoretical, and secondly descriptive. For the purposes of this chapter the main focus will be on the latter. Holmes, however, clearly states that he is aware of the fact that these areas cannot be regarded as entirely uninfluenced and separate from one another, as “[i]n reality, of course, the relation is a dialectical one, with each of the three branches supplying materials for the other two, and making use of the findings which they in turn provide it” (2000:183). And more specifically, Pure and Applied studies are important for this investigation, as the theory that is reviewed in this chapter is applied in Chapter Four. Toury believes that the main merit of Holmes’s structure is “that [the map] allow[s] a clarification and division of labour between the various areas of the Translation Studies which, in the past, have often been confused” (in Munday 2001:13). In Munday’s opinion Holmes’s paper plays the crucial role of delineating the “potential of Translation Studies” (2001:13). In Munday’s opinion Holmes’s paper plays the crucial role of delineating the “potential of Translation Studies” (2001:13). The flexible nature of Holmes’s map is also important to keep in mind as it leaves enough room to “incorporate developments such as technological advances of recent years, although these advances require considerable further investigation” (Munday 2001:13).
Holmes's work also plays an important role in further developing the field of DTS; the main goal of DTS is "[describing] the phenomena of translating and translation(s) as they manifest themselves in the world of our experience" (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:39), and Holmes created subcategories to make this goal easier to reach. He further divides DTS into three areas, namely: Function-oriented DTS, Process-oriented DTS and finally, Product-oriented DTS. The different focuses of these areas are self-explanatory, but it is important to consider Holmes's original intentions with each of these areas in order to understand the rationale behind DTS.

**Function-oriented DTS**

In the area called function-oriented DTS it is important to note that Holmes specifically wanted to emphasise the importance of contexts (also emphasised in 2.2.3.). Function-oriented DTS should be the description of the “function [of translations] in the recipient sociocultural situation: [thus] it is a study of contexts rather than texts” (Holmes 2000:177). This area also had an effect on more recent contributions to Translation Studies as the contextual focus is related to a cultural focus. Munday points out that Holmes referred to this area as “socio-Translation Studies” (Holmes 2000:177), but that today it would “probably be called cultural-studies-oriented translation” (Munday 2001:11). Toury, in particular, considers this area as the most important and influential of the three areas.

**Process-oriented DTS**

Process-oriented DTS is concerned with the process behind the creation of the translation that is examined. This area attempts to determine “what exactly takes place in the “little black box” of the translator’s “mind” as he creates a new, more or less matching text in another language” (Holmes 2000:177). Holmes predicted that further investigations into this area will create “highly sophisticated methods for analysing and describing other complex mental processes ... this [area], too, will be given closer attention, leading to an area of study
that might be called translation psychology or psycho-Translation Studies” (Holmes 2000:177).

**Product-oriented DTS**

Finally, it is product-oriented DTS that “describes existing translations” (Holmes 2000:176). This area of study developed with the examination or description of individual translations, which are then studied comparatively. The comparative analyses “are made of various translations of the same text, either in a single language or various languages” (Holmes 2000:176). It appears that it is in this area of DTS that the source text also carries a considerable amount of weight, as, in some instances, the description, analysis and comparison can be of a “single Source Text – Target Text pair” (Munday 2001:11). This branch provides the necessary material for studies on a large scale that take many different materials and analyses into account. One example that comes to mind is corpus Translation Studies, for which the collection of a great amount of different materials and analyses is essential.

**2.2.4.2. Description and equivalence**

With early translation and the first translation theories the importance of literal equivalence was evident. For instance, the early linguistic approaches focus on translation as “simply a question of replacing linguistic units of [a] source text with “equivalent” target language units without reference to factors such as context or connotation” (Shuttleworth and Cowie 1997:94). And this statement further supports the idea that where “[d]escription is a central feature of DTS, the essential feature of the prescriptive approaches is equivalence” (Pinto 2000:148). A translation was expected to be as close to an equivalent of the original (source) text as possible. This is another reason why these approaches are considered prescriptive (limiting the creative process of translation) where DTS is mainly proscriptive. In
a proscriptive approach theorists are faced with the completed work and have to look back at the finished process to describe the translation as the result of the translating process.

The role of equivalence in DTS is “substantially different” (Pinto 2000:148). In DTS a translation is determined by the target culture, a translation only succeeds when the target culture considers or regards it as a translation. That is why it is also fitting that in DTS equivalence is not regarded as a force that influences the translating process, but as a consequence of the text as a translation. The text becomes ‘framed’ as a translation and is therefore considered to be equivalent to the source text. The aim of DTS is not to submit to a value-laden system – to judge translations as correct or incorrect. Instead DTS merely describes the process as well as aspects which affected both the process and the product in order to better understand the phenomena of translations and translating. In this sense “equivalence is [...] replaced by the notion of norms” (Pinto 2000:148).

2.2.4.3. DTS and future developments

At the onset of his studies Toury emphasises the importance of regarding DTS as a stepping-stone towards ‘real progress’, therefore he encourages critique of this area. The fact that DTS’s main focus is on the target text, with an almost complete disregard of the source text, is probably one of the most questionable aspects of this approach. Hermans, to name one, questions this lack of attention to the source text and its culture, as it is certain elements (and constraints) of this culture that plays a vital role in the creation of the actual text (Munday 2001:117). It is especially important to consider the context of the source text as the original function of the text can only be realised by observing the context in which it was originally created. For instance, a rewriter must at least be aware of the ideological and politically orientations of the source text creator as well as the source text. Even if these orientations do not affect the target readers or target text, it can only be advantageous for the rewriter to be aware of all the narratives involved. But Toury argues that this does not
matter as these aspects can change during the translating process, and not even this transformation is as important as the new constraints and context of the target text. In this sense the link between the pair (source text and target text) is lost.

In 2.2.2. and Chapters Three to Four, I question the necessity of the link between source and target text, which further supports DTS. Toury’s regard of the target culture as the main judge in determining the status of a translation also leads to the creation of ‘assumed translations’. In ‘assumed translations’ no clear source text can be defined and “a translation is a translation only for as long as someone assumes it is one” (Pym 2010:76). Now any text can be regarded as a translation, but this should be considered as a challenging rather than problematic idea as it opens the doors for new ideas on the status of translations and the relationship between the source and target texts. In order to better understand the challenges offered by DTS, it is necessary to first look at some of the earlier prescriptive approaches to translation.

2.3. Shaping the discipline of Translation Studies

2.3.1. Introduction

Translation Studies can be considered as a constantly evolving academic field. It is impossible to give one simple definition of the term translation, as every investigation into this field leads to a redefinition of the concept. In *Enlarging Translation, Empowering Translators*, Maria Tymoczko refers to this specific attribute of the field of Translation Studies as an aversion to closure, that the field can ultimately be considered as open-ended (2007:53). She ascribes this to the discovery that the evolution of the academic field of Translation Studies is paradoxical: as the field evolves and more parameters within the field are discovered, Translation Studies become more averse to parameters and ultimately more “open” to ‘change’ in the shape of new investigations and research in the field (Tymoczko
In Tymoczko’s own words, it is “[t]his paradox associated with the definitional impulse in Translation Studies – that as more parameters of translation are identified, more openness is generated in the field instead of closure – is a function of the nature of translation itself as an open concept” (2007:53).

Even though Translation Studies can be considered as a constantly evolving and ultimately “open” field, it is still of great importance to study the ‘evolution of Translation Studies’ (as one might call it) in order for researchers to be able to position themselves and their research interests within this broad field. Tymoczko also reminds one that as Translation Studies is an open field of investigation it is prone to have many diverging branches, but that all these branches are ultimately related to each other as “Translation Studies is “an interdisciplinary”” (2007:52). Failure to realise the interrelatedness of Translation Studies can be “detrimental” to the development of the field (Tymoczko 2007:52). Tymoczko mainly refers to the interrelatedness of the field as it developed after the Second World War, but as the term Translation Studies was coined only after the Second World War, it is assumed that the branches Tymoczko refer to include all the approaches discussed in this chapter. Another interesting point Tymoczko makes, refers to the way in which scholars have attempted to frame Translation Studies:

Translation Studies scholars have framed translation in terms of language and linguistics, social systems, functions, textual and literary questions, ideology, and a broad range of other cultural issues; the history of Translation Studies can be read as a record of framing translation in diverse and often divergent ways.

(2007:108; italics by author)

She also refers to the advantages of having different frames of reference and how these frames have the ability to represent different perspectives (inter alia cross-culturally). This is
especially useful to consider in relation to the first section of this chapter. Translation scholars have been trying to frame Translation Studies ever since the field has been established as an academic discipline. Therefore, the approaches discussed in this chapter can be considered as the perspectives of the scholars who established them. No approach should ever be considered as the ultimate, or only approach to translation, each is merely a stepping stone that aid researchers in further developing this highly complex field.

In order to understand and analyse the practical processes of translation it is necessary to determine and study the different theoretical approaches that evolved within this field. As it might not be possible to determine all of the approaches that developed concerning the process of translation – in the practice of translation many translators may develop their own theoretical approaches – it is necessary to state that the first three theoretical approaches discussed in this brief overview are considered to be three pivotal theoretical approaches in the development of Translation Studies as a discipline.

When attempting translations, translators are faced with different techniques and approaches that could be followed during the translation process. These approaches and techniques have the potential of not only confusing the translator who is faced with them, but also of confusing the process of translation and ultimately failing to produce a coherent translation. Eugene Nida points out that when considering the source text “differences in translation can generally be accounted for by three basic factors in translating: (1) the nature of the message, (2) the purpose or purposes of the author and, by proxy, of the translator, and (3) the type of audience” (2000:127). However, since the field of translation was established as an academic discipline in the late 1960s to early 1970s, different approaches have developed, and are still developing, as translators and theorists consider, study and chase after different factors resulting from the translating process. As each approach developed and more theory on each approach became available, it was increasingly easy
for other theorists to add to or differ from the existing approaches. Ultimately these opinions resulted in the availability of more theoretical work and more types of approaches (consider Tymoczko’s (2007:108) reference to the field of translation as being ‘open ended’).

The linguistic, textlinguistic and functionalist approaches can be regarded as three groundbreaking approaches. These approaches do not only form the basis of most of the other work done on translation, but had and still have a remarkable influence on one another. Another factor that had a great influence on Translation Studies and the development of these three approaches is culture, as theorists and translators realised that “translations are never produced in a vacuum, regardless of time and culture” (Naudé 2000:4). For the purposes of this study it is necessary to understand the link between translation and the power of the translator or rewriter. In order to explain this link it is necessary to discuss the three landmark approaches and the effect culture has had on the development of each. This study also includes a discussion of the impact of culture on translation, because the ‘cultural turn’ in Translation Studies is considered to go hand in hand with a ‘turn towards power’, “[t]he interest in the relationship between translation and power began to be articulated during the early phases of the cultural turn” (Tymoczko 2007:44).

2.3.2. The linguistic approach

Nida opens his essay on the “Principles of correspondence” by stating that

no two languages are identical, [not] in meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences, it stands to reason that there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Hence there can be no fully exact translations.

(2000:126)
A somewhat discouraging thought for the aspiring translator. To a certain extent, also in opposition to Walter Benjamin’s claim that “[l]anguages are not strangers to one another, but are, a priori and apart from all historical relationships, interrelated in what they want to express” (1968:72). From this quote it is evident, however, that it is not the languages that are necessarily similar – but what they want to express, therefore, translations are possible as long as the original expression is maintained, but the linguists were (initially) more focused on the linguistic aspects of the different languages. **Nida’s observation in “Principles of correspondence” immediately focuses one’s attention on three of the most important aspects of the linguistic approach.** The first is the focus on the smallest part of the text, in this quote Nida (2000:126) refers to ‘symbols’, and the second is the desire for ‘exactness’, or rather equivalence, and finally the focus is ultimately on language and, thus translation as a process of working between different languages. As one of the early followers of the linguistic approach, Nida’s main concern is staying as close as possible to the source text. Here one could argue that the concept of ‘staying close’ to the source text is rather vague, as ‘staying close’ could have different meanings. Such as conveying the same meaning of the source text in the target text; or simply maintaining the form of the source text; or adapting both so that the text would have a similar impact on the target culture as was initially intended with the creation of the source text. In Nida’s case, as well as in the linguistic approach as a whole, however, staying close simply means finding “the closest possible equivalent” (2000:129). With equivalence at its centre this approach is subject to specific guidelines, rules and routines that aim to guide translation as a linguistic process, the process was, as is obvious, greatly influenced “by (applied) linguistics” (Schäffner 2003:3; bold by author).

In this first approach “[t]ranslation was understood as a linguistic phenomenon” (Schäffner 2003:3). This approach also greatly influenced the nature of initial Translation Studies, and “consequently, Translation Studies ... was conceived as a linguistic discipline” (Schäffner
2003:3). Most of the work done on the linguistic approach emphasises the importance of staying close to, or finding equivalents, for source language elements: for a translation to be considered a good translation the translation must be “as literally accurate as possible” (Newmark in Schäffner 2003:3). But, as stated earlier, finding words with equivalent meanings in different languages is extremely difficult and regarded as nearly impossible, as “there are, properly speaking, no such thing as identical equivalents” (Beloc1931:37; cited in Nida 2000:129; bold by author). Therefore it is obvious that linguists themselves were aware of the fact that they needed proper motivation for their approach to be viable.

2.3.2.1. The implications of equivalence

In order to make their approach accessible the linguists had to define what was meant with equivalence. The linguists, specifically Eugene Nida, justified their approach by distinguishing between different types of equivalence, and by doing this, also prevented the term from being restricted as simply referring to the ‘sameness of meaning’. Nida identified two different types, namely formal and dynamic equivalence. Formal equivalence “focuses attention on the message itself in both form and content” (Nida 2000:129), which meant that the structure of the text is important. He then refers to the translation of Medieval French texts that are translated into English as an example. As this type of equivalence might render the text incomprehensible “numerous footnotes [would be required] in order to make the text fully comprehensible” (Nida 2000:129).

On the other hand, the main focus of dynamic equivalence is for the target language text to have a similar impact or effect as the source language text, “that the relationship between receptor and message should be substantially the same as that which existed between the original receptors and the message” (Nida 2000:129). The concept of dynamic equivalence is important for the sake of this study. Dynamic equivalence suggests that the translator is responsible for creating a message within the target text with a similar meaning to the
message that already exists in the source text. However, this process is very vulnerable, as
the message conveyed by the translator is dependent on the translator's understanding of
the source text – the translator relays the message as (s)he understands it. Therefore, this
process can allow the translator to also fulfil the role of manipulator of the source text. When
considering the concept of framing it is important to keep this manipulative characteristic of
the translating process in mind. What is intriguing is that ultimately this method (dynamic
equivalence) cannot be realised, as the translator is perceived as the text-producer of the
translation, but can never be the writer/author. The source text creates a dynamic
relationship between the author and the reader, where the translation is in fact encouraging
a connection between the translator and the reader. The connection shared by the author
and the reader can never be recreated in the translation. Therefore (s)he can never recreate
the exact same dynamic relationship that already exists between the original author, the
source text and source culture.

It is also possible to link formal and dynamic equivalence with the concepts of foreignization
and domestication, as many other translators and translation students have noticed (Yu and
Li 2007:2). I want to mention this link, and yet it is important to keep in mind that formal and
dynamic equivalence and the concepts of foreignization and domestication have different
origins. Nida developed formal and dynamic equivalence from his interest in Bible
translations, where Venuti’s concepts were founded with the ideological implications of
translation in mind. The concept of formal equivalence may not exactly link to the term
foreignization, but the basic idea is the same. Formal equivalence directs the translator
toward producing a “gloss translation”, a translation that reproduces the original form and
content as “literally and meaningfully as possible” (Nida 2000:129). In foreignizing a
translation the translator also attempts to reproduce the source text in such a way that it
alienates the target culture reader, perhaps by maintaining the source text’s form and
content:
The ‘foreign’ in a foreignizing translation is not a transparent representation of an essence that resides in the foreign text and is valuable in itself, but a strategic construction whose value is contingent on the current situation on the receiving culture. Foreignizing translation signifies the differences of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail in the translating language.

(Venuti 1995:15)

Vladimir Nabokov also seems to support the idea of formal equivalence in his essay, “Problems of Translation: Onegin in English”, as he argues that to translate “is to reproduce with absolute exactitude the whole text, and nothing but the text. The term “literal translation” is tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or a parody” (Nabokov 2000:77). Nabokov’s theory is a definite indication that, for some translation scholars, formal equivalence is and should be the only way of translating. Later I argue that adaptations, rewritings and imitations can be considered as forms of translation. Nida describes dynamic equivalence further as “[a] translation [that] aims at complete naturalness of expression, and tries to relate the receptor to modes of behaviour within the context of his own culture” (2000:129). This could be directly linked to Venuti’s idea of creating a target text that is fluent, in which the translator appears to be invisible, and making the target text appear to be the source text (1995:1). One can also argue that these two types of equivalence formed the basis for many other theoretical approaches of translation, even if only to contest Nida’s two types of equivalence.

2.3.2.2. Questioning the role of equivalence

The linguists soon discovered, however, that they could not limit their approach to “the sameness of meaning of linguistic units” (Schäffner 2003:4). This realisation lead to a second important approach to translation, the textlinguistic approach (see 2.3.3.). Katharina
Reiss, who developed three text types within the textlinguistic approach demanded that the translator’s aim should be “equivalence both at the level of the text and between individual translation units” (in Snell-Hornby 1990:81; bold by author). The main difference between textlinguistic and linguistic approaches is that the textlinguists focus on equivalence between texts and the linguists encourage equivalence between linguistic elements. Even though equivalence of linguistic elements was not as important a concept to the textlinguists as the linguists, it was still considered important. Another important aspect of the textlinguistic approach is that it started paying attention to the importance of culture during the translation process, translation was regarded “no longer as a static, purely linguistic operation but as a communicative process which takes place in a specific socio-cultural context” (Hatim and Mason in Hermans 1994:13).

Consequently Translation Studies started focusing not only on culture, but also started regarding translating as a communicative process. It is necessary to consider the evolution of the translation process in order to justify the importance of developing a narrative approach to translation. As the process of translation is now considered a communicative process it is elementary that the narratives that form and are part of this process should be considered as influential. Since translations were now regarded as ways to communicate, it also became important to be able to identify the purpose of a translation – which consequently leads us to Vermeer’s (2000) skopos theory and the functionalist approach. The functionalists argue that it is the purpose or skopos of the translation that determine the modus operandi of the translator. In more recent work Nida also acknowledges the importance of the translation’s purpose, “it is assumed that the translator has purposes generally similar to, or at least compatible with, those of the original author, but this is not necessarily so” (2000:127). This furthers the idea that it is the purpose of the translation that determines the methods of translation the translator chooses to follow, inter alia domestication or foreignization; dynamic or formal equivalence, and so on. And in order to
successfully employ these different methods it is necessary for the translator to not only be able to identify both the source culture and target culture, but to also be able to translate the text in such a way that it fulfils the necessary requirements of the method (s)he decided to follow. The functionalist approach will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter. Translators, however, kept questioning whether the term equivalence could be regarded as valid, as the meanings that are attached to words are also subject to change. As Lefevere and Bassnett note:

The celebrated tertium comparationis would, therefore, guarantee that your translation say: ‘Le baisage du dernier ménestrel’ is equivalent to the title of Sir Walter Scott’s original Lay of the Last Minstrel, were it not for the unfortunate fact that the primary meaning of ‘lay’ has shifted somewhat in English over the last 180 years. The trouble with standards, it would seem, is that they turn out not to be eternal and unchanging after all”.

(1990:3)

There are two definite problems that arise if the term ’equivalence’ is regarded as only meaning or referring to sameness of meaning. As mentioned previously, in some instances no equivalent between different languages can be found, and, secondly, the meanings attached to words can never be considered as fixed. In Mary Snell-Hornby’s “Linguistic transcoding or cultural transfer? A critique of Translation Theory in Germany” she discusses the nature of the term equivalence in the aptly titled section: “The illusion of equivalence” (Snell-Hornby 1990:81). In this section she refers to Otto Kade’s attempt to explain the problem of assigning merely one definition to the term. Kade instead categorised the term into four types of equivalence:
(1) total equivalence as found in completely identical terms and standardized terminology; (2) facultative equivalence (one-to-many), as exemplified in German Spannung against English voltage, tension, suspense, stress, pressure; (3) approximative equivalence (one-to-part-of-one) as in German Himmel compared with English heaven/sky; and (4) nil-equivalence as in culture-bound items like wicket and haggis.

(in Snell-Hornby 1990:81)

Kade is also a supporter of the linguists' perception of equivalence as opposed to Snell-Hornby's idea of equivalence. By creating these different types Kade still acknowledges the necessity of the term equivalence. Even though Snell-Hornby considers equivalence to be an illusion – as it appears to be – it is necessary to consider the implications caused by this illusion. Translators should be aware not only of the problematic nature of equivalence, but also that they should not simply accept its definition as a given.

2.3.3. The textlinguistic approach

As Translation Studies developed, the importance of the communicative function of translation became more evident. Christina Schäffner notes “we do not translate words or grammatical forms, but texts with a specific communicative function [and therefore] the limitations of a narrow linguistic approach soon became obvious” (2003:4). Even though the linguistic approach can be regarded as restrictive in certain instances it is important to realise that a basic understanding and knowledge of linguistics is important for translators, “without a basic grounding in linguistics the translation theorist, practitioner and trainer alike can be compared to ‘somebody who is working with an incomplete toolkit’” (Ulrych and Bosinelli 1999:231). It becomes quite clear that the quality of a translation cannot merely be measured on the grounds of linguistic equivalence, especially since the linguistic approach
focused on smaller parts of the source text. A new approach had to develop that shifted the focus to the entire text; this second approach is the textlinguistic approach.

The followers of the textlinguistic approach argue that there is a “need to go beyond the sentence and to consider macrostructural patterns in texts and what [Neubert] calls ... the ‘communicative matrix’ of language communities” (Hermans 1994:13). Hermans continues to note that in Neubert’s model a translation should not focus on transferring meanings, but should instead transfer “communicative values, i.e. those composites which result from the occurrence of meanings in a given – culturally embedded – discourse” (1994:13). No wonder textlinguistics is also referred to as discourse analysis, which implies an analysis of the complete or full discourse is necessary to transfer the text into a target culture, so that the different occurrences of meaning could have a similar value. Therefore, it is important to realise that knowledge of the entire text, as well as the meaning given to the entire text is important when translating, since it is only the complete text that is translatable and “never [only] words” (Naudé 2000:3).

In this approach the entire text should be regarded as the primary object of research (Schäffner 2003:4). In order to better understand the meaning of the entire text, however, textlinguists thought it necessary to be able to divide texts into different text types. Schäffner refers to Katharina Reiss’s aim to “derive strictly objective criteria for assessing the quality of translations” (2003:5). Reiss used Bühler’s distinction between three different “functions of the linguistic sign” to develop corresponding text types (Reiss 2000:164). Text type should, however, not be confused with text genre (Schäffner 2003:5). Both genre and type are closely related and affect one another, but are not synonymous – for instance a speech (type of genre) can be regarded as an informative, appellative and expressive text type. Yet when a speech is translated, the genre into which it is translated will determine the type of text it should become. When a speech is translated into a newspaper article it can be as an
informative or appellative text, and when it is adapted for the screen it can only be as an appellative text – however, the result will still depend on the *skopos* of the translation brief (this concept is explained in 2.3.4.). To illustrate this, we can consider two of the different genres into which the SONA is translated. Firstly, the SONA is rewritten as a newspaper article and its foremost purpose is to inform the readers of what was said by their President, but also to persuade them to agree with the *writer's* opinion. The SONA is also broadcasted on South African television, and in this case, read by the actual President, whose main goal is to persuade the viewers his speech is authentic and his promises true.

2.3.3.1. Reiss’s three text types

The three text types that Reiss developed are informative, expressive and appellative texts (Reiss 2000:164). When considering the different aims of these text types it is easier to identify the ideal translations for the textlinguistic approach. The informative text type’s aim is simply put “the communication of content” (Reiss 2000:163). Schäffner mentions reports or textbooks as examples as their aim is “invariance of content” (2003:5), other examples that come to mind are magazine or journal articles, books on history and bibliographies. An expressive text differs from an informative one as it is “a communication of artistically organised content” (Reiss 2000:163), and in this case literary texts come to mind. And finally where appellative, also referred to as operative, texts are also viewed as communications. What sets them apart, however, is that their content has a “persuasive character” (Reiss 2000:163). Elsewhere the aim of operative texts is described as the “identity of behavioural reactions” and an example of texts that would fall in this category are advertisements (Schäffner 2003:5). Other theorists have, however, opposed this type of rigid categorization. The same text might fall into a few of these categories – especially when considering the implications of taking the text genre into account as different text types could belong to the same genre. What is also important to realise in this approach is the way in which textlinguists only refer to the source and target ‘text’ and not, like the linguists,
to the source-language and target-language texts – again emphasising the fact that this movement’s main focus is the entire text and not only language.

The textlinguistic approach alone did not cover all the important aspects of the process of translation, thus this approach shifted into another subdivision: the pragmatic approach, which originated from “speech act theory” (Hermans 2003:13). This approach started to regard translation “no longer as a static, purely linguistic operation but as a communicative process which takes place in a specific socio-cultural context” (Hatim and Mason in Hermans 2003:13). This shift also moved the focus of Translation Studies to the context in which and with what purpose the source text was created. The importance of the purpose of the source text lead to the development of Hans J. Vermeer’s *skopos* theory.

### 2.3.4. The importance of having a purpose

According to Vermeer “[t]ranslation is seen as the particular variety of translational action which is based on a source text”, and “[a]ny form of translational action, including therefore translation itself, may be conceived as an action, as the name implies” (2000:221). Vermeer emphasised the importance of regarding translation as an action in order to justify the functionalist approach, for “[a]ny action has an aim, a purpose [a skopos]” (2000:221). Reiss and Vermeer claim that the most important factor in deciding the type of translation method to be used is the aim of the translation (in Snell-Hornby 1990:83). As translation is an action, and all actions lead to effects, consequences or results – “translational action leads to a ‘target text’” (Vermeer 2000:221). In Vermeer’s “Skopos and Commission in Translational Action” he points out the necessity of obtaining a translation brief; of consulting with the client (particularly the author of the source text) in order to better understand the purpose of the source text and to decide what the aim of the target text should be. Therefore, for the translator to compose a specification (translation brief):
[t]he aim of any translational action, and the mode in which it is to be realised, are negotiated with the client who commissions the action. A precise specification of aim and mode is essential for the translator. – This is of course analogously true of translation proper: skopos and mode of realization must be adequately defined if the text-translator is to fulfil his task successfully.

(2000:221)

Thus Vermeer shifted the focus away from the technical aspects of the languages of the specific texts to the mode of translation and the purpose of both texts, as well as the aim of the original author and the translator. Translation is not just the transferral of the source text's purpose, it is a process that needs to be negotiated between the author and the translator to determine what the different purposes between the source text and the target text are and should be.

2.3.4.1. Shifting the focus to the target text

The functionalist approaches “were largely motivated by the needs of both practical translation activities and translator training” (Schäffner 2003:6). This approach also differed from the linguistic and textlinguistic as it focused on the prospective purpose of the translation and not on the retrospective linguistic purpose of the source text. However, as the focus shifted away from the source text, questions of fidelity and loyalty to the source text arose. The idea of being loyal to one’s ‘partners’ suddenly limited translators, as

in order to account for the culture specificity of translation concepts, setting an ethical limitation on the otherwise unlimited range of possible skopoi for the translation of one particular source text. It was argued that translators, in their role as mediators
between two cultures, have a special responsibility with regard to their partners: ... the source-text author [and] ... the target-text receivers.

(Nord 2002:33)

If translators stayed loyal to both of these partners it would be impossible for them to manipulate (or interrupt) the translation negatively, or to render the message incoherent. But consider what will happen when part of the skopos of the translation is to translate the text so that it will become acceptable to the readership (this point was also discussed in the sections on narratives and framing).

In the case of this investigation, it is important for the rewriters to adapt the target text to satisfy their readerships. Therefore, it appears that their loyalty lies with the target-text receivers' needs. As journalists they also have a certain responsibility to provide the public with trustworthy news. Nord further points out that it is not the text that is loyal, in fact, only a person's behaviour can be loyal, "a text or a translation cannot be loyal. It is the translator's behaviour that is or is not loyal. Therefore, loyalty, as was mentioned before, is an interpersonal category affecting the relationship between people" (2006:40). Thus, it is important to remember that the degree of loyalty that the writer applies to the target text will affect her/his relationship with her/his readership. For newspapers to succeed as well as sustain their readership it is important that they establish a trustworthy relationship with their readers and ensure that their target texts achieve a balance between satisfying the readers' needs and staying as true to the source text/event as possible.

The following example appears in Doris Bachmann-Medick's (2006) “Meanings of Translation in a Cultural Anthropology”. It shows how the relationship between the source text and the target text can be misinterpreted, leaving the target-text receivers with an unclear and somewhat twisted message:
when Pepsi-Cola entered the soft drinks market in Thailand, it keyed its advertising campaign to its well-known American slogan, ‘Come alive, you’re in the Pepsi generation’. The company only later traced its slow initial sales to the problematical Thai translation of that slogan: ‘Pepsi brings your ancestors back from the dead’.

(Bachmann-Medick 2006:33)

This example illustrates the way in which a translation can become a ‘bad’ translation, in the sense that it does not convey the intended message, and ultimately does not fulfil the intended purpose. Yet again, one can consider what a translator is to do when (s)he is instructed to translate with another purpose in mind – that in fact it was her/his intention to misconstrue the ‘original’ message, to [re]frame the text in a different light. The example is also a reminder that “translation across languages is translation across culture” (Bachmann-Medick 2006:33). A translation can never be done without taking the culture of both the source text and target text into consideration. In studying the development of the three approaches: linguistic, textlinguistic and functionalist, it is evident that the shifts in these approaches were affected by the realisation that culture plays a pivotal role in translation.

2.3.5. The influence of culture

As discussed in the earlier sections of this chapter, a translation can never take place without specific factors influencing the process of translation. There is however, another important aspect that should be taken into account. The way in which the target audience receives the text is also important as the target audience belongs to a specific culture. And as a result of that culture’s rules and norms the translated text’s message will have a specific meaning within the framework of that culture. Nida mentions these implications as it effects the methods he proposes in the linguistic approach, “when source and receptor languages represent very different cultures there should be many basic themes and accounts which
cannot be ‘naturalized’ by the process of translation” (2000:137). In the textlinguistic approaches their need to define the text also links their approach with the importance of taking cultural implications into consideration – as it is the culture of a society that determines the types of texts they create or accept (Schäffner 2003). The functionalists also acknowledge the importance of culture, as Vermeer


vehemently opposed the view that translation is simply a matter of language: for him translation is primarily a crosscultural transfer and in his view the translator should be ... multicultural, which naturally involves a command of various languages, as language is an intrinsic part of culture.

(Snell-Hornby 1990:82)

Thus the importance of culture is undeniable. Some theorists even consider anthropological studies as a form of cultural translation (Bachmann-Medick 2006:33). When considering all the related factors in all three of the mentioned approaches it is possible to perceive that as culture is one of the major links between these three approaches, the ideal approach would be a combination of these approaches. And as these approaches are, however, constantly subject to change, and, one could say, moving closer to one another, it is necessary to explore the possibility of an integrated approach. This kind of approach would use all of the basic elements of each of the approaches in order to provide the most accurate translation brief for any text. For example, the source and target language could be considered as important as in the linguistic approach, but with the focus on the entire text as in the textlinguistic approach and by incorporating the functionalists’ necessity of a translation brief, translators would be able to accurately define the best method of translation for any text.

[A]n integrated approach to translation is not only possible, but ... it is even essential if Translation Studies is to establish itself as an independent discipline, as against
two separate sub-disciplines of the two different subject areas applied linguistics and literary criticism.

(Snell-Hornby 1990:84-85)

The development of the linguistic, textlinguistic and functionalist approaches can be regarded as a cultural turn – a turn towards the importance of culture in translation. And it was the different focuses of each of these approaches that provided the framework needed to further develop translation theories. In Snell-Hornby’s (2006) aptly titled *The Turns of Translation Studies* she provides a neat outline of the emergence of the discipline and the evolution of translation theories that followed. She points out that all translation theories are interrelated, and that the development of theoretical approaches have further developments as a result, “because times change, ideas and viewpoints usually take on a new relevance in their new historical context” (Snell-Hornby 2006:3). In most cases a ‘cultural approach’ can be considered as an adequate ‘integrated approach’. In this sense the translation will be regarded as a new text, a linguistic and cultural adaptation of the source text.

### 2.3.5.1. Cultural implications for the text producer

Very few texts are produced without a specific audience in mind. In most cases this audience consists of members that are somehow connected to one another. Needless to say, the text producer also belongs to a specific society and community. These audiences or societies are conditioned to share the same ideology, and ultimately belong to the same culture (consider the idea of imagined communities that was introduced in the introduction of this study). And as mentioned before, culture plays an important role in the translation process as the process behind the production of any text cannot occur without being affected by the culture and ideologies of both the creator’s and audience’s societies. The ideal translator must not only be bilingual, but must also be bi-cultural (Nord 2005:12). What is more, is that the translator can only successfully determine the meaning of the source text.
and the needs of the target audience when (s)he is able to fully comprehend both cultures. It can be argued that it is the task of the translator to manipulate the source text in order to produce a target text that fulfils the needs of the target audience:

[translation] is not an isolated act, it is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer. Moreover, translation is a highly manipulative activity that involves all kinds of stages in that process of transfer across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Translation is not an innocent, transparent activity but it is highly charged with significance at every stage; it rarely, if ever, involves a relationship of equality between texts, authors or systems.

(Bassnett and Trivedi 1999:1-2; bold by author)

Christiane Nord argues that if a translator is to succeed at her/his task (s)he should first analyse the source text with the purpose of the translation in mind (Nord 2005:1). From the emphasis Nord places on the purpose of the translation it is evident that she supports the functionalist approach. She believes that most translational problems or issues can be solved or, at least, taken into account, when the purpose or aim of the translation is considered to be the main priority. This means that in order to translate, a translation brief is needed. She further suggests that one should always keep in mind that the translator is not the sender of the ST [source text] message, but a text producer [as mentioned above] in the target culture who adopts somebody else’s intention in order to produce a communicative instrument for the target culture or a target culture document of a source culture communication.

(Nord 2005:13)
This quote focuses one’s attention on the fact that, within the model of communication, the author can be the only sender of the message. Nord considers authors as senders who use a text written by themselves (source text writers) – and that the translator can never be considered as the author, or the sender, as it is not her/his message to send. The translator is firstly a receiver of the message. This position is, however, tainted as the translator is aware of his task as translator and immediately considers the text from the translator’s point of view. Thus contemplating how the source text can be translated to fulfil the target audience’s needs: “[t]he translator’s reception is determined by the communicative needs of the initiator or the Target Text addressees” (Nord 2005:12). The translator then becomes a mediator in order to be a text producer of the source culture message within the target culture. But it is still up to the translator to understand both source culture and target culture to such an extent that this process can be possible. The importance of the cultures involved in the translation processes are one of the factors that lead to a new school of thought. The school of thought discussed in 2.4. regards translation as different forms of communication between cultures.

2.4. Broadening the scope: cultural translation

2.4.1. Introduction

In 2.2. I paid attention to the specific translation theories that are most applicable to this study, and 2.3. is a discussion of the translation theories that have evolved out of linguistic translation. The following section takes a look at a branch of Translation Studies that could be considered as moving in “precisely the opposite direction” (Pym 2010:143). This branch is known as cultural translation. Here the term translation is used metaphorically to “address problems in postmodern sociology, postcolonialism, migration, cultural hybridity, and much else” (Pym 2010:143). Cultural translation considers the effect of “translation” on moving bodies as they are constantly crossing borders, only to be surrounded by more borders.
Thus we, as mobile bodies, become “translated”. Scholars then begin to ask, “can a person be translated?” (Pym 2010:152), and what are the implications involved? But these questions are "dissolved" (Pym 2010:147), the affected subjects belong to a space in-between, they belong to Bhabha’s “third space” (Bhabha 1994:217-219). Pym points out that even as Salman Rushdie described himself as a translated man he failed to state whether he “was at any stage also an original man” (Trivedi in Pym 2010:52). Translation, in this sense, is not an act that takes place between fixed sets of text, thus there is no question of a source and target text. Instead translation is regarded “as a general activity of communication between cultural groups” (Pym 2010:143).

Cultural translation becomes a metaphor for the resistance of cultural oppression, as it “desacralizes the transparent assumptions of cultural supremacy, and in that very act, demands a contextual specificity, a historical differentiation within minority positions” (Bhabha 1994:228). Bhabha also focuses on the narrative of community, and how it “substantializes cultural difference” (1994:230). One can assume that it is these narratives that constitute the cultural translations between different communities. The approaches and ideas in 2.2. can be considered as a combination of translation as a linguistic action and translation as cultural communication, with narrativity at its core. Cultural translation should not be confused with the ‘cultural turn’ in Translation Studies (Pym 2010:149). The cultural turn in Translation Studies focused scholars’ attention on the cultural implications of translation and does not “challenge traditional uses of the term “translation” (this turn is also discussed in 2.3.) (Pym 2010:149). Pym describes cultural translation as a movement separate from the descriptive paradigm in Translation Studies (2010:149). Cultural translation is a "set of discourses that enact hybridity by crossing cultural borders, revealing the intermediary positions of (figurative) translators” (Pym 2010:149). This branch of Translation Studies includes the work of Homi Bhabha, the idea of ethnography as translation, the politics of translation (Giyatri Spivak) and deconstruction and translation. In
order to better understand the need for an inclusive school of thought, this section looks at deconstruction and power in the field of translation. Both concepts are associated with cultural translation and important for this study.

2.4.2. Deconstruction and translation

Deconstructionist approaches to translation stretch the limits of the translation scholars’ perception of their field, and then moves beyond the limits – questioning the very existence of predefined ‘limits’. Deconstructionists force one to rethink one’s perspective, but also consider other possible perspectives – to always bring into consideration the elusive “Other”, and to question certain preconceived ideas in one’s field. Most of these ideas has been taken for granted, as Edwin Gentzler points out, “deconstructionists are undertaking a radical redrawing of the questions upon which translation theory is founded” (he continues to formulate one of these questions around the idea of having an ‘original’ from which to translate) (2001:145). It is important to consider this abstract branch of Translation Studies in order to conduct this specific study as it is one of the driving forces that lead translation scholars to consider the importance of ideology, context and perspective within the translation processes.

Deconstruction is one of the branches in Translation Studies that is a constant reminder of the open-endedness of this field:

Translation Studies has been moving steadily away from positivist attitudes about these parameters, acknowledging uncertainties and indeterminacies – including those pertaining to language, cultural difference, and meaning – and admitting radically different perspectives on translation associated with time, place, subject positions, ideology, and power. More and more perspectives have been opened; fewer and fewer facts or certainties have resulted. These
simultaneous expansions and increased uncertainties in the field have of necessity brought greater self-reflexivity to Translation Studies.]

(Tymoczko 2007:50-51; bold by author)

Within the field of Translation Studies there is no final concluding chapter – and as the deconstructionists point out – there can be no final conclusion. The study and rediscovery of this field will continue, until language ceases to exist, or until all the inhabitants of the universe conform to one single language – and even then translation across cultures will still be necessary.

In *Enlarging translation, empowering translators* Tymoczko focuses the reader’s attention on the fact that deconstructionist and poststructuralist approaches “are interested in layers of text that are even less apparent than most ideological subtexts” (2007:46). In order to fully comprehend the translation as well as the process that takes place when translating one needs to, according to the deconstructionist approaches, reveal each layer – consider that which is written, as well as that which is not written, in other words, that which is only implied by what is not written:

for example, the *non dit*, sublated ideological discourses, and culturally assumed structures of knowledge embedded in language and texts, the unlimited semiosis behind texts, inconsistencies and fragmentary elements that reveal slippages of thought and belief, polysemous language, and the play of words.

(Tymoczko 2007:47)

In his essay “Des Tours de Babel”, Jacques Derrida refers to the confusion created at the tower of Babel, but he says that this is not only a representation of the inability of the different people to understand one another, it also “exhibits an incompletion” (1985:165).
The structure and order associated with the tower of Babel had no power to explain or to arrange and solve the confusion that surrounded it. Derrida implies that the order and structure of translation need to be disordered and deconstructed in order for translation to succeed, “[i]t would be easy and up to a certain point justified to see there the translation of a system in deconstruction” (Derrida 1985:165). Deconstruction demands self-reflexivity. The translator as well as the translation scholar must delve deeper, deconstruct the text in order to find the ideological subtexts hidden within the process of creation and within the text itself,

[b]uilt into these deconstructive projects implicitly and explicitly is an awareness of perspective and, indeed, conflicting perspectives. Poststructuralism in Translation Studies is a movement that demands self-reflexivity on the part of translators, readers of translations, and translation scholars.

(Tymoczko 2007:47).

Yet again it is impossible to adhere to this single theory, as the future of Translation Studies depends on integrating the existing and still developing approaches. Deconstruction is also contradictory in the sense that by questioning existing theoretical approaches (as well as the very existence of the concept of a structured theory) it is in itself a theory – that adheres to a specific structure, even if it is the structure of poststructuralism, as “Derrida affirms that ‘the "linguistics" elaborated by Plato, Rousseau and Saussure must both put writing out of the question and yet nevertheless borrow from it, for fundamental reasons, all its demonstrative and theoretical resources’” (158-159; in Burke 1992:150).

2.4.3. A turn towards power

From the research done thus far, it is evident that somewhere during the process of translation there is an opportune moment for the translator to manipulate the text that (s)he
is producing (Lefevere 1992:vii). I do not want to advocate that this opportunity is seized by all translators during their translation processes. When a translator, however, does manipulate the translation on purpose to reach a specified end, or in order to satisfy the ideology of her/his target reader, it is necessary to investigate this process and the extent of the translator’s power. In his book, *Translation, rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, André Lefevere already points to this characteristic of translation in his preface,

[t]ranslation is, of course, a rewriting of an original text. All rewritings, whatever their intention, reflect a certain ideology and a poetics and as such manipulate literature [in Lefevere’s study, in this study the focus is on media texts] to function in a given society in a given way. Rewriting is manipulation, undertaken in the service of power, and in its positive aspect can help in the evolution of [...] a society.

(Lefevere 1992:vii)

During translation a source message (even though the originality of this source is questionable) is rewritten into another language/text, with a specific purpose and for a specified audience. But it is clearly not as simple as it seems. There are numerous other factors that come into play within the many contextual layers of a translation, as:

Translation thus is not simply an act of faithful reproduction but, rather, a deliberate and conscious act of selection, assemblage, structuration, and fabrication – and even, in some cases, of falsification, refusal of information, counterfeiting, and the creation of secret codes. In these ways translators, as much as creative writers and politicians, participate in the powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture.

(Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002: xxi)
In this quote Tymoczko and Gentzler emphasise the ability of translations to attribute to, or “shape” ideologies – as their creators “participate in powerful acts that create knowledge and shape culture” (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:7). Therefore, translations can be manipulated to reach a certain goal in favour of the translator, or in the case of this investigation, the medium that forms part of the translator’s practice. In the first chapter I implied that newspaper articles are moulded specifically to fit the shape of the newspaper they appear in, the shape that their readers have come to expect. But the relationship between the newspaper and its readers is an interdependent relationship: the readers expect the newspaper articles to satisfy their ideological expectations, and the newspaper’s success is dependent on the survival of its readership’s ideology. In other words, taking both quotes into consideration, a translator has through her/his profession the capacity to sustain an ideology.

Lefevere points out that this characteristic has both positive and negative attributes. The positive involves introducing new ideas to otherwise oblivious societies, bringing cultures that communicate in different languages closer together (Lefevere 1992:vii;8-9). But the negative can include the repressing of information, the manipulation and distortion of accounts and details and furthering hostile feelings between cultures (Lefevere 1992:vii). That is why further investigation into the relationship between power and translation is essential, as this type of study will “help us towards a greater awareness of the world in which we live” (Lefevere 1992:vii). In Chapter Four I pay specific attention to the manipulation processes adopted by writers and translators.

2.5. Conclusion

In the introduction of her book, In other words, Mona Baker questions the necessity of and use for theoretical training in any field of study. She concludes that even though training does not render any programme foolproof, it does, in her words,
give the practising doctor a certain degree of confidence which comes from knowing that her/his decisions are calculated on the basis of concrete knowledge rather than ‘hunches’ or ‘intuition’, and (c) [her final point] provides the basis on which further developments in the field may be achieved.

(Baker 1992:2)

Baker’s argument supports the idea that no part of Translation Studies should be disregarded. Each branch of Translation Studies investigates a certain aspect of translation, or how a translator experienced the act of translation. Therefore, as translators, we should study all of these theoretical approaches so that we are not only aware of them, but can also question their relevance for our own work.

From this (somewhat) brief overview it is clear that the discipline of Translation Studies has undergone numerous developments and that it is necessary to study these developments in order to fully understand the direction in which this discipline is heading. The earlier developments contributed to the establishment of Translation Studies as an academic discipline and later lead to, as Pym aptly suggests, the development of a descriptive paradigm within the field (2010:143). Each approach contributed a new direction of thought to the discipline. At the early stages of Translation Studies, the prescriptive approaches lead the way: firstly it was the linguists who highlighted the importance of a firm understanding of linguistics and the necessity of equivalence; secondly, the textlinguists moved the focus to the entire text, immediately including external factors that affect the creation of both the source and target texts; and finally by considering both existing theoretical approaches, the functionalists established the importance of skopos and how to justify the decisions that are made during the complex process of translation.
The development of the descriptive paradigm also added to the process of expanding the discipline, as it steered Translation Studies into a new descriptive direction, and by doing so, added structure to the discipline. DTS (Descriptive Translation Studies) is a meta-reflective approach, in the sense that it does not merely accept its ‘fate’, but questions, or reflects on, its own existence, the reasons for its existence and how it is defined by descriptions (Toury 1995:7). This meta-reflective nature provided the means for similar approaches to develop. The effects of cultural translation are also touched on in this overview. It is this abstract branch that encouraged scholars to study the relationship between power and translation. Deconstruction, another branch of cultural translation, forces scholars to rethink the field’s structure and delve deeper into the effects of ideological predispositions and contexts in translation. I argue that an ideal approach to analyse translation would be an integrated one, as Translation Studies cannot be regarded as a “homogeneous discipline” (Schäffner 2003:10). Therefore, it is necessary to rely on an approach that allows enough room for the development and inclusion of all existing approaches, including cultural translation.

This literature overview includes many of the most prominent translation theories and suggests that a deeper look at the Narrative Approach to translation is advantageous for future developments in this field. The only way to move forward in Translation Studies is to study the work made available by the translators and scholars before us, who were faced with the same task. Instead of blindly going forward without grasping the true nature and effect of translation, we can now study the established field to be fully aware of the implications of our task as translators.

In this study (particularly Chapter Four) I aim to make use of an integrated approach to analyse the selected rewritings. As can be deduced from the theory discussed in this chapter, it is still necessary to have a knowledge of the history and development of Translation Studies as the different theoretical approaches affect each other. I will, for
instance, have to consider the implications of prescriptive approaches, as the analyses include translation proper, but I will also incorporate DTS (descriptive approaches) as I am faced with translated/rewritten products. A firm understanding of cultural translation also assists me in spotting certain trends of this branch in the selected texts. In the analyses I suggest that a narrative approach to translation allow translation scholars to analyse texts in an all-inclusive manner. This means that although the text was not created with the narrative approach in mind, by analysing the text from a narrative point of view, scholars are capable of studying different theoretical effects on the text. Baker argues that it is impossible to analyse any form of communication without taking narratives into consideration:

An important difference between literary and linguistic approaches and the [narrative] approach adopted in [Translation and Conflict] then concerns the status of narrative as an optional mode of communication or as a meta-code that cuts across and underpins all modes of communication. Narrative theory, as elaborated [in Baker’s study] adopts the latter view.

(Baker 2006:9)

The same argument applies to the research done here. Therefore, the most effective way to incorporate as many theoretical approaches as possible, would be to consider a narrative approach.

The following sections is a short example of applying a narrative approach when analysing translations. In Chapter Four a more detailed version of this methodology will be applied. For this example we can consider Nelson Mandela’s first SONA. This speech was delivered in May 1994, a month after Mandela was elected as the first black South African President. The way in which parts of this SONA were rewritten in the Afrikaans newspaper, Die Burger,
provides the ideal opportunity for analysis from an integrated narrative perspective. The most notable themes of Mandela's first SONA were: sexual and racial equality; the Reconstruction and Development Programme; better care for women and children; the condition of the youth; obtaining and maintaining economic stability and furthering Black Economic Empowerment; preventing substance abuse; and reaching the goal of a united South African nation – a "people-centred society" (Mandela 1994:1).

Mandela opened his speech by saying that the time has come to honour the people "who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and the we are citizens of the world" (1994:1). He then specifically identifies Ingrid Jonker as one such person. Mandela further honoured Jonker by stating, "[t]o her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself ... we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised" (1994:1). As an introduction to the rest of his speech, Mandela then recites the English translation of Jonker's poem, 'Die Kind', which links to a few of his speech's most important themes, "the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child" (1994:2). [Copies of Jonker's poem, in Afrikaans and English, are included in Addendum A.] Mandela again refers to Jonker's work at the end of his speech, "[t]omorrow, on Africa Day, the dream of Ingrid Jonker will come to fruition. The child grown to a man will trek through all Africa. The child grown to a [giant] will journey all over the world – without a pass!" (1994:10). The following day many articles discussing the SONA appeared in Die Burger. For the purpose of this example, I focus on three prominent articles about Mandela's choice to quote Ingrid Jonker.

In his first page article, "'Poetic Justice' vir Ingrid Jonker toe President gedig lees" ["Poetic Justice for Ingrid Jonker when President read poem"], Herman Joubert interviews one of Jonker's alleged close friends to suggest how the deceased poet would have experienced the SONA. On page two, two articles appeared concerning Jonker's strong presence in the
President's speech. The first, "Nelson se bewondering vir haar werk kom ver" ["Nelson’s admiration for her work nothing new"], discusses why Mandela’s choice of her poem is so apt, and the second, "Mandela bring hulde aan Ingrid Jonker – die Suid-Afrikaner, die digter, die mens" ["Mandela honours Ingrid Jonker – the South African, the poet, the person"], is a very close translation of the parts in the SONA concerning Jonker.

**Particularity, selective appropriation and causal emplotment**

I decided to group these three features together as they all refer to the specific selection of parts of the source text that are rewritten to fit into the frame of the rewritten text. Selective appropriation and causal emplotment are both elements of hermeneutic composability and should therefore be considered as complementing each other. In the first article Joubert selected specific parts of the SONA and placed them together to suggest Jonker’s opinion. There are no direct quotes in the article, but I want to highlight two specific parts that force the reader to ‘read between the lines’ and to come to the conclusion that the way that Jonker was included in the SONA might not be as positive as it first appeared. The first sentence questions whether the President used the poem in the correct context, as Jonker’s friend, Marjorie Wallace, states, "Ingrid self het ‘Die Kind’ egter nooit as ‘n politieke gedig beskou nie. Dit was vir haar meer iets ‘moederliks’, die ma wat haar kind verloor het" ["Ingrid never considered ‘The Child’ as a political poem. To her it was about something ‘motherly’, the mother who had lost her child"] (Joubert 1994:1). Even though these are not Jonker’s own words, Joubert’s decision to include them in his article criticises Mandela’s use of the poem.

The second part suggests that the homage might have been more sincere had a part of the poem been read in Jonker’s native tongue – the language in which the poem was written – Afrikaans, "jammer Mandela het nie minstens ‘n deel van die gedig in Afrikaans gelees nie. Veral die laaste gedeelte. Die man se Afrikaans is goed" ["pity Mandela did not at least read a part of the poem in Afrikaans. Especially the last part. The man’s Afrikaans is good."] (Joubert 1994:1). In this way, the journalist uses parts of the narrative to retell the story from
another perspective. However, without a knowledge of the contents of the SONA the article appears to disregard the significance of the poet's and poem's inclusion in the speech. Instead the article recalls Jonker’s turbulent past, counting on the public's collective memory to fill in the missing parts, and questions whether the poem was an appropriate choice for the President's speech.

**Normativeness**

The second article, "Nelson se bewondering vir haar werk kom ver", uses both narratives, the SONA and the poem, to make a character sketch of the new President. This article also refrains from directly translating the contents of the speech, but it aims to provide a reason for Mandela's choice of Jonker's poem. The article states that Mandela has a broad knowledge of Afrikaans writers and their work, and that Jonker was among those whose works he read while in prison. He was a political prisoner during Apartheid and was imprisoned for 27 years. At the end of the article the author mentions that his source, Senator Kobie Coetsee, said that, "[Mandela] het ook die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke en militêre geskiedenis intensief bestudeer. Hy ken die boeke van Deneys Reitz oor die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog op die punte van sy vingers" ["Mandela also studied South African political and military history extensively. He knows the works of Deneys Reitz on the Second Freedom War like the palm of his hand"] (Parliamentary team 1994:2). This article, therefore, uses this opportunity to inform its Afrikaans readers that their new President has familiarised himself with the narratives that constitute a part of their reality as Afrikaners, and hints that this should inspire and awe them. In this sense it seems normal for the President to quote an Afrikaner poet in his narrative.

The third article, "Mandela bring hulde aan Ingrid Jonker – die Suid-Afrikaner, die digter, die mens", stays exceptionally close to the SONA, including direct translations, and the journalist refrains from providing an own opinion. The article suggests that Mandela's use of
Jonker's poem is a metaphor for his own dream for South Africa. The progression in the poem, the child that is growing and finally becomes emancipated, symbolises the way in which South Africa and South Africans (black Africans in particular) should also grow toward liberation, and finally reach all the goals Mandela goes on to mention in his speech.

The article does, however, contain a few discrepancies between the SONA and the translation. In the SONA Mandela's punchline reads, "[h]er name is Ingrid Jonker" (1994:1), but in the article that same sentence is translated as "haar naam was Ingrid Jonker" (Parliamentary team 1994:2). This change of tense might not seem significant and yet, from a cultural perspective the is suggests that Jonker has reached a level of immortality through her work. Whereas the was in the article immediately reminds the readers that Jonker is deceased. The other discrepancy also does not seem important at first glance, but when one takes the cultural implications into consideration, it is important to mention. Mandela claims that Jonker wrote 'Die Kind' after what happened at the Sharpeville protests, "[i]n the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstration at Sharpeville she wrote..." (1994:1). This sentence is then translated as, "Ná die slagting op 'n betoging teen passe in Sharpeville het sy geskryf..." (Parliamentary team 1994:2). This change from the definite to the indefinite article renders the demonstration in question a regular occurrence, when Mandela is, in fact, referring to a very specific incident – one that is part of the public narrative.

This short analysis shows how the rewriters make use of certain methods to select parts of a source text and rewrite it to suit the frameworks of their productions. The first page of a newspaper should signify breaking news, it is this page that usually grabs the reader's attention and communicates what the newspaper's editorial staff consider to be breaking news. Therefore, the first-page article that appears on Jonker's inclusion in the SONA shows how important Afrikaans readers should consider this event. In a time when most
readers of *Die Burger* were confronted with uncertainties and changes that threatened their quality of life, their culture and their language, *Die Burger* set out to pacify these fears. The newspaper appears to maintain political correctness, but also sustain their readers' peace of mind. In this case Mandela decided to quote a female Afrikaner poet, which shows his willingness to include everyone in the narrative that he is creating. Readers are then encouraged to embed this theme (inclusion) in their narrative understanding of the SONA – further shaping their ideologies. In Chapter Four where different newspapers' articles on the same SONAs are analysed, different narrative attributes are clearly discernable. Before the texts can be analysed however, it is necessary to first discuss the source texts in more detail.

### 3. Newspapers and research material

#### 3.1. Introduction

For the purpose of this study it is necessary to identify and discuss the research material used in Chapter Four. The aim of this chapter is to clearly distinguish between the motivations and perspectives of each newspaper, as each one has a distinct and influential past that in many ways helped shaped the newspaper into the structure with which readers are familiar today. It is however, not only the newspapers' history that plays an important role, but also the fact that newspapers are a form of media, as Sally Johnson and Astrid Ensslin note:

> In late- or post-modern western society our daily lives are increasingly both characterized and determined by the production and consumption of diversely mediated meanings. Indeed, we are engaged in an almost constant process of encoding and decoding linguistic and non-linguistic messages consequently we are subjected to, as well as in control of, a plethora of technological and medial
information flows that both construct and transfer ideologies between ourselves, our information providers, and our target audiences.

(2007:11; bold by author)

The information flows mentioned in this quote form part of our personal narratives and therefore not only construct and transfer ideologies, but also constitute reality as we perceive it. Studying the mediums that provide the channels through which the transferrals take place then becomes important if one is to better understand existing ideologies and how they are sustained. Another point that should be clarified is that newspapers’ main focus is their raison d’être: the purpose for their continuation. This means that newspapers and the methods they employ are ultimately purpose-driven, “[d]epending on their particular point of emphasis, media producers therefore combine conative, emotive and conceptual meanings so as to achieve a maximum effect on the target audience” (Johnson and Ensslin 2007:13).

The act of writing articles for newspapers can in many ways be compared to translators who follow the functionalist approach. The functionalist approach highlights the important role the target audience (in this case newspaper readers) fulfil – without them there would be no purpose for the newspaper and no purpose for the article. As Bielsa and Bassnett point out:

The assembly of a newspaper follows the same pattern as that identified by Tymoczko and Gentzler for translation: it is a deliberate and conscious act of selection, involving the structuring, assembling and fabricating of information into a format that will satisfy the expectations of readers.

(2009:12; bold by author)

This chapter does not set out to stereotype any of the selected newspapers. Instead what follows is a discussion of the actions that lead to the construction of the newspaper in its current form. For example, I pay specific attention to some of the slogan(s) and attempt to,
as a reader, ‘decode’ the encrypted message. The newspapers are however, not the only research material used for this study, and therefore this chapter also includes a brief discussion of the SONA. To simplify matters from a translation perspective, the SONAs concerned in this study can be referred to as the source texts – the texts on which the articles are based (note the use of ‘based’ – in this case there can be no ‘simple’ translation from one text into another). Bielsa and Bassnett argue that “direct translation of a text written in one language into another is probably the least common form of news translation; far more common is the restructuring of material in a form congenial to the target readership” (2009:12; bold by author). This is also not strictly an investigation of interlingual translation between two different languages, as two of the newspapers concerned are English newspapers and the largest part of the SONAs is also delivered in English. Therefore this process can be described as intralingual translation. This study’s main focus is on framing in translation, and as all rewritings, inter- and intralingual, are types of translations, this study can still qualify as an investigation into an effect of translation.

I mainly decided to use Die Burger, the Sowetan and the Mail & Guardian for my research because each of these newspapers possesses a unique history and managed to survive before, during the transitional phase of, and after apartheid. Another aspect that drew me towards these newspapers was the fact that they went to (and still go to) great lengths to adapt to the times, to identify their readerships and cater for their specific needs. It is also evident that the readerships of these newspapers differ greatly and this also encouraged my choice of research materials. In the paragraphs that follow, I elaborate on the histories of these newspapers and explain how they were shaped into the news channels they are today.
3.2. The State of the Nation Address

The SONA, which for this study can be referred to as the ‘source text’, has already been briefly discussed in Chapter One. In order to clarify the role of the SONA for this investigation, another discussion follows. The SONA is an annual speech given by the elected South African President. As soon as the President is elected the public (including the media) eagerly await his SONA. Therefore, in the public eye this is considered to be a very important political event. An important aspect of this speech is that it conveys something of the President’s perspective on the state of the South African nation. The SONA covers a wide range of subjects, from economical reform plans, HIV/Aids programmes to education and job initiatives. In other words, the speech is extensive and the President is given the opportunity to state his case. His speech is also followed by a debate concerning the contents of his SONA. When the rewritings of this speech appear in newspapers it becomes clear that most of the rewriters however, are not given the freedom to report extensively on the SONA as such. The outcome is that numerous articles are published, many focusing on different aspects of a single SONA.

These rewriters are in a difficult position and are compelled to choose the subjects of their articles with regard to the sections of the newspaper they contribute to. Therefore, they have to apply *selective appropriation* in order to satisfy their readership. With this in mind, this discussion is again lead back to the function and the purpose of the newspaper. The purpose can be considered as not only satisfying readers, but also as giving information that the newspapers can be held responsible for – to tell readers (perhaps) not exactly what they want to know, but in the way they want to read it – and this brings us back to the diverse concept of framing during the rewriting process. By *only* selecting parts of the speech to use in their rewritings the rewriters are *framing* a selection of the SONA within the mantle of the article’s predefined subject.
In Chapter Four I analyse the framing of SONAs in three different newspapers over a period of almost twenty years, while taking into consideration that these SONAs are representative of a post-apartheid South Africa. The table provided is a representation of the SONAs concerned and the number of articles used in this study. Short descriptions of the newspapers' readerships and the regions in which these newspapers are distributed are included in the table. Each newspaper's readership is discussed in detail in Section 3.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>President</th>
<th>Date of speech</th>
<th>SOWETAN</th>
<th>MAIL &amp; GUARDIAN</th>
<th>DIE BURGER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F.W. de Klerk</td>
<td>28 February 1994</td>
<td>1 article</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4 articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Mandela</td>
<td>24 May 1994</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>4 articles used in Chapter Two example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelson Mandela</td>
<td>5 February 1999</td>
<td>2 articles; 1 photo</td>
<td>1 article; 1 cartoon</td>
<td>4 articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thabo Mbeki</td>
<td>25 June 1999</td>
<td>2 articles</td>
<td>2 articles; 2 cartoons</td>
<td>4 articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thabo Mbeki</td>
<td>8 February 2008</td>
<td>2 articles</td>
<td>3 articles</td>
<td>3 articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kgalema Motlanthe</td>
<td>6 February 2009</td>
<td>2 articles; 1 cartoon</td>
<td>1 article</td>
<td>2 articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Zuma</td>
<td>11 February 2010</td>
<td>Front page; 3 articles; 1 cartoon</td>
<td>Front page; 2 articles</td>
<td>2 articles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I want to suggest that by looking at the framing within these articles one is able to observe the ideologies promoted by the newspapers. It is necessary, however, to first consider the three newspapers concerned as well as their intended readerships.
3.3. Implications of an ideological position

[Decisions regarding the stories/narratives that are published in the news] will be made in-house, and will be affected by the ideological position of the newspaper and by the context in which that newspaper is produced.

(Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:11)

Before considering the ideological position of each newspaper, I want to introduce André Lefevere’s concept of *patronage* and what it implies for this study. Lefevere identifies patronage as one of the external powers that guides the rewriting process:

The second control factor, which operates mostly outside the literary system as such, will be called “patronage” here, and it will be understood to mean something like the powers (persons, institutions) that can further hinder the reading, writing, and rewriting of literature. It is important to understand “power” here in Foucauldian sense, not just, or even primarily, as a repressive force.

(Lefevere 1992:15)

What Lefevere means by saying “power” should be understood in its Foucauldian sense, is that this external power can be regarded as “good”, it is not a force that inhibits us, but one that “traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse” (in Lefevere 1992:15). Patronage, as an external force that influences the writing, rewriting and reading processes, is also bound to have its own set of beliefs that determine the type of influence it has. But patronage is not merely based on ideology. Lefevere points out that this concept is made up out of three components: ideological, economic and finally, an element of status (1992:16). The ideological component does not necessarily only imply political issues (Lefevere 1992:16), and the economic component provides the means by which the writer and rewriter make their living.
Lefevere further distinguishes between differential and undifferential patronages. If all three components are “dispensed by one and the same patron” the patronage is undifferential, differential patronage implies that different parties are responsible for the components (Lefevere 1992:17). For this discussion it is important to note that the patronages of each newspaper are represented by their publishing houses – and in each case the publishing house is an external force that contributes to the ideological position of the newspaper. Even though all of the publishing houses appear to be undifferential they have to answer to a number of shareholders, and it is these shareholders that drive them to form their specific ideology – an ideology that, in many cases, guarantees success at the cost of producing a printed newspaper that sells.

3.3.1. Die Burger

_Die Burger_ is not just the only Afrikaans newspaper used to conduct this investigation, but of the three newspapers it is also the oldest. _Die Burger_ came into existence in 1915 with D.F. Malan as its first editor. This newspaper played a fundamental role in establishing an Afrikaner identity and culture within the South African collective memory (Louw 2003). The newspaper also played a pivotal part in developing the Afrikaans language and supporting the Nationalist Party in its fight for independence. And later, it also supported the Afrikaner government in its campaign for a segregated state (Diederichs and De Beer 1998). Louw points out that at the end of the 20th century the English daily newspapers were supported by liberal white capitalists, and the Afrikaans publications by everyone who supported the Nationalist Party (2003:28). Herman Wasserman further argues this point, as “Afrikaans-language newspapers served as key institutions for the articulation of nationalist ideology” (2009:64). _Die Burger’s_ support of the Nationalist Party was one of the main reasons for its existence (Diederichs and De Beer 1998:105). The fact that _Die Burger_ openly supported
the discriminating Nationalist Party later lead to the questioning of the newspaper’s credibility (Louw 2003; Wasserman 2009:64).

In the Western Cape Die Burger can be considered as the leading Afrikaans daily, but this also means that its readership is mainly Afrikaans readers. This readership does, however, include a large contingent of coloured Afrikaans-speaking readers – a fact that could mean that the survival of a newspaper that was once the flagship of the discriminatory ruling party, now depends on the diversity of its readers (Wasserman 2009). But even though it appears to be easier to identify the readership of Die Burger, it cannot be that simple, for Afrikaans-speakers in South Africa do not necessarily share the same ideology as they were forced to in the past. To ensure its survival Die Burger must, like any other publication, satisfy its readership – and in order to do this, it must first identify this readership. The irony of the matter is that after 1994 and the reshuffling of South African politics, what used to be ‘alternative’ newspapers started to be regarded as quite normal, and publications like Die Burger became something strange and alternative (Manoim 1996), because now the alternative newspapers’ point of views were not considered as radical or alternative anymore – no one had reason to or wanted to question their motifs. Therefore, Die Burger had to justify its place in the ‘new’ South Africa and satisfy its readership – no matter how diverse that readership might be. Wasserman refers to this process as a rebalancing of the newspaper’s position: “[i]n light of their historical complicity with Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid, the new democratic context demanded of Afrikaans media that they shift ideological alliances to accommodate the new political realities” (2009:66-67).

In his essay, “Learning a new language: Culture, ideology and economics in Afrikaans media after apartheid”, Wasserman (2009:68) continues to point out that Die Burger is a “prime example” of the repositioning and balancing of the “different interests” of its diverse array of readers. This was, however, not an easy process as Die Burger “initially played on the
anxieties and disillusionment of their traditionally conservative white audience by resisting key aspects of the democratic transition” (Wasserman 2009:73). After realising that this method could not work for either the company or the readers in a democratic South Africa, Die Burger’s editors and staff had to be creative in order to win over Afrikaans-readers from different backgrounds – thereby changing the newspaper’s perception of an Afrikaner newspaper to a newspaper for “Afrikaanses” (Afrikaans-speaking South Africans) (Wasserman 2009:73). By employing this technique Die Burger attempted to make the newspaper “seamlessly Afrikaans”, thereby erasing the race of their readership and focusing on the unifying effect of sharing the same language (Wasserman 2009:73-74).

Perceptions of, especially older publications, are not, however, easily changed. Wasserman points out that there are still conflicts between Afrikaans publications and the democratically elected African National Congress (the current ruling party) that show “that more conservative, white sections in the Afrikaans audience still wield a significant influence on content, even if audience figures (Die Burger audience, for instance, consists of 56 percent whites and 42 percent coloured) would suggest the reverse” (2009:74-75). The repositioning of a newspaper can, then, never really end, as it is a constant process. The readership’s ideology relies on the newspaper’s content, and the newspaper’s content is determined by what their readership wants to read – and as the newspaper attempts to satisfy its readers – newspapers must constantly reposition themselves in society. If, however, newspapers are able to determine their readership’s ideology, what does that reveal of society? Wasserman argues that newspapers can only achieve balance “in the form of a commodified culture which views cultural identity as a saleable commodity within the free-market environment of post-apartheid South Africa” (2009:75). I cannot claim that this is definitely the case, that ideology, and cultural identity has become “saleable” commodities, but I do want to argue that the framing of events within the ideological intentions of a newspaper can have a definite effect on its readership.
Die Burger is published by Media24, the printing division of Naspers (Nasionale Pers). When attempting to identify the ideology of the readership of a newspaper, it is also necessary to consider the ideology and values attached to its publishing house, or patronage. It is very likely that the sets of values correspond to each other – perhaps not in the sense that they are similar, but that each plays a determining role for the other. On Naspers's official website the following values are listed:

1. We aim to be useful to the communities we serve.
2. We offer an environment for entrepreneurs to succeed.
3. We uphold the value of cultural diversity.
4. We love to innovate.
5. Above all customer service.

(Naspers 2002)

With regards to this investigation the first, third and fifth points are of particular interest. From these points we can deduce that Naspers is user- (or, in this case, reader-) oriented. And that customer satisfaction is the employees of Naspers's most important objective. Media24 has its own vision and mission statements, Media24's vision is “[t]o be the leading publisher, printer and distributor of newspapers, magazines and books and related digital products in Africa”, and its mission is “[t]o use print, mobile media and the internet to create a personal reference world of information, entertainment and education excellence which can be accessed anywhere” (Media24 2002). These statements are more focused on the company's goals and do not really reveal much of its ideology. Both statements do, however, emphasise the degree of excellence attached to their products: they aim to be the “leading” publisher, and they want to “create” a “personal reference world” of “excellence” that can easily be accessed by its users (Media24 2002). Naspers and Media24 highly
value their users’ interests, and it is these interests that ultimately guide and shape their business decisions.

With the information provided in the previous paragraphs it is now possible to sketch a specific readership profile for Die Burger readers. Firstly the readership is mainly Afrikaans-speaking, but inclusive of all races. This newspaper is affordable at around R6 – therefore Die Burger is not limited to a specific economic class. The readers are however, limited to the Western Cape region. And even though this newspaper has made an enormous effort to rid itself of its past affiliations with the pro-apartheid NP government, it cannot be considered as a wholly liberal newspaper – therefore its readership can still be regarded as fairly conservative.

3.3.2. Sowetan

*Building the [Sowetan] nation*

The first Sowetan appeared in 1981 as “a demonstration of the will of the people to express themselves” (Joe Latakgomo 2006:26). After the Nationalist Party (who was the ruling government of that time) banned the Sowetan’s predecessors, The World and Weekend World, Post and Sunday Post, the Sowetan was “born in adversity” (Latakgomo 2006:26,28).

In *Sowetan: Celebrating 25 years of THE SOUL TRUTH*, Nelson Mandela pays tribute to this newspaper with a personal message in which he states that the Sowetan is “an independent mirror being held up to the doings of public representatives and indeed all role-players in the society” (2006:3). He also emphasises the importance of “the centrality of the media in a democracy” (2006:3). But who does the newspaper refer to when it claims to have been the “voice of the voiceless” (Latakgomo 2006:26)? Who were and are the voiceless? When the Sowetan was started it was a direct reference to the oppressed black people of apartheid South Africa. One only has to consider the newspaper’s name to understand the influence of South Africa’s past on the emergence of this prominent daily, a newspaper that can be
considered to be South Africa’s “biggest black daily” (Irwin Manoim 1996:96). The Sowetan is a constant reminder of the turmoil and violence that happened in Soweto on June 16th 1976 – and what the uprising meant to the fight against apartheid (Latakgomo 2006:28).

The uprising in Soweto seems to mark a turning point in journalism for black newspapers. Themba Molefe points out that before this unforgettable day “black newspapers were known for reporting sex, witchcraft and soccer”, but that “things changed when Sowetan was born” (2006:68). Until recently the Sowetan’s slogan was “Building the Nation”. Victor Mecoamere explains that this is not coincidence, but that this slogan was a direct reference to the Sowetan’s “Nation Building campaign” (2006:82). Basically, this campaign set out to empower the people most affected by the political turmoil of the 80s, and was in Mecoamere’s words, “a typically unusual answer by journalists to a great challenge” (2006:83). The newspaper’s slogan has changed over time to “THE SOUL TRUTH”, but it still holds on to the idea of building a united South African nation:

Sowetan was born to serve. Its first pay-off line was : “We Serve YOU”. It was a deliberately crafted line: We had to take what was a “free”, often frivolous knock-and-drop publication aimed at households in Soweto and turn it into a serious wider distribution newspaper. **We used the symbolism of Soweto to identify with the black struggle.** We committed to serve as the watchdog of society, exposing the dictatorial actions of the government of the time, the abuses of power so common, and the corruption of leadership. Above all, we committed to championing the cause of press freedom.

(Latakgomo 2006:28; bold by author)

During the first years of its existence, the Sowetan was in constant fear of being shut down as a result of the government’s strict censorship of news “coming out of the townships”
To the staff of the Sowetan it was clear that they and other “so-called ‘black’ publications” were the government’s main targets (Latakgomo 2006:28). According to Latakgomo the trials and tribulations of Sowetan’s past is what lead to it becoming a publication on which its readers could rely for nothing, but THE SOUL TRUTH, “Sowetan came to be known as “Our Own” newspaper. It became the newspaper people relied on to provide them with relevant news about matters that affect them daily” (2006:30). Therefore one can assume that, born out of adversity, Sowetan learned to adapt its form (and slogans) in order to be a voice not only for, but also to its people. Even though its readership might not be voiceless anymore, they are still faced with the memories (and after-effects) of the past out of which this newspaper was born.

The Sowetan is published and distributed by Avusa, a company which was known as Johnnic Communications Limited (Johncom) until November 2007. Avusa is an accredited Level 3 B-BBEE status company, which shows its affinity toward black empowerment and black interests. On the company’s official website their mission clearly states that they endeavour to “provide compelling content and create solutions that enrich lives” (Avusa 2012). Avusa also sets out to help "people to know more, do more and live inspired", and to “enrich society with quality information, education, entertainment and creative ideas” (Avusa, 2012). The company is, therefore, determined to please their consumers and in doing so also providing the best value for their shareholders. Another aspect considered to be important in achieving their mission is the reliability of the content of their media and entertainment. Thus, I can conclude that Avusa sets out to satisfy their consumers and stakeholders by providing reliable content that would ultimately please their readership.

From the previous discussion one can assume that the Sowetan focuses on a predominantly black readership, and yet this does not imply that the newspaper necessarily discriminates against other races. This newspaper was created as a struggle newspaper and the struggle-
movement mostly consisted of black South Africans – a part of the newspaper’s history that cannot easily be shaken, as it makes the newspaper what it is today. At about R4 the Sowetan is quite affordable and therefore, not limited to a specific economic class. As the newspaper was initially aimed at residents of the townships in and around Gauteng, the cost of the newspaper today implies that the newspaper does not necessarily set out to interest the elite or upper-class black South Africans. The newspaper in its printed form is available in Gauteng and not as easily accessible in other regions of South Africa. Therefore, the Sowetan's readership can be considered as black, lower- to middle-class South Africans residing in Gauteng. The Sowetan's readership can also be considered as mainly liberal ANC supporters, an important aspect to note as most of the SONAs in this study were delivered by Presidents of the ANC.

3.3.3. Mail & Guardian

More than [a] paper

First known as The Weekly Mail, this newspaper was started in 1985 by "a small group of journalists, most of whom had recently been retrenched from the Rand Daily Mail and the Sunday Express" (Shaun de Waal 2010:10). These journalists had been shocked at the closure of the aforementioned newspapers, through which the “liberals” had lost “their flagship” (Manoim 1996:2). The group started asking themselves what was keeping them from starting their own newspaper, as

there was a serious reason to be considering a new newspaper. In early 1985, South Africa was a frightened country, on the first part of a long slide into recession, violence and repression. White South Africa had locked itself away behind high walls. Outside, black South Africa was in rebellion, with a cross-country wave of strikes, boycotts and clashes with police that became bloodier each week. The newspapers reported on this, sporadically; they called it ‘unrest’, a term which implied
mayhem, crime and irrationality [...] we would start a newspaper that told South Africans the unsweetened truth about the country they lived in, painful or otherwise. It was not expected to grow rich or famous; merely to be an honest spectator.

(Manoim 1996:3-4)

Thus, this newspaper also came into existence in a time of emergency and ‘unrest’ within the country and very decidedly categorised itself as a liberal newspaper. At first The Weekly Mail was turned into a “private publication” with an “invented ‘Weekly Mail Society’” in order to side-step the difficulties of establishing a publication under the Newspaper Registration and Imprint Act (Manoim 1996:7). This means that initially the newspaper’s readership was limited to a selected few. But on May 10th 1985 the editors of the aspiring newspaper received a message from Home Affairs stating that they had only to pay a fee in order for their publication to be deemed an actual newspaper (Manoim 1996:11). The marketing campaign thus commenced, describing this new newspaper as “non-polemical, non-partisan, non-sexist, non-racist, non-escapist. No Charles ‘n Di ‘n Sol ‘n Anneline ‘n vicars ‘n knickers...” (Manoim 1996:10).

The fact that The Weekly Mail was registered as a ‘real’ newspaper also meant that it could come under the scrutiny of the then Minister of Home Affairs, Stoffel Botha. Botha appointed a committee of persons “who were assigned to spend their days reading through the country’s newspapers, sorting them according to criteria known only by themselves” (Manoim 1996:96). In 1987/88 certain leftist newspapers, including The Weekly Mail, were in danger of being suspended if any part of their content was found to cause any “unhappiness” among the members of this appointed committee (Manoim 1996:96). Therefore, the staff of The Weekly Mail started a campaign aimed at saving their newspaper, hoping that public support would prevent the newspaper from being suspended. In this campaign The Weekly Mail was described as a newspaper that “kicks at consciences. [And
that] does not throw bombs” (Manoim 1996:102). But in November 1988 the newspaper was suspended, even if it was only for a month. *The Weekly Mail* came back strong after its suspension and even attempted to become a daily in the years that followed Mandela’s release from prison,

> [a]n era in the paper’s life also came to an end in 1990 with the brief life-and-death of *The Daily Mail*: the attempt to “go daily” changed the ethos of the place from that of a small, tight-knit group flying by the seat of its pants into something broader and a little more like a conventional newsroom.

(de Waal 2010:10)

In the 90s *The Weekly Mail* merged with the London-based *Guardian* and became the *Mail & Guardian* as it is still known today. The newspaper remains a weekly publication, which meant that of the three newspapers used for this study it was most difficult finding articles on the SONAs in the *Mail & Guardian*, as the speeches were sometimes given at the end of the week, and the newspaper only appeared a week later.

Even though the newspaper had a difficult start and turbulent past it repositioned and reshaped itself to find its place within the mould of the ‘new’ South Africa. In 2002 Zimbabwean Trevor Ncube became a major shareholder in M&G Media and thus secured the title of the company’s new owner. Ncube recalls the difficulties of changing the public’s perceptions of the newspaper more than a decade after apartheid ended, “[t]here was a perception that the paper was anti-ANC and anti- anything that was black-owned and – managed. It may not have been accurate, but it was a very strong perception, and in life perception is reality” (2010:6). In *25 years of the Mail & Guardian* Ncube and de Waal also point toward the inquisitive intellect of their readership, as the newspaper is “a paper for readers who really like to read: there is a lot to read in this newspaper” (de Waal 2010:9);
and, at the *Mail & Guardian* they “have to ask [themselves]: Are we producing content that is compelling? […] Are we delivering quality audiences to advertisers?” (Ncube 2010:7). The *Mail & Guardian* went through many changes, but when considering its past it becomes clear that this newspaper was/is also created with a specific audience in mind. Ncube ends his foreword with the following description of the newspaper:

> We played a pivotal role in the fight against apartheid and through the transformation in South Africa, but I believe our greatest contribution to this country’s democracy is still ahead of us. As the heroes of the struggle backslide and are compromised, we will be called upon to protect democracy and the gains of the past 15 years.

(2010:7)

The publishing house (differential patronage) responsible for the print and distribution of the *Mail & Guardian* is M&G Media, a company owned by Guardian newspaper group (10%) and Trevor Ncube (87,5%), a Zimbabwean media owner and entrepreneur, the rest is made up of smaller shareholders (Mail & Guardian 2008). In order to better understand how the newspaper views its readership, I want to include the following description of its readers that is available on the website of the online version of *Mail & Guardian*:

> Niche market, interested in a critical approach to politics, arts and current affairs. Large numbers of readers among professionals, academics, diplomats, lobbyists, non-governmental groups. Regularly achieves the highest circulation percentage increases in the newspaper market.

(Mail & Guardian 2008)

It is therefore clear that this company focuses on producing a paper for an intellectual readership. The newspaper is expensive, at an estimated R21,50, but not limited to a
specific region in South Africa. The *Mail & Guardian*’s readership can therefore be considered as middle- to upper-class South Africans, inclusive of all races, and citizens who consider themselves to be intellectuals, or part of a professional class.

### 3.4. Conclusion

This chapter serves to provide descriptions of the source material and each of the newspapers used in this investigation. It is clear that each newspaper developed out of different circumstances and that these circumstances play an important role in the motives for the newspapers' styles and ideologies. However, it is also necessary to keep in mind that in order to survive, newspapers can easily adapt to changes, therefore the analysis provided in Chapter Three might not always be applicable to these specific newspapers. This study should then be considered as limited by temporality.
4. Analysis of relevant articles

4.1. Introduction

The following chapter looks at the effect of reframing the SONA in the selected newspapers on a macro level, short examples of micro-level framing are also included. Macro-level analysis focuses on the broader effect of reframing the source text. Ultimately, it is macro-level framing that influences the readers' opinions. The first section of this chapter is a review of Baker's most relevant arguments. This review also includes a brief look at Hatim and Mason's approach to micro- and macro-level analysis. Relevant newspaper articles are then analysed and in some instances compared to each other in order to identify the differences that point toward specific readership preferences. These differences ultimately highlight the ideologies of each newspaper and its readership and reveals whether there is an attempt to maintain a specific readership ideology. As it is part of the rewriter's (or translator's) task to act as an intermediary between different cultures and ideologies, the translator is at the centre of communicative activity and (s)he "takes on the role of mediator between different cultures, each of which has its own visions of reality, ideologies, myths, and so on" (Hatim and Mason 1990:236).

4.2. Comparing reframed rewritings to an ‘original’

The SONA can be described as a narrative that draws on global and public narratives to provoke the personal narratives of its audience. These personal narratives stimulate readers’ interests and focus their attention on how this speech can touch their lives. Public narratives become personal narratives when they directly affect the personal narratives that constitute each individual’s life. For example, a discussion of crime and crime prevention in South Africa would form part of a public narrative, but as soon as a South African has been
or is directly affected by an act of crime, (s)he will experience the discussion as a personal narrative. As Hatim and Mason argue, "[p]articularly in the case of culture-bound texts, the degree of intervention by the translator will often depend on consumers and their needs. This matter is not to be underestimated and may in certain cases even override ST communicative intentions" (1990:190). Therefore, one can argue that, in order to satisfy their readerships, the newspapers report on specific parts of the SONA that will best interest the public narratives of their readers. In the end, this type of rewriting is more a reflection of the newspaper's target readership than the actual SONA. This process also distorts the rewriter's role as mediator, as her/his task becomes infinitely more complex. Scholars should then study these texts as "particular instance(s) of language in social life" (Hatim and Mason 1990:238).

As a target narrative, the newspaper article sets out to guarantee reader interest. Therefore, each newspaper will draw on narratives that attract their target readership. The writers frame their articles within these specific narratives by drawing on specific features of narrativity as mentioned in Chapter One. These features include: particularity; selective appropriation; causal emplotment; normativeness; and relationality, but, can also draw on "practically any linguistic or non-linguistic resource, from paralinguistic devices such as intonation and typography to visual resources such as colour and image" (Baker 2006:111). Hatim and Mason also note the importance of the "major principles" needed to analyse rewritings, namely communicative transaction, pragmatic action and semiotic interaction (1990:236-238). The first principle is important to keep in mind for micro-analysis, whereas the last two are applied in this chapter.

It is necessary to further explore the implications suggested by Baker's approach, and therefore, it is also important to incorporate other elements of analysis that Baker draws on, but fails to discuss in-depth. Hatim and Mason take a deeper look at these elements as they
are included in their principles of analysis. The features I want to focus on are: intertextuality; social and conceptual interaction; and intended and final purpose. The elements referred to here are implied by Baker's narrative approach, but Hatim and Mason provide a more detailed framework to apply when analysing texts. For instance, a rewriter can use selective appropriation in relation to intertextuality to further frame her/his point of view. As mentioned in Chapters One and Two, the different features also draw on each other and are "highly interdependent" (Baker 2006:5). For this study it is necessary to analyse the content of the selected newspaper articles on a macro level to determine how the rewriters utilise the different narrative features to create the target narrative.

4.3. Narrativity as a framework

As all texts are inevitably embedded within different types of narratives, it is possible to suggest that narrative theory and framing are interdependent concepts. The rewriter should also be aware of any ideological constraints involved in the translation process, "text features must be viewed within the necessary social embedding of all texts, since items considered in isolation will inevitably lack a significant ideological import ... reflecting the ideological force of the words is an inescapable duty" (Hatim and Mason 1990:161). In order to make meaning of the world, we rely on a framework of narratives that constitute reality. By readjusting these narratives rewriters are enabled to reframe the original text, and the target text can then possess different narrative features.

In Baker's studies on reframing texts in a political light, she suggests that through the broad concept of framing "[narrative] features may be renegotiated to produce a politically charged narrative in the target context" (2006:105). Hatim and Mason also insinuate that wherever positions of power are concerned it is necessary to consider language usage, as "[t]ranslators and other professionals looking at language in terms of these complex social relations cannot fail to be aware of how language is implicated whenever the ability to use
certain genres, discourses, etc., becomes an instrument of power" (1990:161). By keeping this in mind, and utilising a method similar to Baker's, I want to suggest that journalists reframe the Presidents' speeches to produce reader-oriented narratives in the target context.

4.4. Particularity, selective appropriation and causal emplotment

Particularity is a narrative feature that draws on recognised story types, allowing the reader to grasp the meaning by associating the narrative with the specific story type indicated. In this sense, one can refer to Baker's concept of the 'master plot', that "[g]eneric story outlines in this sense are 'master plots', as understood by narrative grammarians and to some extent by folklore scholars – skeletal stories that combine a range of raw elements in different ways" (2006:93). This means that a rewriter can, by drawing on features of 'master plots', ensure that the meaning of the rewritten text is recalling a similar event or narrative – anything that might aid the reader in grasping the intended context, as "we submit that use of any given structure is motivated by the way text users react to context" (Hatim and Mason 1990:169). According to Baker, these 'master plots' are not separate from stereotypical narratives that are categorised as being "facts of life", or any other societal assumptions:

Even when left implicit, these particularizations of the narrative can be active in the form of taken-for-granted assumptions, because they form part of the default framework in which the specific narrative is embedded. When US Supreme Court Justice Louis Brandeis likened corporations to Frankenstein monsters in 1933, he was not just using a rhetorical ploy to capture the attention of his audience. Having signalled an analogy with a specific variant of a monster-out-of-control storyline, his audience could easily infer that '[g]overnments create corporations, much like Dr
Frankenstein created his monster, yet, once they exist, corporations, like the monster, threaten to empower their creators’ (Bakan 2004: 149).

Motifs and skeletal storylines within which the particularity of a narrative is realized shape our interpretation of events and discourses.

(2006:81)

Another example I want to briefly consider, shows how art and illustrations are also powerful mediums by which narratives can be realised and reframed to suggest opinions. This example is somewhat more politically charged and a lot closer to home. The illustration I refer to is Brett Murray's portrayal of President Jacob Zuma in his portrait called "The Spear". The portrait is considered controversial and resulted in mass media and public debate. This work of art, however, also draws on 'master plots' to further its own message and can ultimately be considered as a reframed construction of master plots. Firstly, the portrait of Zuma is an adapted version of a similar poster of Russian revolutionist Vladimir Yllich Lenin. The poster of Lenin was designed in 1967 by Viktor Ivanov and "captures the almost divine status by which Lenin was held in the Soviet Union" (Kowalski 1997:3). Lenin is depicted as tall and proud against a red background – a reference to communism. He is looking to the right, where a Soviet Union flag is flying. On his left is a message by Vladimir Maiakovskii in Russian – when translated into English it reads: Lenin lived, Lenin lives, Lenin will Live! In "The Spear" Zuma is depicted in a similar pose, with three noticeable differences: there is no Soviet Flag; there is no written message; Zuma is wearing the same outfit as Lenin, but Zuma's genitals are exposed. Two 'master plots' come to mind, the first being the freedom-fighter's accession to power and the after-effects, the second the myth of black men having large genitals.

Murray contorts this original 'text' to produce a reframed version that not only comments on the original, but uses the original idea to comment on current affairs. He uses both these
‘master plots’ to comment on the rise to power of the ANC, and in particular their current leader, Jacob Zuma, and his activities. The portrait is an ironic play on Lenin's poster and a portrayal of Zuma's lack of a ‘divine status’ within the South African public's mind. In this sense, the source material is given a timeless quality, the idea that it can be contorted and reframed to address issues regardless of the period in which they arise.  

4.4.1. Selectively appropriating the SONA

Since Mandela's election as the first black President of South Africa, shortened versions (or summaries) of the Presidents' SONAs are printed in the *Sowetan*. Where these speeches are at least seven pages long, the summaries can never really fill more than a few columns – therefore, it is to be expected that the speech is cut and tailored to fill the space allocated and touch on the issues that the *Sowetan*’s readers are interested in. But how does this process work? Who gets to decide what the most important issues are? The rewriter mentions at the end of the summary that "[t]his is an edited version of the President's address to Parliament on Friday" (Mandela 1999b:9), but the author is stated to be Nelson Mandela. Mandela was the original 'author' of the complete version of the speech, but he could not have had a hand in the reconstruction of this shortened version.

Summarising the SONA also brings Hatim and Mason's concept of "intertextual' hybridisation" to mind. This concept refers to the act of adapting a text to fit a new typology and fulfil a new purpose. Hatim and Mason explicate this phenomenon as occurring: "when, in subtle and highly intricate ways, a text is shifted to another type and made to serve another purpose without completely losing at least some of the properties of the original

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1 Consider the fact that any variation of the painting will not only be a reference to Murray's painting, but it will also be an indirect 'reframed' reference to Ivanov's poster and all that was implied by this poster. These reframed representations include Zapiro's cartoons and the latest addition, Ayanda Mabulu's *Umshini Wam [Weapon of Mass Destruction]*.
type" (1990:147). In the case of the summary, the text does not lose much on face level, and yet if macro level implications are considered the ST type and intentions are lost to a higher degree than it first seems. The information provided in the summary has been selectively appropriated with a definite goal in mind – reporting on the SONA and providing sufficient information for readers, whereas the President's goal with his speech was to comment on the state of the nation for a much wider audience nationally and internationally.

Selective appropriation goes hand in hand with another feature of narrativity, namely causal emplotment. This narrative feature can be considered important for any type of narrative that wants to succeed in sending out a coherent message – a message that makes sense conceptually. Basically this feature refers to interpreting or explaining and setting out the events in relation to each other. In other words, how the facts of the narrative are listed: "emplotment allows us to weight and explain events rather than simply list them, to turn a set of propositions into an intelligible sequence about which we can form an opinion" (Baker 2006:67). Through emplotment the writer should position events in such a way that the reader can grasp the message by considering the sequence of events. I consider selective appropriation and causal emplotment as complementary to each other, and both features are important for the following analysis.

In the same article as mentioned above (Sowetan's summary of Mandela's 1999 speech), the rewriter makes use of a few narrative features to frame Mandela's speech, particularly selective appropriation and causal emplotment. The rewriter titled the summary "Building a secure nation for all", and selected all the appropriate sections of the SONA that illustrated this assertion. For instance, in the SONA Mandela created the illusion of an on-going discussion on the state of the nation. He does this by including public responses, irrespective of their positive or negative effect on his assertions and comments. He specifically uses public responses to further his determination to prove that there is always
hope for improvements, and that success can only be reached if all South Africans stay positive, ",[a]nd major steps have been taken to deploy police where they are needed most. But the response is, where are the results!" (Mandela 1999a:4). The solutions are mentioned in the summary, but the responses are left out. Past issues and suggested solutions follow each other in the summary. Therefore, the illusion of a dialogue between the state and the people is missing, and the summary has the layout of a typical report on events.

The article is also affected by the ideologies that underpin the rewriter's use of language (Hatim and Mason 1990:161). And, in this case, by omitting the illusion of a dialogue the Sowetan excludes their readers from the discussion, and suggests that they are not considered to be the ones who are questioning the President's solutions. The rewriter further focuses attention on specific points discussed in the SONA by dividing the article into three sections through the use of subheadings. The first part can be considered as the introduction, the second part is titled "Major projects" and focuses on Mandela's plans of action, and the third part is about ridding the country of crime, and the title is "Crime syndicates" (Mandela 1999b:9). Even though other issues mentioned in the SONA are included in the summary, by highlighting these subjects the rewriter reveals what (s)he considers the most relevant for the newspaper readers' ideology. As Chapter Three shows, the Sowetan readership can be considered as ANC supporters (that would want to focus on the positive aspects of the SONA), they are mostly black, lower to middle-class citizens.

Mandela also makes an indirect call to South Africans not to forsake their country, to stay loyal to the shared cause of acceptance and rebuilding a nation that includes everyone,

We slaughter one another in our words and attitudes. We slaughter one another in the stereotypes and mistrust that linger in our heads, and the words of hate we spew
from our lips. We slaughter one another in the responses that some of us give to efforts aimed at bettering the lives of the poor. We slaughter one another and our country by the manner in which we exaggerate its weaknesses to the wider world, heroes of the gab who astound their foreign associates by their self-flagellation. This must come to an end. For, indeed, those who thrive on hatred destroy their own capacity to make a positive contribution.

(1999:9)

He also refers to his own removal from parliament, as he would retire later in the same year, "[t]he time is yet to come for farewells, as many of us – by choice or circumstance – will not return" (Mandela 1999a:1). But these sections are not included in the Sowetan's summary. Where these passages can serve as warnings to the public that if they do not work together they will not achieve a united South Africa, they are not considered important enough to include in the overly positive newspaper summary. Another example that shows that the rewriter of the summary wanted to portray the SONA in a overly positive light, is the way in which (s)he refers to Mandela's report on job creations. In the SONA Mandela reports on the government's attempts to create more jobs, and that they are succeeding, but that it is not an easy feat (1999:4-6). In the summary it is stated that, "public works programmes have created hundreds of thousands of jobs", but the rewriter omits Mandela's next words, "though some of them are temporary" (1999:6). The summary leaves the impression that the state of the nation is close to perfect, and that it can only improve – and that this is the actual opinion of the nation's leader.

The only article that really discusses Mandela's last SONA in the Mail & Guardian is titled "Only success will silence the whiners" (Barrel 1999:27). The illustration that accompanies this article is discussed later in this chapter. The author of the column, Howard Barrel, focuses his article on the reason for Mandela's call for hope, as hope is an important theme
throughout the SONA. According to the survey on key words (also included in this chapter in 4.5.2.), Mandela uses the word *hope* twenty two times. The following quotes are a few examples of the contexts in which he used the term (italicised by author):

**Example One**
"We *hope* that this year the planning and funding will be settled earlier in the year" (Mandela 1999a:3).

**Example Two**
"with regard to crime and job-creation – there is *hope*" (Mandela 1999a:4).

**Example Three**
"We can and shall break out of this bog. There is *hope*" (Mandela 1999a:4).

**Example Four**

communities and business-people have joined with police and cut the crime rate, and

you will know there is *hope*. Ask the kingpins of cash-in-transit heists who are in C-max and you will know there is *hope*. Ask the corrupt police who are facing various charges, and you will know there is *hope*. Even though the level of attacks is rather too high, assess the trends in farming communities after the Summit on this issue and you will know there is *hope*.

(Mandela 1999a:4)

**Example Five**
"Yet the public is within its rights to ask, if all is well, why is the economy shedding jobs: is there *hope*? Yes there is *hope*" (Mandela 1999a:6).
Example Six

"Our hope for the future depends also on our resolution as a nation in dealing with the scourge of corruption" (Mandela 1999a:8).

When one considers the important theme of hope that Mandela maintains throughout his speech, it is no wonder that a rewriter, reporting on the speech, would focus his article on this specific feature. However, Barrel adopts a different angle when reporting on Mandela's speech – he focuses Mandela's purpose for the theme of hope on a specific South African audience, the cynical whites. By selective appropriation, he creates the illusion that Mandela was in fact, directly addressing the issue of professional whites abandoning South Africa as a result of persisting issues, and their pessimistic views on the government's plans for improvement. Barrel introduces this thought by stating that he would not want Mandela's job of "placat[ing], encourag[ing] and cajol[ing] South Africa's five million whites", and that this is exactly what he [Mandela] was trying to do at his last opening of Parliament, "[t]here he was again last Friday, [...] at the opening of Parliament in Cape Town trying [...] to jolly whites up" (Barrel 1999:27). Barrel is insinuating that the SONA is more an act of maintaining a state of peace, than reporting on the actual state of the nation.

Barrel, to an extent, also betrays his own cynicism towards the government and the motive behind the SONA, as he questions the bond of trust between the assumed author and audience, "Mandela – or, perhaps a very good new speechwriter he seems to have got himself – got it right last Friday" (Barrel 1999:27). This shows that even though Barrel praises Mandela throughout his article, in the end, he has difficulty convincing himself that all the goals and solutions discussed in the speech are as honourable as they appear. Just by inserting this short phrase of doubt, Barrel plants the seed of suspicion within his readers' minds.
One of the articles on Mandela's 1999 SONA that ran in Die Burger was titled, "Mandela se rede stel teleur, sè opposisiepartye" [Mandela's address disappoints, says opposition parties] (Bigalke 1999:2). In order to justify this claim, Bigalke includes the opinions of a few, mainly 'white', opposition parties. Considering the positive articles that were published in Die Burger after Mandela's first SONA (analysis in Chapter Two on pages 87 to 91), this change of attitude is curious. The opening lines focus on the main disappointments of the speech, but does not state who is disappointed, just the broad idea that 'opposition parties' are disappointed (Bigalke 1999:2). Bigalke continues to quote the leader of the New National Party, Marthinus van Schalkwyk. In Chapter Three I considered Die Burger's previous ties with the National Party, and how this connection could have just as easily lead to their demise. Therefore, it is interesting that this publication still puts a lot of emphasis on the opinion of a party that, in the past, caused the public to question the newspaper's credibility (Louw, 2003; Wasserman, 2009:64). Most of the article is dedicated to the opinions of the NNP's leader and former Democratic Alliance frontman Tony Leon. At the end of the article, Bigalke briefly mentions the opinions of general Constand Viljoen, leader of the Vryheids Front, and Roelf Meyer deputy leader of the United Democratic Movement.

It is not necessary for Bigalke to quote all the opposition parties, or to provide an in-depth analysis of the reception of the SONA, but as she mentions that the SONA was labelled as a disappointment by all the opposition parties, a more inclusive report is expected, "[o]pposiepartye het gister eenparig pres. Nelson Mandela se laaste parlementêre openingsrede as teleurstellend bestempel" ["yesterday opposition parties unanimously labelled President Nelson Mandela's last SONA as disappointing"] (Bigalke 1999:2). The idea that this is the opinion of all the opposition parties manipulates the readers' perception of the SONA. Bigalke reframes the reception of the SONA by selective appropriation, causing readers to question their own receptions of the SONA.
4.4.1.1. Unintended selective appropriation

Most of the articles considered for this study do not contain long or a lot of direct quotes (except the Sowetan's summaries of the entire speech), and yet mistakes in the rewritings of directly quoted sections persist. The examples in this section focus on the implications of these "errors" that happen during the rewriting process. By depicting a false direct quote as an actual direct quote the rewriter is affecting the original to an extent, whether correcting grammar or spelling mistakes, or making new mistakes, the original message is reframed and ultimately received in a different way. Regard the following examples:

*Example One*

"...where people live..." (Zuma 2010:5)

"...where the people live..." (Majova 2010b:2)

The definite article in Majova's version makes the sentence, and in particular the noun, more specific. It is not merely people in general, but *the* people. The effect of this change is that it changes the focus of Zuma's statement to South African people in particular. According to Majova, Zuma is referring to the housing of the South African people. Zuma makes this reference to explain that his government "knows where people live, understands their needs and responds faster" (2010:5). And even though he is specific about why his administration should be aware of people's living conditions, his statement does not clearly indicate whose living conditions he is referring to. South Africans' living conditions are not all equal. What people are Zuma referring to? Zuma keeps his sentence open-ended, which allows the audience to come to their own conclusions, asking themselves whether they are part of this loose term "people". Majova attempts to make the sentence somewhat stronger by adding the definite article, but the phrase still lacks lucidity.
**Example Two**

The incorrect article:

"...a lone voice..." (Zuma 2010:2).

"...the lone voice..." (Sowetan reporter and Sapa 2010:2).

As mentioned in the example in Chapter Two (2.5), the change from the definite to the indefinite article reduces the noun in question to a regular thing, however, in this case the original text makes use of the indefinite article, whereas the rewritten text describes the voice as "the" only one. The "lone voice" is a reference to Helen Suzman's efforts to support the struggle against apartheid. The original version suggests that even though hers was "a lone voice", there was always the possibility of other voices that supported her – even though they might have been silent. The rewritten version, "the lone voice", implies that hers was the only voice that effected change. The change might seem insignificant as both versions portrays the importance of Suzman's role, but the distinction transferred by the rewritten version slightly changes the meaning behind the original phrase.

**Example Three**

"...our nation is in a good state"; "the nation is in a good state" (Motlanthe 2009:2).

""the nation is in a good state"" (Unknown 2009:14).

It is impossible to determine why *Die Burger*’s journalist only included Motlanthe’s reference to "the nation" and does not mention the fact that he used the same line, but with the slight change to "our nation". Only referring to "the nation" in the article is a small change, but this change makes a big difference to the meaning of the excerpt. The word 'our' is inclusive, and by referring to the nation as 'our nation' Motlanthe is including everyone, the rewritten version refers to the nation as an entity on its own – distancing it from the reader.
**Example Four**

This example is not a direct quote, but the rewriter of *Die Burger* manipulates the quote in order to be able to write the sentence as she chooses:

"These are some of the issues to which we will pay special attention during this year" (Mbeki 2008:9).

"Mbeki highlighted four issues the government would 'pay special attention to during this year'" (Groenewald 2008:7).

Mbeki includes the unspecified word "some" in his statement to indicate that these are not the only issues that are important, but Groenewald claims that there are only four issues that will receive special attention. Where Mbeki is careful to distinguish between less and more important issues, Groenewald insinuates that there are four specific issues that are more important to Mbeki. This insinuation will cause readers to believe that Mbeki did in fact distinguish between the importance of different issues.

**Example Five**

"I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain every sinew of our being – to respond to the national challenges of the day" (Mbeki 2008:15).

"'Ek glo Suid-Afrikaners kan die uitdagings die hoof bied en dat ons bereid is om elke greintjie van ons wese daarvoor in te span,' het hy ... gesê" (de Lange 2008:1).

De Lange's version of the President's speech in *Die Burger* makes no reference to the past, and Mbeki specifically states that South Africans can meet the "challenge of history"; this reference recalls the public narrative of apartheid's difficult legacy. In the translation, an excerpt that de Lange depicts as a direct quote, there is no reference to the past, therefore the allusion to the collective apartheid narratives is lost. However, one can also argue that
this allusion is not intended for the Afrikaans reader, as s(he) might not share these specific apartheid narratives.

**Example Six**

"We are a minerals resource economy" (Mbeki 2008:6).

"Ons is ‘n mineraalryke ekonomie" (Essop 2008:2).

Essop's article in *Die Burger* describes the South African economy as being rich in mineral resources, where Mbeki suggests that the South African economy is supported by mineral resources. The difference is obvious, Mbeki never mentioned that the country is rich in mineral resources – in fact, his statement can almost serve as a warning – that South Africans should be more careful with their mineral resources as the country's economy will not be strong without it. Essop's rewritten phrase on the other hand, insinuates that the country is rich in its mineral resources, and again the tones associated with the President's words are lost to the readers of the article.

**Example Seven**

The end of the 80s marked a turbulent time in South Africa's history (Russell 2009:135). The country was on the brink of a civil war. A few key players were, however, fighting to prevent the violence which was expected and started negotiating ways to change South Africa's constitution peacefully (Russell 2009:xiv). One of these players was the last white South African President, F.W. de Klerk. He became the leader of the National Party (NP) in 1989 after the abdication of P.W. Botha (Russell 2009:ix&134). De Klerk gave his last opening of parliament speech on the 28th of February 1994, two months before the first democratic election in South Africa and the subsequent election victory for the African National Congress. His final opening speech (SONA) was filled with appeals to all the people of South Africa – appeals that they should unite in making the transition into a
democracy a peaceful one. De Klerk used his speech to conciliate all the parties involved in securing a democratic state. He started his speech by stating that “important amendments” will be made to the Constitution of South Africa and that the election campaign that lies ahead should be regarded as “the most crucial [...] of our national history” (De Klerk 1994:1). As a supporter of the National Party, *Die Burger* included many articles discussing the President’s speech; rephrasing them so that the readers might comprehend their import.

On page nine of *Die Burger* an overtly positive article discusses De Klerk’s motives and goals. The main subjects of the article is the on-going negotiations between the different parties and the importance of participation in the national election. The article is overtly positive, stating that “[p]artye in nasionale vergadering sal hul belange kan bevorder” [parties in national assembly will be able to further their interests], and “alle partye in die nasionale vergader sal in ’n goeie posisie wees om hul belange en doelwitte in die voortgaande grondwetlike debat te bevorder” [all parties in the national assembly will be in a good position to further their interests and goals in the ongoing constitutional debate] (*Die Burger* 1994:9). The article includes excerpts from the end of De Klerk’s SONA. In his SONA De Klerk declares that,

Our society was deeply divided;
We were on the brink of conflict;
Our country was ostracised and isolated;
Our economy was in a hopeless, downward spiral.
During the past four years we have succeeded in breaking out of this hopeless situation. [...] When we awake on 29 April we will be freer than we have ever been before. Let us therefore now **move forward**.

(De Klerk 1994:8; bold by author)
In *Die Burger*, the article’s ending can be considered as a close direct translation of the above paragraph of De Klerk’s SONA. There is however, one small discrepancy which I would like to point out. De Klerk ends by saying, "[l]et us therefore now move forward" (De Klerk 1994:8; bold by author), and yet in the article this sentence is translated as "[l]aat ons nou vorentoe gaan" (*Die Burger* 1994:9; bold by author). Directly translated, one would expect move to be translated as beweeg. Instead the rewriter chooses gaan, which can be directly translated as go. This is not a mistake, as broadly speaking the meanings of both words are very similar. But there are also different connotations attached to the two words – both refer to a state of movement, and yet move suggests that one is moving away from – or finding a solution for one’s problems – putting in more effort; whereas go could simply refer to moving forward, progression – not looking back, but fixed in one’s ways.

4.4.2. Framing through suggestion

Newspaper cartoons also rely on master plots to conceptualise their meanings, as the following section reveals. On the fifth of February 1999 Nelson Mandela gave his final State of the Nation address. He opened his speech by stating that the peaceful transition from an apartheid government to a democratic republic can be considered as something of a miracle (Mandela 1999a:1). He continues to suggest that the main struggles of the past have been resolved thanks to the effort of all South Africans,

[t]here can be no equivocation that the majority of South Africans, coalesced around our founding pact, are outgrowing the apprehensions which required the convoluted "structural guarantees" of the first few years. Though we might differ on method, it has become a national passion to pronounce commitment to a better life for all.

(Mandela 1999a:2)
The *Mail & Guardian* that appeared a week later did not have any direct commentaries on the SONA, however, an article with the heading "Only success will silence the whiners" contained a discussion of the SONA and the President's position (an in-depth discussion of this article can be found on page 115). The article was accompanied by the following cartoon:

![Cartoon](Mail & Guardian 1999:27)

In his article Howard Barrell claims that he would not want to be Nelson Mandela, because of the tremendous burden of having to "placate, encourage and cajole South Africa's five million whites" (1999:27). He refers to Mandela's attempt at this during his speech the previous Friday night,

[Mandela was] trying, among other things, to jolly whites up. There was cause for hope, he declared, as he set about pushing all the right buttons: language and culture would be protected; economic management would continue to follow prevailing international orthodoxies; crime would be beaten and personal security improved; and progress was being made in education and health.

(Barrell 1999:27)
In his report, Barrell focuses on the parts of the speech that refers to the South Africans' (and more specifically white South Africans') unwillingness to work together to build a nation, that they are endeavouring to "conduct war by other means" (1999:27). By "other means" he is referring to Mandela's suggestion that South Africans are slaughtering one another with words (Mandela 1999a:9). Barrell concludes that many of the problems that are causing white South Africans' unhappiness are solvable, but that "[t]here is no guarantee of success. Success is something we will have to make" (1999:27; bold by author). The theme of hope is evident throughout Mandela's SONA and can be considered as his main theme on the eve of his retirement – a hope he has for the future of the country he has devoted much of his life to. By highlighting this specific theme Barrell is not only framing the SONA in this light, but he is also creating a collective nostalgia among his readership. A yearning for a South Africa that never was, but that could be. A South Africa that there is hope for.

The cartoon that accompanies this article, supports his argument, while at the same time criticizing the idea behind it. The Mandela depicted in the cartoon seems old, resigned and nearly on the verge of giving up (in reality he was on the verge of giving over his position to Thabo Mbeki), and the person representing South African whites is looking rather dubious. The offering, a 'nation building' hardhat, pick and shovel might not be sufficient material to convince the whites. The irony that accompanies the illustration further ridicules the situation – the master plots of colonialism, apartheid and so on, of the white man telling the black man what to do are inversed, here it is the white man who receives working gear from the black man, even though he (the white man) does not seem willing to accept it. This inversion is also further commentary on this particular period in South African history, a time of change, where the master plots of the past should be questioned. The cartoon is subtle, but effective as it supports the ultimate point the article is making, that success for a united South African nation is possible, but not guaranteed, as it requires a team effort of national proportions, and ultimately for the white man to accept this reversed role.
4.4.3. Framing through intertextuality

Another way to point readers in the direction of a 'master plot' is through the incorporation of intertextuality, "the process whereby a text goes back to what precedes it, adding to its ideologically neutral form the whole underlying volume of signification which accrues from experience, awareness, etc. This is in sum the function of intertextuality" (Hatim and Mason 1990:121). Through the use of intertext a rewriter compares an original narrative to an existing plot – and immediately draws the reader's attention to the narrative features of this plot, ultimately shaping her/his interpretation of the target text, "[m]otifs and skeletal storylines within which the particularity of a narrative is realized shape our interpretation of the events and discourses" (Baker 2006:81). Intertextuality also plays an important role in not only shaping readers' attitudes, but also in betraying writers' attitudes, "[i]ntertextuality, or the way texts rely on each other, is a semiotic dimension which is powerful in reinforcing social attitudes" (Hatim and Mason 1990:238).

Selective appropriation, as discussed earlier, further allows the rewriter to decontextualise a set of events by representing parts of the narrative within a new context, the rewriter is in effect, selecting certain parts of an event and excluding others in order to "elaborate a coherent narrative" (Baker 2006:71). And ultimately, "all stories are selective representations of reality" (Baker 2006:75). Selective appropriation is unavoidable in the retelling of a story, but Baker warns against the effect of "deliberate selective appropriation" (2006:75-76). Hatim and Mason explain however that "behind the systematic linguistic choices [the rewriter] make[s], there is inevitably a prior classification of reality in ideological terms" (1990:161). As Hatim and Mason refer to the importance of predominant ideologies, it becomes clear that it is impossible for rewriters to not selectively appropriate texts, especially if the target texts are newspaper articles. In the examples used to conduct this study, I can only assume that the rewriters deliberately selected specific parts of the speeches to justify their target texts, as I cannot provide definitive proof, only analysis and
assumptions – and my opinion is also affected by my own ideology and position within the community.

The front page of the *Mail & Guardian* that appeared on February 12th 2010, uses different images and captions to comment on Zuma's SONA. In the centre of the page is a big photograph of Jacob Zuma, wearing an ANC cap and a playful smile, with the heading 'The state of Jacob Zuma' written right next to his head. Other images included on the page are a photograph of Mandela, fist lifted, with the heading 'When Madiba walked free' written next to him, and a photograph of a graffiti artist next to his drawing with 'State of spray' written as the heading. Even though the story about the graffiti artist has nothing to do with the SONA, the simple use of the heading "State of spray" is an indirect signifier of the state of the nation address – this is deduced from the articles on the SONA included in this publication, as they only focus on Zuma's personal life, with more than one reference to his promiscuity.

The words 'state of' immediately references the 'state of the nation', as this event would be foremost in the *Mail & Guardian* readers' minds after reading the main heading, and 'spray' could allude to the following concepts: shower; scatter; liquid particles – and in this case could remind readers of Zuma's sexual exploits, especially since he is commonly portrayed by well-known South African illustrator Zapiro with a showerhead stuck on the back of his own head (as a result of previous sexual misconduct) (www.zapiro.com). The graffiti that appears below the "State of spray" heading can be perceived as a representation of Julius Malema. However, even if this assumption holds significant implications for this analysis, I must reiterate that it is merely an assumption and I cannot provide sufficient evidence to prove this claim. If the art is a representation of Malema, it could direct the reader's attention towards the state of Zuma and Malema's relationship at the time. In 2010 Malema was still an avid Zuma supporter and 'spray' could be a hint at the way he used his words to show his support.
The fact that the newspaper is focusing more on the state of the President than the state of the nation shows that they believe the President's personal issues to be of more interest than the redundant issues of the nation. That the President is in fact more busy with his personal life than with solving the problems of the nation. It is also an indication that their commentary is more concerned with Zuma's personal performance than his actual report.

(Mail & Guardian 2010:1)

The Sowetan also used Zuma's personal life to comment on his first SONA. On 11 February 2010 President Jacob Zuma delivered his first SONA; the next day the cartoon on page 16 in the Sowetan commented on Zuma's speech, or more specifically on Zuma's personal life. The cartoon depicts a father and son sitting on a couch in front of the television. There is a speech bubble emanating from the father's head in which the following is written: “That's President Jacob Zuma son, undressing the nation. I mean addressing the nation...” (Yalo
In order to understand the irony of this message one needs to do some research on what was happening in Zuma's personal life during that time. In the beginning of 2010 rumours were spreading that Zuma had fathered a love child, and that the mother was no other than his "old friend" Irvin Khoza’s daughter (Mail & Guardian online 2010). What was even more news-worthy, was that, apparently, this was Zuma’s twentieth child. It is no wonder then that his personal affairs would affect the commentary on his speech. The artist of the cartoon is cleverly using a slip-of-the-tongue ambiguous statement to refer to Zuma’s indiscretions, and by doing this he also comments on Zuma’s role as part of the South African nation. In this commentary it appears that Zuma is well-known for his polygamy, instead of his speech-making skills. Also reflecting the fact that people are watching the SONA in their homes, many with their families, which include young children – showing that Zuma's actions are common knowledge to an unrestricted audience of South Africans.

(Yalo 2010:16)

The same can be said about the cartoon that appeared in the Sowetan after Kgalema Motlanthe’s first and only SONA. At about the same time, rumours spread of Motlanthe’s illicit affair with an unknown woman – and the cartoon uses his silence on the matter against him. The journalist asks Motlanthe to comment on the rumours, but instead of holding the microphone to his mouth, the journalist points it at his penis. An indication that the journalist believes that the nation is not interested in what Motlanthe has to say, but instead look
towards his actions to reveal his character. As this cartoon appeared right after the SONA, it also comments on how Motlanthe’s SONA was received by the nation, that his words did not carry a lot of meaning. This shows that even though the Sowetan is aimed at liberal ANC supporters, they also believe their readers to be inquisitive and want to keep them alert and focused on the end goal – even though Motlanthe is interim President, he is not going to be the President, therefore, his words (or lack thereof) should be scrutinised. These cartoons also hint at the fact that even though Zuma might not be acting appropriately, at least he is being honest about his past discretions and taking responsibility as a President should, whereas Motlanthe reverts to silence.

![Cartoon](image)

(Yalo 2009:12)

The next cartoon that uses intertextuality to reframe the narratives of the SONA appeared with the article titled ‘Can Thabo be a good Machiavelli’ in the Mail & Guardian of 25 June – 1 July 1999, on the day that Thabo Mbeki gave his first SONA. Therefore, it is possible to assume that listeners/readers of the SONA would have read the article before hearing/reading the SONA for the first time. This article and the cartoon would then affect the way in which they perceive the speech. What is most notable about this cartoon and article, is the reference to Niccolò Machiavelli. Machiavelli was considered as an expert on
politics in 15th century Italy and is well known today for a pamphlet he wrote called "The Prince". Cary Nederman discusses Machiavelli's thoughts on government in his article "Niccolò Machiavelli":

For Machiavelli, there is no moral basis on which to judge the difference between legitimate and illegitimate uses of power. Rather, authority and power are essentially coequal: whoever has power has the right to command; but goodness does not ensure power and the good person has no more authority by virtue of being good. Thus, in direct opposition to a moralistic theory of politics, Machiavelli says that the only real concern of the political ruler is the acquisition and maintenance of power (although he talks less about power per se than about "maintaining the state.")

(2009:1)

According to Nederman, Machiavelli argues that a ruler, in this case the South African President, will do anything to acquire and maintain her/his seat of power. There is, however, an on-going debate that Machiavelli made these statements merely to gain favour with the ruling family of that period, and that in reality his political genius is often overlooked because of his association with corrupt politics (www.ctbw.com/lubman). The artist of the Mbeki cartoon uses the uncertainty that goes with the appointment of a new leader to illustrate this
debate. The writer of the article furthers the association by suggesting that Mbeki has wonderful ideas for his term as President, but that the public has yet to find out whether he will continue to strive towards his goals, or merely please his party so that he can maintain his seat of power.

Mangcu includes another important intertextual reference in this article, a reference to the 1964 Bob Dylan song 'The Times They Are A-Changin'. In the third column of the article Mangcu mentions Mbeki's choice to appoint Nkosazana Zuma, saying that this appointment "sends out a strong message to the male-dominated foreign-policy establishment that 'the times are a-changing'" (1999a:23). The quote is not the exact phrase, but it is close enough to realise that it is a reference to Dylan's song. What is more, is that Dylan's song, 'The Times They Are A-Changin', is considered to be a protest song, supporting the fight for equality (Roberts 2005:51-52), a fight that Mbeki also appears to support by Nkosazana Zuma's appointment in cabinet. Here it is necessary to consider the implications of intertextuality, because intertextuality can become complex, "as Barthes points out, cultural connotations and knowledge structures are incorporated into an intertextual reference. In this broader definition, intertextuality exercises an active function and entails the view that texts are never totally original or particular to a given author" (Hatim and Mason 1990:124).

In order for readers to grasp the broader context, we need to consider the cultural connotations and knowledge structures attached to the Dylan reference. 'The Times They Are A-Changin' was "inspired by the murder of Medgar Evers, a civil rights worker who was killed in 1963 [and] in the song Dylan suggested that everyone has a responsibility to work for equality" (Roberts 2005:52). By including this reference in his article, Mangcu is not only encouraging the readers to acknowledge Mbeki's appointment as an act of human rights activism, but also broadly referencing the 'Master Plot' of the black man's struggle against oppression, the fight for human rights and equality for all, the revolutionary concepts of
liberté, égalité, fraternité. The idea that as the leader of the nation it is Mbeki’s responsibility to ensure equal rights for all, and that he is not only already supporting this effort, but also doing it in the manner of the peace-loving countercultural freedom fighters.

The cartoon that appeared in the following week's newspaper (after the SONA) furthers Mbeki’s connection to medieval Europe and Machiavelli. During his time in parliament, Mbeki initiated an undertaking dubbed "the African Renaissance". In his 1999 speech he makes the following reference to this programme,

I am happy to inform the Honourable Members that former minister, Jay Naidoo, will continue to work in this sector to assist in its further development domestically and to promote the African Connection, which is a critical element of the African Renaissance.

(Mbeki 1999:6)

The use of the term ‘renaissance’ also links Mbeki to 15th century Italy, as this is considered the birthplace of the original Renaissance movement.

The Renaissance, or the Revival of Letters, is the name by which we distinguish the period which saw the revolt of the intellect of Europe against Mediaevalism in all its forms, political, ecclesiatical, philosophical, and literary. It has correctly enough been called a 'Humanistic' revival; but the word 'Humanistic', if it is to be a true designation, must be interpreted broadly and not be confined to the revived interest in Litterae Humaniores.

(Simon S. Laurie 1968:3)
The article discussing Mbeki’s idea for an African Renaissance is titled: "The potential for Thabo's 'renaissance'" (Mangcu 1999b:21). Both of the articles Mangcu wrote for the *Mail & Guardian* discussing Mbeki and his SONA reference important events of 15th century Europe. One article appeared before the SONA and one a week after – therefore they can be considered as neatly encompassing the SONA. By repeatedly connecting Mbeki to the intellectual movements of 15th century Europe, the author of both articles, Xolela Mangcu, is actually framing Mbeki as an intellectual – that he has the potential to be a force to be reckoned with, and could steer not only the country, but also the continent in a better direction. That Mbeki could lead Africa into a new era, such as the progressive era Europe experienced during the Renaissance,

[t]hus Europe passed out of a period of dogmatic and ecclesiastical bondage into the freer life of the modern world by very gradual steps, and found itself unawares in a new intellectual attitude to life and possessed by a higher faith in human capacities and possibilities.

(Simon S. Laurie 1968:6)

(Dr Jack 1999b:21)
The fact that these rewriters make use of complex intertextual references point toward their belief that their readership is made up of intellectuals and professional, well-read citizens. Citizens who will therefore be able to understand the allusions the rewriters make.

4.5. Normativeness, breach and narrative accrual

A reader of a local newspaper expects to read content that is not only relevant to her/his situation in life, but to also read content that is 'normal' for a newspaper to run – the content should be in the reader’s preferred language, and should be written in a style that is generally considered acceptable for the chosen genre. Hatim and Mason state that defining text type and staying close to the predefined characteristics of the chosen typology are important as text type "is a conceptual framework which enables us to classify texts in terms of communicative intentions serving an overall rhetorical purpose" (1990:140). The content of the ST is also adapted so that it is intelligible for the reader – the reader can easily make meaning of what is said, and the context is recognisable, as the way in which the readers react to the context is what ultimately drives the choices behind the text structure (Hatim and Mason 1990:169). The rewriter must, however, to a certain extent also retain a certain degree of 'strangeness' to the text as it is a rewritten/translated text (and not the original), but to a degree that it is still considered acceptable by the reader (Baker 2006:99). The process of rendering content intelligible for a specific target audience is called normativeness.

While I was collecting research material for this study, I noticed that over the course of sixteen years, the way in which the selected newspapers reported on the SONA has changed considerably. Recently newspapers have started devoting a lot more space to reports on this event. In 1994 only Die Burger reported extensively on the SONA, with many front and second page articles dedicated to the President's speech, and other issues regarding this event. More recently, since the early 2000s, including reports, headings and illustrations on front page and throughout the paper have become a trend for all three
newspapers concerned. In this way, readers have come to expect extensive reporting on
the SONA, accepting the narratives of the SONA and everything it entails, as a
representation of the reality that affects their lives. Therefore, the narratives recalled by the
SONA, and the narratives that include the SONA have reached a degree of normativeness
for the readers of the selected three newspapers.

Narrative accrual is what happens when readers are repeatedly exposed to the same
narratives, up to the point where these narratives lead to shaping the way in which the
readers (affected persons) perceive reality. As Baker points out, "we might redefine
narrative accrual more broadly as the outcome of repeated exposure to a set of related
narratives, ultimately leading to the shaping of a culture, tradition or history" (2006:101). In
South Africa's case our view of the nation is firmly anchored in a collective past, fuelled by
recurring narratives about apartheid.

An example that can be considered as narrative accrual in the SONAs used for this study, is
the repeated reference to the after-effects of apartheid. This is done to the effect that the
lasting effects of apartheid and the state of the South African nation can be considered as
cause and effect. References to apartheid and the lasting effects this discriminative regime
of the past has on the current state of affairs have become a common occurrence in the
SONA. This is not surprising, as apartheid was the main cause for the ANC's struggle,
therefore, references to the narratives of apartheid are part of the party's reality and what
shape their own understanding of their position within the South African nation. And yet, the
fact that these narratives still play such an important part in the President's account of the
state of the nation, also adds to the framework of narratives that complete this speech – and
therefore, not mentioning apartheid or related narratives in the SONA, would in effect
question the authority behind the speech. The following examples are taken directly from
the SONAs used for this investigation.
Example One

In his 1994 SONA Mandela makes the following reference:

That partnership requires, among other things, that our labour law be reformed so that it is in line with international standards, apartheid vestiges are removed and a more harmonious labour relations dispensation is created, on the basis of tripartite cooperation between government, labour and capital.

(7)

Mandela also continues to reference the past and the country’s history throughout his speech. The survey in Chapter Four shows that Mandela used the word past four times in his speech, and each time he is referring to the legacy of apartheid (1994:4,6,8). Most of the articles on the SONA that appeared in Die Burger the following day fail to mention apartheid.

Example Two

Thabo Mbeki (2008:2) also reference apartheid in his SONA, as he mentions in his salutations that, "[w]e are also privileged to have among us Ms Jann Turner, the daughter of Rick Turner who was murdered by apartheid agents 30 years ago". He goes on to finish his speech by presenting South Africans with the following challenge: "I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain every sinew of our being – to respond to the national challenges of the day" (2008:15). By juxtaposing the challenges of history and the challenges of [to]day, Mbeki is indicating that the current challenges the state has to face, are a direct product of the challenges caused by South Africa’s past.
Example Three
Kgalema Motlanthe does not directly refer to apartheid, instead he uses the collective memory of past divisions to show South Africans the progress the country has made: "[a]bove all, I stand before you with pride and confidence that the South Africa we celebrate today – worlds apart from the divisions, conflict and exclusion of a mere 15 years ago – is a product of the labours and toils of South African women and men from all walks of life" (2009:1). In this way he employs the public and personal narratives of the past, and reframes them within a new context in order to create a collective feeling of pride in a nation that has risen above the divisions of the past.

Example Four
In Zuma’s first SONA he refers to apartheid on three counts. Firstly, he salutes those who helped make apartheid unfeasible, "[y]ou will off course recall that the masses of this country, in their different formations, responded with determination to the call to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable" (2010:1). In his second reference he continues to pay tribute to the South Africans who stood up to the discriminative apartheid government, "[t]hey became a symbol of the sacrifices of many who bore the brunt of apartheid" (Zuma 2010:2). And, finally, he continues to thank those members of the apartheid government who realised that this type of government had no future, "[o]n this special day, we must also acknowledge the contribution of those within the leadership of the National Party, who eventually realised that apartheid had no future" (Zuma 2010:2). By referring to the different role-players, all who played an important part towards attaining a democratic government and a united nation, but who are also from very different parts of society, Zuma attempts to unite the nation through past narratives of division. The idea that all these different players worked individually, but towards fulfilling the same goal, might inspire a modern audience to do the same. Rossouw, in her article in the Mail & Guardian notes that, "[i]n a gesture borrowed from Mandela, Zuma made a specific effort to rekindle
the ethos of racial reconciliation, recognising for their role in ending apartheid figures like FW de Klerk, PW Botha" (2010:4), an indication that the readers of the Mail & Guardian should also consider this type of narrative accrual as Zuma's attempt to unite the nation. Overall, however, as opposed to the SONAs, most of the newspaper articles used for this study steer clear of apartheid references, indicating that readers are not interested in the past, but in the present and future state of the nation.

4.6. Public and personal narratives: the effect of temporal and spatial framing

Public and personal narratives are discussed in depth in Chapter Two, but in short, personal narratives refer to the stories each individual personally uses to shape the reality of her/his life, whereas public narratives are created, supported and defended by the power structures that benefit from the perspectives invoked by them (Baker 2006:33). Temporal and spatial framing simply refers to the way in which these narratives are embedded in a specific sequential time frame so as to be intelligible to the reader/listener. The following section delves deeper into the effects of public narratives on personal narratives (and vice versa) and the application of temporal and spatial framing.

4.6.1. Term patterns

Anthony Pym (2012) suggested that I do a corpus study in which I search for the most common words within the SONAs. These words will then help to determine the main concerns of the SONAs and whether they have changed over time, or if there is a repetitive pattern. In Chapter One I determined that a speaker uses specific frames to help reveal the meaning of the content of their narratives – and it is the use of these frames that help determine "how speakers mean what they say" (Tannen and Wallat 1993:60; in Baker 2006:105). With this in mind it is possible to suggest that by using recurrent words the
speaker is framing his narrative. By using the same method, future speakers could then repeat these words to recall the public narratives of the past, and frame their speeches according to a specific genre – which in this case means that they could frame their speeches as SONAs. As electronic version of all the SONAs used in this investigation were available, I conducted this investigation electronically by using the "find" function on my computer. In order to eliminate irrelevant frequently used terms, I first had to determine which words are most prominent and could be considered as relevant to the purpose of this study.

The Afrikaans terms in the list of key words should not be considered as equivalents of the English terms, I only used these specific translations as some of them appeared in the Afrikaans sections of F.W. de Klerk's speech. Different forms of the root are also included in the results. The terms that do not appear in De Klerk's speech are only given in English.

List of key words:

A. Power/Mag
B. Participation/Participating/Deelname/Deelnemende
C. Peace/Vrede
D. History/Geskiedenis
E. Constitution/Grondwet/Konstitusionele
F. International/Internasionaal
G. Freedom/Vryheid
H. People-centred
I. Build
J. Develop/Ontwikkel
K. Democracy/Demokrasie
L. Transition/Oorgang
M. Transform/Transformation
N. Nation/Nasie
O. Change/Verandering
P. Hope/Hoop
Q. Jobs
R. Households/Housing
S. Crime
T. Health
U. Education
V. African/Afrikaan ≠ Afrikaner
W. All/Alle
X. Reality/Werklikheid/Realiteit

SONAs:

1. De Klerk 1994
2. Mandela 1994
3. Mandela 1999a
4. Mbeki 1999
5. Mbeki 2008
6. Motlanthe 2009
7. Zuma 2010
The results are displayed in the tables below:

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After studying the results it becomes apparent that many of the terms are recurrently used to frame the themes of the SONAs. It is now also possible to determine the most prominent words, and therefore compare these words to the topics of the articles used for this study.

The most prominent words (that appear in all of the SONAs) are (the columns highlighted in red):

A – Power/Mag
B – Participation/Participating/Deelname/Deelnemende
F – International/Internasionaal
J – Develop/Ontwikkel
K – Democracy/Demokrasie
N – Nation/Nasie
O – Change/Verandering
P – Hope/Hoop
V – African/Afrikaan
W – Alle/All
The effect these terms had on the SONA as well as the newspaper articles that followed are discussed in more detail in the next sections.

4.6.1.1. Lexicon

In the following section I consider the implications of repeating specific terms within the SONAs, and I also pay attention to the effect of significant terms that are included in the newspaper articles. These terms can be regarded as framing the context of the SONA, but in order to determine the nature of the context, a discussion of the text types and their effect on the text as a whole is necessary. Hatim and Mason point out that terminologies should be considered as "vehicles of culture" (1990:237). Therefore a deeper look at the use of terms would reveal valuable details about the ideologies of the writers, as well as the intended readership, as lexical choice "demonstrate[s] the discursive processes at work which reflect the ideological position of the users" (Hatim and Mason 1990:163).

Emotive words are used to draw a readers' attention to a personal narrative, as the content will have an emotional effect on them. Frequently used words that can be categorised as emotive words include the following: "participate", "develop", "nation", "change", "hope", "African" and "all". In this context most of these terms allude to the development of an inclusive South African community. Building an inclusive South African nation is an emotional issue as it touches on the country's troubled past. These terms also serve to unite the listeners/readers – encouraging them to believe in the possibility of a South African nation that embraces all its citizens as well as looking after their needs.

The number of emotive words used whenever (most of) the newspapers report on Nelson Mandela is notable. Mandela was South Africa's first democratically elected and black President. Instead of inciting civil war, he supported a peaceful transition and advocated a
better South Africa for all – an all-inclusive South African nation. The reports on Mandela attempt to recall these associations (many of these articles refer to him by the beloved nickname, Madiba): "The Hero: Former President Mandela waves from the public gallery in Parliament yesterday" (Sowetan 2010:1), "Songs of praise and cheers for Madiba" (Sowetan reporter and sapa 2010:2), "When Madiba walked free" (Mail&Guardian 2010:1), "Mandela se selfspot laat vol Parlement skater [Mandela's self mockery causes full Parliament to burst into laughter] (Die Burger 1999:11), and "SA het Hop vir die siel nodig" [SA needs RDP of the soul] (Swart 1999:2).

A writer can strengthen her or his language by avoiding exaggeration and focusing on the force or intensity of the words (s)he uses. A few of the most frequently used terms in the SONAs can be considered as forceful words that serve to grab hold of the readers' attention. Terms such as "power", "international" and "democracy". All these terms reference concepts that possess the possibility of affecting the reader's reality. In a political context, "power" and "democracy" also refer to South Africa's political past. These terms are all closely connected to underlying fears of many South African citizens, by including them in the SONA the speaker grabs hold of the listener's attention in addressing her/his fear.

Strengthening also occurs in the headlines of the newspaper articles. For example in Zuma's 2010 SONA he stated that ministers progress will be more strictly managed as they "will sign a detailed delivery agreement with the President [Zuma]" (2010:6). In the Sowetan the following headline appeared in connection with this statement, "'DELIVER OR YOU'RE OUT' President J. Zuma tells ministers..." (2010:1). Strengthening Zuma's statement forces the readers to notice the implications of Zuma's words. In a way, the newspaper also transforms the phrase into a warning, and thus showing the high regard this publication and its readership have for the President's powerful role.
4.6.2. Within the frame of the newspaper article

As stated earlier, readership plays an important role in the negotiation of texts, therefore it is no great surprise that readers’ expectations come into consideration when framing translated texts. This is what Baker refers to as schema or schemata, readers' “expectations about [...] things in the world” (2006:105; Hatim and Mason 1990:viii). Newspaper readers expect to read articles about events that affect their own lives, or the way in which they experience the world around them. Therefore, it is up to the rewriters to ensure that the public narratives of society can be interpreted as personal narratives by their broader readership. Many narrative features are then incorporated to “select particular text and [embed] it in a temporal and spatial context that accentuates the narrative it depicts and encourages us to establish links between it and current narratives that touch our lives” (Baker 2006:112). The following analysis considers more examples of temporal and spatial framing within the research material.

In Chapter Two I used the example of Dominique Strauss Kahn's trial to consider the way in which captions and photos contribute to the framing process. In 2010 Zuma delivered his first SONA, the Sowetan of the following day included extensive reporting on this event. The opening caption on the front page accompanied a photo of a saluting and dignified Zuma in front of the parliament buildings.
The caption, in large white lettering, read: "Deliver or you're out" (Sowetan 2010:1). The other markers on the front page also point towards Zuma's speech and signify, like the caption, what the Sowetan considers to be the most important issues in the SONA. In this case it is the fact that Zuma is willing to fire ministers who are not keeping their promises and delivering the services for which they are responsible.\(^2\) The front page also links to the main article on page two, "Service delivery a priority for JZ" (Majova 2010b). Zukile Majova is the journalist behind two of the articles on the SONA; an interesting point on these articles,

\(^2\) With reference to the Department of Basic Education and their failure to provide textbooks to the Limpopo province at the beginning of 2012; one can argue that Zuma neglected his own promises when he decided not to blame Angie Motshekga, Minister of Basic Education. This gesture revealed that the promises made in the SONA are only included for the specific purpose of pacifying the audience – the President makes promises that he knows the audience wants to hear, but that he cannot necessarily keep. The same applies to De Klerk's 1994 SONA, when he included promises about the future of the country, without taking into consideration that he might not have the chance to act on these promises.
is that both focus on the energy in Zuma's speech. Majova elaborates on Zuma's determination to make 2010 a year of "action" (Majova 2010b:2). Zuma specifically refers to delivery and service delivery in his speech, but only does so twice: "The ministers who are responsible for a particular outcome, will sign a detailed delivery agreement with the President" (2010:6); "As you are aware, we introduced the Presidential Hotline to make government and The Presidency more accessible to the public, and to help unblock service-delivery blockages" (2010:10).

Majova frames the SONA as a 'call to arms', that Zuma is outlining plans of action, and yet Zuma's manner of providing suggested solutions to prevalent issues is no different than Mandela's, Mbeki's or Motlanthe's SONAs. By focusing on and repeating the idea of active solutions and plans, Majova creates the idea that Zuma will be more actively involved in his role as President. Most of the direct quotes he chooses to include in his article are on steps taken (or about to be taken) to improve the state of the nation: "we continue our efforts to eradicate corruption"; "We are building a performance-oriented state by improving planning as well as performance monitoring and evaluation"; "This week, we terminated 32 687 fraudulent social grant payments" (2010b:2); "These are job opportunities created to provide unemployed people with income, work experience and training opportunities" (2010a:2). In the final paragraphs of Majova's second article, "Govt has not failed workers – President", he refers to reports that last year (2009), the South African economy shed 870 000 jobs and increased the unemployment rate from 21,9 percent to 24,3 percent, but that the same report also indicates that South Africa's economy has the potential to create more jobs in 2010 (2010a:2). By including another source in his article that also supports Zuma's claims on the potential for job creation, Majova is effectively providing proof to his readers, and ultimately sustains Zuma's reframed argument that the government has indeed not failed the workers (2010a:2).
The *Sowetan* that appeared after Zuma's SONA, also included an article voicing the opposition parties' disappointment, this article includes a wide range of leaders' opinions and direct quotes (Majavu 2010:3). Majavu states that the opposition parties' main issue with Zuma's speech was his claim to have created 480 000 jobs (2010:3). This article is a fair criticism of Zuma's commentary on the state of the nation, but it only appears on the third page of the publication, after Majova's articles full of praise, and it is also clearly labelled as 'reactions' to the SONA. Indicating that even though readers might be interested in opposition parties' reactions, the President's actual words (and the promises made) should be the readers' main focus as, according to the research in Chapter Three, their readership is made up of ANC supporters who should be focused on the President and his party's goals and achievements. Both the *Mail & Guardian* and *Die Burger* that appeared after Zuma's SONA also focus on the Zuma's promises, but *Die Burger* also pays specific attention to responses to the SONA. The following section is an in-depth discussion of the articles that appeared in the other two publications.

The front page of the *Mail & Guardian* that appeared on the same day as the *Sowetan* discussed in the paragraphs above, depicts an enlarged photo of Zuma with the caption "[t]he state of Jacob Zuma" (2010:1). The article that appears on page four, is indeed a discussion of the President's "parliamentary performance" rather than the state of South Africa, as the *Mail & Guardian* states "government just keeps drifting along"; "[t]he fallout as Africa responds to [Zuma's] philandering" (2010:1). The article is also titled, "[i]n Madiba's shadow", signifying Mandy Rossouw's scepticism about Zuma's good intentions, that he will never live up to "his most illustrious predecessor, Nelson Mandela" (2010:4). Rossouw further frames the event as a show, that the SONA is "elaborately staged" (2010:4). The article is also flanked by an article discussing Zuma's public relations problem – that is in fact a discussion of his sexual exploitations (Pampalone 2010:4). A discussion of Zuma and his personal life is not that unheard of, but as this is the only article that really reports on the
SONA, the entire event is framed as a commentary on Zuma's personal life, and considering what he is notorious for, questioning whether he will in fact be able to live up to his predecessors. Where the *Sowetan* pays close attention to what Zuma promises in his speech, the *Mail & Guardian* instead delivers a report on the man behind the speech and a broad discussion of the expected outcome. This supports the idea that *Mail & Guardian* readers are intellectuals who do not want to be faced with excerpts or rewrites of the SONA, but expect to read an in-depth analysis of the brain behind the SONA and the anticipated outcomes.

*Die Burger* that appeared on the day after the SONA was delivered, the 12th of February 2010, also reported on Zuma's performance. One article in particular focuses on the opposition's response to the SONA. This type of report suggests that readers are more interested in the other parties' opinions of the speech, than what was actually said. The title reads, "Te min oor ekonomie, meer werk" and the subheading states "Baie beloftes en planne, maar g'n terugvoering, sê opposisie" ["Not enough on economy, more work"; "Many promises and plans, but no feedback, opposition said"]. The article goes on to state that Zuma's speech was a disappointment to a lot of the other parties, not only the opposition, "Zuma se toespraak het volgens die opposisie- én ander alliansieleieiers in verskeie opsigte tekortgeskiet – vernaam kwessies rondom die ekonomie en werkskepping" ["According to opposition and other alliance leaders, Zuma's speech had numerous shortcomings – in particular issues regarding the economy and job creation"] (Political team 2010:1), but only includes one direct reference to the opposition's attitude, and only quotes the SONA and the President's spokesperson, but does not include any direct quotes of the opposition or other leaders. The only reference to the DA, the opposition, is the following sentence, "n [b]elangrike beleidsverandering is dat die regering maatskappe deur middel van 'n subsidie wil aanmoedig om jong, onervare mense in diens te neem. Die DA het dit hartlik verwelkom" ["that the government aims to encourage companies to hire young, inexperienced people by
means of a subsidy marks an important change in policy. The DA welcomed this heartily"
(Die Burger 2010:1). Throughout the article the writer refers to the opposition's
disappointment, but does not include any definite quotes to justify these allegations. Where
the Sowetan makes it clear that readers should not attach a lot of weight to the "reactions" to
the SONA (Majavu 2010:3), Die Burger places extra emphasis on what the opposition's
response reveals about the SONA.

Die Burger's article further supports the notion that Die Burger readers do not want to read
overly positive reports on the SONA, and that they are more interested in the opposition's
critique than in what Zuma's plans for the country might hold. This specific report also notes
that Mandela's presence was probably the only positive thing about the SONA, "[Mandela se
tenwoordigheid] was een van die min vrolike oomblikke in 'n andersins gedempte
atmosfeer" ["Mandela's presence was one of the few joyous moments in an otherwise low-
spirited atmosphere"] (Die Burger 2010:1). The reference to Mandela and the positive
attributes of his presence creates the same foreboding feeling as "In Madiba's shadow", the
article that appeared in the Mail & Guardian on the same day. Even though both articles
focus on different aspects of the speech, both of the writers decided that Mandela's
presence and legacy was important enough to their readership that it influenced the way in
which they reported on the SONA.

Another SONA worth noting, is Motlanthe's SONA as interim President. In the framed
accounts of his SONA, the rewriters decided to highlight the temporariness of his
appointment. It is suggested that the SONA cannot be taken seriously, as Motlanthe's
position cannot be permanent, and his position was not for a long enough period that he is
able to deliver an actual report on his accomplishments. Die Burger ran an article titled,
"Met Mbeki se kalwers op Jacob Zuma se land" (Unknown 2009:14) [with Mbeki's calves on
Zuma's land], that declared that "Motlanthe se beweegruimte kennelik beperk [was]"
(2009:14). The article is a commentary on the credibility of Motlanthe's SONA, as he could not really make plans, as it was clear the he would not be the actual next President (at this time, it was already an accepted fact that Zuma would be the next President of the ANC). Again it appears that this article questions the formality surrounding the SONA, that instead of discussing the personal narratives that South Africans are interested in, the SONA is a public display of authority – and the words that are actually spoken in the speech do not carry as much value as they should.

4.7. Conclusion
In this chapter I paid specific attention to the way in which target ideologies can shape the structure, context and content of target texts. As Hatim and Mason point out in the case of culture-bound texts, fulfilling the target audiences' needs can ultimately override the ST intentions (1990:190). The only way to effectively determine the effect of ideological framing within texts is to analyse the texts (SONAs) and discuss prominent examples within the texts and accompanying articles. In turn these examples relay the rewriter's methods and choices, and tell us (and other scholars) more about translation and further explores the narrative approach to translation. As "discourse is a matter of expressing attitude" (Hatim and Mason 1990:141), and a person's attitude towards reality is linked to a certain ideology; analysis of discourse has the potential to betray the rewriter's ideological intentions. The analysis then provides a framework that proves how the texts were adapted to pacify (and sustain) the ideology of the target text readers.
5. Final conclusion: do framed communities exist?

5.1. Introduction

Mona Baker introduced the idea that the translated and reformulated narratives that we are exposed to constitute the everyday stories that shape the way we perceive reality (Baker 2006:3). By studying rewritten or translated narratives one can also gain insight regarding the ideologies of the intended target readership, as the text is shaped to satisfy the target audience (Bielsa and Bassnett 2009:10). This thesis explores Baker's opinion by taking a deeper look at retold narratives in the form of newspaper articles. The following chapter takes a look at the final results of the investigation and provides suggestions for further study.

5.2. Summary of chapters

The introductory chapter, Chapter One, introduced Baker's narrative approach to translation and took a brief look at Benedict Andersen's idea of *Imagined Communities*. Chapter One set out to focus the reader’s attention on the importance of framing in translation, and the effect narratives can have not only on the target text, but also on the translation process. Chapter Two continued to investigate different theoretical approaches and provided the literature overview needed to understand Baker's approach and the concept of framing in translation.

In Chapter Three, I discussed the source material, the three newspapers that were used to conduct this study: *Die Burger, The Mail & Guardian; and The Sowetan*; and the SONA. Chapter Three is also an attempt at identifying the different ideologies of the newspapers and their target readerships. Chapter Four contains the analysis of the newspaper articles
and the application of the theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter Two. It is here that I attempted to determine whether my claims are justified; whether these newspapers articles do, in fact, frame the SONA to fit their readership. Finally, Chapter Five, this chapter, is a discussion of the final results and outcome of the study.

5.3. Main conclusion: rewriting the State of the Nation Address

In my hypothesis I stated that this study will attempt to prove that any published commentary on the SONAs are rewritten and shaped in order to satisfy the specific readerships of the publications in which they appear. At the same time, however, the final product also relays something of its readership's ideology. The readership then appears to be a framed community, and within this community individuals are linked to one another through their interests in the same publications. In Sections 5.3.1. and 5.3.2. I report on my findings and whether this investigation has, in fact, proven my initial hypothesis.

5.3.1. Framing SONAs through translation

Wherever communication is present or necessary, it is impossible to escape the process or effect of framing, as framing implies "how speakers mean what they say" (Tannen and Wallat, 1993:60; in Baker, 2006:105). Simply by writing this essay, I am also contributing to the process of framing – I am sharing my own results and findings within specific frames of reference, thereby attempting to frame any reader's opinion of the chosen subject. Therefore, the presence and effects of framing should not be ignored, instead, translation scholars should be aware of framing and how this process affects rewritten and translated texts. This is particularly true for any texts that advocate a seat of power, as Hatim and Mason note that "[t]ranslators and other professionals looking at language in terms of these complex social relations cannot fail to be aware of how language is implicated whenever the
ability to use certain genres, discourses, etc., becomes an instrument of power” (1990:161). This study illustrates how translations play an important part in shaping perceptions as texts are moulded to fit a predetermined end-purpose.

It is not a simple task to justify or understand the process behind translation, but as a result of DTS we are able to study and analyse the final product, and attempt to comprehend the route taken by the text-creator. Baker (2007:152) encourages scholars to analyse these texts not by looking for systematic behaviour, but by closely observing the narratives that influence the source and target texts. This allows scholars to analyse the texts from any angle, as long as their arguments can be justified. By considering these narratives, the role of the translator is also closely scrutinised, as the narratives that influence the translator also affect the translation process. A narrative approach therefore allows scholars to do a more comprehensive analysis of translations. But what does it mean? It is obvious that most text are framed, or created within certain frames that affect the context and meaning of the text. It is not, however, only the creator’s frame of reference that influences the text, it is also the readers specific ideology and, as soon as one realises that there is a correlation between the two – that the creator’s frames of reference are adapted to influence or maintain the ideology of the reader – it is necessary to study these texts and the effects and results behind this process. Because suddenly, this process is not ‘natural’ anymore, it is a fixed process, where the target text is not as closely related to the source text as it is to the readership’s expectations. It is a very complex process and one that should be studied closely, as communication and information go hand in hand, and as soon as communication channels are affected to such an extent that the information becomes tainted, the translation process begins to lose its credibility. And a field that has come so far in achieving acknowledgement as an established discipline, cannot afford to lose its authority.
In Chapter Four I looked closely at the selected articles on a macro level. As newspaper reports, these articles need to stay close to the SONA (source text) to achieve a level of credibility. However, by simply tweaking the text slightly they succeed in reframing the source text and influencing the reader's perception of the SONA. It is quite difficult to prove this, as it is impossible to correctly analyse the process behind the writing of the articles, but one specific element that shows how these articles attempt to reframe the SONA and everything it entails, is the visualisations that accompany some of these articles. The illustrations and photos that accompany many of these articles are not (strictly speaking) translations of the source text, and yet they are included as visual support for the text. In many instances these illustrations support the viewpoint adopted by the rewriter, and thereby the argument that the source text is framed to maintain a specific ideology.

Another method that is used often and illustrates how these texts are reframed, is the use of intertextuality. Hatim and Mason describe the function of intertextuality as "the process whereby a text goes back to what precedes it, adding to its ideologically neutral form the whole underlying volume of signification which accrues from experience, awareness, etc." (1990:121). This method allows writers to subtly reference narratives, the trick is however, to be able to know which references are appropriate for your readership – that is, if they will be able to spot and understand the intertextuality. In this way, intertextuality betrays the writer's intended target readership, as well as the readerships' interests.

Scholars should therefore adopt an approach that does not restrict their analysis of texts; they should adopt an approach that includes a wide-range of theoretical approaches and give the scholar the freedom to add their findings to these approaches. This study shows that a narrative approach is broad enough to allow scholars to analyse texts without excluding certain theoretical approaches to translation.
5.3.2. Keeping the different ideologies intact

When journalists report on actual events, especially political events, they have to cut and adapt their narratives to fit the in-house rules and ideology of their newspaper. In many cases the newspaper's ideology is directly linked (if not a direct result) of its readers' ideology. It is difficult to claim that this is always the case, but the results of the analysis in Chapter Four show that there is a slight indication that even though they report on the same SONAs the articles are framed differently. These results are also in agreement with the descriptions of the newspapers in Chapter Three.

In many cases the Mail & Guardian refrains from directly reporting on the SONA; instead this newspaper opts to discuss the President behind the SONA, or the events surrounding the SONA. The articles are critical and include intertextuality that indicate a readership that should be well-read, and aware of current affairs as well as historical events. Die Burger, the Afrikaans publication that used to support the National Party that ruled during apartheid, is also inclined to provide critical reports on the SONA, but is more selective when reporting on the speech. On the other hand, the Sowetan reports stay very close to the source text and very rarely criticise or disagree with the SONA (this is an indication that as a publication that fought hard to survive the struggle, they still want to support the party that arose victorious after the struggle). Even though this does not always apply to the cartoons featured in the Sowetan, one can argue that as cartoons are mostly viewed as entertaining and not taken very seriously it is an acceptable medium to criticise without indicating differences of opinion. And unlike the Mail & Guardian, the Sowetan does not include articles that support the criticisms suggested by the cartoons.

As this study covers a few post-apartheid publications, it is not possible to accurately determine that each newspaper supports one specific ideology. Instead, I want to argue that there is definitely an indication that these articles support the target readership, and that this
affects the 'translation' process. The way in which these texts are then adapted to sustain the target readership's ideology relays certain traits of this ideology and their collective narratives, “[n]o story exists in a vacuum, and because all narratives are embedded in other narratives they must be assessed within this broader context” (Baker, 2006:146)

5.4. Impact of conclusion on the field

I have already stated that a narrative approach provides the necessary framework for an inclusive approach to translation, and now I would also like to elaborate what the implications of this study entail. It is clear that the target audience greatly affects the process behind text-production, as “the degree of intervention by the translator will often depend on consumers and their needs. This matter is not to be underestimated and may in certain cases even override ST communicative intentions” (Hatim and Mason 1990:190). As this study shows, it is very important to analyse newspaper reports as a form of translation, as the same process is visible in this media channel. It is this genre specifically, that adapts source text material to fit the consumers' needs. This study also indicates that visual adaptations of source texts can be analysed as translations, as illustrations and other graphics comment on the source text by interpreting the text and providing a translated (visual) version for the readers. This version provides important insight as to the different narratives that affect the source or target text.

This study attempts to further warn scholars to be aware of the implications of framing within translation, that this process is, in many instances, "far from innocent" (Baker 2006:75). I am not, however, the first translation scholar to emphasise the guilty nature of the discipline, Lefevere and Bassnett note that

What the development of Translation Studies shows is that translation, like all (re)writings is never innocent. There is always a context in which the translation
takes place, always a history from which a text emerges and into which a text is transposed. Translation involves so much more than the simple engagement of an individual with a printed page and a bilingual dictionary; indeed, the bilingual dictionary itself is an object lesson in the inadequacy of any concept of equivalence as linguistic sameness.

(1990:11)

The process of translation can never be unaffected, it is such a sensitive process that is influenced by so many different factors, that it is impossible to study translations as though they were created within a vacuum (Naudé 2000:4). Hatim and Mason argue that "[i]deologies find their clearest expression in language" (1990:161), but I want to argue that language also bears qualities of collective narratives and framing and should be studied with these aspects in mind. Therefore, translation scholars should always be aware that different frameworks and narratives play an important role in the complex process of translation.

5.5. Limitations of this study

As mentioned before, as a researcher I am embedded within certain narratives that affect my reasoning and conclusions, and even though I endeavoured to be as objective as possible during this investigation my conclusion will always be affected by my personal narratives. My personal opinion is, however, not the only limitations experienced during this investigation. I only realised the magnitude of this study when I started working through the SONAs and related newspaper articles. It then dawned on me that it would be impossible to include extensive findings in my thesis, but this also meant that the possibilities for further study in this field are numerous.
5.6. Possible fields of further study

For possible further studies in this direction I would suggest the following:

- A study of all the SONAs since F.W. de Klerk’s final speech form a narrative approach. This study can focus on the narratives that influenced these speeches and provide more historical background on the speeches and the events that they were subject to, as well as the events that followed these speeches. Specifically analysing the SONAs from a micro and macro point of view will allow students to determine the register of these speeches and how they have been affected over time.

- A deeper look at the reader interaction with newspaper articles. Students can analyse the interactive platform provided by online newspapers, specifically focusing on readers’ comments and what this reveals of their ideologies.

- Multilingual students can also consider analysing the translations of the SONA, as the SONA is translated into all the official languages of South Africa.

- A more intensive study of the titles of the newspaper articles will allow students to cover a wider range of articles and focus on the specific techniques used to reframe the SONAs while maintaining the readership’s ideology. The fact that newspaper headings in themselves are formulated to attract attention provide a whole new aspect to reframing events.

- A close look at the illustrations that accompany these articles will allow students to determine how illustrations frame source and target text and further add to the process of making meaning of texts.

When it comes to media translations the possibilities are endless – this is such a deliberate, planned process that the ‘normal’ translating conventions cannot apply, therefore students should be encouraged to investigate this field and its implications on established theoretical approaches.

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7. Addendum A – Poems

Die kind wat doodgeskiet is deur soldate by Nyanga

_Ingrid Jonker_

Die kind is nie dood nie
die kind lig sy vuiste teen sy moeder
wat Afrika skreeu skreeu die geur
van vryheid en heide
in die lokasies van die omsingelde hart

Die kind lig sy vuiste teen sy vader
in die optog van die generasies
wat Afrika skreeu skreeu die geur
van geregtigheid en bloed
in die strate van sy gewapende trots

Die kind is nie dood nie
nòg by Langa nòg by Nyanga
nòg by Orlando nòg by Sharpeville
nòg by die polisiestasie in Philippi
waar hy lê met ’n koeël deur sy kop

Die kind is die skaduwee van die soldate
op wag met gewere sarasene en knuppels
die kind is teenwoordig by alle vergaderings en wetgewings
die kind loer deur die vensters van huise en in die harte
van moeders
die kind wat net wou speel in die son by Nyanga is orals
die kind wat h man geword het trek deur die ganse Afrika
die kind wat h reus geword het reis deur die hele wêreld

Sonder h pas

_Maart 1960_
The child is not dead
Ingrid Jonker (translated to English by Jack Cope)

The child lifts his fists against his mother
Who shouts Afrika! shouts the breath
Of freedom and the veld
In the locations of the cordoned heart

The child lifts his fists against his father
in the march of the generations
who shouts Afrika! shout the breath
of righteousness and blood
in the streets of his embattled pride

The child is not dead not at Langa nor at Nyanga
not at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
nor at the police station at Philippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain

The child is the dark shadow of the soldiers
on guard with rifles Saracens and batons
the child is present at all assemblies and law-givings
the child peers through the windows of houses and into the hearts of mothers
this child who just wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga is everywhere
the child grown to a man treks through all Africa

the child grown into a giant journeys through the whole world

Without a pass
Mr Speaker
This Parliament has convened to adopt important amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 1993.

The fact that we have done so in the midst of the most crucial election campaign of our national history speaks for itself. It is an indication of the importance which we attach to ensuring that the coming election is as inclusive as possible.

If we wish to have a peaceful and stable future, it is of the greatest importance that as many of our people and parties as possible should participate in this historical process.

It is essential that no-one and no party should be able to claim that they are excluded or that their reasonable concerns have not been accommodated in the Transitional Constitution.

It was to this end that the Government, the National Party and other participating parties have gone out of their way, particularly during the past weeks, to accommodate the concerns raised by the parties of the Freedom Alliance.

The concerns of the Freedom Alliance, as distilled from weeks of hard negotiations, included the following:

*The Freedom Alliance said they wanted stronger assurances relating to the autonomy of provinces with regard to their powers, functions and boundaries.*

The amendment of section 126 of the Constitution deletes the reference to *concurrency*. Thus it is made absolutely clear that laws passed by the provincial legislatures will in general prevail over laws passed by the national parliament on matters reserved for the provinces. Only in exceptional circumstances, specifically provided for, will the position be different.

*The Freedom Alliance was particularly concerned that a future Government might try to diminish the powers of the provinces in the final constitution.*

The amendment of constitutional Principle XVIII provides that the powers and functions of provinces will not be substantially diminished in the final constitution. There are those who read something sinister in the word “substantially”. However, I am assured that it is a technical provision, which cannot be misused to undermine the scope of provincial powers or autonomy.
in any meaningful way. It is there merely to provide for some minor changes which might to agreed upon.

This effectively means entrenchment of the most critical provincial provision, according to the Freedom Alliance. It must also be recalled that no constitutional principle can be changed after the election, even by a 100% majority in Parliament.

The Freedom Alliance wanted the Provinces to have greater fiscal and financial autonomy.

The amendment of sections 155-159 of the Constitution will strengthen the taxing competence of the provinces, and goes a long way in meeting the requirements of the Freedom Alliance.

The Freedom Alliance asked for greater powers for the provinces in drawing up their own constitutions.

The amendment of section 160 of the Constitution will enable provincial legislatures to include specific provisions in their own constitutions regarding their own legislative and executive structures. This will allow provinces to legislate for their unique requirements. It will, for example, enable the province of KwaZulu/Natal to make special provision for the Zulu monarchy. Simultaneously it creates room for asymmetry between provinces.

The Freedom Alliance wanted the name of Natal to be changed to KwaZulu/Natal.

The proposed amendments to the Transitional Constitution will make this possible.

Another major concern of the Freedom Alliance was that there should be two separate ballots in the election, one for the national parliament and one for the provincial legislatures.

This will be achieved by amendments to the Electoral Act – which will also be amended to extend the deadline for parties to register for the election until 4 March 1994.

Another principal concern of the Freedom Alliance – and particularly of the Afrikaner Volksfront – is its demand for self-determination within a “Volkstaat”.

Even this concern will be addressed in the proposed constitutional amendments. A new constitutional principle will be added on the subject of self-determination – including the possibility that it might be exercised in a territorial entity, if constitutionally agreed. Provision is also made by amending Chapter 11 to create a mechanism for conducting further negotiations of the subject of a Volkstaat for those who really want it.
Die Regering is oortuig dat hy tot op hede, saam met ander onderhandelingspartye, alles wat redelik moontlik is gedoen het om die belangrikste besware van die Vryheidsalliansie aan te hanteer.

- Dit is 'n feit dat die oorgangsgrondwet nou voorsiening maak dat provinsies werklik outonome magte sal hê wat gebaseer is op federale beginsels.

- Hierdie magte sal stewig verskans wees en sal nie arbitrêr deur die sentrale regering afgeskaf kan word nie – nog onder die oorgangsgrondwet, nog onder die finale grondwet.

- Kiesers sal afsonderlik kan stem vir sentrale en provinsiale regering by wyse van aparte stembrieue, soos versoek deur die Vryheidsalliansie.

- Provincies sal oor uitgebreide en onafhanklike bevoegdhede beskik om belasting te kan hef.

- Provincies se magte om hulle eie grondwette aan te neem is verder uitgebrei en duideliker omskryf.

- Die provinsie Natal sal nou, soos versoek, bekend staan as Kwa Zulu/Natal.

- Die deur is nou oopgemaak vir voortgesette onderhandelinge oor die konsep van 'n volkstaat in terme van die grondwet.

Daar bestaan dus nou nie meer enige redelike verskoning vir nie-deelname aan die verkiesing en die voortgesette deelname nasionale grondwetlike proses nie.

Ons gaan hierdie verbeterings aan die Oorgangsgrondwet bewerkstellig deur dit in hierdie Parlementsitting aan te neem. Ek het egter reeds vir 'n tyd lank die vermoede dat die Vryheidsalliansie se belangrikste beswaar nie soseer geleë is in die inhoud van die grondwet nie, máár eerder betrekking het op die breë werklikhede van ons tyd.

Hierdie Parlement kan veranderinge aanbring aan die Oorgangsgrondwet – máár dit kan nie die werklikheid verander nie:

- Dit kan nie die werklikheid verander dat Afrikaners 'n minderheid is in al die erkende en historiese streke van Suid-Afrika nie.

- Dit kan nie die werklikheid verander dat alle Suid-Afrikaners onafskeidbaar uitsig afhanklik is van mekaar nie – op ekonomiese, sosiale en grondwetlike gebied.

- Dit kan en behoort nie die werklikheid te verander nie, dat alle Suid-Afrikaners 'n reg het op deelname aan regeringsprosesse, sonder om blootgestel te wees aan enige vorm van diskriminasie.
Partye kan hulle boikot van die grondwetlike proses voortsit, maar uiteindelik sal hulle nie aan hierdie werklikhede kan ontkom nie.

Deur die verkiesing te boikot onteem hulle hulself en hulle ondersteuners van die geleentheid om hulle volle bydrae te lever tot die grondwetlike toekoms van Suid-Afrika en tot die vreedsame bevordering van hulle eie waardes en ideale.

Aan die ander kant is nie-deelname aan die verkiesing ‘n regmatige opsie vir enige party – hoe jammer en onverstandig dit ook mag wees. As dit ‘n party se keuse is, dan is dit hulle reg om só te doen.

Ek moet dit egter beklemtoon dat, wat ookal die paar partye se besluit mag wees, ons vasbeslote is om voort te gaan met die verkiesing op 26-28 April en met die implementering van die Oorgangsgrondwet.

• Ons durf nie toelaat dat enige minderheid die groot meerderheid Suid-Afrikaners van ‘n lang gekoesterlike begeerte onteem – van die ideaal om ‘n nasionale en provinsiale regerings te kies wat vir die eerste keer in ons geskiedenis werklik verteenwoordigend van alle Suid-Afrikaners sal wees nie.

• Ons durf nie toelaat dat enigiemand een die oorgrote meerderheid van Suid-Afrikaners van hierdie historiese geleentheid – om vrede, versoening en stabiliteit te verkry in ons land te onteem nie.

• Ons durf nie toelaat dat iemand in die pad staan van sterk ekonomiese groei en ontwikkeling nie. Dit sal kom, slegs as daar ‘n grondwetlike skikking is wat binnelandse en buitelandse geloofwaardigheid geniet.

• Ons sal niemand toelaat om Suid-Afrikaners te onteem van daardie nuut onderhandelde regte wat nou verskans is in ons nuwe grondwetlike bedeling nie.

Soos ek reeds gesê het, dit is die reg van enige party om die verkiesing te boikot.

Dit is ook die reg van enige party om op ‘n vreedsame en konstitusionele wyse voort te gaan om hulle doelwitte na te streef.

• Ek sal egter enige poging deur enige party, wat poog om enige Suid-Afrikaanse burger se reg te onteem om aan die verkiesing deel te neem, sterk teenstaan.

• Die Regering sal nie duld dat enige party poog om die verkiesing te ontwrig nie.

• Die Regering sal al die middele tot sy beskikking aanwend – en dit sluit die veiligheidsmagte in – teen enige pogings van enige party wat sy doelwitte probeer bereik deur geweld of deur ongrondwetlike, onwettige of ondemokratiese optredes.
Partye wat sesessie of die onwettige oorname van staats- of munisipale gesag beoog, moet geen illusie hê betreffende hulle posisie of die gevolge van hulle dade nie:

• Hulle moet geen illusie hê oor hulle ondersteuning nie. Dit bestaan uit 'n minderheid van die totale Suid-Afrikaanse bevolking, sowel as in elke provinsie. As hulle verskil met hierdie aanname, dan is deelname aan die verkiesing die beste manier om hulle werklike steun te bewys.

• Die Afrikaner Volksfront het geen reg om namens die Afrikanervolk te praat nie. Hulle verteenwoordig slegs 'n faksie van die Afrikaner – en wat nog meer is, 'n verdeelde faksie. Die oorgrote meerderheid Afrikaners is ordentlike, vredeliewende en verstandige mense wie se hartsbegeerte dit is om in vrede 'n werkbare modus vivendi te vind, saam met die ander mense van Suid-Afrika. Hulle het geen begeerte om betrokke te raak by 'n futiele en sinnelose oorlog teen hulle mede-Afrikaners nie. Hulle het geen belang daarin om hulle werk, hulle huise en alles wat hulle besit te verloor nie – en dit nogal in die najaging van 'n onwerklike illusie.

• Die strydlustiges moet ook geen illusie hê dat hulle enige internasionale ondersteuning sal ontvang nie. Daar is geen moontlikheid dat die internasionale gemeenskap ooit 'n stelsel sal aanvaar wat gebaseer is op minderheidsdominasie en op rassediskriminasie nie. Daar kan geen terugkeer na apartheid wees nie. Selfs enige poging in daardie rigting sal lei tot konflik, totale isolasie en volkome ekonomiese vernietiging.

• Die betrokke partye moet ook geen illusie hê oor die rol van die veiligheidsmagte nie. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Weermag en die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie is hoog professionele en gemotiveerde magte. Hulle het 'n lang en trotse tradisie van lojal diens aan die regering van die dag. Hulle het 'n sleutelrol om te speel in die instandhouding van die integriteit van die staat en van ons grondwet – en dit is die rol wat hulle sal speel.

There is simply no future on the road of unconstitutional and violent activity. I appeal to any of those who might be considering this road to turn back before it is too late. I have a deep understanding for the concerns of the Zulu King and his people in respect of the future of the Zulu monarchy. We have been involved in serious and in-depth discussions about the issue.

Unfortunately we have not been able, as yet, to reach specific agreements on how to address these concerns. As far as I am concerned, negotiation must continue until agreement is achieved.

There should, however, be no doubt as to where I, the Government and the Party which I lead, stand in this regard.

• The Zulu Kingdom is recognised by us as a unique reality. It has a proud history and it plays an important role in the life of the Zulu nation.
• We support the principle that the Zulu Kingdom must receive constitutional recognition, also through effective Constitutional Safeguards.

• The position and status of the King of the Zulus should be lifted out of party politics and secured beyond doubt.

We are committed to achieve all this. We believe it can be done, either in a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal or in both such a constitution and the National Constitution. We will continue with our efforts to reach agreement and a satisfactory conclusion.

I also understand the concerns of many other South Africans.

• I understand their fear that some parties might try to circumvent the Transitional Constitution, or even tear it up, as has happened in some other African countries.

• I understand and share their concerns about the role of the South African Communist Party in the ANC Alliance. I also have no illusions concerning their undemocratic and subversive intentions.

• I understand and share their concerns over the arrogant and provocative rhetoric of so many of those within the ranks of the ANC Alliance – particularly with regard to their threats to property rights and their dangerous relating to economic policy.

I understand these concerns – but I am not overawed by them. I am confident that we will be able to resist and overcome the threat of any unconstitutional action.

• The Transitional Constitution has been designed to withstand unconstitutional efforts to undermine or circumvent it.

   It contains deeply entrenched balances and counter-balances, including the separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government.

   It creates mechanisms to ensure adherence to its provisions, including a strong and independent constitutional court and an independent judiciary.

   It devolves important and substantial powers to nine strong and autonomous regional governments.

   It provides for a Senate to safeguard provincial rights at the national level and to act as a watchdog over the activities of the National Assembly.
• We are also not a typical African country. No other country on our continent has achieved anything like our level of development.

We have a large and rapidly growing middle class representing large numbers from all our communities.

We have a strong private sector, an established public service and strong professional organisations.

We have free media and strong centres of power within civil society.

None of these institutions will allow politicians to run wild or to act in an unconstitutional manner.

• We South Africans have a symbiotic relationship with one another. All responsible leaders understand that none of us can effectively rule South Africa alone and against the wishes of important segments of our community. We could not do it during the past and a new Government will not be able to do it either.

• Our new democracy will have the enthusiastic support of the international community. Any attempt by any party to breach the Constitution would have immediate international repercussions. Any attempt to breach the Constitution would also precipitate a serious and unpredictable national crisis.

• All our major parties understand that the first priority of the Government of National Unity will be to promote rapid and sustained economic growth. This, in turn, will place severe limitations on any move to try to implement unacceptable socialist policies.

• We will soon see that nothing will moderate irresponsible rhetoric and action so quickly as the responsibility which will come with having to wrestle with the realities of government.

I am accordingly confident about the future.
I am confident of the abilities of my Party. I am confident in the basic good will and good sense of the vast majority of South African citizens. And I have great confidence in the Transitional Constitution which we and our fellow South Africans have negotiated.

It is a good Constitution which will be made even better by the amendments that we will soon adopt.

I implore all South Africans – and particularly those who are considering desperate and unconstitutional action – to take cognisance of the safeguards contained in the Transitional Constitution. I urge them to study the constitution for themselves and not to be misled by false propaganda. The fact is that the Transitional Constitution
will provide all South Africans – including those who have always had the vote – with much greater individual and communal rights than they have ever had.

- If you wish to pursue your constitutional ideals, do so within the framework of this Constitution. Do so by participating in the election and by making your voice heard. The best defence against the abuse of your rights will be to ensure that the new Parliament is as balanced as possible – that no party emerges with too much power.

- If you wish to oppose those with whom you strongly disagree, do so within the framework provided by the Transitional Constitution – and not through self-destructive involvement in violent and unconstitutional actions.

- If you have concerns, or if you feel threatened, seek protection from the institutions which the new constitution creates.

Remember that the process of constitutional development will not end with the election of the new Parliament. One of its most important tasks will be to draw up a final Constitution. Constitutional negotiations will accordingly continue within the new Parliament and all parties in the National Assembly will be able to promote their interests and objectives in the ongoing constitutional debate.

It is critically important that all significant South African political parties should be part of this process.

During the past four years we have succeeded in bringing South Africa from the brink of catastrophe:

- Our society was deeply divided;
- We were on the brink of conflict;
- Our country was ostracised and isolated;
- Our economy was in a hopeless, downward spiral.

During the past four years we have succeeded in breaking out of this hopeless situation. We have succeeded in negotiating a Transitional Constitution which can provide the basis for a prosperous and peaceful society – which guarantees greater rights and freedom, not only for those who previously did not have the vote, but for all South Africans.

When we awake on 29 April we will all be freer than we have ever been before. Let us therefore now move forward.
Madame Speaker and Deputy Speaker, President of the Senate and Deputy President, Deputy Presidents, Chief Justice, distinguished members of the National Assembly and the Senate, Provincial Premiers, Commanders of the Security Forces, members of the Diplomatic Corps, esteemed guests, comrades, ladies and gentlemen.

The time will come when our nation will honour the memory of all the sons, the daughters, the mothers, the fathers, the youth and the children who, by their thoughts and deeds, gave us the right to assert with pride that we are South Africans, that we are Africans and that we are citizens of the world.

The certainties that come with age tell me that among these we shall find an Afrikaner woman who transcended a particular experience and became a South African, an African and a citizen of the world.

Her name is Ingrid Jonker.

She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being.

In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted with death, she asserted the beauty of life.

In the dark days when all seemed hopeless in our country, when many refused to hear her resonant voice, she took her own life.

To her and others like her, we owe a debt to life itself. To her and others like her, we owe a commitment to the poor, the oppressed, the wretched and the despised.

In the aftermath of the massacre at the anti-pass demonstration in Sharpeville she wrote that:

"The child is not dead
the child lifts his fists against his mother who shouts Africa!...

The child is not dead
Not at Langa nor at Nyanga
nor at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
nor at the police post at Philippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain...

the child is present at all assemblies and law-giving
the child peers through the windows of houses
and into the hearts of mothers
this child who only wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga
is everywhere
the child grown to a man treks on through all Africa
the child grown to a giant journeys
over the whole world
without a pass!"

And in this glorious vision, she instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of
the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child.

It is these things that we must achieve to give meaning to our presence in this chamber and to
give purpose to our occupancy of the seat of government.

And so we must, constrained by and yet regardless of the accumulated effect of our historical
burdens, seize the time to define for ourselves what we want to make of our shared destiny.

The government I have the honour to lead and I dare say the masses who elected us to serve
in this role, are inspired by the single vision of creating a people-centred society.

Accordingly, the purpose that will drive this government shall be the expansion of the
frontiers of human fulfilment, the continuous extension of the frontiers of the freedom.

The acid test of the legitimacy of the programmes we elaborate, the government institutions
we create, the legislation we adopt must be whether they serve these objectives.

Our single most important challenge is therefore to help establish a social order in which the
freedom of the individual will truly mean the freedom of the individual.

We must construct that people-centred society of freedom in such a manner that it guarantees
the political and the human rights of all our citizens.

As an affirmation of the government's commitment to an entrenched human rights culture, we
shall immediately take steps to inform the Secretary General of the United Nations that we
will subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We shall take steps to ensure that we accede to the International Covenant on Civil and
Political Rights, the International Covenant on Social and Economic Rights and other human
rights instruments of the United Nations.

Our definition of the freedom of the individual must be instructed by the fundamental
objective to restore the human dignity of each and every South African.

This requires that we speak not only of political freedoms.

My government's commitment to create a people-centred society of liberty binds us to the
pursuit of the goals of freedom from want, freedom from hunger, freedom from deprivation,
freedom from ignorance, freedom from suppression and freedom from fear.
These freedoms are fundamental to the guarantee of human dignity. They will therefore constitute part of the centrepiece of what this government will seek to achieve, the focal point on which our attention will be continuously focused.

The things we have said constitute the true meaning, the justification and the purpose of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, without which it would lose all legitimacy.

When we elaborated this Programme we were inspired by the hope that all South Africans of goodwill could join together to provide a better life for all. We were pleased that other political organisations announced similar aims.

Today, I am happy to announce that the Cabinet of the Government of National Unity has reached consensus not only on the broad objective of the creation of the people-centred society of which I have spoken, but also on many elements of a plan broadly based on that Programme for Reconstruction and Development.

Let me indicate some of the more important agreements. Annually, in the combined budgets of central government and the provinces, we will provide for an increasing amount of funding for the plan.

This will start with an appropriation of R2,5 billion in the 1994/95 budget that will be presented next month. This should rise to more than R10 billion by the fifth year of the life of this government.

Government will also use its own allocation of funds to the Reconstruction and Development Plan to exert maximum leverage in marshalling funds from within South Africa and abroad. In this regard, I am pleased to report that we have been holding consultation with some of the principal business leaders of our country.

Consequently, we are assured that the business sector can and will make a significant contribution towards the structuring and management of such reconstruction and development funds, towards the effective identification and implementation of projects and by supporting the financing of the socio-economic development effort. I am also pleased to report that many of our friends abroad have already made commitments to assist us to generate the reconstruction and development funds we need.

We thank them most sincerely for their positive attitude which arises not from objectives of charity but from the desire to express solidarity with the new society we seek to build.

We accept the duty of coordinating the management of the total resources that will be generated, without seeking to prescribe to other contributors or undermining the continued role of non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations.

The initial R2,5 billion will be found from savings and the redirection of spending, as included in the preliminary 1994/95 budget proposals presented to Cabinet.

I would like to thank the departments of state for their cooperation in carrying out this adjustment to their planning, at short notice.
As we allocate larger amount in future, we shall require further adjustments by departments, partly to correct the bias in the spending patterns which are a legacy of the past.

The longer period shall allow such changes to be properly planned. But they will still make great demands on the managerial capacity and spirit of cooperation of the Cabinet and the whole civil service.

We are confident that, motivated by the desire to serve the people, the public service will discharge its responsibilities with diligence, sensitivity and enthusiasm, among other things paying attention to the important goal of increasing efficiency and productivity.

My government is equally committed to ensure that we use this longer period properly fully to bring into the decision-making processes organs of civil society.

This will include the trade union movement and civic organisations, so that at no time should the government become isolated from the people. At the same time, steps will be taken to build the capacity of communities to manage their own affairs.

Precisely because we are committed to ensuring sustainable growth and development leading to a better life for all, we will continue existing programmes of fiscal rehabilitation.

We are therefore determined to make every effort to contain real general government consumption at present levels and to manage the budget deficit with a view to its continuous reduction.

Similarly, we are agreed that a permanently higher general level of taxation is to be avoided.

To achieve these important objectives will require consistent discipline on the part of both the central and the provincial governments.

Furthermore, this disciplined approach will ensure that we integrate the objectives of our Reconstruction and Development Plan within government expenditure and not treat them as incidental to the tasks of government, marginalised to the status of mere additions to the level of expenditure.

There are major areas of desperate need in our society.

As a signal of its seriousness to address these, the government will, within the next 100 days, implement various projects under the direct supervision of the President. Let me briefly mention these.

Children under the age of six and pregnant mothers will receive free medical care in every state hospital and clinic where such need exists. Similarly, a nutritional feeding scheme will be implemented in every primary school where such need is established. A concrete process of consultation between the major stakeholders in this area will be organised immediately.

A programme is already being implemented to electrify 350 000 homes during the current financial year.
A campaign will be launched at every level of government, a public works programme designed and all efforts made to involve the private sector, organised labour, the cívics and other community organisations to rebuild our townships, restore services in rural and urban areas, while addressing the issue of job creation and training, especially for our unemployed youth.

Many details of the overall reconstruction and development plan remain to be discussed, agreed and put in place. But I believe that the broad outline I have given and the immediate initiatives I have mentioned, will allow you to share my joy at the progress already made by the Government of National Unity with regard to this important matter.

We shall carry out this plan within the context of a policy aimed at building a strong and growing economy which will benefit all our people. I would like to deal with a few matters in this regard.

In support of sustainable economic growth and the macro-economic objective of Government, it will remain the primary objective of monetary policy to promote and maintain overall financial stability.

The Reserve Bank has the important function of protecting the value of our currency and striving for relative price stability at all times. We are pleased that Dr Chris Stals will continue to serve as Governor of the Reserve Bank.

The battle to reduce the rate of inflation will continue. The realisation of many of our objectives for a fair and equal treatment of all our people will not be possible unless we succeed in avoiding high inflation in the economy.

We also face a major challenge in re-entering the global economy, while stable prices are vital to the restructuring of our industries and dealing with the critical issue of job-creation.

We are blessed with a heritage of a sophisticated financial sector. Our financial markets are well-placed to play an important part in the allocation of scarce funds to give effect to our economic development programme.

It is however also necessary that we think in new ways, to meet the challenges of reconstruction and development.

We therefore welcome recent developments that provide for the creation of community banks. We would also like to encourage the greater participation of established financial institutions in the important area of black economic empowerment and support for the development of small and medium business.

The latter two areas of economic activity will receive the greatest attention of the Government because of their importance in deracialising and democratising the economy and creating the jobs which our people need.

We pay attention to the important matter of consumer protection to shield the ordinary people of our country from unscrupulous business practices.
We must also clear that we must pay increased attention to tourism. The jobs and foreign currency which tourism generates will strongly influence our economy.

The active and imaginative intervention of all stakeholders in this area of our national life must take advantage of the excellent atmosphere created by our peaceful transition to democracy to make tourism a major positive force in the future.

We look forward to the private sector as a whole playing a central role in achieving the significantly high and sustainable rates of economic growth. We are convinced that the growth prospects of this sector will be enhanced by the measures of fiscal discipline contained in our approach to the Reconstruction and Development Programme and by the continued steady course of monetary policy.

As growth proceeds, more domestic savings will progressively become available to finance increased investment at reasonable rates of interest.

The Government is also acutely conscious of the fact that we should work firstly to return the capital account of the balance of payments to equilibrium and, in due course, to ensure a net inflow of resources, consistent with the experience of other countries that enjoy more rapid growth rates. The present situation of a dual currency and the existence of an exchange control apparatus is a direct result of the conflict in which our country was embroiled in the past.

As the situation returns to normal, these arrangements will be subjected to critical scrutiny. It should be possible to match the steady growth of confidence at home and abroad with other confidence enhancing modifications to everybody's benefit.

The Government will also address all other matters that relate the creation of an attractive investment climate for both domestic and foreign investors, conscious of the fact that we have to compete with the rest of the world in terms of attracting, in particular, foreign direct investment.

I am pleased that we have already started to address the important question of our trade policy, guided by our GATT commitments and the determination systematically to open the economy to global competition in a carefully managed process.

Soon we will also begin trade negotiations with, among others, the European Union, the United States, our partners in the Southern African Customs Unions and our neighbours in the Southern African Development Community to provide a stable and mutually beneficial framework for our international economic relations.

We will also be looking very closely at the question of enhancing South-South cooperation in general as part of the effort to expand our economic links with the rest of the world.

Consistent with our objective of creating a people-centred society and effectively to address the critical questions of growth, reconstruction and development, we will, together with organised labour and the private sector, pay special attention to the issue of human resource development.
Both the public and the private sectors will be encouraged to regard labour as a resource and not a cost. Education and training must therefore be looked at very closely to ensure that we empower the workers, raise productivity levels and meet the skills needs of a modern economy.

Important work will have to be done in and significant resources devoted to the areas of science and technology, including research and development. Government is also convinced that organised labour is an important partner whose cooperation is crucial for the reconstruction and development of our country.

That partnership requires, among other things, that our labour law be reformed so that it is in line with international standards, apartheid vestiges are removed and a more harmonious labour relations dispensation is created, on the basis of tripartite cooperation between government, labour and capital.

The Government is determined forcefully to confront the scourge of unemployment, not by way of handouts but by the creation of work opportunities.

The Government will also deal sensitively with the issue of population movements into the country, to protect our workers, to guard against the exploitation of vulnerable workers and to ensure friendly relations with all countries and peoples.

The Government is also taking urgent measures to deal firmly with drug trafficking some of which is carried out by foreign nationals who are resident in the country.

We must end racism in the workplace as part of our common offensive against racism in general. No more should words like Kaffirs, Hottentots, Coolies, Boy, Girl and Baas be part of our vocabulary.

I also trust that the matter of paying the workers for the public holidays proclaimed in order to ensure their participation in the elections and the inauguration ceremonies will now be resolved as a result of recent consultations. This would be a welcome demonstration by the private sector of its involvement in the beautiful future we are all trying to build.

We have devoted time to a discussion of economic questions because they are fundamental to the realisation of the fundamental objectives of the reconstruction and development programme.

Below I mention some of the work in which the relevant governments are already involved to translate these objectives into reality.

The Government will take steps to ensure the provision of clean water on the basis of the principle of water security for all and the introduction of proper sanitation sensitive to the protection of the environment.

We are determined to address the dire housing shortage in a vigorous manner, acting together with the private sector and the communities in need of shelter.
Health also remains a fundamental building block of the humane society we are determined to create through the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

We must address the needs of the aged and disabled, uplift disadvantaged sectors such as the women and the youth, and improve the lives of our people in the rural communities and the informal settlements.

We must invest substantial amounts in education and training and meet our commitment to introduce free and compulsory education for a period of at least 9 years. Everywhere we must reinculcate the culture of learning and of teaching and make it possible for this culture to thrive.

We must combat such social pathologies as widespread poverty, the break down of family life, crime, alcohol and drug abuse, the abuse of children, women and the elderly and the painful reality of street children. We are giving urgent attention to the long waiting lists for the payment of social grants which have developed in some areas, owing to lack of funds.

I am especially pleased that we have a ministry dedicated to the issue of the environment. Its work must impact on many aspects of national activity and address the question of the well-being of society as a whole and the preservation of a healthy environmental future even for generation not yet born.

As we began this address, we borrowed the words of Ingrid Jonker to focus on the plight of the children our country.

I would now like to say that the Government will, as a matter of urgency, attend to the tragic and complex question of children and juveniles in detention and prison.

The basic principle from which we will proceed from now onwards is that we must rescue the children of the nation and ensure that the system of criminal justice must be the very last resort in the case of juvenile offenders.

I have therefore issued instruction to the Departments concerned, as a matter of urgency, to work out the necessary guidelines which will enable us to empty our prisons of children and to place them in suitable alternative care. This is in addition to an amnesty for various categories serving prisoners as will be effected in terms of what I said in my Inauguration Address two week ago.

In this context, I also need to make the point that the Government will also not delay unduly with regard to attending to the vexed and unresolved issue of an amnesty for criminal activities carried out in furtherance of political objectives.

We will attend to this matter in a balanced and dignified way. The nation must come to terms with its past in a spirit of openness and forgiveness and proceed to build the future on the basis of repairing and healing.

The burden of the past lies heavily on all of us, including those responsible for inflicting injury and those who suffered.
Following the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, we will prepare the legislation which will seek to free the wrongdoers from fear of retribution and blackmail, while acknowledging the injury of those who have been harmed so that the individual wrongs, injuries, fears and hopes affecting individuals are identified and attended to.

In the meantime, summoning the full authority of the position represent, we call on all concerned not to take any steps that might, in any way, impede or compromise the processes of reconciliation which the impending legislation will address. The problem of politically motivated violence is still with us. We depend on our country's security forces to deal with this problem using all resources at their disposal. In this, and in their efforts to deal especially criminal violence, they have our personal support and confidence.

We have also directed that all relevant ministries should engage the structures set up in terms of the National Peace Accord so that these can be invigorated to pursue their noble mission in the context of the changed circumstances in our country.

The Government will otherwise not spare any effort in ensuring that our security forces enjoy the standing they deserve of being accepted by all our people the defenders of our sovereignty, our democratic system, the guarantors of a just peace within the country and the safety and security of all citizens and their property.

Let met also take this opportunity to reiterate our assurance to the rest of the public service that the Government is firmly committed to the protection of the rights of all members of this service.

We are also determined to work with the organisations of the service to ensure that we have the democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, honest and accountable corps of public servants which members of the Public Service themselves desire.

In this context, we must also make the observation that the Government will not waver from the principle of achieving parity in remuneration and conditions of service among all workers in the public sector.

The youth of our country are the valued possession of the nation. Without them there can be no future. Their needs are immense and urgent. They are at the centre of our reconstruction and development plan.

To address them, acting with the youth themselves, the Government will engage the representative organisations of the youth and other formations, among other things to look at the siting of a broad-based National Commission on Youth Development among the structures of Government.

Building on this base, the Government and the Commission would then work together to ensure that the nurturing of our youth stands at the centre of our reconstruction and development, without being consigned to a meaningless ghetto of public life.

Similar considerations must attach to the equally important question of the emancipation of the women of our country.
It is vitally important that all structures of Government, including the President himself, should understand this fully that freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression.

All of us must take this on board that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme will not have been realised unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society.

In addition to the establishment of the statutory Gender Commission provided for in the Constitution, the Government will, together with the representatives of the women themselves, look at the establishment of organs of Government to ensure that all levels of the public sector, from top to bottom, integrate the central issue of the emancipation of women in their programmes and daily activities.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the dream of Ingrid Jonker will come to fruition. The child grown to a man will trek through all Africa. The child grown to a journey will journey over the whole world – without a pass!

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, our new flag will be hoisted in an historic ceremony at the OAU Headquarters in Addis Ababa, with the OAU having already agreed to accept us as its latest member.

Tomorrow, on Africa Day, the UN Security Council will meet to lift the last remaining sanctions against South Africa and to position the world organisation to relate to our country as an honoured, responsible and peace-loving citizen.

As such, the Government is involved in discussion to determine what our contribution could be to the search for peace in Angola and Rwanda, to the reinforcement of the peace process in Mozambique, to the establishment of a new world order of mutually beneficial cooperation, justice, prosperity and peace for ourselves and for the nations of the world.

Yesterday the Cabinet also decided to apply for our country to join the Commonwealth. This important community of nations is waiting to receive us with open arms.

We have learnt the lesson that our blemishes speak of what all humanity should not do. We understand this fully that our glories point to the heights of what human genius can achieve.

In our dreams we have a vision of all our country at play in our sportsfields and enjoying deserved and enriching recreation in our theatres, galleries, beaches, mountains, plains and game parks, in conditions of peace, security and comfort.

Our road to that glorious future lies through collective hard work to accomplish the objective of creating a people-centred society through the implementation of the vision contained in our reconstruction and development plan.

Let us all get down to work!
ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA AT THE OPENING OF
PARLIAMENT, 5 February 1999

Madame Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly; Honourable Chairperson and Deputy Chairpersons of the National Council of Provinces; Honourable Members of Parliament; Distinguished guests; ladies and Gentlemen:

Today we start the ultimate session of our first democratic parliament.

The profound changes of the past four-and-half years make the distance traversed seem so short; the end so sudden. Yet with the epoch-making progress that has been made, this period could have been decades.

South Africa is in a momentous process of change, blazing a trail towards a secure future.

The time is yet to come for farewells, as many of us – by choice or circumstance – will not return. However, there is no time to pause. The long walk is not yet over. The prize of a better life has yet to be won

Allow me, Madame Speaker, to cast my eyes further back than the period under review. Ten years ago, in a letter to the Head of the Apartheid State, in an attempt to launch negotiations, one humble prisoner said that, at a first meeting between government and the ANC, two central issues needed to be addressed:

".. .firstly, the demand for majority rule in a unitary state; secondly, the concern of white South Africans over this demand, as well as the insistence of whites on structural guarantees that majority rule will not mean domination of the white minority by blacks"

In yet another letter, it was emphasised:

"The very first step on the way to reconciliation is obviously the dismantling of apartheid, and all measures used to reinforce it. To talk of reconciliation before this major step is taken is totally unrealistic"

These are some of the matters that I will address today.

Our transition has been managed with such success that some generously invoke the imagery of "miracle". Things such as equality, the right to vote in free and fair elections and freedom of speech, many of us now take for granted. Many past difficulties are now mere footnotes of history.

There can be no equivocation that the majority of South Africans, coalesced around our founding pact, are outgrowing the apprehensions which required the convoluted "structural guarantees" of the first few years. Though we might differ on method, it has become a national passion to pronounce commitment to a better life for all.

What then is the nation's scorecard on the fundamental question of socio-economic change?
Census 96, whose result was made public last year, has for the first time given South Africa a detailed and comprehensive portrait of itself. And it is against its dimensions that we must measure our progress.

In 1994, some 30% of South Africans lacked access to a safe supply of water near their homes: today, after three million people have benefited from the government's water supply programme, that has been reduced to 20%.

In 1994, less than 40% of South African households had electricity: today, after more than 2 million connections, 63% of households are connected to the electricity grid. In 1DS4, about a quarter of homes had telephones: today, after 1.3-million have been connected, 35% are linked to the telephone system.

This means that every day on average since our democratic elections has meant another 1,300 homes electrified; another 750 telephones installed; and another 1,700 people gaining access to clean water. Every day!

With the primary school nutrition programme reaching over 5-million children and the benefit of free health care, millions of children are growing healthy and unstunted.

Within the framework of our Integrated National Disability Strategy, today we have a government whose concern for the needs of the disabled is unprecedented in the history of South Africa.

This means more than the dry rhyme of statistics. The words of Ms Gladys Nzilane of Evaton who received keys to her new house last year ring true from the heart:

"I hear people on radio and television saying the government has failed; but I do not believe that...[This government] has given us life".

In this, she was echoing the feelings of millions, including Mama Lenah Ntsweni of Mpumalanga who was the 3-millionth person to receive safe and accessible water a few weeks ago.

Before we lose ourselves in detail, important though it may be, let us come back to the trends. The critical question is about a machinery which is improving its capacity to meet the needs of South Africans. Even where we might not have met our targets, this is the question that we need to probe.

Such is the experience in the provision of subsidised housing. With 700-thousand houses either built or under construction, we do acknowledge that we shall not reach the target of one million that we set ourselves. But, after the initial hiccups of the first two years, we have now developed the capacity to build 15,000 houses every month.

From the Jobs Summit, new initiatives have emerged, in a splendid partnership between business and government, to start major projects that will put more roofs over the head of those in want. As this project starts unlocking the problem of limited public resources, so will its beneficiaries multiply – from the supplier of building material to the small building contractor, from the new employees to those who will occupy these dwellings.
The construction of sports facilities reached new levels in 1998 and the establishment of Community Arts Centres exceeded the target. New ways of facilitating land restitution and redistribution are being implemented. The Adult Basic Education and Training Programme has reached more people than was originally planned.

In the area of welfare, after the pain of restructuring, the reach and the efficiency of delivery has improved; and R350-million is being saved a year by better management and eliminating corruption. The examples are many. But let us focus for a brief moment on two of the issues, namely welfare and education. The savings that have been effected through tackling fraud should rightly contribute to an expansion of assistance to those in need. During this Year of Older Persons, all of us – and I do include myself – are especially aware of the needs of senior citizens. We are therefore pleased to announce that we are able once again to increase old age pensions – this year by 4%, that is R20; and the disability grant by the same percentage.

Regarding education, why is it that the majority of South Africans feel that things have improved in this area? This is because many of those who were studying under trees or in dilapidated buildings have benefited from the R1-billion spent on the construction or renovation of 10,000 classrooms.

It is because the doors of all public schools are open; it is because the higher education assistance scheme is reaching more students; it is because, despite the setbacks of one or another year, the Matric results are improving. And even if this majority does not read or hear or see in the media the praise that is due when the Matric examinations are conducted without a major incident, they do not need to be told, for they live these experiences.

Last year, we made the observation that it was inexcusable that text-books were not supplied within seven days of the beginning of the school-term: Many areas did meet this target. However, many did not. We hope that this year the planning and funding will be settled earlier in the year. For, if this does not happen after the pressured experiences of last year; if our administrations are unable to carry out such a straight-forward project; then in the coming year, ordinary citizens like myself, will feel justified in calling, so to speak, for heads to roll!

Honourable Members and Delegates;

What this experience with text-books says to us is that capacity cannot be built through ordinary motions of government as we know it. I know Deputy President Thabo Mbeki has taken this issue to heart: that is, how to restructure government with the prime objective of fulfilling people-centred functions, rather than merely observing self-serving and archaic rules.

Such is the challenge in dealing with the difficult areas of crime and job-creation. On both these issues there is naturally public impatience. So the question we need to ask is whether there is a possibility of a strategic and visible break with the perception of stagnation!

It is not my task, at this last sitting of Parliament, to set out medium- and long-term programmes. But I feel more than confident to say that on both counts – with regard to crime and job-creation – there is hope.
What are the trends and concrete measures on crime?

The statistics show that there has been a reduction or stabilisation in most serious crimes. Murder for instance has declined by 10% since 1994. But the response is made that figures are meaningless in the context of people's concrete experiences.

A myriad of laws have been passed to narrow the space for criminals, the latest among these being legislation on crime syndicates as well as minimum sentences and conditions on the granting of bail. But the response is that not enough criminals are being arrested and the quality of investigation is poor. A detective academy has been set up, and the skills gathered here are starting to be felt in dealing with crime syndicates. And major steps have been taken to deploy police where they are needed most. But the response is, where are the results!

All these responses arise from a failure to appreciate the fact that turning the tide against crime cannot be achieved overnight. There are also deliberate efforts to sensationalise and politicise this issue. But we are the first to acknowledge that the impatience and dissatisfaction among ordinary people are justified.

We can and shall break out of this bog. There is hope.

Examine the experience of the Johannesburg central precinct and the Durban beach-front where communities and business-people have joined with police and cut the crime rate, and you will know there is hope. Ask the kingpins of cash-in-transit heists who are in C-max and you will know there is hope. Ask the corrupt police who are facing various charges, and you will know there is hope. Even though the level of attacks is rather too high, assess the trends in farming communities after the Summit on this issue and you will know there is hope.

For this we salute the men and women in blue, the overwhelming majority of them citizens of outstanding bravery and integrity; men and women who daily put their lives on the line so that the nation can enjoy security.

Above all, the establishment of the Office of the National Director of Public Prosecutions and, along with it, the special investigation unit, has already shown that a systematic approach to major crimes – combining intelligence, professional investigations and prosecutions – is bound to bear fruit. And in expressing our appreciation to the intelligence services for their contribution in this and other areas to guarantee our people's security, I wish to join the public in saying: more can be done; and more must be done.

Questions have been asked whether we have got the balance right between the rights of criminals and those of ordinary citizens. This government is not about to join the chorus baying for the death sentence or to reverse our human rights gains. Yet, in addition to the measures we introduced regarding bail and mandatory sentences we need to examine spaces that need tightening.

For instance, should interference with witnesses and murder of police-men and women not attract very harsh mandatory sentences? What about the form and content of evidence that should be given to defence attorneys in bail applications? For it does not help for the police to
do their work and for the justice system to be efficient, if criminals will subvert investigations and prosecution by violent and foul means.

These are just some of the issues that need to be addressed, along with, and I should underline, "along with" the plodding industry on all fronts which will take many years, to bring crime down to acceptable levels. Let me also briefly reflect on recent developments in Cape Town. Without presuming any organisation or individual guilty, there are some obvious things that cannot be concealed.

Firstly, what started off expressly as a campaign against gangsterism has now become a violent and murderous offensive against ordinary citizens and law-enforcement agencies. Secondly, what is portrayed as moral and god-inspired against oppression, exploitation and imperialism, has assumed the form of terrorism to undercut Cape Town's lifeline and destabilise a democratic government. Thirdly, what is undertaken as an expression of militancy, could now very easily provide cover for right-wing counter-revolution against the new South Africa.

This campaign is rotten to the core; it is misguided; and its attempts to invoke religion is blasphemous. What South African indeed who owes loyalty to this country and this continent, would engage in such callous deeds! What fighter against crime would engage in a campaign that diverts resources of the police from dealing with criminals!

I want to assure the people of Cape Town that we know who these people are; we know who trains and backs them; and steadily we are building water-tight cases against them that will ensure that they stay in jail for a long, long time. Let me reiterate: the battle against crime has been joined. And we have no doubts at all about who the victors will be.

Madame Speaker;

There is hope too in the area of job-creation.

For a start, if economic growth last year and this year are less encouraging, we are confident that this is an exception that confirms an otherwise upward trend. Indeed, in this era of volatility, what we need to ask ourselves is why South Africa did not experience the kind of paralysing turbulence that was the lot of most countries at our level of development.

The answer is that our fundamentals are robust. Local and foreign fixed investments are on the rise, though not at the pace we would prefer. Exports are increasing; and in some areas of agriculture for instance, the increase has been by as much as 1,000%.

Steadily, our economy is becoming more competitive. Telecommunications and tourism are growing at an impressive rate; road construction and Spatial Development Initiatives are expanding the economic base of regions that were ignored in the past; public works programmes have created hundreds of thousands of jobs, though some of them are temporary.

We have also taken impressive strides in the restructuring of state assets. And let us remind ourselves that some of the successes in the provision of services derive directly from this. We are determined to continue with this programme; but to do it in a way that is systematic and
professional, and benefits the people as a whole. This includes widening the base of ownership, among others, through the National Empowerment Fund.

South Africa did not experience what others did because we have credible and sustainable fiscal and monetary policies combining discipline and flexibility. Despite the difficulties that we have experienced, deriving from the global economy, we have resolved that we shall not cut the social spending required to build a better life for all, including the Poverty Relief Programme that now runs into billions of rands.

While strict econometric models may require certain fractions for a balance among indicators, we shall continue to discuss realistic inflation targets and interest rates for a developing country like ours.

We shall not divert from the course of discipline; nor shall we, as we said last year, cut our noses in order to spite our faces.

Yet the public is within its rights to ask, if all is well, why is the economy shedding jobs: is there hope?

Yes there is hope.

Many of the initiatives will take time to be felt in the lives of ordinary people. But there are immediate things that can be done.

It was in recognition of this challenge, that representatives of government, labour, business and communities came together last October to work out a concrete programme of action around this challenge of job-creation. And we emerged from there confident of the future because we set out to build it together. Among the decisions taken there, some of them unprecedented in any country, are:

❖ Firstly, the proposal of the trade union movement to mobilise all working people to dedicate one day's pay to the projects meant to create jobs for our fellow citizens. And today I commit all ministers and deputy ministers in my government to take part in this initiative by contributing a day's gross salary. We hope that all levels of government, including parliament as well as public and private institutions will do the same.
❖ Secondly, the mobilisation by the business community of funds which should run into more than R1-billion for special projects in tourism and skills development. We can take tourism beyond the impressive 8.2% of Gross Domestic Product that it has already achieved, to create hundreds of thousands of jobs.
❖ Over the next few years, there will be a dramatic expansion of the existing R5billion government package of labour intensive programmes such as Working for Water, Land Care, Municipal Infrastructure and selected Welfare projects.
❖ One major project on housing has already started, where public and private funds will be pooled to start a process that will speed up housing delivery at the same time as it creates jobs.
❖ The Umsobomvu Trust, which will be worth over a billion rand, and which is aimed at creating jobs, learnerships and business opportunities among the youth is one among projects many of which have been proposed by the youth themselves.
Together these major initiatives have the potential to change the face of South Africa. And if we say there is hope, in so far as job-creation is concerned, it is because we know that all the partners have put shoulders to the wheel to ensure that we succeed.

In this context, we should reflect on our achievements regarding the regulation of the labour market. I refer here to the Labour Relations, Basic Conditions of Employment and Employment Equity Acts among others. Liberation could not have meant otherwise to a working class that was divided by racial laws and sections of which were blocked by edict from advancing in the work-place.

We cannot retreat from this achievement in human rights. That our trade union movement has initiated the kind of contribution to job-creation that I referred to, is testimony to the responsibility that goes with a sense of social belonging.

Notwithstanding these achievements, if indeed job-creation and ending poverty are among our primary challenges, we must continually evaluate how our labour market policies and the rate of private investments, among others, facilitate the realisation of these objectives. This we must do in order to ensure that we achieve our common objectives.

This hope that we have about the future, Honourable Members and Delegates, derives also from the knowledge that this government is serious about utilising state structures for the benefit of the people. And this applies not only to the national sphere.

if in the past, the profile of provincial government was portrayed more in the mistakes they made; it is perhaps a reflection of great improvement in their work, in the context of South Africa's news content, that little is heard about most of them in the media.

We referred earlier to management of the Matric results, some improvement in the supply of text-books, and the management of social security grants. In addition to all this, shouldn't we all be proud as South Africans that only two years after the introduction of mass allocations of funds to provinces, we are able to achieve fewer overdrafts and deficits! This is not merely a stroke of good fortune. It is a result of hard work; and congratulations go to these public representatives and administrations.

Last year, we spoke of the need to cut expenditure on personnel, as part of reducing a bloated civil service and changing its orientation. That commitment remains. The new civil service regulations based on each individual's output, especially management, rather than just observance of rules, should see to the improvement of service to the public.

Much progress has been made towards comprehensive agreement on redeployment and retrenchment. Logically, this must be based on assessment of public needs and on the very objective of governance. But let us emphasise that, none of the parties in these negotiations will or should be allowed to use these processes to delay decisive action on this issue.

Within local government, there is steady progress in regularising finances, in implementing poverty-based assistance, in setting up mechanisms reduce the number of councils. And there is now seldom need for national interventions to resolve unnecessary conflict between these structures and traditional leaders.
But we must be honest and acknowledge that, in many respects, this level of government has often played itself out as an Achilles Heel of democratic governance. This is not for the lack of structures and rules. Where this happens, it has more to do with the behaviour and attitudes of cadres that all parties have deployed in these structures. It is a matter of the survival of democracy, of the confidence that people will have in the new system, that all of us should pay particular attention to this issue. The public is justified in demanding better service, more respect and greater concern for their needs rather than self-aggrandisement.

Our hope for the future depends also on our resolution as a nation in dealing with the scourge of corruption. Success will require an acceptance that, in many respects, we are a sick society.

It is perfectly correct to assert that all this was spawned by apartheid. No amount of self-induced amnesia will change this reality of history.

But it is also a reality of the present that among the new cadres in various levels of government, you find individuals who are as corrupt as – if not more than – those they found in government. When a leader in a Provincial Legislature siphons off resources meant to fund service by legislators to the people; when employees of a government institution set up to help empower those who were excluded by apartheid defraud it for their own enrichment, then we must admit that we are a sick society.

This problem manifests itself in all areas of life. More often than not, it is business people who launder funds to curry favour with public servants; it is ordinary citizens who seek to buy themselves out of trouble; it is strange religious leaders who sing praises to criminals or hoard land acquired by the foul means of apartheid. All of us must work together for our redemption.

Many mechanisms have been put in place or strengthened to investigate and ensure proper punishment for these vile deeds: the Public Protector, the Heath Commission, the Auditor-General, the Office for Serious Economic Offences, to name but a few. Within government, more resources are being provided to allow them to do their work.

And very practical resolutions emerged from the Public Sector Anti-corruption Summit held last November.

By the time we go to the National Summit in March, which will be informed by the decisions of the Religious Morals Summit and the Public Sector Conference, all sectors of society, including business and the trade union movement, should have worked out concrete proposals to take this matter forward in a visible and meaningful way. It is commendable that the Public Service Bargaining Chamber has this week agreed on drafting new disciplinary mechanisms to facilitate dealing with cases of corruption, mismanagement and incompetence. Our nation needs, as matter of urgency, what one writer has called an "RDP of the Soul".

When we succeed in changing our own way of doing things, when we make progress in transforming society at all levels, we shall not only be improving our own quality of life. We shall also be laying the basis for a future of hope for our children and grandchildren.
We know too well that, if there is a problem of unemployment, it is the youth who bear the brunt of it. If there are high incidences of crime, it is the youth who are misused as foot-soldiers and consumers of illegal substances. If there is corruption and lack of morality, it is they who suffer a warped upbringing. If we do not rid ourselves of the culture of violence, it is the youth who will be infected with it.

It is therefore encouraging that youth organisations have started to play a more visible role in initiatives such as the Jobs Summit and community service. We value the increasingly powerful role they are starting to play in the critical campaign against HIV/AIDS. They do have the capacity to make a special contribution to breaking the silence which fuels this epidemic; as we shall all be doing during the coming National Condom Week when we focus on prevention. This leadership role by the youth reinforces my own hope in the future of our country and our nation. And I wish to, all on all the youth of our country, in their millions, to recognise their civic duty in all spheres of life, including taking part in exercising their right to elect a government of their choice.

Madame Speaker;

I referred at the beginning to the letters written by a notorious prisoner. In one of them, he said:

"I am disturbed, as many other South Africans no doubt are, by the spectre of a South Africa split into two hostile camps: blacks on one side... and whites on the other, slaughtering one another; by acute tensions which are building up dangerously in practically every sphere of our lives..."

As I said earlier, we have collectively managed the transition in a commendable manner.

But it is matter of public record that elements of these divisions remain. We slaughter one another in our words and attitudes. We slaughter one another in the stereotypes and mistrust that linger in our heads, and the words of hate we spew from our lips. We slaughter one another in the responses that some of us give to efforts aimed at bettering the lives of the poor. We slaughter one another and our country by the manner in which we exaggerate its weaknesses to the wider world, heroes of the gab who astound their foreign associates by their self-flagellation. This must come to an end. For, indeed, those who thrive on hatred destroy their own capacity to make a positive contribution.

To the extent that the apprehensions about the meaning of democracy relate to real fears about matters such as language and culture, we are proud that progress is being made towards the establishment of the Commission on these and other issues so that all can feel secure as part of a united nation.

To the extent that some of the apprehensions are imagined or based on opposition to change, to that extent we are convinced that history will be the best teacher.

We hope though, especially as we go into the election campaign, that real leaders will emerge who base their messages on hope rather than fear; on the optimism of hard work rather than the pessimism of arm-chair whining.
Dealing with these challenges also means accepting the facts of our history. As I said when I received the TRC Interim Report last October, the government accepts it with its imperfections. We recognise that it is not a definitive or comprehensive history of the period it was reviewing; neither was it a court of law. It was an important contribution on the way to truth and reconciliation.

The critical act of reconciliation, to come back to the letters I referred to earlier, is the dismantling of what remains of apartheid practices and attitudes. Reconciliation, without this major step, will be transient, the ode of false hope on the lips of fools.

It will therefore be critical, that when we go into the detail of the TRC report's recommendations in the coming period, we must elaborate concrete plans about how together we can make practical contributions. This applies particularly to reparations, not so much to individuals, but to communities and the nation as a whole.

Let me reiterate that we shall all assist that process of nation-building and reconciliation, reconstruction and development, by protecting the institutions which guarantee the checks and balances that make social and political aberrations impossible. Our word of acknowledgement to the Human Rights Commission, the Gender Commission and others for the sterling work they are doing to strengthen democracy.

We should also underline that, while it is a matter of design rather than accident, that our social programmes for the poor impact most significantly on the lives of women, this is but a small element in dealing with gender relations. Need we remind ourselves that the greatest number of violent crimes that we have referred to take place in the home and mostly against women! Need we remind ourselves of the various forms of discrimination that still exist in the work-place, schools, places of worship and other social activity!

But we should also derive pride that, never in the history of this country has any government done so much to improve the status of women – black and white: and this, with their active participation! The institution of the independent judiciary has been throughout these first years of our freedom been a fundamental pillar of our democracy. And it continues to be.

It is matter of great pride that we have established a dispensation in which no-one, not even the President, is above the law. And for this, we owe thanks to the men and women of integrity who serve in this institution.

Another pillar of our democracy is the Independent Electoral Commission; and we respect it as we do all the others. Like all other such bodies, it is being assisted in various ways in accordance with the mission set out in the constitution, and what the country can afford. I should indicate that, after rational discussion, agreement was reached that the IEC should be allocated more than R160-million in additional funds, in the coming budget year, further to enable it to fulfil its functions. For the work that it has done to register potential voters, the IEC deserves our encouragement.

But it is you the citizen who has to come out voluntarily to register and take part in South Africa's governance. We urge those who have not registered to do so without delay. Democracy needs your voice.
Because of the impediment placed before us by some of the parties in this parliament, I am unable to formally announce the election date. It is the insistence that we retain the option, contained in the constitution, for Premiers to announce their own election dates – and not any reluctance on the part of the President – that this matter cannot be settled here and now. I am however able to give the indication, after extensive consultations, that we aim to select a day for our second national election in the period between the 18'h and 27'h of May.

Honourable Members and Delegates;

If we dare ourselves to succeed in this endeavour, it is because the benefit will be primarily ours. But there is a sense in which it will be for all humanity, the majority of whom took part in efforts to help us achieve our democracy.

Naturally, Southern Africa is our most critical point of reference. As we progress towards social and economic integration in the region, we are guided by the need to reverse the legacy of our past in the form of a trade balance skewed in South Africa's favour.

The re-negotiation of the Southern African Customs Union and the progress towards a SADC free trade area, slow as they may seem to outside observers, are making progress along a path that is meaningful and sustainable. Amongst the many concrete symbols of the integrated reconstruction of our region is the progress towards the establishment of a Southern African Electricity Power Pool co-ordinated from Harare, which will also augment the region's power from the rehabilitated Cahora Bassa project.

These firm steps towards integration are part of the renewal of our continent, an African Renaissance campaign which is growing to become a continental movement.

Our celebration of the millennium must reinforce this campaign and draw our artists, intellectuals and journalists more actively into this enterprise. Sports events such as the Africa Games in Greater Johannesburg this Spring, and the African Cup of Nations in Zimbabwe next year, should form part of this celebration of Africa's rebirth.

Fundamental to our success in generating this rebirth is to root out the causes of conflicts which are ravaging parts of the continent.

It is with great concern that we see Angola once more threatened with all-out war. We do ask ourselves whether the time has not come to draw basic lessons from this experience: to pose the question whether the United Nations' approach has been what is required of a situation in which one party rejects the results of a free and fair election.

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, we do welcome the growing realisation that political inclusivity in transition is one of the solutions required. There can be no winner in the military contest; there can only be untold suffering to the African people.

Further afield, we remain hopeful that the protracted conflicts and the terrible suffering of civilians in countries such as Sierra Leone, Somalia and the Sudan will be brought to an end.
And looking beyond our continent, we join all humanity in calling for a speedy resolution of the problems in the Middle East and in East Timor. If I may I would like to say a few brief words on Lesotho. There is no doubt that SADC's collective initiative succeeded in creating the space for this country's political leaders to find a peaceful resolution of their differences; and we ought to take this opportunity to congratulate the Botswana and South African Defence Forces on their decisive contribution; and to pay tribute to those who lost their lives.

We wish to assure members of our Defence Force that the nation is behind them in their endeavours: be it in the fight against crime, in peace-keeping operations or in their calm and professional assistance to voter registration. We remain as committed as ever to equip the Force in a manner that ensures its effectiveness and adds value to the economy.

The building of our region and the renewal of our continent, to which we have referred, in turn form part of the broader movement of developing countries to eradicate poverty and overcome the historical imbalances between North and South. The successful Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Durban last year has brought South Africa the opportunity to assist in asserting the interests of the developing world on serious issues facing humanity.

Amongst the most pressing of these is the debt burden as well as the need to bring under control the vast movements of capital which wash across the globe without much social benefit, and with the capacity to undo years of industrialisation where it is most urgently needed.

The initiatives under discussion to manage these rampant effects of globalisation, including unfair protectionist measures in some industrialised countries, require the reform of Bretton Wood institutions, and even more critically, the United Nations Security Council, in conformity with the democratic ethos of our age. We are encouraged that more and more nations are starting to recognise not only the need for this, but its urgency as well.

We are proud as a country that over the last four-and-half years, we have broadened our relations with developing countries of Asia – now the second largest bloc with whom we trade – as well as Latin America across the Atlantic. Our strategic location places us well to act as a bridge linking these two important regions and the African continent.

We scarcely need to add that this burgeoning of our links with the countries of the South is not in opposition to the our relations with Japan, the United States, Europe, including Russia, or the new strategic partnership we are building with the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, they serve to enlarge the possibilities for truly equitable partnerships of mutual benefit to all our peoples.

For a country that not many years ago was the polecat of the world, South Africa has truly undergone a revolution in its relations with the international community. The doors of the world have opened to South Africa, precisely because of our success in achieving things that humanity as a whole holds dear. Of this we should be proud.

Madame Speaker;
As we reflect on the years of transition and beginnings of transformation, we have cause to draw inspiration from what South Africans can do. We dare to hope for a brighter future, because we are prepared to work for it. The steady progress of the past few years has laid the foundation for greater achievements. But the reality is that we can do much, much better.

In the discussions that I have had with Deputy President Mbeki, we have posed to ourselves the question whether we should be satisfied with steady progress. Is South Africa not capable of breaking out of the current pace and moving much faster to a better life?

As the Deputy President has often said, the policies we have accord with the needs of the moment. There is no need to change them. Yet the speed and style of implementing them can be improved. There are a few ingredients to this that need further attention. To elaborate on some of them:

The first ingredient is Partnership: If we examine the major successes that have been made this year in addressing the most serious problems we face, one factor stands out above all others: and that is partnership among various sectors of society. The Jobs Summit, the new AIDS Awareness Campaign, the summits on morality and corruption, and the issue of security in the farming communities are concrete examples from recent months. So too was last year's successful Masakhane Focus Week. And it is in this spirit that we shall on Freedom Day announce this year's winners of the President's Award for Community Initiative.

These initiatives have resulted in major advances, as society mobilises hand-in-hand with government, to tackle the issues head on. As such, one of the launching pads to faster progress has to be the mobilisation of South African society to act in unison on critical issues facing the nation.

The second element is Discipline – the balance between freedom and responsibility: Quite clearly, there is something wrong with a society where freedom is interpreted to mean that teachers or students get to school drunk; warders chase away management and appoint their own friends to lead institutions; striking workers resort to violence and destruction of property; business-people lavish money in court cases simply to delay implementation of legislation they do not like; and tax evasion turns individuals into heroes of dinner-table talk.

Something drastic needs to be done about this. South African society – in its schools and universities, in the work-place, in sports, in professional work and all areas of social interaction – needs to infuse itself with a measure of discipline, a work ethic and responsibility for the actions we undertake.

Thirdly, and related to the above is the question of reconstruction of the soul of the nation, "the RDP of the Soul": by this we mean first and foremost respect for life; pride and self-respect as South Africans rather than the notion that we can thrive in senseless self-flagellation.

It means asserting our collective and individual identity as Africans, committed to the rebirth of the continent; being respectful of other citizens and honouring women and children of our country who are exposed to all kinds of domestic violence and abuse. It means building our
schools into communities of learning and improvement of character. It means mobilising one another, and not merely waiting for government to clean our streets or for funding allocations to plant trees and tend school-yards.

These are things that we need to embrace as a nation that is nurturing its New Patriotism. They constitute an important environment for bringing up future generations. They are about the involvement of South Africans in building a better life.

Thus we shall take not just small steps, but giant leaps to a bright future in a new millennium. As we confounded the prophets of doom, we shall defy today’s merchants of cynicism and despair. We shall, as we said in those letters of ten years ago, fully dismantle apartheid and achieve true reconciliation. Our hopes will become reality.

The foundation has been laid – the building is in progress. With a new generation of leaders and a people that rolls up its sleeves in partnerships for change, we can and shall build the country of our dreams!

<EOD>
ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA,
THABO MBeki, AT THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT: NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,

Madames Speaker and Deputy Speaker.
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces and Deputy Chairperson (one revolving,
the other one permanent),
Premiers of our Provinces,
Distinguished representatives of local government,
Deputy President of the Republic,
Honourable Members of our National Parliament,
Your Excellencies Ambassadors and High Commissioners,
Distinguished guests:

We are on course.

Steadily, the dark clouds of despair are lifting, giving way to our season of hope.

Our country which, for centuries, has bled from a thousand wounds is progressing towards its
healing.

The continuing process of social and national emancipation, to which we are all subject,
constitutes an evolving act of self-definition.

At the dawn of a new life, our practical actions must ensure that none can challenge us when
we say – we are a nation at work to build a better life!

When the millions of our people went to vote three weeks ago in peaceful elections that were
free and fair, they guaranteed the permanence of the foundations from which we will advance
to meet this objective.

To these masses we owe the obligation to recommit the government on whose behalf I speak,
to the construction of a people-centred society.

This I am happy to do with all the authority at my command.

What will guide us in everything we do will be the challenge to build a caring society.

This society must guarantee the dignity of every citizen on the basis of a good quality of life
for every woman, man and child, without regard to race, or colour or disability.

It must be sustained by a growing economy capable of extending sustainable and equitable
benefits to all our people.

We seek to replace a society which, in many instances, has been and continues to be brutal
and brutish in the extreme.
Over the centuries this has condemned millions to a catastrophic loss of national identity and human dignity, land dispossession, classification and denigration as sub-humans and the systematic destruction of families and communities.

The society we seek to replace was, to a very significant degree, built on the law of the jungle of the survival of the fittest.

Accordingly, the weakest who were denied access to power became the landless, the unemployed, the uneducated, the surplus people deported to the so-called homelands, the victims of abject poverty.

Among these are those in our cities and towns who have lost all hope and all self-worth, who have slid into a twilight world of drug and alcohol abuse, the continuous sexual and physical abuse of women and children, of purposeless wars fought with fists and boots, with metal rods, knives and guns, everyday resulting in death and grievous bodily harm.

The society we seek to replace entrenched corruption in all areas of human activity informed by the notion that the concepts of right and wrong are dead and, therefore, that everything that serves my personal interests is permissible.

What we have said shows the enormity of the challenge we face to succeed in creating the caring society we have spoken of.

For this reason this is not a task that can be carried out by the government alone. The challenge of the reconstruction and development of our society into one which guarantees human dignity, faces the entirety of our people.

It is a national task that calls for the mobilisation of the whole nation into united people's action, into a partnership with government for progressive change and a better life for all, for a common effort to build a winning nation.

The Government therefore commits itself to work in a close partnership with all our people, inspired by the call – Faranani! – to ensure that we draw on the energy and genius of the nation to give birth to something that will surely be new, good and beautiful.

We invite all those in our country who occupy positions of authority and power to join in this new way of doing things, by engaging the people whom they serve and lead in the common effort to transform all of us into a people at work for a better South Africa.

One of the central features of the brutish society we seek to bring to an end is the impermissible level of crime and violence. Acting together with the people, we will heighten our efforts radically to improve the safety and security of all our citizens.

This will entail a variety of measures focussed on ensuring the effective implementation of the national crime prevention strategy. Let me mention a few of these, relating mainly to policing.
We will work to improve the professional competence and effectiveness of the Police Service by introducing new human resource development programmes.

I am also pleased to announce that new recruits with the requisite levels of education will be brought into the Service to help transform the Police Service into the pride of the nation.

Appropriate measures will be taken to give these recruits the necessary training so that they can assume their positions as soon as possible at all levels, including the senior management echelon.

At the same time, all relevant regulations will be reviewed to ensure the proper promotion and deployment of serving members, taking into account their competence, honesty and dedication and the need to end the racial and gender imbalances within the Police Service.

Steps will be taken to review the conditions of service of the Police Service with a view to their improvement.

This must also help us to ensure that we raise the public status of our policemen and policewomen so that they are seen, correctly, as the frontline guarantors of the fundamental human rights to liberty, life, safety and security.

To enable our law enforcement agencies to translate this into reality, I am privileged to announce that a special and adequately staffed and equipped investigation unit will be established urgently to deal with all national priority crimes, including police corruption.

I have directed that the Ministers of Safety and Security, Defence, Intelligence, Justice, Home Affairs and Finance must finalise all outstanding matters which relate to the activation of this unit within a fortnight. Co-ordination of all security organs will be improved in accordance with the provisions of the National Crime Prevention Strategy.

Taking into account developments since its passage and to ensure that nobody benefits from the proceeds of crime, amendments to the Prevention of Organised Crime Act will be introduced. Legislation against money laundering will also be introduced.

Legislation will also be introduced to ensure that we can deal mercilessly with all crimes involving guns, including the illegal possession of firearms, the killing of police officers, corruption within the criminal justice system and the intimidation of witnesses.

A study conducted by the Co-ordination and Implementation Unit in the Office of the Deputy President has confirmed what surely all of us have known, of the correlation between crime, poverty and race.

The areas of high crime concentration, including all crimes of violence, are the black and poor areas of our country.

These include such areas as Tsolo in the Eastern Cape, Thabong in the Free State, Katlehong in Gauteng, Inanda in KwaZulu-Natal, KaNyamazana in Mpumalanga, Mafikeng in the North
West, Galeshewe in the Northern Cape, Thohoyandou in the Northern Province and Mitchells's Plain in the Western Cape.

We will therefore make multi-disciplinary interventions in these areas, starting with a few pilot areas, drawing in all spheres of government and engaging the people themselves in an offensive to ensure that we reduce the levels of crime in these areas which are characterised by a high incidence of crime.

Measures will also be taken to strengthen the Community Police Fora to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and the law enforcement agencies.

As we have said, the partnership between the Government and the people will be one of the hallmarks of the national offensive against crime and violence.

We will also adopt this same approach of partnership with the people in the fight against corruption. In this regard, we must ensure that we pass the Open Democracy Act and move speedily to ensure the implementation of the provisions relating to the protection of whistleblowers.

The coming into force of the Public Finance Management Act will also increase our capacity to ensure proper control and accountability with regard to public finances.

New steps will also be taken to ensure the enforcement of the Code of Conduct for Public Servants as well as the proposals that emerged from the government and national anti-corruption conferences held during 1998 and 1999.

In this regard, standing arrangements will be entered into, requiring that the Public Service Commission and the representatives of the private sector account publicly for the actions to which they committed themselves at the conferences. A further impetus will have to be given to the initiative of Religious Leaders against Corruption to achieve the "RDP of the soul" which Nelson Mandela spoke about.

I would like to take this opportunity once more to reiterate the commitment of our government to honest, transparent and accountable government and our determination to act against anybody who transgresses these norms.

The South African Revenue Service, the Police Service and the Director of Public Prosecutions will further strengthen their co-operation in the fight against financial and economic crimes.

The example set by SARS of openness with regard to violations of the law, regardless of social standing of the violators, will be maintained.

Urgent work is proceeding to determine the possibility of establishing special commercial crime courts as soon as possible as well as the gathering of the necessary complement of intelligence officers, investigators and prosecutors to ensure that we deal effectively with white-collar crime.
The caring society of which we have spoken must, of course, successfully address the challenge of meeting the material needs of our people.

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) were implemented by our first democratic government to achieve socio-economic transformation and macro-economic stability.

The structural changes entailed within these processes were also to take place within the context of our economy becoming more competitive as it integrated itself within the global economy.

The RDP and GEAR will remain the basic policy objectives of the new government to achieve sustainable growth, development and improved standards of living.

At the same time, we will actively address any remaining impediments to investment and job creation. Where the structural changes already achieved allow us to evolve new policies, we will do so.

Among other things, the revised GDP figures announced on the 21st of June confirm both the structural change that has taken place within our economy and the fact of a more robust economic performance than the pessimists would have us believe.

The challenge remains for all of us to get to know the real South Africa and, in this context, to fight back to defeat a frame of mind which drives some among us to hope and pray for failure and to celebrate such failure whenever it has occurred, or when we have convinced ourselves that it has occurred.

Our task is to build on the achievements reflected in the economic realities reflected in the figures issued by Statistics South Africa at the beginning of this week.

Accordingly, we have to work to increase both the level of investment and the savings ratio. This will include further steps to eliminate any dis-saving by the state and to introduce incentives to encourage saving.

The improvements in the deficit and debt ratios indicated in the latest GDP figures, will also give us some space further to increase public sector capital expenditure.

This will strengthen the improvement in capital expenditure by public authorities and public corporations reported in the GDP figures to which we have referred.

The further transformation of the state machinery will result in changes to the public expenditure patterns, against personnel costs, in favour of capital expenditure, including maintenance.

These processes will also involve the provincial sphere of government.

The Municipal Infrastructure Programme is now beginning to progress. To increase the momentum requires further improvements in local government financial management.
It also requires concerted action to promote public-private partnerships, which must be constructed on a fiscally sound and sustainable basis.

These matters, affecting the critical local government sphere will be attended to in a vigorous manner.

Investment by the public sector is closely associated with the restructuring of state assets. Progress in this area has been made over the last five years. We are now at a stage where further important restructuring can and will take place.

In the telecommunications sector, there will be further developments with the issuing of new licences. This will have a further positive impact on the expansion and modernisation of our telecommunications infrastructure, the affordability of services to consumers and investment in the economy.

I am happy to inform the Honourable Members that former minister, Jay Naidoo, will continue to work in this sector to assist in its further development domestically and to promote the African Connection, which is a critical element of the African Renaissance.

Some of the most important developments with regard to the restructuring of state assets will relate to Transnet. In part, the priority given to this corporation arises from the fact that the transport and logistic system it contains underpins the success of other major investment projects.

These include the Spatial Development Initiatives, the Industrial Development Zones, cross-border initiatives, the industrial participation programmes arising out of the defence procurement as well as our overall export drive.

The complex work that had to be done to prepare the Transnet corporation for its restructuring enabled us to put part of the national carrier, South African Airways on the market. I am pleased to announce that the winning bidder is Swissair which will acquire 20 per cent of SAA at a price of R1,4 billion.

We are very satisfied with this result, convinced that it will bring maximum benefits to our country, further strengthen our relations with the Confederation of Switzerland and again demonstrate in practical terms the importance of a measured approach towards the important issue of the restructuring of public assets.

I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate our new strategic partner and to thank the Honourable Stella Sigcau for the work she did to enable us to reach the important stage we have, during which we will deal with other business units within the Transnet group.

Similarly, the liquid fuels and petro-chemical industry will be given priority, with the Ministries of Minerals and Energy, Trade and Industry and Public Enterprises acting together.

This includes finalisation of discussions with the Government of Mozambique with regard to a gas pipeline from their gas fields to South Africa.
The outcome of these processes will result in adding a highly competitive dimension to the productive economies of southern Africa.

The Government will continue to intensify its work to facilitate investment by the private sector, ensuring that the institutions that have been established to promote investment and the system of incentives achieve the desired results.

Further to improve our effectiveness in these areas, we will shortly establish an International Investment Council.

This prestigious Council, which will include some of the leading players in the global economy who are driven by a passionate desire to ensure that we succeed as a country, will work with the President, as well as our leading business people and trade unionists to help us ensure that South Africa is an attractive destination for foreign investment.

Consistent with our determination to strengthen our partnership with the people for the achievement of our common goals, four Working Groups will also be established bringing government together with big business, the black business sector, commercial agriculture and the trade unions.

The development of small, medium and micro enterprises remains a top priority of government. Accordingly, new measures will have to be instituted to record more success than has been the case to date.

We have listened very carefully to what the actors in this area of the economy have said. Accordingly, the policy and institutional framework to support and encourage this sector is being reviewed. We will announce new decisions in this regard within the next three months.

The Government will also place more emphasis on the development of a co-operative movement to combine the financial, labour and other resources among the masses of the people, to rebuild our communities and engage the people in their own development through sustainable economic activity.

There are two other areas that have an impact on investment. Interest rates remain high. The Reserve Bank and the Ministry of Finance will continue to address this matter carefully, conscious of the negative impact these high rates have on the desired higher rates of investment and growth.

The other area that has attracted considerable comment is the labour market and its actual or perceived impact on investment and job creation. Much of this commentary is ill informed or promotes a particular ideological or political point of view.

The most recent independent study on this issue was published by the ILO in February, this year.

The report states that: "One of the key findings of the study was that when compared to other middle-income countries, labour regulations on dismissal, fixed-term contracts and working conditions do not appear to be particularly onerous...A degree of numerical adaptability (at
exit) does exist – thus dismissing the view that inflexible labour markets are at the heart of the employment problem...Unfortunately employers perceive that the recent "avalanche" of labour market policy now make it more onerous to employ. These perceptions, whilst they may not be rooted in reality when one considers the regulatory environment in other countries, do appear to be influencing the behaviour of the economic actors..."

The Government will continue to give priority to the issue of job creation. If perceptions or realities influence the process negatively, these must be addressed.

Accordingly, in keeping with the decisions taken at the Job Summit, consultations have been taking place with our social partners to identify such possible areas.

These include probation, remedies for unfair dismissals, dismissals for operational requirements, the extension of bargaining council agreements and certain provisions of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act.

We will continue to discuss these matters with our social partners to address the efficiency of the labour market.

Job creation, the opening up of opportunities for all our people to earn an honest living as well as the protection of the rights of all our working people, remain matters of critical concern to the Government.

We will continue actively to address all these matters, including such important questions as skills development, the casualisation of labour, illegal foreign workers and workers whose rights are not protected.

All necessary measures will be taken to ensure the implementation of all other decisions taken at the Job Summit. The necessary funds have already been voted to meet the commitments the Government made at this Summit.

All our partners have an obligation themselves publicly to report on the actions they have taken and are taking to honour their undertakings.

An important project that will soon be implemented within the context of the Job Summit will be the improvement of public buildings to enhance access and use by disabled people. This initiative, elaborated by the disabled, the National Youth Commission and Public Works will be implemented soon, as part of the programme decided at the Job Summit.

The Umsobomvu Fund for youth development and training will become operational as soon as the Old Mutual has completed its demutualisation process.

The Board of Trustees of the National Development Agency will be constituted shortly. Hopefully, this will assist in ensuring the further mobilisation of the people themselves to participate in the development process as agents working for social change and their own advancement.
I am pleased to announce that, immediately, the Minister of Trade and Industry will make recommendations to the Government with regard to those who competed to run our national lottery.

This important matter will be concluded within the next fourteen days. In a few months, it will be possible to allocate even more resources to the promotion of the good causes to which the Government and institutions such as the NDA and the IDT are committed.

Madam Speaker, the rural areas of our country represent the worst concentrations of poverty. No progress can be made towards a life of human dignity for our people as a whole unless we ensure the development of these areas.

The Government is now in a position to implement a rural development programme for the integrated development of the rural areas. This will bring together all government departments and all spheres of government, including the traditional leaders.

The integration we seek must, for instance, ensure that when a clinic is built, there must be a road to access it. It must be electrified and supplied with water.

It must have the requisite personnel, qualified to meet the health needs of the particular community.

The safety and security of the personnel and material resources which are part of the clinic must be guaranteed.

We must also establish the conditions which give the possibility to this medical point to radiate outwards as a point of reference with regard to the larger project of our self-definition as a people at work, building a better life for ourselves.

Consistent with our concentration on this objective, including the critical importance of jobs, the Government remains preoccupied with the issue of gold sales and their impact on gold mining, employment and export earnings, both in our own country and the rest of our Continent.

Working within the Gold Crisis Committee, we will continue to maintain contact will all relevant players both domestically and throughout the world to minimise the inevitable adverse effect on our country, our people and our Continent. The debt burden of those who cannot both carry this debt and achieve sustained development must be addressed.

In the same way that we have demonstrated our own commitment to contribute to the development of others less fortunate than ourselves, by forgiving the debts of some of our neighbours, we expect that those who are a thousand time wealthier than we are, will not seek to help us as Africans by rendering us less capable of standing on our own feet.

Further to improve the quality of life of all our people, especially the most disadvantaged, the Government will maintain its approach to reprioritise public spending to maintain and improve the safety net available to the most disadvantaged in our society.
It is however vital that we improve the quality of spending in these areas and therefore the delivery of services to the people.

This will be done by managing downwards the amounts spent on personnel, rooting out corruption and theft, improving management skills throughout the social sector and ensuring an integrated, inter-departmental approach to the delivery of services.

Special programmes will also be introduced to speed up the improvement of the quality of life of various sections of our population.

These will include the accelerated delivery of assistive devices for the disabled and the establishment of one-stop centres for abused women and children.

The Office on the Status of Women will present a gender audit to Government by September. This will enable the Government to evaluate the progress achieved with regard to the implementation of the Plan of Action on Gender, which the previous government adopted.

This will enable us to take such decisions as may be necessary to ensure that we continue to focus on the vital question of the development and emancipation of women as well as further integrate this issue within all government programmes.

The advances made in this National Parliament and the National Executive with regard to gender equity, point to the need to adopt a similar approach with regard to all other centres of authority and power in our society.

Similarly, the Government will tighten its tracking of the poverty question to ensure that government policies and programmes are actually succeeding to reduce the levels of poverty in our country. The funds set aside for poverty alleviation will also be allocated without further delay and will be used not as handouts but as a catalyst towards sustainable development.

The Government will also review all the work done so far to confront the scourge of HIV/AIDS with a view to the intensification of all efforts relating to this epidemic. Of critical importance will be that we take all necessary steps to ensure that the partnerships against HIV/AIDS that have been formed and the public education campaigns we have been conducting do actually result in changing behaviour patterns, improve support to AIDS victims and orphans and speed up steps towards the development of a vaccine.

An historic document of the people of our country asserts that as a consequence of the victory of the struggle for national liberation – the doors of education and learning shall be open to all!

Many people, including our youth, died and sacrificed for the realisation of this objective. They did so because they understood the importance for themselves and all our communities of the right to freedom from ignorance.

Consistent with this correct view, we must ensure that education and training constitute the decisive drivers in our effort to build a winning nation.
The Government will therefore intensify its focus on education so that we succeed in our effort to produce an educated and appropriately skilled population.

A great deal of work has been done in this area affecting all levels of education and training. We will therefore ensure that existing policies and programmes are carried out with a sense of urgency and commitment to their success.

To achieve these results, we will also have to engage in massive in-service training programmes for educators in all fields and at all levels, as well as the transformation of pre-service training.

We will have to focus on an outcomes-based assessment as well as on quality management systems. Our human resource development strategies will only succeed if the people assigned to develop our human resources have the capacity to do so.

All necessary steps must and will be taken to ensure that learners learn, educators educate and managers manage.

Once more we will also take the necessary measures to mobilise the people, including the parents, so that we succeed as a country to meet the challenge of educating all our people in a manner that is consistent with the demands imposed on everybody by the process of globalisation.

The Government is also determined to ensure that the machinery of state is geared towards serving the people in keeping with the vision of "Batho pele!"

We will speed up the completion of the Skills and Service Audits currently being carried out. This audit is aimed at defining service needs, the availability of skills and the possibilities for redeployment to support the process of the restructuring of the public service.

Action will be taken on the basis of this audit, as well as other initiatives, to right-size the public service, to improve skills levels, to improve the quality of management and release more resources for the actual provision of services to the people.

We will also work with the South African Local Government Association to lend all necessary assistance to ensure that this sphere of government improves its effectiveness and efficiency, bearing in mind that this is the point at which our entire system of government delivers services to the people.

In this context, we must make the point that to overcome the problem of urban poverty, will require that local government adopts and pursues a consistent programme of poverty relief, without discrimination on the basis of race or colour.

Our Government is ready and willing to support this effort.

The promotion and protection of the cultural, linguistic and religious rights of all our people must occupy a central place in the work of Government.
It should not happen that anyone of us should feel a sense of alienation. Whatever the sicknesses of our society, none should be driven to levels of despair which drive them to a peripheral existence at the fringes of the mainstream.

Nor should we allow that those who were denied their identity, including the Khoi and the San, continue to exist in the shadows, a passing historical relic and an object of an obscene tourist curiosity.

We consider the work of restoring the pride and identity of all our people of vital importance to the task of advancing the human dignity of all our citizens and ensuring the success of our efforts towards national reconciliation and nation building.

We will work for the speedy implementation of the constitutional requirement to establish a Commission for the Promotion and Protection of Language, Cultural and Religious Rights.

We will also work with the traditional leaders to resolve all outstanding matters relating to the important question of the role of our traditional leaders in our system of governance.

The Ministries of Sports and Recreation as well as Arts, Culture, Science and Technology will play a special role with regard to the critical work to ensure that all our cultures and languages occupy their rightful place within the rich tapestry that constitutes our diverse being as a people.

This will be an important contribution to the effort we must sustain to wipe out the legacies of racism and sexism, which continue to afflict our society.

Capacity will be created within the Presidency to ensure that our Government, at its highest levels, gives attention to all these questions which bear on nation building.

The Government will also focus on the tasks of achieving the objectives of the African Renaissance and ensuring that the next century evolves as the African century.

We will therefore contribute whatever we can towards the resolution of conflicts on our Continent. We cannot accept that war, violent conflict and rapine are a permanent condition of existence for us as Africans. Nor can we accept that our Continent, endowed with enormous human and natural resources, is incapable of achieving sustained development.

Everyday all those who will hear and see are exposed to the extraordinary integrated cultural heritage which both captures our African past and is an important factor that will contribute towards the recovery of our pride and dignity.

Gradually, Africa will work her way towards the resumption of her rightful place among the continents of our globe.

Where necessary, we will call on the services of such outstanding African statespersons as former Presidents Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Sir Ketumile Masire and Nelson Mandela to assist in the promotion of this agenda.
As part of the world community of nations, we will make our due contribution to the construction of a new world order that will be responsive to the needs of especially the poor of the world.

For us to succeed in our work, both as a Government and as a people, will require that we approach the tasks ahead with all due seriousness and a sense of discipline which recognises the fact that all rights are accompanied by obligations.

It will require that all of us defend the freedoms and the system of government guaranteed and created by our Constitution, underpinned by the understanding that the people are the final guarantors of our democracy, the subject of all government policies and their own liberators.

As the people went to the polls earlier this month, protected among others by our National Defence Force, which had also acted to defend life and democracy in Lesotho, they expected that the government they would elect would work selflessly to respond to their needs and aspirations, bearing in mind resource limitations.

We dare not and will not disappoint that expectation.

As a tribute to these masses, I would like to salute all the provincial winners of the President's Award for Community Initiative.

I am happy to announce that the national winner of the Award, whose work focused on such important issues as poverty alleviation, the emancipation of women, the rebuilding of communities, domestic violence and providing education on HIV/AIDS, is the Makgaung Community Project of the Northern Province.

May the selfless and creative work carried out by the women of the Northern Province serve to inspire all of us to spare no effort in the struggle to create a caring society.

We sit in this parliament, authorised by these women from the Northern Province and others who mirror them throughout our country, to work as their representatives.

We must assume that they were wise to have selected us. If they were, as we must accept in our self interest that they were, this we must accept also that none of us should forsake their wisdom, as it will watch over us as we carry out our tasks.

Their wisdom will protect us, exalt and honour us, even as it costs us all we have, including the vanity of our prejudices.

If, by word and deed, we take our places among the ordinary people who position themselves among a nation that is at work to build a better life for all within a caring society, then should we expect that the poor of the world will set a garland of grace on our heads and present each and everyone of us with a crown of splendour.

Thus will we all arrive at the starting point – that we are on course! Thank you.
State of the Nation Address of the President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki: Joint Sitting of Parliament

8 February 2008

Madam Speaker of the National Assembly;
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces (NCOP);
Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP;
Deputy President of the Republic;
Honourable leaders of our political parties and Honourable Members of Parliament;
Ministers and Deputy Ministers;
Mr Jacob Zuma, Former Deputy President of the Republic and President of the African National Congress;
Our esteemed Chief Justice and members of the Judiciary;
Heads of our Security Services;
Governor of the Reserve Bank;
Distinguished Premiers and Speakers of our Provinces;
Chairperson of SALGA, mayors and leaders in our system of local government;
Chairperson of the National house of traditional leaders and our honoured traditional leaders;
Heads of the state organs supporting our constitutional democracy;
Directors-General and other leaders of the public service;
Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners;
Distinguished guests, friends and comrades;
People of South Africa:

Allow me on this occasion of the penultimate Joint Sitting of the third Parliament for the annual debate on the state of our nation, to wish all the Honourable Members of Parliament a happy and productive New Year.

I am confident that 2008 will be one of the most remarkable years of our democracy, as we all work together to realise the core aspiration of our people to attain a better life for all. I say this because, in our own estimation, it is not often that a nation is called upon to strain every sinew of its collective body to attain a dream. And such is the injunction that history has imposed on us today.

I speak here today in the presence of my mother, Epainette Mbeki, MaMofokeng, who came to communicate an unequivocal message from the rural masses of the Transkei, among whom she has lived for many decades. She says these masses demand of all of us who claim to be their leaders, that we tell them and others like them elsewhere in our country, whether we remain committed to the undertaking we have made that tomorrow will be better than today. In eight days' time, on February 16, she will be 92 years old. What she expects as her birthday present is the truth. I thank her for taking the trouble to be with us today, and trust that we will not disappoint her.

I would also like to take this opportunity to salute President Nelson Mandela, one of the preeminent founding fathers of our democracy, who will mark his 90th birthday on 18 July this year.
We welcome to this occasion Mr Arthur Margeman, representing the veterans of the Alexandra bus boycott of fifty years ago, who include Nelson Mandela. We are also privileged to have among us Ms Jann Turner, the daughter of Rick Turner who was murdered by apartheid agents 30 years ago.

We are also pleased that we have among us Mr Dinilesizwe Sobukwe, son of the outstanding patriot and leader, Robert Sobukwe, who also passed away 30 years back after enduring many years of imprisonment, banishment and other forms of repression. We acknowledge, both among the Honourable Members and our guests, the many founders of the United Democratic Front, 25 years ago.

All these honoured guests, representing both memory and hope, remind us by their presence that ours is a task in a relay race of continuous rebirth so that the dream of a better life becomes a reality for all South Africans. Indeed, they represent a celebration of the indomitable spirit of our people, and pose a challenge to all of us to act in ways that do not betray or disappoint the expectations of the people.

We are about to begin the last full financial year of the current and third democratic parliament and government soon after which we will hold our fourth general elections. The Government has therefore reviewed the distance we have travelled in terms of implementing the mandate given by the people in 2004. I am pleased to say that we have indeed done much to implement the commitments we made to the people in 2004. However, and not unexpectedly, it is obvious that we still have outstanding work to do in this regard.

Given that we are approaching the end of our mandate term, the Government decided that it should identify a suite of Apex Priorities on which it must focus in a special way, using these as catalysts further to accelerate progress towards the achievement of the objectives the people mandated us to pursue.

Happily, this State of the Nation Address has given me the possibility to report to Parliament and the Nation on our 24 Apex Priorities which, the Hon Members can find on the Government website during the course of next week.

The identification of the Apex Priorities means that all three spheres of government, the national, provincial and local, at both executive and administrative levels, are hereby making the firm undertaking that we will use the short period ahead of us further to energise our advance towards the realisation of the all-important goal of a better life for all our people.

The entirety of our system of governance is therefore making the commitment that in the period ahead of us, it will do its best to live up to the imperative – Business Unusual! We speak of Business Unusual not referring to any changes in our established policies but with regard to the speedy, efficient and effective implementation of these policies and programmes, so that the lives of our people should change for the better, sooner rather than later.

To make certain that this happens, we have taken the necessary steps to ensure that the Annual Budget the Minister of Finance will present later this month makes the necessary
allocations to give us the means to implement the Apex Priorities. The main categories of these priorities are:

* the further acceleration of our economic growth and development
* speeding up the process of building the infrastructure we need to achieve our economic and social goals
* improving the effectiveness of our interventions directed at the Second Economy, and poverty eradication
* enhancing the impact of our programmes targeting the critically important area of education and training
* accelerating our advance towards the achievement of the goal of health for all
* revamping the criminal justice system to intensify our offensive against crime
* further strengthening the machinery of government to ensure that it has the capacity to respond to our development imperatives and,
* enhancing our focus on key areas in terms of our system of international relations, with particular focus on some African issues and South-South relations.

More than at any other time, the situation that confronts our nation and country, and the tasks we have set ourselves, demand that we inspire and organise all our people to act together as one, to do all the things that have to be done, understanding that in a very real sense, all of us, together, hold our own future in our hands!

As we act together everywhere in our country, this we must also understand that what we have to be about is – Business Unusual!

As I was preparing this Address, one among us suggested to me that our country was being buffeted by strong crosswinds that made it especially difficult to foresee where our country will be tomorrow. He suggested that this morning, to capture what he considers the essence of the reality confronting us, I should recall the well-known words with which Charles Dickens opened his novel, A Tale of Two Cities. And so I quote these words:

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way – in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

You will ask whether I agree with this assessment, whether I too believe that we have entered an era of confusion, in which all of us cannot but lose our way, unsure of our steps, unsteady on our feet, fearful of the future!

My answer to this question is a definite No! Like the rest of our Government I am convinced that the fundamentals that have informed our country's forward march in the last 14 years remain in place. They continue to provide us with the strong base from which we must proceed as we keep our eyes firmly focused on the continued pursuit of the goal of a better
life for all our people. Thus should we all reaffirm that we remain on course as we continue to strive to make ours a winning nation.

However, like all the Honourable Members, I am aware of the fact that many in our society are troubled by a deep sense of unease about where our country will be tomorrow. They are concerned about the national emergency into which the country has been thrown by the unexpected disruptions in the supply of electricity.

They are concerned about some developments in our economy, especially the steady increase in interest rates, food and fuel prices which further impoverish especially the poor. Some among these worry about the possible impact on our own economy of the threat of economic recession in the United States.

They are concerned about whether we have the capacity to defend the democratic rights and the democratic Constitution which were born of enormous sacrifices. This is driven by such developments as the prosecution of the National Commissioner of Police, the suspension of the National Director of Public Prosecutions, fears about a threat to the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, and the attendant allegations about the abuse of state power for political purposes.

They are worried about whether our country is threatened by the anarchy represented by the criminal torching of six passenger trains in Tshwane last month. While they recognise and respect the right of the ruling party to regulate its own affairs, they are concerned that it must continue to play its role as one of the principal architects of a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist and prosperous South Africa.

Most obviously it would be irresponsible to ignore these and other concerns or dismiss them as mere jeremiads typical of the prophets of doom. The real challenge is to respond to them in a manner that conveys the definite message to everybody in our country and the millions in Africa and elsewhere in the world who watch our country with keen interest, that we remain firm in our resolve to continue building the kind of South Africa that has given hope not only to our people, but also to many others outside our borders.

Let me therefore make bold to say that this historical moment demands that our nation should unite as never before and strain every sinew of its collective body to address our common challenges and keep alive the dream that has sustained all of us as we travelled along the uncharted road towards the creation of the South Africa visualised in our Constitution.

The national emergency represented by the current power outages poses the challenge and presents the opportunity to the entirety of our nation to give concrete expression to the call we have just made for all of us to unite in action and act in unity to keep our country on course. This must say to all of us that we are indeed in a period of challenges, but surmountable challenges. And precisely because it is a period of challenges, it is also an era of opportunity!

In this regard, I would like to express our appreciation and full agreement with the comments made by the Chief Executive of Anglo American, Cynthia Carroll, when she addressed the Mining Indaba here in Cape Town earlier this week, on Tuesday, February 5.
As the Honourable Members know, she said: "I don't regard the problems of energy supply here as a disaster. And South Africa is not alone: there are pressures on supply regarding our expansion projects in Chile and Brazil.

"Sure, the problems here are serious; overcoming them will require ingenuity, especially in energy efficiency and energy saving, as well as the development of alternative power supplies. But if all of us can forge strong partnerships to tackle the situation, we will all come through – I hope relatively unscathed…This is not a time for finger pointing, but for working together in finding solutions."

This having been said, it is however also necessary that we take this opportunity to convey to the country the apologies of both the Government and Eskom for the national emergency which has resulted in all of us having to contend with the consequences of load shedding. I would also like to thank all citizens for their resilience and forbearing in the face of the current difficulties.

In the past two weeks, the Ministers of Minerals and Energy and Public Enterprises have outlined the nature of the emergency we confront and what each one of us can do to normalise the situation. Last week the Honourable Members had an opportunity to reflect on these matters.

In essence the significant rise in electricity demand over the last two years has outstripped the new capacity we have brought on stream. The resultant tight supply situation makes the overall system vulnerable to any incident affecting the availability of energy. In this situation, we have to curtail the unplanned outages and the only way we can do this immediately is reduce demand and thus ensure a better reserve margin.

As government our task is to now lead and unite the country behind a campaign for energy efficiency that will address this challenge. Among other things, we must use the current adversity to ensure that our homes and economy become more energy efficient. There are concrete actions each individual, household and business can take. These are being disseminated by the Department of Minerals and Energy and we remain open to any other suggestions that you, our compatriots, may give to us and share with one another.

Government will start implementing a campaign to ensure efficient lighting, solar water heating and geyser load management in households, including housing standards for all new houses and developments. We urge households that can afford to act immediately to consider implementing these energy-saving measures. An instruction has been issued for all government buildings to reduce their consumption of electricity and please feel free to name and shame those who do not.

The details of other voluntary and mandatory actions in the Power Conservation Programme have been set out by the Ministers and these will be refined through consultation with the various stakeholders and then published.

On the supply side Eskom is working furiously to ensure the introduction of co-generation projects as a matter of urgency. We are taking steps to enhance Eskom's maintenance capacity. We have emergency task teams dealing with the challenge of coal quality and
supply with the coal mining industry and we are working to fast track the approval and construction of gas turbine projects. All these actions, taken together with the electricity saving measures, will improve certainty and raise the reserve margin.

The massive Eskom build programme in new generation, transmission and distribution capacity will continue; and where possible, some projects will be accelerated. In this regard, I would like to thank the private sector for being prepared to assist in whatever way they can. In a meeting with the Chairman of General Electric (GE) during the course of last week, GE offered to assist by procuring scarce turbine equipment on our behalf. In South Africa our own large companies such as Sasol, Anglo and BHP Billiton are all in concrete discussions with the Departments of Mineral and Energy and Public Enterprises to find cost effective and sustainable solutions to the supply constraint. The approach is one of common action rather than recrimination.

I particularly want to pay tribute to the mining industry for the way in which they have assisted us and the economy to resolve a real crisis that hit us on the 24th of January. We will all work to minimise the adverse impact these events had on the industry.

Collective effort and consultation are at the centre of our response to the emergency. Task teams are currently working in many areas. Next week the Provincial Premiers will convene their fora with mayors to plan and implement the energy saving measures in all the municipalities across the country. They will be supported by technical teams from EDI Holdings, Eskom and the National Energy Efficiency Agency. The Department of Provincial and Local Government will co-ordinate this activity supported by the line Departments of Mineral and Energy and Public Enterprises.

I will convene a meeting of the Joint Presidential Working Groups to co-ordinate our overall actions. I will also shortly announce a team of 'Energy Champions' consisting of prominent and knowledgeable South Africans who will assist government with the energy efficiency campaign and inform investors and communities on the actual situation and how they can help to address our current challenges. The Minister of Finance will provide more information in the Budget speech on the support that the government will provide for the energy efficiency campaign and to Eskom in its build programme.

We face an emergency but we can overcome the problems in a relatively short period. This situation has precipitated the inevitable realisation that the era of very cheap and abundant electricity has come to an end. However, given our large base of installed generation capacity, for a long time to come ours will remain amongst the few economies with affordable electricity.

We are a minerals resource economy. We must therefore continue to support the mining industry. It is inevitable that if we are to continue on our growth path as a manufacturing country, we will also have to continue supporting the processing industry. However it is imperative that all enterprises become more energy efficient. Indeed, energy efficiency itself provides economic opportunity.

Let us therefore use this emergency to put in place the first building blocks of the essential energy efficient future we dare not avoid. Let us ensure that all hands are on deck to address
the turbulence that has hit us, inspired by the approach that our circumstances call for Business Unusual!

This is exactly the same approach we must adopt as we continue to prepare to host the FIFA Confederations Cup in 2009 and the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup which will kick off in our country 854 days from today. I mention this important matter here because the current challenges we are facing have led some elsewhere in the world once more to question whether we will be able to host these tournaments successfully.

Of course, I have absolutely no doubt that we will honour our undertaking to FIFA and the world community of soccer players and lovers to create all the necessary conditions for the holding of the best ever FIFA Soccer World Cup tournament.

The sense that we get, across all sectors of South African society and further afield, represented by the actual daily progress we are making in terms of our all-round preparations, is one of – Business Unusual: all hands on deck for 2010! We must ensure that we sustain this approach.

We are fully aware that a critical element of our preparations should be the building of a strong South African team which will do us and the whole of the football fraternity proud. I am certain that the South African Football Association, our coaches led by Carlos Alberto Parreira, and the players are aware of the heavy responsibility they carry to prepare a national team of which both we and Africa should be proud.

Once more we thank the Springboks for showing the way when they won the Rugby World Cup last year. This must inspire Bafana Bafana, as it must inspire our athletes who will compete in the Beijing Olympic Games later this year.

Let me now turn to the Apex Priorities I mentioned. Further to accelerate our economic growth and development we will implement the Industrial Policy Action Plan. Government will continue our industrialisation programme and continue to create opportunities for growth and employment-creation. In this regard, R2,3 billion has been budgeted for industrial policy initiatives and a further R5 billion in tax incentives over three years will support industrial policy.

Working together with business and labour, we shall also develop as urgently as possible, key action plans in sectors where such plans do not exist, such as mining and minerals beneficiation, consumer durables, retail with a focus on improving support to small enterprises, construction, the creative industries, agriculture and agro-processing.

Once more I would like to emphasise that we remain determined to support the automotive sector and will therefore ensure that the support given to this sector through the Motor Industry Development Programme is maintained. At the macro-economic level, we will continue to maintain a fiscal posture that supports continued economic growth and development and reducing our external vulnerability.

To speed up the process of building infrastructure we will finalise the development of an integrated infrastructure plan, with specific emphasis on energy efficiency. This entails co-
ordinating the programmes of the State-owned Enterprises and overlaying all the infrastructure plans, including freight and other logistics, energy pipelines, information and communications technology, road infrastructure, water and electricity, both in terms of their timing and geographic location.

Cutting across these plans, and therefore a critical priority, is information and communications technology both as a facilitator and a sector in its own right. Accordingly, we will this year complete the licensing and operationalisation of Infraco. Already, money has been allocated for Sentech to become a wireless internet wholesaler as well as finance its digitisation. Working with other governments on the continent and the private sector, we will complete the process to launch the undersea cables.

At the same time, we aim to provide digital broadcasting to 50% of the population by the end of the year. Attached to this will be a manufacturing strategy for the development in South Africa of Set Top Boxes, which should be finalised by the middle of the year.

Having noted that the tardiness with which government processes applications for investment in relation to issues such as land acquisition, infrastructure and environmental impact assessments can at times make or break investor decisions, we have decided, in the spirit of Business Unusual, work is progressing urgently to set up a call centre through which prospective investors and government can track these processes.

An element of government's Apex of Priorities will be deliberate focus on matters of skills development. Work to review the National Human Resource Development Strategy will be completed this year, and the projects that the joint team of government, labour, business and academic institutions organised under the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) will be intensified.

Indeed, we are greatly encouraged by the good response from the private sector as demonstrated through the commitment by the CEOs of 70 of the JSE-listed companies to work with government in addressing the challenge of scarce skills. In addition to this work we will in the coming period prioritise further interventions in the further education and training (FET) colleges, the sector education and training authorities (SETAs), resourcing schools in the lowest three quintiles, freeing them from the responsibility to charge fees, and speeding up on-the-job training for professional graduates.

Further, after correcting weaknesses in our Adult Basic Education programme, which we identified last year, we shall this month launch the Kha Ri Gude (let us learn) mass literacy campaign. This will include the training of master trainers who will provide basic literacy classes to 300 000 adults and youth in 2008.

Madame Speaker and Chairperson

At the centre of our economic programmes is, and should always be, the consideration whether their success is helping to improve the quality of life of all South Africans, acting as an important weapon in our War on Poverty and accelerating our advance towards the attainment of such objectives as the reduction of unemployment and advancing the goal of health for all.
In the programme to provide sustainable human settlements, we are now able to provide 260,000 housing units per annum, and an agreement has been reached with the South African Local Government Association (SALGA) to place a moratorium on the sale of land that can be availed for the housing programme.

Along with the progress we are making in the variety of interventions focused on poverty reduction, we continue to address a number many weaknesses, including the processing of the Land Use Management Bill, the finalisation of the land restitution cases, the support programme for those who acquire land, and the development and implementation of a determined rural development programme.

These are some of the issues to which we will pay special attention during this year, and ensure that we meet the targets we have set ourselves.

Yet another critical Apex Priority is the elaboration of an integrated and comprehensive anti-poverty strategy that addresses especially sections of the population most affected by this scourge. These include children, women, the youth, people living in rural areas and urban informal settlements, people with disabilities or chronic illnesses and the elderly.

Among the key proposed interventions are: expanding the public works programme, employment subsidies for direct job-creation for targeted groups, enhancing employment search capability, improving education and training, improving services and assets among poor communities, specific interventions in poor households, and ensuring effectiveness of institutions supporting women and other sectors. Among others, we will make an evaluation of the gender machinery so as to improve all aspects related to women empowerment.

Parallel to this initiative is a special project to examine interventions required to deal with vulnerable children over the age of 14.

But we will all agree that our society, and the poor specifically, cannot wait for strategies and dialogues and workshops – important as these may be. In any case, most of the interventions possible are things that government is already doing though not sufficiently integrated. As such, in the spirit of Business Unusual, government intends this year to intensify the campaign to identify specific households and individuals in dire need and to put in place interventions that will help, in the intervening period, to alleviate their plight in those individual households.

For this, we will require a National War Room for a War Against Poverty bringing together departments such as Social Development, Provincial and Local Government, Trade and Industry, Agriculture and Land Affairs, Public Works and Health as well as provincial and local administrations, which will work with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and business to identify the interventions required in specific households and implement them as a matter of urgency.

We shall this year attend to other specific priorities which are critical to the country's war against poverty, in pursuit of socio-economic inclusion. These are:
* speeding up land and agrarian reform with detailed plans for land acquisition, better implementation of agricultural support services and household food support, and improving the capital base and reach of the Micro-Agricultural Finance Institutions of South Africa (MAFISA) to provide micro-credit in this sector: focus will be placed on areas of large concentrations of farm dwellers and those with high eviction rates, and we aim to increase black entrepreneurship in agricultural production by 5% per year, and the audit on land ownership will be speeded up;

* the Budget will provide for an increase in the social grant system by equalising the age of eligibility at 60, thus benefiting about half a million men;

* intensifying efforts already started to scale up assistance to co-operatives and small enterprises especially those involving women, with emphasis on providing training and markets, including linking them up with established outlets;

* scaling up the National Youth Service programme including a graduated increase of the intake in the Military Skills Development programme of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) from the current 4 000 to 10 000. R700 million has already been given to the SANDF to start scaling up this programme;

* intensifying the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) which, by surpassing the set targets, has shown potential to absorb more entrants: this will include increased intake of young people in the programme to maintain public infrastructure, doubling the number of children enrolled in Early Childhood Development to over 600 000 through 1 000 new sites with more than 3 500 practitioners trained and employed, and increasing the number of caregivers. About R1 billion over the baseline will be allocated to programmes that fall within the EPWP; and, lastly,

* introducing the system of products for preferential procurement by government from small, medium and micro-enterprises; and through the Small Enterprises Development Agency setting up a rigorous system to ensure that the 30-day payment period is observed.

We will also integrate the programme to speed up the development of sustainable human settlements, with intensified efforts, as a matter of urgent priority, to accelerate universal access to water, sanitation and electricity, so that by 2014, we should have decent human settlements and access by all households to these services.

Accelerating our advance towards the achievement of a goal of health for all includes intensified implementation of the National Strategic Plan against HIV and AIDS. We also aim during the course of this year to reduce tuberculosis (TB) defaulter rates from 10% to 7%, train over 3 000 health personnel in the management of this disease and ensure that all multi-drug resistant and extreme drug resistant TB patients receive treatment.

We aim to complete the work on the comprehensive social security system, benefiting from the consultations that have started with social partners.

As we put all our hands on deck and gear ourselves for Business Unusual we should also intensify national dialogue on the issues that define us as a nation.
Two such issues deserve brief mention.

The first of these is a proposal that we should develop an oath that will be recited by learners in their morning school assemblies, as well as a Youth Pledge extolling the virtues of humane conduct and human solidarity among all South Africans. The Minister of Education will next week elaborate on the national debate on these matters.

The second issue is about geographic and place names, which requires a synchronised process across all provinces so we can create a base slate of changes we propose. We will launch this synchronised process soon, guided by the South African Geographical Names Council and its provincial committees.

Madame Speaker and Chairperson,

When we reflected on the issue of crime at last year's Joint Sitting of Parliament, we all expressed grave concern not only at the high rates of crime, but also at the indication that things seemed to be turning for the worse especially in respect of murder – bucking the trend of the improvement since the attainment of democracy. Accordingly, last year we engaged in systematic interaction with business and other sectors of the population, to develop a holistic approach towards revamping the criminal justice system in its totality.

In this regard, in the spirit of Business Unusual, Cabinet has agreed on a set of changes that are required to establish a new, modernised, efficient and transformed criminal justice system. Among other things, this will entail setting up a new co-ordinating and management structure for the system at every level, from national to local, bringing together the judiciary and magistracy, the police, prosecutors, correctional services and the Legal Aid Board, as well as other interventions, including the empowerment of the Community Police Forums.

As the Honourable Members are aware, some of these initiatives are already under way; but we are certain that, if they are all carried out in an integrated and complementary manner, the impact will be that much more effective in our fight against crime. The Ministers of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster will elaborate on the details of this and other initiatives during the course of next week.

We shall also, during the course of this year, process the Bills on the transformation of the judiciary in consultation with judges and magistrates, complete the strategy aimed at strengthening border control and security, further give life to the Victims' Charter, pay particular attention to the issue of repeat offenders, and continue the implementation of additional measures deriving from recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

Informed by the imperative to intensify the offensive against organised crime, as well as the recommendations of the Khampepe Judicial Commission on the functioning and location of the Directorate of Special Operations and continuing reflections on this matter, including the reform of the Criminal Justice System, we shall by the end of March this year, interact with Parliament on legislation and other decisive measures required further to enhance our capacity to fight organised crime.
What will continue to inform us as we take this step will be the absolute commitment of government to fight organised crime and improve the management, efficiency and coordination of our law-enforcement agencies.

Of great importance, our success in the fight against crime depends on co-operation among all of us as law-abiding citizens, inspired by the principles of rule of law, respect for our judiciary and pursuit of equal human rights, which our Constitution enjoins us to observe in our daily lives and pronouncements.

Honourable Members

We will continue this year with efforts to improve the machinery of government so that it meets its obligations to citizens. If anything, the spirit of Business Unusual should apply to all individuals who carry the privilege of being public servants. There are simple but urgent and critical priorities we will attend to, as part of the overall effort to improve the organisation and capacity of the state.

Firstly, it has been agreed across all spheres of government that especially the critical vacancies should be filled within six months of such openings emerging. The Department of Public Service and Administration will set up a monitoring system to track the implementation of this decision.

Secondly, by May of every year (and within two months of the beginning of the financial year at local government level) all senior managers should have filed their Key Performance Agreements with relevant authorities. The Office of the Public Service Commission will set up monitoring systems in this regard.

Thirdly, recognising that the Department of Home Affairs touches the core of every citizen's life, we will this year intensify the implementation of the turn-around strategy approved by Cabinet. This includes improving the information technology (IT) systems, training of staff on the new systems, rooting out corrupt elements and piloting the new ID card.

Improvement of performance in the public service also depends on the quality of leadership provided by the executive and senior management. Further, it is critical to enhance the commitment of public employees to their duties – a task that belongs to the leadership, the public servants themselves and the trade union movement. In this regard, this year, in consultation with public sector unions, we will convene a Public Sector Summit to thrash out these issues so that the spirit of Batho Pele can find concrete expression wherever a government service is provided.

Working with other social partners, we shall ensure that, by the end of this year, the second National Anti-corruption Programme is adopted, and that the action plan agreed with organised business is implemented. At local government level, we shall assist the first 150 of our municipalities to develop anti-corruption strategies.

We shall continue this year to intensify efforts to strengthen local government capacity in line with the 5-year Local Government Strategic Agenda. To ensure systematic monitoring in this regard, SALGA has agreed to provide quarterly reports on the work being done.
In order further to improve the service being provided to vulnerable sectors such as veterans, women and youth, we shall review the structures delegated to carry out these functions and examine the most appropriate arrangements, including the evaluation of the government structures specifically established to focus on youth development and empowerment.

Many of the challenges in our work which we have identified derive from serious weaknesses in terms of our planning. Thus, as part of our Apex Priorities in the coming period we will complete the processes that will enable us to enhance government's capacity to put in place realistic and integrated plans, covering all spheres of government.

Honourable Members

The programme that we have outlined incorporates the commitments that our country has agreed with the leadership of the continent through the African Peer Review Mechanism. Our focus, in promoting the African Agenda this year, will be on the strengthening of the African institutions, including the African Union and its development programme, Nepad.

This we shall do, inspired by the common aspiration of the peoples of the continent for greater integration in pursuit of continental unity at all levels. A critical step in this regard is the consolidation of regional institutions and activities aimed at achieving regional integration.

We continue to be committed to a free trade area in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and hope to use our Chairpersonship of SADC in 2008/2009 further to give impetus to the regional endeavours in this regard.

It is in this context, as well, that we shall continue our bilateral and multilateral interactions with our neighbours and the European Union, within the context of the process led by the African Union (AU), to ensure that the negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreement are completed as soon as possible, premised on accelerating the development of our region.

Over the past year, we carried out the mandate of SADC to assist the political leadership of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the political challenges they face. We had an opportunity, on the fringes of the AU Summit in Addis Ababa formally to present a comprehensive report to the leadership of SADC on this matter.

In short, the parties involved in the dialogue have reached full agreement on all matters relating to the substantive matters the parties had to address. These include issues relating to the Constitution, security, media and electoral laws, and other matters that have been in contention for many years. The relevant laws in this regard have already been approved by parliament, including the necessary constitutional amendments. What is outstanding, however, is a procedural matter relating to the timing and the manner of enactment of the new agreed Draft Constitution.

Accordingly, we join the SADC Heads of State and Government in congratulating the parties to the Zimbabwe Dialogue for their truly commendable achievements and encourage them to work together to resolve the remaining procedural matter. As requested by the SADC Heads of State and Government we remain ready to continue to facilitate the Zimbabwe
negotiations. At the same time, we wish the people of Zimbabwe success in the elections scheduled for the 29th of March.

Our multifaceted relations with the Democratic Republic of Congo will continue, as we seek to contribute to the efforts of the sister people of that country to attain lasting peace, and implement their reconstruction and development programme. Our government will remain seized of the processes under way in Kenya, Chad, Burundi, Darfur in the Sudan, Western Sahara, Côte d'Ivoire, Somalia, the Comoros and the Central African Republic to find lasting peace and stability.

We are particularly concerned by the senseless violence and killings in both Kenya and Chad, developments that clearly set back the progress we have been making in the last few years with regard to the regeneration of the African continent. We call on all African compatriots to do whatever we can, together to help bring a stop to all these negative developments.

We will, of course, continue to carry out our tasks in the United Nations Security Council. Critical in this regard, is the strengthening of co-operation between the UN Security Council and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.

Impelled by the desire to promote the improvement in the quality of life of all peoples, particularly in the developing countries, we shall focus on further strengthening our participation in the India-Brazil-South Africa forums, the New Africa-Asia Strategic Partnership, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Group of 77 and negotiations to complete the SACU-Mercusor trade agreement. In the same measure, we shall continue to contribute to the realisation of the objectives of the Kyoto Protocol on Climate Change and ongoing improvements in this regard, and in giving further impetus to the negotiations on the WTO Doha Development Round.

This year we celebrate the tenth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the People's Republic of China. The mushrooming of relations in a variety of areas between our governments and peoples confirms that the China-South Africa Partnership for Growth and Development is a strategic relationship of mutual benefit, which can only grow from strength to strength.

Next year, South Africa will play host to the Review Conference to evaluate the implementation of the decisions of the World Conference Against Racism which was held in our country in 2001. We are confident that, informed by their abhorrence of the scourge of racism and the devastating consequences it continues to exact on humanity, the governments and peoples of the world will work together with us to ensure that the Review Conference achieves its objectives.

These global responsibilities, including the hosting of the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, bring out in even bolder relief the confidence that humanity has in our country as a strategic player in the noble endeavours of all humanity. But we should not take this for granted.

I am confident that, under the leadership of the International Marketing Council, Trade and Investment South Africa (TISA), Tourism South Africa and other agencies we shall all put our hands on deck to communicate to the rest of the world the spirit of Business Unusual, and
our continuing advance towards the creation of a society that cares and the conditions for the world to gather in our country to celebrate Africa's humanity in 2010.

Madame Speaker, Chairperson and Honourable Members;

Having said all that I have said, I come back to the question: what is the state of our nation as we enter 2008!

What I do know and hereby make bold to say is: whatever the challenges of the moment, we are still on course!

I say this with unshakeable conviction because I am certain that South Africans are capable and geared to meet the challenge of history – to strain every sinew of our being – to respond to the national challenges of the day, including those relating to our economy, the political and economic situation in Africa and elsewhere in the world, and seize the opportunities that our country's progress over the last fourteen years has provided.

With all hands on deck, and committed to conduct our business in an unusual and more effective fashion, we shall sustain the process of our reconstruction and development and take it to even higher levels.

Thank you.

Issued by: The Presidency
8 February 2008
State of the Nation Address of the President of South Africa, Kgalema Motlanthe, to the joint sitting of Parliament, Cape Town

6 February 2009

Madam Speaker of the National Assembly;
Mr. Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces;
Madam Deputy President;
Deputy Speaker and Deputy Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces;
Chief Justice Langa;
The former Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa and President of the ANC;
Premiers of Provinces;
Members of Cabinet and Speakers of Provincial Legislatures;
The Former Chief Justice and Former Presiding Officers of Parliament;
Your Excellencies, Ambassadors and High Commissioners and visiting foreign dignitaries;
 Honourable Leaders of Political Parties and Members of Parliament, Traditional leaders;
Your worship the Mayor of the City of Cape Town;
 Religious leaders and representatives of civil society;
Comrades and friends;
Distinguished guests:

I am privileged to address the Joint Sitting of the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa, at the beginning of this last session of our Third Democratic Parliament.

I stand before the people of South Africa with humility at the opportunity I have had to occupy the highest office in the land as a consequence of the unique circumstance arising out of the decision of the leading party in government to recall the former President.

Mine is a responsibility, within a matter of a few months, to lead the National Executive in completing the mandate accorded the African National Congress in the 2004 elections, and in laying the foundation for the post-election administration to hit the ground running.

That we were able five months ago to ensure a seamless transition and continuity in the systems of government is thanks to the maturity of our constitutional system, reflected in part in the co-operation of members of the Executive – old and new – and the steady hand of our public sector managers.

As we look back over the past fifteen years, I wish to acknowledge the commitment and hard work of Presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki and the many women and men who played their role in steering the ship of state under democracy: in the Executive and the administration, the legislatures across the three spheres of government and the Judiciary; driven by the desire to improve the quality of life of all South Africans.

Above all, I stand before you with pride and confidence that the South Africa we celebrate today – worlds apart from the divisions, conflict and exclusion of a mere 15 years ago – is a product of the labours and toils of South African women and men from all walks of life.

These South Africans represent the hope and resilience that characterise our nation.
Within the galaxy of outstanding South Africans are Members of our democratic Parliament to whom we had the misfortune since last February to bid the final farewell. They include Brian Bunting, Billy Nair, Neumisa Kondlo, John Gomomo, Joe Nhlanhla, Cas Saloojee, John Schippers and Jan van Eck.

To these, I would also like to add Ms Helen Suzman, a truly distinguished South African, who represented the values of our new Parliament in the chambers of the old.

It is these and other patriots who should take the greatest share of the accolade when we pronounce that – whatever economic storms may pound our shores, whatever political uncertainties may visit our collective consciousness in a transition – our nation is in a good state.

However, we should not underestimate the challenges we face. The global economic meltdown does pose serious dangers for our economy in terms of job losses and the quality of life of our people.

Naturally, the uncertainties of a political transition can pose more questions than there are currently answers.

As a consequence, some of us may be mesmerised by the transient waves of stormy weather and hunch our shoulders in the face of these headwinds of economic turbulence and political tumult.

But ours is a journey of hope and resilience.

We may even say that, in a strange quirk of fate, many aspects of our constitutional order have been tested in the recent past; and everyone of them has passed the test to reveal a democracy that is exceptionally resilient.

Our democracy is healthy. It is steadily growing stronger, underpinned by a Constitution hardly equalled in the world.

Indeed, the robustness of our political engagement during this season of electoral contest – which we all agree should be dignified and peaceful – is the surest guarantee of the continued survival and deepening of our democracy.

It is South Africa’s people who have ensured its progress; and it is they who shall secure our democracy in the years to come.

Allow me, Madame Speaker and Chairperson, in this context to urge all eligible South Africans to register and to vote in the coming national and provincial elections, so that we can shape our destiny ourselves.

This we should do every working day in the municipal offices, before the voters’ roll is closed. But we should also take advantage of the special registration weekend arranged by the Electoral Commission of South Africa (the IEC) tomorrow and Sunday, the 7th and 8th of February respectively.
I should also take this opportunity to indicate that I will in the next few days conclude consultations with the Electoral Commission and the Provincial Premiers and announce the date of the elections.

Honourable Members;

We owe our being as a democracy to the people of South Africa who, on 27 April 1994, for the first time collectively took their destiny into their own hands.

Through that simple but profound act of casting a ballot for a government of all the people of our country, we turned our backs on a past that dehumanised us all.

It is therefore appropriate on this occasion to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of the OAU Ad-hoc Committee on Southern Africa on the Question of South Africa adopted in August, 1989 – commonly known as the Harare Declaration.

That initiative laid the foundation for global consensus, through the United Nations, on the approach to negotiations in South Africa.

Within South Africa, it also informed the content of the 1989 Conference for a Democratic Future – bringing together patriots from virtually all walks of life.

All this led to the negotiations process which culminated in our first democratic elections in 1994.

In this regard, we should salute the late President of the African National Congress, Oliver Reginald Tambo, for initiating and piloting through continental and world bodies what became a compass for the peaceful resolution of the conflict in our country.

That courageous step to devise a framework that would seek peace and reconciliation, in the place of war and conflict, reversed for good the false dawn of a hundred years ago: that is, the conclusion in 1909 of the National Convention which presaged the formation of the Union of South Africa.

While that Convention defined the territorial integrity of South Africa as we know it today, it was based on racial oppression and exclusion. And so, 15 years into our democracy, we can assert that the fear, the insecurity and the loathing that 100 years ago generated an exclusive and illusory peace among colonial masters, were not only unfounded; but truly misplaced.

Those fears and insecurities gave rise to decades of resistance. In this regard, we salute that brave son of our people, Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu who went to the gallows 30 years ago with his head held high, in the proud knowledge that his blood would nourish the tree of freedom.

Allow me to acknowledge Lucas Mahlangu, brother of Kalushi, representing the Mahlangu family.
Solomon Mahlangu was continuing a tradition of the warriors of yesteryear, among whom we count those under King Cetshwayo who in 1879 defeated the British army in Isandlwana, in defence of the freedom of the indigenous people of our country and the sovereignty of their lands.

A hundred and thirty (130) years on, we can only marvel at the hope and the resilience that infused those stout hearts.

In the centres of learning, the same resistance fuelled the rekindling of mass struggles during the cold winter after the banning of the liberation movement and the imprisonment of most of its senior leadership.

A group of valiant students broke away from NUSAS to found the South African Students’ Organisation (SASO) 40 years ago.

Within this generation are the early leaders of SASO, which included: Strini Moodley, Professor Barney Pityana, Steve Biko, Onkgopotse Tiro, Harry Nengwekhulu, Themba Sono, Mapetla Mohapi, Mosioua Lekota, Johnny Issel and Mthuli ka Shezi. For inspiring hope in a period of despair, we salute them. In this regard, we wish to acknowledge Onkgopotse Tiro’s cousin, Pat Thlhogwana.

In this context we also wish to acknowledge the late Ephraim Mogale, the founding President 30 years ago of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and his peers.

In the towering memory of these students of yesteryear resides an abiding message, that the thirst for freedom and knowledge burns even stronger in the bosoms of our youth.

The message of their heroic deeds rings true today as it did those many years ago, that we should together expand the frontiers of opportunity; that we should indeed, in the words of the Freedom Charter, open ever wider “the doors of learning and of culture”!

We call to mind these organisations and leaders to emphasise the spirit of hope and resilience that infused the democratic struggle even when everything looked bleak; to underscore the responsibility that rests on our shoulders to advance the ideals that so many sacrificed for, refusing to be cowed by setbacks and hardships.

And so, Madame Speaker and Honourable Chairperson, we should ask ourselves: how have our actions defined the path of South African society’s evolution in the fifteen years since the birth of our democracy; and how have we advanced the cause of human development and human dignity since the 2004 democratic mandate!

We do have today a well-functioning democratic system, based on principles of transparency and openness, with numerous platforms for public participation and independent institutions mandated by the Constitution to support democracy.

Over the years, we have steadily improved the structures of governance. We have built a system of healthy inter-governmental relations across the spheres, and improved integration within and among them.
Indeed, government can be proud that we have changed the demographic composition of the public service, which in virtually all respects approximates the character of our society.

However, while women constitute about 34% of all senior positions in the public service, this falls short of the target of parity that we had set ourselves.

At the level of the national and provincial legislatures, indications are that the nation will this year surpass the 32% women representation level achieved in 2004 and hopefully, even the 40% achieved in the 2006 local government elections.

We hope that all political parties will, as they finalise their electoral lists, make their contribution to this noble endeavour!

Though some progress has been made, at 0,2%, the situation is less impressive with regard to people with disability employed in government, measured against the 2% target we set ourselves.

On both counts, the private sector is lagging far behind.

Various measures have been put in place to improve the efficiency of the public service, including financial management, Thusong Service Centres and other service delivery innovations, izimbizo and, as currently in the Department of Home Affairs, firm leadership.

However, much more needs to be done to improve the service culture and orientation of some public servants, especially those at the coal-face of direct interaction with the public.

As Honourable Members will be aware, our government has made the fight against corruption one of the core areas of focus. This is reflected, among others, in legislation, rules and regulations governing public servants and political office-bearers alike, partnerships with civil society and the business community, as well as anti-corruption hotlines.

It may as well be that the systems of preventing and punishing corruption are still inadequate; but from the point of view of government systems, we can draw solace from the fact that over 70% of cases of corruption reported in the media become public because government has detected the wrongdoing and is in fact acting against it. The same challenges confront the private sector. In the end, the challenge is as much about regulation; as it is about consistent enforcement.

Honourable Members;

I am certain that we are all agreed that the well-being of our society depends, critically, on the progress we make in expanding the nation’s wealth and ensuring that the benefits of economic growth are shared by the people as a whole.

It is common cause that, after the economic stagnation of the late 1980s and early 1990s, South Africa has experienced the longest period of sustained economic growth since the recording of such statistics started in 1940.
In the First Decade of Freedom, economic growth averaged 3% per year, and this improved to 5% per year on average from 2004 to 2007.

While the consumer boom, impelled by rising employment and incomes and low inflation and interest rates, played its part in this regard, we are encouraged by the broad canvass of opportunities for further expansion going forward.

These include, in the first instance, higher rates of investment by both the public and private sectors. In this regard, some five years ago, we were hovering around 16% of gross fixed capital formation as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Such has been the acceleration in investment that today this figure stands at 22%, closer to the 25% that we projected to attain only in 2014.

This is in part a consequence of deliberate programmes by government to expand public infrastructure.

It is also a result of policies to improve the climate for private sector investments; and to conduct fiscal and monetary policy in a manner that expands access to services and reduces the inflationary burden while at the same time ensuring macroeconomic stability and sustainability.

The focus on micro-economic reforms in the past decade, and the efforts, especially since 2004 more systematically to remove the variety of obstacles to growth have had a positive impact.

It is in this context that the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (AsgiSA) is being implemented, ensuring that all the critical blockages such as infrastructure bottlenecks, integrated industrial policy and programmes, the skills challenge, regulatory gridlocks and efficiency of government services are addressed in a focussed and systematic manner.

Our economy has become more open, and since 1994 it has steadily become integrated into the global system. Our financial institutions are a force of good example which has somewhat sheltered us from the global economic storms.

Yet, the extent of their reach within our society remains far below expectations. Our economy remains largely reliant on mining and agriculture for exports. Except for the services sector, we have not seen a large enough expansion in critical sectors, especially manufacturing.

As such, the rate of growth in exports has not been as high as in comparable countries. It is precisely this weakness which accounts for the large Current Account deficit particularly when we entered higher ranges of growth.

And because we have a low savings rate, we have had to rely on short-term capital flows to finance the deficit as well as our investment programmes. These are challenges that our country will certainly have to address going forward.

Of critical importance is the question: what in fact should economic growth be about? Wealth is created in order to improve people’s quality of life.
Thus, the question whether growth is equitably shared should form a central pillar of all our economic considerations.

Importantly, sharing the benefits of growth should entail labour-absorption, ensuring that there is decent work.

Indeed, it is a matter of proud record that between 1995 and 2003, the economy created about one-and-half million net new jobs; and even more remarkable, about 500 000 jobs a year between 2004 and 2007.

In this latter period, for the first time since the attainment of democracy, more jobs were being created than the number of new entrants into the labour market, thus reducing the unemployment rate from 31% in 2003 to 23% in 2007.

Of course, this should not detract from our obligation to continue interrogating the issue of the quality of these jobs, including the rights and benefits that workers enjoy.

Sharing the benefits of growth should also include accelerated implementation of affirmative action, including Broad-based Black Economic Empowerment.

This is not in pursuit of a so-called racial agenda. In reality, a country that does not ensure the involvement of all of its population at all levels of economic activity is certainly going to perform well below its actual potential.

The fact that the private sector lags behind in changing the demographics of management and skilled occupations, in enterprise development and so on in part makes our country a laggard in the high growth stakes.

Sharing the benefits of growth also means an efficient and equitable role for the state in using the fiscus as an instrument of redistribution and sharing the burden of providing public goods.

Honourable Members will be familiar with most of the data on matters relating to the social wage. I will however cite a few instances again to sketch out the nature of the progress we have made and the challenges that we face.

Government is painfully aware that abject poverty is still too widespread in our society; and the level of inequality is too high.

We have in the past 15 years done our best to attack this scourge through the social wage. To quote work conducted by a team of academics at the University of Stellenbosch, led by Professor Servaas van der Berg:

“Firstly, money-metric poverty declined substantially since the turn of the century. The reduction is to a large extent due to a dramatic expansion in social grants expenditure from 2002 onwards. This improvement is mirrored in access to basic services – a rapid decline in asset poverty even preceded the decline in money-metric poverty. Secondly, although the reductions in poverty have been substantial, aggregate inequality increased during the 1990s. Thirdly, the dynamics underlying the poverty and inequality trends determine the
broad policy outlook...[P]overty has decreased since the transition, but ... inequality has not improved.”
(Poverty since the transition: What we know, p8: van der Berg et al, August 2007)

On a critical matter of detail, the researchers further observe:

“...Among households that include children (defined as those aged 17 and younger), the number of households reporting that a child went hungry declined dramatically (from just over 31 per cent to 16 per cent) between 2002 and 2006. This suggests that the poverty situation has improved remarkably, particularly among people experiencing the greatest degree of welfare deprivation. The prevalence of hunger among children has virtually halved over four years.”
(Poverty since the transition: What we know, p25: van der Berg et al, August 2007)

Indeed, these observations are confirmed by our own research, which shows that income poverty especially among African and Coloured communities has declined, partly as a result of higher rates of employment and access to social grants. While the number of grant beneficiaries was 2,5-million in 1999, by 2008 this had increased to 12,4-million.

This is largely a result of massive expansion in access to the Child Support Grant, which increased from 34-thousand beneficiaries in 1999 to 8,1-million in 2008.

As part of the contribution to the income of the poor, the target for 1-million work opportunities through the Expanded Public Works Programme was attained in 2008, a year earlier than envisaged in the 2004 electoral mandate. This has created the possibility massively to expand this programme and improve its quality.

With regard to household access to basic services, the figures speak for themselves. For instance, access to potable water has improved from 62% in 1996 to 88% in 2008; electricity (58% to 72%); and sanitation (52% to 73%).

Evidence of the social wage is also seen in massive improvements in access to primary health facilities. 95% of South Africans now live within 5 kilometres of a health facility; and we are informed that all clinics now have access to potable water. Child immunisation coverage has steadily increased to about 85%; and malaria cases have massively declined.

We are also heartened that research into HIV prevalence demonstrates stabilisation and a slight reduction in rates of infection. Further, our antiretroviral treatment programme is not only the largest in the world; but it is expanding all the time, with over 690 000 patients having been initiated on antiretroviral treatment since the commencement of the programme.

Yet many health facilities do not always have the required medicines, appropriate staffing levels, and constant supply of basic services such as clean running water and electricity. In some of these facilities, management is poor and staff attitudes need improvement.

In education, we have seen a drop in the educator: learner ratio; almost universal access in terms of enrolment at primary school level; and an improvement in the number of pupils passing mathematics, to quote a few examples.
At the same time, much effort has been put into improving infrastructure in poor areas.

Of course we do know that the drop-out rate particularly at secondary and tertiary levels is unacceptably high, and the educational system has yet to produce the requisite kinds of skills needed by society.

In addition, trends in performance, both in terms of teaching and learning, show a worrying persistence of the social divisions of the past.

Ironically, precisely where education is most needed to help break the cycle of poverty, is where infrastructure, administrative and teacher capacity are least impressive.

Government’s social programmes have also improved the asset base of the poor, in the form of housing – with 2,6-million subsidised houses provided.

We should of course acknowledge that the land redistribution programme as well as post-settlement support could have been handled faster and better. Overall, we are proud of the advances in our social programmes. But we cannot satisfy ourselves merely with quantitative change.

Be it in education, health, housing, water or sanitation, the central question that confronts us every day is how to improve the quality of these services! On this we still have some way to go.

Honourable Members;

The scourge of crime remains a major source of insecurity for South Africans. Daily experience, in poor and affluent neighbourhoods alike, is one of apprehension at the possibility of violent attack.

Within public and private institutions, the possibility of nefarious schemes siphoning off resources through corruption is always a source of great concern. Of course, the overall crime rate, having peaked in 2002, has consistently declined. All kinds of statistics can be cited to attest to this.

But we do know that the reduction has not been fast enough, not even at the 7-10% rate that we set ourselves for various categories of contact crime. The fact that incidents of violent robberies in households and businesses have been on the increase; and crimes against women and children have not abated in any significant measure, is a matter of great concern.

This points to weaknesses in our neighbourhoods, especially in building the bonds of community solidarity that would assist us in preventing and combating crime. It points to systemic weaknesses in the criminal justice system, from investigation of crimes to rehabilitation of offenders. It points to weaknesses in the efficiency of the court system, both in terms of technical and other infrastructure and management.

These are the issues that the comprehensive revamp of the criminal justice system has started to address.
Yet, in being brutally self-critical, we should not lose sight of the fact that what we are assessing is a system that enjoys, by far, better legitimacy than ever experienced in our country.

This is because of the transformation these institutions have undergone, in terms of their doctrines based on a human rights culture, their demographic composition, and their systems of accountability.

But let us not delude ourselves: as with the rest of our social life, such transformation is still at its nascent stages. We still have a long way to go. I am certain that Honourable Members will agree that the humanity of our democratic dispensation should find expression in the extent to which we pay attention to the most vulnerable in society.

In this regard, we have through legislation, international conventions, regulations and campaigns ensured that concrete efforts are made to improve the conditions of children, women, people with disability and the elderly.

Through advocacy campaigns and indeed as a result of the partnerships we have built with organisations representing these vulnerable groups, we have improved awareness around issues that affect them; and progressively encouraged the mainstreaming of these concerns.

It is a matter of proud record that, for instance, female-headed households have received a bigger-than-average share of the social wage including housing and health care; and that among the most successful programmes have been campaigns on child immunisation and nutrition.

Yet access to employment weighs heavily on rural women, youth and people with disability. HIV impacts most severely on young women. Violence against women and children is much too high.

All these are assignments for the coming period.

Madame Speaker and Honourable Chairperson;

These then are some of the advances that democracy has brought; and the progress that government has made in fulfilling the mandate of the electorate. There is no gainsaying that, by any measure, the progress made since 1994 has been impressive. But neither can there be doubt that the challenges remain immense.

It is apt therefore to remind ourselves of that instructive observation of hope and resilience, continuity and change, by former President Nelson Mandela, in his biography, Long Walk to Freedom:

"I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I can rest
"only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended."

In a few months from now the people of our country will pronounce on the leadership they prefer to carry forward the noble work of this great freedom fighter and other founders of our democracy.

While our approaches may differ, the objectives that we need to aim for are clearly and unambiguously set out in our Constitution: to create a united, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic and prosperous society that plays a positive role in building a better world.

Six years ago, leaders of our people came together in a Growth and Development Summit and reached agreement on the tasks all of us should undertake to improve the quality of life of South Africans, particularly to halve unemployment and poverty by 2014. These include:

- creating more jobs, better jobs and decent work for all through higher rates of investment, public works programmes, sector partnerships and strategies, local procurement, small enterprise promotion and support for co-operatives;

- addressing the investment challenge by improving savings, appropriately deploying resources from pension and provident funds, housing, financial sector contributions and black economic empowerment; advancing equity, developing skills, creating economic opportunities and extending services; and

- local action and implementation for development, including provision of infrastructure and access to basic services.

I am certain, that, as part of and in addition to, these objectives South Africans would hardly differ regarding the need to improve our education system; to provide efficient, decent and equitable health care; to develop our rural areas and ensure food security; and to intensify the fight against crime and corruption.

I cite these issues not because they are all-encompassing nor that by identifying them we would cure all the ills of our society. Rather, I have chosen to do so to emphasise the point that South Africa does not suffer the poverty of visions. Our challenge is to translate these visions into programmes and projects for effective implementation.

These ideals are shared by virtually all of humanity, as reflected in the United Nations Millennium Development Goals.

And yet humanity today faces the danger that the attainment of these objectives could be postponed by many years, if not decades, as a consequence of the economic crisis that has engulfed the global village.

What, on the surface, started off as a financial crisis among a few lending institutions has exploded into a global credit crunch, with severe consequences for actual production and trade.
We can decry the greed, the short-termism and the carelessness of managers of big corporations which precipitated the crisis. We can condemn the policies of governments which took their eyes off the ball and allowed the rapacious licence of unregulated markets to wreak havoc on financial systems. We can do all this; and we will be perfectly justified.

Yet our central and immediate task is fully to appreciate the consequences of these developments on our own economy and our region, and devise responses that will minimise their impact especially on the most vulnerable sectors of our society.

What we do know is that the regulatory environment in our country and the counter-cyclical budget policies we adopted have helped us avoid the worst impact of the crisis.

But we are all too aware that, because we are strongly integrated into the world economy, demand for our exports has declined; access to finance and inflows of capital have turned for the worse; lower demand has precipitated a scaling down of production; the creation of jobs is negatively affected and in some sectors retrenchment has become a reality.

These difficulties have coincided with a period in which inflation and interest rates are still too high. Our thanks to the Governor of the Reserve Bank who yesterday announced a 1% reduction in the rate of interest.

Combined, these developments bode ill for the revenues we need to expand the provision of services and to implement our infrastructure projects. As such, we have been forced to tone down our forecasts in terms of growth and job-creation.

We know too that South Africa is less severely affected than many other countries. Indeed, in a period in which others are experiencing or projecting recessions, South Africa and the rest of the continent are still poised for growth, even if at a slower rate.

In this regard, Honourable Members, I am happy to report that in the interactions between The Presidency and leaders of various social partners, we agreed jointly to devise interventions that would minimise the impact of this crisis on our society. The task team dealing with these matters is still hard at work; and the following broad categories of responses are under discussion:

Firstly, government will continue with its public investment projects, the value of which has increased to R690-billion for the next three years. In this regard, where necessary, we will find creative ways to raise funds. This will include support by our development finance institutions and loan finance from international agencies, as well as partnership with the private sector and utilisation of resources controlled by workers such as pension funds.

Secondly, we will intensify public sector employment programmes. On the one hand, plans to expand employment in sectors such as health, social work, education and law-enforcement agencies will continue. On the other, we will speed up the introduction of the next phase of the Expanded Public Works Programme.

Thirdly, mitigating actions can be undertaken within the private sector to counteract an excessive investment slowdown and unnecessary closures of production lines or plants.
On its part, government will adapt industrial financing and incentive instruments to help deal with challenges in various sectors, and also encourage development finance institutions to assist firms in distress because of the crisis.

Alternatives to layoffs will be explored, including longer holidays, extended training, short time and job-sharing. This will be combined with promotion of the Proudly South Africa campaign and stronger action on illegal imports.

Fourthly, government will sustain and expand social expenditure, including progressively extending access to the child support grant to children of 18 years of age and reducing the age of eligibility for old age pension to 60 years for men.

In addition, we will more widely utilise the Social Distress Relief Grant and food security measures specifically also to target those either unprotected by the Unemployment Insurance Fund or who have exhausted their benefits.

We shall also continue to pay special attention to the challenge of anti-competitive behaviour on the part of some of our corporations. In this regard, we wish to commend the Competition Commission for the firm hand that they are showing to ensure that culprits are brought to book. We do hope though that civil society will enhance its own level of activism to ensure, among other things, that as input prices decline, the benefit is felt by the population.

These immediate measures will be informed by the principle of a counter-cyclical fiscal policy. However, we will ensure that the levels of borrowing by government are prudent and sustainable. This also implies a rapid reduction in government debt levels whenever conditions turn for the better. Our efforts will also be informed by the appreciation that measures to protect the environment and mitigate the impact of climate change can also contribute to job-creation.

Both in the G20 meetings and other interactions in multilateral institutions, our government has argued for appropriate and urgent interventions particularly in the developed countries whence the crisis originated and where it is most severe. We believe that the time has come to strengthen domestic regulation and supervision of the financial system; but beyond this, that stronger surveillance and action on a global scale have become unavoidable and necessary.

Critically, we should also safeguard the integrity of the world trade system, complete the current negotiations on the Doha Round of world trade negotiations, and ensure that development aid is not scaled down.

The abiding lesson from this experience is that we need stronger partnerships among economic role players on a domestic and global scale, not only to stem the impact of the crisis; but also to put in place measures that would obviate a recurrence.

In our own country, we will embark on these undertakings as part of the process of setting our society on a higher growth and development path. The length of time towards attaining a higher trajectory may have been stretched somewhat. But we are not in doubt that that moment will yet come sooner rather than later.
In this regard, how we position our country to take advantage of unique opportunities that have come our way, will be of paramount importance. I refer here in particular to the FIFA World Cup in 2010 as well as the Confederations Cup a few months from now. Virtually all the projects and plans are completed or nearing completion – from stadia, transport infrastructure, security measures, issues of accommodation, to health and immigration plans – confirming the confidence of the global soccer fraternity that ours will be a truly successful tournament.

And we believe that, after five consecutive wins, the national soccer team is now more confidently gearing itself to perform above expectations!

But beyond this, the true legacy of this spectacle will be in our ability to showcase South African and African hospitality and humanity – to change once and for all perceptions of our country and our continent among peoples of the world. That depends on all of us; and to that we can attach no price!

We also wish in this regard to congratulate all our sporting teams which have asserted South Africa’s pursuit of excellence over the past year. Special accolades are due to our cricket team which has climbed to the apex of global rankings.

We are of course Rugby World Champions; Giniel de Villiers and his team have won the Dakar Rally; our Paralympians continue to do us proud; and our under-20 soccer team did quite well in an extremely competitive environment.

Madame Speaker and Honourable Chairperson;

Just two weeks ago, South Africa completed with Mali part of the archives to preserve the ancient manuscripts of Timbuktu.

This rich heritage points to Africa as a beacon of science and literature, philosophy and commerce, interrupted by the slave trade and the scramble for Africa’s wealth.

This initiative should spur us on to act in concert with other countries on our continent and further afield to better the human condition.

Indeed, over the past 15 years we have spared no effort to ensure that Africa experiences her renewal in what should in actual practice be the African Century. Steadily but surely, our continent is progressing towards her renaissance, with the interest of her people rising to the top of their leaders’ agenda, asserting her hope and her resilience on the world stage.

It is this, and this alone, that has informed our persistence in assisting the people of Zimbabwe to find a lasting solution to the crisis in that country. We wish in this regard to congratulate all the parties in Zimbabwe for concluding negotiations, delivering the ultimate prize that has always been the wish of the people of that country and the sub-continent as a whole: that is, a stable and legitimate government geared to address the challenges that the people face. We are truly heartened that, yesterday, the Zimbabwean Parliament passed Amendment 19 of the Constitution, laying the basis for the installation of an inclusive government.
Special mention in this regard is due to SADC facilitator, former President Thabo Mbeki and the team that tirelessly and patiently helped to bring the process to a successful conclusion.

Now the work of reconstruction can start in earnest; and South Africa stands ready to assist wherever we can. In this respect, there is urgent need to assist in dealing with the humanitarian crisis in that country. We are confident that, because it cares, the international community will partner the people of Zimbabwe as they blaze out along a new trail.

We are also encouraged that, whatever fits and starts may seem to characterise the progress of the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo on their march to stability and prosperity, that progress is inexorable.

The partnership built in the recent period between the leadership of the DRC and Rwanda holds out a promise for advances in matters of security and in dealing with the humanitarian crisis; but, hopefully, also with regard to political dialogue. In the same measure, we will continue to work with other countries and the African Union to pursue these objectives in Burundi, Sudan, Western Sahara, Côte d’Ivoire, Somalia and elsewhere.

As would have been evidenced by various developments in the past few months, South Africa will use the privilege of chairing SADC to strengthen this critical regional institution, with particular emphasis on implementing Summit resolutions and cementing regional strategic cohesion.

At the same time we will improve SADC’s interaction with the Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the East African Community (EAC). These initiatives will be undertaken in order to extend rather than weaken the deep set of relations that we enjoy within the Southern African Customs Union (SACU).

We wish on this occasion to extend our congratulations to the people and the leadership of Zambia, Ghana and the United States of America for elections the symbolism of which transcends the narrow boundaries of their nation-states. We will as always seek to strengthen co-operation with these and other countries in pursuit of that which is good for humanity.

We are privileged that this year we conclude celebrations of the first decade of our diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China. Over these years, it has become clearer than ever before that there is much mutual benefit to be gained from our partnership.

We also wish to affirm our commitment to the close relations that we have forged with Brazil and India through IBSA; and indeed to the strengthening bonds that our country has been forging with Russia, and countries in Asia, the Middle East, as well as Latin and North America.

We have on countless occasions expressed our concern at the persistence of conflict in the Middle East in general and in Israel and Palestine in particular.

The depth of our disappointment at the recent escalation of the conflict and massive loss of life, of especially civilians – including children, women and the elderly – indeed defies description.
There can be no justification for such acts of wanton destruction and savagery. And we do hope that this time round, the renewed efforts of the international community to find a lasting solution to this conflict will bear fruit, so Israelis and Palestinians can enjoy peace and security as neighbours within their sovereign territories.

Our special congratulations to the government and people of Cuba on this the 50th anniversary of the attainment of their sovereignty and, with it, the freedom to choose their path of development.

We were able in the past year to conclude further negotiations with the European Union on our strategic partnership; and we do hope that the spirit which informed that engagement will prevail as we finalise the multilateral negotiations on the Economic Partnership Agreements with countries in our region.

We look forward to further strengthening this partnership when we host the South Africa-EU Summit later this year.

Along with other countries of the South we will continue to pursue the cause of the restructuring of the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and other multilateral institutions so they reflect the changed and changing global reality and operate in a democratic, equitable and transparent manner.

We also commit ourselves to meet the objectives of international agreements, including the Kyoto Protocol and its successors for the benefit of future generations among our own people and peoples of the world.

Madame Speaker and Honourable Chairperson;

Informing these our endeavours are two basic principles: the need for us to complete the mandate accorded this government in 2004; and the imperative to ensure that the government that comes in after the elections finds a ready platform to implement its programmes without undue delays.

In the coming few months pending the national and provincial elections, we will endeavour to complete that popular mandate. As part of the many detailed projects contained in the government’s Programme of Action, we will pay particular attention to:

creating the capacity necessary for improved service delivery and better integration within and across the spheres of government, including national strategic planning;

continuing with the War on Poverty campaign and finalising the draft of the Comprehensive Anti-poverty Strategy through the public consultations now under way;

implementing the comprehensive programme we have put in place to eliminate the incidence of cholera in various parts of the country;

continuing research and consultations on the Comprehensive Social Security System, including the matter of National Health Insurance;
intensifying the campaign to save energy, so as to manage the current difficulties and change our own behaviour, while at the same time speeding up the projects to build new capacity and utilise alternative energy sources – recognising that in addition to the consequences of climate change, resources such as fossil fuels and water are declining in the same measure as demand is increasing;

integrating into the work of the relevant Clusters the findings of research on Second Economy interventions such as the community works programme, support for small and micro-enterprises and rural development initiatives;

intensifying efforts to revamp the criminal justice system, including better forensic capacity, rapid increase in the number of detectives, optimal utilisation of information and communications technology, and better management of the courts; and

facilitating the processes aimed at strengthening the machineries dealing with matters of gender equality such as 50/50 representation in decision-making structures, youth development, the rights of people with disability and children’s rights – including completing consultations on the National Youth Policy, preparing for the implementation of the African Youth Charter once it has been processed by Parliament, and for the setting up of the National Youth Development Agency; submitting the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development to Parliament; strengthening advocacy on the rights of people with disability; and extending the number of municipalities that have set up Children’s Rights Focal Points beyond the current 60%.

These and other programmes, including the Apex Priorities identified in the State of the Nation Address last February, form the bedrock of our efforts to conclude the popular mandate and lay the foundation for the future.

We will intensify our efforts inspired by the enthusiasm, the hope and the resilience of the South African people in pursuit of that which is good for all of us. This, and this in the main, is the source of our confidence when we say that the nation is in a good state. Our democracy is healthy. It is steadily growing stronger.

And so, in the words of former President Mandela, “[w]e dare not linger, for [our] long walk is not yet ended”.

I thank you.

Issued by: The Presidency
6 February 2009
State of the Nation Address By His Excellency JG Zuma, President of the Republic of South Africa, at the Joint Sitting of Parliament, Cape Town

11 February 2010

Honourable Speaker;
Chairperson of the National Council of Provinces;
Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly and Deputy Chairperson of the NCOP;
Deputy President of the Republic, Honourable Kgalema Motlanthe;
Honourable Chief Justice of the Republic of South Africa and all esteemed members of the Judiciary;
Isithwalandwe President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela;
Former President FW de Klerk;
Our father, Former President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia;
Former deputy Presidents;
Distinguished premiers and speakers of our provinces;
Chairperson of SALGA and all local government leadership;
Chairperson of the National House of Traditional Leaders;
Heads of Chapter 9 Institutions;
The Governor of the Reserve Bank;
Special international guests, especially the Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Mr Jean Ping;
Former political prisoners and veterans;
Members of the diplomatic corps;
South African and foreign media;
Fellow South Africans,
Dumelang, molweni, goeie naand, good evening, sanibonani nonke emakhaya!
Siyavuya ukuba nani ngobubusuku bubaluleke kangaka.

Honorouble Speaker;

I stand before you this evening, 20 years since President Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela walked out of prison.

We have chosen this as the day to call this Joint Sitting of Parliament to deliver the State of the Nation Address, to celebrate a watershed moment that changed our country.

The release of Madiba was brought about by the resolute struggles of the South African people. Former political prisoners and veterans who are with us here witnessed that because they were part of that process.

You will off course recall that the masses of this country, in their different formations, responded with determination to the call to make the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable.
We are celebrating this day with former political prisoners who we have specially invited to join us. We welcome in particular those who have travelled from abroad to be here, Helene Pastoors, Michael Dingake from Botswana, Mr Andimba Toivo ya Toivo of Swapo in Namibia. We are pleased to be joined by members of the legal team in the Rivonia Treason trial – Lord Joel Joffe, who is now based in London and Judge Arthur Chaskalson.

We also remember and pay tribute to Mr Harry Schwarz, who sadly passed away last week. He was, among other things, a member of the Rivonia defence team.
We extend our gratitude to our friends and comrades in the international community, for fighting side by side with us to achieve freedom.
We extend a special welcome to the Mandela family.
They became a symbol of the sacrifices of many who bore the brunt of apartheid.
We greet the leadership of the ruling party and Alliance partners, for whom this is an extra special occasion.

Compatriots and friends,

On this special day, we must also acknowledge the contribution of those within the leadership of the National Party, who eventually realised that apartheid had no future.
Allow me to mention the role played by former President PW Botha.
It was he who initiated the discussion about the possibility of the release of political prisoners.
President Botha worked with the former Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, who was in turn assisted by Dr Neil Barnard and Mr Mike Louw.
They played a significant role in the process leading to the release of Madiba.

Honourable compatriots,

South Africa is yet to acknowledge in full, the critical role played by the former President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, who laid the foundation for this country to become a shining example of freedom and democracy.

It was his outstanding leadership, foresight and clarity of vision that led the ANC to intensify the pursuit of a negotiated settlement.
His wisdom was also displayed in the Harare Declaration, which he wrote and championed.
It was this that laid the groundwork for the historic announcements by President FW de Klerk, 20 years ago. In this, President de Klerk demonstrated great courage and decisive leadership.

On this great day, let me also acknowledge the role played by the late Ms Helen Suzman. She was for a long time, a lone voice in Parliament, calling for change.
We also recognise the role of the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who also called for Madiba’s release, as well as that of other political prisoners and the return of exiles. We reiterate our heartfelt gratitude to the international community for its unwavering support to our struggle.
These moments in our history demonstrate our ability to come together, even under the most difficult of circumstances, and to put the country’s interests first above all other interests.
Deur saam te werk, kan ons meer bereik.

Honourable members,

During the course of this year, we will mark the centenary of the establishment of the Union of South Africa, which was established in 1910. This created a unitary state. Significantly, the exclusion of black people from this Union was one of the chief reasons for the formation of the African National Congress in 1912. As we mark this centenary later in the year, we should reflect on how far we have travelled as a country.

Honourable members,

We recall the words of Madiba on his release, when he said and I quote:

"I stand before you, not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people. Your tireless and heroic sacrifices have made it possible for me to be here today. I therefore place the remaining years of my life in your hands."

These words inspire us not to rest until we achieve the ideals of a society free of poverty and deprivation. In the two decades since the release of Madiba, our country has changed fundamentally. President Mandela united this country behind the goal of a non-sexist, non-racial, democratic and prosperous South Africa. As we celebrate Madiba’s release today, let us recommit ourselves to building a better future for all South Africans, black and white. Let us pursue the ideal for which Madiba has fought his entire life – the ideal of a democratic and free society, in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities.

Honourable members,

We called a joint sitting in the evening so that the majority in our country, workers and schoolchildren, can be part of the occasion. We are impressed by the enthusiasm of the youth about the occasion. Two hundred and sixty six children from all provinces participated in the pre-State of the Nation debate on the role of the youth in the fight against poverty.

We congratulate the overall winner, Charlotte Le Fleur of Worcester Secondary School, and all the participants for the hard work.

Compatriots and friends,

We are meeting against the backdrop of a global economic crisis. Last year, we experienced our first recession in 17 years. The crisis cost our economy about 900 000 jobs. Many of those who lost their jobs were the breadwinners in poor families.
In February last year, government, business, labour and community representatives agreed on a package of measures to reduce the scale and impact of the crisis. We have put many of these measures in place.
We have implemented decisive anti-recession spending by government, especially on infrastructure.
To ensure a safety cushion for the poor, we brought social grant increases forward, and extended the Child-Support Grant to children over 14 years of age. In the next three years, an additional two million children from poor families and households, aged 15 to 18 years, will benefit from the Child-Support Grant.

The Industrial Development Corporation has put aside R6 billion to help companies in distress.
Government introduced a “training lay-off scheme” to allow workers the option of a period of training instead of retrenchment.
These efforts were enhanced by our Public Works Programme.

The nation will recall that during the 2009 State of the Nation Address, I announced that the Expanded Public Works Programme would create 500 000 work opportunities by December 2009.

These are job opportunities created to provide unemployed people with an income, work experience and training opportunities.

Honourable members, Fellow South Africans,

We are pleased to announce that by the end of December, we had created more than 480 000 public works job opportunities, which is 97% of the target we had set.
The jobs are in areas like construction, home and community-based care, and environmental projects.
We have identified some areas of improvement, which we will effect going forward, including ensuring more labour-intensive projects.
We know that these and other measures cannot fully mitigate the effects of the recession.
We are grateful for the spirit of family, community and voluntary work that inspires many people to help those most affected by the crisis, through these difficult times.

Honourable members,

Economic indicators suggest that we are now turning the corner.
Economic activity is rising in South Africa, and we expect growth going forward.
The labour statistics released on Tuesday, show that the economy is now creating jobs rather than shedding them.
It is too soon, though, to be certain of the pace of recovery.
Government will therefore not withdraw its support measures.
Now is the time to lay the groundwork for stronger growth going forward, and for growth that gives rise to more jobs.

Our long-term infrastructure programme will help us grow faster.
Our education and skills programmes will increase our productivity and competitiveness.
Our Industrial Policy Action Plan and our new focus on green jobs, will build stronger and more labour-absorbing industries. 
Our rural development programme will improve rural productivity, and the lives of people living in rural areas. 
Underpinning our strategy for economic recovery and growth, is our capital investment programme.

Over the next three years, government will spend R846 billion on public infrastructure. 
On transport, we will maintain and expand our road network. 
We will ensure that our rail network is reliable, competitive and better integrated with our sea ports. To ensure reliable power supply, we have established an Inter-Ministerial Committee on Energy, to develop a 20-year integrated resource plan.

Among other things, this will look at the participation of independent power producers, and protecting the poor from rising electricity prices. 
We will establish an independent system operator, separate from Eskom Holdings. 
Eskom will continue to build additional generation capacity and improve the maintenance of its power stations. 
To ensure the promotion of an inclusive economy, to aid growth and development, we have established the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Advisory Council, chaired by the President.

The most urgent focus of policy change must be interventions to create jobs for young people. Unemployment rates for young people are substantially higher than the average. 
Proposals will be tabled to subsidise the cost of hiring younger workers, to encourage firms to take on inexperienced staff. A further expansion of public employment programmes is also underway. This includes local infrastructure and tertiary projects and literacy projects, home-based care, school maintenance and early childhood development initiatives.

Last year we launched the National Youth Development Agency. 
We have directed the agency to work faster to establish its structures, throughout the country, so that it can assist us to mainstream youth development programmes within government.

Honourable members,

When this administration came into office last year, we undertook to work harder to build a strong developmental state. 
We said it would be a state that responds to the needs and aspirations of the people, and which performs better and faster. 
This year, 2010, shall be a year of action. 
The defining feature of this administration will be that it knows where people live, understands their needs and responds faster. 
Government must work faster, harder and smarter.

We will expect the Executive and the Public Service to comply with this vision. 
We are building a performance-oriented state, by improving planning as well as performance monitoring and evaluation.
We also need to integrate gender equity measures into the Government’s Programme of Action. This action will ensure that women, children and persons with disabilities can access developmental opportunities. We are pleased to announce a new way of doing things in government.

The work of departments will be measured by outcomes, developed through our performance monitoring and evaluation system. The ministers who are responsible for a particular outcome, will sign a detailed delivery agreement with the President. It will outline what is to be done, how, by whom, within what time period and using what measurements and resources.

As you are aware, we are committed to five priorities: education, health, rural development and land reform, creating decent work, and fighting crime. In addition, we will work to improve the effectiveness of local government, infrastructure development and human settlements. We will undertake a number of key activities towards the achievement of these outcomes.

We have placed education and skills development at the centre of this government’s policies. In our 2010 programme, we want to improve the ability of our children to read, write and count in the foundation years. Unless we do this, we will not improve the quality of education. Our education targets are simple but critical. We want learners and teachers to be in school, in class, on time, learning and teaching for seven hours a day.

We will assist teachers by providing detailed daily lesson plans. To students, we will provide easy-to-use workbooks in all 11 languages. From this year onwards, all grade 3, 6 and 9 students will write literacy and numeracy tests that are independently moderated. We aim to increase the pass rate for these tests from the current average of between 35 and 40% to at least 60% by 2014. Results will be sent to parents to track progress.

In addition, each of our 27 000 schools will be assessed by officials from the Department of Basic Education. This will be recorded in an auditable written report. We aim to increase the number of matric students who are eligible for university admission to 175 000 a year by 2014.

We urge parents to cooperate with us in making this a success. We welcome last month’s statement by the three teacher unions, NAPTOSA, SADTU and SAOU, reaffirming their commitment to the Quality Learning and Teaching Campaign from the beginning of 2010.

Honourable members,
We need to invest in our youth to ensure a skilled and capable workforce to support growth and job creation.

We therefore plan to increase the training of 16-25 year olds in further education and training facilities. This will enable us to provide a second chance at education, for those who do not qualify for university. We are working with higher education institutions to ensure that eligible students obtain financial assistance, through the National Student Financial Aid Scheme. We have also set ambitious targets for skills development, to produce additional engineers and technicians, and to increase the number of qualified Mathematics and Science teachers. We must also increase the number of youth who enter learnerships in the private and public sectors.

Another key outcome is to ensure a long and healthy life for all South Africans. We will continue to improve our healthcare system. This includes building and upgrading hospitals and clinics, and further improving the working conditions of healthcare workers. We have partnered with the Development Bank of Southern Africa to improve the functionality of public hospitals and their district offices. We are also collaborating with the DBSA and the Industrial Development Corporation, in a public-private partnership programme to improve hospitals and provide finance for projects.

Honourable members,

We must confront the fact that life expectancy at birth, has dropped from 60 years in 1994 to just below 50 years today. We are therefore making interventions to lower maternal mortality rates, to reduce new HIV infections and to effectively treat HIV and tuberculosis. We will also reduce infant mortality through the massive immunisation programme. We will reinstate health programmes in schools. We will implement all the undertakings made on World AIDS Day relating to new HIV prevention and treatment measures. Intensive work is underway to ensure that this work is on schedule. We will also continue preparations for the establishment of a national health insurance system.

Fellow South Africans,

We are working hard to ensure that everyone in South Africa feels safe and is safe. We will take further our work to reduce serious and violent crimes, and ensure that the justice system works efficiently. We are implementing plans to increase the number of policemen and women by 10% over the next three years. We have identified the fight against hijacking, business and house robberies, as well as contact crimes such as murder, rape and assault, as top priorities. We all have a role to play. Let us participate in community safety forums. Let us stop buying stolen goods. Let us always be ready to provide the police with information about criminal activity.
Compatriots and esteemed guests,

Local government must work. Municipalities must improve the provision of housing, water, sanitation, electricity, waste management and roads. We held a meeting with mayors and municipal managers last year. This provided valuable insight into the challenges in local government. We also visited various communities and municipalities, including Balfour in Mpumalanga and Thembisa in Gauteng.

After the Balfour visit, we sent a nine-member ministerial team to visit the area to address the issues that had been raised by the community. A number of issues have already received attention. I have directed the ministers to attend to the outstanding matters. We reiterate that there are no grievances that can justify violence and the destruction of property. We have directed law-enforcement agencies to take a tougher stance on lawlessness in Balfour and other areas. In December 2009, Cabinet approved a turnaround strategy for local government.

During this year of action, let us work together to make local government everybody’s business. We are working to upgrade well-located informal settlements and provide proper service and land tenure to at least 500 000 households by 2014. We plan to set aside over 6 000 hectares of well-located public land for low-income and affordable housing.

A key new initiative will be to accommodate people whose salaries are too high to get government subsidies, but who earn too little to qualify for a normal bank mortgage. We will set up a guarantee fund of R1 billion to incentivise the private banking and housing sector, to develop new products to meet this housing demand.

Bakwethu,

Ngonyaka odlule sati, abantu basemakhaya nabo banelungelo lokuba nogesi, amanzi, izindlu zangase ezigijima amanzi nemigwaqo.

Sathi kufanele babe nezindawo zezemidlalo kanye nezindawo zokuthenga ezinkulukazi eziphucuzekile njengasemadolobheni.

In this regard, we launched the first pilot site of the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme in Giyani, Limpopo, in August last year. Since then, 231 houses have been built. Progress has also been made in providing infrastructure to support agricultural development, and training for community members. Access to health and education facilities has improved. We are implementing similar programmes in seven sites across the country, benefiting 21
wards.
By 2014, we aim to have sites in 160 wards.
We want 60% of households in these sites to meet their food requirements from own production by 2014.

*Kancane kancane kuze kulunge, phela bakwethu, kuthiwa nempandla iqala ngenhlonhlo.*

We also need to better integrate land reform and agricultural support programmes. Our success in this area will be measured by the increase in the number of small-scale farmers that become economically viable.

Honourable Speaker and Chairperson of the NCOP,

We are not a water-rich country.
Yet, we still lose a lot of water through leaking pipes and inadequate infrastructure. We will be putting in place measures to reduce our water loss by half by 2014.

Honourable members,

As part of our efforts to encourage greater economic growth, we are working to reduce the cost to communicate. The South African public can look forward to an even further reduction of broadband, cellphone, landline and public phone rates. We will work to increase broadband speed and ensure a high standard of Internet service, in line with international norms.

Fellow South Africans,

This government will ensure that our environmental assets and natural resources are well protected, and are continually enhanced.

Together with Brazil, India and China, and joined by the United States, which represented the developed world, we made a significant contribution to the accord adopted at the Copenhagen Climate Change Summit in December last year. Although it does not go as far as required, it is an important step forward as it commits all countries to respond to climate change. We will work harder with our international counterparts towards a legally binding treaty. As South Africa, we have voluntarily committed ourselves to specific emission-reduction targets, and will continue working on our long-term climate change mitigation strategy.

Honourable members,

We will intensify efforts to promote the interests of South Africa globally. We will support efforts to speed up the political and economic integration of the SADC region, and promote intra-regional trade and investment. South Africa continues to play a leading role in continental efforts to strengthen the African Union and its organs, and to work for unity. We will focus energy on revitalising the New Partnership for Africa’s Development, as a strategy for economic development on the continent.
Fellow South Africans,

The Public Service has to respond to the call to make this term one of faster action and improved state performance. We require excellence and hard work. We need public servants who are dedicated, capable and who care for the needs of citizens. Government is already working on the development and implementation of a public service development programme, which will set the norms and standards for public servants in all spheres.

Honourable Members,

We continue our efforts to eradicate corruption and fraud in procurement and tender processes, and in applications for drivers’ licences, social grants and identity documents, among others. We are pleased with the progress government is making in some areas. This week, we terminated 32 687 fraudulent social grants payments, valued at R180 million. Our Inter-Ministerial Committee on Corruption is looking at ways to decisively defeat corruption.

_Nga u shumisana rothe ringa bveledza zwinzhi._

Compatriots,

As you are aware, we introduced the Presidential Hotline to make government and The Presidency more accessible to the public, and to help unblock service-delivery blockages. The hotline represents our determination to do things differently in government. It has made a difference in the lives of many South Africans. We can mention Mrs Buziwe Ngaleka of Mount Frere, whose call about her late husband’s pension was the first we took on the first day of the service. She is with us here tonight. We also have among us Mr Nkululeko Cele, who was helped to obtain identity documents, which allowed him to enrol at Tshwane University of Technology.

These are just two among many success stories. From these and other examples, we identify weaknesses that should be rectified by various spheres of government. Through the Speaker, we have invited a multiparty delegation from Parliament to visit the call centre, so that MPs can get a first-hand account of the work done.

Compatriots and friends,

I have outlined the main elements of our plans for 2010, our collective commitment as government to the people of South Africa. The State of the Nation Address provides a broad overview of our action plan. Ministers will provide the detail in their respective Budget Vote speeches.

Honourable members, fellow South Africans,
In November this year, we will mark the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Indians in South Africa. It provides an opportunity to recognise the important contribution of the Indian community in the fields of labour, business, science, sport, religion, arts, culture and the achievement and consolidation of our democracy.

Compatriots and friends,

Let me take this opportunity to once again extend our heartfelt condolences to the Government and people of Haiti on the monumental tragedy that has befallen them. We are pleased that our rescue teams were able to go and assist. I would like to especially recognise one South African who never fails to assist in times of disasters, and helps us to promote the vision of a caring society. We welcome Dr Imtiaz Sooliman of the Gift of the Givers in this house today.

Fellow South Africans,

The hosting of the FIFA World Cup makes 2010 truly a year of action. We have spent many years planning for this World Cup. We only have three months to go. And we are determined to make a success of it. The infrastructure, security and logistics arrangements are in place to ensure a successful tournament. As a nation, we owe a debt of gratitude to the 2010 Local Organising Committee for their sterling effort. We wish the LOC Chairperson, Irvin Khoza, CEO Danny Jordaan and Bafana Bafana coach, Carlos Alberto Parreira, all the best for the months ahead.

President Mandela was central in assisting the country to win the rights to host this great event. We therefore have to make the World Cup a huge success in his honour. Compatriots, let us also stand behind the national team Bafana Bafana. I’m one of those who believe Bafana Bafana is going to produce surprises. Most importantly, *ithikithi esandleni bakwethu!* Let us all buy tickets timeously to be able to attend the games.

Fellow South Africans,

As we celebrate Madiba’s release today, we recommit ourselves to reconciliation, national unity, non-racialism and building a better future together as South Africans, black and white.

We are guided by what Madiba said in the dock, that and I quote:

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people.

I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination.

I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society, in which all persons live together in harmony, and with equal opportunities.

It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and to achieve.

But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."
Inspired by our icon Madiba, it is my honour to dedicate this 2010 State of the Nation Address to all our heroes and heroines, sung and unsung, known and unknown. Let us work together to make this year of action a successful one for our country.

I thank you.

Issued by: The Presidency
11 February 2010
Gesprek gaan voort, sê FW

Partye in nasionale vergadering sal hul belange kan bevorder

KAAPSTAD. – Dit is van kritieke belang dat alle betrokke politiese partye in die nuwe Parlement verteenwoordig word, want die grondwetlike onderhandelingsproses sal daar voortgesit word.

So het die Staatspresident, mr. F.W. de Klerk, gister in sy openbare rede op ‘n gesamentlike sitinge van die drie rade van die Parlement gesê.

Die proses van grondwetlike ontwikkeling kom nie met die verkiesing van die nuwe Parlement tot ‘n einde nie. Een van die belangrikste take van die nuwe Parlement sal wees om die finale grondwet op te stel. Grondwetlike onderhandelings sal dus in die nuwe Parlement voortgaan, en alle partye in die nasionale vergadering sal in ‘n goeie posisie wees om hul belange te verteenwoordig in die voortgaande grondwetlike debat te bevorder.

Pres. de Klerk het hul belange met die verkiezing van alle Suider-Afrikaners gedoen – en in besonder die goeie belang wat dit oorweg om grondwetlik op te eis om die nuwe grondwet te verskyn.

Hulle moet hulle nie deur valse propaganda laast nie. Die nuwe grondwet sal deur die goeie belang van alle Suider-Afrikaners, net so as alle ander partye, op te stel word.

Pres. de Klerk het sê dat die nuwe grondwet sal wees om die belange van alle Suider-Afrikaners te verteenwoordig.

Regses het nie berou oorwyn van apartheid – Davie

KAAPSTAD. – ’n Skikking met die lede van die Konserwatiewe Party en die Afrikaner-Weersstands beweging is nie noodwendig nie, want hulle het self aan die hand van die grondwetlike proces gegaan.

Pres. de Klerk het sê dat die grondwetlike proses sal voortgaan, en dat hulle nie deur valse propaganda laast nie.

Die grondwetlike proses sal voortgaan, en die belange van alle Suider-Afrikaners sal verteenwoordig word.

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Sowetan

Parliament bid to meet Freedom Alliance  •  Mandela meets Buthelezi today

News in brief

Venda ‘normal’

CIVIL servants in Venda returned to work yesterday after striking a deal that money owed to the hund-
dred of thousands of them would be repaid.

The officer of the commission for administration said the situation at the hospitals’ schools was not yet back to normal.

Salaries delayed

MORE than 60 000 public servants did not receive salaries yester-
day as promised. The head of a South African task group in Libya, Mr. P. Morkel, said the money would be paid out today because of delays in the administrative process caused by a three-week civil servants strike.

‘Free politics’

The ANC said yesterday it would neither mount a challenge in Northern Transvaal in the March 5 election because the ANC was not allowed by March 5.

The decision to stand in a weekend meeting of national and provin-
cial ANC elective candidates from the northern region. They resolved to push the Traditional Executive Council to remove outside the coalition if serious financial or other facilities in the party vis-a-vis the party were not guaranteed.

Teach followers

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Mail & Guardian


disasters

the daily battle in the township increases: official figures show the number of people in the townships who are homeless has increased significantly in recent years.

The event occurs twice a month, during which students from the township are invited to participate in educational activities and discussions. The goal is to provide a safe space for them to express their thoughts and concerns about the situation they face daily.

The event has gained popularity among the local community, with many students and teachers attending to learn more about the challenges facing young people in the township and to discuss potential solutions.

In an effort to support the students,Mail & Guardian is collaborating with the township to provide additional resources, such as educational materials and support for extracurricular activities. The aim is to empower the students to take an active role in shaping their future and to create a more inclusive and supportive community.


to take a recent test

over the country's prison conditions. And in the background was the general unease that is apparent among politicians and workers alike.

The logic behind the test is to ensure that the prison system operates efficiently and effectively. It includes questions on topics such as sentence administration, prisoner discipline, and staff training. The test is administered to all prisoners who have served at least one year in prison, regardless of the nature of their offense.

Barometer

it is crucial to maintain a balance between personal freedom and public safety.

The scale of prison arrests - the 17,143 mentions average per day at 70% of all cases - shows how deeply the South African criminal justice system is affected by these issues. The public is urged to stay vigilant and report any suspicious activities to the police.

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Nelson Mandela 1994 SONA

Die Burger

'Poetic justice' vir Ingrid Jonker toe President gedig lees

Herman Joubert

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1994/05/25/1/4.html

KAAPSTAD. ``Jan! Ek hoop ou Abraham se spook kyk nou af in die Parlement sodat hy kan sien wat met die gedig van sy kind gebeur." Só het die skilder Marjorie Wallace gister op Onrus aan haar skrywer-man, Jan Rabie, gesê toe hulle oor televisie sien hoe pres. Nelson Mandela Ingrid Jonker se bekende gedig Die Kind in Engels in sy openingstoespraak in die Parlement voorlees. Wallace en Rabie was in die jare sestig boesemvriende van Ingrid toe haar pa, Abraham Jonker, wat in daardie stadium 'n parlements lid was, in die Parlement opgestaan en hom van sy dogter se politiek en haar gedigte, onder meer Die Kind, gedistansieer het. ``Ek was ontroer. Dit was 'poetic justice'. Ou Abraham en sy gespuis is uitgegooi met al die vrot dinge wat hulle aangevang het. "Ingrid het ondanks alles opgesien na haar pa (self 'n bekende skrywer). Toe sy die Perskor prys kry, het sy haar pa gebel en gesê hy moet saamkom, sy sal die reiskoste betaal. "Toe hy weier, het sy die foon neergesmy, geskreeu 'voertsek' en huilend in die straat afgestap." Wallace sê sy is net ``jammer Mandela het nie minstens 'n deel van die gedig in Afrikaans voorgelees nie. Veral die laaste gedeelte. Die man se Afrikaans is goed. "Ingrid self het Die Kind egter nooit as 'n politieke gedig beskou nie. Dit was vir haar meer iets 'moederliks', die ma wat haar kind verloor het," sê Wallace. Abraham Jonker se verwerping van sy dogter is destyds in Hansard aangeteken. Vir die Afrikaanse letterkunde is dit 'n gedenkwaardige geleentheid dat die land se eerste swart President haar naam waarlik in ere herstel het. Gister is ook dit in Hansard aangeteken.

Nelson se bewondering vir haar werk kom ver

Politieke Redaksie

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1994/05/25/2/1.html

KAAPSTAD. Dit is nie toevallig dat pres. Nelson Mandela die Afrikaanse digter Ingrid Jonker gister in sy openingstoespraak in die Parlement aangehaal het nie, want hy is 'n groot bewonderaar van haar. Sen. Kobie Coetsee, President van die Senaat, wat as Minister van Justisie mnr. Mandela dikwels in die gevangenis besoek het, het gister aan Die Burger gesê die President het Jonker bewonder omdat sy een van die eerste Afrikaanse digters was wat oor die ongeregtigheid in Suid-Afrika geskryf het. Mnr. Mandela het in die tronk ook die werke van ander Afrikaanse digters gelees. Hy het ook die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke en die militêre geskiedenis intensief bestudeer. Hy ken die boeke van Deneys Reitz oor die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog op die punte van sy vingers, het sen. Coetsee gesê.
Mandela bring hulde aan Ingrid Jonker - die Suid-Afrikaner, die digter, die mens

Parlementêre Redaksie

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1994/05/25/2/3.html

KAAPSTAD. Pres. Nelson Mandela het gister in sy openingstoespraak in die Parlement die gedig Die kind van die Afrikaanse digter Ingrid Jonker aangehaal waarin sy haar visie gee vir Suid-Afrika se rol in Afrika en die wêreld ná die dood van 'n kind in die Sharpesville slagting van 1960. Jonker het in die middel van die jare sestig vermoedelik selfmoord gepleeg deur haar by Drieankerbaai in Kaapstad in die see te verdrink. Pres. Mandela het gesê die tyd sal aanbreek dat Suid-Afrikaners die nagedagtenis eer van al die seuns, ma's, pa's, jeugdige en kinders wat, deur hul gedagtes en dade, hulle reg gegee het om met trots te verklaar dat hulle Suid-Afrikaners, Afrikan en inwoners van die wêreld is. "Die sekerheid wat met ouderdom kom, sê vir my dat ons onder diegenene 'n Afrikaner vrou sal kry wat 'n besondere gebeurtenis verhef het en 'n Suid-Afrikaner, 'n Afrikaan en 'n burger van die wêreld geword het. "Haar naam was Ingrid Jonker. Sy was 'n digter én 'n Suid-Afrikaner. Sy was 'n Afrikaner én 'n Afrikaan. Sy was 'n kunstenaar én 'n mens. "Te midde van wanhoop was sy vol hoop. Gekonfronteer met dood, het sy die skoonheid van die lewe staande gehou. In die donker dae toe alles hopeloos in ons land gelyk het, toe baie mense geweier het om haar helder stem te hoor, het sy haar eie lewe geneem." Ná die slagting op 'n betoging teen passe in Sharpeville het sy geskryf: Die kind is nie dood nie die kind lig sy vuiste teen sy moeder wat Afrika skreeu. . Die kind is nie dood nie nóg by Langa nóg by Nyanga nóg by Orlando nóg by Sharpeville nóg by die polisiesstasie in Philippi waar hy lê met 'n koeël deur sy kop. . . die kind is teenwoordig by alle vergaderings en wetgewings die kind loer deur die vensters van huise in die harte van moeders die kind wat net wou speel in die son by Nyanga is orals die kind wat 'n man geword het ten deur die ganse Afrika die kind wat 'n reus geword het reis deur die hele wêreld Sonder 'n pas Pres. Mandela het gesê in dié glorieryke visie het sy opdrag gegee dat Suid-Afrikaners moet streef na die bevryding van die vrou, die emansipasie van die man en die vryheid van die kind. Hieraan moet Parlementslede betekenis gee deur hul teenwoordigheid in dié Raadsaal en doel gee deur hul teenwoordigheid in die Regering. Pres. Mandela het gesê vandag, Afrika dag, sal Ingrid Jonker se droom bewaarheid word. Vandaag word die nuwe landsvlag op 'n geskiedkundige ceremonie by die hoofkwartier van die OEA in Addis Abeba gehys as jongste lid van dié organisasie. Vandaag bespreek die Veilig heidsraad van die VN die opheffing van die oorblywende sanksies teen Suid-Afrika en om die wêreld te posisioneer om teenoor Suid-Afrika op te tree as 'n verantwoordelike en vredeliewende lid. "Die kind wat 'n man geword het, sal dwarsdeur Afrika trek. Die kind wat 'n reus geword het, sal deur die hele wêreld reis sonder 'n pas!" het pres. Mandela gesê.
Nelson Mandela 1999 SONA

Die Burger

Mandela se rede stel teleur, sê opposisiepartye

Ilse Bigalke

KAAPSTAD. – Opposisiepartye het gister eenparig pres. Nelson Mandela se laaste parlementêre openingsrede as teleurstellend bestemsel, veral omdat hy nie met wesenlike oplossings vir voortslepende probleme soos misdaad, korrupsie en werkskeping voor die dag gekom het nie.

Mnr. Martnus van Schalkwyk, leier van die Nuwe NP, het gesê Mandela se rede moet as ‘n toespraak van verbreekte beloftes bestempel word.


“Maar dan sê hy daar sal geen beleidsverandering wees nie. Daar bestaan derhalwe geen plan van aksie om iets aan die Regering se mislukkings te doen nie.”

Swak vertoning goed gepraat

Volgens Van Schalkwyk het hy simpatie met Mandela gehad. “Hy is die ANC se beste wapen en sy grootste bate, en hy is ingestuur om die ANC se swak vertoning as ‘n regering goed te praat.

“Hy was op die agtervoet, wat beteken die ANC sal die verkiesingsveldtog uit ‘n swak posisie betree,” het Van Schalkwyk gesê.

Volgens mnr. Tony Leon, DP leier, het Mandela glad nie daarin geslaag om Suid-Afrikaners daarvan te oor-

tuig dat die Regering ernstig is oor die bekamping van misdaad of die skep van werkgeleenthede nie.

Leon het gesê die grootste tekortkoming van die openingsrede was die gebrek aan ‘n enkele konkrete voorstel om die misdaadgolf te stuit.

“Mandela het erken die Regering se vordering op misdaadgebied het die kreeftegang gaan en dat dit baie jare sal duur om misdaad tot aanvaarbare vlakke te laat daal.”

Met verwysing na Mandela se opmerking dat Suid-Afrika ‘n “Heropbou-en-ontwikkelingsprogram van die gees” nodig het, het Leon daarop gewys dat die Regering eerder so ‘n program nodig het.

“Terwyl die President ‘n beroep om morele leierskap doen, word sy nuwe konsil-generaal in Indië as ‘n dief ontmasker.”

“‘n Welkom eerste stap in die rigting van Mandela se ‘Hop’ sal die beëindiging van mnr. Ramesh Vassen se aanstelling wees,” het Leon gesê.

Genl. Constant Viljoen, leier van die VF, meen Mandela het niks nuuts gesê wat hoop vir die land bring nie.

Volgens hom het die President in gebreke gebyl om met wesenlike voorstelle voor die dag te kom wat hoop vir minderhede sal bring, misdaad sal hokslaan, en buitelandse beleggings sal lok wat vir werkskeping nodig is.

Volgens mnr. Roelf Meyer, ondervoorvoerder van die UDM, het Mandela nie daarin geslaag om met die moedige en beslissie stappe voor die dag te kom waarna die land hunker nie.
SA het Hop vir die siel nodig – President

Hein Swart

KAAPSTAD. – Suid-Afrika is in baie opsigte ‘n siek gemeenskap weens die groot omvang van korruptie. Sekere individue in verskeie regeringsvlakke is selfs meer korrupt as die van die vorige regering. Só het pres. Nelson Mandela gister in sy openingsrede by die Parlement gesê.

Hy het gesê die suksesvolle uitvoering van korruptie vereis dat die gemeenskap in die eerste plek moet erken dat hy in seker optiese siek is. Dit is in die eerste plek deur apartheid veroorsaak. “Geen mate van selfregulerende geheueverlies sal die geskiedkundige werklikheid verander nie.”

Maar dit is eveneens ‘n feit dat daar in verskillende regeringsvlakke onder mekaar individue is wat net so korrupt – indien nie meer nie – as die in vorige reigings.

“Wanneer ‘n leier in ‘n provinsiale wetgewing gehartelosheid vir hom afspreek wat vir die gemeenskap bedoel is en wanneer amptenaar begrafplaag om hulself te verryk plek van die mense te help om van die gevolge van apartheid te ontsnap, moet ons erken dat ons ‘n siek gemeenskap is.”

Pensioengeld vanjaar 4% meer

Hendrik Coetzee


Dit is monoton gemaak deur die R550 miljoen wat danky beter administrasie en die uitrooi van welsynskorruptie per jaar bespaar word.

Mandela het gesê hy is persoonlik baie opgewonde om die aankondiging. “Ek het olangans in Davos, Switserland, (op die vergadering van die Wereld Economiese Forum) gesê ek wil binnekort langs die pad moet staan: werkloos, sonder geld, met ‘n nuwe vrou en ‘n groot familie. Danksy die verhoging sal ek nie meer langs die pad hoef te staan nie.”

Mandela het na tale suksesie verwys wat die Regering onder meer met die verskaffing van water behaalt het. Sedert 1994 is elke dag elektrisiteit van 1 300 huise aan- gelê, 750 telefoone geïnstalleer en 1 700 bykomende mense is van skoon water voor- sien.

Hy het erken die ANC regering sal nie sy belofte kan nakom om miljoen huise voor die jaar 2000 te bou nie. Altesame 15 000 per maand bou.

As onderwys misluk, ‘moet koppe rol’

Ilse Bigalke


Mandela het verwys na die talle streke waar skoolboeke verlede jaar nie binne sewe dæ na die begin van die skooltermyn aan skole verskaf kon word nie.

“Ons hoop die beplanning en geldsake sal vanjaar vroeër afge- handel word.”

“As dit nie gebeur nie … sal gewone burgers, soos ek, in die volgende jaar geregtig voel om te eis dat die koppe moet rol,” het Mandela gesê.

Volgens die President voel die meeste Suid-Afrikaners sake in die onderwys het sedert 1994 verbeter.

“Dit is so omdat talle van diegene wat onder bome of in vervalle of geboue gestudeer het, baat ge-
Mandela brand los teen Pagad, terreur

Hendrik Coetzee
Politiek Boringgewer

KAAPSTAD. In 'n skerp aanval op Pagad het pres. Nelson Mandela dié organisasie daarvan beskuldig dat sy veldtog teen bende onttaard het in 'n geweldadige en moordadige aanval op gewone landbouers en die veiligheidswarte.


Hy het die groep gewaar dat die stryd teen terreurd in die Skorland gewen sal word en dat sy lede wat hulle van terreurdade skuldig maak, moet weet dat hulle hawe lank in die treen sal sit. Hoewel Mandela Pagad nie by na meng genoem het nie, het hy klaarblyklik na die organisasie verwys toe hy oorfirst de terreurdade van die laaste paar weke in die Skorland gesê het: "Ekers, wat begin het as 'n ondruklike veldtog teen bende, het ontaard in 'n geweldadige en moordadige aanval teen gewone landbouers en die wetenskaplike persone.

Tweedas, wat voorgestel word as 'n moord en God geïnspireerde stryd teen verdrukking, uitbuiting en imperialisisme, het ontaar teen terrrorisme waarmee Kaapstad se le-

Ou era... nuwe era: Nelson Mandela en Thabo Mbeki, gister by
Tuyibaya kort na die opening van die Parliament.

bronweegte van sy stryd teen mis-
dadiers nie.

Mandela het die verskynsels ge-
gie dat die Regering weet wat die be-
trokkere is, wil hulle oplei en wil hulle strek. "Ons is steedsbeheer on-
lig om wat terdikte en die hulle te be-
heen sal verskyn dat hulle vir 'n
baie, baie lang tyd in die treen sal sit. Laat ek hoor: Daar is teere-
tree tot die stryd teen misdaad. En
ons tereit nie wie die stryd gaan we,

Oor die landyade stryd teen mis-
daad, het Mandela weer gene die
doorslaat sal nie beringelend word nie, maar dat bestaande wetens-
verstrek kon word om misdaad die
hoof te bied.

Hoewel die misdaadprobleem nie
ongewoon oplosbaar kan word nie en daar reeds heuslike stukken behaal is in die stryd teen ernstige misdaad, is die
publiek se ongeruil en onterwels-
heid met die situasie verdwaaland.

Mandela het ook gesê dat die stryd teen terreurdade van die publiek se ongeruil en onterwels-
heid met die situasie omteken.

Mandela het ook gesê:

- Korupsiie moet met wortel en
tak uitgetrok word. Dit het reeds
skeie afmetings aangemer dat
Sy-Afrika met reg as 'n siek ge-
meenskap bestemt kan word.

- Sommige staatsmense is seker
meer korrupt as dié van die vorige
regering.

- Die Syd-Afrikaanse ekonomie
is bates gesond en daar is 'n goe,
sie dat ekonomiese groei binne-
kort hervat sal word.

- Kope in die onderwyss sal moet
begin volg as sommige take sone
die verskaffing van handboeke nie
behoorlik uitgewe kan word nie.

- Die Regering gaan nie sy beleid
wyse van die presidensienk van
jaars. Thabo Mbeki nie.

- Nog beter bo en foto's oor die
parlamenteupening op bl. 2 en 11.

- Vol Pagad, lode sonder behaal
in Oudtshoorn hof - bl. 6.
Only success will silence the whiners

Howard Barrel
OVER A BARREL

Who would want to be President of South Africa for the next 10 years? Most people would not, if the costs of that job were to be fully appreciated. The rewards are tangible, but the costs are enormous.

The costs are not just personal: the job would mean a breakdown in social and family life. The President would have to make his decisions in public, and the weight of that public scrutiny would be immense. The President would have to make decisions that would affect the lives of millions of people, and the consequences of those decisions would be felt for years to come.

In addition, the job would mean a breakdown in health and physical fitness. The President would have to travel extensively, and the demands of the job would be physically demanding. The President would have to make decisions in a vacuum, and the consequences of those decisions would be felt for years to come.

In spite of all this, there are those who want the job. But the reasons for wanting it are not clear. Some say they want the job because they believe they can make a difference. Others say they want the job because they believe they can make money.

The truth is, the President of South Africa is a job that no one should want. The rewards are too small, the costs are too great.

END OF STORY
Building a secure future for all

By Seinabo Mandela

The idea of a secure future is not new. People have been striving for it for centuries. But what does it mean to build a secure future for all? It’s not just about providing basic needs like food, water, and shelter. It’s about creating a society where everyone has the opportunity to thrive.

In 2004, just 44 percent of South Africa’s children had access to electricity. Today, more than two million children are better off. In 1963, just 53 percent of South Africans had access to roads. Today, more than 70 percent of the population lives within 55 kilometers of a road.

The idea of a secure future is about more than just providing for the present. It’s about planning for the future. It’s about making decisions that will benefit generations to come.

President Nelson Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki at the opening of parliament in Cape Town on Friday.

Adis

Even though we might not have met our targets, this is the question that we need to pose.

In the face of the challenges we face, we must continue to strive for a better future. We must continue to build a society where everyone has the opportunity to achieve their full potential.

Major projects

From the John Sipani, new initiatives have emerged that provide partnerships between business and government. A number of projects that will help the government achieve its goals are outlined.

Construction of the Transnet rail network

The government is investing heavily in infrastructure projects that will improve the lives of its citizens. The Transnet rail network is one such project.

The project aims to provide a reliable and efficient transportation system. It will connect the various parts of the country and improve the movement of goods and people.

Regarding education, why is it that the country has 150 000 school pupils in overcrowded classrooms? We have to ask ourselves why.

The government is committed to improving education. It is investing in schools and classrooms to ensure that every child has access to quality education.

Building a secure future for all means investing in education. It means providing schools with the resources they need to provide quality education.

Improve health care

The government is also committed to improving health care. It is investing in hospitals and clinics to ensure that every citizen has access to quality health care.

In the face of the challenges we face, we must continue to strive for a better future. We must continue to build a society where everyone has the opportunity to achieve their full potential.
Stellenbosch University  http://scholar.sun.ac.za

Sowetan Comment

President Nelson Mandela's latest letter to Parliament contained a way of eradicating the press from the press. For almost its entire length, it remained focused on the business of governance, giving a comprehensive account of the Government’s performance.

In his letter, the President expressed his appreciation of the opportunity afforded by the opening of Parliament to express his views. He went on to say that he found himself in a difficult situation when he complied, and that the situation is not better.

Confident that a solid foundation for democracy, reconciliation and development has been laid, the president detailed a formidable task for the new generation of leaders to be elected in May. This is the programme by which their performance will be assessed.

He has, for example, raised expectations regarding job creation, economic growth and the fight against crime. Even though he will not be in office after May, his successors will be held to account if they fail to deliver in these critical areas.

Not only does the speech exhaust a commitment to the reconstruction and development of the country, but it also demands adherence to rules, morals and ethics that President Mandela himself has come to personify. And that leaves no room for mismanagement, corruption or inefficiency.

His reference to a "people-centred" political agenda rather than one focused on self-serving objectives must therefore be pointedly emphasised. It is in this context that the new administration will have to demonstrate these minimum standards of integrity and transparency to which the President aims.

Perhaps more important still in this speech was the reminder that "garden-path practices and attitudes" have yet to be dismantled and unless that happens, "reconciliation will be frustrated". That truly is the biggest challenge the President will leave the country with when he steps aside.

The latest child abuse statistics which reveal that about 3 400 children become victims of violent crimes such as rape and assault in South Africa every month paint a gloomy picture sensitising the public to the extent of the problem at the same time.

And they reveal the insouciance of the scourge of child abuse and show up a familial conspiracy of silence in cases where bystanders are the culprits — or worse, still, instances where relatives fear shaming their families by exposing incest.

About 140 000 children were victims of violent crimes such as rape, attempted murder and kidnapping in the period between 1994 and 1998, according to the statistics of the police's child protection unit. But these figures could be only the tip of the iceberg as they exclude the former homelands and areas where there are no child protection units.

These statistics highlight the need for the Government to commit more resources towards prosecuting child abusers and the protection of our children.

Just tools of the party

It seems there is more to the dismissal of the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane as KwaZulu-Natal premier than meets the eye. Thabo Rapoo explains why.

I swear to you by oath of office in KwaZulu-Natal for the year 2000, I promise to you, and the people of this province that I will be honest, upright and will make every effort to serve you

Former KwaZulu-Natal premier Dr Ben Ngubane, who has been found guilty of corruption involving the procurement of property for the province in his previous term of office, was sworn in as the new premier on Monday.

It is the third time in recent weeks that a senior IFP leader has been dismissed from office by the IFP national executive.

The first was when former president Proben Ngubane was dismissed from office in May, and the second when former premier Noxolo Ntuli was dismissed from office in June.

Dr Ngubane's dismissal from office follows a report by the Jacob Zuma-based Centre for Policy Studies.

The Centre for Policy Studies has been critical of the IFP's performance in government.

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The Centre for Policy Studies has been critical of the IFP's performance in government.
Sovietov Comment

IT must be seen as a fact that the government's relentless efforts to cut back the public sector have been causing serious problems for those who work in the government services. The government has been reducing the number of employees in many departments, resulting in lower salaries and less job security. This has led to a general feeling of discontent among public servants, who are already under a lot of pressure due to the current economic situation.

Assessing Mandela

Despite mistakes made in the first years of the ANC-led government, historians will be kind when it comes to assessing the Mandela reign, writes Tom Lodge.
Thabo Mbeki 1999 SONA

Die Burger

SA weet môre waar hy staan ná Mbeki se eerste staatsrede

ILSE BIGALKE

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1999/06/24/2/30.html

KAAPSTAD. Suid-Afrikaners gaan môre 'n duideliker prentjie kry van wat hulle onder leiding van pres. Thabo Mbeki te wagte kan wees wanneer hy sy eerste staatsrede by 'n gesamentlike sitting van die Nasionale Vergadering en die Nasionale Raad van Provinsies lewer.

Mbeki gaan na verwagting sy visie vir die volgende vyf jaar uitstippel oor onder meer:

Die Regering se planne om nuwe lewe te blaas in Gear, sy makro-economiese beleid wat stoom verloor het.

Die bestryding van misdaad en die verbetering van die strafrregstelsel. Mbeki het reeds 'n aanduiding van sy planne vir beter samewerking tussen die portefeuljes Veiligheid en Sekuriteit en Justisie gegee toe hy twee lede van sy binnekring, mnr. Steve Tshwete en dr. Penuell Maduna, in dié sleutelposte aangestel het.

Skoon administrasie

Die Regering se standpunt oor skoon administrasie, veral na aanleiding van die voorval waarin mnr. Ndaweni Mahlangu, pas ingehuldigde Premier van Mpumalanga, leuens deur politici goedgepraat het.

Maatreëls vir die bestryding van die vigs-epidemie, wat reeds 'n krisisomvang aangeneem het.

Beoogde steppe om onderwys en plaaslike regering te verbeter.

Die verkleining van die staatsdiens wat waarskynlik onder leiding van die vurige me. Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi 'n hupstoot sal kry.

Die opening van Suid-Afrika se tweede demokratiese Parlement en Mbeki se rede sal van 11 vm. regstreeks oor televisie uitgesaai word.

Mbeki sal deur 'n militêre erewag by die Parlement verwelkom word en deur 'n klein burgerlike erewag, sou die weer dit toelaat.

Kanonsaluut
Hy sal deur die Speaker, dr. Frene Ginwala, en mev. Naledi Pandor, voorsitter van die NRP, na die NV begelei word.

Die gewone kanonsaluut van 21 skote en 'n verbyvlug van Pilatus vliegtuie sal plaasvind.

Die debat oor Mbeki se staatsrede sal Maandag en Dinsdag plaasvind en hy sal Woensdag sy repliek lewer.

Sy kabinetslede sal van Maandag tot Woensdag inligtingsessies by die Parlement hou om hul planne vir hul portefeuljes aan die media en buitelandse verteenwoordigers bekend te maak.

Lede van ses vakbonde wat werknemers van staatsdepartemente verteenwoordig, gaan môre 'n optog na die Parlement hou in 'n poging om hoër salarisverhogings te beding. Die vakbonde eis 9%, maar die staat bied 5,3% aan.

Die betrokke vakbonde sluit in die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie-unie, die Hospitaalpersoneelvereniging van Suid-Afrika, die Staatsdiensvereniging, die Public Service and Allied Workers Union en die Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie.

**Mbeki openingsrede kan koers aandui**

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1999/06/24/9/21.html

KAAPSTAD. Suid-Afrikaners gaan môre 'n duideliker prentjie kry van wat hulle onder leiding van pres. Thabo Mbeki te wagte kan wees wanneer hy sy eerste staatsrede tydens 'n gesamentlike sitting van die Nasionale Vergadering en die Nasionale Raad van Provinsies lever.

Mbeki gaan na verwagting sy visie vir die volgende vyf jaar uitstippel oor onder meer:

die Regering se planne om nuwe lewe te blaas in Gear, sy makro-ekonomiese beleid wat stoom verloor het;

die bestryding van misdaad en die verbetering van die strafregstelsel. Mbeki het reeds 'n aanduiding van sy planne vir beter samewerking tussen die portefeuljes van Veiligheid en Sekuriteit en Justisie gegee toe hy twee lede van sy binnekring, mnr. Steve Tshwete en dr. Penuell Maduna, in dié sleutelposte aangestel het;

die Regering se standpunt oor skoon administrasie, veral na aanleiding van die voorval waarin mnr. Johannes Mahlangu, pas ingehuldigde Premier van Mpumalanga, leuens deur politici goedgepraat het;

maatreëls vir die bestryding van die vigsepidemie, wat reeds krisisafmetings aangeneem het;
beoogde stappe om onderwys en plaaslike regering in Suid-Afrika te verbeter;

en
die verkleining van die staatsdiens, 'n proses wat waarskynlik onder leiding van die vurige mev. Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi 'n hupstoot sal kry.

Die opening van Suid-Afrika se tweede demokratiese Parlement en Mbeki se rede sal van 11 vm. tot 1 nm. regstreeks oor televisie uitgesaai word.

Die opening sal met die gewone seremonie gepaard gaan. Mbeki sal deur 'n militêre erewag by die Parlement verwelkom word.

Hy sal deur dr. Frene Ginwala, Speaker van die Nasionale Vergadering, en mev. Naledi Pandor, voorsitter van die NRP, na die NV begelei word.

Die gewone kanonsaluut van 21 skote en 'n verbyvlug van Pilatus vliegtuie sal ook plaasvind.

**SA wil met 'n Rolls-Royce ploeg**

Hein Swart

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1999/06/28/3/5.html

P RES. THABO MBEKI het verlede week in sy staatsrede 'n gulde geleentheid gehad om die Regering se ekonomiese foute van die verlede reg te stel. Hy het grootliks daarin geslaag.

Dit beteken egter nie dat hy álle foute reggestel het nie. Die een groot vals noot in sy hele staatsrede was dat hy weer eens nie kon, of wou, insien dat Suid-Afrika se ombuigsame arbeidswette een van die heel grootste redes vir die land se akute werkloosheidsprobleem is nie.

Hy het volgehou dat dit nie 'n probleem is nie en het die Internasionale Arbeidsorganisasie aangehaal om sy standpunt te bewys net soos daar dokters is wat in boeke en artikels skryf dat rook goed vir jou gesondheid is. Ewe gesaghebbende organisasies meen egter die teendeel is waar. Die aarde lyk maar net plat, maar die werklikheid is iets heeltemal anders.

Omdat Suid-Afrika se hoë werkloosheidsyfer die land se grootste ekonomiese probleem is, is dit jammer dat die staatshoof op dié belangrike aspek van die ekonomie nie sy weg oopgesien het om na die raad van plaaslike ekonome en sakelui, wat baie meer met die probleem vertrou is as 'n buitelandse instansie, te luister nie.

Dit help nie om mooiklinkende planne aan te kondig om werkskepping te versnel as die basiese oorsaak van die probleem nie opgelos word nie. Niemand is so blind soos dié wat nie wil sien nie.

Die Regering het klaarblyklik sy eie agenda hieroor en is daarom bereid om tradisionele ekonomiese wette oorboord te gooi. Soos enige produksiefaktor,
is arbeid ook onderworpe aan die basiese ekonomiese wet van vraag en aanbod die heel eerste beginsel wat 'n eerstejaarstudent in die ekonomie reeds eeu lank geleer word.

As jy arbeid duurder maak, soos Suid-Afrika se arbeidswetgewing inderdaad maak met minimumlone, korter werkure, ruim oortydbetalings en die verpligte indiensneming van minder vaardige werkers, moet jy verwag dat die vraag daarna sal daal. Groter werkloosheid is die logiese gevolg.

Duur arbeid is nie 'n probleem vir 'n ontwikkelde land wat dit kan bekostig nie, veral as die werker produktief en van hoogstaande gehalte is. Suid-Afrika se arbeidswetgewing is egter hopeloos te egter hopeles te gevorderd en gesofistikeerd vir 'n ontwikkelende land. In werkligheid vergelyk dit uitstekend met die beste ter wêreld. Ongelukkig is dit nie geskik vir die plaaslike arbeidsmark nie. Jy kan nie 'n mielieiland met 'n Rolls-Royce omploeg nie.

Niemand vra dat Suid-Afrika se arbeidswetgewing na die era van die os moet terugkeer nie. Nog minder moet daar 'n herhaling wees van vorige arbeidspaktyke waar die uitbuiting van werkers alledaags was. 'n Goeie middeweg met genoeg buigsaamheid vir sowel werkgewer as werker om tot 'n wedersyds aanvaarbare verstandhouding te kom, is al wat Suid-Afrika van die Regering vra.

Nuwe NP `is verbind tot samewerking'

Louis Luyt

POLITIEKE REDAKSIE

http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/1999/06/29/2/22.html

KAAPSTAD. Versoening en die gedeelde verantwoordelikheid wat opposisiepartye het om werkbare oplossings vir Suid-Afrika se probleme te vind, was die fokus van die toespraak van mnr. Marthinus van Schalkwyk, leier van die NNP, oor pres. Thabo Mbeki se staatsrede.

``Ons wil in 'n opbouende beleidsdebat met die ANC betrokke raak. Opposisie kan nooit 'n doel op sigself wees nie . . . Daarom aanvaar ons u uitdaging en uitnodiging . . . tot samewerking om ons land te laat werk," het Van Schalkwyk gesê.

Hy het gesê ou ideologiese verdelings soos links en regs is uitgedien en gee aanleiding tot 'n steriele debat wat nie die lewe kan skenk aan werkbare oplossings nie.

``Dit gaan nie meer oor of ons moet verander of bewaar nie, maar oor wát ons moet bewaar en wát ons moet verander.

Van Schalkwyk het benadruk dat die uiteindelike sukses van die Suid-Afrikaanse demokrasie sal afhang van sy vermoë om uiterste armoede te verlig. Die gaping tussen die rykes en armes moet verklein word.
Hersiening van kiesstelsel

Van Schalkwyk het ook die hersiening van die kiesstelsel bepleit.

Genl. Constand Viljoen, leier van die Vryheidsfront, het die ANC in 'n skerp aanval daarvan beskuldig dat sy party se swak vertoning in die verkiesing 'n duidelike en flagrante mosie van wantroue in die politieke integriteit van die ANC is.

Viljoen het gesê sy party se posisie ná die verkiesing is nie 'n aanduiding van 'n kleiner behoefte aan selfbeskikking onder Afrikaners nie.

Dit is wel 'n aanduiding van die ondermyning deur die ANC van die hoop dat enigiets sal kom van die 1994 ooreenkomst tussen die VF en die ANC om aan Afrikaner selfbeskikking gestalte te gee.

Viljoen het gesê hy kan nou nie meer namens die Afrikaner volk praat nie en het ook mnr. Tony Leon, DP leier, daarop gewys dat hy die ANC dank verskuldig is vir die wyse waarop die VF se steunbasis na 'n politiek van groter konfrontasie verskuif het.

Hy het Leon uitgedaag om aan te toon hoe sy party Afrikaner nasionalisme en eise vir selfbeskikking gaan hanteer.

Dr. Louis Luyt, leier van die Federale Alliansie, het in 'n betreklik mak eerste toespraak in die Nasionale Vergadering 'n beroep gedoen om dagligbesparing en 'n meer mededingende ekonomie.

Hy het gesê dit is ondenkbaar dat vakbonde die land gyselaar kan hou terwyl miljoene werkloos is.
Can Thabo be a good Machiavelli?

Xolela Mangcu

GUEST COLUMN

Five years ago I invited Sam Ndhondhuka and Memphela Ramphele to Cornell University to discuss South Africa’s prospects for democracy. I remember well how Ndhondhuka described the overly political nature of Cabinet appointments in our first democratically elected government. I wanted people to be appraised on the basis of their knowledge and mastery of their respective portfolios. Ndhondhuka quickly dismissed me as naïve.

And if it is with a sense of bemusement that we have been watching presidents falling over each other trying to suggest that this time we would have a Cabinet selected purely on merit. And even as it became clear that this would not be the case, business leaders insisted meritocracy had been the basis of the Cabinet selection — that’s what happens when you look at society only through the lens of the market. President Thabo Mbeki himself kept this idea alive in his concluding remarks at the African National Congress victory rally: “Let’s get back to work.”

Merit can explain some of the choices that Swanezile Mabuse, Ake Erwin, Kader Asmal — or definitely not all of them. How else would we explain the appointment of Dullah Omar as transport or Patrick Lekota to defence? For an alternative analysis of Mbeki’s Cabinet, we have to go back to politics. If it is understood as the exercise of power politics can be either virtuous or vicious. All over the world, government corruption has given politics a bad name — which is why so many analysts have sought refuge in the illusion of meritocracy.

But in the right hands, politics can have redeeming values: the extension and legal protection of civil rights. While a number of South African writers have described Mbeki as a scheming Niccolo Machiavelli, they also forget the progressive Machiavelli — the brilliant adviser to kings and builder of roads and cities. Will Mbeki be this good Machiavelli — channelising power and resources for the social good? Or is his Cabinet selection help us answer that question? Mbeki’s choices were based on whom he thought would most advance his agenda of transformation. Merit was a critical consideration insofar as it served that purpose. That is neither unreasonable nor unusual. Presidents all over the world pick their cabinets on the basis of loyalty and commitment to their agendas. No president in his or her right mind appoints a potential rival to his Cabinet. Asking Mbeki to appoint Pollo Jordan is like asking Bill Clinton to appoint Jesse Jackson.

But even the idea that Mbeki appointed “yes-men” is questionable. I just cannot see how political heavyweights like Steve Tshwete, Asmal or Lekota would go along with everything Mbeki says or does. For that matter, Lekota may have his own presidential ambitions and may want to be heard, not just seen.

In his first substantial act in office, Mbeki has shown that he has the potential to be a good Machiavelli by retaining people like Manuel, Asmal and Erwin. In these instances, he has skillfully used considerations of merit for both his own good and for the good of the country. The ability to connect the forest to the tree is critical in leadership.

But what about his other appointments? Some have described Jacob Zuma as a “yes-man” who inherits a deputy presidency that has become an empty shell. It has even been suggested that Zuma himself is an empty shell. But it must require a certain level of intelligence for someone with no formal schooling to rise and become the deputy president of the country. Some have even expressed fears that Zuma’s appointment might create in him an expectation that he is next in line for the presidency. What is wrong with the idea that the man proves himself a capable leader and administrator? While some of the criticism levelled at Zuma may be warranted, it may also reflect the intellectual and elitist biases of the pundits themselves.

Nkosazana Zuma was one of the more inspired appointments. It sends a strong message to the male-dominated foreign policy establishment that “the times are a-changin’.” The African “strongwomen” who have done so much to destroy our continent will have to get used to dealing with a woman envoy if they want our interventions. Most victims of war in Africa are women and children, and Nkosazana Zuma may just bring a different perspective to international relations. While trade policies are increasingly the basis for foreign affairs, Nkosazana Zuma will bring in more humanitarian values to the table. I can already see her and Sheila Simonsi rocking the predominately white male establishment in Washington.

And who ever thought that black women would be ministers of mineral and energy affairs, telecommunications, agriculture and land affairs, housing, and health? I also disagree with those who say Sidloni Mapulamaladi’s appointment to the newly created Ministry of Provincial and Local Government is a demotion. Mapulamaladi is going back to his “territory,” the grassroots politics he mastered as an activist and civic activist in the 1980s. She also should be taken that this is not yet another scheme to create a second “home affairs,” a counterweight to Mangaunga Robatshedzi.

It should not be seen as a means of controlling the provinces and local communities. If well thought out, the ministry could be a lifeline to communities.

There are a couple of troubling selections. The first is the elevation of Zodwa Pahidi into the second most powerful post in the country — far above his rank in the party. In Jacob Zuma is the number man in both the ANC and the government. But in practice, Pahidi will be what Mabuse described as the “gatekeeper. None will see the father but through Pahidi.” And if acceptable of unadvised advice, Pahidi’s finger wagging is not likely to do the president’s image any good.

The other troubling selection is the creation of a new Ministry of Intelligence. Somebody still has to convince me where the function of “intelligence” fits into our national priorities and limited resources. If the aim is to fight criminal syndicates, maybe the function should have been in safety and security, defense or justice. Can you imagine the unintended consequences of this move — an unwieldy group of spies trying to justify their political existence by increasing their surveillance of ordinary citizens? Can you imagine the constitutional and legal problems that will arise as citizens try to protect themselves from an intrusive state?

Mbeki can demonstrate that he can be a good Machiavelli by sculpting this ministry. Or can he be naive again, Sam?

Howard Barnell is on paternity leave.

Insiders
The potential for Thabo’s ‘renaissance’

Mpho Mangu

There is a black intellectual and President Thabo Mbeki has often asked if black intellectuals were prepared to contribute to making the black intellectual class — most of whom do not have inheritances like their white counterparts. But being black is not in and of itself a sufficient condition for playing a progressive role in the articulation of a new national identity. Black intellectuals should learn from the lessons of the black economic empowerment movement. We should avoid a situation where a group of so-called elite becomes the high priests of black intellectual life.

Nor should we allow envy and petty jealousies — that great affliction of formerly oppressed people everywhere — to interfere with the way of intellectual collaboration. One of the weirdest things I have heard is that there is a growing divide between those who have attended American and European universities and those who have either remained behind or attended African universities. Seemingly, the latter are the true intellectual arbiters of the African experience while the former are pawns in a grand white scheme to deny Africa its true intellectuals. Rubbish, let’s just get on with it.

We should also be careful that black self-determination does not turn into a blind black jingoism. The challenge is to make sure that a healthy black nationalism is not turned into a degenerate anti-whiteism.

People like Steve Biko and Robert Sobukwe were able to avoid that fate. If we build and understand relationships with whites. We should challenge the dictionary-based, and therefore static, definitions of who is an African that have come from some black scholars. We need a definition that evolves and expresses our changing circumstances, aspirations and position in the world. It is that improvisational approach to identity that made it possible for Biko and his black consciousness comrades to redefine blackness to include peoples and Indians. That is why Mandela came back from Mecca a changed man — less essentialist about the white man as the devil.

Just as we speak of Arabian-Africans like Colonel Mohammad Gaddafi, we should be able to talk of Jewish-Africans or Italian-Africans, or whatever. Improvisation, adaptation, hospitality, generosity and inclusion are at the heart of the African personality: ubuntu.

Black intellectuals have the potential to responsibly bring those values to the generation of a new social vision for South Africa. But that’s all it is at this point — a potential.

Dr Thulani Mangu is a senior analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies.
Sowetan

President Thabo Mbeki's maiden State of the Nation Address (SONA) on Friday was distinctly the traditional "motherhood and praises" speech that it usually is. The speech offered few genuine policy initiatives, or in-depth proposals for resolving problems that beset the country.

Mbeki said he would focus on promoting "accelerated" black economic empowerment (BEE) and "broad-based" meaningful participation in the economy. These are terms that have become as much a part of the political jargon as "national reconciliation" and "truth and Reconciliation Commission".

Mbeki's speech was notable for its lack of concrete proposals to address the country's economic problems, such as high unemployment, inflation and poverty. The president did not mention the need for structural reforms, such as reducing government bureaucracy and increasing private sector investment.

Mbeki also spoke about the importance of education and skill development. He said that the government would increase spending on education and training, and that it would work to improve the quality of education. However, the speech did not provide any specific plans or targets for achieving these goals.

Mbeki also touched on foreign policy, emphasizing the country's commitment to non-alignment and multilateralism. He said that South Africa would continue to play a constructive role in regional and global affairs.

Overall, the speech was disappointing, given the high expectations that were built up around Mbeki's leadership. The economy remains the biggest challenge facing the country, and the speech did not provide any concrete solutions or proposals for addressing this problem.
ANC gives Mandela a big farewell

By Jimmy Sepea
Political Reporter

FORMER president and African National Con-
gress leader Nelson Mandela was treated to a glit-
tzing and brief send-off by his movement on Monday.

The ceremony, at the Soldier’s Ancestral Home in Hekpoort, brought together generations of ANC leaders and leaders in business in a show of support that had been partially part of the South African political vocabulary during the past 50 years.

Former Pretoria premier Mr Albie Sachs, Mr Jack London and President Thabo Mbeki also spoke at the ceremony.

Mr Sachs was the first commas-
dant of Umno on his list in the 1960s, and it was something that the then-ANC needed.

Mr Jack London and President Thabo Mbeki also spoke at the ceremony.

Ms Zuma said in her speech: "Mandela was the first person to lead the ANC to victory in the struggle for freedom and the release of Nelson Mandela, the first black president of the ANC." 

The ANC said that Mandela’s “remarkable” contribution would be commemorated in a ceremony to be held on February 11, which would be followed by a national celebration on February 14.

Mandela's funeral will be held in Johannesburg on February 11, and his ashes will be buried in front of the main mosque in Soweto.

Shilowa to outline his programme today

By Jimmy Sepea
Political Reporter

Gauteng Premier Mbeki Shilowa is expected to address a public gathering in his province on the first anniversary of his appointment as premier and the province’s national and local government structures.

One of his initiatives is to announce the setting up of a task team by the MEC for Finance to look at the province’s national and local government structures.

"Our national government is here to serve the people of Gauteng and the country," he said.

The province will focus on education, health care, housing, transportation and law and order.

The premier’s address is due to be delivered at the University of South Africa in Pretoria.

In brief

DP backs Mbeki on disabled

The Democratic Party welcomed Presi-
dent Thabo Mbeki’s pledge that access to public buildings for physically disabled people would be improved, but said it was unable to implement the measure.

"We welcome the President’s commitment to improve access to public buildings for physically disabled people," the party said.

Local government officials said they were confident that the party would be able to implement the measure.

Nees stands in for grieving Stoffie

Eastern Cape MEC for Transport, Safety and Security Dennis Nees will be acting in place of Premier-
ner Malusi Gigaba when he is out of the country.

Mr Gigaba will be on leave until Friday, when he will return to the province.

Nees said he would ensure that all services continue to be delivered to the people of the Eastern Cape.

Govt to curb fuel fraud

The Department of Finance is to spend R7 bil-
lion on new fuel management technology to curb fuel theft.

Mr Kganyago said the department had spent R7 billion on new fuel management technology.

The department has invested R7 billion in the project, which is expected to save the country R7 billion a year.

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Call to axe MP Williams

NEW National Party MP and former Cabinet min-
ister Allen Williams has been suspended for 14 days for "breaching" the party’s code of conduct.

Mr Williams has been suspended for 14 days for "breaching" the party’s code of conduct.

The National Party said on Monday that a report on Mr Williams’ conduct had been submitted to the party’s discipline committee.

Parliament opens with a party

SOUTH Africa’s first three parliamentarians elected to Parliament are in the House of Parliament in Cape Town this week.

The House of Parliament was opened by the Speaker of the House, Mr Lekuthokwana, on Monday.

The ceremony was attended by the country’s legislative leaders and the country’s first three parliamentarians.

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Failing Azapo to ‘re-engineer’ its future strategy

By Maknu Sefa

THE Azania People’s Organisation (APO), which launched a new campaign this week to "re-engineer" the strategy that led to its formal political re-
formation in the recent elections.

Azapu deputy president Mr Philemon Peter-
sebe said the national leadership would "open up" through free discussion on "re-engineering the party’s strategy and direction for the local government elections due to take place in the next 2006 gen-

eral election.

The party’s structure is facing challenges, he said.

"The only option for Azapo was for the party to be re-engineered in the future," he said.

"But we must face that it is not easy and we must go through the organization," he said.

The party is working with the Azania People’s National Congress (AZAPO) and the Azania People’s Democratic Organisation (AZAPO) to overcome the challenges.

It is expected that the party will look at alternative ways to achieve its objectives.

"We will work with other political parties to achieve our objectives," he said.

"But we must face that it is not easy and we must go through the organization," he said.

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"But we must face that it is not easy and we must go through the organization," he said.
ANC tough on premier

Mahlangu censured for publicly embarrassing party

By Jimmy Sepe

The African National Congress has issued a stern warning to embattled
Mzimawnsa Premier Ntawenzi
Mahlangu, suggesting that if he keeps
the party into dispute again or embarrasses it,
"Mzimawning" will be taken against him.

This is according to a senior source in the
ANC, who said the warning is contained in a
letter written by ANC general secretary Mr.
Mabuse Ntawenzi to the premier.

Mahlangu's letter follows a detailed hand
written statement from Mzimawning in which he
told to explain his public utterances last week
when he claimed it was acceptable for politicians
to tell lies.

While trying to defend the re-appointment of
finance MEC Mr. Suppan Mabuse to his post,
Mahlangu said being was not sufficient
grounds to prevent a politician from holding
a public office. The ANC gave him until last Friday
to submit a written report to the ANC provincial
secretary explaining his conduct.

In his reply, Mabuse is said to have told the
Mzimawning premier that he could not find any
justification in his written report for his public
utterances.

Mahlangu was warned in the letter delivered
over the weekend that further actions would be
taken should he make similar public utterances.

However, Mabuse, who conducted wildly
with the movement's political leadership,
stepped down as chairing of Mahlangu's
party.

A senior ANC official was unable to provide
clarification on what Mabuse meant by "Mzimawning".

"You can interpret it your own way," it is
all he was prepared to say.

The most recent warning from the ANC
grows in a dispute that has its roots in
Mahlangu's conduct. In its original response, the
party said it had accepted Mahlangu's public
apology and would ask for a further report on the
circumstances surrounding his utterances.

The ANC's warning to Mahlangu comes amid
continuing revelations of the Government's
camouflage to fight corruption. In his state of the nation
address last Friday, President Thabo Mbeki said: "I
would like to take this opportunity to encourage the
commitment of our government in leading, trans-
gress and accountable government and our
determination to act against anybody who trans-
gress these norms.

A number of senior church and political
leaders have called for Mahlangu's dismissal.
Among those who reportedly made such calls are
Reverend Benny Ndzulungu, who accused him with
a proud record of the struggle against apartheid.

Meanwhile, the ANC has remained quiet
about the actions brought by former Mzimawning
premier Matthew Pheza against Mahlangu. Pheza
filed a R2 million defamation suit against
Mahlangu on Friday.
KAAPSTAD. – Pres. Thabo Mbeki het gister Suid-Afrika se vele uitdagings erken, maar hy meen probleme soos die kragkrisis en misdaad kan oorkom word as almal eendragtig saamstaan. Mbeki, wat by tye moeg en verslane voorgekom het, het gereeld met sy sakdoek die sweet van sy gesig afvee. "Ek glo Suid-Afrikaners kan die uitdagings die hoof bied en dat ons bereid is om elke greintjie van ons wese daarvoor in te span," het hy in sy voorlaaste staatsrede in die parlement gesê.

Sy poging om die land saam te snoer, was – na die DA se mening – egter só oninspirerend en sy oplossings só gebrekkig dat die DA-leier, me. Helen Zille, aangekondig het haar party gaan probeer om ‘n vroeë verkiesing af te dwing. Mbeki het naamlik besonderhede oor die oplos van vraagstukke oor misdaad en die toekoms van die Skerpioene aan ministers oorgelaat wat dit volgende week bekend sal maak.

'n Buitengewoon nederige en openlike Mbeki het toegegee dat verwikkelings soos die elektrisiteitskrisis, misdaad en politieke veranderinge mense negatief stem, en dat tekortkomings in die regering se beplanning bestaan. "Ek weet talle is diep besorg oor waar die land hom môre gaan bevind. … besorg oor die nasionale krisis versoorsaak deur die onverwagte kragonderbreking. Hulle is bekommerd oor verwikkelings in ons ekonomie, veral die deurlopende toename in rentekoerse, kos- en brandstofpryse. Hulle is bekommerd oor of ons daartoe in staat is om ons demokratiese regte en die Grondwet, wat duur bekom is, te beskerm."

Dié vrese word volgens hom aangevuur deur die vervolging van komm. Jackie Selebi, polisiehoof, die skorsing van adv. Vusi Pikoli, hoof van die nasionale vervolgingsgesag, en kommer oor die onafhanklikheid van die regbank. "Dit sou onverantwoordelik wees om dié en ander bekommermisse te ignoreer of te sien as klagtes van doempofete."

Volgens hom is die uitdaging om só op die probleme te reageer dat dit plaaslik én internasionaal vertroue inboesem. "Dié historiese oomblik vereis dat ons nasie saamstaan soos nooit vantevore nie om ons uitdagings te pak en ons drome Lewend te hou."

Hy het nogmaals namens die regering en Eskom verskoning gevra vir die kragkrisis, maar aangedui hy is nie van plan om teen die verantwoordelike
leiers op te tree nie.
Aanduidings het toegeneem dat die regering kan instem dat groot
maatskappye lisensies kan verkry om hul eie krag op te wek om die druk op
Eskom se stelsel te verminder.
Oor die hantering van misdaad het hy gesê die kabinet het op omvangryke
veranderings besluit wat sal help om ’n “nuwe, moderne en doeltreffende
regstelsel” te vestig. Ministers sal volgende week die besonderhede van hul
misdaadbekampingsplannene bekend maak.
Mbeki het hom kortliks uitgelaat oor die toekoms van die Skerpioene en gesê
die parlement sal teen einde Maart wetgewing oorweeg wat sal help om
gereorganiseerde misdaad beter te bekamp.
Hy het klem gelê op armoedeverligting en gesê grondeise moet vinniger
afgehandel word, nuwe boere sal meer ondersteuning kry en meer mense sal
in die uitgebreide program vir openbare werke en die weermag opgeneem
word.
Mbeki het beloof dat die werking van die staatsdiens verbeter sal word.
Kritieke poste moet nou binne ses maande gevul word. Nog berigte en foto’s
op bl. 2, bl. 6 en in Sake24.

Opposisieleiers kasty staatshoof oor rede
politeie redaksie
http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/2008/02/09/SK/2/polabreax.html

KAAPSTAD. – Hoewel pres. Thabo Mbeki se staatsrede deur van die
opposisiepartye met optimisme begroet is, was die meeste van die
opposisieleiers glad nie beïndruk met wat hy te sê gehad nie.
Mnr. Bantu Holomisa, UDM-leier, het gesê die feit dat Mbeki na die
Khampepe-kommissie se verslag verwys het, beteken dat Suid-Afrika nie
noodwendig die besluit van die ANC-konferensie in Polokwane hoef te volg
nie. Die kommissie was duidelik in sy besluit dat die Skerpioene behou
behoort te word. Volgens hom is daar dus ’n klein kans van oorlewing vir die
Skerpioene.
Mnr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IVP-leier, het gesê hy was baie beïndruk met die
toespraak. “Dit was van ’n baie hoë peil, intellektueel en andersins. Die president het nie
probeer om kwessies te takel nie. Wat ’n jammerte egter dat hy nie meer
ANC-leier is nie!”
Volgens me. Helen Zille, DA-leier, was Mbeki se toespraak dié van ’n
bestuurder en glad nie dié van ’n leier nie.
“Daar is ’n baie groot leemte vir leierskap in die land.”
Sy sê dit was ’n bitter teleurstellende toespraak. “Ons het dit alles al
vantevore gehoor en hy maak of hy ’n algemene bestuurder is met ’n baie
goeie bestuurspan.”
Sy sê niemand is verantwoordbaar gehou nie en hy het hom nie oor die
grondwetlike krisis, die onafhanklikheid van die regbank, die vryheid van die
pers en baie van die grootste uitdagings van die land uitgelaat nie. Sy sê dit
wat hy wel aangeraak het, is ou goed wat tot nou toe nie in werking gestel is nie en dat daar geen rede is om te glo dat dit in die toekoms gaan gebeur nie.

Die ACDP-leier, eerw. Kenneth Meshoe, het gesê Mbeki was skynbaar deeglik bewus dat hy op dun ys skaats. “Hy het nie antwoorde verskaf op die meeste van die politieke probleme wat groot kommer wek onder Suid-Afrikaners sowel as die ACDP nie.”

Dr. Pieter Mulder, leier van die VF+, stem saam met Mbeki dat dit nie “besigheid soos altyd” kan wees nie. “Die land is in ’n krisis op baie terreine en sy termyn staan einde se kant toe.”

Hy het bygevoeg dit is simbolies dat Zuma in die galery gesit het en half toesig gehou het. Dit is duidelik die begin van die oorgang.

Me. Patricia De Lille, OD-leier, het gesê sy het ál die planne reeds gehoor. Die regering se swak punt is die inwerkingstelling daarvan.

Era van goedkoop en oorvloedige krag verby, sê president

philda essop
http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/2008/02/09/SK/2/polelek.html

KAAPSTAD. – Die era van baie goedkoop en oorvloedige elektrisiteit in Suid-Afrika het ten einde geloop, het pres. Thabo Mbeki gister gewaarsku. Hy het egter in dieselfde asem gesê gege die groot basis van geïnstalleerde opwekkingskapasiteit, sal Suid-Afrika vir ’n lang tyd nog een van die min ekonomieë met bekostigbare elektrisiteit bly.

Mbeki het in sy staatsrede in die parlement namens die regering en Eskom om verskoning gevra vir die kragkrisis wat almal gedwing het om met die gevolge van “beurtkrag” te worstel.

Hy het alle Suid-Afrikaners bedank vir hul veerkragtigheid en verdraagsaamheid tydens die kragkrisis. Volgens Mbeki is dit die regering se taak om die land te lei en te verenig agter ’n veldtog vir doeltreffende elektrisiteitsverbruik.

Die regering gaan ’n veldtog van energiebesparende ligte, sonkrag-waterverhittingstoestelle, die beheer van geisers in huishoudings en nuwe standaarde vir alle nuwe huise en ontwikkelings van stapel stuur. Alle regeringsgeboue is ook volgens Mbeki opdrag gegee om hul elektrisiteitsverbruik te verminder.

Hy het Suid-Afrikaners aangemoedig om die geboue wat dit nié doen nie, aan die groot klok te hang.

“Aan die verskaffingskant werk Eskom onverpoos om bykomstige opwekkingsprojekte as ’n saak van dringendheid in te stel. Ons doen tans stappe om Eskom se instandhoudingskapasiteit te verhoog.

“Ons het noodtaakspanne wat saam met die steenkoolbedryf aan die uitdaging van steenkoolgehalte en verskaffing werk. Ons werk ook daaraan om die goedkeuring en konstruksie van gasturbinies te versnel. Al dié planne, gesien saam met die kragbesparingsmaatreëls, sal sekerheid verbeter en die reserwemarge verhoog,” het Mbeki gesê.

Die groot Eskom-bouprogram in nuwe generasie-, transmissie- en verspreidingskapasiteit sal voortgaan. Sommige projekte sal waar moontlik versnel word.
Premiers sal aanstaande week met burgemeesters vergader om kragbesparende maatreëls te beplan en in te stel. Hy het die mynbedryf geloof vir die manier waarop hulle die kragkrisis hanteer.

“Ons is ’n mineraalryke ekonomie. Ons moet dus voortgaan om die mynbedryf te ondersteun.

“Dit is onvermydelik dat indien ons voortgaan op die groeipad as ’n vervaardigingsland, ons ook moet voortgaan om die verwerkingsbedryf te steun.”

Mail & Guardian
Yolandi Groenewald

President Thabo Mbeki's reference to land reform in his State of the Nation address has provoked cautious optimism among lobbyists, who are hoping South Africa's policy in this regard might finally be on track.

Ben Cousins, director of the University of the Western Cape's Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, expressed some disappointment, saying Mbeki said “nothing new”. However, he said, the speech reflected a new urgency in government.

Land lobbyists were buoyed by the dismissal last year of the widely disliked land affairs director general, Glen Thomas. And at the ANC's Polokwane conference delegates resolved to “save” rural agriculture and focus more on the needs of subsistence farmers.

The department of land affairs has tabled new plans and policies, including a plan for post-settlement support designed to help land claimants make a living from their land. Cousins described this as the most important policy shift since 1994.

Mbeki highlighted four issues the government would “pay special attention to during this year”: a Land Use Management Bill, restitution, post-settlement support and a rural development programme. But Cousins was cautious. “At the moment these are just plans on paper. While that is encouraging, the jury is still out on implementation,” he said.

“The ANC new guard definitely has greater passion for land. Even more so than the demise of Glen Thomas, the political pressure from them is a big driver.”

Land analyst Edward Lahiff agreed that expectations had been raised of a dramatic increase in land delivery in the year ahead. He said the department had sharply increased its annual target for land transfer but remained unsure about whether it was supposed to use land distribution to promote black commercial farming or provide smaller plots for household food production.

“Whether it remains to be seen if the systems are in place in the national and provincial agriculture departments. These institutions are still falling far behind expectations in terms of both land transfer and support for land reform beneficiaries,” said Lahiff.

The president said the restitution programme was designed to restore land to those deprived of
President Thabo Mbeki has set himself 24 tasks, listed alongside, for completion before he leaves the political stage in 2009, writes Mandy Rossouw. This is typical of the managerial style that has characterised his presidency, but the 24 tasks also reveal the constraints he has faced for several years now. The priorities are not new, though the term to describe them — "apex priorities" — is. Mbeki often gives old problems new titles as a way of masking the intractable weaknesses of state management he has faced. The "War on Poverty" is an example of a new term for the old dilemma of how to mount a real attack on poverty from the proceeds of sustained growth. Other issues which have been priorities for several years include the industrial policy initiative, set to get R5-billion in next week's budget, but insufficient to bring about the cost of produce communications, the acceleration of land reform, better early-childhood development, and a reduction in awaiting-trial cases. Massive vacancies in the state explain why Mbeki’s plans, as disclosed in several state of the nation addresses, have been unsuccessful. As figures in the Weekend last Saturday show, even South Africa’s universities are now being poached by skills-hungry developed countries. The system of government created in 1994 slows down effective policy execution and development; this is particularly true of health and education, with both systems said to be in crisis.

Industrial policy action plan
Finalise the action plans for identified sectors, such as mining and textiles; provide the necessary resources where needed; and ensure full cooperation by government.

Set up investment call centre
Within three months, a call centre will be set up to deal with applications for investment and ensure that departments act to help investors where necessary and reduce red tape.

Speed up information and communication interventions to provide cheap platforms
Infrastructure development, cost and access-related issues, Infraco, Sentech and undersea cables will be addressed.

Implement intensive campaign on energy security
A massive campaign to ensure energy saving by households and industrial users will be launched. Planning of built environment must take into account the issue of energy saving.

Resolve organisational issues in relation to skills development
The human resource development strategy must be implemented to address governance and operational matters pertaining to Setas and the capacity of universities and FE colleges to meet skills requirements. The private sector will be mobilised to make use of the contribution of professional bodies and trade unions.

Resource poor schools and monitor learning outcomes
All schools in the poorer quintiles will be given a basic resource package of appropriate books and materials for learners and teachers; staff will receive support and assistance for management; and management of resources will be improved. Learner outcomes will be monitored.

Speed up land and agrarian reform
Ensure intensive training for and assistance to new farmers while speeding up acquisition of land for redistribution. Log jams will be cleared, including matters pertaining to the capitalisation and mandate of the Land Bank and leverage of Financial Sector Charter opportunities.

War against Poverty
Community development workers, social workers, community and home-based care workers, constituency offices, councillors and NGOs will identify households and individuals in dire poverty and provide interventions, such as social grants, direct grants, food parcels, funding of agricultural starter packs, microfinance and assistance for small and medium-sized enterprises.

Self-employment initiatives of the second economy
A massive campaign to be launched through micro-enterprises and co-operatives by organising and training women, particularly in rural areas. Young people will be helped to enter the labour market through entrepreneurship and specific work programmes.

Employment Interventions in second economy
The second economy to be launched to create self-employment in micro-enterprises and provide training of women, especially in rural areas. Young people will be helped to enter the labour market through entrepreneurship and specific work programmes.

Implement intensive campaigns to meet targets for water, sanitation and electricity that will ensure success by 2014.

Implement the implementation of the childhood development programme
If the number of staff and double the number of sites and child beneficiaries by end of 2009.

The strategy is to implement the strategy of six: resource poor schools and monitor learning outcomes. Photograph: Tracy Lee Stark

Reduce number of cases waiting trial
Case backlogs must be reduced by 30% by 2009 by using former magistrates, additional prosecutors, legal aid representatives and administrative support to establish additional capacity. A strategy must be taken of plea bargaining and case-flow management improved.

Consolidate advances relating to peace and reconstruction in the Democratic Republic of Congo
Regular interaction with the government of the Democratic Republic of Congo will be undertaken to realise the agenda of the Africa and the South.

Intensify economic diplomacy and communications
The comprehensive strategy to attract foreign direct investment will be implemented. Tourism will be expanded and the country’s international image polished. Access to global markets will be improved.

Increase the SANDF’s intake of trainees
The target is to attract from 11,000 new recruits into the national defence force annually, which will provide young people with technical and social skills.

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Sowetan

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"We the youth of South Africa, recognising the injustices of our past, honour those who suffered and sacrificed for justice and freedom.

"We will respect and protect the dignity of each person, and stand up for justice.

"We sincerely declare that we shall uphold the rights and values of our Constitution and promise to act in accordance with the duties and responsibilities that flow from these rights."

Joy and Pain of Soweto

This five-day-old bundle was dumped in a toilet at Maponya shopping centre

Page 7
Youth Pledge a noble notion

For many years when South Africa contained the only country on the continent still basking under the grip of apartheid, the liberation struggle was imbedded in the national psyche of a small African nation with a heart of gold.

Today, inspired by the late President Nelson Mandela, we have made it a national call to every South African child to recite a pledge every morning and to also raise the flag with pride. We should free ourselves from that of the past and become worthy citizens.

Youth have always demanded concrete action from political leaders in order to improve their lives. The ANC's youth league had many leaders who spoke for the youth and their issues were always in the forefront of the struggle. Youth today have become leaders of the ANC and should now take charge of their lives and the country in order to make a difference.

The ANC Youth League has been a beacon of hope for many young people who have been marginalized and oppressed by the apartheid regime. They have always stood up for what is right and have been instrumental in advancing the cause of democracy in South Africa.

State, Eskom have sabotaged SA's better life

The energy crisis is a multi-faceted problem with grave consequences for the economy. These responsible for it must be brought to book.

The crisis is an indictment on the government and Eskom. Government's apology for lack of foresight is mere words of comfort.

The matter also raises many questions about Eskom's ability to deliver and if there is any justification for relying on monopolies.

It is time for Eskom to have competitors that will exploit other sources of energy. It is time for the government to consider helping Eskom by returning its billions of rand in taxes.

ANC's wrong on much, right on booze

We may disagree with them politically, but that does not mean we have to disagree with them when they are right. The ANC's call to ban alcohol sales on Sundays is a good move.

Our government and people are always complaining about substance and alcohol abuse, but now they are ridiculing the wrong gams for their brave stand. Sympathise with liquor traders.

Letters to the Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesberg 2000
e-mail: letters@sowetan.co.za

Pseudonyms may be used but all letters must include the writer's full name, address and telephone numbers. The editor reserves the right to edit letters.

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President Thabo Mbeki’s government’s ongoing strategy to have schools adopt a "youth pledge" initiative aimed at the country’s young people.

Mbeki proposed in his state of the nation address that an oath of the "youth pledge" should be developed and made part of school ceremonies.

"The pledge contains an affirmation based on the preamble to the Constitution: "We, the people of South Africa are united in our diversity... establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights... improve the quality of life of all citizens."

Mbeki said: "It would be a powerful way to impart the inspirational values of our Constitution on the minds of young people.

Mbeki said the minister of education would next week elaborate on this and other matters. - Sapa

OLDER PERSONS ACT
Empowers and protects our senior citizens

Did you know about the new progressive law that protects and empowers older persons?

The objectives of the Older Persons Act, (Act 13 of 2006) are to:

- promote and maintain the status, well-being, safety and security of older persons
- maintain and protect the rights of older persons
- ensure that older persons remain in the community for as long as possible
- combat the abuse of older persons
- regulate registration of facilities.

Among other things, the law aims to:

- emphasise the rights of older persons
- provide for programmes to care for older persons who are still active and those who are frail, within their communities
- provide for residential facilities such as old-age homes
- provide for the protection of older persons from abuse at home, in the community and in residential facilities.

For more information, contact the offices of the Department of Social Development in your province.

Let us work together to protect and empower our older persons!
Suid-Afrika sal floreer ten spyte van die wêreldwye ekonomiese krisis, want dit is 'n land van hoop en deursettingsvermoë.

Dit was gister pres. Kgalema Motlanthe se boodskap in 'n saaklike staatsrede wat 'n bestekopname was van die regering se prestasies – met erkenning van verskeie groot tekortkominge – en met min aanduiding van toekomsplannene en geen koersveranderings nie.

Motlanthe, wat waarskynlik sy eerste en laaste staatsrede gelewer het, het die parlement toegespreek onder die wakende oog van mnr. Jacob Zuma, ANC-leier, wat in die speaker se losie langs emeritus-aartsbiskop Desmond Tutu en mnr. Mosiuoa Lekota, Cope-leier, gesit het.

Zuma het gesê hy is “baie tevrede” met die rede wat sy ANC-adjunk gelewer het. “Dit was puik, ons kon nie vir beter vra nie!”

Soos verwag is, het Motlanthe uitgewei oor die internasionale ekonomiese krisis en gesê die regering gaan stappe doen om stabiliteit te verseker en werksverliese te veminder.

Die regering sal voortgaan met beleggingsprogramme van R690 miljard in infrastruktuur oor die volgende drie jaar en beplan om nóg baie gesondheidswerkers, onderwysers en polisiebeamptes aan te stel. Die doelwit is om gereed te wees as die wêreldekonomie weer 'n groeifase beleef.

Hy het ook gevra dat werkgewers in die private sektor alternatiewe vir aflaggings soos korter werksure en langer vakansies oorweeg.

“Watter ekonomiese storms ook al aan ons kus broei, watter onsekerhede ook al tydens 'n oorgangsfase in ons kollektiewe bewussyn posvat, ons nasie is in 'n goeie toestand,” het Motlanthe gesê.

Hy het 'n verskeidenheid brandpunte getakel en oor misdaad gesê: “Die inwoners van ryk en arm buurte leef daagliks in vrees vir 'n moontlike gewelddadige aanval.”

Volgens hom neem die voorkoms van misdaad sedert 2002 af, maar nie vinnig genoeg nie. Dáárom is die regering besig om die regstelsel te verander.

Motlanthe meen ook regstellende aksie en bemagtiging moet vinniger geïmplementeer word.

Werkloosheid in Suid-Afrika het afgeneem van 31% in 2003 tot 23% in 2007, maar die aard en verdeling van werkgeleenthede moet bekyk word. Hy het na die private sektor gekap wat nog nie op bestuursvlak die demografie van die land weerspieël nie.

Wat grondhervorming betref, het hy gesê dit kon vinniger en meer effektief gebeur het.

Oor Zimbabwe het hy gesê Suid-Afrika staan reg om te help met die heropbouproses.
Oor gesondheidsdienste het hy gesê die land het die grootste MIV/vigs-program ter wêreld en baie is vermag met die ontwikkeling van primêre sorg, maar talle hospitale het steeds nie genoeg medisyne en personeel nie. Die staatshoof, wat sonder ’n metgesel opgedaag het, het ook verwys na die “unieke omstandighede” waarin hy president geword het, maar gesê die volwassenheid van die grondwetlike bestel, gerugsteun deur die uitvoerende gesag en die “stabiele hand” van regeringsbestuurders, het ’n naatlose oorgang verseker.

Met Mbeki se kalwers op Jacob Zuma se land
http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/dieburger/2009/02/07/SK/14/HAB7feb09.html

Pres. Kgalema Motlanthe is gister in sy eerste (en waarskynlik laaste) staatsrede gedwing om met mnr. Thabo Mbeki se se kalwers te ploeg op die lande van mnr. Jacob Zuma. Die bewaarheer-president het hom in die onbenydenswaardige posisie bevind waar hy moes erkenning gee aan die prestasies van die afgelope twee termyne se Mbeki-regerings, maar tog ook skimp dat die ANC-regering onder Zuma straks wat verskeie kwessies betref in ’n ander (linkse) rigting sal wil beur.

Met dié twee take voor oë het die toespraak weinig verrassings opgelewer. Motlanthe se beweegruimte was kennelik beperk.

Een frase wat Dawie egter opgeval het en wat verdere kommentaar verdien, is Motlanthe se woordspeling met die “state of the nation” deur te sê “the nation is in a good state”.

Dawie beaam dit, maar met ’n enkele belangrike voorbehoud. Die nasie – met verwysing na Suid-Afrikaanse burgers – het inderdaad sedert 1990 enorme vordering gemaak, en dit ly geen twyfel nie dat ons vandag beter daaraan toe is as in die donker dae van apartheid. Ons kan vandag dink oor, droom van, en werk aan dinge wat die meeste van ons tydens apartheid eenvoudig nie beskore was nie. En ondanks hardnekkige rasverdelings en ongelykhede wat bly voortbestaan, kry gewone Suid-Afrikaners dit daagliks reg om mekaar te vind in die sweet van die ander se aangesig waar ons saam werk vir ’n beter toekoms.

Dus: Ja, die nasie blyk in ’n relatief goeie toestand te wees. Maar die voorbehoud aan die hand van ’n verdraaiing van Motlanthe se woordspeling. “The state, on the other hand, is not in such a good state,” kan mens maar sê.

Motlanthe en al wat ’n ANC-kader is, sal hard hierteen stry, maar die Media24-peiling gedoen deur Ipsos/Markinor spreek boekdele. Meer Suid-Afrikaners (42%) voel nou dat die regering op die verkeerde pad is as toe die eerste barometer in die middel 1990’s gedoen is. Altesame 38% van die ondervraagdes voel die regering is steeds op die regte pad.

Uit die peiling blyk ook dat daar sedert Mei 2004 ’n stelselmatige afname in tevredeheid met die nasionale regering was. Dit is geen wonder nie, want met die interne vergeldingsoorlog wat in die ANC woed, is regeringsample en die mag wat daarmee saamgaan, lankal nie meer primêr ’n werktuig om te sorg dat Suid-Afrikaners die toekoms kry wat hulle
werklik verdien nie.
Vir ’n diep verdeelde ANC is die staat en sy magsmasjinerie mos veel eerder
die grofgeskut wat tot elke prys gebruik moet word in die stryd teen óf die
Zuma-kamp óf die Mbeki-kamp.
Onder dié omstandighede was dit noodwendig dat die ANC-regering die oog
van die bal af sou haal, en dat hy onverhoeds betrap sou word deur verskeie
uiters belangrike kwessies soos die kragkrisis en verlede jaar se xenofobiese
geweldpleging.
Dit is ook duidelik dat die ANC-regering die afgelope jaar, met die ANC-twis
wat ’n hoogtepunt bereik het, weinig kon vorder om oplossings te vind vir dié
probleme wat ons lankal in die gesig staar. Mbeki het weliswaar verlede jaar
in die staatsrede in ’n seldsame oomblik van nederigheid erken dat dinge op
talle gebiede nie waffers gaan nie, en ’n apeksplan van prioriteite
aangekondig om leemtes uit die weg te ruim.
Min hiervan is verwesenlik; en ofskoon Motlanthe gister gesê het die
apeksplan bly die grondslag van die regering se benadering, was dit
opvallend dat bloedweinig konkrete planne op die tafel gesit is om hieraan
uitvoering te gee.
Dit wat dus deur Mbeki as “business unusual” aangekondig is, het te midde
van die interne ANC-stryd nie vervaag tot “business as usual” nie, maar tot
“more of the same, nothing unusual”.
Intussen wil gewone Suid-Afrikaners weet watter konkrete stappe gedoen
word wat betref ekonomiese groei, die skep van werkgeleenthede, die uitroei
van misdaad en korrupsie en ernstige krisisse in die onderwys en
gesondheidsorg. Gewone Suid-Afrikaners is siek en sat van allerlei
moiliklinkende frases en hol beloftes.
Uiteindelik is dié besef en volgehoue harde werk om in diens van alle Suid-
Afrikaners te staan die enigste weg vir die regering om met oortuiging te kan
verklaar: “The nation – and the state – is in a good state.”
Motlanthe’s shrinking role

The president must walk a tightrope in his state of the nation address.

Mandy Rossouw and Rapule Tabane report

As President Kgalema Motlanthe takes the podium in Parliament to address the nation in his first, and probably last, State of the Nation address this week, he will be closely watched to ensure he toes the Luthuli House line.

The ANC will expect him to give a fair assessment of the past five years under Thabo Mbeki, while not stealing president-in-waiting Jacob Zuma’s thunder. Zuma will likely deliver his own State of the Nation address outlining government’s delivery plans after his inauguration.

Motlanthe’s intimates say he feels the Luthuli House pressure and is “only too aware of his caretaker status”.

“How to do the speech is his decision, but Luthuli House can call him any time to tell him to do something or talk about it, and he knows that,” a senior government official told the Mail & Guardian.

“He’s expected to pay close attention to the ANC’s priorities.”

For the first time Motlanthe will have the job of assessing the work of a former president removed by the party.

Also for the first time the Cabinet lekgotla preceded the ANC lekgotla. Some Cabinet members who are not part of the post-Polokwane leadership had to attend the latter to inform the party of their plans and take party input.

Weak local government, blamed for cross-border municipal conflicts and the birth of the Congress of the People, is seen as a critical shortcoming the ANC will expect Motlanthe to address.

Other issues include health and crime. He is expected to show how his administration reversed Mbeki’s failures in these areas.

Said ANC parliamentary chief whip Nqamboni Booi: “The speech must show that the ANC’s election manifesto was informed by the issues of government and that a new Zuma administration will deliver.”

Motlanthe will rely heavily on Zuma’s January 8 statement and on the January national executive committee lekgotla.

Booi said this week that Motlanthe would not give a glowing, uncritical assessment of the ANC government under Mbeki’s leadership.

“We have to say that although it’s one ANC, there was an Mbeki administration and a Kgalema administration. It has to be shown there are areas of improvement.”

Booi agreed Motlanthe’s deployment to government had not healed tensions between party and state. “But we’ve come to realise you can never change government if it’s been built up in a certain way.”

The ANC expects Motlanthe to give an honest assessment of Mbeki’s successes and failures, without necessarily suggesting that he failed completely.

“We never said Mbeki failed. Reading him was not about failing, it was political,” Booi said.

Motlanthe is also torn between his personal desire to return to Luthuli House after his five month presidency or to retire as an ex-president on his salary (R1,72-million a year), with VIP protection and an office and support staff. A retired deputy president earns R1,04-million a year.

Those around him say he would find it “awkward” to serve at the highest level, only to revert to the deputy presidency.

But the party wants him to continue serving in government as Zuma’s deputy. The ANC’s list processes show that ordinary ANC members also want this.

Motlanthe has also been feeling the heat from party detractors determined that he should not supplant Zuma in the nation’s affections. Insiders say he views the media leaks about his love life as a bid to discredit him.

An NEC lobby group is trying to convince Zuma to allow deputy president and ANC national chairperson Baleka Mbete to continue in her position to ensure there is a woman in the presidency.
Sowetan SAYS:

War words spell danger

The way of words between the youth formations of the ANC and the IFP bears to the future and future generations.

The youth movement in South Africa has been a catalyst for change and development. The recent tension between the ANC Youth League and the IFP is a reflection of this. It is important to remember that the youth are the ones who will shape the future of the country.

Motlanthe hit the nail on the head on poverty

In his State of the Nation address, President Kgalema Motlanthe was spot on in addressing the majority of the population. He highlighted the problems of poverty and inequality, and called for action to be taken.

Music masters

Joseph Shabalala and his merry band of choristers are making a living as they tour the country, entertaining their fans until their third yesterday. Kgalagadi Memorial Park, South Africa's best known tourist attraction, opened the URL recording studio in the heart of the park to promote music and education in the area.

Socialism is the answer

Socialism is a system that strives for the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It aims to eliminate poverty and inequality, and ensure that resources are distributed fairly.

HAVE YOUR SAY

The world is currently facing a very hard time economically. First it was the property market depression, then the global credit crunch, and now we even have HIV and the deepening state of poverty. The government must act to address these issues.

This is not the ANC I adored

I don't understand the ANC anymore. They are unable to stop people from destroying other communities. When they break the law, they become the law. How can you expect the youth of South Africa to right the wrongs of history when they are not allowed to speak their mind?

Try to get the facts right

Your editor, Lekota, is way off the mark in his article. He states that the ANC is a government of the people, by the people, for the people. This is not the case. The ANC is a government that is run by a small group of people who are often corrupt.

Parliament’s opening was archaic twaddle

The opening ceremony of Parliament was a visual feast for all who attended. The opening of Parliament is a significant event in the country, and it is important that it is held in a way that reflects the values of democracy.

Letters to the Editor

Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000
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Pretoria may be far from the city, but it is not too far to get your point across. Send your letters to us, and we will make sure they are sent to the right people.
Stellenbosch University  http://scholar.sun.ac.za

Voter registration 'looks good'

The Independent Electoral Commission is confident that it will meet its target of having 22 million eligible voters registered for the forthcoming general election.

By noon yesterday there were more than 15.5 million people who had registered to vote.

"We expect final figures of the registration work to be released on Monday. We are confident of reaching our target of 22 million eligible voters," said the IEC's Chief Electoral Officer, Sybil Mashaba.

While this weekend's voter registration drive was the largest ever, the IEC urged people to continue registering at their local registration offices - at least until the election day.

In KwaZulu-Natal, for example, the IEC has received 650,000 applications for registration.

"We don't want any voter that has ever applied for registration. We don't have any voter that has ever been removed," she said.

Medecins Sans Frontieres doctors without borders

Head of Communications Unit and Communications Officer

Medecins Sans Frontieres is an international medical humanitarian organization that provides medical assistance to people affected by armed conflict, war, or natural or man-made disasters, or from health care in more than 40 countries. Most of the medical operations internationally are in Africa.

In November 2008, the IEC opened an office in South Africa. The new office supports IEC operations in the region and answers for providing medical expertise, recruiting medical and other professionals, community involvement and fundraising.

MSF South Africa is looking for a highly motivated communications professional to work in the Communications Unit. Closing date for applications is February 2009.

Head of Communications

The successful candidate will have a proven ability to communicate complex issues in an understandable manner, have a thorough understanding of international and humanitarian issues affecting the world, and a demonstrated commitment to humanitarian values.

The Head of Communications will work with a team of people to produce high-quality reports in all aspects of MSF's external communications in South Africa, and advise advocacy and fundraising campaigns. The candidate will be required to write press releases, reports, articles for print media, and to provide a public face to the organization.

To apply, please submit: CV, a letter of motivation and a max 1000 word analysis of the coverage of humanitarian issues in the South African media. Deadline for applications is 17 February 2009. Please mark the application Head of Communications in your post to the IEC Box 1517, Johannesburg 2017.

Communications Officer

The Communications Officer will be the main link between MSF and the media and is responsible for ensuring that MSF's communications have a maximum impact in South African media. The successful candidate will have a good knowledge of the South African media, and experience in the writing, production of media material and organizing media events. Knowledge of medical and humanitarian affairs is of great value, as is a good understanding of international affairs.

To apply, please submit: CV, a letter of motivation and a max 1000 word essay on the link 'analysis of coverage of humanitarian issues in South African media. Deadline for applications is 17 February 2009. Please mark the application Press Officer in your post to the IEC Box 1517, Johannesburg 2017.

The full job descriptions for both positions are available at www.msf.org.za
Sowetan SAYS:
High hopes for elections

It is encouraging that the number of South Africans who have registered to vote in the next general elections has exceeded the Independent Electoral Commission’s expectations.

South Africa knows better than most how important the vote is. In the 2004 general elections, millions of our finest sons and daughters were willing to sacrifice their youth, courage and, in many cases, their lives for it.

It has been some time and upon that these will be the most important elections since 1994. The message that all-time South Africans are sending to all of us in civil society is that they have high expectations of these elections.

We in the media often find it easy to paint figures as either good or evil and to remind them of what they ought to do to ensure that those expectations are met. Political journalism, however, is always difficult. Political parties serve the worst of the media's credulity and impatience.

We expect that with the high stakes in these elections the charges will be even sharper than usual.

So at Sowetan we pledge to uphold the highest standards and ethics if journalism in the coverage of this important election in our country. We hope that you will be patient with us in our commitment to meet this commitment.

But we all know that the world is not patient with our shortcomings.

This is not the time to seek to part from this path.

Man of virtue

President Kgalema Motlanthe was often mocked for his alleged lack of discipline, but we should all join in the praise of the new president's virtuous, disciplined and intellectual duties for the man.

Like the late Shikinya Mabola, the man who had kissed the new president's cheek, we have received the new president's address on Friday.

The stoic, deadpan delivery could not conceal the man's thorough decency.

For though the speech lacked Thabo Mbeki's rhetoric and Selma Mndende's grand humanity, it presented a refreshingly frank assessment of the ANC, the president and the state, and an admirable set of values and principles, in his mind, the new president.

And the man has a broad range of people who have helped ensure that South Africa is where it is today. And I'm not the writer's loyal servant.

Editorial

I DON'T LIKE THE WAY THAT GUY IS LOOKING AT US.

Just rumours of Cope would be enough.

The letter "Cope doubtful" in its use of state resources' by Sibonile Masemola in Sowetan yesterday [Sunday] as a whole was read.

Firstly, let us dispel the myth that Cope will not allow public servants to join trade unions aligned to political parties. The party says that anyone is allowed to join a union of their choice.

But, in proposing that these trade unions must be allowed to political parties, this is because the unions also participate in the activities of the political parties. Why then should we not participate in those activities?

Secondly, let us say, "We have no problem with state resources being used for political campaigns as long as they are not misused.

Where does the money come from? The same newspapers that wrote reports about the funds being used for the campaign. This is the Nkosi, the Sowetan and The Star.

We see the Cope party as a party of the people. We are a party for the people. We are a party that represents the people. We are a party that represents the people.

And we are a party that represents the people. We are a party that represents the people. We are a party that represents the people.

Prevent violence at polls

The government must be proactive in trying to avoid election violence. The ANC is still a party of the people. It is a party of the people. It is a party of the people.

What's wrong with Julius Malema? He was at it again, saying that the ANC will campaign in the IFP's backyard and will also recruit Mangosuthu Buthelezi's children.

It beggars the mind how the ANC can ignore the bad behaviour of Malema, who is always calling for violence.

I predict serious violence during the coming general elections. If the government and all the other political parties do not act immediately, I am afraid this country will be turned upside down by crime and violence.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Pres.

Good rains mean more food, less hunger

I believe the land is not enough to be cultivated. Farmers must be certain that they can cultivate it.

The country will not be able to feed itself. The country will not be able to feed itself. The country will not be able to feed itself.

This is a plus factor in terms of production and will maintain the status quo of food shortages.

We anticipate both small and large-scale farmers to protest optimally in locking the country to ensure that more than enough food is produced. Farmers who lack adequate infrastructure, however, will be at an advantage.

Let's show the entire continent that we can perform the rest of them as far as farming is concerned.

Brighton Mkhathini

Letters to the Editor (Sowetan, PO Box 6683, Johannesburg 2000) e-mail: letters@sowetan.co.za

Pseudonyms may be used but all letters should include the writer's full name, address and telephone numbers. The editor reserves rights to edit letters.

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NDPP process is flawed

DA PRAISES KGALEMA'S 'INDEPENDENCE' STANCE

The Democratic Alliance has applauded President Kgalema Motlanthe's stance yesterday when he said that the National Director of Public Prosecutions (NDPP) appointment process was flawed.

Party MP Lamutshetse said Motlanthe had supported the arrest and later dismissal of the incumbent, Thabane Motau. The DA also supported the DA's proposal at the Judicial Services Commission for the appointment of a private member to sit with the three public members to effect the appointment of the new NDPP.

"Last September we noted our intention to introduce a Private Members Bill which would amend the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) Act so as to provide for an independent appointment process for the National Director of Public Prosecutions. Today the DA welcomes the President's statement that the NPA Act needs to be amended to provide for an independent appointment procedure for the National Director," Abbot said.

"It is critical that the people of South Africa are served by a fully independent NDPP. As such, the President must be commended for adopting this stance.

"We challenge the ANC's legislators to support him, as well as the Private Members Bill which we will introduce to ensure that this important reform of the NPA Act goes ahead," Abbot said.

"Releasing the media in Cape Town, Motlanthe said the appointment process would more credible if it was carried out by an independent body such as the Judicial Services Commission (JSC)." He then echoed the call for the amendment of the NPA Act to provide for an independent body such as the JSC.

Under the current National Prosecuting Authority Act, Motlanthe could appoint a person of his choice to replace suspended National Prosecuting Authority head Vusi Pikoli. These are some of the issues that need to be resolved so that we make South Africa a place where the rule of law is the only law, an Independent National Director of Public Prosecutions and where people who influence the criminal justice system are held to account.

Zimbio Magumulo

A hijacker who escaped from jail last year was shot and wounded by the police yesterday.

The 34-year-old man, who has topped the "most-wanted" list for a number of Johannesburg hijackings, was arrested in Orlando, Soweto.

Police captain Lucas Mbverse said "The man has been on the run for four years. He was spotted in the Orlando area yesterday and tried to escape. When police stopped him he sped off. A high-speed chase ensued and they caught him near the Total Garage. He was with another man, aged 20, who is alleged to have been his accomplice when he hijacked the cars."

"Once they were cornered the police ordered the pair out of the car. The suspect (the hijacker) allegedly drew a firearm and pointed it at one of the police officers. Police then shot him in the hand and in his left leg. He was taken to Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital and his accomplice was also arrested at the scene."

"This 34-year-old will also be charged with possession of an unloaded firearm. He is also accused of illegal possession of a firearm and the police were in the process of searching his car."

Govt 'has been hijacked'

Sowetan Reporter

The government has been hijacked by the rich - thus leading to terrible failures in live up to promises made to our people, Acting President Kgalema Motlanthe said.

"The people of South Africa have been betrayed by the ANC's leaders," Motlanthe said in the Black Consciousness Party (BCP) laid thousands of mourners to the Bokgatla Authentic Movement of South Africa on Saturday. He was speaking at the funeral of BC-atlantic's first Pan Africanists, who died after a long illness.

"What is happening in our country is that the state has not undergone a process of transformation which knows only one thing - profit."

"Capitalism means and discards our people according to its dictates. Capitalism produces unemployment and creates poverty, and we must embrace shackles of socialism, he said.

Most wanted hijacker shot

"Once they were cornered the police ordered the pair out of the car. The suspect (the hijacker) allegedly drew a firearm and pointed it at one of the police officers. Police then shot him in the hand and in his left leg. He was taken to Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital and his accomplice was also arrested at the scene."

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Jacob Zuma 2010 SONA
Die Burger
Zuma stel opposisie teleur met toespraak

Swakste nog: vind dit moeilik om te glo? Zes ander partye

Afbeelding: Die personale van die partye posisie is verander, maar die algemene stelling is die selfde. Die twee partye het gesê dat hulle nie besluit het nie om te stem nie. Dit is veral waar ek dit nou hou, want dit is nie net vir ons nie, maar ook vir die ander partye. Die algehele stemming is selfs al die algehele partye. Die algehele stemming is nie sewe nie, maar ook die ander partye. Die algehele stemming is nie sewe nie, maar ook die ander partye.
Mail & Guardian

State of the Nation

Zuma’s African PR problem

Terry Papamavrou

A corrector for Uganda’s The New Vision newspaper slammed it as a ‘woman in a minority issue’ – President (and Zuma’s brother) Yoweri Museveni’s way of doing it is not the same

Zuma is a woman in a minority issue and President Museveni’s way of doing it is not the same way. The newspaper stated, “Museveni has come under fire for not addressing the issues of women and girls in his administration.”

On the other hand, Zuma’s African PR problem has been highlighted by the South African government’s African Women’s Development Fund (AWDF)

In Madiba’s shadow

Zuma stresses reconciliation but makes it clear there’s little in state’s kitty, writes

Mandy Rossouw

The state of the nation in numbers

| No of schools will be closed by government | 71% | 2014
| No of schools will be closed by government | 71% | 2014
| No of schools will be closed by government | 71% | 2014
| No of schools will be closed by government | 71% | 2014
| No of schools will be closed by government | 71% | 2014

Zuma acknowledged the disappointing outcome of the Copenhagen climate change summit in December and said that South Africa will work with international counterparts to move towards a legally binding strategy. For the first time, Zuma announced a national health insurance (NHI) plan but declined to answer the pressing question of how it would work. The health minister promised a comprehensive plan for the establishment of a national health insurance system, and said it would be in place by 2016.

Zuma also promised cheaper telephone calls, saying the public can look forward to even further reduction of fixed and mobile tariffs, calling, landline and public phone rates. We will work to increase broadband and mobile services to a high standard of service, with international roaming services.

With former president Nelson Man- dela in attendance, Zuma announced on the back of his social media success with the 2011 anniversary of Mandela’s release from prison.

Government promised to follow up on the implementation of informal settlements by 2014 as seen by Zuma’s promise to create 120,000 households in informal settlements (120,000 households in informal settlements) and local tenants. The NHI plan will be used to ensure that those who have access to NHI are not poor enough for government programmes, and are not in quality for back-up services.

Zuma also promised more homes and to extend the existing social housing programme by 20%.

Economic growth and agricultural programmes “will show in the increase in the number of small scale farmers that became economically viable”, but we also noted that there was not enough to cover for these farmers. Zuma’s announcement was the same, the next step will be to expand and improve social housing programmes.

Government plans to ensure that 750 million litres will be collected by 2014, but Zuma stressed that the only way to get the country moving forward is to deal with the high levels of unemployment.

State of the Nation

Workers roll out the red carpet outside Parliament in Cape Town in preparation for the State of the Nation address. Photo: David Hammerman

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The state of Jacob Zuma

- Assessing the president’s parliamentary performance
- ‘This is your last chance’: ANC’s ultimatum to JZ
- And government just keeps drifting along ...
- The fallout as Africa responds to his philandering  Pages 4 & 5

ANC’s Cape doctor – kill or cure?  Family trips show a very married Mr and Mrs Cwele  Simelane strangles arms deal probe

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A government adrift

The president needs to decide who’s in charge of macroeconomic policy

President Jacob Zuma’s failure to clarify the respective roles of Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan and Economic Development Minister Ebrahim Patel has hampered government’s preparation of the budget to be presented to Parliament next week.

As of Thursday, treasury officials were still hoping that Zuma’s speech of the National State of the Nation address which would clarify who should assume final responsibility for macroeconomic policy.

“We are hoping the president will pronounce on who does what regarding macroeconomic policy. This will help us to stop fighting for our space and get on with our work,” a treasury insider told Mail & Guardian before Zuma’s address.

“The big fight is about who does what macroeconomic policy,” the insider said, adding that there had been “various discussions” on the matter between Zuma, Gordhan and Patel.

“We think we have prevailed, but the president needs to make a clear pronouncement on who the treasury official is,” the insider said.

The confusion has hampered the budget process, in which allocations are made to departments in terms of the broader economic priorities and direction.

“Our budget preparation has had to be mindful of the political context that things may change and therefore we cannot carry on as we did before,” Gordhan is expected to present a budget that will reflect the recovery of the economy, but that it will be slower than expected.

The estimates in the medium-term budget presented last October were “fairly correct”, the treasury official said, which means no substantial big changes, such as a massive surge in revenue, are expected.

Gordhan has adopted the same prudent operating parameters as his predecessor, Trevor Manuel. But the mood changed under Patel, who is seen as trade union federation Cosatu’s representative in Cabinet, the insider said.

There would be a profound change to the budget process if macroeconomic policy is shifted to Patel’s domain, the insider said.

That would mean a third of the budget process would be taken out of our hands, but it is the most important part.

“It is the part that deals with priorities, what the economic needs are of the country and what the economic outlook will be,” the insider said. Patel would therefore be entrusted with both prudent expenditure and the deficit. “You can’t have macroeconomic policy to Patel — it will open the door for Cosatu to take it over,” the insider said.

Expenditure and the deficit are “things you really need certainty on if you want to attract investors and give confidence in the country”, he said.

The South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SACCI) said this week that the lack of clarity about who has authority over macroeconomic economics is a serious concern. “It is inexcusable that the South African economy is yet to share the benefits of the recovery after the austerity measures. We remain positively optimistic regarding the recovery, but the world economy remains uncertain and unexpected events could derail the progress,” the chamber said in a statement.

“The consequences of the investment gap may still parasite the domestic economy and contribute to the toxic environment in the business environment, as well as in business confidence,” SACCI said.

“Output and job creation policy signals would underline local business confidence, increase confidence and the pace of Economic recovery.”

The South African Commerce Index for January declined by another 3.3 index points, from 65.5 in December to 62.2 in January.

Who’s at the helm? Does Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan or Economic Development Minister Ebrahim Patel (above) have more of a say when it comes to macroeconomic policy?

Photo: Oupa Mokoena
STATE OF THE NATION

Parly gets a dressing down

Zanuysa Madikwa

"The glam and glamour predicted by fashion gurus was absent on the red carpet of the State of the Nation address in Parliament last night. Few politicians dressed to impress for the night, with most opting for the fashion police. Thabo Mbeki, in his characteristic grey suit and tie, looked like a detective. Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, who really worked the red carpet, wore a red skirt and peacock top, which was a perfect match to the green hair. Oliver Tambo, who wore a white suit and tie, looked so handsome. bark and sheer. The color scheme really worked for her. She had her hair done in a beautiful style, which added to her overall look. "

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CUTE COUPLE: Chamwe and Arthur Mashikite looked the part.

Simplicity: Grace Mashikite looked alluring.

The male politicians failed to impress, most of them came in black suits.

Anna Majamu

OPPOSITION parties have slammed President Jacob Zuma's State of the Nation Address, calling it shoddy, disappointing and even disgusting.

They attacked Zuma's claim that the government had created 480 000 jobs in the public sector during his term.

"If the government is only promising one job per day, how can we say they are creating a million jobs in one year?" says Majamu.

Zuma is "spin-doctoring" - Patrick de Lille

If he says hiring one person for one day is creating a job, he is misleading the public. Don't call it a million jobs, call it a million one-day jobs," said DA parliamentary leader Athol Trollip.

"We are not going to call it a million jobs, we are going to call it a million one-day jobs," he said.

"Zuma should be a little more precise in his language," Trollip said.

A million genuine jobs were lost last year - Burma Boletil

Opposition parties have slammed Zuma for describing 480 000 job opportunities as "a joke.

"A million genuine jobs were lost last year," said Burma Boletil, Congress of the People (Cope) parliamentary leader.

"The government is only talking about创造 480 000 jobs and in the same time acknowledge that jobs have been shed. These different figures does not make sense," he said.

However, opposition leader Mmusi Maimane of the Democratic Alliance (DA), said that the government had created 480 000 jobs.

"I cannot understand how Zuma could say he created 480 000 jobs," Maimane said.

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STATE OF THE NATION

SERVICE DELIVERY A PRIORITY FOR JZ

Ministers to sign performance related contracts

Zakhele Majoza

President Jacob Zuma has set the tone to improve service delivery and change the way the public sector works when he announced that ministers will now sign performance agreements as a key aspect of their work. The move, which is aimed at ensuring that ministers are held accountable for their performance in the delivery of services, is part of the government’s efforts to improve efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector. The ministerial performance agreements will require ministers to outline specific targets and outcomes for their departments, as well as the measures they will use to achieve these. The agreements will be signed annually and will be reviewed at the end of each financial year. The ministerial performance agreements will be monitored and evaluated regularly to ensure that ministers are delivering on their commitments. The move is expected to promote a culture of accountability and transparency in the public sector, and to reinforce the government’s commitment to improving service delivery for South Africans. In addition, the ministerial performance agreements will provide a basis for performance-related payments, which will be determined based on the achievement of set goals and targets. These payments are expected to motivate ministers to focus on delivering results and to drive greater efficiency in their departments. The ministerial performance agreements will be signed by ministers at the next cabinet meeting, which is scheduled for later this month. The agreements will be reviewed annually to ensure that they remain relevant and effective in delivering on the government’s priorities. The ministerial performance agreements are part of the government’s broader efforts to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the public sector. Other initiatives include the establishment of the National Development Partnerships, which aim to improve service delivery through partnerships between the government and the private sector, and the implementation of the National Strategic Plan for Government Procurement, which seeks to improve the procurement process and ensure value for money.
Sowetan SAYS:
Beware, you fat cats

Sowetan

THAT’S PRESIDENT JACOB ZUMA SON, UNDRESSING THE NATION. I MEAN ADDRESSING THE NATION...

This recent public spat between proponents of nationalisation and those vehemently opposed to the idea is a test of what needs to be done to revitalize our economy.

It is a good thing when the state intervenes in the economy to change the playing field for the poor and the government, but that is not what we are witnessing now. The government has no mandate to intervene on behalf of an oppressed and exploited section of our society. We shall make a great mistake if we fail to mobilise the necessary resources to make a real effort to resolve this crisis.

The state could be further from the truth as some capitalistic enterprises have been praised for nationalising certain industries.

An example is Marikana, Jaguar and the railways. Recently the US warned that its embassy would not intervene in the former’s affairs in monetary terms. Can we say that the British was correct? Can we even claim that today Bango, Obama’s America is socialist? Definitely not!

Even recent events of history will answer in the negative to both cases. What does this imply for nationalisation in the current conditions? If it needs to be nationalised will it? However, do we really want to endure the burdensome nature of the capitalist system for one more day?

The answer is: No! The opposition in the National Assembly and in the streets is right. The system relies on greed to make profits at all costs. On the other hand, the history of revolutionary socialism would have been a lot clearer had the system been a lot more involved in the affairs of our society.

Which way is this system of nationalisation heading? Is this a path that seeks to maintain the social imbroglio of the people to benefit their men? Yes, we are witnessing the economic travesty of the “haves” on the hands of having contributed some capital to the destruction of the working youth.

Avis

Letters to the Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000
e-mail: letters@sowetan.co.za

SLAVE STATE FOR DICKING CHAOS

Blame state for driving chaos

It was only last year that South Africans were being heralded for turning from the shackles of Apartheid to a new society.

Now, they are being blamed for being behind the driving chaos.

However, what is being seen as a symptom is actually a cause.

The state is responsible for the lack of infrastructure services such as electricity, water, and transportation.

We need to address these issues before we can blame the state.