

BLACK POLITICS

1991

NOVEMBER

11A

principles which will best serve SA We say that first there must be reconciliation between race groups and between political parties And then there can be a democratic constitution"

BROADCASTING

Across the border

Subscriber TV company M-Net and a Swapo front company, Kalahari Holdings, have formed a new company, M-Net Namibia It is part of the agreement that Swapo financial adviser Russell Hay will be one of Kalahari Holdings' two directors on the board of the new company

M-Net's Nolo Letele this week confirmed to the FM that negotiations between M-Net (SA) and Kalahari Holdings were initiated and conducted by himself "We were fully aware of who the directors of Kalahari Holdings were," said Letele

M-Net chairman Ton Vosloo told the FM on Monday, however, that he was unaware



that Kalahari Holdings was a front company for Swapo Vosloo says no agreement has yet appeared before the M-Net board "We, as a board, do not sign agreements We only ratify them"

Letele says M-Net had discussions with various other companies on the possibility of a joint venture After negotiations with Kalahari Holdings, M-Net Namibia was incorporated in that country

"The documents accompanying such incorporation are public domain and are available from the Registrar of Companies This includes the Articles of Association M-Net has an ongoing relationship with Kalahari Holdings and a memorandum on understanding is in place"

Earlier Letele said that "the agreement is in place and has been signed we are only waiting for a licence"

The Windhoek newspaper *Die Republiek* has reported that the incorporation of M-Net Namibia will mean that the ruling Swapo government has increased its influence in the electronic market The paper said the agreement between Kalahari Holdings and M-Net would also mean a considerable boost to Swapo's financial position

The paper reported that Kalahari Holdings, known in 1989 as Swapo Properties, had spent millions of rands on properties for Swapo officials

The M-Net agreement comes three months after Information & Broadcasting Minister Hidipo Hamutenya announced that a new broadcast Act would clear the way for more TV and radio transmitters The Namibian Cabinet will then have the final say on the issue of new broadcast licences

Kalahari Holdings also has close ties with Swapo video producer New Dawn Video *Die Republiek* said that there had been great concern in the past over Swapo propaganda films, which New Dawn Video had produced for free broadcasting by the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation

According to the newspaper, Russell Hay is also a director of Kalahari Holdings and New Dawn Video Letele told the FM that Kalahari Holdings will also be represented by Hosea Angula on the M-Net Namibia board Letele and M-Net's Paul Edwards will represent the SA company

The paper also stated that slain Swapo executive member Anton Lubowski, who was later alleged by former Defence Minister Magnus Malan to be a paid secret agent for Military Intelligence, had been a director of Swapo Properties This was while the company was responsible for the acquisition of dwellings valued at R17,5m for Swapo officials (These transactions did not include the purchase of the Metropolitan building in Windhoek nor the Swapo farm in the Huba valley)

Die Republiek said that Swapo Properties' name was changed to Freedom Holdings in 1989 and then became Kalahari Holdings

According to the newspaper, M-Net Namibia will be required to pay its SA partner 45% of all revenue derived from subscribers There is also agreement between M-Net (SA) and Kalahari Holdings that M-Net Namibia will issue no dividends until all debts to M-Net (SA) are paid

Letele would not confirm this and added that the "details of the shareholders agreement are a private and internal matter"

Eddie Botha

CAPE TOWN Fm 1/11/91

Info scrap

The payment of more than R30 000 a month to a computer consultancy and the apparent inability to clamp down on inhouse theft have plunged Cape Town City Council even deeper into controversy

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The latest problems come as the council is battling negative public perceptions over attempts to raise councillors' allowances (*Current Affairs* October 25)

The latest crises have raised serious doubts about the council's ability to administer SA's second largest city and, say critics, are good examples of why municipal rates and services charges in Cape Town are among the highest in the country

The computer consultant saga is astonishing The council has been trying for nearly six years to develop an information systems strategy for its multimillion-rand computer network

PE Corporate Services (PECS) was appointed to investigate certain aspects of the strategy in June 1986 and reported later in the year For more than a year the council then conducted its own inhouse study It found that further investigations and development work were necessary

After considering proposals from a number of consultancies, PECS was again appointed to conduct further investigations at a fee of R470 000 The council also appointed a steering committee comprising senior officials to monitor the work

PECS completed its investigation a year ago and its report was approved by the council in January The council had hoped to appoint a director of information services — a key player in the development of the IS strategy — earlier this year at a salary of R160 000 But this did not happen, even though 58 people applied for the post, including a number believed to be highly qualified and experienced

According to council executive committee chairman Dick Friedlander, none of the applicants was "ideally suited to the requirements of this specific post" The steering committee decided to manage implementation of the PECS strategy itself "on an interim basis"

It became clear after two months that the director's post was pivotal and in May PECS was asked to redeploy its consultant Malcolm Buxton as an interim IS director His services for 16 days a month cost R255 an hour He is expected to remain in his interim post until the end of the year

City planner Neville Riley, a member of the steering committee, confirms that town clerk Don Geyer is negotiating with an IS specialist to take the post next year He is reported to be Old Mutual assistant GM Tony Hoffman It is understood that Hoffman was approached last year but was unavailable at the time (When the FM asked Hoffman about this, he declined to comment)

The council denies that the process of advertising the director's post, interviewing applicants and appointing Buxton as interim director was merely an exercise to keep the seat warm for Hoffman who, it is understood, will be seconded from Old Mutual rather than employed by the council Critics are sceptical

The second controversy concerns allega-

Continued

PATRIOTIC FRONT

FM 1/11/91

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Why all the fuss?

The Patriotic Front alliance patched together in Durban last weekend seems somewhat less important than its grand title (recalling Zimbabwe) and the attendant fanfare would suggest

After all, the chief players — the ANC and PAC — had already adopted more or less the same stance over demands for a constituent assembly and a transitional government, even if their terminology differed. It is not clear what policy compromises have been made by either side, if any — apart from the PAC changing its mind about talking to the *regime*, which is a simple tactic and easily reversed

There is doubt whether the ANC can keep the PAC in line but some observers suspect that the main purpose behind launching the front was to provide a rallying point at a time when opposition activity has been stagnant

It will be interesting to see whether the general strike called by Cosatu for Monday and Tuesday will overshadow the formation of the front or be fuelled by it (Judging by the poor attendance at a couple of ginger-up rallies in the Cape last week, however, it appears that strike organisers have picked the wrong issue for a show of strength — whatever Cosatu may claim afterwards)

Position bargaining

The fact that the front was put together at all strengthens all the participants to some extent. The PAC's image is flattered by the coat-tails association with the ANC — and the ANC, in turn, has seen its negotiating strategy win out (but not by much). On the negative side for the ANC, the demand for an elected constituent assembly has been hardened by the front, which reduces the ANC's flexibility on this issue

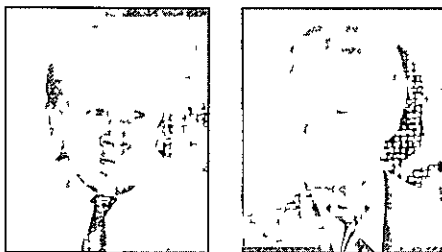
But such demands should be seen as pre-negotiation positioning. Of course government is not going to concede a transfer of power to the majority at any such assembly before a new constitution is agreed and on the table

It would seem that the ANC must hope for gains in the give-and-take that will inevitably occur at the all-party conference. This will include the NP and it could begin before the end of the year

The ANC is now keen to get on with it, and the wording of the front resolutions, taken with remarks of the ANC's front convener Murphy Morobe (see page 43), suggest it has not closed the door on the issue of an elected assembly

The remarkable development is the PAC's decision to accept, in effect, that negotiation is the only game in town

Whatever happened to its uncompromising stance that negotiation could begin only



PAC's Clarence Makwetu and ANC's Nelson Mandela

once the so-called settlers had returned the land to blacks, not to mention its other more colourful slogans? A less-than-charitable view of this about-turn is that the PAC simply does not have the membership nor organisational capacity to go it alone or challenge the ANC's black support. The PAC recognises that it will be left behind if it holds out against negotiations

It is hard not to conclude that the PAC, which has no coherent programme, is being opportunistic while it still can. As one observer puts it: "The PAC has a leadership that is mercurial, policies that are fluid and a brand of rhetoric that would be difficult for the ANC to accept"

To the ANC, the value of the PAC shift (wrung from it between conference sessions) is that it won't need to look over its left shoulder all the time. The PAC has a certain level of informal support, including some intellectuals, that the ANC would not wish to alienate. Exactly how many people back the PAC or Azapo has never been ventured by these organisations — a sure sign that the numbers are low

The switch comes while the PAC's ideological junior partner — Azapo — clings to its purist stance of wanting to negotiate only on the basis of a series of non-negotiables. While this stance implies a militant alternative route to liberation, there is certainly no sign of Azapo doing anything more activist than in the past

It is worth remembering, as Wits political historian Tom Lodge points out, that the ANC and PAC have attempted a pact before. In 1961 the two formed the SA United Front of Exiles, mainly aimed at international lobbying for the isolation of the apartheid State. While it made some diplomatic headway in Africa, that front — which the SA Communist Party was never keen on anyway — broke up in 1963 after constant bickering

Significantly, last weekend's front declaration states: "On issues where consensus has not been reached, endeavours to find common ground will continue. Should consensus not be reached, organisations can act independently"

For now at least, the front holds and, though relations with the absent Azapo were strained by the conference, the ANC and PAC have decided to leave the door open for Azapo's re-entry

The more formidable force of the ANC and PAC, combined with a strongly worded declaration slamming government, appears to set the new partners on a collision course with the NP

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who read the terms of the agreement to the conference, said a meeting could be called within the next few weeks to settle the dates and venue of the talks and work out who should convene them

For the record, the front — comprising 92 organisations, including 16 political parties — committed itself to an elected constituent assembly and in pursuit of this

Committed itself to a sovereign interim government and transitional authority that "shall at the very least" control the security forces, the electoral process, State media and certain areas of budget and finance,

Insisted upon the establishment of an interim government to ensure that "the De Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition,"

Demanded the holding as soon as possible of an all-party congress/pre-constituent assembly under independent conveners, and

Confirmed "our common understanding" that this assembly will underwrite the constitutional principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly, realise the establishment of an interim government, ensure the reincorporation of the TVBC states and define the role of the international community

Buthelesi view

On Saturday Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelesi claimed that organisations attending the front were ganging up. Weeks before last weekend's conference, the IFP excluded itself from the meeting by calling the move "yesterday's politics"

During an address to the IFP Women's Brigade in Ulundi, Chief Buthelesi said: "The truth of the matter, of course, is that the ANC, SA Communist Party-Cosatu alliance and the hoped-for Patriotic Front will combine in the political forefront in such a way that it will effectively control the constituent assembly and thereby become both the controller and the player"

Buthelesi added, reasonably enough, that whoever controlled a constituent assembly would control the whole negotiating progress

He added "These are not the organising

Masterbond directors, have not yet been brought under the curators' wing ■

IDT BOND ISSUE ^{11A}

Next round

^{FM 1/11/91}
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The ANC and Independent Development Trust (IDT) were due to meet on Thursday to discuss the IDT's projected US\$100m Eurobond issue. This was confirmed by Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's head of international affairs, as the *FM* went to press.

In September, the IDT announced its plan to raise funds to build schools and provide clinics and clean water for rural communities. Director Jan Steyn believed the project had the backing of the ANC. However, on October 16, the ANC dissociated itself from the project because the issue would be backed by government

The ANC put out a press release disclaiming the "bogus ANC-IDT statement." The press release said ANC secretary-general

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continued

ECONOMY & FINANCE

^{FM 1/11/91}
Cyril Ramaphosa "had already advised the IDT that it was opposed to the raising of loans on financial markets" This statement was forwarded, said the ANC, to investment bank J P Morgan, which was to act as lead banker for the issue ^{11A} ~~11A~~

Last week, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu announced that the ANC had held discussions with the IDT and was "satisfied that a misunderstanding had arisen" The statement said "The ANC has instructed all its offices, including those in London and New York, accordingly In the circumstances the IDT will continue with its presentations in Frankfurt and Zurich"

Thursday's meeting is expected to resolve remaining problems and an announcement is expected on Friday ~~11A~~

□ Mbeki was speaking after a World Economic Forum meeting in Geneva to discuss the economic future of southern Africa Delegates and speakers included Minister of Economic Co-operation & Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers, Treasury Director-General Gerhard Croeser, Mozambican Finance Minister Eneas Comche, Namibian Minister of Trade & Industry Ben Amathila, Botswana's Minister of Commerce & Industry Ponatshego Kedikwe, and Isaac Sam, head of the southern African department at the World Bank

Participants included ANC executive Trevor Manuel, Gavin Woods from Inkatha, African Development Bank vice-president Adewale Sangowawa, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, Old Mutual chairman Mike Levett and other businessmen and academics ■

FM 1/11/91

NEGOTIATIONS



Questions of power

Government's fairly positive response to the outcome of the Patriotic Front conference paves the way for multi-party talks. Is it as simple as that? No. The level of invective which the major protagonists are levelling at each other has not diminished — nor is there anything approaching workable agreement on what is actually to be done.

Faced with such essential contradictions, all who hope for a new SA revived by economic prosperity have a tendency to gloom. Yet contradictions are not all bad — not if they result in a constitution which will not fray in a very short period of time indeed.

Outsiders may be forgiven for assuming that when the Nationalists speak of "transitional arrangements" and the ANC-PAC of an "interim government" the difference is semantic. And, of course, once a process of negotiation has been genuinely engaged, the difference may diminish. In fact, at this stage, the opposing sides are talking different languages. Herein lie dangers both immediate and long-term.

At the NP federal congress in Bloemfontein in September, F W de Klerk stated his party's essential position: "Black domination is as unacceptable as white domination. The NP rejects both. Power domination spells catastrophe." A proposed constitution was floated to enshrine this principle. But less attention has been paid to it than it deserves, probably because it was immediately conceded as a negotiable document. Yet it represents NP thinking pretty comprehensively.

The Nationalists believe in power-sharing — that is to say, a controlled process of inaugurating black participation in government. Each step of the way is to be negotiated, it must not be precipitate. The dangers of white reaction are frequently underlined by commentators as making the process subject to control by political need. This week, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen — a wily survivor entrusted with such matters — made one of those breezy comments which closer inspection reveals to be a restatement of the principle of continuing government control.

The constitution, he said, could well be amended to permit the Patriotic Front — and Inkatha — a growing say in elements of government. This might be needed to assure smooth transitional arrangements and the changes could be made through parliament if they were not fundamental, in

which contrary case they would have to be put to the white electorate by means of the referendum promised by De Klerk as the precursor to a new constitution.

Of course, this will not meet the demands of the ANC-PAC alliance — which are for a constituent assembly before discussions on the final form of the constitution. Indeed, the ambition of next week's general strike has been shifted from its primary focus on the alleged inequities of VAT to the kind of power sharing which amounts to an interim government, though whether this should be put in place before or after an election for a constituent assembly is not clear.

Behind the statements of either side lie the elements of a huge power play. Both understand this, which is why the proposed strike has the aspect of a showdown. Either one side or the other will be strengthened by its success or failure. The Patriotic Front hopes, obviously, that the strike will be so successful that it will persuade government to narrow participation at the multi-party talks — if not compel it to accept the fabled "two-sided table" at which nothing could be debated except the parameters of the transfer of final power. Inkatha would then be formally aligned with the NP.

In the way of things, no such clear-cut outcome is likely. More probable would be a variety of competing viewpoints, some strong in terms of notional electoral support, some weak. Out of such competition a constitution could then laboriously be assembled clause by clause. This would require a focusing of minds on the practicalities of governing SA in terms of its resources and potential, not on a division of the spoils.

Any extension of confrontational tactics to the negotiating table is certain to lead to a botched piece of work. Compromise is going to have to be thoroughgoing when one considers that the Nationalists at this stage propose *three* presidents — tripartite political structures are notoriously unstable — while the ANC would appear to want to leave property rights out of the constitution altogether, while legislating for affirmative action in the most sweeping sense.

At this stage, government is conceding less than it appears to be saying, and the Patriotic Front, which is unlikely to outlast protracted negotiations, sees apparent benefit in confrontation and haste. In assessing the impact of next week's strike, these concealed agendas on both sides need to be borne in mind. ■



Wealth and jobs

ANC sees pivotal role for private sector in creating

while remaining acutely conscious of the need to reintegrate SA's economy inter-nationally.

Political democracy on its own would not satisfy black South Africans nor could democracy be guaranteed if economic in-equalities were not immediately ad-dressed, he said

Any democratic state had to accept that it had to address poverty and inequalities by redistributing resources. This could be done through "progressive taxation and a benefit or welfare system that supports those with low incomes".

job opportunities," he said

Individual business leaders might feel no direct culpability for SA's racist eco-nomic system and some might even be-lieve they were contributing to its destruc-tion "But whatever they believe, they are among the chief beneficiaries of apartheid economics and must pack in the front row of the struggle to end inequality."

The ANC's objective was to revive in-vestment within a framework that maxi-mised the capacity to eradicate poverty,

Eastern Europe, Asia and the Americas were strong contenders for investments and loans

With such demand for capital, it would not come cheap or be abundant. A future SA would be dependent on its domestic re-sources to achieve very demanding objec-tives, Ramaphosa said

SA had a potentially dynamic private sector and the ANC saw a central role for it in the creation of wealth and jobs

"But it does not mean business as usual. The private sector, in co-operation with the public sector, must go out and create

THE ANC wanted a strong private sector to play a central role in a future democrat-ic SA, ANC secretary-general Cyril Rama-phosa said yesterday.

However, businessmen should not take this as an invitation to become compla-cent, he told delegates at the Financial Mail Investment Conference.

The ANC had to pursue policies that en-hanced investment, did not alienate inves-tors or drive away skills.

Ramaphosa stressed the importance of foreign investment, saying competition for international investment would be fierce.

SA had to ensure that economic growth was revived in a way that benefited all. "We must ensure that employment, wages and profits spread rapidly into the disad-vantaged and poor communities"

SA's economy was falling because of the low level of investment. It was not capable of creating jobs for even one out of every 10 new job seekers each year.

Most growing economies set aside at least 25% of GNP for investment. The suc-cessful industrialisers of the Far East in-vested about 30% of GNP during the 1980s.

□ To Page 2

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attracting investment is ambiguous at best. Such incentives can merely lessen the benefit derived by the country from the in-vestment," he said

In establishing a framework for eco-nomic growth government's role had to be determined carefully. It should provide in-formation, co-ordinate and organise for the revival of investment

The ANC wanted to reintegrate SA in the world economy, making it more competi-tive. Foreign investors and transnational corporations would be crucial in the or-ganisation's efforts to restructure and re-generate the economy

Ramaphosa said the ANC's think-tanks were developing an inducement package based on assurances rather than financial or industrial relations incentives. There were sound international precedents

Private sector

SA had invested no more than 20% of GNP during the past eight years

Public sector investment had shrunk a great deal and the private sector had failed to fill the gap. "Instead the country has continued to suffer from the flight of cap-ital," he said

It was wrong to blame the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance's insistence on sanctions for this. Apartheid had dealt a death blow to the investment climate, he said

It was vital to create a climate conduc-ive to investment strong and growing domestic and regional markets, political stability, transparent and consistent eco-nomic policies

"We do not need fancy incentive schemes that will be harmful to our coun-try and people. Evidence of the efficacy of financial incentives such as tax breaks in

PAC to spell out its views on future SA

South African 11/11/91 11A

THE Pan Africanist Congress will meet Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Emeka Anyaoku on Sunday to brief him on the organisation's views about a future South Africa

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ms Patricia de Lille said yesterday the meeting would be held at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg at 3pm

By IKE MOTSAPI

De Lille also said the PAC would brief Anyaoku on the fact that the organisation's demand for a constituent assembly for South Africa was non-negotiable

She said other issues on the agenda would be

●The PAC's policy on a transitional arrangement

before a constituent assembly;

●The Patriotic Front conference,

●That the PAC would investigate whether there was a role for the Commonwealth to play during the process of transition

The PAC delegation will consist of deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, general secretary Mr Benny Alexander, De Lille and secretary for publicity and information Mr Benny Desai

Meanwhile, the Patriotic Front is to meet Azapo today

"In pursuance of the decision of the PF conference, the convenors, namely the PAC and the ANC, have requested a meeting with Azapo," Alexander said yesterday

Farewell to Mandelamania

WASHINGTON - There is no more brutal a comment on a book than the sight of unsold piles of the publication in shops.

New York's bustling discount book stores are wrestling with this problem at the moment, offering a recent biography of a famous man for less than one-sixth of the original price

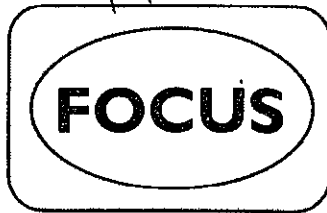
The discount is a verdict on the work - a devastating indictment on its truthfulness. And when the book is a biography, the person about whom it is written shares a good deal of the author's humiliation

Such a book, currently on offer in New York for anything from \$2.50 to \$4.50 (the original price was about \$26), is Fatima Meer's biography of Mr Nelson Mandela, *Higher Than Hope*

Unsold stacks now join the ranks of dusty biographies of half-forgotten luminaries such as Harold Wilson, Kwame Nkrumah and Jawaharlal Nehru

Taking into account reasons which might have caused the publishers to vastly miscalculate their market, the fact remains that Mandela does not transfix Americans as he did when he was released from prison, and there is some evidence that the American public has become weary of him

Why should this be so? Only a short while ago he was given a hero's welcome and millions of Americans thronged the streets to catch a glimpse of him. Part of the answer would seem to lie in



By
HUGH ROBERTON

Mandela's and the ANC's changed image since those heady days

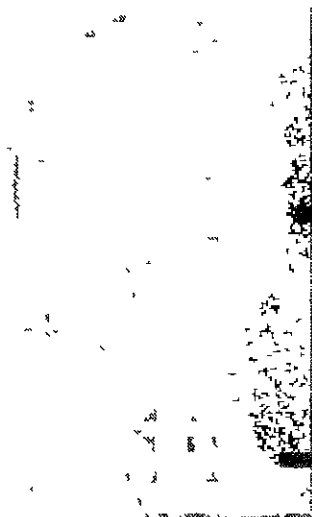
Frankly, it is an image which has become numbingly boring and only the ANC's enemies would wish to keep that fact away from them

The ANC, and Mandela, offer the chants and slogans of yesterday, they clothe themselves in the discarded political apparel of a bygone age, they crusade for causes which the real world has long since abandoned and, in the process, they are made to look tiresome and even irrelevant

Some recent examples. Earlier this month Mandela went to Harare and appealed to the Commonwealth and the world to retain sanctions

The very next day Japan lifted sanctions, thus showing that all the world's major economic powers had defied Mandela and the ANC

A fortnight ago, one of the ANC's most influential allies in the US, the Africa Fund, sent out letters and faxes to major American banks and corporations urging them to boycott the floating of a \$100-million loan for the



NELSON MANDELA

Independent Development Trust

The plea was ignored by all the major media outlets in the US, and it seems the loan will go ahead as scheduled

At about the same time, TransAfrica, another pro-ANC lobbying group in the US, ended a tour of South Africa and predictably concluded that sanctions should remain

Its view was given much prominence in South Africa, but it was ignored in the US, a fact confirmed by a computer search through reports in more than 11 000 news publications

This week, hot on the heels of Mandela's appeal for sanctions, the US Congress sent a letter to President George Bush urging him to launch a multi-million-dollar aid package for South Africa

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Granted, the aid would only be made available to a new government elected through a democratic ballot, but the letter could not have been written if sanctions were still the priority of Congress. In fact, the removal of sanctions was an essential prerequisite

The fact is that Congress, and the US public, have outgrown sanctions. It is a dreary issue providing no vision of the future of South Africa

In contrast, the aid programme has gripped the imagination of even the ANC's most enthusiastic supporters in Congress, among them members of the Congressional black caucus

The American public, likewise, has grown out of concepts like nationalisation, and there is little patience with pompous threats that a future government may not repay loans granted to the present regime

These are yesterday's ideas in a world desperately seeking a vision of tomorrow. But how can the ANC project a vision of the future when it remains so caught up in the past?

Mandela obviously continues to enjoy much admiration in America but, as the sale of his biography suggests, and as the frequent defiance of his wishes testifies, affection is not inexhaustible

He and the ANC are in real danger of discovering that nothing is quite as politically disastrous in America as becoming a bore

Press shuts out views against PF

Sowetan 1/11/91

11A

The reports on the Patriotic Front Conference (25-27 October) has without exception given a picture of unanimity

Anyone who attended the conference must be aware that militants of several organisations expressed their disagreement with the dominance of the ANC/PAC positions

The form and content of the PF as finally announced was certainly not unanimously accepted. Wosa consistently intervened, both by way of statement from the floor and a press statement, to put a different view forwards

It is clear that there is a determined effort on the part of the media to silence any view that does not coincide with blanket support of the PF presently conceived. In response to the furore over the expulsion of Azapo from the organising committee of the PF, Wosa issued a press statement giving our perspective of the PF conference. Not only did the printed media fail to acknowledge the views expressed in the press statement, a number of newspapers chose to distort our position regarding attend-

ance of the conference - (your newspaper in particular was guilty of this) Nowhere did we state that we would not be attending the conference

Wosa has always supported the idea of a united front of the oppressed and exploited as a fighting alliance for a democratically elected Constituent Assembly

We will still support this concept of a united front and will continue to work for it. But the PF as announced at the PF conference is nothing but a negotiations bloc under the dominance of the ANC/PAC. The APC/PCAC, whose sole purpose is to subvert the idea of a democratically elected CA, was given priority over even her nominal PF announced at the conference

We categorically refuse to enter into a front which includes organisations working the Apartheid system while pretending to oppose it. We refuse to enter a front formed to enter negotiations with the government and which has effectively relinquished mass mobilisation as a form of struggle for liberation

In the context of freedom of speech we trust that your newspaper will ensure that our voice is heard on this important issues

HAROON PATEL
WOSA Transvaal Vice
Chairperson

PAC wants outside talks

Sowetan
1/11/91

11A

***THE Pan Africanist Congress wants the Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference to discuss modalities of the constituent assembly to be held outside the country to ensure the equality of all participants.**

This was said by PAC chief representative in Nigeria and member of the organisation's central committee Mr Maxwell Nmadzvhlanani when addressing a meeting at Thohoyandou, Venda, on Wednesday night.

Nmadzvhlanani said the neutrality of the venue and convener of the PCAC were important.

"The PAC position is that this should be held outside the country under the chairmanship of a neutral convener. However, the Patriotic Front did not specify where the conference should be held and we in the PAC can only hope that this is an understanding shared by all," he said.

Asked about the meanings and differences of the All Party Conference and the PCAC, Nmadzvhlanani said the difference was a question of semantics. He said all

participants at the PF were agreed on the need for a conference to discuss the establishment of the constituent assembly.

Asked whether the political rapprochement between black organisations within the country was likely to lead to a similar position for the externally based military wings of the ANC, PAC and BCMA, Nmadzvhlanani said this was not possible right now because, while the PAC was still committed to armed struggle, the ANC was not.

Agreement

"We are agreed on co-operation in those areas and fields where there is agreement. The PAC wants to see even the armies united and joining forces but it is not possible when others no longer believe in the armed struggle", he said.

He said the PF would have to find ways of making the OAU play a more central role in the transition than was the case in Namibia, where the organisation was reduced to an observer.

He said the PAC fully supported the anti-VAT campaign and called on all members to join the protests and other mass actions.

He cautioned against the euphoria of seeing the Government's reform programme as the beginning of

freedom, saying "the descendants of settlers can never become agents of liberation. It is a fallacy and a daydream that we must re-

ject. We are our own liberators," he added.

Nmadzvhlanani came into South Africa two weeks ago for the launch of

the PF in Durban. He leaves for Nigeria today but will return in December to work in the PAC head office in Johannesburg.

Accord on conveners for talks

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Chief Justice and two religious leaders are likely to convene the all-party/multiparty conference (APC/MPC) on negotiations expected to meet within weeks

This compromise arrangement was tentatively agreed upon by the Government and the ANC at a meeting yesterday

The ANC will meet the PAC today to report back on the meeting and to decide if the PAC will attend a multiparty

planning meeting with the Government on November 15 when final decisions on arrangements for the APC/MPC will be made

If the PAC decides to attend, it will be its first official encounter with the Government.

The November 15 meeting is in line with the Patriotic Front conference decision last month to convene a meeting of the ANC, PAC and Government on the APC/MPC.

It will probably also be attended by the Inkatha Freedom Party —

and also the governing parties of the Kangwane and Gazankulu homelands for the sake of wider representation

The Government and the ANC have still not decided who else should attend

The tentative decision on who should convene the APC/MPC follows negotiations stretching over several meetings

November 29 still seems the most likely date for the conference to start, although a later date has been suggested as an alternative should this prove impractical

Patrick Laurence assesses the balance of forces after the birth of the Front

Will their fingers form a fist?

11A

Star 1/11/91

THE formation of the Patriotic/United Front raises questions about its impact on the balance of forces on the balance in our political arena

Established largely on the initiative of the African National Congress and its old rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress, the Front unites many organisations in the fight against apartheid and for national democracy

It is the product of a stratagem designed to tilt the balance against President de Klerk's ruling National Party

Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and his deputy, Tertius Delpoort, have no doubts about the motives which inspired its genesis. They see the Front as an attempt by the ANC-PAC axis to inspire a "ganging up" against the NP. Front spokesmen use different language to describe the same process. They speak of uniting forces representing the oppressed for a final assault against apartheid, depicting the Front as a bid to pre-empt plans by the NP to deploy a strategy of divide and

rule at the negotiating table. The Front has unquestionably seized the initiative and attempted to determine the pace and direction of the negotiating process. It has shifted the balance in its favour for the moment but whether it has done so decisively is another question.

The Front is a potentially formidable force, but it may not be as solid or as durable as its leaders have claimed publicly.

Extrapolating from the official list of participating organisations at the Front's three-day inaugural conference at Durban, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has declared that it speaks for 92 organisations and at least 15 million people.

His statement exaggerates the Front's strength, however. The official list of organisations at the founding conference contains several duplications.

Some had observer rather than delegates status and thus cannot be assumed to have endorsed the final declaration.

Many organisations on the list have overlapping memberships

with the ANC and the PAC. Some, like the National Soccer League, are apolitical organisations which cannot presume to speak politically for members.

The Front is, moreover, weakened by a number of significant absentees from the list of member organisations, especially Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and Pandelani Nefolohodwe's Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo). Azapo sees the Front as an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable.

Lesser political organisations are not on the Front's membership list either.

They include political parties associated with three tribal homelands: Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei-based African Democratic Party and Hudson Ntsanwis's Ximoko Progressive Party in Gazankulu.

Since one of the Front's objectives is to deprive Mr de Klerk of black allies at the all-party talks and in the projected non-racial election, these admissions, like the exclusion of the IFP and the Azapo, cannot be dismissed as in-

significant. A last but not unimportant point about the Front's list includes, one suspects, political organisations which attended for reasons of expediency rather than conviction. Their presence on the list of member organisations is explained by the desire to avoid castigation as "unpatriotic".

Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, which has suffered serious losses to Mr de Klerk's ruling National Party, appears to be a case in point. If Mr de Klerk offers the Labour Party a route to survival during the pending all-party talks, they may well take it in preference to absorption by the "patriotic forces".

The failure of Qwaqwa's Chief Minister, Kenneth Mopeli, to head the Dikwankwela Party delegation to the Front's conference suggests he may be keeping a discreet distance between himself and the Front. The Front is, above all, a coming-together of the ANC and the PAC after more than 30 years of rivalry. Their new found unity is the cornerstone on which the Front rests.

The tensions which led to the

secession of the PAC from the ANC in 1959 have not been completely excised by the formation of the Front. They are reflected in small but accumulatively important ways. The language of the Front's inaugural declaration illustrates the point.

For every term favoured by the ANC there is a counter-term used by the PAC. The Front's ringing founding declaration talks, clumsily, of an all party congress/presidential assembly meeting and an interim government/transitional authority.

The two sides cannot even agree on the Front's label. ANC members refer to it as the Patriotic Front. PAC members talk of a United Front. Organisers in a belated attempt to avoid a quarrel speak of a Patriotic/United Front.

There are further outward differences during the black nationalist anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika (God Bless Africa), ANC members respond with the clenched fist salute while their PAC counterparts give their own distinctive open palm salute.

These observable differences mask deeper ideological quarrels.

The PAC, at gut level, regards itself as the custodian "of the African nationalist tradition", it believes that the ANC, under the influence of white and Indian liberals and leftists, has betrayed its nationalist roots for effete "multi-racialism".

The two organisations, however, have both gained from the emergence of the Front. The ANC by persuading the PAC to join it in tackling Mr de Klerk on the "terrain of negotiations" has protected its left flank from the PAC's cry of "sell out". The PAC by serving as a co-convenor of the ANC has boosted its claim to be on a par with the ANC in the struggle against apartheid.

Maxwell Ndamadivhanane, of the PAC, sums up the position and hopes of the two organisations with a metaphor "like fingers, they are separate but capable of forming a fist to strike the common enemy".

In the past, however, the "fingers" have wrestled with one another more often than closing to strike the enemy. The smell of power may rekindle their old rivalries. □

ANC condemns pupil expulsion

By Phil Molefe
Education Reporter

stay
1/11/91

The ANC has condemned the actions of the students' representative council at Lydenburg's Mashishing High which expelled members of the Democratic Party from school this week (11A)

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday it was not ANC policy to intimidate or threaten members of the DP or any other organisation.

"We do not condone such action and anyone who intimidates mem-

bers of other organisations can never claim to be acting for the ANC," Mr Macozoma said

He said there could never be a school for people who belonged to one ideology

"A school is for everybody and we cannot prescribe to people to belong to a particular organisation," Mr Macozoma added

The eastern Transvaal school came under the spotlight last week when the SRC ordered DP pupils to resign from the party or leave the school

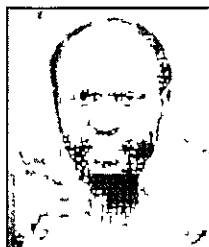
In the ensuing confrontation, DP members said they were dragged from exam rooms, their party T-shirts set alight, and on Monday were driven out of school and forced to write exams at an alternative venue

The pupils said they were victimised because of their political affiliation and claimed the SRC had links with the Congress of South African Students and the ANC Youth League

ANC Eastern Transvaal publicity secretary Jackson Mthembu denied the allegations.

Keeping an open mind

FM 1/11/91
11A



The ANC's Murphy Morobe, a former leader of the United Democratic Front, is a convener of the Patriotic Front.

FM What is the significance of last week's "Patriotic-United Front" agreement?

Morobe: For the first time, organisations which had not worked together or seen eye to eye, jointly arrived at a common approach to resolving the crisis in this country. One could say that it was an approach whose time has come, given that the regime has itself come round to accepting that it can talk to people who represent our oppressed communities. It was expected that the liberation movement should respond in kind.

Government described it as a ganging-up.

We reject that charge for its ridiculousness, especially coming from the National Party, which has a history of seeking to divide the black community. It reflects the typical NP government mindset that we, as blacks, are not capable of organising ourselves constructively and responsibly and it has the connotation of us being gangsters. **Do you have any reservations that the Inkatha Freedom Party is not part of the front?**

Our premise is that every organisation has the democratic right to decide what it wants to do. To the extent that the objective of the exercise was to put together those forces who see themselves as being on the other side of the power equation and wanting to pool resources to be able to contend for that power, I think any organisation would have to look at itself in relation to that equation.

It's up to the IFP to define where it sees

itself. If they want to come over and join the front — well, the front has left sufficient room for organisations to become part of the process. There should be no fear of being dominated: the declaration does allow for joint, several and even individual actions.

What about bringing Azapo back into the fold?

It's not an irreversible break. A constant theme at the conference was that it is going to be absolutely necessary for the front to seek ways of drawing in those organisations that have been left out. Azapo has given indications that it is willing to continue co-operating with various constituents of the front, this is a welcome sign. We look forward to Azapo being able to rejoin the key organisations involved here.

Can the agreement last, given the fundamental ideological differences between the ANC and the PAC?

There may be (such differences), but a most notable thing about the conference is that we moved from the premise that we understood our basic differences, ideological and otherwise, and, nevertheless, accepted that we needed to identify the major challenge of the time facing the liberation movement — that is, that we have arrived at a point in our history where the question of the transfer of power to the people is more than just a dream, but increasingly a matter of practical reality. It, therefore, became incumbent on the various parties to work out a way of narrowing their differences.

Individual organisations still retain the prerogative, where they don't find satisfaction in the collective approach, to attempt other solutions, while keeping in sight the broad strategic goal as set out in the declaration. It is a major advance in the way in which we are going to conduct our politics from now on. However, alliances or fronts like this one are only as strong as their

component parts want them to be and that's the test.

The front's main demand is for an elected constituent assembly to draw up the constitution. Is this not putting the cart before the horse?

There are a myriad of parties and organisations claiming to represent the people. We say that for any constitution to be of any value it must from the beginning be democratically stamped in terms of who will draw it up.

The question is whether you need an election to do that, or a different system. I'm still waiting to contemplate a different approach for establishing representivity. But our major position is that an elected one will be the most democratic way.

The important thing about the constituent assembly is that it will have a very specific task. From the way it's going to be set up it will be understood that it is not there to be the government, but to devise a constitution.

That does not detract from our approach, which sees the need for an interim government or transitional authority to ensure that, as the constitution-building process continues, orderly government does take place.

What we'll be putting forward at an all-party conference is a proposal as to who we think should constitute that interim government. It would need to have the broadest possible participation.

What about the idea of a committee of experts drawing up the constitution?

There's no doubt that you'd need people who are expert at constitution-drafting. However, you can't have those people locked away sweating somewhere and coming up with a constitution. We in the ANC have rejected that notion completely as unworkable. We want a method which will allow people to feel they have been participants. That is the cardinal principle.

Azapo outlines its stand

Sowetan 1/11/91

(11A)

AZAPO has had the time to study the documents and the declaration adopted at the end of the meeting in Durban and is now in a position to indicate its attitude towards the Patriotic Front/United Front.

Azapo wishes to state that the idea of forming a PF is in line with its long-standing policy and principles. To this end Azapo wishes to reiterate that,

The strength of our struggle and the liberation movement lies in the unity of the oppressed and exploited,

The overall strategy of the regime is to divide the liberation movement, namely Azapo, BCMA, ANC and PAC,

In this context the regime would find it convenient and advantageous to deal with a section of the liberation movement, excluding Azapo and the BCMA,

Azapo has always maintained that, before any contemplated talks with the regime the liberation movements must come together to plan and agree on the fundamental issues to be addressed,

To Azapo a front has always been a front to oppose and force the regime to relinquish power, and not a front necessarily to negotiate, and

Azapo therefore finds it disturbing that a Front that was formed in Durban will be entering negotiations with the regime within three weeks

The idea of a Constituent Assembly has been part and parcel of Azapo's programme since 1981, when it was adopted as part of Azapo's education policy document and subsequently became part of the National Forum Committee's Programme in 1984

Azapo is still committed to the constituent assembly and welcomes those organisations who have endorsed its campaign for the establishment of the CA

At its March 1990 National Congress, Azapo passed a resolution calling for a consultative conference of liberation movements and labour organisations to plan and lead the struggle

Azapo believes it is now time to enter into these kinds of consultations to enable the liberation movements to lead the struggle with the help and mandate of the working class

The Azanian People's Organisation did not take part in the Patriotic Front conference last weekend after being expelled as co-convenor by the PAC and ANC. Azapo president PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE (pictured right) outlines the organisation's position.

Azapo believes that before the liberation movements contemplate negotiating with the regime the working class should be involved in consultations with the liberation movements

The idea of a consultative forum as spelt out in the declaration of the conference, falls short of the consultation needed between the liberation movements and working-class organisations

The consultative forum contemplated will include even the owners of capital and those who come from the structures that are oppressing the working class - a contradiction indeed.

The position of Azapo on negotiations is well known, and this forms part of the Kadhoma document which was signed by Azapo, BCMA and the PAC. Azapo rejects talks about talks as not substantive

The only kind of negotiations that Azapo and the BCMA will be amenable to is to discuss the transfer of power from the minority to the majority through a constituent assembly. Such a meeting must take place at a neutral venue under an impartial mediator or chairperson

To this end Azapo welcomes the decision of the meeting in Durban on the question of the transfer of power from a minority to the majority. However, Azapo is surprised that the question of a neutral venue was not part of the declaration

Azapo wishes to reiterate its long-held position that a

transitional authority is essential to ensure that elections for a constituent assembly are free and just

However Azapo supports a transitional authority with the following features

A transitional authority must have limited duration, It must have its mandate clearly defined,

It must be ensured that the liberation movements and other organisations of the oppressed are not co-opted as co-managers of apartheid,

The regimes' armed forces, including the security forces, should be disarmed and quarantined

and The composition of the transitional authority must be agreed upon by the liberation movements and endorsed by the international community

Azapo rejects an all-party or multiparty conference, including any similar conference or talks

Azapo considers a fighting front of true patriots as the only legitimate vehicle towards the creation of a constituent assembly

Azapo believes that the recent Durban conference has confused the pre-constituent assembly conference with an all-party conference/multiparty confer-



ence

Further, Azapo believes that an allparty conference will undermine the efforts of the Patriotic Front. The regime aims to use such a conference to legitimate parties of its own choice and to throw confusion into

the entire transition period

The pre-constituent assembly conference as envisaged by Azapo, BCMA and as contained in the Kadhoma declaration, should take place at a neutral venue and under an independent mediator to discuss the transfer of power from the minority to the majority

Azapo regards its expulsion as unfortunate and wishes to state that up to now Azapo has not received a formal letter notifying it about its expulsion from the committee except through a media statement which is in our possession.

Azapo will welcome bilateral talks with the ANC and PAC aimed at restoring its rightful place. The PF/United Front and the expul-

sion of Azapo from the convening committee will be discussed at the national council meeting (of Azapo) to be held on November 9 and 10 in KwaNdebele

Azapo is still committed to joint campaigns with other liberation movements. However, where our programmes and activities do not coincide with those of others, Azapo has a democratic right to pursue its own direction, including propagation of its policies and principles

The conference that took place in Durban was denied an opportunity to listen to Azapo's proposals about the future of our country

No one can speak for Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole

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PAC report-back

By ALI MPHAKI

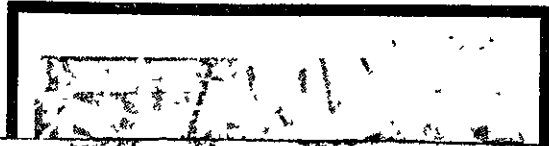
(11A)

PAN Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke will be among three speakers at an inter-branch meeting of all PAC branch executive committees in the West Rand region at Funda Centre, Soweto, on Sunday. *Sowetan 7/11/91*

Issues to be discussed include a report-back on the Patriotic Front conference in Durban last weekend.

Other speakers are PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and a Qibla leader.

The meeting starts at 9.30am.



ANC lashes out at Mashishing SRC

Sowetan 11/11/91
ANC publicity secretary for the Eastern Transvaal Mr Jackson Mthembu yesterday condemned a students representative council for expelling pupils who belonged to the Democratic Party

Mthembu hit out at the Mashishing High School SRC after a visit to the school - near Lydenburg - on Sunday by the DP to investigate allegations of discrimination against pupils belonging to the DP

When the DP met the SRC, the student body "refused to acknowledge that the DP was entitled to operate as a political party

and members were entitled to write exams"

Mthembu said "The politically naive decision by the Mashishing SRC to expel pupils because they belong to another political party goes against the principles of the ANC and civilised society, and, as such, is condemned."

He said the ANC had tried everything in its power to normalise the situation at the school

"These efforts were frustrated by the intransigence of local DP leader - *Sapa*

THE Pan Africanist Congress delegation was embarrassed to find itself crossing a picket line on its arrival for the Patriotic Front conference at the Malibu Hotel

Perhaps to its tactical advantage, the African National Congress delegation was spared by arriving late — a recurrence of what happened when the ANC leadership was to address the Press Club prior to the signing of the Groote Schuur Minute in Cape Town

Pickets — from the National and Allied Workers' Union and South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union — said they intended to use the conference as leverage in their campaign against retrenchment and casual labour, and it seemed to work.

An hour later the hotel entrance was cleared after an intervention by the PF liaison committee, recommending that the two parties enter into bona fide talks for an amicable resolution of the dispute

The incident symbolised the mood and the outcome of the conference, with all efforts directed at consolidation and the drawing together of various contradictory views

Indeed, midway through the conference, the ANC Women's League's Frene Ginwala, a member of the ANC support committee, complained that there were few female delegates at the talks. Hours later she was asked to chair a session while the main delegation went into caucus.

The conference drew more than the main players. As delegates arrived, onlookers and hotel staff thronged the hotel entrance

Some argued excitedly among themselves as they identified leaders alighting from their cars — and there were various models in different colours, from diplomatic limousines to homeland-registered Mercedes Benzes

Under an overcast sky and a light breeze, delegates withdrew into the concourse, finding their way up the plush staircase to take their seats in the conference room

Seating was arranged in a way that encouraged former antagonists to interact unavoidably with each other. Asking for the water jug to be passed can encourage personal friendships among political enemies

The Labour Party, led by Allan Hendrikse, seated at the front, was sandwiched by the liberation movements' leadership on stage and the ANC support delegation at the back. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer and Lebowa chief Nelson Ramodike were nicely cushioning the International Socialist Party of South Africa, from whom a radical voice was

frequently heard

Communists and nationalists, Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Jews as well as business people, traditional leaders, women and youth — all came together to portray a "people's parliament"

It was summed up by PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke "The Patriotic Front conference is the first of this nature since the Congress of the People in 1955"

Despite the wide diversity of viewpoints, Dullar Omar of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers argued for the conference to be conducted in the open "We are opposed to secret negotiations," he said. "By making deliberations of this conference open, we are setting an example"

Debate was cordial and frank, yet critical. The approach appeared to be one of scrutinising the various viewpoints and seeking to persuade one another to close ranks and speak with one voice

A hot argument revved over political parties' right to participate in working out the modalities of a new constitution — whether the forum should be two-sided or all-inclusive. In the thick of ideological polemics, the ANC's Jacob Zuma warned the conference of the lessons of Angola and Mozambique, where after independence "counter-revolutionary groups" like Unita believed they were justified in waging civil war because they had been excluded from the constitutional process

Although deliberations were serious, they had a humorous dimension as well — as when National Soccer League chairman Keith Kunene protested against time limits by reminding the conference that he was representing an organisation which allowed for "injury time"

Ramodike stunned the audience when he endorsed the argument that the government — including "we" in the homeland governments — could not be trusted to oversee the transition process. The deafening applause that followed the "confession" clearly reflected an earlier appeal by a PAC-aligned Qibla delegate that "it's better to compromise first among ourselves before making compromises with the regime"

Unlike the Conference for a Democratic Future, which was characterised by acrimony, debate in the PF conference was conducted in a "comradely" manner. The only walkout came from the Muslim delegation, and it wasn't a walkout — they were excused briefly for their Friday morning prayer, Jumuah

When
'please
pass
the
water'
can
break
the ice

w/ Mail 1/11-7/11/91
Cordial but frank was
the tone of last week's
Patriotic Front
conference in Durban.
HUBERT MATLOU
looks at some of the
highlights and humour

lack unity was trumpeted as the significant outcome of the Patriotic Front conference last weekend. But as the dust settles, it is increasingly apparent that the most important breakthrough is the entry of the Pan Africanist Congress into the negotiating process.

The compromise which marked the milestone agreement to convene an All-Party Conference (APC) saw the African National Congress skilfully sell its position to the PAC, and prompted the question whether this is to be an ANC-led front.

Intense closed-door negotiations between the ANC and PAC leadership on the second day of the Durban meeting preceded the breakthrough agreement to talk with the government soon about convening an APC.

The leadership entered closed talks after delegates had spent the morning heatedly debating the nature of an APC — or Pre-Constituent Assembly Conference, as the PAC calls it — and seemingly heading into deadlock.

The PAC was mooted a conference with a united front opposing the government and its allies.

However, the ANC rejected such a "two-sided" forum, arguing for multi-party representation at a conference, where organisations would act independently.

Rounding the multi-sided table

The resultant declaration, as ANC NEC member Ismail Ebrahim commented, is "silent on the issue". It merely talks about "unity in action and unity of purpose as a front where there is consensus" but stipulates "organisations can act independently where they differ".

And although the declaration uses ANC and PAC terminology, the PAC's tough line presented at the conference is watered down. The original thesis to have a front "speaking with one voice and addressing common demands" is forgotten.

Still, the PAC is not admitting a shift in its position. Foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim maintained: "We are going to the (conference) as a front." General secretary Benny Alexander added they would act as a front on certain issues.

The ANC, meanwhile, is quite willing to act in unison where there is consensus — and it succeeded, according to Ismail Ebrahim, in achieving a common understanding on the concepts of an interim government and constituent assembly.

The PF conference did more than unite disparate organisations. It actually began the process of the transfer of power.
By CASSANDRA MOODLEY

But it is evident that the ANC has not compromised. Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa reiterated the position at the end of the conference: "The front cannot be the negotiating body of all organisations represented at this conference. The PAC has agreed it is not a two-sided table. It is a multi-sided table."

The ANC's Ismail Ebrahim clarified why it was not in the organisation's interests to be tied to a unified front at the negotiating table: "We have our own programme, our own constitutional proposals and we must be free to take the initiative where we feel such initiatives are required. We don't want to be bound by some type of front."

Here he cited the 1989 Harare Declaration on a negotiated settlement which the ANC supported, despite opposition from the PAC and

Azanian People's Organisation. "With the Harare Declaration we took the initiative and moved the political process forward." The question then is: has the ANC accelerated the negotiating process again by winning the PAC over at the weekend meeting?

University of Cape Town political scientist David Welsh says: "The PAC has in fact come down off the fence... into the negotiation process. And this implies that they have to back off or modify some of their earlier positions. This is not a bad compromise."

But to understand how the ANC succeeded in winning the PAC over, one has to look at the ANC's reasons for entering the PF.

Welsh points out that the ANC was looking at the "electoral pact somewhere down the line — in a way a gangging-up of organisations."

The ANC wanted to reach consensus on the interim government and constituent assembly issue as well as to sell its relatively moderate stand on the nature of the APC and future negotiations.

As Ismail Ebrahim says, while the ANC had advocated an APC in its January 9 anniversary statement and even discussed the issue with the government, it hoped the PF would strengthen its negotiating hand. He is also quite clear on the ANC's determination to go to such a conference.

The PAC had to agree to a multi-sided conference while the ANC did "everything we could to persuade them to see our point", according to Ramaphosa.

And, says Wits University head of political science Alf Stadler, if the PAC did not attend such multi-table talks "it would not get a bite of the political cherry."

Welsh adds that the outcome of the Patriotic Front conference also "ended the historic enmity between the ANC and PAC which dates to

the 1950s". The shift in the PAC position also signals a wider rift between Azapo and the PAC. He says that had Azapo been at the conference, the tone of compromise would have been less likely.

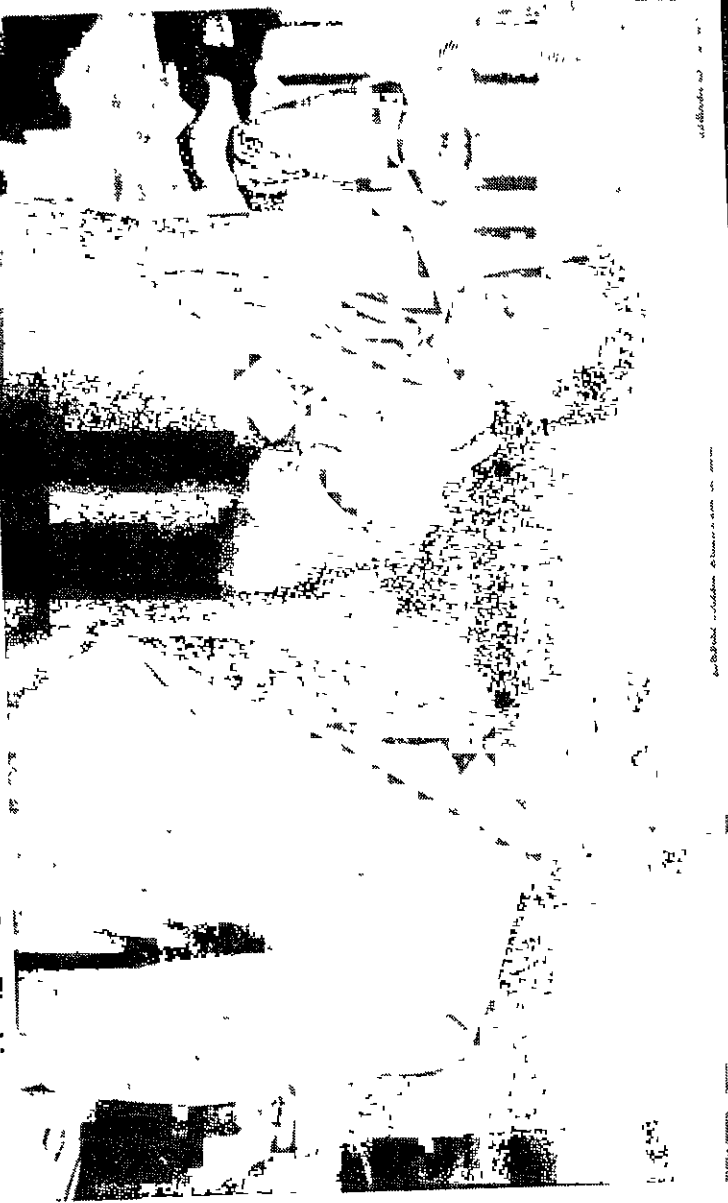
While the ANC seem to agree with the PAC that an All-Party Conference should be convened by an independent neutral convener, Ismail Ebrahim adds: "The first APC should take place inside the country in full view of the people."

The vague joint agreement talks about an independent neutral convener which Alexander said means a neutral venue — outside the country.

The ANC has skilfully shifted the political balance to bring negotiations steps closer. Its leaders are predicting that the process of transfer of power has now seriously begun.

The strength of their predictions will be measured by the success of the APC which will discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly, broad constitutional principles, the interim government, the international community's role and the re-incorporation of banisters.

A joint liaison committee set up at the conference will be wooing organisations like Azapo and the Inkatha Freedom Party to join the front before it reconvenes in six months.



Brothers in arms ... The ANC's Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and the PAC's Gora Ebrahim
Photo: RARS MAYER

20% of repair costs 'wasted'

DAVE LOURENS

SA COMPANIES wasted a fifth of the R25bn they spent annually on plant maintenance and repair work, it was claimed yesterday

P-E Corporate Services MD Martin Westcott said yesterday this was the result of poor staff utilisation, the unavailability of skills, wastage and poor inventory control

Economic success, he told the Maintenance Management Convention in Johannesburg, required high productivity and a sound education system

"We are finding new job opportunities for less than 10% of our aspirant workers," said Westcott.

"The causes have included a static or no-growth economy, an education system which has almost collapsed, unrealistic salary and wage inflation, and international sanctions

"The results have included more visible and violent trade union activity, a severe economic recession and

rising levels of crime and violence
"Performance improvements in the years ahead will depend on our ability to achieve a balance between our First World needs and Third World realities," said Westcott

Engineers would become increasingly concerned with several key issues. They would need to implement job deskilling schemes to maximise the use of a diminishing pool of technically skilled resources

Semi-skilled resources would need to be trained to assume more meaningful and productive tasks and responsibilities

Engineers had to design workable, cost-effective maintenance policies, and implement simple but effective management and control systems

A more structured approach to deciding when to use sophisticated technology had to be adopted

ANC women hit at UCT attitudes

CAPE TOWN — The ANC Women's League has rejected black male University of Cape Town students' defence of sexual violence against women as "blatant oppression"

League spokesman Nomatyala Hangana said a new revolution — for the liberation of women — had started in SA

The league was reacting to claims by black men students in a UCT report on sexual harassment that it was their "customary right" to control women, even through physical violence.

Hangana said: "It puzzles one to hear men say that it is customary to discipline wives by beating them. It is not our tradition. It is nothing but blatant oppression. A massive task lies ahead of us" — Sapa. B1 Day 1/11/91

8/10-3 1/11/91

CA

The politics of pa

'My concern is that the human drive for fulfillment be realised in this world, not in so

Spw 2/11/91

QUIET spoken Joe Slovo is a thoughtful person able to speak at length on a number of topics

He has a keen interest in religion and the origins of belief, while being eager to explain his secular humanism and materialistic understanding of life. This left me, as a theologian, feeling that despite some differences, I was in dialogue with a kindred spirit.

To the theologian, much of what Slovo says sounds a bit like theology in secular dress.

Yet clearly he is operating from a different premise.

He has what he calls "a bent for a scientific approach to reality".

His case is simply stated "I cannot prevent a scientific argument for the non-existence of God, but then neither can I prove the existence of God".

Having listened to his views on life, his socialistic vision and understanding of religion, I suggested he might be "a kind of believing unbeliever".

Thinking for a moment, he responded "In the sense that I believe in the roots of faith and understand its driving energy, I think that is a pretty neat way of describing me".

Slovo rejects as unMarxist the notion that religion is the opiate of the people. When elevated to the status of a general statement on all religion, it is "unMarxist, because it is undialectical and unscientific" he says.

The anti-religious stance of Marxism on religion, he insists, emerged as a critique of the specific crimes committed in the name of a specific kind of religion, which undervalued economic greed and political exploitation.

"To the extent, he continues, "that religion distracts the attention of the poor away from the causes of their oppressive social conditions on earth by directing their attention to a future reward in heaven, religion is the opium of the people".

But he agrees that not all religion serves this end.

"There are, in fact, many different Gods," he says, "the God of Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop Tutu, Frank Chikane and others, and also the God of Verwoerd and his cohorts — as well as the Gods of an array of

religionists who use other more subtle ways of subverting the struggle of the oppressed."

Fascinated with the religion of Jesus, his challenge to the church is that it return to its origins, relocating itself like Jesus on the side of the poor and the marginalised in society. "From my perspective," he continues, "the Sermon on the Mount comes very close to a socialist manifesto".

He sees Jesus as a liberation leader in every sense of the term who resorted to such tactics of struggle as the situation required. Reflecting on the New Testament story, he points out that "When Jesus's disciples faced danger He advised them to sell their cloaks and buy swords. When hunted by the state He withdrew underground. When entering Jerusalem shortly before His arrest

He sought the protection of the masses".

Slovo is quite sure that "the religion of Jesus is no opiate". Then with a wry smile he adds "I am no theologian, but I'm wondering whether Jesus would not at least have understood Operation Vula as something that was demanded by our context".

Moving on from Slovo's exegetical forays into the New Testament, his understanding of the human quest for fulfillment is tough but not uncompromising.

"Religion teaches us that God made people in His or Her image. That notion needs to be stood on its feet. I believe it is rather the human collective that made God in its image".

He suggests that humanity has projected "into the heavens" what it has not been able to accomplish on earth. The notion of a perfect God and a world to come within which poverty and tyranny are defeated, is for Slovo a manifestation of the sense of human powerlessness that has emerged over the millennia.

"What Marxism has done," he argues, "is to take the human longing for the perfect society and incorporated it into a socialist vision. It has turned an other-worldly religious notion into a political programme".

"Sure there are weaknesses, sometimes called sinful dimensions, to the



"I cannot prevent a scientific argument for the non-existence of God, but then neither can I prove the existence of God."



"What Marxism has done is take the human longing for the perfect society and incorporated it into a socialist vision."



BELIEVING UNBELIEVER: Joe Slovo talks to CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO, Professor of Religion and Society at the University of Cape Town.

human character such as greed and the lust for power. That is partly why democracy is so important. It is an important antidote against tyranny, a dangerous possibility that lies deep within the human spirit.

"But I also believe in the greatness of the human spirit, the ability of humanity to build a paradise on earth, at least in the sense of putting together a society that is a vast improvement on what is seen in either the capitalist world or the former socialist countries of Eastern

Europe and the Soviet Union. I am an unrehabilitated utopian, and intend remaining one until the day I die".

Slovo points to the coalescence of the social visions of true Christians, Jews, Muslims and socialists. "Of course we have all fallen short in translating our visions into practice. But that does not invalidate the visions".

He believes there is a need for religious people to rediscover the moral vision that constitutes the

roots of all great religions. Similarly, it is the task of socialists to acknowledge the failure of socialist countries, return to basics, and ask what the socialist dream means in present historical circumstances.

"Without a socialist vision," he argues, "I believe the world will be a poorer place". "his of an important part of what 'he religious traditions of our country are all about".

I asked Slovo to explain the source of his restlessness. "What drives you? Does the word 'transcendence

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IEVING UNBELIEVER: Joe Slovo talks to CHARLES VILLA-VICENCIO, Professor of Religion and Society at the University of Cape Town.

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roots of all great religions. Similarly, it is the task of socialists to acknowledge the failure of socialist countries, return to basics, and ask what the socialist dream means in present historical circumstances. "Without a socialist vision," he argues, "I believe the world will be a poorer place" "his of an important part of what 'he religious traditions of our country are all about" I asked Slovo to explain the source of his restlessness "What drives you? Does the word 'transcendence'

have only one meaning for you?" His reply was decisive "I have a sense of human transcendence I am driven by the incompleteness of society I have a vision of what society can and ought to become, which functions as a lure, drawing me into social engagement" Rejecting any suggestion that he might be seen by some as a martyr or hero, he insists that life is a two-way process "You get out of it what you put into" He regards himself as having lived a privileged life, despite the tragedies and suffering he has endured "To pursue a goal and to be driven by a cause is a glorious and fulfilling thing. When that goal and cause are recognised by global consensus to be right, noble and good, one can only be grateful to have been some small part of it"

And what is the nature of that goal? "First and foremost it is a non racial, non sexist, democratic South Africa. The struggle for socialism is a longer term project. Asked why he is an atheist, the reply came quickly "Because I fundamentally believe our fate is in our own hands rather than being determined by some mysterious force outside of history"

I suggested to him that the Biblical God is to be found within history — a dynamic spiritual presence that drives the human soul and history itself towards completion, emancipation and hope. He responds "Well, that is pretty close to what I tried to say earlier. My concern is that the human drive for fulfillment be realised in an age of equality, in a situation where morality and caring for one another is executed in a concrete and practical manner in this world, not in some distant world-to-come."

"There is, I believe, a certain drive to this kind of fulfillment which is part of the human soul — a notion which I employ in a non-religious sense! Maybe I need to say I am agnostic rather than an atheist" Slovo insists on the absolute freedom of religion "It is an essential ingredient of democracy" "I totally and completely support the freedom of religion I have no desire whatsoever to deny anyone

the right to believe or the right to practice their religion

"I ask only that atheists and agnostics be afforded the same right, without prejudice or censure"

Raised a Jew in a Lithuanian village ghetto, Slovo was educated in a school run by the local rabbi. "I had the Bible drummed into my head over and over again"

Not sure that he ever fully grasped what the rabbi was getting at it provided him with a sense of belonging and self identity in the face of the anti semitism of the time

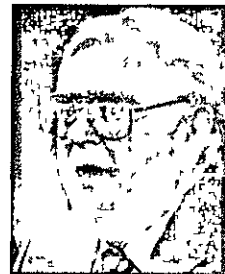
His mother died shortly after he emigrated to South Africa with his family at the age of nine, and he went through the ritual of saying prayers for the dead

"While other boys were playing football, I had an irrational sense of obligation to repeat the same prayers over and over again"

"That I think is where my religious doubts began"

Compelled to leave school at the age of 13 he found employment as a dispatch clerk, becoming involved in the labour movement and the Communist Party

He later graduated with a BA LLB degree from the University of the Witwatersrand



"There are, in fact, many different Gods — the God of Trevor Huddleston and also the God of Verwoerd and his cohorts."



"I fundamentally believe our fate is in our own hands rather than being determined by some mysterious force outside of history."

The religion of Slovo's childhood is no more than a distant memory. A static religion can not cope with the demands of a dynamic life. Asked to comment on the challenge facing religious institutions in South Africa, his says tellingly "It has some thing to do with reaffirming their roots. It is to replicate in the contemporary context the liberating dimensions which are the foundation of religious aspirations. Marxists and religious people owe one another a whole bunch of mea culpas. We actually have a hell of a lot in common"

Slovo is reminded of one of Lenin's conciliatory comments on religion "We must stop arguing about whether or not there is a paradise in heaven. Whatever we may believe about that matter, let's build a paradise on earth"

"That's about where I am at," he says "And should I eventually discover that there is a paradise in heaven, that would be a bonus"

ANC's R^{1/2}m lobby

STimes 3/11/91
□ From Page 1



READY TO LOBBY ... Walter Fauntroy

pastor of the New Bethel Baptist Church in Washington, was a founding member of the Free South Africa movement which spearheaded passage of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

As chairman of a House subcommittee overseeing international banking, he also pushed to step up US financial sanctions on SA and tighten restrictions on SA access to the IMF.

Although he is influential in the powerful AME Baptist Church, he is not regarded as an astute politician.

Many observers were stunned by his decision to abandon his safe seat in Congress in hopes of succeeding Washington's disgraced Mayor Marion Barry.

His campaign was a disaster.

In 1984, he stunned a delegation of black South African trades unionists — including Cosatu's Jay Naidoo — by bursting into song at a conference held by the AFL-CIO.

Halfway through a keynote luncheon address, he suddenly launched into a stirring rendition of Frank Sinatra's *To Dream the Impossible Dream*.

At the recent Notre Dame conference between the ANC and US business representatives, Fauntroy suggested US companies co-ordinate their SA plans through the ANC's representatives in Washington.

This idea did not receive universal acclamation from the businessmen.

Insurance giant to sponsor Ramaphosa's birthday bash

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa will be honoured with a lavish farewell and birthday party — courtesy of the Southern Life insurance company

Company sources confirmed the party would be held for Mr Ramaphosa, former general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, at the Old Edwardian's Club in Houghton, Johannesburg, on November 17

They said the NUM had approached the company to sponsor the event. Originally 500 people were to

By STEPHANIE HULL

have attended, but the guest list has since been trimmed to 250. Guests will be treated to a braai and an open bar from 10am until late that night.

Sources at Southern Life said the company had decided to sponsor the event because "the NUM has a provident fund with us which provides benefits for about 300 000 members. It was felt it would be beneficial to future business."

Southern Life is organising the event and has sent

out the invitations. It has budgeted R20 000 to cover costs.

But a NUM spokesman said the event was "very private" and had been paid for mainly by NUM staff members from their "own pockets".

She said some individuals and companies connected with Mr Ramaphosa had also provided "small sponsorships" and that an official party would be held for Mr Ramaphosa in January next year.

A spokesman for Southern, Mrs Lorraine Sassenberg, said she could not comment.

ANC's bill of rights Utopian, says Law Commission

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

THE SA Law Commission has dismissed as unenforceable ANC demands that a bill of rights should compel the state to provide minimum standards of health, education and shelter.

The Law Commission's draft bill of rights, released last night, also differed markedly from that of the ANC on the key issue of affirmative action.

While the ANC's proposed bill of rights envisages a redistribution of wealth, the Law Commission wants affirmative action limited to a vigorous programme of upliftment and guarantees of equal opportunity.

The ANC had argued that certain socio-economic heads were so basic as to constitute the foundation of human rights claims.

These were rights to nutrition, health, shelter, employment and a minimum income. The ANC proposed that a bill of rights required the state

into a serious constitutional crisis.

Furthermore, the state's inability to fulfill socio-economic rights included in a bill of rights would undermine the credibility of the bill as a whole.

The commission instead proposed that certain socio-economic or "second generation" rights be protected in such a manner that they could not be infringed by the state.

The report listed these rights under the categories of general rights, employee rights and employer rights. But, in effect, what it proposed was the elevation of existing labour legislation into fundamental human rights.

An example of a general right was that all people could join a union and would be able to take legal action against the state if it attempted to prevent them from doing so.

Employee rights included the right to work in safe conditions, the right to

reasonable work hours, and the right to strike.

Employer rights included the right to expect adequate production of an acceptable quality from workers, the right to apply the principle of "no scab" labour and the right to protection from unfair labour practices.

The Law Commission also proposed that all rights defined by the bill of rights be used as guidelines or directive principles by the state in the planning and execution of legislative, executive and administrative programmes.

The ANC's clause on affirmative action stated that: "Nothing in the constitution shall prevent the enactment of legislation, or the adoption by any public or private body, of special measures of a positive kind designed to procure the advancement and the opening up of opportunities, including access to education, skills,

employment and land, and the general advancement in social, economic and cultural spheres of men and women who in the past have been disadvantaged by discrimination."

In its report, the Law Commission said the ANC proposals would make reverse discrimination possible and appeared to be aimed at paving the way for a redistribution of wealth.

The commission said it was unacceptable to take things away from one person and give them to another. It was also unacceptable that some people could be favoured at the expense of others.

The lesson to be learned from affirmative action under other constitutional systems was that it could only be justified if it was aimed at the realisation of the principle of equal opportunities for all.

It added: "A serious warning must be sounded against the misuse of the concept of affirmative action in an

attempt to justify the nationalisation of land, or any redistribution of minerals, land and other assets

"Any attempt to lend juridical respectability to nationalisation and redistribution under the banner of affirmative action will simply not succeed"

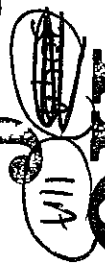
Such an attempt, it said, would effectively make the whole institution of affirmative action suspect and elicit resistance to it.

Rather, it said, the aim of an affirmative action clause in a bill of rights should be to authorise legislative programmes aiming to guarantee that all people were afforded equal opportunities in realising their potential.

The commission's view of affirmative action was not one of reverse discrimination or retribution, but a vigorous programme of upliftment and guarantees of equal opportunity.

ANC has nothing to fear from federalism

5 Times 3/11/91

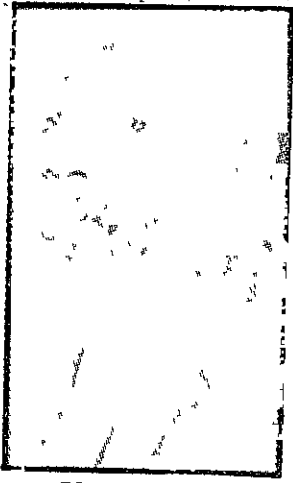


ZOLA SKWEYIYA's letter in defence of the ANC's centralised unitary policy and against federalism (October 13) invites strong criticism

Notwithstanding the favourable comments by members of the ANC's committee on their return from Germany where they apparently learned for the first time that federalism is not devoid of merit, or perhaps in response to this threatening notion, Mr Skweyiya tries to debunk federalism in SA

First, he claims that federations "normally work where they evolve historically", that "they result from independent states coming together and surrendering part of their sovereignty while retaining a part for themselves" But while this is often true, it is not necessarily so — witness Australia

But let's be generous in accepting Mr Skweyiya's assertion for now, and ask How does South Africa stand? In the last century what is now SA comprised a number of subject, quasi-autonomous and totally independent political entities including a centralised Zulu kingdom, a British colony, a British protector-



ZOLA SKWEYIYA
Off the mark

ate, and two independent Boer republics Their coming together to form SA amply fulfilled Mr Skweyiya's conditions for the formation of a federal as opposed to a unitary state

Second, he asks "Why federalism at this time in our history?", as though it is something new But what is new about it? Federalism was the major topic on the agenda at the 1910 Union conference

The point is that federalism subsequently became a dirty word precisely because it was expediently,

though illogically, associated with apartheid by those whose political instincts were then (and perhaps still are) supportive of the command systems of the socialist bloc

And, lest we forget the NP, their rejection was because the implementation of the social engineering associated with their command state equally required a unitary state

Argument

Third, Mr Skweyiya's warning that federalism encourages ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's hoary old argument of suggesting ethnicity must be stopped by all means — witness the ANC's 1988 Constitutional Guidelines outlawing the promotion of ethnicity and regionalism

To the ANC, because apartheid promotes ethnicity, and federalism does likewise, then federalism is *ipso facto* evil!

But what credence can we really give the ANC's position? Yes, Mr Skweyiya talks of ethnicity in multi-national Yugoslavia, and Nigeria, etc as problematic, which it is But Nigeria is also beset by religious and regional sectionalism, and Yugoslavia

should never have come into being as a state in any event

He talks of the negative results of federalism in India and the Soviet Union as though a unitary approach would have resolved their ethnic problems If federalism is the problem, would the ANC explain what the ethnic problem is in multi-national federal Switzerland?

Or perhaps how the unitary Turkish, Iraqi and Iranian states have managed to resolve the Kurdish problem? Indeed, how can Mr Skweyiya even use the term "multi-national" unless he accepts precisely that ethnicity is a fact of life that cannot be wished away

Fictitious

Fourth, Mr Skweyiya's linking the ANC's opposition to colonialism and apartheid with its scepticism over federation encouraging ethnicity takes us back to the ANC's fundamental position of equating ethnicity and apartheid

Yes, apartheid was premised upon promoting black ethnicity (and white racialism rather than white ethnicity), but no, the reverse hardly holds true

Ethnicity is an important international problem precisely because the idealised basis of the modern nation-state has been more fictitious than concrete.

And in the face of a negative minority and ethnic perceptions of the ANC, the organisation's leadership is having to try to admit that its rigidity is counter-productive. Thus Mr Mandela's admission that coloureds wanting to be represented by coloureds is not unnatural

Whatever Zola Skweyiya and the ANC's constitutional committee believe then, there is nothing intrinsically anti-democratic or pro-apartheid about federalism. — PETER SMITH, Inkatha Institute, Durban.

FW MEETS NELSON

ST Times 2/11/91
PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met for more than two hours at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday. Mr De Klerk's office said the two had discussed a wide range of issues.

Observers believe they probably tried to resolve their differences following a recent verbal exchange. *(S)* *NA*

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Early steps to forming a party picked by members of the public about the late of

Italians raise R10m to house returning exiles

THEO RAWANA

5/Dec 4/11/91

A NEW organisation, set up for the educational and charitable upliftment of the poor in SA, moved into gear this week with a R10m Italian government-funded project to house returning exiles.

The Matla Trust, which was established in October last year, was an autonomous, non-partisan organisation drawing members from different political, educational, business, church and other organisations, said executive director Billy Modise yesterday.

A brainchild of the ANC and funded by local and overseas donors, the organisation was assigned the task of setting up practical programmes from catering for returning politicians to preparing South Africans for the new age.

One project the trust was to embark on soon was the Education for Democracy programme, which would generally prepare South Africans for the new democracy.

"SA is changing fast and, if there were to be an election now, there would be a lot of voters who were disqualified for some procedural and tactical mistakes," Modise said.

"Organisations which took on the task of educating people on the electoral system would be doing that to satisfy their own

raised to prove... committed the... in the indict... e arose from a... investment of... Moringe's two... nsport Invest... el Aircraft In...

Granting the application, Mr Justice Zuluani accepted that Allied had neither invested in nor intended to invest in Moringe's companies.

He also found no evidence of fraudulent non-disclosures on the part of the bank. The judge said the fact that Allied lent the funds used to purchase the firm and the foreign company did not make the bank the investor.

It was not a requirement of the Reserve Bank approval, he said, that the foreign company had to use its own funds.

Referring to the State evidence and documentation before him, Mr Justice Zuluani rejected the State's interpretation of the Reserve Bank approval.

The judge also found the Reserve Bank authority did not specify the foreign investor had to be Agroprojekt.

He also found that Allied's use of its overseas account to loan the funds did not contravene the exchange control regulations.

PAC seeks early talks date

THE PAC at the weekend told Commonwealth secretary-general Emeke Anyaoku that a meeting with government should be convened within weeks to discuss the all-party/pre-constituent assembly conference.

The PAC met Anyaoku for talks in Johannesburg on Saturday afternoon. In a statement after the talks, the PAC said they would discuss the date, venue and an independent convenor for the first concrete step in the constitutional talks — Sapa.

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11A

DP welcomes Chiluba's election

By Kaizer Nyatsunaba
Political Staff

The Democratic Party yesterday welcomed the election of Frederick Chiluba as Zambia's new president, saying it was "right" that former President Kenneth Kaunda was removed from power "at this time".

In an interview with The Star, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said Dr Kaunda, like many leaders of his generation, "fell under the spell of socialists and believed that politicians, by interfering in a major way with the economic process, could help the disadvantaged people".

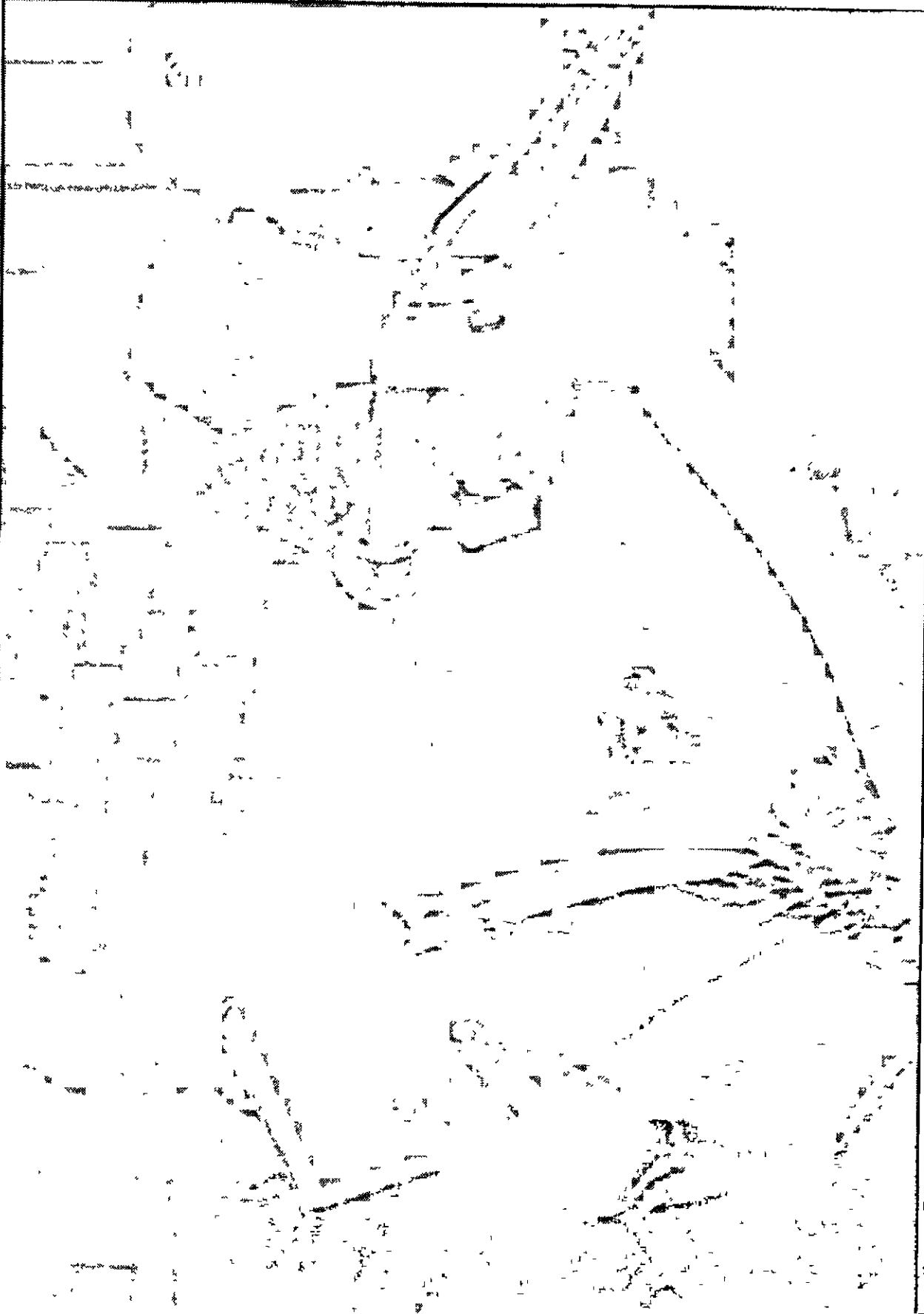
Dr de Beer, who said Dr Kaunda had been a "good friend" of his when he lived in Zambia, said events in Zambia, eastern Europe and the Soviet Union had clearly shown the failures of socialism.

ANC head of information and publicity Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC's national executive committee would comment on the election later.

Azania People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolohodwe, who said he knew President Chiluba when both were trade unionists, told The Star Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement would send Mr Chiluba a message of congratulations today.

Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Suzanne Vos said her party wished President Chiluba well and applauded Dr Kaunda and his party for "accepting the will of the people".

● Shouldering Zambia's burdens — Page 11



oath . Zambia's newly elected President Frederick Chiluba is sworn in by Chief Justice Annel Silungwa in Lusaka.

Picture AP

Negotiate on housing: ANC

THE ANC announced yesterday it is trying to establish a national housing and development negotiating forum

ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Thozamile Botha, at a housing conference in Durban, called on the Government to commit itself to discussion on the matter without preconditions

He did not supply further details on the proposed forum

Botha said the ANC believed that the Government had to stop privatising State-owned land during the country's transition. Instead this land should be transferred to a democratically controlled land or housing trust or be held by the State until agreement was reached on a process of land redistribution.

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Sowetan Land ownership 6/11/91

"It does not make sense for any Government to proclaim housing as a basic right while continuing to completely privatise delivery systems and land ownership," said Botha.

He explained that the ANC was still developing a housing policy, which is to be guided by the Freedom Charter. The organisation may adopt a "mixed housing delivery strategy", he said.

"This could mean public rented accommodation, private sector housing tenure, public/private sector housing tenures, or co-operative housing tenures," Botha said. "The security of tenure will depend on urban land ownership and State housing policy" - Sapa



ANC prepares for election

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The ANC is preparing
for a non-racial election
campaign.

ANC spokesman Mr
Carl Niehaus said most
of the organisation's 900
branches were address-
ing potential problems
associated with such a
campaign.

Statistics show that at
end-September, there
were 5,5 million regis-
tered white, coloured
and Indian voters.

Central Statistical Ser-
vice figures show the
number of blacks aged
over 18 is more than
double, at 11,5 million.

'ANC's Vula structures

stay secret'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A "substantial" part of the underground structures established by "Operation Vula" had not yet been exposed, according to Mr Siphwe Nyanda, the uMkhonto weSizwe commander who led the operation

Interviewed in the magazine Work in Progress, Mr Nyanda said the ANC had been "building an enormous underground", which "gave a morale boost to our people and scared the hell out of the government"

The operation had been geared to "locate a national (ANC) leadership inside South Africa"

Vula operatives interviewed said the operation, and mass actions, had convinced the government of the need to pursue negotiations

East Cape ANC congress shake-up

The Argus Correspondent (11A) ARC 6/11/91

PORT ELIZABETH — In a regional leadership shake-up, the ANC East Cape congress has voted out all but one of five executive members

Mr Benson Fihla was soundly beaten for the chairmanship by Umkhonto we Sizwe member Mr Linda Richmond Mti, recently returned from exile

Mr Fihla was elected an additional member, however

The vice-chairman is Mr Thobile Mhlahlo, also a former exile, who is also regional education officer for Cosatu

Secretary general Mr Gugile Nkwinti was the only one of the top five to retain his post

The vice-secretary is Mr Bongani Gxilishe and attorney Mr Glen Goosen is treasurer.

In his acceptance speech, Mr Mti said the executive would give attention particularly to bridging the gap between urban and rural ANC

Others elected to the regional executive are: K Moodley, S Sizane, M Xego, M Mangcotywa, P Msuthu, S Macina, K Mhlana, B Fihla, M Jantjes, W Kani, P Vena, M Bakubaku, V Kwenana, D Hato and S Gqobani

Frenzy greets ANC boss in Ghana

ACCRA - ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela arrived in Ghana on Monday night to begin a three-day official visit

Mandela, leading an 11-member delegation, was met at the airport by the Ghanaian leader, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings. By 7.45pm, a large crowd of people from all walks of life had gathered at the airport to await their arrival.

Frenzy

11A

The crowd went into a frenzy at 9pm when the aircraft touched the tarmac. When the ANC leader stepped out of the plane, he drew wild cheers. Immediately after he set foot on the tarmac, Rawlings and Mandela fell into a warm embrace. An eight-year-old girl presented Mandela with a bouquet, after which a state functionist poured libation to thank the gods for the visitors' safe arrival.

NELSON MANDELA

Mandela, accompanied by Rawlings, then exchanged greetings with officials who had assembled to welcome him.

As they proceeded to the VIP lounge there were loud cheers from the crowd which had converged at the top of the balcony of the airport. Drumming and dancing continued until he left the airport at 9.30pm.

Sowetan Africa News Serv.

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ANC prepares for election

THE ANC is busy laying the groundwork for a non-racial election campaign, according to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus

GERALD REILLY
and DARIUS SANAI

He said most of the ANC's 900 branches were looking at potential problems associated with fighting such an election

Niehaus said voter registration would be an enormous task. A massive effort, including an awareness campaign, would have to be made to get all eligible voters onto the roll. *B10am 6/11/91*

Studies had been made of international election procedures and preparations which would ensure the ANC was well prepared when the time came.

A Home Affairs spokesman said there were more than 9-million blacks with ID books — 73% of the projected 12,5-million blacks over the age of 16 in SA.

He said a campaign was needed to get

the rest to register.

Latest statistics show that at end-September this year there were 5,5-million registered white, coloured and Asian voters. White voters totalled 3,3-million

Central Statistical Service figures show the number of blacks over 18 is more than double, at 11,5-million

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said preparing for black participation in SA's first one-man, one-vote election could take until the end of the century

He said the current register could be used as a base for compiling an electoral roll for a future non-racial general election, but the matter would have to be resolved by political groups when they finally began negotiations

Venter calls for new social legislation

PRETORIA — A new approach to social legislation should be considered, Health Minister Rina Venter suggested yesterday.

"That means stronger focus should be placed on the development of people, families and communities"

She told a think-tank on care for the handicapped that existing Acts should be made into one umbrella Act with subordinate Acts.

At this stage 1,6% of GNP was spent on welfare services. It should, however, be increased to 3,2% and money should be made available to primary social welfare services, especially in underdeveloped communities, she said

This would facilitate the task of players in the field, since they would no longer have to search through various statutes for appropriate legislation

"In a Third World country which is endeavouring to make primary social services available and accessible to all its inhabitants, it is inevitable that both government and the private sector will bear a heavy financial burden"

Umbrella legislation would form an integrated part of the programmes offered by the welfare system *B10am 6/11/91*

Venter said that without neglecting the secondary and tertiary services, more funds should be made available for primary services

She said an aspect that needed attention was that people who could afford social services should be made to pay. — Sapa

HEATHER ROBERTSON reports on a UWC workshop that tackled unconscious prejudices:

Unlearning racial hatred

South 7/11-13/11/91
GROUP OF MARIMBA PLAYERS in skirts and beads are enthralled by a crowd in Cape Town with their pounding rhythms "Look at those monkey's", comments a white spectator to an Indian man beside him

On the day of Nelson Mandela's release, white and coloured activists were shouted down by a few black men who said "We are black and we have suffered, this is our leader, not yours," subsequently threatening them with an onslaught of the black race against "settlers and sellouts".
Mannenburg residents recently signed a petition in protest against the Tambo square squatters on a vacant plot in their area

Racism, discrimination and prejudice are part of the psyche of South Africans. It is the internalised disease inherited from 339 years of apartheid. Last month a group of adult educators at the Centre for Adult and Continuing Education (CACE) at the University of the Western Cape decided to take the racist bull by the horns by hosting a workshop called "Challenging Racism".

Twenty seven university staff and adult educators from churches, trade unions and educational institutions were taken through a grueling five days where they were confronted with their own prejudices as well as institutional racism. While this kind of work is not going to stop racial bigotry or prejudice it does make an attempt to acknowledge the problem and pose solutions, even if only in the



A DYING BREED? Will this type of sentiment continue

The workshop method, based on counselling where there is equal time for all participants, explored the root of discrimination, not only between black and white but also between ethnic categories such as coloureds, Xhosas, Zulus and Indians. Although people in these groups are prejudiced, it is only whites who are racist argues Zanda "We do not consider discrimination between, say, coloureds and Africans as racism. All racism, who experience racism are not racist, who experience racism are not racist, who experience racism are not racist, who experience racism are not racist, who experience racism are not racist."

position of being more advanced than other groups
"With internalised racism, when someone treats you in a racist way you start operating from a position that is inferior," says Zanda
Challenging racism has to happen on two fronts, says Zanda

"Racists need to look at domination, how they have internalised the belief that they have the right to dominate. We try and encourage people to look at when and why they dominate"
"On the other hand, people who suffer the brunt of racism often believe that they are the only ones operating from a position of inferiority. Once in a group they are empowered by recognising others' experience"

Zanda ran anti-racist workshops in Canada for five years
"In Canada I also dealt with the issue of a white system which acts against Vietnamese, Chinese, Indians and Palestinians," she said
"In South Africa workshops of this nature are different because we are trying to change the power structure so that everybody can have access"

This method of challenging racism is remarkably similar to the Black Consciousness programmes of the seventies which emphasised black pride and self assertion
Zanda argues the reason why people dropped Black Consciousness was because whites became extremely threatened

"White people benefited by encouraging coloureds and Indians not to get under the black umbrella. There have been awards for ethnic groups in South Africa for maintaining a separate identity."
But for her the bottom line is clear
"White people have two choices, either they support this kind of work and accept that both personal and structural change is necessary or they can sit it out and black people will achieve structural change anyway if they don't accept this gesture they will be overcome anyway."

Rural development and organisation will be key issues addressed at a conference organised by the ANC for December.

REHANA ROSSOUW spoke to ANC regional executive member Johnny Issel about affirmative action outside cities:

ANC launches rural offensive

South 2/11 - 13/11/91

A PARTHEID HAS LEFT South Africa with a legacy of urban bias and rural neglect — a status quo within which the ANC has operated, says Mr Johnny Issel.

“To correct this imbalance, the rural conference (organised by the ANC for December) will be a major offensive to empower rural people.”

At its regional conference in September, the ANC in the Western Cape had almost 19 000 members in rural towns. However, members in rural areas have complained the organisa-

tion gives preference to urban areas, reached out to the rural areas in a resistance mode,” said Issel.

“Because the ANC is facing an electoral/political battle, this requires different methods and approaches.”

At a meeting in Worcester last month, 90 representatives from ANC branches and organisations met to flesh out issues to be discussed at the conference on December 7 and 8.

The conference will give attention to socio-economic development of rural people.

Political development, affirmative action for rural women and the devel-

opment of culture and sports in rural areas will also be on the agenda.

Housing and services, energy provision and environmental conservation were also identified as important issues for discussion.

“People also felt ANC campaigns were an urban matter and rural areas were often excluded,” Issel said.

“The ANC has to take an upfront position on land problems, unemployment and local government issues. The projects in the rural areas will not be implemented immediately but the conference will provide a framework for how we proceed.”

“There is also a possibility of establishing a Rural Development Trust to facilitate development.”

PAC (11A) backs talks

Soweto 7/11/91

THE West Rand branch of the PAC yesterday endorsed the call for a pre-constituent assembly to be held at a neutral venue under a neutral convener

The PAC branch, which met on Sunday in Soweto, said it also supported attempts to have Azapo returned to the Patriotic Front

However, the branch said it was "surprised at statements made by Mr Nelson Mandela to the effect that President FW de Klerk and he reached

fair

All-party ^(11A) congress ^{Sat 7/11/91} 'this month'

Star Africa Service

ACCRA — The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of November, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday in Ghana.

He said the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the constitution's details.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources."

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Mr Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority government of Mr de Klerk.

He said the majority had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on their behalf.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa "but it could happen any moment from now."

From Ghana Mr Mandela flew yesterday to Ivory Coast and then will visit Senegal.

● Accord on conveners
— Page 2

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HOME . . Mr Bradley Stacey is greeted by his aunt at Jan Smuts Airport

Ex-ANC hijacker released

Own Correspondent
11/7/91

JOHANNESBURG. — A white former ANC and uMkhonto we Sizwe member, sentenced to 15 years in Tanzania for trying to hijack a Soviet aircraft in 1989, returned here yesterday, after serving 18 months of his sentence.

Mr Bradley Stacey, 29, heard he was to be released yesterday and was flown here via Swaziland on a Royal Swazi aircraft after the ANC secured his release "on humanitarian grounds".

On 18 May 1989, Mr Stacey and another man were seized by Soviet security guards when they tried to divert an Aeroflot flight carrying 200 MK guerrillas from Angola to Tanzania.

Mr Stacey said yesterday the hijack attempt came at a time of large-scale disillusionment among MK troops because of MK deployment on the side of the Angolan government against Unita. Mr Stacey said he fought against Unita for two years.

Azapo to meet ANC PAC over PF tomorrow

By JOE MDHLELA

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation is to meet the conveners of the Patriotic Front in Johannesburg tomorrow - a day before it holds its own national council meeting at Tweefontein in KwaNdebele on Saturday and Sunday

But the meeting still has to be confirmed by both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, according to Azapo's general secretary, Mr Don Nkadmeng

Nkadmeng said the meeting was scheduled for last Friday but could not take come off "because we were given only a day within which to prepare a delegation."

"We obviously could not attend a meeting when given only a day's notice. Their letter, which was dated October 30, called for a meeting on November 1," Nkadmeng said

The meeting, the letter stated, would discuss Azapo's return to the PF, Nkadmeng said.

Available

He said Azapo suggested that the meeting be rescheduled for tomorrow "as this would give us enough time to prepare."

By yesterday both the ANC and PAC had not confirmed whether they would be available to talk to Azapo

landslides killed at least

Sowetan 7/11/91
**Mandela
in Ghana**

ACCRA - South African people were ready to complete the process of liberation in Africa that was started by Ghana in 1957, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Accra on Tuesday. (1) A

Mandela said unless the Pretoria agreed to a constituent assembly and transitional government, it would continue to be both player and referee.



Women hit out at Bill

Sowetan 7/11/91
THE African National Congress Women's League yesterday criticised the draft Bill of Rights for not mentioning women as a specific sector warranting special focus in a future constitutional order.

"We start off, therefore, not expecting much from the present draft," the ANCWL said in a statement.

"From the little we are aware of, the present draft carries no promise for the thousands of our women who have been the most oppressed as its drafters are negative towards affirmative action.

"Secondly, when they do mention women, it is to say that a future government must not make it compulsory for them to be in the military." - *Sapa*.

Buthelezi warns of white backlash

Sowetan 7/11/91

11A

BY JOE MDHLELA

A HIGHLY militarised white population could produce an awesome backlash to any straight majority government which sought to walk the ANC path, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader was addressing the secretary-general of the Commonwealth, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, and his entourage during their visit to Ulundi at the weekend.

In his statement, Chief Buthelezi said contrary to the Harare Declaration, which called for the handing of power to "some

kind of interim political executive in South Africa", politicians would need to resolutely "produce a reconciled South Africa"

He said reconciliation which simply amounted to the handing over of power to a former revolutionary organisation, "because that is what happened elsewhere in Africa", would be disastrous.

The Inkatha leader said the assumption that the ANC always had been a government-in-waiting and that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was most certainly going to produce the first government after apartheid,

simply had to be reviewed

"We have been witness to the disaster of this approach in Mozambique and Angola.

"The Harare Declaration assumes that the catastrophic consequences of what Frelimo and the MPLA did could be avoided in South Africa," he said.

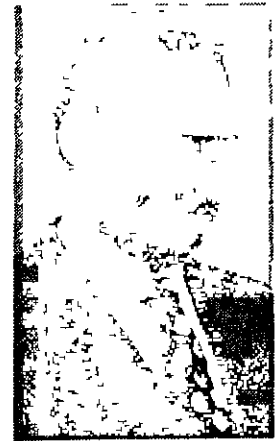
He said it was possible that the forces at work in the political arena were developing what would become a multiparty majority which will form a government.

Buthelezi criticised the Patriotic Front, saying it was the "ganging up of one group against another group"

"Dr Mandela is making

an error of judgment by pouring new wine into old wine skins

"The old liberation politics of attempting to produce a united front of the Patriotic Front kind must be regarded as suspect," he said



BUTHELEZI

Azasco hits out at homeland leaders

Sowetan 7/11/91

THE Azanian Students Convention yesterday accused homeland leaders of having a double agenda.

Azasco president Mr Siphos Maseko was reacting to the consent by homeland leaders and tricameral parliament representatives that Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen should negotiate on their behalf with other parties over moves to get the multiparty conference off the ground.

This agreement was reached at a meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria at the weekend.

The meeting came a week after the Patriotic Front conference convened in Durban by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Maseko said the homeland leaders' par-

I/A

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

ticipation in the PF had reduced it to a "pathetic front"

He said: "Azasco's refusal, and that of the Black Consciousness Movement as a whole, to participate in the PF has been vindicated."

"This meeting has proved beyond reasonable doubt that these bantustan leaders are not redeemable."

"There is no way that these leaders can be part of the freedom movement, yet still be madly in love with this Government."

"Azasco believes this is the time when we need a real PF, which will isolate these puppets and their mentor," Maseko said.

Fireworks expected at congress

W/Mail 29/11/91 - 5/12/91
Next week's African National Congress Youth League congress promises a battle for the presidency and heated debates over the youth movement's autonomy **By HUBERT MATLOU**

BATTLE lines are being drawn between the African National Congress Youth League's provisional president, Peter Mokaba, and its secretary-general, Rapulane Molekane, as the two run for the organisation's presidency at its "inaugural" congress in kwaNdebele next week.

The former hand-in-glove pair is now at loggerheads, each trying to test his popularity in the 500 000-strong youth movement.

Elections for the presidency are expected to cause a sharp debate on Mokaba's credibility following *The Weekly Mail's* revelation that the ANC's security department was investigating allegations that he was a spy — charges Mokaba has vehemently denied.

Ironically, the row is between two stalwarts both accused of having agreed to spy for police during a spell in detention. The difference is that Molekane informed the ANC on his release that he had made this agreement in order to get out of detention; Mokaba was accused of not informing the movement.

The row took a bitter turn during last week's PWV conference, which saw the organisation's most powerful region nominate Molekane for president.

For the first time Mokaba, the fiery "young lion", is being challenged. He led the now-defunct South African Youth Congress from 1987, and later was appointed to lead the national provisional committee of the Youth League following the unbanning of the ANC.

He is reported to be fighting for his political life after the ANC failed to satisfactorily clarify and resolve the controversy surrounding him. The row is steadily gaining momentum as the national congress draws nearer.

The battle is reported to be taking regional and national dimensions as factions begin to surface. The Natal Midlands and Border regions have come out in support of Mokaba, whereas the organisation's biggest region, Eastern Transvaal, is reported to be throwing its full weight behind Molekane.

Other regions such as the Eastern Cape, Transkei, Western Cape and Northern Free State, have refused to divulge their nominations.

Mokaba is reported to have visited the Northern Transvaal, his home constituency, in the past two weeks in an attempt to boost support. He is also said to have consulted Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hanu, Winnie Mandela and Steve Tshwete to persuade ANC president Nelson Mandela to intervene on his behalf.

Sources within ANCYL indicated that it is the second time Mokaba has refused to step down as a nominee, arguing that such a move would validate charges that he was a police spy. The first instance took place when Mokaba was elected to the ANC's national executive committee during the July congress, leading to increased consterna-

●To PAGE 16

Battle heats up for ANCYL presidency

From PAGE 15

ion within branches over the ANC's apparent avoidance of the issue.

The ANC, at the time of publication of the allegations in August, neither confirmed nor denied that Mokaba ever worked for the security police or had been summoned by the movement in exile and confessed.

Meanwhile, other candidates for the key positions of vice-president, assistant secretary-general and treasurer are Lulu Johnson, Mpho Lekgoro and Ignatius Jacobs, respectively.

Parks Makahlane, Eddie Mabitsa, Febe Polgieter and Kgaugelo Lekgoro are also expected to make it into the new national executive committee.

The four-day congress will discuss the draft

constitution and policy of the Youth League, the Youth Front, the education crisis, negotiations, violence and the peace process.

Other contentious issues expected to generate debate are the question of an age-limit and autonomy.

Following its revival late last year there has been concerted efforts to relaunch it as an independent component of the ANC.

The ANCYL's provisional constitution refers to organisational autonomy from the ANC, meaning independence in structures and activities. It also states that membership is open between ages 14 and 35. However, membership of the ANC is not automatic on reaching age 18.

"People in ANCYL should make a voluntary choice to join the ANC. They should not

South Africa, but this does not necessarily mean old-style communism or the Eastern European-style command economy

be forced to do so if the ANC is not appealing to them. However, members will be encouraged to join ANC," said provisional publicity secretary Parks Makahlane.

"I think it would be more dynamic to have a Youth League that is broader than the ANC, with an independent existence and capable of critically questioning the policy and strategies of the ANC," he said.

The contrasting view is that an independent Youth League will mean a completely different organisation, resulting in the energy of the youth not being channelled into the ANC.

Secondly, the draft constitution does not spell out how the ANCYL is to participate in the formulation of political perspectives. Neither is any mention made of how the Youth League will "liaise" with the ANC.

... IN THESE COUNTRIES

... COUNTRIES

A branch representative at the congress said

... SOUTH AFRICA

... THE EASTERN

'ANC losing support, and in present guise cannot be trusted'

FW warns of crackdown

Stars 8/11/91

By Peter Fabricius and Kalzer Nyatumba Political Staff

President de Klerk said last night that it was becoming clearer by the day that the ANC could not be trusted in its present guise

He warned that he would be obliged to take "serious" steps to combat violence if the National Peace Accord did not succeed.

Apparently hinting at a crackdown, Mr de Klerk said the further steps would not be in the country's interests.

He was addressing about 1500 delegates while opening the Transvaal's National Party congress in Pretoria.

Mr de Klerk said he did not wish to elaborate on the steps he would take if he were compelled to "take things further", but was adamant they would entail "serious implications".

In a strong attack on the ANC, Mr de Klerk said "The reality is that the ANC's financial support is drying up, it is disorganised and is losing support as a result of its inability to contribute towards ending violence".

"Now that the ANC is no longer able to hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention. By the day it is becoming clearer the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise," he said.

"It is glaringly inconsistent. Consider, for example, its conflicting statements on economic policy."

"The SACP is clinging to the ANC like a parasite and is undermining its reputation. Jay Naidoo is leading the ANC by the nose and involving it in actions detrimental to the country."

"I am not saying these things because it gives me pleasure. The ANC remains an important actor. It is in the country's interests the ANC's balanced leaders contribute positively to establishing confidence and achieving an understanding."

"The National Party will continue to seek such an understanding through discussion and negotiation. Our hard work to get the multi-party conference off the ground proves this."

He said the announcement of South Africa's participation in the Olympics was a good example of the ANC "manipulating" sport for political ends.

Referring to Cosatu's anti-VAT strike, Mr de Klerk warned organised commerce and industry that if they did not ensure trade unions acted within the law, they

● To Page 2



FW's warning of a possible crackdown

Stars 8/11/91

view it was "outrageous" that President de Klerk, whose Government had used taxpayers' money to fund the Inkatha Freedom Party and whose security forces were failing to curb violence in the country, was now saying the ANC could not be trusted.

"There are indications that there are people in the police force and in the South African Defence Force who are involved in violence in the country and the Government has not done much about it."

"Inkathagate proved that the NP could not be trusted. We find it unacceptable that President de Klerk should now accuse us," Mr Niehaus said.

He added that the State President was "playing politics" to consolidate his conservative Transvaal constituency, and was therefore acting "irresponsibly".

He said for a man who claimed to be committed to peace and negotiations, President de Klerk gave the impression of spoiling for war.

● Honours and 18 holes for FW — Page 10

would pay a high price. A "moment of truth has arrived", Mr de Klerk said.

Five people were forcibly removed from the congress by police after disrupting his address. The five, who claimed to be members of the AWB and the Organisasie met Weerstand teen Kommunisme, handed out leaflets calling for a whites-only police force.

One rightwinger yelled "Meneer de Klerk, jy is 'n Marxist!". He too was ejected from the meeting.

Mr de Klerk said there was a mood of despair and insecurity in the country because of a widespread perception that the ANC, with its "irresponsible utterances and actions", would take over South Africa, because of the violence and growing crime rate and because of the recession.

● The ANC today took strong exception to President de Klerk's criticism in Pretoria last night and said the National Party leader had acted "irresponsibly".

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said in an inter-

IDT BOND ISSUE

Mulberry bush

FM 8/11/91

The Independent Development Trust's projected \$100m Eurobond issue appears to be in limbo. No announcement followed last week's meeting with the ANC and neither side was prepared to comment.

The reluctance to comment and the fact that no further meeting is scheduled suggests that differences have not been resolved.

The issue was announced by the IDT's Jan Steyn in September. Soon afterwards, an ANC press release repudiated what it described as "the bogus ANC-IDT statement".

The ANC said it had advised the IDT that it opposed raising loans (though not grants) on financial markets. This was followed by another ANC statement which created the impression that obstacles had been removed. And in the week of October 14-18, the IDT made presentations in London, Zurich and Frankfurt.

The problem now is that lead banker J P Morgan is not prepared to settle for just a neutral stance on the part of the ANC. The bank is not willing to go ahead without the explicit backing of the ANC — which is not prepared to go so far.

In the circumstances, Steyn might have been tempted to publish a letter from ANC president Nelson Mandela which initially led him to believe the ANC would back the issue. But it seems likely that he will refrain in the interest of future good relations.

There is no immediate pressure on the IDT to follow its presentations with a launch. Now that contact has been established with potential investors, an issue can be initiated in weeks. But eventually, if no way out of the impasse is found, the IDT will have to make new plans and possibly step back in the queue of would-be foreign borrowers. ■

LAW COMMISSION FM 8/11/91
Some confusion

The SA Law Commission's report on human rights is essentially a liberal document. It emphasises the rights and freedoms of the individual, believing that "group" rights would follow from such protection.

The report pays the usual homage to the vital abstract freedoms of speech, movement, assembly and political affiliation, it supports accepted Western principles of justice, and favours a nonracial universal franchise.

But its crucial recommendations are found in two particular Articles of a proposed Bill.

Confusion - D

FM 8/11/91

CURRENT AFFAIRS

of Rights, without which those abstract freedoms would be of little comfort. These articles would provide that

□ "Everyone has the right freely and on an equal footing to engage in economic enterprise, which right includes the capacity to establish, manage and maintain commercial undertakings, to acquire property and procure means of production, and to offer or accept employment against remuneration", and

□ "Everyone has the right individually or jointly with others to be or to become the owner of private property."

The commission defends the first article against protests from the affirmative action, redistribution and socialist lobbies. It says the article embodies "no more than common law rights or freedoms" and it is purely coincidental if they are characteristic of a capitalist structure.

In writing the property clause, the ANC's proposed Bill of Rights was considered by the commission. The report finds that while the ANC "pays lip service to the concept of private property, this concept is undermined rather than respected." For instance, in the ANC's proposals, "the existing right to ownership in any natural resource is overturned."

The commission also finds fault with the ANC's recommendations on compensation for expropriated property: the nature and

extent of expropriation could be legislated, rather than determined by market value and there would be no appeal to the courts against inequitable rulings.

"In short," says the report, "the whole question of compensation is manipulated" by the ANC to provide for arbitrary nationalisation of private property.

The ANC proposals on property, says the commission, compare badly with Article 16 of the Namibian Bill of Rights, which recognises private property and provides simply for fair compensation in the event of expropriation.

The commission also considers what are known as secondary rights, which are intended to meet material needs such as medical care, food and shelter and to guarantee education and employment. It points out that these go beyond protection of the individual, which is the watchdog role of the classical rights. They would demand positive action by the State — which, in turn, would mean the allocation of resources to enforce them.

There are obvious practical problems with these rights. The commission, while noting the problems, sees a need to "afford them a greater measure of practical recognition." Thus, for instance, it recommends that free and compulsory education at primary school level be made a right.

The minefield is immediately clear what if the State and the private sector combined

are simply unable to pay for enough classrooms and teachers? How can this "right" be enforced? And if it cannot, the legitimacy of the entire Bill of Rights would be undermined.

In this area the commission's thinking seems as confused as that of the groups it criticises so forcefully. It is difficult to see why an acknowledged national priority should be made into a "right."

ANC, in the clutches of radicals, will lead SA to disaster

PRETORIA — The ANC was in the clutches of radical and communist elements and could not be trusted in its present guise — it would steer South Africans to disaster, President F W de Klerk said last night, opening the NP Transvaal congress.

In a fierce attack on the organisation, De Klerk said now that the ANC was no longer able to "hide behind apartheid and the image of a disadvantaged and banned organisation, it stands exposed to the glaring spotlight of public attention (and) it is becoming clearer that the ANC cannot be trusted in its present guise".

The ANC was glaringly inconsistent, especially with its conflicting statements on economic policy. The dying SA Communist Party was clinging to the ANC like a parasite and was undermining its international and domestic reputation.

(Cosatu general secretary) Mr Jay Naidoo is leading the ANC by the nose and involving it in actions detrimental to the country," he said.

He warned business leaders and individual employers that the ANC had targeted workers and, through them, the economy of the country to win political power.

"If organised commerce and industry —

BILLY PADDOCK

as well as individual employers — do not stand firm, they and the country will pay a high price."

Only if employers acted purposefully and in an organised manner to ensure that trade unions acted within the law, would they be able to retain their independence.

"Only if employers help, motivate and discipline their workers against succumbing to intimidation, will they be able to help prevent radical trade union leaders from gaining a stranglehold."

The NP was not prepared to allow the

ANC or any other party or movement to take over power, De Klerk said. Those who had a perception that the ANC and its allies would take over control were not taking the NP into account, Sapa reports him as saying. No solution was possible without the NP. "The NP has never asked for a mandate to transfer all the power to the ANC or anybody else."

De Klerk said further steps to combat violence would be taken if the application of the new mechanisms in terms of the peace accord proved inadequate.

Such steps would have "serious implications". He would not elaborate but said it

would not be in the country's interest if the government were to "take things further. It would be far better if leaders were to cooperate now to combat the violence", including that perpetrated by their own followers. "It was not government's fault that there was black-on-black violence. Nationalists do not perpetrate the violence, the supporters of other political organisations do. And their leaders, including Mr (Nelson) Mandela, have to do something about it themselves."

De Klerk also said that the situation regarding sport had been exploited by the

ANC b (Daw) 8/11/91.

ANC for its own political gain. It was unacceptable that "the question of national symbols has now been dragged in as well. It is not for Nocsa (National Olympic Committee of SA) or Mr (Sam) Ramasamy to take decisions about national symbols such as the flag and the anthem." Politicians should keep their hands off sports and play only a supporting role.

From Page 1

He said the green and gold of the Springboks were colours worn with pride by every South African, regardless of race and colour, and had nothing to do with apartheid. "I think it is shortsighted to disregard these facts and trample a proud tradition underfoot. I also think it is undesirable for every sport to try to do its own thing."

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Master of the game

FM 8/11/91
 A politician who has never held public office, but who speaks in public as if he soon will be running the country, is confident indeed. That is what ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa did last week at the FM investment conference. Coming from Neil Kinnock, leader of Britain's opposition Labour Party, such confidence would be construed as intolerable arrogance; coming from Ramaphosa, in the context of SA's political history, it was unremarkable.

The looming burdens of office have clearly tempered official ANC rhetoric. Few conference delegates could quibble with Ramaphosa's assertion that the ANC and, by implication, the country, "must pursue policies that distribute the benefits of this economy more equitably. However, in doing this we must pursue policies that enhance investment. We would, therefore, be very unwise if we were to alienate investors or drive away the skills that we have in this country."

But Ramaphosa also pointed out that the link between investment and redistribution is critical to future stability and he neatly summed up the public debate: "One side fears that redistribution will stop investment, while the other fears that the pursuit of investment will be at the expense of redistribution." And he called for the development of a "common framework of approach" to these issues.

As for the measures to achieve redistribution, Ramaphosa demonstrated an acute sense of occasion. The tone was conciliatory, the style dignified — but the remedies were vague. How else should a politician behave?

He spoke of "a combination of progressive taxation and a benefit or welfare system," of the need to "ensure that employment, wages

and profits spread rapidly into the disadvantaged communities." The ANC wants "to achieve redistribution of new income (that) differs markedly from the other process of redistribution concerned with welfare and equality of opportunity."

The word "nationalisation" did not appear in the prepared speech, though it cropped up briefly at question time. Even then, Ramaphosa referred to it in the context of transferring rented Soweto houses to the ownership of their established tenants. Whatever "redistribution of new income" was intended to mean, it did not sound very threatening. Such phrases were sufficiently vague not to upset either the assembled businessmen or the ANC's constituency beyond the Carlton Hotel.

Similarly, the role of government "would have to be in carefully selected economic activities." No obvious problem there for capitalists, or in the statement that "the ANC envisages a future democratic SA where the private sector plays a pivotal role in the creation of wealth and jobs. SA has a potentially very dynamic private sector and the government of the future has a duty to ensure that the potential is fulfilled."

The private sector knows very well it is not perfect and so it was no hardship to hear Ramaphosa warn against complacency and an attitude of "business as usual." The private sector no doubt agrees that it must help government to "go out and create job opportunities" and help "end the inequality of economic opportunity."

And no delegate would have disagreed that "the challenge is to encourage investment by providing a general economic climate that is conducive to investment." This might have been Barend du Plessis or Julian Ogilvy Thompson speaking. To achieve this climate, said Ramaphosa, we need growing markets, political stability, consistent economic policies, a well-trained and productive work force. Again, no nightmares for capitalists.

What about sanctions? Ramaphosa spoke as if some other organisation beyond his control was responsible for these. He argued that "foreign investors in general, and transnational corporations in particular, will be crucial in our effort to restructure and regenerate the SA economy."

Perhaps the key to the speech, shrouded as it was in charm, lies in that word "our." Did it refer to the ANC in partnership with the present government — or to the ANC when it comes to power? We suspect the latter and perhaps the speech should be seen in that light.

Some of the assembled businessmen were disappointed by the speech, and with reason, but they should also have been encouraged — even though ANC economic policy is doubtless still full of goblins, which Ramaphosa shrewdly kept in the closet.

The importance of the speech is that it demonstrated that the ANC, government and business are playing the same political game, in a way that neither P W Botha (with

his Rubicon speech) nor Nelson Mandela (on his release from prison) was prepared to do.

'Concern' over PAC struggle

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG —
The government has called on the PAC to clarify its position on its armed struggle

Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the PAC's armed struggle was a "cause for serious concern".

Dr Viljoen was reacting to a claim by a PAC spokesman that the PAC's armed wing was responsible for a weekend attack in Soweto that killed a policeman and injured his colleague.

(11) CT 8/1/91

AROUND THE

All-party talks this month - ANC

Sowetan 8/11/91

(11A)
~~(11A)~~

Accra - The all-party congress in South Africa would take place before the end of this month, according to ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He told a news conference in Accra on Tuesday that the congress would work out mechanisms for setting up an interim government of national unity, draw up broad proposals for a new constitution and set out the modalities for the election of a constituent assembly that would define the details of the constitution.

The congress, he said, would be "the route through which the ANC will relieve the apartheid regime of exclusive responsibility for the management of the state and its resources."

"De Klerk and I are convinced that a system of linkage between attainment of certain objectives in South Africa, like interim government and lifting of sanctions, is most likely to deliver best results."

Leadership

Mandela said the ANC leadership was trying to move South Africa away from confrontation with the minority Government of President de Klerk.

He said the majority in South Africa had already demonstrated that they could no longer tolerate a situation where the minority took decisions on behalf of the majority.

It was difficult at present to secure the total involvement of blacks in the administration of South Africa, "but it could happen any moment from now."

Expressing regret that some African governments had started establishing links with the apartheid regime, Mandela said such links were premature.

"I will give the signal at the right time," he said.

Earlier, the head of Ghana's military government, Flight-Lieutenant Rawlings, told Mandela that Ghana would continue to give help to "black South Africa" -

Sowetan Correspondent

Bill (11A) must wait - Azapo

Sowetan
By MATHATHA

TSEDU
8/11/91
AZAPO has rejected the implementation of the draft Bill of Rights by the Government.

The organisation has, however, accepted the draft published at the weekend.

Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the Bill, if enacted under present conditions, would entrench black dispossession of land and other properties and 'should therefore await ratification by a constituent assembly.

Nkadimeng said the notion of inviolability of private property, which is included in the Bill drawn by the Law Commission, should be approached with "extreme caution"

"The simple difficulty with this provision is that the wealth of this country is concentrated in the hands of a few white people. More importantly, whites own and occupy 87 percent of our land

"Azapo's position is that the people themselves, through the constituent assembly, can decide which rights should be made sacrosanct and which not and at what stage."

The Bill has been welcomed by several bodies, including the National Party, ANC and Democratic Party.

Trust to go ahead with Eurobond issue

THE Independent Development Trust (IDT) is to go ahead with its proposed \$100m Eurobond issue, IDT chairman Jan Steyn said yesterday.

ANDREW GILL

This is despite unresolved discussions between the IDT and the ANC over the proposed issue. The two had agreed not to comment on the discussions other than to say they were proceeding, he said.

He did not give details about proposed dates for the issue which is being lead-managed by JP Morgan bank, although uncertainty surrounds JP Morgan's role in the issue should the ANC not back it.

The issue has been plagued by contradictory statements about the ANC's stance on the issue.

The IDT went on its investment roadshow in the middle of October, apparently with the full backing of all the major players including the ANC.

However, the ANC later said it was against the issue. ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu followed this with a speech in which he said the misunderstanding could be resolved.

Sources said the IDT had decided to go ahead with the issue with or without the ANC and would not delay its issue and allow other borrowers to make it to the market before them.

City council takes over coloured health services

VERA VON LIERES

THE Johannesburg City Council is set to take over certain primary health care services traditionally provided by the House of Representatives, Representatives' Health and Welfare Department chief director Dr Eric Jarodien said yesterday.

Jarodien said the parties would sign an agreement in Johannesburg today.

He said the House of Representatives had asked Johannesburg to undertake services on its behalf but had stipulated that these had to be rendered on a nonracial basis and "according to need".

Another proviso was that primary health care services in Johannesburg would be coupled to an aggressive literacy campaign to make services more effective, he said.

House of Representatives regional offices in Johannesburg and the City Health Department had identified six sites or centres in Johannesburg to be used as pilot

projects, Jarodien said.

The centres, which would be operated on a nonracial basis, would be equipped with computer-driven literacy programmes.

The linking of primary health care to computer-based literacy training would be a first for SA, he said.

A council spokesman said the move was in line with recent statements by National Health and Welfare Minister Rina Venter that more primary health care services should be rendered by local authorities.

Venter signalled last month government was moving towards ending the duplication of health structures created by the own affairs system.

She said the fragmentation of health services had to be eliminated but added that this would have to be done within the limitations of the present constitution.

Fund open to all miners

THE Chamber of Mines' legal victory to open a mining industry pension fund to employees of all races was a tangible demonstration of its commitment to non-racialism, the Chamber said yesterday.

Earlier, the Chief Justice rejected a petition by the Council of Mining Unions to appeal to the Appellate Division against a judgment by the Labour Appeal Court in favour of the Chamber.

The Appellate Court's decision upholds a ruling by the Labour Appeal Court and the Industrial Court that the CMU's objection to the admission of blacks, Asians and coloureds as employee members of the Mine Employees' Pension Fund was an unfair labour practice.

Chamber president T I Steenkamp said the ruling by the Chief Justice was an important and welcome event.

Steenkamp said the practical effect of the Chief Justice's decision was that people of colour who occupied positions at a particular level and who had previously been excluded from joining the MEPF on the basis of race would now qualify for membership — Sapa

ANC policy on medicine

PRETORIA — An ANC government would incorporate major sections of the medical private sector into a national health service under government control, ANC health spokesman Dr Aslam Dassoo said yesterday.

Dassoo told a Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association of SA conference that in reorganising health services the ANC would aim to provide health care through an improved and strengthened public service accountable to the communities it served.

The public sector health service would attempt to attract staff and to absorb major sections of the private sector. It had to be accepted that the health care system in SA was an obscene perversion which needed replacing, not reforming, he said.

Dassoo, an executive member of the SA Health Workers' Congress, said the right to free health care should be legally entrenched in a future bill of rights and that there had to be a preferential allocation of resources to promote health care within the most vulnerable sectors of the community.

The ANC would strive for a nonracial, single national health system for all. All health services would have to be the responsibility of a single authority.

Viljoen challenges PAC

GOVERNMENT yesterday called on the PAC to clarify its position on the armed struggle.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the PAC's armed struggle was "cause for serious concern".

Viljoen was reacting to a claim by PAC Harare spokesman Victor Phama that the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), was responsible for a weekend attack in Soweto that killed SAP member Martin van

Business Day Reporter

Wyk and injured his colleague M M Tuge.

The PAC also claimed responsibility for killing two policemen at Katlehong on the East Rand recently.

Viljoen said in reply to the attacks "Any organisation acknowledging responsibility for continuing armed action and for assassinations is very seriously imperiling its own involvement in genuine and peaceful negotiations".

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Mandela is 'willing' to go even to Ulundi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Nelson Mandela told millions of Radio Zulu listeners last night he was prepared to meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at any time and at any place — even in the KwaZulu capital.

"I am ready and prepared to meet Mr Buthelezi anywhere in KwaZulu, whether in Ulundi or KwaNongoma," Mr Mandela said in response to calls from listeners demanding to know why he seemed reluctant to meet Chief Buthelezi in the KwaZulu homeland.

In the past, efforts to set up a meeting between the two leaders have been delayed over the choice of venue.

"I have repeatedly telephoned Mr

Buthelezi since I was released from jail in an attempt to set up a meeting between the two of us, but all in vain. Buthelezi has not telephoned me even once," Mr Mandela said during a phone-in interview broadcast here.

Mr Mandela told listeners that the current violence would not stop until the two leaders sat down and discussed all issues which caused misunderstanding between the two organisations.

Confronted on kangaroo courts, Mr Mandela said his organisation opposed such courts. He also denounced necklacing and urged the perpetrators to stop it.

● Chief Buthelezi could not be contacted for comment last night.

PAC checks on reports

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to seek clarification of reports that it claimed responsibility for a number of recent attacks on policemen from commanders of its military wing.

The PAC's secretary general, Mr Benny Alexander, said he was not in a position to confirm or deny the reports.

He said the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) had its own command structures in Dar es Salaam.

Mr Alexander said the reported Apla claims in no way jeopardised the PAC's commitment to ending violence — Sapa

ANC goes commercial in search of new funds

NELSON MANDELA'S African National Congress is going commercial.

South Africa's biggest and oldest anti-apartheid movement is wooing agents to market designer clothes in its familiar green, gold and black colours, along with books, jewellery, videos and recordings of Mr Mandela's speeches.

"The ANC is looking at a range of business opportunities to boost funds and utilise the buying power of our membership," said Mr Peter Roussos, general manager of the ANC's wholly-owned marketing subsidiary, Movement Marketing Enterprises.

"We will look at anything that has fund-raising potential for the ANC. For example, we are getting into marketing progressive literature, that is not about the ANC, at a discount," he said.

Mr Roussos said the company had a strong response to an advertisement in an influential newspaper for agents to market licensed ANC memorabilia countrywide.

"Generally, we would look at a royalty of about 15 per cent, but if we are going to market it directly we will want a much bigger share," he said.

The ANC has opened a retail shop on the ground floor of its Johannesburg headquarters and Mr Roussos said mail-order marketing to more than 500,000 people on its mailing list had started.

"The ANC is looking at other opportunities, too. We are thinking about a travel agency, for example, and a separate ANC publishing house," he said.

Mr Roussos said that, in line with the ANC's affirmative action policy, small producers were being encouraged to turn out ANC-related items such as beads in the movement's colours.

The advertisement for agents made it clear only established businesses with sound credit references should apply.

Mr Leon Louw, head of the independent Free Market Foundation, said he found the left-leaning ANC's resort to commerce "ironic to say the least". "The zeal with which they market lapel badges with a hammer and sickle is something to see

"There certainly is a contradiction between this enterprise and the ANC's carefully cultivated image. But it is pretty much in line with their carefully worded economic policy documents which favour a mixed economy," he said.

Mr Louw said the greatest irony was in the ANC's insistence on agents with a proven track record. "After all, the ANC is always saying affirmative action means big business should take on blacks at the top who have no track record"

Movement Marketing Enterprises was launched with ANC Treasurer General Thomas Nkobi on the board and black businessman Mr Moss Nxumalo as chairman.

ANC finance department spokesman Mr Henry Makgothi said the venture was intended to raise funds and protect the movement's name and image. The ANC is funded largely by contributions from supporters abroad but Mr Makgothi said: "We can't rely only on foreign funds in the long term. We have to make new provision for income

"The ANC became aware that a lot of people were cashing in on our logo and our leaders and making a lot of money without any kind of consultation. If these things are going to be sold, the ANC would like to derive some benefit from it," he said.

Mr Roussos said the ANC had secured the copyright to its name, logo, colours and slogans and the names of its leaders.

Citing one example, he said company lawyers prevented the registration recently of a fast-food shop under the name "Chris Hani Take-aways", a reference to the leader of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

"We are in the process of protecting the names and images of a lot of the leaders, people like Mr Hani and Mr Mandela," he said.

Mr Roussos said most sales were by mail order or at ANC conferences and rallies because of township violence

"But when the situation settles down and it is no longer dangerous to walk down the street wearing a political T-shirt, I think we will do very well," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Cabinet fury at ANC

From Page 1

the population that the NP was simply surrendering power

"The President, in making the speech, has clearly indicated that this is not what we plan. It does not impact on negotiations, but rather puts the situation in perspective"

Yesterday, on the last

day of the congress, Mr Du Plessis accused Mr Naidoo of continuing with untruths until they became flagrant public lies.

He said Mr Naidoo was acting like a politician — the closer the negotiations, the more political he became.

He questioned Mr Naidoo's right to be concerned with politics

"What is the name of his political party and how is he qualified to be concerned with politics," asked Mr Du Plessis.

At a media briefing after the congress, Mr Du Plessis said he did not think Mr De Klerk's hard-line stance on the ANC in his speech would jeopardise the pending talks.

Defining the arena for talks

Stk 11/11/91

(11A)

WITH the all-party talks scheduled to start soon, South Africa has finally come to the end of the pre-negotiations phase that started symbolically at the Dakar meeting organised by Idasa in June 1987.

Comparative studies show that, for the actual negotiations to succeed, the phase of pre-negotiations must achieve two goals. On the one hand all the parties must develop a common commitment to negotiations as a way of solving disputes. On the other hand they must come to a common definition of the problem that has given rise to the dispute.

What, in essence, has gone wrong in our pre-negotiations phase is that progress towards a commitment to political negotiations has occurred at the expense of defining the problem. Virtually all South African parties from the Left to the Right extremes of the spectrum are now formally committed to political negotiations.

However, no real progress has been made towards a common definition of the problems, without

The Pattern of Politics
HERMANN GILJOMEE



which no solution is possible. In fact, the degree of fervour in support of negotiations has been in inverse proportion to the capacity for a dispassionate analysis of the problem. In many cases the commitment to negotiations has become nothing but an incantation. As any reader of the ANC- and the NP-supporting press will testify, the basic rhetoric of the "system" and the "struggle" has not changed markedly.

Defining the problem is, of course, considerably more difficult than working up enthusiasm for negotiations in the abstract. For it is in engaging in such an enterprise with an adversary that cherished myths and hidden flaws are exposed. Yet such a task is unavoidable if negotiations are expected to lead to a joint search for solutions that can be jointly car-

ried out — which is the only basis for peace in South Africa. Broadly speaking there are the following conflicting definitions of the problem in South Africa.

The first is the disagreement over the historic causes of South Africa's economic ills and political conflicts. For those in the liberation movement the answer is simply that it is apartheid (without specifying if it is a policy stretching back to 1948, 1910, 1876 or 1652) and the racially skewed capitalist system acting as reinforcement of white domination. South Africa experienced, as the ANC used to put it, colonialism of a special type whose whole dynamic was the exploitation of blacks for the benefit of whites. Hence the present desire for radical economic intervention to address the historic injustices.

For its part the NP would concede that its policies since 1948 exacerbated South Africa's problems. In its view, however, South Africa without apartheid would still have been torn by ethnic and other conflicts and be burdened by an economic growth rate far too

low for a population that grows much too fast. Hence the solution rapid growth as the only method of effectively addressing unemployment and poverty.

The second major disagreement is over the nature of the political struggle. On the one hand there is the definition of the liberation movements, shared by some liberals, that South Africa without apartheid is a normal, nearly homogeneous society. All that is necessary is for racially allocated power and privilege to be removed and for individual citizens to have trust in their constitution and the common law.

The NP, by contrast, believes South Africa is as divided a society as Yugoslavia, one where ethnic tensions not properly contained can easily blow the fabric of society apart. It tends to believe that people in South Africa derive their identity from the groups they belong to and that the real goal of the ANC is to replace the white nation in which blacks were bywhoners with a black one in which whites would be the bywhoners.

The NP would feel its view vindicated by an ANC discussion document of September stating that as "a non-racial and democratic movement for change, the liberation movement represents the new nation in the making."

These differences are not of mere academic importance. For a party's definition of the problem will to a large extent dictate the solution it believes should be sought. If apartheid going back to 1652 is seen as the root cause of all the trouble blacks have experienced and if patriotism is defined as opposition to apartheid — as the Patriotic Front did recently — how can the ANC hope to justify to its followers a negotiated settlement which leaves an "unpatriotic force" such as the NP holding key positions in government?

And, if South Africa is deemed to be a regular society suited to a normal form of majority rule, how can the ANC accept a constitution in which the minority parties are protected through numerous checks and balances?

For the NP there is the same dilemma. As the survey of the

Stellenbosch Centre for South African Politics shows, there is strong support among Government elites for addressing the critical imbalances that have developed in areas such as housing, education and health. Yet it knows its constituency will support that only to the extent that the new order will concede that whites historically also played a positive role in the development of the country and gives them effective representation on all levels of government. Whites will allow a post-apartheid government to concentrate on bread and butter politics only if the battle for identities is kept in check and no party is allowed to impose its definition of the nation on the other.

It would be a great boost for the peace process if the all-party conference immediately turned its attention to the definition problem. A commitment to negotiate is not enough. Political leaders must share a common understanding of the past before they can build a common order for the future. □

(Hermann Giljomee teaches politics at UCT)

Azapo rejects all-party talks invitation (11A)

Own Correspondent *Stev 11/11/91*

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation will not join the ANC and PAC in multiparty talks with the Government at the end of the month, the Azapo National Council decided yesterday

More than 250 delegates, meeting in KwaNdebele, decid-

ed that multiparty/all-party talks would emasculate any constituent assembly

The rejection followed a meeting on Friday when the ANC and PAC are reported to have asked Azapo to join them in talks with the Government

Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said although

Azapo had not attended the patriotic front conference after losing its status as co-convenor, it was committed to the principle of unity

He said other resolutions taken by the Azapo National Council included a call for a national consumer boycott to begin next month



This is the area that has been filled with refuse and has damaged cars in Khutsong, Carletonville on the Far West Rand. Residents of the nearby squatter camp fear that their shacks are going to be swallowed by the sinkhole in the area. Pic: PAT SEBOKO

Step towards multiparty talks

By SONTI MASEKO

TOP-LEVEL talks between the Government and the Patriotic Front will take place on Friday.

The talks, to be held at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg, will make preparations for a multiparty conference on November 29.

Yesterday, Azapo held a meeting at a secret venue in KwaNdebele, reportedly to decide

whether to rejoin the PF and take part in Friday's talks.

Sources in the PAC said this week's talks were in line with a PF conference resolution to press for a constituent assembly by engaging the Government in talks as soon as possible

● To page 2

Govt to meet Patriotic Front

● From page 1

The PF holds that a constituent assembly is the only legitimate organ to draw up the country's constitution. It also is demanding an interim government or transitional authority.

The Government, on the other hand, sees the multiparty conference as the organ to draw up the future constitution of the country. It is opposed to a constituent assembly and interim government.

Friday's talks will mark the first contact between the PAC and the Government. The PAC insists the event is not tantamount to

negotiations, but a preconstituent assembly meeting

"The PAC has never been opposed to the peaceful resolution of problems, if there is a chance for a peaceful resolution, we will grab it," a spokesman said.

It is also expected that the Government will demand that the PAC de-

nounce violence or APLA, its military wing which lately claimed responsibility for the killing of Soweto police. PAC have said this is out of the question.

An official of the PAC last night also said PF officials would be discussing the appointment of a convener for the multiparty conference, a venue, agenda and chairman.



Support for economic forum

THE ANC favoured an economic forum to negotiate the macro-economic restructuring of the SA economy, separate from the multiparty negotiations forum, ANC department of economic planning head Trevor Manuel said yesterday.

Government has indicated guarded support for the establishment of such a forum, which it feels will probably be discussed at the multiparty conference to be held at the end of the month. *Bjocw 12/11/91*

Manuel said the ANC was still in the process of refining its proposals on the economic forum in conjunction with its alliance partners, Cosatu and the SA Communist Party. *(11A)*

The alliance's decisions would be made known after a meeting of alliance leaders later this week.

But the forum should be separate from the multiparty conference because the conference would be concentrating on constitutional affairs, he said.

At an alliance meeting last week, the groups involved said they would be taking "immediate steps to ensure that such a forum is convened".

Manpower Minister Eli Louw told a news briefing at the weekend that government had issued invitations to labour groups to discuss the formation of an

TIM COHEN

economic forum

Manuel said although Cosatu had been invited and had accepted the invitation, as far as he was aware the ANC had not received an invitation.

Meanwhile, the outspoken leader of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, gave notice yesterday he would be standing for the league's top post at its first congress in 30 years next month.

The congress, to be held in Siyabuswa, KwaNdebele, will mark members' first opportunity to elect leaders since the organisation was banned in 1960.

A provisional leadership group, headed by Mokaba, was established in October last year at a conference aimed at re-establishing the league.

Mokaba said about 1500 delegates would attend the congress. Main issues on the agenda would be the multiparty talks, the ANC's proposed interim government, the role of the youth, and violence.

Mokaba said yesterday the maximum age limit for youth league members set by the ANC at its August conference was 35. He would definitely stand for president.

● Comment: Page 10

By ZB MOLEFE and Sapa

12/12/91

YOU could have sung those old and familiar words "When an irresistible force meets an immovable object, something's gotta give" at the opening of South Africa's political show to beat all shows - the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

Depending on your politics, it was quite clear that the immovable was President FW de Klerk and the irresistible was ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Mandela and De Klerk loomed large, long before Friday's opening of this indaba to lay the foundation for a democratic South Africa. On the shoulders of these men rested the hopes, fears, doubts and expectations of millions of South Africans

That is what the placard-waving Christians for Truth seemed to have in mind. Obviously this fellowship, which claims a membership of 20 000 worldwide, and which met delegates at the gates leading to the grounds of the World Trade Centre, made sure that the 19 organisations and political groups attending Codesa never forgot The Lord

"Swine! Traitor!" a white woman screamed as State President FW de Klerk whisked past in a white Mercedes

"Don't kowtow to Geoffrey Howe", "Whites will not surrender" and "De Klerk has no mandate" stated various rightwing posters. At the helm of the protesters was the head of the English-speaking Republican Unity Movement, Clive Derby-Lewis. The Five Freedoms Forum, by contrast, sent a message of peace to all leaders from the children of South Africa. Inside the centre's reception

The big event we've all been waiting for



DEMOCRACY KICKS OFF ... Government heavyweights Gerrit Viljoen, FW de Klerk and Pik Botha look on as ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses those gathered at Codesa.

12/12/91

area Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise was a worried man. To him Friday's opening had something missing

"The thing that breaks my heart is the absence of the PAC. They have isolated themselves," said Modise as he surveyed arrivals from the mezzanine floor of the World Trade Centre. Within seconds Modise's spirits lifted. He declared "This is the crowning glory of our efforts

11/4

We will allow no tricks during the convention. We will not allow certain things which are not in the interests of our people to happen at this convention.

A deadpan Leboowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike made his arrival. Just then Foreign Minister Pik Botha made a grand entrance and was mobbed by TV and press photographers. There was a glimpse of the "new" South

11/4

Africa when Botha was escorted past the security checkpoint by two black security officers. Meanwhile United States ambassador William Swing was shaking hands with members of the ANC delegation. The reception area was filling fast. Most of the predominantly male arrivals were as sombre as their dark suits.

There was a dash of African colour when Nigerian High Com-

■ Pic EVANS MBOWENI

11/4

missioner Alaba Ogunsanwo, in flowing colourful robes and wearing a whisk, made his grand entrance. In tow was equally colourful Nigerian ambassador Chief HE Segun Olusola, carrying himself with the dignity born of diplomatic training.

Nobody was excited when yet another sleek black BMW slid to a quiet stop near the entrance. It was the jostling and noisy TV and press photographers that gave the

game away. A smiling Nelson Mandela emerged from the car. His entourage followed as if on cue. There was Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and a dainty Barbara Masekela. "We have arrived. There is no turning back now," said Lekota, sounding like a prizefighter who had prepared long and hard for a fight he had to win. What a contrast when Ciskei strongman Oupa Gqozo, in dark glasses, cut a lonely figure just behind the Mandela-led procession.

Two women well-known in South African politics made their entrance. There was the tireless human rights champion Helen Suzman in a smart blue suit, white handbag and two-tone black and white shoes. Unsmiling Health Minister Rina Venter entered dressed in a smart green suit, fawn shoes and carrying a fawn briefcase.

It was after 9 am that another star of the show made his attention-grabbing arrival. Who could blame President de Klerk? South Africa's history in the nineties had made the man. The photographers who mobbed him seemed to confirm that.

The moment of truth had arrived. The hall with its chandeliers, red upholstered silver chairs and white cloth-draped tables resembled a mini version of the United Nations. But this time it was South Africa. The issues were different and the people were different.

Most delegates' eyes were fixed on the raised stage with its huge Codesa banner with black and white silhouettes, which obviously symbolised a new South Africa. Then delegates got down to the talks to make that a reality.

BRIEFING

Stayaway just first salvo

CYRIL Ramaphosa is a man who weighs his words carefully and assesses the terrain thoroughly before committing himself to a course of action. Thus he should be taken seriously when he warns that the recent two-day general strike or stayaway against VAT was but the first battle in a long campaign.

The interview turns to a related subject, nationalisation which Mr. Ramaphosa refuses to rule out as an option for a future ANC government.

He agrees that the ANC has failed to attract significant white support. Its failure to do so is, however, being addressed "right now."

Mr Ramaphosa has been quoted as describing himself as a Marxist. The quote, published in the Financial Mail, juxtaposes with his statement that he is not, and has never been, a member of the South African Communist Party.

But, Mr Ramaphosa emphasises, government can intervene in a variety of ways through nationalisation, through joint ownership of enterprises, and through monetary and fiscal policies.

When or if a future ANC government decided to nationalise portions of the economy, it would do so only after "research and analysis" in which the key criterion would be to see how it could benefit the country.

Struggle

It is, of course, quite possible to be a Marxist without being a card-carrying member of the SACP. The intellectual and philosophical parameters of Marxism are much wider than those of the SACP.

Mr Ramaphosa refuses to confirm or deny that he is Marxist. Instead he describes his formative experiences as a trade union leader "You can read between the lines," he says.

He ends with a reassurance to anxious whites: "The ANC's commitment is to multiparty democracy and tolerance."

Appalled

We are organising so that we can get into those areas where we are weak and actually begin the process of explaining what the ANC stands for. We have found that more often than not, when people get to know what the ANC is all about, they come to our side.

want to be a member of the ANC I want to work for the ANC.
"But, of course, white people have their own fears and these fears have to be addressed."
It is up to Mr Ramaphosa that many whites have heard reports of and are appalled by ANC detention camps, allegations that its guerrilla commanders and political commissars tortured dissidents and intimidated students and other young members.
"We have never denied that detentions took place," Mr Ramaphosa replies.
"They took place when the ANC was a beleaguered organisation fighting against a vicious enemy who was sending spies into the camps to kill and to destroy the organisation. When you are dealing with a brutal enemy like the South African Government, these things had to happen. But they belong to our past."
As a demonstration of its bona fides, the ANC has appointed a three-member commission to investigate the question of detention and torture.
Mr Ramaphosa says, "You will be surprised to know that quite a number of Afrikaans-speaking white people are coming over to the ANC of their own volition, saying 'I

to change trails, for- marriage by causing us | Bath the baby every day | cluded | bottle and its teat have to

Star (2/11/91)

Campaign for 'Black Christmas' in S Tvl

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation will join the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal to arrange a consumer boycott over the Christmas season, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said yesterday.

He said his organisation's national council meeting at the weekend had decided on a nationwide anti-VAT boycott and would discuss this with other bodies.

He said Azapo would "consider most favourably" CAST's decision to call for a "Black Christmas" from December 15 to January 10 in the southern Transvaal to protest against the police's failure to bring to book the assassins of for-

mer CAST publicity secretary Sam Ntuli, who was shot dead two months ago.

The police have denied reluctance to bring assassins of anti-apartheid leaders to book, reiterating their commitment to the National Peace Accord.

ANC national executive committee member and spokesman Gill Marcus said she would have to consult her colleagues about a boycott.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his region would discuss the proposed Black Christmas as soon as CAST had approached it.

Cosatu spokesman Bangumzi Sifingo said the union federation would also discuss a Black Christmas drive.

(11A) (11A) Star 12/11/91

PAC, Govt to have first talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will have their first official contact at a meeting to be held this week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke has confirmed.

The meeting, to be held at an as yet unknown venue, will involve the Government "and its allies" on the one hand and the newly formed Patriotic Front — including the PAC — on the other hand.

The focus of the meeting will be the multiparty talks to be held on November 29, which will mark the beginning of real negotiations.



Dikgang Moseneke . . . first official contact.

Mr Moseneke said the fact that the PAC would attend this week's meeting was now "public knowledge" after he had said as much at a meeting in Lenasia at the weekend.

However, he would not

disclose where and when the meeting was scheduled to take place

A senior ANC official yesterday confirmed the meeting was on.

The official revealed that the ANC and the Government would hold talks today to finalise details for the meeting, and these were likely to be made available to the press on the same day.

The PAC, which retains its armed struggle, has always refused to have any contact with Pretoria, claiming the Government was illegitimate and that the PAC therefore did not recognise it. This week's meeting will be the first direct contact between the two parties.

WCC set to halt aid for ANC and PAC

Star 12/11/91
(258) (11A)

The African National Congress has reacted cautiously to an announcement by the World Council of Churches yesterday which said the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress would no longer qualify for WCC "racism grants" once they had joined an interim government in South Africa.

The WCC announced yesterday it was giving \$11 000 (about R400 000) to the ANC as part of its annual grants to combat racism.

But it said the ANC and PAC would no longer qualify for WCC money once they had joined an interim government.

Reacting to the announcement, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the decision would be premature. At that point — when the ANC and PAC had joined an interim government — the country would still have no constitution, with free and fair elections.

The political process in the country would not be complete. Miss Marcus said the decision should be implemented with the completion of an elected constituent assembly. The ANC would discuss the matter with the WCC, she added.

There was no comment forthcoming from the PAC after repeated telephone calls. PAC official Carter Seleke was liaising with colleagues before comment could be issued on the matter, his office said.

South African Council of Churches spokesman Dr John Lamola said that when the ANC and PAC had joined an interim government, they would be part of and running the government.

The WCC, he added, did not cater for governments but for humanitarian responsibilities of liberation movements.

The Geneva-based WCC, which groups 320 Protestant denominations, said in a statement that its 1991 "anti-racist grants would total \$505 000 (R1.4 billion).

The ANC and PAC are the biggest beneficiaries by far of the 48 groups that receive the grants worldwide. — Sapa.

Harsh criticism of Mandela

Political Staff

JERUSALEM — Nelson Mandela's embraces of Yasser Arafat and Muammar Gaddafi will long not be forgotten or forgiven in Israel. *SPR 12/11/91*

They surfaced again yesterday in the Jerusalem Post, where the Palestine Liberation Organisation and Libyan leader were described as "soul mates" of Mr Mandela.

11A 20/11/91 in editorial comment lavishing accolades on President de Klerk, it criticised the ANC's communist element and accused Mr Mandela of being a relic of thinking that had been dramatically overtaken by history.

Mr de Klerk's visit is very much in the news, sharing prominence with the burial in Jerusalem of publishing magnate Robert Maxwell.

Churches set to stop aid to ANC

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC has reacted cautiously to an announcement by the World Council of Churches that the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress would no longer qualify for WCC money once they had joined an interim government

The WCC yesterday said it was giving R400 000 to the ANC as part of its

annual grants to combat racism

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the decision to stop the grants should be implemented only with the completion of an elected constituent assembly. With an interim government, the country would still have no constitution with free and fair elections, she said — Sapa-Reuter

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CT 12/11/91

Dinkins leaves for SA

THE mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins, left for South Africa on Sunday on a trip designed to develop his city's ties with a future post-apartheid South Africa.

Dinkins, whose city has the largest population of blacks in the United States, flew out of Kennedy Airport on a two-week trip accompanied by more than 30 officials and business people. *Sowetan 12/11/91*

He is scheduled to arrive in Johannesburg today after a stopover in Rome.

Dinkins has been invited to South Africa by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He is scheduled to meet South African Government officials, including Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

"South Africa is a very, very rich country and someday they are going to be free," Dinkins said before leaving.

He said it was important for him to keep pressing economic sanctions against South Africa's white minority government and to support the black majority.

He left with a luggage full of books and balloons for schoolchildren. - *Sapa-Reuter.*

Dinkins expected to arrive today

6 Day 12/11/91
DARIUS SANAI

NEW YORK Mayor David Dinkins arrives in SA today for a five-day tour as a guest of the ANC.

Dinkins is scheduled to meet ANC leaders, representatives of the national peace committee and leaders of Cosatu, the PAC and Azapo. He is also provisionally scheduled to meet President F W de Klerk.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and US Ambassador William Swing will meet Dinkins at John Smuts Airport this morning.

Dinkins, New York's first black mayor, was invited to SA by Mandela when he visited the US last year.

The mayor's trip was initially set for September, but was postponed because of a lack of funds.

The original cost of the trip was to have been \$455 000, but informed sources said the final

cost would be less than half that amount.

A Democrat and an outspoken opponent of apartheid, Dinkins was elected in 1989, ousting mayor Eddie Koch — also a Democrat.

He is accompanied on his tour by New York dignitaries, opponents of apartheid and union leaders.

Dinkins received Mandela warmly in New York last year.

He is considered a moderate Democrat, in a different mould to former presidential candidate Jesse Jackson.

As New York mayor, Dinkins has no say in his country's policy-making process, but the emotional value of his visit — the second by a black American politician — is great.

His influence on Democrats in Congress

and on other Democratic politicians who continue to support sanctions on state and local levels is considered significant.

Dinkins's hardline stance on apartheid and closeness to the ANC — out of keeping with his moderation on other policy matters — can be attributed to his electoral base.

"The US perception of SA is very simplified, more so than in European countries," said a diplomat who did not want to be named.

Political analysts say most of Dinkins's political support comes from groups which fervently oppose apartheid and support the ANC's position on current SA politics, so it is unlikely that he will deviate from his position.

He recently risked the wrath of his electorate by submitting a budget plan for the city, which is on the verge of bankruptcy, to cut public services by \$1.5bn.



● DINKINS

Dinkins and Aish...



Hani to shun senior SACP posts

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

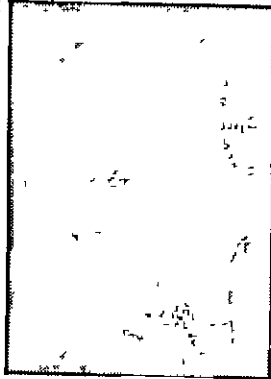
Star 13/11/91

(11A)

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday he would not stand for any of the top five positions in the South African Communist Party to be elected at the party's first legal conference in the country in more than 40 years.

Mr Hani's announcement came in the wake of the ANC's decision not to second him to the SACP to complement the SACP's leadership, weakened by the illness and heavy ANC workload of outgoing general-secretary Joe Slovo

Mr Slovo and Mr Hani, the two most powerful and popular SACP leaders, told a press conference in Johannesburg they would not contest the position of general-secretary to be elected by secret ballot at the



Chris Hani ANC will not be seconding him to the SACP

party's annual four-day congress in Johannesburg, starting on December 5

Mr Slovo would be available for the other four top positions — assistant general-secretary, chairman, deputy chairman and treasurer — and Mr Hani would only stand for election on to the SACP's central committee

Briefing the media on

arrangements for the congress, Mr Hani said the interim leadership committee would seek endorsement for a campaign of solidarity with Cuba, a long-standing ANC/SACP/Cosatu ally which, he said, was under severe political and economic pressure from the neighbouring United States

The campaign would be aimed at collecting medicine — in short supply in Cuba — and to educate South Africans about "the achievements of the Cuban revolution".

Other campaigns to be proposed included a focus on the plight of workers and the poor to ensure that their needs would be sufficiently addressed by a new democratic government, and a campaign for the release of political prisoners remaining in jail

Mr Slovo said the SACP had established 299 branches country-

wide since its relaunch in the country last year and currently had a paid-up membership of some 20 000.

About 400 delegates would attend the congress, as well as representatives from communist and socialist parties in other countries. Among those attending would be the general-secretary of Israel's Communist Party, Meir Wilner

Mr Slovo said the congress would be a watershed occasion in view of the failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and the growth of the SACP.

"It will mark a new launching pad for the Left and the socialist project"

However, he expected "considerable debate" on issues such as the role and character of the party in the unique SA conditions, the lessons from Eastern Europe and the relevance of socialism for SA

Hani pulls out of SACP election race

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Ham will not stand for any of the top five positions in the South African Communist Party at the party's first legal conference next month

Hani announced this at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday

His announcement comes in the wake of the ANC's decision not to second him to the SACP, which has been weakened by the illness of outgoing general secretary Mr Joe Slovo.

Slovo also announced he would not contest the position of general secretary at the party's four-day congress, which starts in Johannesburg on December 5

Sowetan Correspondent

He would, however, be available for the other four top positions - assistant general secretary, chairman, deputy chairman and treasurer - while Hani would only stand for election onto the SACP's central committee

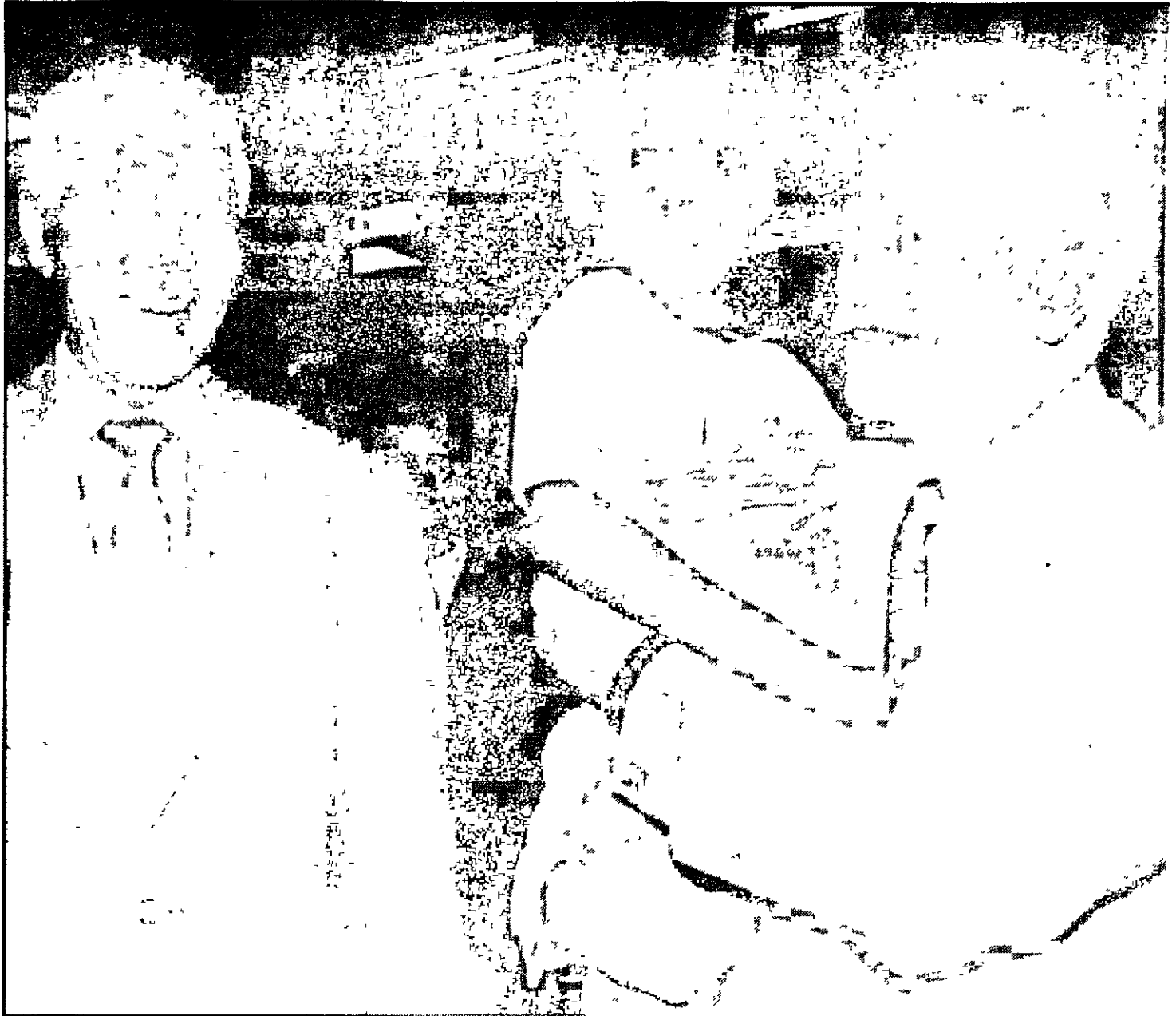
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was under severe political and economic pressure from the neighbouring United States

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About 400 delegates and representatives from communist and socialist parties in other countries will attend "It will mark a new launching pad for the left and the socialist project," Slovo said.

*11A
Sowetan 13/11/91*



Welcome . . . New York mayor David Dinkins, flanked by Nelson Mandela, cuddles a child shortly after arriving in South Africa yesterday. Picture: AFP

Top ANC leaders greet New York mayor

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The top ANC leadership turned out at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday morning to meet anti-apartheid activist and New York mayor David Dinkins

Mr Dinkins, who ousted fellow Democrat Eddie Koch in 1989 to become the first black mayor of the United States' financial capital, arrived in South Africa on a five-day visit as a guest of the ANC.

On his arrival yesterday, Mr Dinkins told a press conference he had brought along with him about 35 people who were experts in different fields and could therefore be of assistance to South Africa.

He said not only South Africa would benefit from his visit, New York City and the United States could also benefit from

"a free and unshackled South Africa"

The New York mayor, who first met Nelson Mandela when the ANC leader visited the US last year, praised Mr Mandela for his sacrifice in the struggle against apartheid over the years, saying he had become "a hero and a role model" to himself and many others

Mr Dinkins said that as an African-American he had become acutely aware of SA's abuse of human rights, and the fact that he was black was "an important aspect" of his visit

Welcoming Mr Dinkins, Mr Mandela said the New York mayor was visiting the country at a very important period when the key political players were preparing for an all-party congress which would charter the way forward towards a new South Africa

"It is correct and proper for mayor Dinkins to visit the country at this time because he has been one of the foremost anti-apartheid fighters in the US. He has been able to mobilise almost the entire population of New York to rally behind the anti-apartheid campaign.

"We consider it fortunate that a man with that track record should visit our country at this time," Mr Mandela said.

South Africa's economy, Mr Mandela added, was in tatters and the ANC had already taken actions to restrict the damage done to it. However, Mr Mandela said, all kinds of pressure on Pretoria, including sanctions, had to be maintained.

He revealed that during his visit to New York last year he had started discussions with Mr Dinkins with a view to estab-

lishing a post-apartheid development bank. He hoped to discuss "practical measures" with Mr Dinkins on his visit.

Mr Dinkins, who is accompanied by his wife Joyce and his deputy Bill Lynch, yesterday toured Baragwanath Hospital and Mandela Village before attending a reception in his honour at the Mandelas' home in Orlando West, Soweto

Mr Dinkins will hold talks with various ANC leaders, Constitutional Development Minister and Acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the National Peace Committee, Nobel Prize laureate Nadine Gordimer and civic organisations

Also at the airport were ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and his deputy Jacob Zuma, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan.

WCC grant to PAC (11A)

Star 13/11/91
The PAC yesterday welcomed a grant of R263 000 made by the World Council of Churches to it for 1991. A PAC spokesman said in the past grants had contributed towards eradicating apartheid and placed the churches on the side of those who struggled against racism and oppression.

Balancing the scales of power

AS THE major political contestants move rapidly towards the negotiating table, there has suddenly been a critical shift in the balance of power between them.

For more than a year and a half, from when President de Klerk made his epochal speech on February 2 1990, the National Party held the initiative, taking one pace-setting step after another that kept the African National Congress and its allies in a constantly reactive phase, struggling to adjust to the changes the Government was initiating.

Steadily the ANC saw the positions of strength it had built up, and which had forced the Government to make this dramatic change of course, being eroded its dominant influence on international opinion, the pressure of sanctions, its ability to keep South Africa isolated in virtually every field; its mobilisation of mass action in the townships.

President de Klerk was in the spotlight and a relieved world, eager to reward him, was lifting sanctions and inviting him for State visits. Internally the NP began making inroads into the coloured, Indian and white liberal communities.

As outgoing secretary-general

Alfred Nzo noted at the ANC's national conference in June, the NP had "succeeded in creating an image of being winners", while the ANC was giving an impression of disunity and lack of direction. People kept asking derisively when the ANC was going to get its act together.

For President de Klerk this augured well for the negotiations. The balance of forces was strongly in his favour, which meant he would be well placed to force the ANC into accepting compromises much closer to his opening positions than its own.

That is why he looked so relaxed and confident. Now the situation has changed. The turnaround began with the Inkatha slush funds scandal in July, which seriously tarnished President de Klerk's new image. Doubts arose about the role of the police in the ongoing township violence.

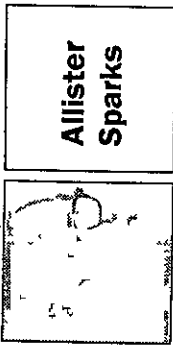
For its part, the ANC did indeed get its act together at its Durban conference, with the election of a better integrated and more effective leadership.

The election of Dr Allan Boesak as Western Cape leader began to recover lost ground among the coloured people. South Africa's re- turn to international sport demon-

Star 13/11/91



11A



Allister Sparks

strated that the ANC, not President de Klerk, held the key to readmission.

But most important of all was the forging of the Patriotic Front alliance in Durban two weeks ago, followed by last week's spectacularly successful protest strike against VAT.

The first turned the long Nationalist strategy of divide-and-rule on its head. Everything the Government has done since unbanning the ANC was aimed at trying to split it, so that the NP could forge an alliance with the supposed moderates that would keep out the "extremists".

But the ANC, for all its diversity, proved more cohesive than these strategists realised.

What the Nats overlooked is that it is the only liberation movement that never split in exile.

Instead, it has now expanded its alliances to present a widened front of black unity, while it is

Afrikaner nationalism that may soon present a picture of deepening disunity when the forthcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections are held.

The strike, meanwhile, has demonstrated the black alliance's ability to mobilise formidable economic pressure.

Analysts have been taking it for granted that the ANC no longer had a revolutionary option open to it now it has shown it has an even more potent option, which is the ability to cripple the economy if it chooses.

These two factors together greatly increase the bargaining strength of the ANC and its allies. They do so, moreover, as the negotiations are about to begin. It seems certain that agreement will be reached before the end of this week for the multiparty conference to start on November 29, convened by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice John Corbett, and presided over by the Rev Johan Heyns of the Dutch Reformed Church and Bishop Stanley Magoba of the South African Council of Churches.

That is why the NP is no longer so relaxed and confident.

The shrill note that came out of the Transvaal congress last Thursday, the sudden reversion to

old-style bluster and threats by President de Klerk, are reflections of a new anxiety and tension. The Nationalists have been shaken by the realisation that they are not going to be able to call the shots in these negotiations the way they thought they were.

All negotiations are a projection of the real strengths the competing parties possess outside the conference room. A trade union that does not have the capacity to call a strike will gain little at a wage negotiation with a powerful employer.

So, too, with these negotiations. Both sides go into them with opening positions the ANC demanding an interim government to run the country while one-person-one-vote elections are held for a constituent assembly to draft the new constitution, the Government insisting that it must continue to govern and that the new constitution must be negotiated by all parties equally, regardless of size.

Beyond that are the opening positions on the constitution itself the ANC demanding a Westminster-style "winner takes all" constitution with a Bill of Rights to protect minorities, the NP proposing a complex "loser keeps all" formula in which consensus requirements and minority vetoes

would entrench as much of the status quo as possible.

Where the compromise agreements are reached, these opening bids will depend on the bargaining power each side brings to the table.

The danger in all such situations arises if there is an imbalance of power — if one side is able to dominate the process and force the other to accept compromises too great for its constituency to accept.

If that happens, the deal will not survive. The negotiating party that has been forced to yield too much will be discredited in its own constituency, which will turn in frustration and disgust to more radical leaders promising a more militant approach. That is the road to anarchy and ruin.

It is the road that the disproportionate strength of the NP and its aggressive approach to the negotiating process threatened to put us on.

Now, fortunately, there has been a redressing of that imbalance. The two sides are more evenly matched.

The Nationalists are upset that they won't have it all their own way, but it means South Africa may get proper compromises, which, it is hoped, can stick.

Steering committee meets on Friday

All-party talks vital step closer

11A (3000)
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Star 13/11/91
The negotiating table will become visible in outline for the first time on Friday when a steering committee convenes in Johannesburg to make final arrangements for multiparty constitutional talks

It is expected that senior leaders representing up to seven parties will attend the historic meeting. The National Party and ANC will certainly be present, and sources close to the negotiations process are hopeful that the PAC, Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party will also.

Sources told The Star yesterday that the date, venue, agenda, convener, participants and other details about the long-awaited all-party conference — which marks the end of the "talks about talks" phase of negotiations — would probably be announced after Friday's meeting.

The Government and the ANC were expected to meet last night to finalise arrangements for the steering committee meeting and to make provisional proposals on the "modalities" of the multiparty talks.

One issue they were likely to consider was whether or not the IFP should form part of the steering committee. Last week IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his capacity as Chief Minister of KwaZulu, agreed that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen should represent him and other homeland leaders as well as parliamentary administrations in preparatory talks.

It is not clear, however, whether this arrangement referred to the KwaZulu government exclusively, or if it included the IFP as a political party

Thrashed out

Although it is understood that most of the arrangements for the all-party talks have been thrashed out in meetings between the Government and the ANC, they will only be finalised by the steering committee

ANC and Government sources characterised Friday's meeting as something of a formality. By contrast, PAC sources suggested that they saw the meeting — their first official encounter with the Government — as a chance to negotiate arrangements from scratch. This has led to uncertainty about the length of the meeting. "It could last a morning or a few days," one source said.

Important issues were still unresolved before last night's ANC-Government meeting. One was whether the Government should send a separate delegation to the multiparty talks, distinct from that of the NP.

The Government feels that separate representation is necessary to deal with practical governmental matters, such as transitional arrangements. Such a delegation would have no voting rights.

Another outstanding issue is whether organisations such as Cosatu, which are not political parties or movements, should be included.

November 29 and 30 are still regarded as the most likely dates for the start of the all-party conference, with December 9 as an alternative date.

The first meeting of the all-party conference is expected to take place in a non-Government, neutral venue somewhere between Pretoria and Johannesburg.

SACP to send aid to Cuba

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Communist Party will campaign for greater solidarity with Cuba, central committee member Mr Chris Hami said.

Mr Hami said at a news conference here yesterday that the SACP would embark on a programme to send aid and medical supplies to Cuba.

He praised the Cuban government for aiding liberation movements in the past.

● The SACP will hold its first national congress within SA in more than 40 years in Johannesburg next month.

Sapa (11) ET 13/11/91

Youth threaten to desert the PAC

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC youth wing, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, has threatened to withdraw completely from the PAC in protest against the parent organisation's decision to go into "pre-constituent assembly" talks with the government.

Paso, which claims a membership of 195 000 nationwide, threatened to leave it to the present PAC leadership to organise a new body for "Africanist" students and pupils.

The PAC and ANC are to meet the government on Friday to discuss an all-party conference at which the demand for a constituent assembly will be made.

Branding the PAC leadership as opportunistic, Paso said yesterday that it was opposed to the meeting. "This sudden shift by the PAC leadership from an understanding of the grassroots has forced us to rethink our position as a component structure of the PAC," said Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said: "Paso is an extremely important component of the PAC, having incredible support among the youth. The statement by Mr Nqandela is unfortunate because there has been extensive consultation at meetings where he was present."

The organisation's general secretary, Mr Benny Alexander, said a formal response would be made in due course. The PAC leadership had arrived at its current position after extensive consultation with branches throughout the country.

"We have also consulted the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and all PAC national leaders met in Zimbabwe a month ago to consider the way forward. Besides all this, we have a PAC congress resolution to engage the regime on the modalities of a constituent assembly" — Sapa

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SACP planning a new socialist vision

11A
B/day 13/11/91
TIM COHEN

THE SA Communist Party would next month hold its first legal congress in 41 years in Johannesburg, where it would draw up a manifesto on a new socialist vision, the organisation announced yesterday

The congress will consider collecting money to buy medical supplies for Cuba

SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo said the congress would be a watershed because of the party's changed circumstances and because of the failure of communist governments in Europe and the Soviet Union

About 400 delegates from 299 branches would attend the congress, representing the SACP's roughly 20 000 members, he said. Elections would be held for the four top SACP posts — secretary-general, national chairman, deputy secretary-general and treasurer — and for 21 other central committee positions

Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hanu and Slovo both said they would be unavailable for the secretary-general's job

However, Slovo was prepared to serve as a portfolio holder and Hanu was prepared to serve on the central committee

Hanu said three campaigns would be proposed at the congress, a campaign to support Cuba, a focus on the poor, and a campaign to ensure the freedom of Umkhonto members cur-

rently in prison

He said Cuba was suffering because of the US financial blockade and the collapse of the Soviet Communist Party. The collection of funds for medicines, which were in short supply in Cuba, and organisation of marches on the US embassy to protest its interference in Cuban affairs would be proposed

Cuban observers would attend the December 5-8 conference. Party representatives from Nicaragua, France, China, Vietnam and the general secretary of Israel's Communist Party, Meir Vilner, had confirmed that they would attend, Hanu said

A new constitution for the SACP would be passed at the congress

A draft constitution says the party intends to become the leading political force in SA's working class but does not claim "a natural or constitutional right" to occupy a vanguard position. "In leading the working class towards national and social emancipation the party is guided by those principles of Marxism which have proven universal validity by historical experience," the draft says

The party would work to end capitalist exploitation in SA and establish a democratic socialist society based on common ownership and control of key means of production

Petane: Minister says no

CT 13/11/84
UFA
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Political Staff

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel has turned down an ANC request for a meeting with its Western Cape executive over the arrest of a senior member of the executive.

Mr Mxolisi Petane was arrested on November 6 at the ANC's regional headquarters in Woodstock.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said it had received a letter from Mr Kriel, in which he said he had requested the regional commissioner, Major-General Nick Acker, to organise a meeting with the Western Cape executive.

"The ANC considers his reply to be flippant and an indication that the minister is not taking our request seriously."

Mr Petane was facing serious allegations, the statement said. "His life has been placed in danger and his reputation has been slurred"

Talks pose question: Which side are you on?

So what 13/11/91 (11A) ~~11A~~

DO some or all of the major players in South African politics really have a double agenda?

This question comes to the fore as the prospect of multiparty or multilateral talks becomes real

The ANC is already talking to the Government, the PAC is ready to talk and the Government talks about talking

Representatives of the Patriotic Front meet with Government delegates this weekend to prepare for multiparty talks scheduled for November 29

Special note should be taken that multiparty is used here for convenience of language and is not intended to take a side in this debate

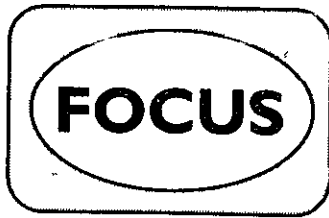
What is now pertinent is the position of homeland and tricameral parliament leaders. Are they hunting with the hounds and running with the hares?

Secondly, how far will the ANC and the PAC succeed in getting the Government to stop being player, referee, linesman and selector for all teams? Lastly, do the ANC and the PAC have agendas of their own?

At its Durban conference from October 25 to 27, the PF resolved to work towards an all-party conference or pre-constituent assembly conference which would include the Government and all interested parties

The PF also said the Government was illegal and agreed on the establishment of a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the country's constitution. The Front also agreed that an interim government or transitional authority was needed for the transitional phase

Significant is that homeland and tricameral parliament leaders - notably Mr Nelson Ramodike of



By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

Lebowa and the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party - have endorsed these calls

Although welcome at the PF, Ramodike, Hendrickse and others of their ilk were accused by some Front participants of having a double agenda - maintaining an allegiance to the Government while at the same time trying to be with the people

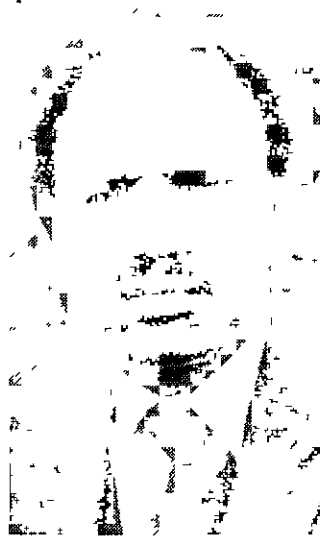
The Azanian Students Convention, a major Azapo formation, put it thus: "The double agenda pursued by these bantustan people is obvious for everyone to see. We cannot dare to reject something in winter and embrace it in summer."

Two weeks later homeland leaders vindicated allegations against them when, in a meeting at Union Buildings called by State President FW de Klerk, they endorsed Constitutional Minister Mr Gerrit Viljoen as their negotiator

As the Government has rejected most PF resolutions, for which these selfsame leaders voted in Durban, it blows the mind to understand their logic

In negotiations between the Government and the PF, which hat will they be wearing?

More confusing still, Ramodike at the weekend launched his United People's Front and committed it to the principles of the PF. He also said his organisation strove for a united South Africa and was not a



MR NELSON RAMODIKE



REV ALLAN HENDRICKSE

bantustan extension

Also at the Union Buildings meeting, homeland leaders decided that besides Inkatha, two parties from the homelands and the tricameral parliament should be included in pre-multiparty conference talks with De Klerk

This was done to thwart Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's status as chief supporter of De Klerk's multiparty conference ideal

PF spokesmen had previously argued that homeland leaders' relationship with the Government did not preclude them from joining the Front

The PF's brief is clear, its spokesmen say, and that is to engage the Government in talks on the modalities of transferring power to the majority

To achieve this, re-incorporation of homelands must be agreed upon. Homeland leaders in the PF agree to this

On Friday, when the PF meets the Government, it could be the beginning of the end for soap-box

politics and breast-beating

This is due to the fact that the PF - especially the PAC, which joins the ANC at the negotiating table for the first time on Friday - is acting on consensus from 90-plus organisations to negotiate the National Party Government out of power

Secondly, the Government is aware of the odds against it with regard to the PF's brief

Is De Klerk therefore ready to negotiate the NP out of 48 years of power? Or is he about to begin negotiating how to remain in power?

From his latest stances it is obvious he is not about to negotiate himself out of power. Also, as the man paying the salaries of these homeland leaders, he is now going to expect more loyalty from the Ramodikes

With the PF not likely to tolerate double agendas any more, homeland leaders may soon have a hard choice to make

Paso slates PAC

Sowetan 13/11/91

11A

for talks

THE Pan Africanist Congress suffered a blow yesterday when its militant youth wing, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, criticised the leadership for going into "pre-constituent assembly" talks with the Government.

At the same time Paso, which claims a membership of 195 000 nationwide, threatened to withdraw from the PAC, leaving it to the current leadership to organise a new body for "Africanist" students and pupils

The PAC and the ANC are scheduled to meet the authorities on Friday to discuss an all-party conference at which the demand

for a constituent assembly will be made

Branding PAC leadership as opportunistic, Paso said yesterday it was opposed to Friday's meeting between the Government and the PAC/ANC

"This sudden shift by the PAC leadership from an understanding of the grass-roots has forced us to re-think our position as a component structure of the PAC. These acts of desperation will never be supported by the PAC youth

"The clever talk of a preparatory meeting for the pre-constituent assembly is

nothing but a statement towards negotiation," said Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela.

In his initial reaction, PAC deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said he was shocked

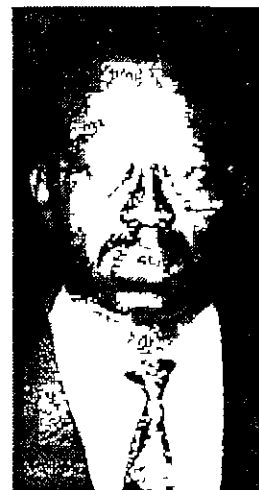
"Obviously, Paso is an extremely important component of the PAC, having incredible support among the youth. The statement by Nqandela is unfortunate because there has been extensive consultation at various meetings where he was present."

Later, the organisation's general secretary, Mr

Benny Alexander, also shocked at first by the youth wing's stance, said a formal response would be made in due course, but he added the PAC leadership had arrived at its current position after extensive consultation with branches throughout the country

"We have also consulted the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army and all PAC national leaders met in Zimbabwe a month ago to consider the way forward

"Besides all this, we have a PAC congress resolution to engage the regime on the modalities of a con-



DIKGANG MOSENEKE

stituent assembly.

Alexander said the leadership hoped to meet Paso as soon as possible to iron out their differences - Sapa

New S Africa will help US - Dinkins

Soviet Union 13/11/91



By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE United States would also benefit from a free South Africa, the mayor of New York, Mr David Dinkins, said yesterday

He was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his arrival for a four-day visit. He is accompanied by a delegation of more than 30 educationists and business people.

The trip, at the invitation of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, is designed to develop ties between New York and a future post-apartheid South Africa.

Asked how his visit would help South Africa, Dinkins said because New York was rich and a gateway to America its people had the capacity and expertise to assist in this country's housing, health care

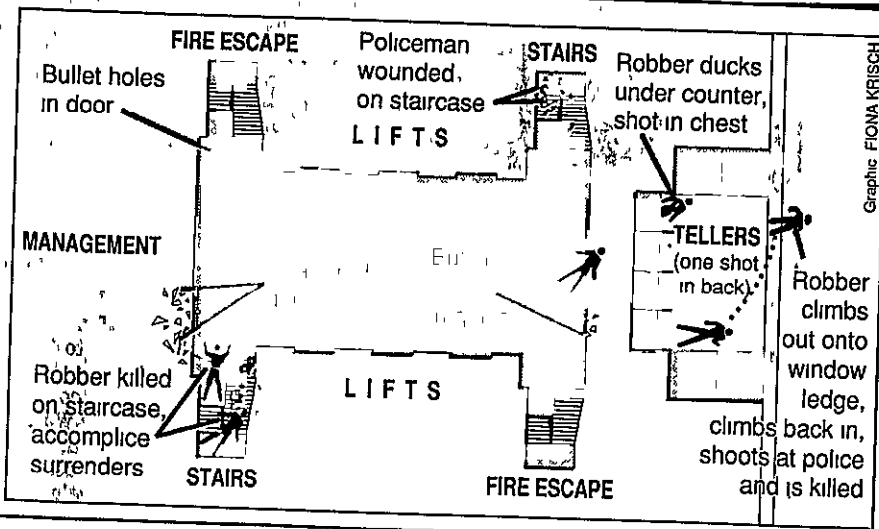
and education problems.

He described Mandela as his hero and role model.

"I am amazed that Mandela emerged from 27 years' imprisonment without bitterness or anger.

"Who among us could undergo the same degradation and physical punishment and then sit down to negotiate with one's captors in good faith and goodwill," he said.

Mandela said Dinkins' visit came at a significant period when preparations were under way for an all-party conference.



Mandela confirms November date

Stage is set for start of all-party talks

B/day 14/11/91

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and other political organisations will sit down together at the end of the month for a preparatory meeting expected to lead to full-scale constitutional negotiations early next year.

The meeting is set for November 29 and 30 and will be held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

It is being called a Convention for a Democratic Future.

Government and the ANC have been calling for a meeting before the end of the year to show the nation and the world that negotiations are finally under way.

ANC president Nelson Mandela confirmed the dates yesterday after meeting Italian Deputy Foreign Minister Andrea Borruso. He said the first meeting would be on November 29, but refused to divulge details of the venue, agenda or framework.

JONATHAN REES reports Constitutional Development Minister (and Acting President) Gerrit Viljoen last night criticised Mandela's announcement, calling it strange and presumptuous.

"His announcement is an improper attempt to create the impression that he or the ANC are unilaterally arranging matters with regard to the multiparty conference," Viljoen said the date had still to be finalised.

Mandela said "The all-party conference is set down for November 29 and 30," adding that arrangements were well in hand.

But ANC spokesman Gill Marcus told

BILLY PADDOCK

Sapa that November 29 was not "absolutely" the date, but a tentative date proposed by the ANC. "From our side we would like November 29," Marcus said.

The ANC and government/NP met again last night to iron out finer details for Friday's steering committee meeting at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg.

In terms of agreements between the parties discussing the preparations, no details should be divulged until after the steering committee meeting.

It is understood that leaders from about eight political organisations will attend the committee meeting set up to finalise the arrangements for the convention. These include the ANC, NP, Inkatha, the SACP, the DP and the Labour Party. The CP and Azapo have also been invited but it is not known if they will attend.

Sources said yesterday the first multiparty meeting on November 29 would be low-key in terms of getting down to the nitty-gritty of real negotiations.

The convention is expected to start with speeches by all the parties' leaders, then working groups to deal with the detailed constitutional principles will be set up. It will end with a statement of intent.

Other issues that might be dealt with are the setting up of a credentials committee, the agenda for constitutional negotiations and the procedures to be followed. A full-

Talks *B/day 14/11/91*

time secretariat and financial arrangements to support the negotiations will also form a central part of the meeting.

The credentials committee would judge organisations' support, their constituencies and whether they should be members of the multiparty negotiations. This would resolve decisions on, for instance, whether Cosatu, Sacob or other special interest bodies should be present and whether government would attend as a separate entity.

Procedures that still need to be resolved are who the rotating chairmen will be, how working groups will be set up and how decisions will be made, either through consensus or majority voting.

The agenda has largely been agreed upon and will consist of the following:

- Creating a political climate for stability by reducing violence.
 - Interim government or transitional arrangements.
 - Constitution-making mechanisms such as a constituent assembly.
 - The reincorporation of the TBVC states into SA, and
 - The role of the international community and sanctions in particular.
- Apparently all known political organisations would be invited to the talks, including homeland and TBVC states leaders.
- It has also been agreed that the convention would be convened by the Chief Justice Mr Justice Michael Corbett and two religious leaders, Johan Heyns and Methodist president Stanley Magoba.

Talks *B/day 14/11/91*

11A From Page 1

A step to real talks as main players meet

Sowetan 14/11/91

11A Political Correspondent

THE main players in the political scene take steps towards real negotiations when a steering committee, of representatives of the Government, the Patriotic Front and other parties meet for preliminary talks tomorrow

A complete list of political parties which will attend is still being kept secret, but sources have indicated that at least seven of the main players will attend the talks

It is also uncertain whether Inkatha Freedom Party will attend IFP leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed last week the Government would represent his movement

Tomorrow's meeting is particularly significant in that it will be the first time that the PAC will engage the Government in formal (and public) talks of any kind

Consensus

However, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim yesterday warned that the PAC's involvement in Friday's session was not a change in policy, or a shift in its basic call for elections for a constituent assembly

"We are not entering into constitutional negotiations Friday's meeting should be seen as an admin-

istrative meeting, rather than a policy one," Ebrahim said

The meeting will also seek consensus on a neutral venue, an independent convener and a date on which to hold what the PAC regards as "pre-constituent assembly talks, not the multiparty conference which (President FW) de Klerk has suggested," Ebrahim explained

The PAC's position on the "pre-constituent assembly talks" is that they will not touch on the constitutional future of the country

The PAC has constantly refused to enter into talks with the Government

PAC students 'threaten split'

South 14/11 - 20/11/91

11A

By Sabata Ngcai

THE PAN-Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has threatened to break away from the PAC following the organisation's decision to talk to the government.

The student organisation threatened to leave it to the present PAC leadership to organise a new body for "Africanist" students and pupils

Paso general secretary Mr Lawrence Nqandela said the sudden shift by the PAC leadership had forced Paso "to rethink its position as the component structure of the PAC"

The ANC and the PAC are to meet with the government this week for preparatory talks to work out logistics for the impending All Party Congress meeting.

In a statement the PAC said it

doubted if Nqandela "had a mandate from Paso" as the organisation had consulted with all branches nationally prior to the decision.

"Paso president, Mr Lungelo Mbandazayo, spoke in support of the Patriotic Front meetings with the regime on behalf of Paso

"We furthermore consulted with the Azanian People's Liberation Army and all leaders of the PAC — political, military, internal and external — a month ago to take a decision on the matter. At the Patriotic Front conference in Durban, PAC component structures represented themselves and supported all the decisions reached

"Mr Nqandela was among those who represented Paso."

The statement pointed out the PAC had "a congress resolution to engage the regime on the modalities of a Constituent Assembly".

PAC national secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, said the meeting this week would continue as scheduled despite the threats.

She said the PAC was attending the meeting as a Patriotic Front member to discuss, among other things, the venue and a neutral convenor of the envisaged All Party Congress.

Paso president Mr Lungelo Mbandazayo distanced himself from the statement issued by Nqandela.

"The statement purported to be issued by the secretary general of Paso cannot be said to be issued on behalf of Paso as the national executive committee of Paso and myself have no knowledge of that."

He expressed "unequivocal support for the present PAC leadership" and promised that "the alleged behaviour of the secretary general will be fully investigated".

SADF help a sensitive issue

ANC
w/m cut 15/11-21/11/91
THE African National Congress has not endorsed a call by the Cape Town Peace Committee for South African Defence Force troops to be deployed in townships affected by the taxi war conflict, the ANC's regional publicity secretary, Mziwonke Jacobs, said yesterday.

However, the ANC acknowledged that certain communities affected by the on-going violence had "in desperation" asked the Peace Committee to request that the SADF patrol major township transport routes.

Jacobs was approached to clarify an earlier press statement by the ANC's Western Cape region in response to a call by the Peace Committee this week for the SADF to step in following another outbreak of violence at the Nyanga taxi terminus on Tuesday.

He said the call for SADF involvement in the townships was "a sensitive issue" which was being urgently discussed within local ANC structures.

Jacobs said the appeal for SADF involvement was made by communities in Nyanga-East and parts of Khayelitsha following community meetings in these areas.

He emphasised however that the call for the troops indicated a lack of confidence in the ability of the police to bring an end to the violence.

Jacobs said the role of the security forces in the violence reinforced the ANC's call for an interim government which would exercise independent control over the police and SADF —

Sapa

See PAGE 25

Nefolovhodwe to tour UK, Canada

AZAPO president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe left the country on Wednesday night for a three-week tour of Britain, the Netherlands and Canada.

Nefolovhodwe, who was accompanied by Azapo's foreign secretary, Mr Mbulelo Rakwena, will be joined in Britain by a senior official of the organisation, Professor

By MOKGADI PELA

Itumeleng Mosala

Mosala said the delegation would meet several black groups, the Labour Party Black Caucus, trade unions, British government officials and the Opposition Labour Party.

Nefolovhodwe and Mosala will proceed to Canada where a series of

Sowetan 15/11/91
meetings have been arranged for them by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania Canada chapter.

Front

The BCMA Canada region's spokesman, Mr Gerald Phokubye, said the Azapo delegation would also address two meetings at the University of

Toronto and an international media conference. He added that of particular interest was Azapo's "expulsion from the Patriotic Front and its views regarding the future of South Africa."

Nefolovhodwe said his deputy, Dr Nchaube Mokoape, would take charge of the organisation until he returned.

Talks obstacles can be resolved

Star 15/11/91.
By Peter Fabricius and
Esmaré van der Merwe

The Government, ANC and other political players are confident they can resolve the disagreements which led to the cancellation of today's crucial meeting of a steering committee to prepare for multiparty negotiations

The meeting fell apart late on Wednesday because of disputes among the parties about who should take part in the steering committee — and because of Inkatha Freedom Party anger at feeling sidelined in preliminary arrangements

The delay in convening the steering committee has raised serious concerns about the chances of the Convention on a Democratic Future — which signals the start of "real" negotiations — starting on November 29 as planned

It is hoped that the postponed steering committee meeting can be held next week — possibly on Tuesday

In a tense week of behind-the-scenes negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen rebuffed ANC president Nelson Mandela for having let slip the planned date for the convention, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned that his party might scupper the talks if it were treated as subservient to bilateral ANC-Government decisions

Strange

Yesterday ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Dr Viljoen "completely overreacted" by labelling Mr Mandela's remarks "strange and presumptuous"

Mr Niehaus said there was nothing wrong in Mr Mandela's public statement that November 29 was the ANC's target date for starting formal all-

party negotiations

Complicating matters was the IFP's insistence yesterday that it had never even agreed to today's meeting — despite confirmation from the Government and ANC that the meeting had been scheduled but called off

IFP executive member Walter Felgate said the IFP had only been asked on Wednesday to attend today's meeting. This was too short notice to convene its negotiating team

Yesterday Dr Viljoen said "Speculation and premature announcements, such as those about supposed dates for the first meeting of a multiparty conference or for preparatory meetings with a view to calling an MPC, have had a retarding effect on negotiations"

Government, ANC and IFP sources agreed yesterday that intense negotiations would continue over the next few days. They were confident that differences could be patched up

Patrick Laurence analyses an important change in NP thinking on the multiparty talks

Separating party and state

Sfer 15/11/91

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PRESIDENT de Klerk's National Party has been the governing party for so long that even seasoned politicians forget there is a distinction between it and the Government

They will be reminded of the distinction at the pending meeting of the steering committee to prepare for the way the multiparty convention on South Africa's future

One of the first issues before it will be a proposal that the NP and the Government should be represented separately at the multiparty convention or, as the ANC calls it, the all-party congress. The proposal emanates from the Government, in apparent contradiction of its own idea of a multiparty conference, a notion that strongly implies that representation should be confined to political parties

On first sight the proposition has the hallmarks of a Machiavellian ploy to double the strength of the NP-Government delegation at the negotiating table. Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer admits to feeling "nega-

tive" about it. He does not see why one party should have double representation. But he does not feel strongly enough to raise it to a make-or-break issue. As he understands it, decisions at the multiparty conference will not be taken by voting but by seeking consensus. "It is not as if the Nats are getting more votes," he remarks.

The ANC-SACP has similarly moved from a position of initial scepticism to one of acceptance, sources say. It has no major objection to the NP and the Government splitting its representatives into NP and Government delegations provided that it does not give the NP-Government camp additional voting muscle. If, the ANC-SACP bloc reckons, the NP and the Government want to split their representatives into two delegations, that is their business. It shares Dr de Beer's anticipation that, in the earlier stages of the all-party talks at any rate, decisions will be taken by consensus rather than majority vote.

The ANC and its allies have, The Star understands, adopted a pragmatic stance if separate rep-

resentation for the NP and the Government is necessary to accelerate the negotiations process, it should be accepted. The ANC-SACP alliance sees the virtue of locking the Government into the all-party congress, alas the multiparty convention, if the NP alone is represented, the Government is theoretically not bound by any decision the NP might take.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is approaching the multiparty conference with a flexible or open mind on procedural matters, including the question of representation. The Star understands it is therefore unlikely to object to a Government request for separate representation.

These developments pose an important question why has the Government changed tack from its earlier insistence that the round-table talks should be between political parties?

At one level the answer is simple: the Government cannot be bound by the NP, at another level, however, that explanation is false. Mr de Klerk and his confidant, former Broederbond chief and Minister of Constitutional De-

velopment Gerrit Viljoen, are no slouches when it comes to strategic thinking.

They must have anticipated that the NP could not bind the Government when they first mooted the multiparty conference. The probabilities are that it did not worry them because the NP would not take any decisions which they did not approve of.

One answer for their new approach is that the Government is anxious to project the NP as a separate and viable force with a bright future. It is looking beyond the negotiating process to the first non-racial elections, in which the NP of the 1990s, with its racially open membership and its colour-blind philosophy, will be seeking the vote, directly or indirectly, of people across the entire racial spectrum.

The appointment of former Cabinet Minister Stoffel van der Merwe to the full-time post of secretary-general of the NP serves as a significant pointer. The title itself is symptomatic of NP thinking until Dr van der Merwe assumed his new post, each of the

NP's four provincial branches had a chief secretary; now, like the ANC, it has a secretary-general.

The NP, one can conclude, is putting itself on an election footing and wants to extract maximum mileage for itself during the negotiating process. It wants, its behaviour suggests, to spruce itself up to woo the black, coloured and Indian voters whom it previously ignored.

Agreement to allow the NP and Government to sit as two delegations may invite argument that place should be found at the negotiating table for, say, the KwaZulu Government as well as the IFP or the Gwagwa Government as well as Dikwankwela Party. It also may provide trade unions with an opening to claim places for themselves at the table. If the round-table talks are not restricted to bona fide political parties, the trade unions will be able to argue that they, too, have a right to be present.

One answer is that there are powerful reasons for making an exception for the central Government. The round-table talks are

about a new constitution for the whole of South Africa, it could be contended that, unlike the central Government, regional governments and trade unions do not have necessary *locus standi*.

These issues lead inexorably to another if the intention is to create a new constitution for the whole of South Africa — that is, as it existed before the establishment of the nominally independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — should those states not be represented at the talks? If so, by whom? Their governments or military juntas, their governments or, in the case of Transkei, the central government — or, in the case of Transkei, the ANC — or a combination of all these options?

The principle underlying the round-table talks is that they should be as inclusive as possible. A line will, however, have to be drawn somewhere. The question is where and according to what criteria.

Discussion at the preparatory meeting should be as fascinating as it is complex. □

'All not lost as ...'

Talks stall

Sowetan 15/11/91.

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DIFFERENCES between political parties have sunk today's talks on an all-party conference between the Government, its allies and the Patriotic Front.

The curt message yesterday from the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Government was: "It's off."

An ANC source did, however, stress that all was not lost and that negotiations were proceeding to try and rescue the talks.

"The feeling here is that this was one of those little sticklers that can be overcome," the source said.

Disagreement

On behalf of the Government, acting State President Dr Gerrit Viljoen said in a statement yesterday that diverse opinions given over the past few days had had "a retarding effect on negotiations"

Viljoen was referring to a statement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday when he told journalists that a multiparty confer-

By ISMAIL LARGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

ence was scheduled for November 29.

He said Mandela had acted against the spirit created by negotiations over the past 18 months where statements were made only after the different parties had reached agreement.

However, two sources from different parties close to the centre of the deliberations last night confirmed that the biggest problem was disagreement on many issues with the Inkatha Freedom Party

The sources said the IFP was specifically against the number of participants in today's aborted talks - it preferred to talk only to the Government and ANC.

Other parties also objected to their exclusion and the ANC echoed this by saying that the three parties were not the only main players.

The ANC wanted as many as 11 parties to attend the talks, including the Democratic Party, the Conservative Party and the Azanian Peoples

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Organisation

The IFP was also angered by suggestions this week that the Government and ANC had between them concluded most of the arrangements for the multiparty conference

This included an apparent agreement that it should be called the "Convention for a Democratic Future"

The PAC yesterday also confirmed the postponement but would not elaborate.

The PAC also had its differences with the rest of parties over exactly what today's meeting and the tentative meeting which was mooted for November 29 would discuss

Dinkins: much ado about nothing?

Sowetan 15/11/91.

NEW YORK - South Africans who have had New York's Mayor David Dinkins in their midst for close on a week must be wondering what the fuss is all about.

The fuss here in the United States, that is, not the lesser fuss in South Africa which has seen a long parade of similar visiting opportunists in the past few months - and is likely to see even more as the country demonstrates its ability to restore its sanctions-damaged economy and reduce its political risk

Manners

Dinkins, however, is unlike other commercial and political hat-tippers from Europe and Asia to visit the "new South Africa" He is travelling under the exclusive domain of the ANC

While there, Dinkins will have displayed the quiet good manners and pleasing bearing that are his trademark. But little else

Least of all the true pur-

By **RAMSEY MILNE**
Sowetan Foreign
News Service

pose of his visit.

On his arrival at Jan Smuts on Tuesday this much-criticised mayor on a much-criticised visit to a country against which he has waged a remorseless political campaign Dinkins declared that New York could profit from future trade with South Africa.

Beneficial

"It's appropriate that I am here," he said.

"This is a very rich country. This is a mutually beneficial visit."

You bet it is. But beneficial for whom? And especially for whom in New York?

Only this week, a mere 24 hours after the mayoral party's departure from Kennedy Airport, did one New York newspaper come out and ask the obvious question. Why has the ANC made no plans for Dinkins to consult with South Africa's

ca's (white) business leaders?

The newspaper *The New York Post*, found this omission "a strange decision in view of City Hall's professed interest in cultivating new commercial ties between New York and Pretoria"

Exile

The explanation springs from two facts. One is that the ANC in exile has appeared to many Americans, and nearly all black Americans, to be South Africa's sole representative organisation. It is this perception, methodically - some would say brilliantly - induced by the ANC over three or more decades, that converted extra political organisations such as Mr Randall Robinson's Trans-Africa and the New York-based American Committee on Africa into becoming dutiful lackeys of the ANC to the point that even today their representatives use almost the identical words in their public pronouncements, the product not



SELECT FEW Dinkins meets Mandela - but the Mayor of New York will not be seeing any white business leaders.

merely of shared ideologies but also of shared faxes.

For the most part, the American media has been similarly persuaded.

By definition then, in Dinkins' mind, the ANC represents "South Africa's business leaders"

This makes it, of course, very cosy, a real deal. It also helps explain the illogical nature of a mayoral political activist who is still vociferously imposing sanctions against "South Africa" yet who at the same time is able to do business with those whom he believes represent it like the ANC.

Truth

The simple truth is that Dinkins, for all his emotional exhortations about "coming home to Africa" is leading a delegation of people from New York all of whom, or their associates, in one way or another, hope to gain commercially from an ANC government, which is the only government they believe will inherit South Africa's wealth

'This is a very rich country. This is a mutually beneficial visit'

Land issue key to problems - Azapo

Sowetan 15/11/91
SOUTH Africa's political problems could be solved only when the land question had been addressed, Azapo general secretary Mr Don Nkademeng said at a symposium held at the University of the North yesterday.

The seminar, organised by the Department of Agriculture, heard viewpoints from representatives of political organisations such as the ANC, PAC, Democratic Party, Development Bank's Dr Simon Brand and Nafcoc's Mr Sam Motsuenyane.

Notable exclusions were National Party and Inkatha who were initially called to address but had their invitations withdrawn due to pressure on campus.

Differing radically from earlier speakers, Nkademeng said more than 80 percent of the population of the country do not have access to 87 percent of the land

"Few white farmers control about 95 percent of agricultural land and an economy, particularly agricultural economy, cannot be built under such circumstances,"

1/A
By DON SEOKANE

he said.

Mr Siphon Ngwenya, representing the ANC, said his organisation believed that the land issue was a political problem rooted in ideology and policies of the past governments.

"There should be redistribution of wealth with just compensation because the country cannot afford to have vast sums of unused land while people are suffering.

"Our objective is that agricultural land should be used productively to address the question of poverty," Ngwenya said.

Mr Mark Shimmers of the PAC said agriculture and, in particular, the farmer should be the backbone of the economy.

"Economic programmes should be in line with agricultural development so as to stimulate growth," Shimmers said.

Paso praised for stand on talks

11A
12

By ISAAC MOLEDI

THREE youth organisations aligned to Azapo have congratulated the PAC's youth wing, Paso, for criticising its leadership on its plans to hold pre-constituent assembly talks with the Government. *Sowetan 15/11/91*

The Azanian Youth Organisation, the Azanian Student Convention and the Azanian Students

Movement have praised Paso for the position it has taken on today's meeting between the Government, the ANC and PAC.

Paso threatened to withdraw from the PAC and join forces to organise a new body for "Africanist" students and pupils.

Mandela in Ghana (11A)

ACCRA — The people of South Africa were ready to complete the process of liberation in Africa that was started by Ghana in 1957, ANC president Nelson Mandela told a public audience here last night. Mr. Mandela, who is leading a 10-member ANC delegation, said that unless the South African Government agreed to a constituent assembly and transitional government it would continue to be both player and referee in the transitional process.

16/11/91
start

Necklace death violates ANC, PAC truce

JOHANNESBURG. — Fighting erupted last night between African National Congress supporters and Pan Africanist Congress members in Munsieville, west of Johannesburg, a day after a truce to end a long-drawn feud

At least one person, believed

to be a member of the PAC, was reported killed in the clashes that erupted at 5 pm.

Police said that about 10 men stormed a house in Munsieville, seized an occupant, stabbed him with a garden fork and set him alight. The man

died in the blaze

PAC claimed the necklaced man was one of their members

Police spokeswoman Captain Henriette Bester said calm returned to the township after an arrest by the SAP. — Sapa.

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ARC 16/11/91

These black leaders forsake townships for life in the city

Star 16/11/91

ABBEY MAKOE



WHILE their followers stay in the townships, some leaders of the liberation movements have moved into some of Johannesburg's relatively affluent suburbs

Activists, many of whom are former political prisoners, seem to be enjoying having swapped prison cells for luxury apartments

Before February 1990, anti-apartheid leaders who lived in the "white" sections of Johannesburg were mostly those on the run from the police

But now it has become fashionable for activists to meet in yuppie pubs and enjoy dinners in exclusive restaurants while their followers have to contend with crowded township shebeens

Among prominent anti-apartheid leaders who have moved to the suburbs are

- Dr Pallo Jordan, head of the ANC's information department, who is understood to live in Ponte City

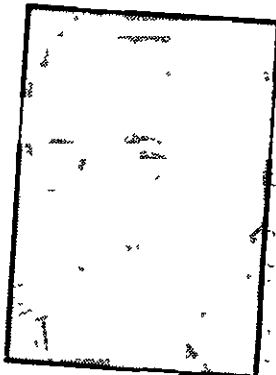
- Themba Khoza, Inkatha's Youth Brigade leader in the Transvaal, who lives in Hillbrow

- Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, president of Azapo, who lives in a flat in central Johannesburg

The ANC supports political leaders leaving the townships to start new lives in town. Said PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe "After all, we have long been deprived and this is what we have always fought for — to live where we please, without restrictions"

Dr Jordan said the whole question depended on affordability "If I have money and there is no Group Areas Act, I will live where I choose to. There's no reason blacks cannot live in Sandton if they can afford it," he said

He was not happy when asked where exactly he lived "You journalists should be writing about the scandalous, criminal shortage of housing for black people and not inquiring about where the ANC leaders live"



PALLO JORDAN lives in Ponte City, Berea



GOMOLEMO MOKAE lives in Mabopane

Inkatha's West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu said "I find nothing wrong in my colleague Themba (Khoza) living in town"

Another Inkatha official, Suzanne Vos, said she had nothing against anti-apartheid leaders living where they chose, including in the suburbs "But whether that is politically sound is another thing," she said

Mr Nefolovhodwe left the township after the four-roomed house he had rented was put on sale

He too would not say where he lived in town "I am hiring a flat I cannot afford to buy a property," he said

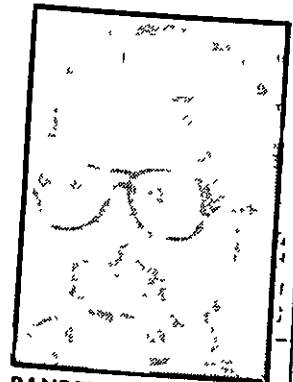
But not everybody is so accepting of political leaders living in greater comfort than their fol-

lowers Azapo education secretariat head Dr Gomolemo Mokae said he could not support activists "preoccupied with integration euphoria"

"Leadership by remote control from the rarefied atmosphere of Waterkloof, Lower Houghton or Durban North can only go against the grain of liberatory aspirations," he said

Dr Mokae added that people in leadership "should serve as beacons of hope by being literally in the thick of things with the oppressed"

Dr Mokae lives in Mabopane, outside Pretoria



PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODWE lives in the city



THEMBA KHOZA lives in Hillbrow

ANC, NP 'have same' goals for their people'

CLIP 17/11/91

■ PRESS WATCH

.....
What the Afrikaans papers are saying

11A

THERE can be no political settlement in South Africa if it is not backed by the country's most important "nationalistic" organisations, the NP and the ANC, *Rapport* said this week.

"That is why it is completely disturbing that the relationship between the two seems to be deteriorating daily," the Sunday paper said in an editorial.

"President FW de Klerk interpreted the feelings of most whites when he said this week that the ANC could not be trusted in its present form.

"In the immediate past there has been a flow of radical ideas and economic absurdities from the ANC. And there is no indication of a willingness to give and take.

"From the side of the ANC, one hears how it would wipe its opponents from the board once it gets control of the army and police.

"And the sadder communism looks worldwide, the clearer it seems as if the SACP is hollowing the ANC's soul from the inside like termites. The statesman have gone mum while the voices of hotheads and radicals sound louder and louder.

"The ANC has to realise clearly what options the country is facing: either we accommodate each other and grant one another living space, or we are heading for an almighty conflict.

"If the ANC thinks that the Afrikaner will give up 350 years of self-determination in favour of a black

dictatorship, then it can surely think again.

"The NP and ANC are in many ways the reverse and mirror images of each other. Through the years both have desired exactly the same goals for their followers. Both have been supported for years by farm people, workers and teachers.

"And, both draw their power from moral values. Reconciliation is possible. But only if the ANC purifies its soul of hot-headedness and communism," the editorial said.

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ANC, NP 'have same' goals for their people'

Clips 17/11/91 (11A)

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Hani warns of clampdown on reds

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

SOUTH AFRICAN communists were warned by Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani yesterday to "prepare for the worst" — including a possible state of emergency, detentions and the "hounding of activists" in the run-up to a democratic S.A.

And he urged all those involved in the struggle for liberation to "use our weapons" to push for the start of the multi-party conference.

One weapon could include "mass

action" if the conference was stalled.

The recent stayaway was proof of the power which could be commanded by the alliance and trade unions.

Mr Hani was speaking at the opening of an SACP Western Cape Branch regional conference in Cape Town.

Accusing the NP of delaying the proposed multi-party conference, Mr Hani said: "We have shaken the

regime with our cohesion."

The "ruling class", he said, must not be allowed to set the pace of reform.

Mr Hani, who is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee, launched a scathing attack on Inkatha, which he said had only two or three percent support.

He also reiterated the SACP's commitment to the SACP/ANC alliance.

Talks go ahead in spite of setbacks

S/Times 17/11/91.

By CHARLENE SMITH

THE preliminary talks before the multi-party conference are on track

A dozen political organisations will meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday to set up a steering committee for the talks.

The meeting, which was to have begun on Friday, was postponed after conflict about the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the discussions

Government officials will meet Inkatha tomorrow and the ANC on Tuesday to discuss details of the preliminary meeting which is likely to be held at the Carlton Hotel

Other parties expected to take part include the NP, the PAC, the SA Communist Party, the DP, the Labour Party, Solidarity, and some homeland parties

It is not known if approaches will be made to other parties, including the Conservative Party

Irritation

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen fired a broadside at ANC president Nelson Mandela for revealing that the first multi-party talks would begin on November 29 and last for two days.

He said such "premature announcements have a retarding effect on negotiations"

Even before the first steps to national reconciliation were due to begin, irritation was the strongest element emerging from all sides

The ANC and PAC were said to have wanted Inkatha to take part on the government's side — an idea opposed by Inkatha

The ANC denied this and said it saw "no sides, nor should there be major and minor players

Actors

Inkatha said it wanted to operate separately as part of either a "powerful group of three or five" (with the ANC and the government, and possibly the PAC and the DP) which would determine who would take part in multi-party talks

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave an indication of this when he addressed the European Parliament on Thursday.

He said the NP, Inkatha and the ANC were being thrust together "as the major actors in the process of change. If we do not have a genuine three-way division of interests and if there is not a three-way division of the South African electorate, there will be no real democracy"

However, even as he spoke conflict was brew-

ing, with accusations by all sides that the others had hidden agendas for not wanting the talks to begin

This week's brouhaha began after Inkatha leaders Frank Mdlalose and Walter Felgate met with Dr Viljoen, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and key government negotiations facilitator Fanie van der Merwe in Pretoria a week ago

Dr Mdlalose passed on Inkatha central committee recommendations that the best chairman for initial talks would be the Chief Justice, and that Inkatha felt it best that they, the government, the ANC and perhaps the PAC and DP should first look into how a steering committee could be formed before talks took place

On Tuesday, the ANC apparently rejected these suggestions. The following day, reports cast doubt on whether Inkatha would take part in steering committee talks

A strong feeling emerged in some quarters that the government was using Inkatha to mask its own unwillingness to enter talks

Among the issues to be discussed are a neutral venue, the convener of the all-party conference, who should chair proceedings until an overseer of the electoral process was appointed, the financing and administrative methods of an election, the role of the homelands' voters rolls in a future election and the form and type of interim or transitional government during the talks

Mex

ANC struggle 11A

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, who has led radical SA youth for four years, will face a challenge at the Youth League's national congress next month

Youth League members say there is a strong faction that would propose the interim secretary-general, Mr Rapu Molekane, as president

S/TIMES 17/11/71

DP delegates allege ANC intimidation

B (Daw) 18/11/91
CAPE TOWN — ANC supporters had burnt down houses belonging to black DP members, attacked them and prevented them writing exams in Transvaal and Free State townships, delegates to the DP's national congress said at the weekend.

Despite the public tensions within the party over some MPs' links with the ANC, the DP emerged from its two-day national congress convinced that it should remain an independent force and that it would grow next year.

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Political Staff

Hillbrow MP Lester Fuchs said he had seen how DP members were prevented from writing exams at Mashasheng near Lydenburg because they belonged to the DP. Also, the DP chairman's house had been burnt down.

Welkom delegate Rhett Kahn said DP members had been attacked in Thabong in Welkom and the houses of two members'

□ To Page 2

DP delegates

B (Daw) 18/11/91
had been burnt down in another township nearby.

The group of MPs strongly opposed to closer links between the party and the ANC suffered a setback at the congress.

Although the congress discussions were free of blatant tension, it was clear that these MPs had little support.

Delegates made it clear they had had enough of the public conflicts between MPs and that they rejected alliances or coalitions with other political groupings at this stage.

On Saturday morning Fuchs threatened to bring caucus tensions out into the open. Fuchs said he was "most perturbed" by

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his colleagues' statements that "the aim of the DP should be to take our membership into the ANC, that the DP should be in alliance with the ANC, that DP members should be at liberty to accompany their spouses or children to ANC functions and that the DP should join the ANC in asking the US to threaten to reimpose sanctions."

DP leader Zach de Beer said in his closing address "The DP comes closer than any other substantial political group to being able to achieve trust to the left and to the right. Here lies the unique nature of our contribution to peace and to recovery." Delegates gave him a standing ovation.

□ From Page 1

SOWETAN RADIO METRO

TALKBACK

Joy (11A)

as talks
Sowetan
fail 18/11/91.

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show expressed jubilation at the collapse of the administrative talks about negotiations.

Mike of Johannesburg said the negotiations were a circus for ordinary people.

He said these negotiations showed that the imperialist leadership was being brainwashed by the capitalists as they run after United States dollars

"The settlement would not benefit ordinary people," he said

Liberation

"We have not been struggling for constitutional changes. We want complete liberation."

Themba of Katlehong said the collapse was a blessing in disguise and it showed that leaders of liberation movements must go back to the drawing board.

Mothibedi of Meadowlands dismissed any kind of talks, saying "the land was taken from us by the sword and that is how we should reclaim it".

Rodney of Hillbrow disagreed. The problems of the country could only be solved at the negotiation table.

ANC, PAC accused of ganging up

By JOE MDHLELA (11A)

THE ANC and PAC are out of touch with their followers' thinking by insisting on a negotiated settlement with the Government. *Sowetan 18/11/91*

Former executive committee member of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation, Mr Thabiso Raditaba, said this during the Media Workers' Association of South Africa's Southern Transvaal regional congress in Johannesburg yesterday.

Raditaba also accused the organisations of ganging up on the Azanian Peoples Organisation

He said the ANC and PAC were uncomfortable with Azapo because of its "unwillingness to collaborate"

"That explains their ganging up against Azapo which was expelled from the Patriotic Front conference three weeks ago," Raditaba said

He said that Azapo was right in rejecting the idea of "supping" with whites and homeland leaders in the PF conference.

He said both organisations referred to homeland leaders like Oupa Gqozo and Bantu Holomisa as patriots

"There is nothing patriotic about these leaders. They have been discredited for collaborating with the system of apartheid," he said

The regional executive office bearers were returned unopposed, headed by chairman Mr Tseliso Raditaba. Mr Joe Mdhlela was elected vice-chairman

Committee on talks to meet this week

By Esmare ^{Stew} van der Merwe
Political Reporter

18/11/91

The "steering committee" preparing for the all-party conference was scheduled to meet in Johannesburg on Wednesday and Thursday, sources close to the negotiation process confirmed yesterday.

The committee was supposed to have met on Friday last week but the meeting was cancelled after Inkatha Freedom Party objections to the delicate pre-negotiations talks.

The IFP was said to have objected strongly to a perception that decisions were being taken by the Government and the ANC to its exclusion.

Matters were complicated further when ANC president Nelson Mandela last week unilaterally announced that the Convention for a Democratic Future would start on November 29

Although this date was agreed upon between the main political groupings, the Government and the IFP felt that Mr Mandela's unexpected announcement was an ANC attempt to create the impression that it dictated the pace of negotiations. The ANC dismissed this allegation as an "over-reaction"

Sources said the Government and the IFP were scheduled to meet tonight to discuss the complications.

Hani wants action on talks

11A

21 18 11 91

MASS action must be used to force the government to convene an immediate all-party conference, says senior SA Communist Party member and ANC uMkhonto weSizwe chief of staff, Mr Chris Hani

Delivering the keynote opening address on Saturday at the SACP's two-day Western Cape conference in Salt River, he criticised the decision to delay Friday's planned meeting of the all-party steering committee

"If the government fails to convene the all-party conference, we should use our weapons of struggle to force them to convene this conference without further delay," he told about 110 delegates from 20 branches throughout the Western Cape

Mr Hani reiterated the SACP's commitment to its alliance with the ANC

● A draft resolution on violence called for the establishing

of self-defence units, consisting of representatives from all organisations in the community

● The conference elected a 15-member executive committee Chairman Mr Fred Gona, deputy chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, general secretary Mr Lizo Nkonki, deputy general secretary Mr Garth Strachan and treasurer Mr Fred Carneson Also elected were Ms Jenny Schreiner, Mr Brian Bunting, Mr Lizo Ngqungwana, Ms Nozipho Ntwanambi, Ms Noluntu Nda, Mr Dumsani Rasheleg, Ms Desi Angelis, Mr Trevor Oosterwyk, Mr Mandla Gxenyana and Mr Leonard Ramatlakane — Staff Reporter and Sapa

NIC to remain independent

DURBAN — The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) resolved at a meeting here at the weekend to continue as an independent political organisation

NIC president Mr George Sewpershad said a conference at the University of Durban-Westville also decided to continue supporting the ANC

The conference had called again for the scrapping of the tricameral parliament and supported the call for a constituent assembly and interim government

By ALLISTER SPARKS

AS THE major political contestants move rapidly towards the negotiating table, there has suddenly been a critical shift in the balance of power between them.

For more than a year and a half, from when President De Klerk made his epochal speech on February 2 1990, the National Party held the initiative, taking one pace-setting step after another that kept the African National Congress and its allies in a constantly reactive phase, struggling to adjust to the changes the Government was initiating

Steadily the ANC saw the positions of strength it had built being eroded its dominant influence on international opinion, the pressure of sanctions, its ability to keep South Africa isolated in virtually every field, its mobilisation of mass action in the townships

Mr De Klerk was in the spotlight and a relieved world, eager to reward him, was lifting sanctions and inviting him for State visits Internally the NP began making inroads into the coloured, Indian and white liberal communities

Derisive

As outgoing secretary-general, Alfred Nzo noted at the ANC's national conference in June that the NP had "succeeded in creating an image of being winners", while the ANC was giving an impression of disunity and lack of direction

People kept asking derisively when the ANC was going to get its act together For Mr De Klerk this augured well for the negotiations.

The balance of forces was strongly in his favour, which meant he would be well placed to force the ANC into accepting compromises much closer to his opening positions than its own.

That is why he looked so relaxed and confident

Now the situation has changed The turnaround began with Inkathagate in July which seriously tarnished Mr De Klerk's new image and damaged the NP's main potential black ally Foreign invitations dwindled Doubts arose about the role of the police in the ongoing township violence

For its part, the ANC did indeed get its act together at its Durban conference, with the election of a better integrated and more effective leadership

Alliance

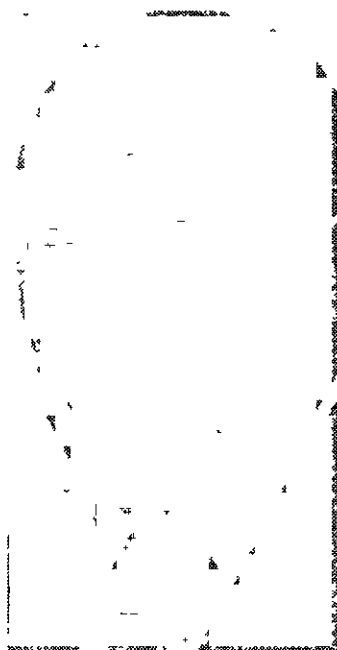
The election of Dr Allan Boesak as Western Cape leader began to retrieve lost ground among the coloured people South Africa's return to international sport demonstrated that the ANC, not Mr De Klerk, held the key to readmission

But most important of all was the forging of the Patriotic Front alliance in Durban two weeks ago, followed by last week's spectacularly successful protest strike against VAT.

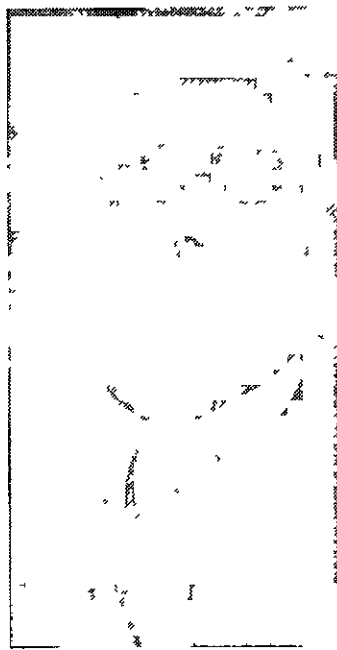
Critical power shift to ANC in the build- up to negotiations

CT 18/1/91

11A



MR ALFRED NZO: Noted the NP had "succeeded in creating an image of being winners"



DR ALLAN BOESAK Election as Western Cape leader began to retrieve lost ground

The first turned the long Nationalist strategy of divide-and-rule on its head Everything the Government has done since unbanning the ANC was aimed at trying to split it — the communists from the nationalists, the pragmatists from the radicals — so that the NP could forge an alliance with the supposed moderates that would keep out the "extremists"

But the ANC, for all its diversity, proved more cohesive than these strategists realised What the Nats overlooked is that it is the only liberation movement that never split in exile, making it unlikely that it would do so now that its goal was in sight

Instead it has now expanded its alliances to present a widened front of black unity, while it is Afrikaner nationalism that may soon present a picture of deepening disunity when the forthcoming Virginia and Potchefstroom by-elections are held

The strike, meanwhile, has demonstrated the black alliance's ability to mobilise formidable economic pressure Analysts have been taking it for granted that the ANC no longer had a revolutionary option open to it now it has shown it has an even more potent option, which is the ability to cripple the economy if it chooses

These two factors together greatly increase the bargaining strength of the ANC and its allies

They do so, moreover, as the negotiations are about to begin It seems certain that agreement will be reached for the Multi-Party Conference to start

That is why the NP is no longer so relaxed and confident The shrill note that came out of the Transvaal congress, the sudden reversion to old-style bluster and threats by Mr De Klerk, are reflections of a new anxiety and tension

Opening positions

The Nationalists have been shaken by the realisation that they are not going to be able to call the shots in these negotiations the way they thought they were

All negotiations are a projection of the real strengths which the competing parties possess outside the conference room A trade union which does not have the capacity to call a strike will gain little at a wage negotiation with a powerful employer

So, too, with these negotiations Both sides go into them with opening positions the ANC demanding an interim

government to run the country while one man, one vote elections are held for a constituent assembly to draft the new constitution, the Government insisting that it must continue to govern and that the new constitution must be negotiated by all parties equally, regardless of size

Beyond that are the opening positions on the constitution itself the ANC demanding a Westminster-style "winner takes all" constitution with a

Bill of Rights to protect minorities, the NP proposing a complex "loser keeps all" formula in which consensus requirements and minority vetoes would entrench as much of the status quo as possible

Imbalance

Where the compromise agreements are reached between these opening bids will depend on the bargaining power each side brings to the table

The danger in all such situations arises if there is an imbalance of power — if one side is able to dominate the process and force the other to accept compromises too great for its constituency to accept

If that happens the deal will not survive The negotiating party that has been forced to yield too much will be discredited in its own constituency, which will turn in frustration and disgust to more radical leaders promising a more militant approach That is the road to anarchy and ruin

It is the road on which the disproportionate strength of the NP and its aggressive approach to the negotiating process threatened to put us Now, fortunately, there has been a redressing of that imbalance The two sides are more evenly matched The Nationalists are upset that they won't have it all their own way, but it means South Africa may get proper compromises which stick

□ Allister Sparks is a former Editor of the Rand Daily Mail

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The ANC is asking British intelligence to help investigate claims by the white extremist escapers Mr Adrian Maritz and Mr Henry Martin that they carried out terrorist-style bomb attacks for the South African security services

Within hours of learning that Mr Maritz and Mr Martin were in Britain, the ANC, in co-operation with British intelligence, moved renegade South African policeman Mr Dirk Coetzee to a new secret address, believed to be on the outskirts of London

Mr Coetzee fled into ANC custody in Zambia in 1989 after his self-confessed activities with police "death squads" were revealed

Mr Mandla Langa, the ANC's deputy chief representative in Britain, indicated that the ANC was suspicious about the ease with which Mr Maritz and Mr Martin escaped, although they should have been under close and constant scrutiny

"We have good reason to believe that Coetzee is in danger from his old friends. We would most certainly not risk bringing him together with Martin and Maritz without taking elaborate security precautions which would obviously include consulting British authorities," he said

In a message through a third party, Mr Coetzee said, "There is very high security around me at the moment. I cannot say more than that."

Mr Langa said the latest fugitives were being regarded with "extreme suspicion" and considered them an "unattractive pair" apparently intent on saving their own skins.

ANC asks UK to probe escapers

21/8/91



OUT OF HIDING Henry Martin (left) and Adrian Maritz outside South Africa House in London last week.

Picture SUNDAY TIMES

However, the ANC and the British government had a duty to investigate everything they said.

"Whether or not we regard people like this with distaste, they are making grave claims supporting other evidence of state terrorism to destabilise the negotiating process and neighbouring countries"

There was "no question" of their being introduced at this stage to Mr Coetzee

Mr Coetzee, who has been living in safe houses in England for the past year, is the ANC's prime witness to allegations that senior security services officers he dealt with, some also allegedly known to Mr Maritz and Mr Martin, controlled

"third force terrorism"

The pair say they can prove that they planted two bombs at a black taxi rank in Pretoria last year on the orders of the Civil Co-operation Bureau, and that the security services have continued to supply automatic weapons to Inkatha and to MNR terrorists in Mozambique

Mr Maritz, 44, who is South African and Mr Martin, 50, a Briton, say they jumped bail last month because they had been made scapegoats to cover up the alleged security service operations and claimed that their lives were in danger

They say they fled to Britain using stolen passports, contacted the ANC shortly after their arrival to offer full co-operation — and are now hiding out at a safe house in a city in England's Midlands awaiting developments

So far they have made only telephone contact with the ANC but it is understood that they have been extensively interrogated by British Special Branch officers

The pair spent a year in prison, charged with murdering an ANC official by planting a bomb in a computer in Durban, and with the attempted murder and wounding 15 black people by planting two bombs at a taxi rank in Pretoria in August last year, before being granted bail after going on hunger strike.

Mr Maritz, whose wife Karen and 13-year-old daughter are with him, is asking the ANC to support him in an application for political asylum and immunity from deportation. As a Briton, Mr Martin is immune from deportation

To page 3

From page 1

ANC wants probe

An SADF spokesman reiterated that the pair never had any links with Military Intelligence or the disbanded Civil Co-operation Bureau. Guy Oliver reports the ANC as saying that the fugitive pair attempted to bargain with the ANC for safe passage out of South Africa in exchange for information on alleged security force destabilisation

ANC umkhonto weSizwe chief of Staff Mr Chris Ham said yesterday that his organisation had been asked by the two murder suspects for "help" to escape the country.

"They had offered information on alleged hit squad activities in exchange. However, the ANC had not acceded, as we do not need to bargain"

He said the ANC had suggested to President F W de Klerk that he grant amnesty for all who fear arrest for disclosing classified information related to CCB-style operations

Mr De Klerk had not responded to the request, he said.

He said that "depending on the nature of the allegations", Mr De Klerk should "set up a real impartial commission"

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andrew Rothmann, declined to comment on the issue yesterday. However, Orde Boerevolk leader Mr Nic Styrdom yesterday said he knew Mr Maritz was involved in national and military intelligence operations before joining his organisation. He said many of his organisation's members had been involved in similar activities

21/8/91

Debts pile up in Zambia, say officials

MIKE HALL, Argus Africa News Service

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress owes millions of rands

Zambia has played host to the movement for 20 years or more, but when the ANC departed it left behind scores of bills, running into millions of rands.

Earlier this year the head office of the ANC-in-exile here owed Zambia's state-owned Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) alone R1 million. The PTC has since been paid just over a quarter of the amount.

One department of the ANC had a phone bill of more than R100 000 when it closed down.

The new occupants of the offices, one of Zambia's election monitoring groups, had to plead with the PTC to reconnect the phones so that they could set up their operation before the recent elections.

A spokesman for the PTC's accounts department said "In addition to the ANC's composite account there are individual members who owe us much more."

He was unable to give the total figure owed by individual ANC members.

The movement also owes large sums to the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company, the electricity corporation Zesco and the National Housing Authority, from whom the movement rented property.

Little food money

Officials from these state-owned authorities were not prepared to disclose how much they were owed.

Scores of private landlords who let property to ANC exiles are also owed large sums in unpaid rent and other bills. Many, who are themselves being sued by the utility companies, are taking legal action against the ANC.

One ANC official who has stayed in Lusaka and who declined to be named, said there was hardly enough money to pay for the food of scores of members still living in Zambia.

"It's unlikely we will be able to pay any other bills," he said.

Until last year, when ANC officials began returning home — some after decades in exile — there were up to 3 000 members of the ANC in Zambia. Most returned to South Africa earlier this year.

The organisation's former head office, in a muddy back street near the city centre, has been bought by the Zambian government and will be turned into a museum of liberation movements who fought from Zambian soil.

ANC OWES millions

ARG 18/11/91

(11A)

22 parties may be invited to arrange talks

UP TO 22 parties and homeland governments could be involved in arranging all-party talks due later this month.

Senior PAC and DP sources said yesterday all parties that would take part in the scheduled talks would be involved in preparatory arrangements.

Government and Inkatha met yesterday to try to reach a compromise that would include all parties in arrangements leading up to the talks.

The meeting followed last week's postponement of a preparatory committee meeting which was to have decided on a venue, convener and agenda for the talks. Neither government nor Inkatha re-

PATRICK BULGER

leased a statement after yesterday's meeting. A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's office said discussions were continuing but would not disclose who government was meeting.

However, Business Day understands that government is trying to persuade Inkatha to abandon its idea of a troika — the NP, ANC and Inkatha — making up the preparatory committee.

A senior PAC source said yesterday parties due to take part in the talks had faced three options. The first option — a troika — was opposed by the ANC and PAC because

it elevated the status of Inkatha above other homeland parties. The second option — the three principal parties being joined by the DP and the PAC in preparatory arrangements — was rejected by Inkatha.

Subsequently the ANC proposed all parties due to be represented at talks should have a hand in convening them.

Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday his government would insist on being part of the talks from the beginning.

In a reference to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Holomisa said "If other homeland leaders are attending, Transkei will be there."

Attempt to rescue talks

AT least 20 parties are lining up to meet tomorrow in an attempt to rescue last week's aborted preliminary talks that will lead to a multiparty conference scheduled for later this month

Sources last night confirmed that "high-level and top-priority talks were under way yesterday" among the various participants

It is understood that a Government delegation was yesterday trying to "sort out the Inkatha issue"

Last Friday's talks were sunk after

Sowetan 19/11/91 11A
Political Correspondent

the Inkatha Freedom Party raised objections to matters relating to representation

The IFP preferred to plan a formal talks forum with the Government and the ANC only - in a kind of tróika

But the ANC rejected this and said that the IFP was represented by the KwaZulu administration along with other homeland groups

Tomorrow's talks have been scheduled for Johannesburg

In the meantime, it seems likely that an MPC will be held at the World Trade Fair in Midrand on November 29 despite the tacit rejection of the date by Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Viljoen was reacting last week to a statement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela that the MPC had been planned for this date

Patriotic Front must not give in

Sowetan 19/11/91

11A

IT IS interesting that the ANC, PAC, Azapo, Nactu and Cosatu are now entering the world of Black Consciousness

Indeed, the existence of the BC movement is to bring about greater unity within the ranks of the oppressed, exploited black masses.

However, care must be taken that the Patriotic Front must not comprise of Government allies

The involvement of bantustan bosses and liberals is too dangerous.

It will derail our struggle, reactivate Askaris, the CCB and cause confusion. One cannot pursue black

aspirations from a platform meant for the oppression of blacks

In a sense, the oppressed must shape their own destiny, without white input, speak as one voice and direct themselves to a common goal, the National Party and its allies

We ought to remember that there are those who pretend to be liberal fighters whereas they are neo-colonisers

Liberals are capitulating to the whims of the Nats and bantustan bosses who are leading blacks to a divided struggle to speak as Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, etc

What is more important

about a united Patriotic Front of liberation movements is not to isolate the responsibility of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Azanla and the Apla forces

We must avoid a situation where black skins replace white skins

All along it was agreed

that the oppressed should unite but to my surprise people who get rich from our labour are likely to be included in the PF

Remember to use unity to achieve black liberation
BLACK POWER,
Mhluzi,
Withank

ANC owes millions to Zambia

Star 19/11/91.
By Mike Hall
Star Africa Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress owes Zambia a large debt. Not only has the country played host to the movement for the last 20 years or more, but when the ANC packed its bags and went home it left behind scores of bills running into millions of rands.

When it closed up earlier this year, the head office of the ANC-in-exile here owed Zambia's state-owned Posts and Telecommunications Corporation (PTC) alone the equivalent of about R1 million. PTC has since been paid just over a quarter of this amount.

"In addition to the ANC's composite account of 16 million kwacha, there are a many more individual members who owe us much more," said a spokesman in the accounts department of PTC. He said he was unable to give a total figure owed by ANC members.

The movement also owes large sums to the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company, the electricity corporation Zesco and the National Housing Authority, from whom the movement rented property. However, officials were not prepared to disclose how much was owed.

Scores of private landlords who let property to ANC exiles are also owed large sums in unpaid rent and other bills. Many, who are themselves being sued by the utility companies, are taking legal action against the ANC.

One ANC official who has stayed in Lusaka and who declined to be named, said there was hardly enough money to pay for the food of scores of members still living in Zambia. "It's unlikely we'll be able to pay any other bills."

Until last year there were up to 3 000 ANC members in Zambia. Most returned home earlier this year.

The former head office of the organisation has been bought by the Zambian government and will be turned into a museum of liberation movements who fought from Zambian soil.

PAC man dies: ANC wants to talk

JOHANNESBURG — Urgent talks are on the cards to resolve tensions between two liberation movements following the death of a member of the Pan Africanist Congress — allegedly in a clash between PAC and African National Congress supporters on Friday

And in a statement issued yesterday, the ANC PWV region gave the assurance that if allegations

against its members were found to be true "disciplinary measures will be instituted" (11A)

On Friday in the Munsieville township near Krugersdorp, Mr Abner Mongwagela was reportedly killed in a clash between supporters of the PAC and the ANC

In its statement yesterday, the ANC said its PWV region decided on Sunday to hold "urgent discussion with the PAC West Rand Re-

gion about the recent outbreak of violence in Munsieville"

"The regional council condemned this latest outbreak of violence as an act designed to seriously undermine the peace process"

In the view of the ANC "problems of this nature should be dealt with through political structure of the two organisations rather than the medium of the press" — Sapa

'ANC

'All bills owed in Zambia to be met'

Political Staff

THE ANC is to meet all its bills with the Zambian government.

Acknowledging that it still had outstanding bills in Zambia, where it had its exiled headquarters for more than 20 years, the ANC said it had had discussions with the Zambian government.

"The bills that we are responsible for (specifically those with the Posts and Telecommunications Corporation) will be met in full," said ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

The ANC owes the PTC R1 million and large sums to the Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company, the electricity corporation Zesco and the National Housing Authority.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said today that debts owed by the ANC as an organisation would be paid by the organisation as soon as possible.

Debts owed by individual ANC members would have to be paid by those members.

She was commenting on reports from Zambia, saying both the organisation and many of its members who were based in that country had left behind a trail of debts.

"It is regrettable that some of our members left without paying their bills. Those individuals who left Lusaka without paying their rents and other debts acted irresponsibly, and it is their responsibility to settle the debts," Miss Marcus said.

In another development, Miss Marcus said today she had no information about rightwingers Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz's request for "assistance" from the ANC.

The two men, who fled South Africa to Britain last month on the eve of their trial for murder, are reported to have contacted the ANC's London office yesterday asking for "assistance".

An ANC spokesman in London said the request had been forwarded to the organisation's head office in Johannesburg. Miss Marcus said she knew nothing about the request.

(11A) ARG 19/11/91

will pay debts'

ANC vows to go on with boycott

Sowetan 19/11/91
AN ANC community meeting in Ndoleni, near Richmond, on Sunday resolved to continue a 13-day-old consumer boycott of white businesses in the Natal Midlands town

The boycott will continue until demands are met. These include convening a meeting between the ANC and police and handing over a taped cassette of last week's National Party meeting in Richmond.

The ANC leader in the town, Mr Sifiso Nkabinde, said yesterday that the ANC believed events at the meeting had led to the murder of three

people in Magoda township later that night

"We demand a cassette of the meeting and a full report by the town board of what happened because that meeting led to the killing of our people."

Volatile

The meeting was addressed by Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller who said afterwards that the situation was extremely volatile and needed one incident to "make the situation ugly".

Angry farmers and townsfolk at the meeting vowed to fight back against the ANC's boy-

cott which they claimed was riddled with intimidation, and many voiced their support for the Inkatha Freedom Party.

IFP Midlands leader Mr David Ntombela at the meeting called for unity among white residents and Inkatha supporters and said the IFP would act against alleged intimidators enforcing the boycott.

That night, two white men allegedly abducted and assaulted an Indian man who worked at an Indian-owned garage, while three people were killed in the ANC-supporting Magoda township. - Sapa.

**Union official
is chairman
of Western
Cape SACP**

A CONSTRUCTION and Allied Workers' Union shopsteward, Mr Fred Gona, has been elected chairman of the Western Cape region of the South African Communist Party in a secret ballot monitored by an independent election commission. Mr Lerumo Kalako was elected deputy chairman. According to the statement the regional confer-

ence discussed a wide range of political and organisation issues in preparation for the SACP's national congress. Political discussions centred on the SACP's draft manifesto and constitution due for adoption at the national congress.

Lenasia groups join hands

19/11/79
Sowetan
'ORGANISATIONS with diverse ideological views in Lenasia, Johannesburg, have formed a community forum to represent the interests of residents.

Forty-three organisations, including major religious groups, health groups, sports organisations, various political groups, traders' associations, women's organisations and parent-teacher associations held a joint meeting for the first time on Sunday, ~~(11A)~~ (11A)

Among the tasks to which they have pledged themselves are to facilitate local participation in the drawing up of the country's new constitution, ensure community involvement and control over development and to contribute to negotiations for a democratic, non-racial local authority - Sapa.

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Agreement on talks steering committee

Business Day 20/11/91
GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha have agreed on a preparatory committee of 22 parties to draw up final arrangements for all-party talks on a new constitution.

The agreement was reached at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose in Durban on Monday night.

Political sources agreed yesterday all-party talks aimed at devising a constitution were rapidly taking shape and might still begin by the end of this month.

A spokesman for Viljoen said yesterday "We are in the process of finalising ar-

rangements"

The ANC said bilateral discussions were taking place in preparation for the talks

An ANC source said a meeting of the preparatory committee would take place shortly. He said the talks had been delayed because government was waiting for an assurance from Inkatha that the 22 parties to take part in the talks would be part of the preparatory meeting. This assurance had now been obtained.

Mdlalose said yesterday Inkatha and government had agreed on the composition of the steering committee but would

not provide more details. But, he said, November 29 was just one date for the talks and a range of dates between then and December 9 were possible.

Business Day understands the issue of who will chair the first meeting is still under discussion.

TIM COHEN reports President F W de Klerk said yesterday the negotiations process was "basically on track" and he was confident multiparty negotiations would take place before the end of the year.

De Klerk told journalists he did not want to tie himself to dates, but he had reason to believe "things are moving in the right direction".

PATRICK BULGER

11A

Saved from the gallows ... to scratch in dirt bins

South 14/11 - 20/11/91

By Rehana Rossouw

WHEN she was released from death row in May, Upington grandmother Mrs Evelina de Bruin described her two years in the shadow of the gallows as a "living death".

Now, after five months of freedom, she is wondering whether she might not have been better off in jail — at least there she was fed

This week Upington Dutch Reformed Church minister, the Reverend Aubrey Beukes, found De Bruin scavenging in dirt bins in the centre of town for her family's next meal.

"I've been scratching in bins for empty tins," De Bruin said. "The children in the town showed me how to sell them to make money."

"Our lives are bitterly difficult. Some days I don't collect enough to buy bread."

De Bruin is finding it difficult to distinguish between nightmares and reality

She often wakes up at night after dreaming she is still on death row — but increasingly her bedroom in Upington holds more nightmares than her death cell.

De Bruin and her husband, Mr Gideon Madlongolwane, both applied for pensions, but since their release have been fobbed off and told their applications are "being processed".

They have received one grant of R100 from the Red Cross and applications for further grants are also "being processed".

"If I could work, I would. I'm not scared of hard work but both Papa (Madlongolwane) and I are too sick to find jobs."

"Papa hasn't eaten for three days. To take both of us to the doctor will cost R40 and we don't have the money."

De Bruin said in their first few months of freedom scores of journalists were at her door, begging for interviews which were sent around the globe.

Senior ANC activists also visited, promising support and a better life.

"But none of them helped me, and my heart feels very sore right now," she said.

"I spoke about my problems from the morning till the night, tiring myself, but no one listened to what I was saying

"I was asking for help but the world

was deaf"

De Bruin said after she was released her clothing no longer fitted and all she received was two dresses from her children.

Last week, messengers of the court were sent to repossess her furniture, but she managed to borrow R100 from a neighbour to pay them.

"Now I'm begging your newspaper, don't just use me, help me."

While De Bruin is heartsore about the circumstances she finds herself in, Reverend Beukes is spitting angry.

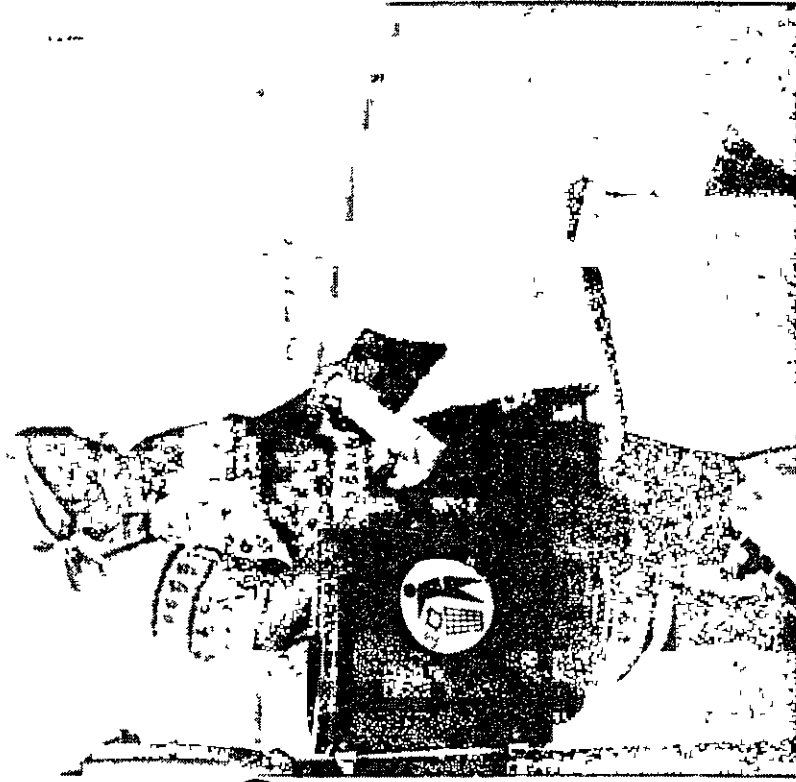
"Evelina de Bruin was exploited; for a good story and a political campaign," he said.

"Now that the media glare is gone, people have simply forgotten about her."

"If this is how so-called progressive organisations treat their people then, I'm sorry to say this, but they are just like the National Party."

Beukes said he wrote a letter to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela two months ago, telling him of the plight of people in the rural areas. He has not received a response.

He also wrote to House of Representatives Health and Welfare Minister Mr Chris April, asking him to speed



FORGOTTEN HEROES: Former death row prisoners Mrs Evelina de Bruin has been seen scavenging in dirt bins to make money for food

up the couple's pension application.

"At least Mr April responded," he said. "But I feel absolutely frustrated that nothing concrete has been done to help these people yet. Just as an indication of how people treated them

— a few days after they were released, a high-profile activist came to visit.

"He didn't ask how they experienced death row, he didn't ask how they felt now that they were released — all he wanted to know was whether the television cameras had been to their home yet."

"This is political prostitution of the worst kind."

PAC insists on talking at neutral place

THE Pan Africanist Congress has threatened to pull out of any talks if there was no agreement between itself and the



Deputy PAC president
Mr Dikgang Moseneke

African National Congress on a neutral venue for the pre-constituent assembly conference.

The decision was taken during a PAC conference in Butterworth, Transkei, at the weekend.

The conference was addressed by the PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Mahlubi Mbandazayo.

Threat

According to Mr Zingisa Mkbale, the PAC's publicity secretary in Transkei, the conference resolved that the pre-constituent assembly meeting or the all-party conference had to be held

outside South Africa under an independent convenor such as the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth.

The conference agreed that if the preparatory meeting of the conference - which had been scheduled for November 15 but has since been postponed - failed to agree on the venue and modalities of a constituent assembly, the PAC should pull out of "any further engagement".

The PAC's threat - which could not be immediately confirmed with the organisation's official media spokesmen at its Johannesburg headquarters - followed earlier media reports that the ANC and the Government had already agreed that Jan Smuts Airport would be the venue for the talks, that the Chief Justice would chair the meeting and that they would be held on November 29 and 30.

The PAC meeting in Butterworth slammed these arrangements and accused the ANC of violating the resolutions of the Patriotic Front conference which was held in Durban recently. - Sapa

The Patriotic Front would be in jeopardy unless the ANC was seen to take strong action against its members who allegedly necklaced a PAC supporter in Munsieville last week, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday.

He spoke at a media briefing after a senior PAC delegation had toured the township for two hours, following the murder on Friday of

Necklacing 'a threat to unity'

PAC member Abner Mongwagelwa. He was stabbed with a garden fork, then set alight.

The delegation included publicity secretary Barney Desai, West Rand chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya and secretary of religious affairs Mike Matsobane.

Mr Moseneke said the Patriotic Front had been formed to achieve unity among blacks and to practise political tolerance.

However, the PAC would not sacrifice human lives for the sake of preserving the Patriotic Front. PAC supporters had shown

that they did not want to be fellow oppressed Africans, but would not continue to do so if there were further attacks.

"The PAC will not allow such behaviour from ANC members any more. We urge the ANC to take strong ac-

tions against the culprits," he said.

The arrested man's father, Ramo Motho, told the delegation that he knew the identity of the man who had led the group of attackers.

Mr Moseneke told journalists the same group had on Monday threatened to kill the family if they proceeded with funeral arrangements. — Staff Reporter.

Star 20/1/91

Zambia takes legal action over ANC debts

Staff Reporter
and Sapa

ANC general-secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, in a circular in May, appealed to all ANC exiles to make quick arrangements to be on the 16 flights, warning that those who opted to remain in Zambia would be doing so at their own risk.

A writ for seizure (fiere facias) has been issued against the ANC, whose cadres allegedly left huge outstanding bills with various landlords in Lusaka, Zambia, when they were repatriated to South Africa

Many more fi fa suits are expected to be lodged in the Lusaka High Court by lawyers representing various landlords and other firms claiming to have been duped by the ANC cadres.

Property in the ANC's representative office is threatened with seizure unless concerted efforts are made to settle the huge amounts.

About 3 000 ANC exiles were repatriated back home in July in about 16 chartered flights, and contracts for rented ten-

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday that the organisation had held discussions at the "highest level" with Zambia's post and telecommunication authorities and the Zambian government

"The ANC is quite clear that any debts for which it is responsible will be met," she said

The lawyer for one of the landlords, Claydon Hakasenke, said yesterday that bailiffs would seize property from the ANC offices in Lusaka.

Steering committee meeting delayed

Star 20/11/91

SPC (LIR)

By Peter Fabricius and Jacqueline Myburgh

The first meeting of a steering committee to set up all-party talks on a new constitution has again been delayed and seems unlikely to take place today as earlier scheduled.

Sources involved in the negotiations said a meeting today was "logistically impossible" because of complications and disagreements.

The meeting was scheduled to take place at 8 pm at a Johannesburg hotel.

It is not clear when the meeting will take place now or even if it will be this week.

This means the target date of November 29 for the multiparty conference to start looks increasingly unlikely.

On Monday night, the Government met the Inkatha Freedom Party to try to resolve differences and yesterday an ANC del-

egation met the Government.

The parties involved in negotiations about the steering committee have been wrangling mainly about which parties should serve on the committee.

The meeting was originally scheduled for last Friday.

Despite the delays, President de Klerk yesterday expressed confidence that the multiparty conference would still take place this year.

"Yes, there have been hitches, but the multiparty conference will take place before the end of this year," he said when addressing the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg.

But Mr de Klerk said he would "not make the same mistake" as ANC president Nelson Mandela by tying himself to dates.

"But things are basically on track — dates are not important. What is important is that time is of the essence."

"The start of the multiparty

conference is fundamental to the curbing of violence and bringing it to an end."

It was important that leaders should be seen to be conversing amiably and peacefully, he said.

Sources said yesterday speculation that 22 parties would attend the steering committee meeting was premature.

The ANC, PAC and other parties want as many as 18 or 19 parties to attend the talks, including many parties from the self-governing territories.

The IFP, on the other hand, has all along favoured a much smaller group — at one stage proposing just itself, the Government and the ANC.

Sources close to the talks said yesterday that a PAC demand for the all-party conference to take place outside South Africa was not an ultimatum.

They were responding to a statement from a PAC conference at the weekend that the PAC would pull out of negotiations if the all-party conference was held inside South Africa.

ANC outlines its intentions

HARARE — The ANC did not envisage SA's post-apartheid economy being "centrally commanded," Tito Mboweni, head of the organisation's economic planning department told a metal and steels conference yesterday *BIDAY 20/11/91*

Mboweni said the ANC saw a strong role for the state in selected sectors, both in joint ventures and as an entrepreneur in its own right, but it recognised mining was "the lifeblood of the SA economy" *11A*

His paper to the Metals Bulletin's Southern African Metals and Steel Opportunities Conference unveiled no specific ANC plan for state encroachment on ownership of the mining industry and contrasted with one from NUM consultant Paul Jourdan, who suggested nationalisation of the "cross-holdings" between the major mining groups to "disaggregate" monopolies

"I would tend towards lack of compensation (for nationalisation)," Jourdan said, offering as justification that most South Africans had been barred from benefiting from SA's mineral resources

Mboweni accused the mining corporations of tending to view mechanisation as an alternative to good industrial relations and urged a nationwide programme to up-

MICHAEL HARTNACK

grade skills, increase beneficiation and create downstream industries

He regretted SA's dependence on imported machinery and intermediate capital items and believed the mining sector could generate the foreign exchange needed to reorientate the economy

Mboweni said the ANC was considering the introduction of anti-trust laws and other policies to promote competition

The ANC was anxious to prevent the exhaustion of mineral reserves which might be important for future industrial development. A post-apartheid government would want to see greater commitment to developing technology and downstream industries

Both Mboweni and Jourdan were heatedly challenged from the floor on going against world economic trends

In a low-key answer, Mboweni answered "I am sure we can knock together something," urging a pooling of ideas. Jourdan insisted the principle of anti-trust legislation was no more radical than in the US, where it originated

See Page 18

Mandela critical of 'war of words' 11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday criticised the "current rhetoric between actors in the negotiation process" but said the search for a nonracial system of government was on course.

Star 20/11/91
He spoke after meeting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen

They expressed confidence that the peace process was on track.

Mr Mandela's remark fol-

lowed a week of verbal quarrels between the Government and the ANC about Mr Mandela's unexpected announcement of the date for the start of multiparty negotiations, followed by accusations by the Government that the ANC was stalling on negotiations and a counter-attack by the ANC that President de Klerk's attacks on it were aimed at winning support in two parliamentary by-elections — Staff Reporters-Sapa

Necklacing places 'strain' on Front's fragile peace

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Abner Mowngwageloa, 22, attended a peace conference on Thursday last week. On Friday he was necklaced.

Mr Mowngwageloa's death — he was stabbed with a garden fork and then set alight with a burning tyre — has caused public strife between the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in Munsieville near Krugersdorp.

It has also brought some strain to the Patriotic Front, a peace agreement and show of solidarity whose main signatories are the PAC and ANC.

A group of senior PAC officials led by PAC vice-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and publicity and information officer Mr Barney Desai visited the township yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg afterwards, Mr Moseneke said his organisation had information which indicated that ANC members had killed Mr Mowngwageloa.

Mr Mowngwageloa, a member of the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation and the PAC, had been forced to flee the township by ANC members, according to his family. He had returned on November 14.

The ANC issued a statement last night which also condemned the murder and endorsed a decision by its PWV office to investigate allegations that ANC members were to blame.

Mr Mowngwageloa's funeral will be held in Munsieville on Saturday. — Sapa



US assistant secretary of state for African affairs Herman Cohen after his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg yesterday. US ambassador to SA William Swing, centre, also attended

Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela briefs Cohen on talks 11A

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said the search for a nonracial system of government in SA was on course, but he criticised the "current rhetoric between actors in the negotiation process" *B. Day 20/11/91*

He made the remarks after meeting US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen in Johannesburg. Mandela briefed Cohen on the movement's latest position in the negotiation process. Mandela told Cohen of "our confidence that the peace process is on track".

"Our discussions were very fruitful," Mandela said of the first high-profile meeting with Cohen since he arrived in SA on Sunday.

Cohen said he had a feeling the "negotiation process is on track" and "we should see considerable movement towards a solution in 1992".

"I feel the situation (towards constitutional negotiations) is much improved".

Mandela said he had explained to Cohen the ANC's position on nationalisation and discussions with business leaders on an alternative to confront economic imbalances. — Sapa

Minister praises creation of PF

ARC 27/11/91
WINDHOEK — The creation of the Patriotic Front in South Africa is the "most significant" step towards democratisation, Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said.

"We are particularly heartened by the fact that the oppressed people of South Africa, led by the national liberation movements, have been able to strengthen unity and are continuing to consolidate that unity," he said after talks yesterday with a PAC delegation.

Mr Gurirab commended the leadership of the PAC, ANC, and all other parties, on reaching this point.

"By the time they meet the National Party government delegation they will be speaking on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa who are demanding an end to apartheid and also the creation of a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa."

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and foreign affairs secretary Mrs Patricia de Lille are in Namibia to brief the government and locate an alternative venue for the All-Party Conference scheduled for December 20 and 21 in South Africa.

— Sapa

All-party talks collapse again

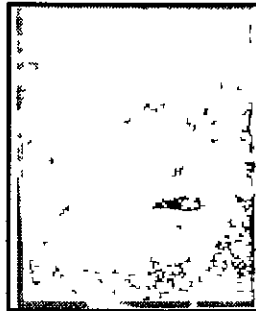
Sowetan 20/11/91

(11A)

Political Correspondent
TODAY'S preliminary talks between political organisations on the convening of a multiparty conference are off.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg last night, the African National Congress said there would be no convening meeting, but bilateral talks between the various organisations were under way to resuscitate the endeavour.

No clarity emerged last night on the reasons for the postponement - the second after last Friday's aborted meeting - but a source close to the groups indicated it was "the same issue" that



DE KLERK

scuttled last week's proposed talks

Last week's proposed meeting collapsed after objections by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party about the status it was given for the conference as an ordinary member

The main issue the IFP objected to last week was



BUTHELEZI

that it would be one of many parties. It felt that it, together with the Government and ANC, had to plan a multiparty conference

Objected

The IFP felt it needed a bigger say in the discussions, an ANC source said yesterday

The ANC objected to

giving the IFP "honorary status" in a political troika with the Government and itself, but instead wanted every political organisation in the preliminary stage to have an equal say and representation

Alarm

On the other hand, a key figure in the talks said last night that there was no cause for alarm and that discussions were well under way

A confident President FW de Klerk yesterday also told *Sowetan* that the present problems were not insurmountable.

He said he was confident that a multiparty conference would be held before the end of the year

Mandela to open Idasa conference

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela is to open a three-day conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa titled "Democracy: A Vision for the Future" (11/11/91)

The conference starts in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Mandela will address questions on the prospects for democracy in a society "as divided and violent" as South Africa's as well as prospects for the future and other important issues, Idasa said in a statement this week

Nigerian political scientist Dr Claude Ake will discuss democracy in Africa. (11/11/91)

Issues relating to education, civil society, nationalism and nation-building will be addressed by various panels of specialists including Mr Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of *Sowetan*, Dr Pallo Jordan, ANC head of information and publicity, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party general secretary, and Mr Wynand Malan, former Democratic Party leader - *Sapa*

Western Cape ANC-SACP alliance has been affirmed, a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports:

Boesak: 'May God bless the SACP'

South 21/11 - 27/11/19

(11A)

GOD BLESS THE SA Communist Party, declared Dr Allan Boesak at the SACP's Western Cape conference last weekend.

The address by the outspoken priest and ANC chairperson in the Western Cape signalled a new unity in the ANC-SACP alliance in the region. Prior to joining the ANC, Boesak had argued that the organisation needed to be aware that many South Africans were unhappy about its alliance with the SACP.

But any rift that might have resulted from his remarks appeared healed last weekend as Boesak told the conference that the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance had won some significant victories and had "overturned some important tables" in government ranks.

With the All Party Conference drawing near, it became clear how the government had been affected by alliance manoeuvres, he said. "Instead of addressing the issues of the day, like an interim government, its limitations and authority, they (the government) are debating the issues of emblems," Boesak said. "It is a sign of the mask slipping at last."

The ANC-SACP alliance was also discussed by party leadership figure and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chns Hani.

Hani said in his keynote address the National Party had been waging a campaign to isolate the SACP, calling them communist parasites. A perception was created the party could not exist without the ANC. "We belong to the ANC because it is correct to belong to the ANC. As

programme of the party. "Some people are worried about tendencies in the Western Cape but I say this should not worry us."

"We should welcome the flow of different ideas and put to the test our ideas and positions."

Boesak and Hani were addressing some 180 delegates gathered in Salt River to debate the future of the SACP in the region and nationally.

Discussions centred on the SACP's draft manifesto and constitution to be adopted at the organisation's national congress in December.

One issue was the absence of references to Marxism/Leninism and previously accepted terminology of the movement. Some felt it was not always necessary for a programme to be labelled Marxist for it to be Marxist in content.

Delegates, however, said explanations were needed to allay fears of the party changing positions without its membership understanding the reasons.

A key resolution adopted by the Western Cape was that the SACP participate as a member of the tripartite alliance in a programme of mass action to ensure the All Party Conference (APC) meets.

Delegates resolved to support the ANC and Cosatu in the implementation of a decisive programme to end state-orchestrated violence.

The conference unanimously agreed to support a proposal by party leadership to launch an "internationalist campaign" to raise political and material support for Cuba.

The conference elected a 15-person executive committee to replace the regional working group which has



COMMUNIST AND CHRISTIAN Chns Hani and Allan Boesak at the SACP conference in Salt River

steered the work of the Party since its unbanning. Trade unionists Mr Fred Gona and Mr Lizo Nkonki were elected chairperson and secretary respectively. Former exile Mr Lerumo Kalako was elected vice chairperson.

Also elected to the top five executive positions were Mr Garth Strachan (deputy secretary) and Mr Fred Carneson (treasurer). Yengeni traitor Ms Jenny Shreiner received the highest votes as additional member followed by party veteran Mr Brian Bunting. Also elected were MK commander Mr Lizo Nguningwana, Ms Nosipho Nwanambi, Ms Nohlanu Mda, Mr Dumisani Rashedeng, Ms Desi Angelis, Mr Trevor Oosterwyk, Mr Mandla Gxenyana and Mr Leonard Ramatlakane.

Ciskei crisis not over for Gqozo or the ANC

South 2-1/11
 CISCHEI'S state of emergency has ended, but the crisis is not over for the military government or the ANC. The lifting of the emergency underlined military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's increasingly weak position and lack of control over his forces. It also highlighted the ANC's ambivalent strategy towards the homeland. During an extensive visit to the region last weekend, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela persuaded Gqozo to lift the emergency.

The meeting on Sunday had itself been the subject of dispute. Initial attempts by the ANC to arrange it failed, and on Saturday afternoon Mandela launched a stinging attack on Gqozo, calling him a "coward" and accused him of avoiding a meeting because he had broken every clause in the national peace accord. It was a long and, by all accounts, tense meeting. In the end, Gqozo agreed



ANC president Nelson Mandela

PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

to end the emergency and — reluctantly — to allow protest marches against his rule. In return the ANC gave a promise to stop mud-slinging. The release of hundreds of detained Umkhonto we Sizwe guerrillas.

However, a number of issues remain unclear. During the emergency residents' associations were banned and detained ANC members told their organisation was banned, but there has been no announcement on the status of ANC-aligned groups.

The emergency seems to have been an expensive mistake for Gqozo as it severely undermined his already shaky political support base.

South Africa seemed embarrassed by the move, and there was speculation it might drop him.

Opposition to his rule has deepened, and it is unlikely widespread protests against him will stop.

Mass protests organised by the ANC against him were planned to begin on Monday, but lifting the emergency seems to have taken the wind out of protestors' sails. Several marches and pickets failed to materialise as planned on Monday.

But opposition remains deep. An ominous indicator of continuing tensions was the petrol bomb attack on the house of ANC leader Rev Arnold Stofile. The attack came on Sunday night — hours after Mandela's agreement with Gqozo. The bombs did not ignite, and little damage was caused. Detentions continued. In the Seymour region on Monday, activists were again reported detained and even assaulted. A total of 415 people are believed to have been detained.

The emergency has strengthened calls for the military government to step down. The Border Peace Conference, representing business, the local ANC and local MPs, backed the call. While calls for Gqozo's removal are clear, the ANC's strategy for dealing with him is less so.

While it agreed to stop public mud-slinging, the organisation firmly insisted on its right to continue campaigning for his removal.

The meeting between Mandela and Gqozo occurred despite previously firm policy by the regional executive not to have dealings with Gqozo.

Mandela first signalled his more conciliatory approach at the beginning of October, when he said the ANC would do everything to hold direct discussions with Gqozo.

On the same visit, Mandela tried unsuccessfully to telephone Gqozo, a move local officials later described as "a personal contact by Mandela".

Although there was no public criticism of the NEC's conciliatory moves towards Ciskei, regional officials cautiously said they had not made a "definite decision" about calling for a meeting with Gqozo — *Ecn*

5 ANC items for talks list

Political Staff

THE ANC would propose five items for the agenda of the all-party conference and that working groups be established for each, deputy head of its department of international relations Mr Stanley Mabileza said yesterday

He also said although the ANC favoured a constituent assembly, "we remain open-minded about this position lest there is a better alternative"

(11A) CT 21/11/91

PAC upproar over talks

Sowetan 26/11/91

SHARP divisions within the Pan Africanist Congress deepened on the eve of next month's multiparty conference.

Two splinter groups - calling themselves the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee - yesterday announced a weekend conference to overturn the present "moderate stance" of the organisation.

The groups said they would host a national consultative conference at Lethukuthula Secondary School in Katshehong on Saturday. The meeting starts at 9 30am

A member of the facilitating committee, Mr Victor Petu, accused the PAC central committee of having deviated from the ideological principles of the organisation.

But Mr Tumediso Modise, secretary of the (official) West Rand region of the PAC, said in a statement: "We wish to state categorically that no structure known as a Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee is in existence, neither officially nor unofficially."

He said the moves were being made by individuals "in order to try and cause confusion".

"Members of the PAC do not behave in this manner and we have no reason to doubt the hand of the system in what is going on with the false statement," Modise said.

Petu, meanwhile, said the Patriotic Front was the last straw in which the PAC flouted the principles of non-collaboration and non-recognition of the "colonial settler regime".

On the constituent assembly, Petu said "The move can hardly be called tactical owing to its bankruptcy in addressing the aspirations of the Azanian masses."

He added that the national executive of the PAC would not be welcome at the conference.

11A

Last week the Pan Africanist Student Organisation criticised the PAC for going into constitutional talks with the Government. The organisation threatened to withdraw from the PAC if talks proceeded.

Twenty-two parliamentary and extra-parliamentary organisations, leaders of homelands and self-governing states were yesterday formally notified of Friday's convening meeting on multiparty talks.

It is not yet clear what effect the row within the PAC will have on the organisation's attendance at

To page 2

PAC colours to adorn right-wingers' venue

(117) PAC 21/1/91

The Argus. Correspondent

PRETORIA — The Skilpad Hall — traditional venue for rightwing party congresses and gatherings — will be draped in the yellow and black of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) for a fundraising dinner on January 18 next year

PAC Atteridgeville branch publicity secretary Mr Forte Mtimkulu said the organisation hoped to raise R500 000 by selling 200 tables to businesses and organisations keen to learn more about the PAC's policies

The main speaker will be PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke

Tables will seat 10 people each — six from the company which purchased the table and four from the PAC

"The purpose of this arrangement is to give people from your company a chance to talk infor-

mally with people sharing your table over meals about the PAC's policy and position. It also provides an opportunity to build new friendships and open channels for further communication," said branch secretary Mr J P Dau in a letter sent to city businessmen.

Copies of Mr Moseneke's speech as well as documents explaining the PAC's policies will be available to guests

Mr Mtimkulu said that although he was well aware of the Skilpad Hall's rightwing connotations, he had no fears of retribution from that quarter

He said that although it was still too early to judge the response to the fundraising dinner, he had spoken to a number of people before setting up a date and the idea had been received favourably.

The dinner is scheduled for January 18 next year

PAC and ANC to talk at UN

~~11A~~ 11A

Sowetan
21/11/91

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu and his African National Congress counterpart Mr Nelson Mandela will address the United Nations on December 2.

This was confirmed yesterday by a PAC source.

Mandela and Makwetu will address the UN General Assembly on progress that has been made in South Africa in relation to a political settlement.

Both organisations were asked by the UN to compile reports on the progress. The reports were submitted earlier this year.

The General Assembly had in the meantime compiled its own progress report, using its own Consensus Declaration of December 1989 as a yardstick.

The declaration said the South African Government had to unilaterally remove all obstacles to a

negotiated settlement much of which has been done.

The December 2 address will be followed by a four-day debate on South Africa.

It has been learnt from a reliable source that a major rift has emerged between the ANC and PAC over the holding of an all-party or multiparty conference.

The ANC wants the talks to be held before Mandela goes to the UN and the PAC wants "a later date to allow maximum democracy to run its course in the run-up to formal talks between the parties in the Patriotic Front and the Government"

Unconfirmed reports have said that President FW de Klerk, Mandela and Makwetu will be out of the country during the first two weeks of December.

It is understood that the proposed multiparty or all-party talks will be held around the middle of December.

By late yesterday all the organisations involved in setting up the round-table talks were "still talking", a Government spokesman said.



CLARENCE
MAKWETU

'This is the real thing at last'

Key three set the date for negotiations

Blom 22/11/91

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and Inkatha yesterday signalled the start of negotiations for a new dispensation when they jointly announced a preparatory meeting for November 29 to arrange all-party constitutional talks which they said were envisaged for December 20 and 21

The announcement — issued simultaneously by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose — follows months of wrangling over preliminaries and at least two delays in calling a preparatory meeting

The meeting will launch SA into formal negotiations aimed at devising a new constitution and ultimately a new government. Political sources have speculated that its deliberations could continue until late 1993

A DP source said "This is the real thing at last"

The announcement came after what a senior ANC source described as a "long and intense meeting" between government and ANC delegations, which ended in the early hours of yesterday morning

Government and the ANC — in its capacity as the leading party in the patriotic front — sent invitations yesterday to homeland governments and political organisations to send three representatives each to the meeting

Yesterday's announcement read in part "Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory

PATRICK BULGER

meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon. No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet"

The ANC source said the organisation's delegation had put government under intense pressure to make the announcement, arguing that outstanding issues could be resolved at the preparatory meeting. Both government and the ANC have been accusing each other for months of delaying the start of talks

The source said all 22 parties expected to take part in the full-blown talks would be involved in preparatory arrangements, a compromise that came after the three major parties failed to reach agreement on the composition of a preparatory committee. This means about 66 leaders will be seated around the table in discussion

Political sources said Inkatha remained opposed to the proposal that two clerics — Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba and former NGK moderator Johan Heyns — serve as conveners together with Chief Justice Michael Corbett. The issue would now be tackled at the preparatory meeting

The meeting would also seek final agreement on a date, the chairmanship and an agenda. ANC and DP sources said there was already a large degree of consensus on an agenda. It would probably include the reincorporation of the homelands, an interim authority, broad constitutional princi-

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

Blom 22/11/91

and if a neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting

Such a person would come from either the OAU, the UN or the Commonwealth "in that order", PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said yesterday

Alexander said the PAC had discussed the issue of a preparatory meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela and had agreed to it in principle. Such a meeting would once again have to be at a "neutral" venue, he emphasised, although it could take place within SA

□ From Page 1

ANC in Daveyton denies collecting money for funerals

11A

Sowetan 22/11/91
By IKE MOTSAPI

OFFICIALS of the Chris Hani action committee at a squatter camp in Daveyton on the East Rand yesterday denied having collected money in the name of the African National Congress for funerals in the area

The committee, which comprises members of the local ANC Youth League and ANC members, distanced itself from reports that they had taken money from residents

The secretary general of the ANCYL in Daveyton, Mr Malibongwe Kanjana, said an emergency meeting was called by the action committee, the ANC and his organisation to establish the truth of the allegations, which were published in *Sowetan* on Tuesday

He said: "I want to state clearly that we do not know of people collecting money in this area for their personal gain

"We talked to various bereaved families who said they did not know of such people

"It is unfortunate that our name has been dragged into all this," Kanjana added

Azapo backs neutral talks venue call

Sowetan

22/11/91

(11A)

The Azanian Peoples' Organisation has supported the call by the Pan Africanist Congress for constitutional talks with the Government to be held outside the country.

Azapo was reacting to the decision by the PAC at the weekend in which the organisation said it would only take part in the all-party or constituent assembly talks if they were held outside the country.

In a statement Azapo official Mr Khangale Makhado said any talks with the "regime" on the setting up of a constituent assembly should take place outside the country under a neutral and independent mediator.

"This will remove the regime's territorial advantage and will go a long way towards placing the negotiating parties on an equal footing."

Azapo would insist too that agreements reached at such a meeting be guaranteed by an international agency, preferably the Security Council of the United Nations.

The movement described as a "non-starter" the all-party talks being planned by the "regime", Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress and PAC as it could not deliver "our constituent assembly".

The PAC call for political tolerance following the fights between PAC

and ANC members in over which a PAC member was necklaced, was supported by Azapo

"Both the oppressor and oppressed alike must know that the days of political hegemony are

"Patriots do not attack and kill each other and no black lives should be lost simply to create and preserve political hegemony," Azapo said

- Sapa

Mandela talks publicly of his years in jail

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night for the first time spoke publicly about his 27 years in jail, saying it had been a fate he would not wish on his worst enemy.

Opening a three-day conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said the best part of his life had been given to the struggle against black and white racial domination.

He had dedicated his life to the struggle for freedom for all South Africans.

"Yet my convictions will always be worth more than the anguish they may cause. However, my fate is not one I would wish upon even the worst of my enemies.

"It is a cruelty to which no decent society would want to expose its citizens. It is a tragic indecency from which any sane society will seek to shield its children," Mr Man-

dela said.

The ANC president has up to now refused to speak about his years in jail.

In one of his most conciliatory speeches in months, Mr Mandela called on all South Africans to "begin sowing the seeds of national healing and reconciliation" to lay the foundation for a new future they would be proud to bequeath to their children and grandchildren.

Now was the time to make a clear and decisive break with apartheid — denounced all over the world as a crime against humanity — and help build a bright future for all South Africans.

Chaos

The alternative, he said, was "anarchy, chaos and more violence", and time was not "at our mercy".

As a democratic society struggled to be born, apartheid continued with attempts "to dictate the terms under which it should give way to a democratic order".

Apartheid sought to adapt

itself rather than yield to "the overwhelming need for fundamental change", and its strategic objective was "to try to manage, contain and, possibly, reverse its terminal crisis".

"If this were to succeed, the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate," Mr Mandela said.

Although Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk have criticised each other vehemently in recent weeks, the ANC leader did not once refer to Mr de Klerk and his Government, nor did he refer to the Inkatha Freedom Party or any other organisation or party.

Instead, he appealed to all South Africans across the political spectrum to work for the attainment of freedom and democracy, which would lay the foundation "for a just and lasting peace and prosperity for all".

A united, nonracial and non-sexist society would one day be judged the finest achievement of the struggle for democracy, he said.

(11A) Star 22/11/91

Towards the All Party Congress

New Nation (Learning Nation) 22/11 - 28/11/91.

The convocation of the All Party Congress ushers in a new era in South African politics. Considering that up to now the majority of South Africans have been excluded from determining their destiny, a meeting of different political parties to discuss ways of transforming South Africa from being an undemocratic country to a fully-fledged democracy is highly significant. The holding of the All Party Congress will be one point on a long road travelled by the oppressed in their quest for freedom. It is through the struggles of the oppressed that the regime was forced to consider entering into negotiations with the organisations of the oppressed.

The long road

Since the time they were dispossessed by colonialists, African people have continued to fight for what they consider to be their political rights. In fact the formation of the ANC in 1912 was a response to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The laws and the National Conventions that led to the establishment of the union in 1910 denied the majority of South African people the right to vote. Organisations of the oppressed such as the ANC, as a response to the undemocratic National Convention, campaigned for a gathering in which a democratic constitution would be formulated. This they did up to 1960 through non-violent methods such as petitions, delegations, marches and stayaways. Even after its banning and after the turn to armed struggle, the ANC continued to call for a National Convention that would be different to the 1908 - 1910 one in terms of involving not only representatives of whites but organisations of oppressed people.

The call for a Constituent Assembly.

But unlike the National Convention which the ANC called for before 1985, the All Party Congress, according to the liberation organisations will not draw up the constitution. There is an agreement amongst a broad range of organisations that it is only an assembly of elected representatives that can write a new constitution. There is an awareness that those sitting in the All Party Congress would not have been elected and the support of their parties would not have been tested in open elections. There is therefore a commitment amongst organisations like the ANC, PAC, AZAPO, SACP, COSATU and NACTU to a Constituent Assembly. The role of the All Party Congress is to work out the mechanism of how

Soon, a meeting of different political parties such as the ANC, PAC, Inkatha and the National Party will be held. Such a gathering of political parties will mark a new phase in the process of negotiations. Political leaders representing the oppressed and the ruling class will be coming together for the first time to discuss ways and means of getting to a new South Africa. Learning Nation will discuss the significance of this event this week and next week.

This week we will try to place this important meeting in the context of the evolving strategy of negotiations. The fact that the ANC calls the gathering an All Party Congress (APC) and the PAC calls it the Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (PCAM), while the government prefers the name Multi-Party Conference (MPC) might be an indication of the different conceptions that exist on the role of this coming together by different political parties.

to get to a new South Africa - which according to the liberation organisations can only be through the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government

Harare Declaration

The Harare Declaration makes it quite clear that after the creation of a climate for negotiations, the liberation movement must enter into negotiations with the regime on the mechanism of getting to a new South Africa. We all know that the climate that exists now is not conducive to free political activities. There are still political prisoners on death row. The violence even after the signing of the National Peace Accord is continuing. What is clear is that there is no way that we can expect the present minority government to create the climate for free political activity. The experience in the phase of talks-about-talks is that the government and its agents such as the SADF and SAP are major stumbling blocks. It is for this reason that the ANC has decided that the most pressing task is the removal of the National Party government and the establishment of an Interim Government.

The big question is, how is this task going to be achieved? How is the convening of the All Party Congress going to assist in the march towards the Constituent Assembly and the Interim Government?...

Recent experiences

One of the things that has emerged in the last few months is that the minority regime is not prepared to hand power to the majority. A look at the constitutional proposals at the National Party reveals the determination on the part of the present regime to protect minority interests.

The issue of violence and the involvement of the SADF and SAP in the destruction in the townships has confirmed the double agenda of the regime. The agenda of the ruling class is to introduce changes without threatening the interests of the minority capitalist class. The state and ruling class want changes that would give an impression that things have changed when nothing would have altered the conditions under which the majority live and work.

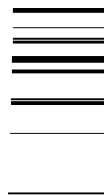
Challenge

The challenge that faces the mass movement is how, in the light of obvious plans to frustrate the struggle of the majority for genuine freedom, can the aims of the ruling class be defeated. As we enter the phase of real negotiations, the question of how we are to ensure that negotiations do lead to a total transfer of power becomes pressing. How can we ensure that our demands for a democratic Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government become a reality?

These are important questions in the light of some of the glaring weaknesses that have emerged within the mass movement. Despite the rhetoric about mass action, in the last few months, with the exception of the action around VAT, we have witnessed a drop in the involvement of the masses in struggle. This has been accompanied by a general weakening of organisational structures. Some of the pillars of struggle such as the underground component, the armed struggle and international solidarity also seem to have weakened.

Unless solutions are found to these problems, the possibility of making negotiations a real site of struggle will not be realised.

Next week we will look at the different positions of some of the relevant political organisations.



Date set for all-party talks

Sowetan 22/11/91

2077
11A

By ISMAIL

LAGARDIEN and Sapa

THE Government, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday an all-party congress could take place on December 20 and 21

The Pan Africanist Congress has confirmed that it is prepared to attend such multiparty talks if the venue is outside South Africa and if a

neutral conciliator is chosen to oversee the meeting.

Such a person would come from either the Organisation of African Unity, the United Nations or the Commonwealth "in that order", PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander

● To page 2

Dates for parties talks set

Sowetan 22/11/91

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● From page 1

said yesterday. In similar statements to Sapa, the Government, ANC and IFP said a preparatory meeting for an all-party congress would be held on November 29 "with a view to discussing arrangements for an all-party congress envisaged for 20 and 21 December 1991".

Clarified

"Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon."

"No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet," the statements said.

The IFP statement was signed by Dr Frank Mdlalose, Inkatha's national chairman. Alexander said the PAC had discussed the issue of a preparatory meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and had agreed to it in principle.

"But that is all behind us now and the next step is for us to actually sit down," he said.



Nonwakazi's mayor makes history

COLESBERG - When the mayor of a small Cape settlement rose to speak to a meeting in Colesberg recently, another division tumbled into the South African dust. **Soweto 22/11/91**

The mayor was Mrs Gladys Ngcanga of Nonskwazi, a township outside the Karoo village of De Aar, among the audience were many whites from nearby Colesberg, listening directly for the first time to a black community leader and rising spontaneously to their feet to join in the singing of *Nkosi Sikelele iAfrika*.

The meeting in Colesberg's Town Hall was a "morning of goodwill", organised by the South African Communication

Service, formerly the Bureau for Information, and the message from Ngcanga was that women should forget about apartheid, bloodshed and differing cultures.

"These things will always be with us. Instead we must enter the new South Africa with confidence."

"Soon we are going to have one educational system and, if we start now, it will be so much easier to adapt to the multicultural classrooms of tomorrow."

"The teachers as well as the children of all population groups are going to have to get used to the idea," she said to enthusiastic applause. - *Sapa*



Get a load of this. It's baskets galore as this Beijing man peddles his baskets in the streets of China's capital city.

Mandela in strong plea for peace and harmony

11A

Sowetan 22/11/91
AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for national reconciliation, democracy and peace.

Delivering the keynote address at the conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Mandela, however, warned that the country stood at the crossroads.

"Will it be forward to freedom and democracy or a throw-back into disaster and permanent strife? The pendulum could swing either way unless we take it upon ourselves as South Africans to secure our common future.

"The time to begin sowing the seeds of national healing and reconciliation is now. The alternative is anarchy, chaos and more violence," he said

Without accusing any party or organisation, Mandela also warned that attempts were being made to maintain and prolong apartheid.

"It (apartheid) seeks to adapt itself rather than yield to the overwhelming need for fundamental change. If this were to succeed, the consequences would be too ghastly to contemplate."

Nothing less than real freedom and democracy for all would lift the country out of its current crisis.

The new South Africa had to be "constructed on the sacred rule of the fundamental worth of every human being, the sanctity and the inalienable right of every person to liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

It was in the interests of all "to have the courage"

PAC, Inkatha may rain on the all-party parade

December 20-21 is the new date for the All-Party Conference — but the wrangling over convenors and venue for the talks could still prevent the talks being held this year
By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE government and the African National Congress yesterday agreed on a tentative date of December 20 and 21 for the All-Party Conference (APC), but there is still disagreement between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) on who should convene and chair the talks.

And, while all sides reported this week that the talks were on track, disturbing trends have emerged that could yet prevent the conference getting off the mark before year-end

The first is the role of the IFP as spoilers, raising one obstacle after the other and prompting the delay that led to the conference being shifted back almost a month from November 29.

The second is the growing fear within ANC ranks that the National Party is using the IFP as a delaying mechanism to slow down the talks.

The third is the spectre of factionalism within the Pan Africanist

Corbett be the convenor and that two church leaders — Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk assessor Dr Johan Heyns and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, head of the Methodist Church — chair the proceedings.

However, the IFP objected that the church leaders were hostile to Inkatha and insisted that Corbett alone chair the proceedings. The ANC had originally opposed Corbett as the chairman

Congress and the movement's unrealistic insistence that the APC be held in a neighbouring state. This could yet see the conference proceed without the PAC, largely nullifying last month's Patriotic Front conference.

The main sticking point between the IFP and the ANC is over who should chair the conference. In earlier preparatory talks the government and the ANC agreed that Chief Justice M

because, whatever his personal merits, as chief justice he was an appointee of the government and a representative of a state structure.

The ANC accepted that the religious leaders be not just Christian, but ecumenical, and include the chief rabbi and a Muslim cleric.

However, this was not acceptable to the IFP which said the religious leaders could say prayers at the beginning and the end of the proceedings, but that the conference itself had to be chaired by the chief justice.

The irony of the present positions is that the ANC and the South African Communist Party alliance are usually attacked as godless atheists while the IFP don the mantle of Christian democrats.

A meeting between the NP negotiators, who have been conveying the IFP's objections at the recent round of talks, and the ANC on Wednesday night failed to resolve this issue. Instead, it has been referred to the preparatory meeting to be held on November 29.

In identical statements yesterday, the government, the IFP and the ANC said that the preparatory meeting would be held on November 29 "with a view to discussing arrangements for an all-party congress envisaged for December 20 and 21.

"Parties are being consulted on their possible participation in such a preparatory meeting and certain further aspects still have to be clarified and agreed upon. No final decision on a venue for the preparatory meeting has been taken yet."

Last week, the government and the ANC had all but agreed that the APC be convened on November 29 and 30. However, they still had to run this by the IFP and other parties which were to meet last Friday.

However, this preparatory meeting could not be held because the IFP insisted that only three parties, itself, the ANC and the NP, be represented.

The IFP later agreed to allowing two more — the Democratic Party and the Pan Africanist Congress — in. Disagreement over this issue continued this week.

After agreement that 22 parties should be recognised and represented at the preparatory talks, both government and ANC sources were declaring that the talks were on track.

However, a further hitch emerged when the IFP objected to the religious leaders chairing the meeting.

A further potential hitch could be the threat by some PAC members to pull out of the talks unless they be held outside South Africa under an independent convenor such as the United Nations.

It is understood that a statement to this effect, including a condemnation of the ANC for allegedly violating the terms of the Patriotic Front, was made without the knowledge of other senior leaders of the PAC who were meeting ANC leaders at the time.

A cross-Atlantic embrace from the Big Apple crew

"We welcome our brothers and sisters from across the Atlantic, some of whose forbears were snatched from Africa by slavery we are here to receive you on your homecoming. The blood that ties us is thicker than the water that divides us" — Adelaide Tambo

THE warm African night was redolent with imagery. A real-life reunion of a centuries-old separation between Afro-Americans and their ancestral brethren took place last Saturday night, right here in Johannesburg, at a pink Mediterranean mansion a few blocks from Hyde Park Corner.

It was the New York City mayor's second last evening in South Africa and we — all 250 of us — were at a sit-down dinner party thrown in his honour by Oliver and Adelaide Tambo. It was the night of a thousand contrasts, the night when Radical Chic met up with Nouveau Northern Suburbs and threw stereotypes out of the window.

Mayor David Dinkins, his wife, Joyce, and several members of the mayoral posse, struck a sartorial pose that was more African than the Africans: they came dressed in *chez-nous* garb, fiercely patterned and free-flowing with matching headdresses in the West, rather than the South, African idiom. By contrast, most of the South Africans, with the exception of Adelaide Tambo who wore a gorgeous traditional gown decorated with sunflowers, dressed up in designer suits and ties.

If Dinkins' maligned tour had received hostile treatment from some people, here and back home in the Big Apple, there was no sign of it now. Tonight, the mayor and his wife and an entourage of deputies, city administrators and civil rights workers, were among friends: assorted diplomats, bureaucrats, liberation aristocrats, peaceniks, revolutionaries, Tambo relatives and a whole host of familiars including M-Net boss Tim Ellis, business guru Richard Maponya, musician Jonas Gwangwa — on his first trip home in decades — Dorkay House-mother, Queeneth Ndaba, all were strung out like coloured Christmas lights across the mossy, landscaped garden.

There were even one or two neighbours from down the once exclusively white street

New Yorkers in West African wear, South Africans in severe suits. It was a night of a thousand contrasts as the Big Apple's mayor, David Dinkins, and entourage were entertained by the Tambos.

CHARLOTTE BAUER was at the exclusive party of the year

The Tambos recently moved into These days the street is just exclusive.

In the brilliant white marquee festooned with flowers and Regency bows, guests arranged themselves at random, there being no apparent pecking order to be observed, other than a request that all the American brothers and sisters spread themselves more or less evenly among their South African siblings.

As Oliver Tambo, who had been discharged from hospital only the day before after a serious bout of bronchial pneumonia, haltingly made his way to the makeshift podium, everyone rose to sing the anthem — *Nkosi Sikele*, naturally — including one blonde waitress who carefully put down her tray of drinks, raised a clenched fist and sang every verse to the manner born before scampering back to her duties.

The honorary life president of the African National Congress looked drawn, but he gamely spoke a few welcoming words before sinking back gratefully into his chair and letting his wife read the rest of his speech. Adelaide Tambo, who could never be described as the archetypal meek-wife-of-an-important-man, not only read her husband's speech, but followed it with a praise poem she herself had penned for the occasion.

In a way, it was Adelaide's night from the warmth with which she greeted each guest at the front door, whether they were known to her or not, to the strong, sure manner with which she performed the ceremonial niceties, this diminutive woman in old-fashioned horn-rimmed specs was a bold, though never overpowering, presence.

If there was a presence that threatened to overpower the reigning *jolie de vivre*, it was

the sacrificial ram that suddenly came skittering across the pink marble tiles on the end of a rope to be offered up as a traditional gift to David and Joyce Dinkins.

For a brief moment, despite all Mayor Dinkins' efforts to establish his status as a true son of the African soil, he could not disguise the fleeting expression of shock that passed over his features as the terrified ram was held down at his feet shortly before being dragged off to the slaughter. The meat, explained Adelaide, would be donated in Dinkins' name to a local creche.

As the moment passed in a flurry of solemn activity, Dinkins recovered himself and remembered that he too had brought with him a gift, a gift symbolising his city. Someone at our table wondered aloud whether it might be a couple of ounces of crack. But of course, it was an apple, one delicately crafted in crystal and snuggled inside a coveted Tiffany's box.

By now the 106th mayor of New York City was, in his own words, filled with emotion and he made a pretty speech that spun around slavery, Malcolm X, his own humble beginnings (he once made a living on the street selling shopping bags), his marriage, South African heroes, his hosts and the universal courage of children. He also defended himself against "all those who ridiculed me when I said I was coming here. We knew we were right," he said to sympathetic ululations and *Amens* from guests, "so it's their problem — not ours."

Rapturous applause mingled with a great clattering of cutlery signalled time to eat — practically everything but mutton — while the Orlando Inter-Denominational Choir sang us through it with a repertoire embracing a range of freedom songs including *We shall Overcome*.

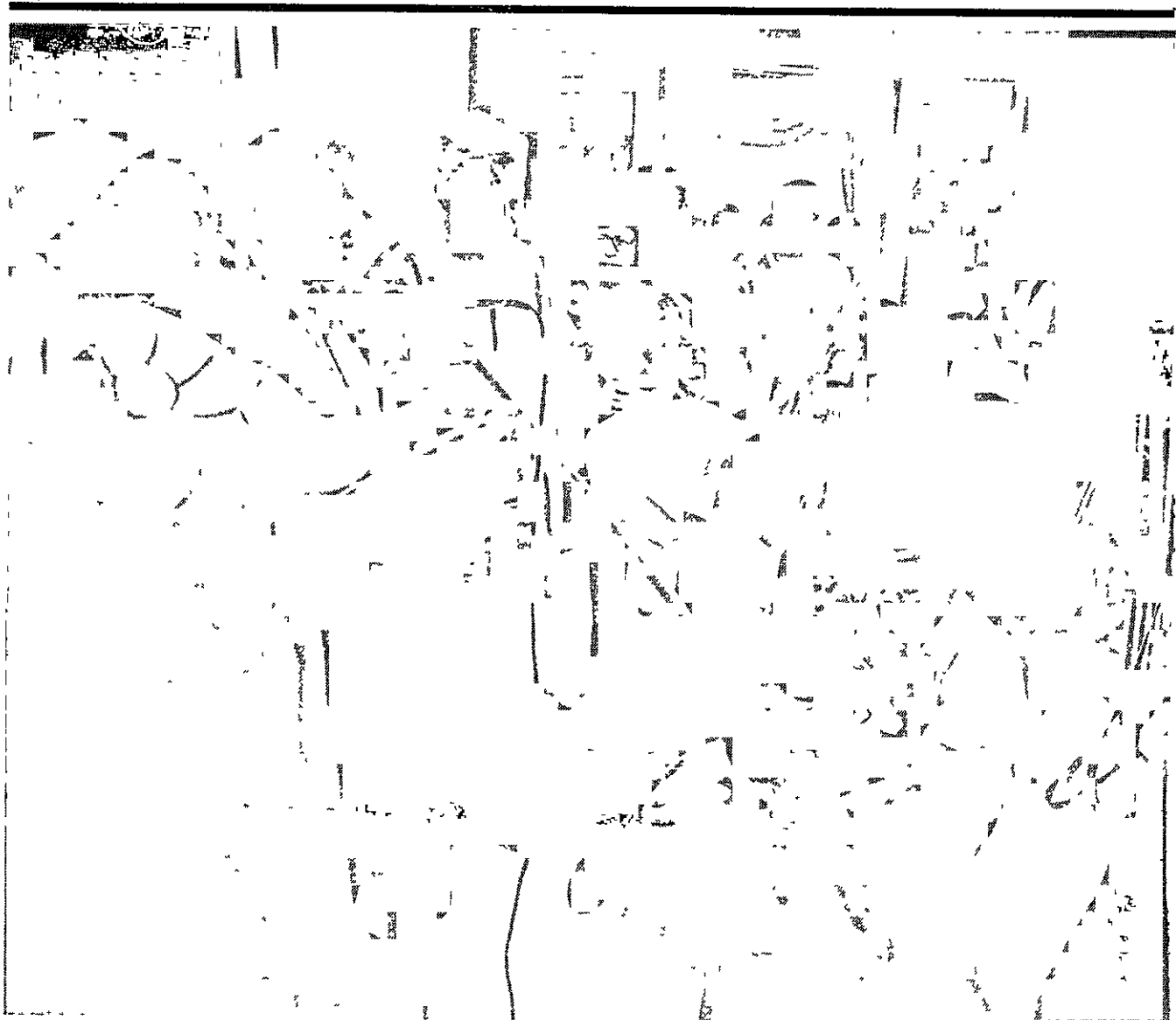
"Tonight we are part of history in the making," said a breathless Barbara Sabol, a City of New York employee as she left the party to dash back to her hotel and write a report.

"Lead us, Tambo, lead us" reverberated the refrain of a praise song in progress. "Yebo!" yelled a man who had spent the evening stacking crates at the bar and who now began to dance a silent toyi-toyi in the light of the electric blue swimming pool.

Solution

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Ram to the slaughter ... the New York mayor was a little taken aback by this traditional gift

Photograph JURGEN SCHADERBERG

Azapo threatens

Staw 23/11/91. (11A)
 THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has launched a major campaign of disruption aimed at politics, commerce and sport

Black Christmas, further sports protests planned in huge campaign

Yesterday, the organisation vowed

● Not to attend multiparty talks scheduled for late December, saying these were designed to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly

● To step up disruption of the ATO World Doubles tournament at Johannesburg's Standard Bank Arena and intensify protests against both international and national tournaments where participating sports bodies have not achieved unity

● To attempt to ensure the biggest Christmas boycott of white-owned shops ever staged in South Africa

● To hold demonstrations of up to 1000 people at cricket matches at Kingmead, Durban, in the next few weeks to protest against "the false start" made in sports unity

Speaking at a media briefing in Durban yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Srim Moodley re-

terated that the Government had to indicate its intention to resign before the organisation would attend any meeting dealing with mechanisms for setting up a constituent assembly

The meeting would have to take place outside South Africa and should be overseen by a neutral mediator, said Mr Moodley

"No meeting of any nature can adequately discuss the question of constitutional principles without there being fair and free, one-person-one-vote elections in a unitary state in order to put in place a constituent assembly, the only viable mechanism by which a new constitution can be drawn up," he said.

Mr Moodley said sporting bodies that "pretended" to have achieved unity and those whose development programmes excluded the majority of South Africans would be targeted

Azapo deputy-president Nchaube Mokoape said plans for the Christmas consumer boycott were going ahead

Azapo was consulting at grassroots level and talking to other organisations, and had received overwhelming support for the action

Several towns had already launched a consumer boycott, Mr Moodley said Azapo had been joined by the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, which was also calling for a "black Christmas"

"We see this not only as an opportunity for black people to intensify the demand for VAT to be scrapped, but also a chance for black people to tighten their belts and prepare for the economic hardships of 1992

"Rather than spending recklessly over this season, it would be wiser for all of us to save our bonuses and other perks for the new year, when we shall find the prices of uniforms, school books, food, rent, electricity and water rocketing to higher levels," Mr Moodley said

disruption

Azapo to skip the all-party talks

Political Staff

DURBAN — Azapo will not be at the multi-party talks on December 20 and 21, or at the preparatory meeting next Friday, publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday

Mr Moodley said it was evident the talks were being planned "by the ANC, the PAC, the government and the IFP to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly".

"The fact that constitutional proposals will be discussed is clearly an indication that the constituent assembly is no longer an issue as far as the ANC is concerned," he said

Mr Moodley also said Azapo was planning a "black Christmas" boycott of white businesses

He said white-owned shops would be targeted because they formed the "backbone of the government"

SACP fights on for a 'cruel hoax'

(11A) APR 23/11/91

SOUTH African communists are fighting on for their cause amid the collapse of world communism and socialism — dubbed a "cruel hoax" by US assistant secretary of state for Africa Herman Cohen.

This is clear from the SA Communist Party's draft constitution and manifesto to be considered for adoption at its crucial eighth party congress in Johannesburg next month.

Decisions taken at that congress — the first of its kind since it was unbanned — could have a profound effect on the coming constitutional negotiations and on the SACP's close links with its allies, especially the African National Congress.

A deep dilemma facing the SACP is that the more it asserts itself and its vision of a communist South Africa, the more its faithful partner the ANC will be plunged into tensions between communist and non-communist members.

The potential for such ideological division and conflict was starkly illustrated this week by warnings from two major Western powers.

■ The German government, in a message conveyed by visiting German deputy foreign minister Helmuth Schaefer,

FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Correspondent

gave a blunt warning to the ANC not to indulge in nationalisation and socialist economic experiments.

Mr Schaefer, who had talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg, said 40 years of socialism in Eastern Germany had been "disastrous", and the problems Germany inherited were "terrific".

■ United States assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, warned that SA needed economic solutions to the country's problems.

He said in Johannesburg the economy needed to grow to provide a cure for the country's vastly distorted health, housing and educational legacies of apartheid, to absorb the 400 000 jobseekers entering the economy each year, and to provide equal access to economic power and decision-making.

And then Mr Cohen warned "The communist model, which long tantalised some of South Africa's citizens, has revealed itself to be a cruel hoax".

But the SACP, undaunted by the rejection of communist ideology even in the Soviet Union — the cradle of communism — is set to reaffirm its commitment to building a communist society.

In its present form the SACP's new draft constitution, to be proposed at its party congress in Johannesburg next month, commits its members to such aims as:

■ Seeking to be the leading political force of the "South African working class",

■ Educating, organising and mobilising the working class and its allies in support of the SACP and its objectives of "national liberation and socialism",

■ Working towards the "ultimate aim" of building "a communist society in which all forms of exploitation of person by person will have ended and in which all the products of human endeavour will be distributed according to need",

■ Ending the system of "capitalist exploitation in South Africa" and establishing "a democratic socialist society based on the common ownership of, and participation in, and control by the producers of the key means of production".

Beneath the obscure, complex wording the basic aims of the discredited traditional communism seem intact.

Members are urged to maintain dialogue with all organisa-

tions committed to "a socialist future".

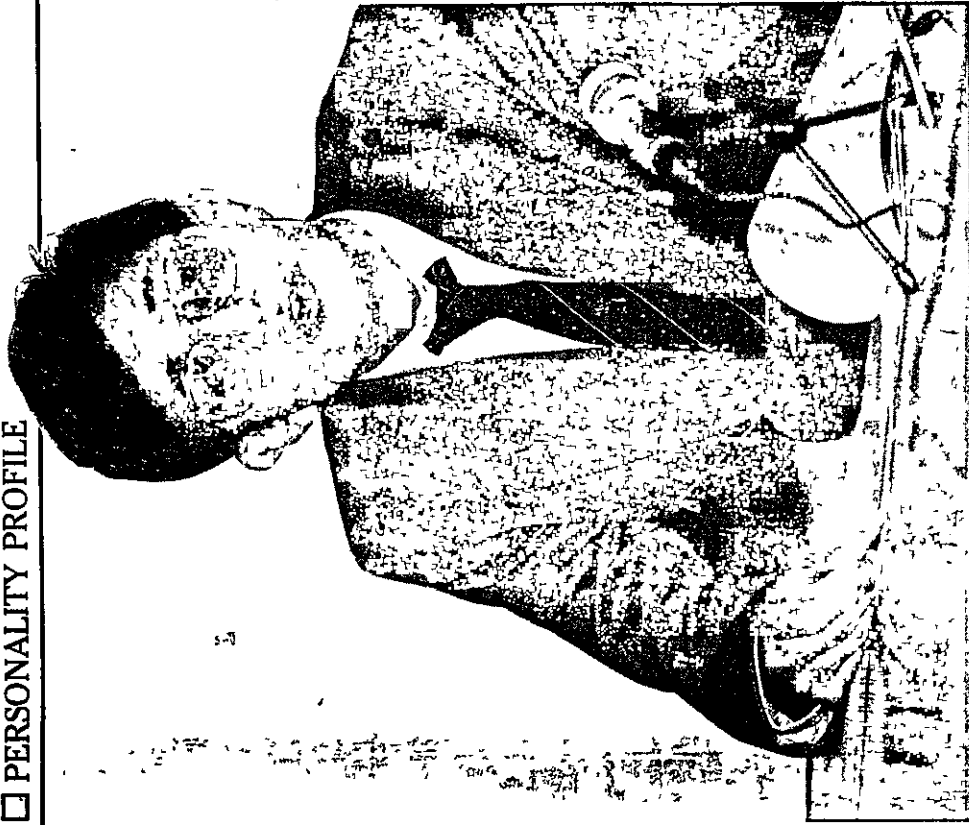
A provision of the draft constitution which analysts pinpoint as a potential source of tension and conflict between communists and non-communists in the ANC states:

"Every member (of the SACP) has a duty in his or her personal conduct to act in a manner which will bring credit to the party and to be a standard bearer of the highest communist ethic and morality."

The SACP's draft manifesto refers to the collapse of socialism in eastern Europe and the "profound problems besetting the Soviet Union".

However, the SACP manifesto persists with its socialist dream. It says "Whatever the weaknesses of socialism in eastern Europe, the new capitalist dispensation that is rapidly emerging in many of these countries is bringing little joy to the working majority. Millions of east European workers are now unemployed and they face a bleak future. Socialism has collapsed in eastern Europe, but socialist forces will reassert themselves".

And then "Socialism is itself a long transitional period between capitalism and full communism".



RISING STAR . . . The ANC's Valli Moosa is deeply involved in shaping South Africa's political future as co-ordinator of the movement's negotiating team. He was recently excused from all other organisational duties so that he can concentrate fully on this task.

A man who weighs every word he utters

clp no 24/11/91

In one of a series of profiles on South Africa's upcoming policy-makers, City Press assistant editor **SEKOLA SELLO** speaks to ANC negotiator **Mohammed Valli Moosa**

IN ANC circles, Mohammed Valli Moosa is regarded as one of the organisation's new-generation of bright sparks. He is one of the rising stars expected to take over the reins when the ANC's ageing old guard of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and many others go.

That Moosa, 34, is an intellectual heavyweight reveals itself immediately when you talk to him. He speaks slowly, as if weighing every word he utters. He does not pepper every sentence with meaningless political clichés.

As part of the ANC team negotiating with FW de Klerk's government, he is deeply involved in shaping South Africa's political future. As co-ordinator of the ANC's negotiating team led by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the organisation has relieved Moosa of all other duties so that he can concentrate fully on the task.

Like most blacks of his generation, Moosa was introduced to politics through the Black Consciousness movement. As a student at Durban's Westville University Moosa was active in BC campaigns. However, after the death in 1977 of BC founder Steve Biko and the banning of most BC organisations in the same year the largely student movement began losing its clout.

It was also during this period that some BC members started questioning the movement's position. Moosa says he belonged to the group which questioned the efficiency of pursuing the liberation struggle along exclusively racial lines.

"At the time of my drift towards the ANC, a number of MK (Umkhonto weSizwe) members who were jailed in the 60s were coming out of jail. These members, like Reggie Vandiya, made a big impression on some of us. After serving long periods in jail, they were placed under severe restrictions like house arrests. In spite of all this, their spirits were not broken."

According to Moosa, the release of these MK members and the discussions he held with them broadened his political horizons. "I realised that BC did not lend itself to broadening the struggle. Given the strength of the system at the time, I realised that we would not have been able to go far in opposing the government if we did not involve the broadest cross-section of

the people." Moosa, who graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in mathematics and physics, taught at a high school for three years until he was dismissed for his "political views".

After taking stock of his future Moosa, then 25, decided to enter politics on a full-time basis. Having made a final break with BC, Moosa became a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress executive committee in 1983. The same year the United Democratic Front was launched and he became its first Transvaal general-secretary. He was also elected to the UDF's national executive committee.

At 26, Moosa had now entered national politics. The formation of the UDF, says Moosa, "posed the real challenge to the regime". The running battles government had with the UDF are said to have precipitated "the crisis of apartheid" and sowed the seeds of today's negotiations.

It did not take long for the government to realise the threat posed by the UDF. As a result, its leadership was subjected to continuous harassment by the State, some of its members died under mysterious circumstances and the leadership spent most of the time either in detention or on the run from the security police.

Moosa had a fair share of these problems. If he was not in detention or in solitary confinement, he was on the run. Even when he was on the run, he continued working clandestinely for

In September 1988, Moosa, Murphy Morobe and Vusi Khanyile made headlines when they escaped from detention after 21 months in jail and sought refuge in the United States consulate in Johannesburg. The escaped trio were criticised in some national newspapers as self-seeking publicity mongers. Moosa says nothing could be further from the truth.

"This was a conscious and well-thought-out decision. We wanted to highlight the plight of political prisoners. At the time of our escape, interest in the lot of political prisoners was dying down. We had to revive it. We also wanted to force the US government to get involved in issues of detention. We were not doing this to get any glory."

This campaign, says Moosa, was successful in that "we forced a number of concessions from Pretoria. The government agreed not to arrest us again if we left the consulate. It also agreed to grant us passports to travel abroad."

Although the passports restricted their travel to the US only, they ignored this and visited several West European countries and the Soviet Union. On their return the government did not take any action against them.

Moosa is married to a "ware boer-ervrou", Elsie Wessels. They have a 5-year-old daughter called Kim.

for transitional arrangements

PROSPECTS for a negotiated constitutional settlement within two years took a step forward this week when South Africa's three main political players agreed to dates in December for the start of all-party talks.

The way has now been cleared for regular plenary sessions of constitution-seeking debates to follow in 1992 and for an early agreement on transitional arrangements to govern the country

Joint announcements by the National Party Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party set the dates for a preparatory meeting on November 29 and all-party talks on December 21 and 22

The ANC's statement is seen as having the backing of its alliance partners - Cosatu and the SACP - and its allies in the Patriotic Front, including the PAC

These organisations are expected to attend the All-Party Conference in their own right

The only setback to the coming conference is Azapo's refusal to take part.

Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley says the talks are intended to subvert the campaign for a constituent assembly.

The ANC, IFP and NP statements issued this week did not give details of the venue, the anticipated chairman or participants in either the preparatory or all-party talks

Consensus

However, it is understood that it was agreed that 22 parties, including representatives of the homelands, will take part in the preparatory talks and that the chairmanship will be decided there.

The venue of the December 21/22 meeting is expected to be in the Reef/Pretoria area

The main purpose of the talks is seen as a showcase opportunity for party leaders to commit themselves publicly to the negotiation process, and to set out goals and principles before committees are appointed to work on the four main areas on which consensus is sought.

- These are:
- The composition and functioning of the actual negotiating (constitution-making) body;
- Guidelines and principles on which a new constitution should be developed,
- Transitional arrangements for functioning of government, and
- A time frame for the process, keeping in mind the urgency in the light of the term of office of the present government.

Hard bargaining can be expected within the various working committees and some measure of agreement on most points is set as the goal by the main parties as a prerequisite for reconvening in the new year

The main obstacle in the way of early consensus is the demand for a proportionately elected Constituent Assembly backed primarily by the Patriotic Front parties and, more recently, the Democratic Party

The form of an interim government or interim arrangement is another area where there may be some obstacles looming for the negotiators - Sapa



Strini Moodley

A Step forward for Unity

Talks clear way

Clipped 24/11/91

SHARED RULE MONTHS AWAY

SITimes 24/11/91 By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING (IIA)

THE National Party wants a transitional government involving the ANC in place by the second half of next year.

Proposals for profound constitutional changes which would have to be approved by a referendum are expected to be put on the table at the pre-Christmas multi-party talks. National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merw confirmed this week that a referendum on transitional measures was a "serious option" for next year.

The timetable for negotiations has meanwhile speeded up. The National Party and ANC met at the weekend to plot strategies for the approaching preliminary meeting of 22 parties on Friday.

At this meeting the agenda is expected to be finalised for 11 December 20 and 21 multi-party talks, which will see constitution negotiations underway.

National Party sources indicated that the first meeting of 11 multi-party conference would be used to unveil far-reaching proposals on interim arrangements.

Ministers told foreign diplomats that they wanted a transitional government in place soon.

The referendum envisaged by the NP will poll the views of all South Africans, but will also allow for enumeration of votes cast by whites.

This will give the white community an opportunity to express its views on the arrangements, something which the National Party has pledged to do, but which the ANC and other parties have resisted.

After the announcement of the dates for the multi-party talks, the strategies of the major parties are now becoming clearer.

Lengthy

The National Party wants the talks to decide detailed constitutional principles and lock other parties into transitional arrangements that, while sharing power, will also achieve co-responsibility. It wants these agreements put to a referendum so as to fulfill its 1989 election undertaking.

He envisages the transitional arrangements remaining in place for a lengthy period, allowing for a more studied period of constitutional negotiation.

The ANC believes the all-party talks should agree on broad constitutional principles. Parliament should make the necessary changes to the constitution to bring about an interim government and that body should oversee elections for a constituent assembly which will negotiate a final constitution.

It does not foresee an interim government being in place for more than 18 months.

Regarding a referendum next year, Dr Van der Merwe said: "By this time next year we will be three years into our mandate. It would be a good time to test the water."

Amended

He said the party would like to have something specific to put to voters, but that would depend on progress achieved by the multi-party talks.

Anything decided by the talks that fitted the description "transitional arrangements" would be of such a far-reaching nature that the present constitution would have to be

Government is blamed by official inquiry
Full details on Page 3

amended, thereby necessitating the holding of a referendum, he said.

However, ANC negotiating committee member Mohammed Valli Moosa said that holding a referendum to test white opinion would be unacceptable. Any future election would have to be on a non-racial basis.

He said the all-party congress, representing all South African political parties, would have sufficient mandate to change the constitution.

Some ANC officials believe that these recommendations on interim arrangements could then be legislated by the existing parliament.

Established

Mr Valli Moosa said that, once there was agreement on broad constitutional principles, the TBVC states had been reincorporated and transitional arrangements had been implemented, constituent-assembly elections should be held on a non-racial basis.

He envisaged these elections taking place this time next year.

The agenda for the 22 participants meeting in the preparatory talks on Friday has meanwhile been established.

The meeting will have to reach agreement on:

Who will convene the multi-party talks. All parties agree that Mr Justice Corbett should be one of the chairmen, but Inkatha is still objecting to former NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogaba as the two others.

□ To Page 2

Shared-rule referendum a 'serious option' for 1992

From Page 1

This is despite the fact that their names were put forward by the National Party. Who will chair the talks.

How many working groups should be set up to continue the work of the conference after the first plenary meeting.

How decisions should be made at the conference.

Who should administer the talks.

ter the talks

The ANC has proposed that five working groups be set up to deal with constitutional principles, interim government arrangements, a constituent-making body, the role of the international community and the TBVCs.

Wide differences exist as to what the scope of the first working committee on constitutional principles should be.

The ANC and most of the parties which attended the Patriotic Front conference believe the committee brief should be to decide on broad principles in keeping with the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid.

The National Party and the Democratic Party want the working committee to reach agreement on substantive constitutional issues.

on constitutional principles

Negotiating a compromise on this will be crucial to the process.

National Party sources have indicated that the party would be prepared to reconsider its opposition to demands for an elected constituent assembly if the working committee was able to reach agreement on what it regarded as fundamental principles of a new constitution.

Mandela, Makwetu for UN

THE president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and Pan-Africanist Congress leader Mr Clarence Makwetu are heading for New York where both are expected to address the UN General Assembly.

Mr Makwetu will address the Assembly on December 2

The PAC's deputy president, Advocate Dikgang Mosenke and PAC Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, will pay an official visit to Namibia on Tuesday "to strengthen ties with the Sam Nujoma government"

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed on Friday that Mr Mandela will visit the United States from December 1 to December 8. He could not confirm reports that Mr Mandela would be addressing the United Nations General Assembly on December 6, but this was "very likely"

S/Times [Cm] 24/11/11

11A

CHALLENGE FOR MOKABA

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

THE powerful PWV region of the ANC Youth League has nominated a challenger to Peter Mokaba, the controversial current leader of the organisation.

The region's decision to nominate Mr Rapu Molekane sets the stage for a tough election fight at the Youth League's congress in Kwandebele next month.

The nomination suggests Mr Mokaba may well have been hurt by reports that

he spied for the SAP. The decision to challenge Mr Mokaba's position as interim national chairman, taken at the PWV region's conference last week, is said to have divided representatives. Youth League members said conference representatives were split between Mr Mokaba and Mr Mole-

kane, the present interim secretary general (HA)

A powerful Soweto faction's support for Mr Molekane eventually won the day, members said.

Mr Mokaba — undisputed leader of radical youth since 1987 — received a blow with reports that he was being investigated by the ANC for allegedly being a police informer. Mr Mokaba has denied the allegations.

Mandela to address UN, says Dinkins

NEW YORK — ANC president Nelson Mandela is to visit New York next month to speak before the UN general assembly, a spokesman for New York mayor David Dinkins said last week.

Mandela is expected to arrive in the US on December 2 and to speak at the UN on December 6.

He will also visit businesses to inquire about future opportunities for SA once apartheid is completely dismantled

Meanwhile, the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore announced that Mandela had accepted an invitation to speak at its Martin Luther King celebration on December 4

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed in Johannesburg at the weekend that Mandela would visit the US from December 1 to December 8. He could not confirm that Mandela would address the UN — Sapa-AP

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Parties meet to choose delegates 11A

PATRICK BULGER

POLITICAL groups taking part in this week's preparatory meeting before all-party talks next month met at the weekend to choose their representatives and to finalise their approaches.

The meeting on Friday is being held to decide on a venue, a convener and an agenda for a multiparty conference scheduled to sit on December 20 and 21.

The ANC's national executive committee is to meet today to mandate its team and its approach to Friday's meeting, which is likely to be held at a Johannesburg hotel. *B (1024) 25/11/91*

Although the PAC will attend the meeting, its call for a neutral conference venue is unlikely to gain wide support. An ANC source said "we are not keen to go outside the country as we will be cutting ourselves away from the people".

Sapa reports that Inkatha's central committee met yesterday to decide on its talks team. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on his return from Europe at the weekend that his party would approach the talks with an open mind.

"We do not intend going to the multiparty conference with non-negotiable stances. We need now to take the steps to enable us to initiate the negotiation process which will culminate in elections for a new government," he said.

He rejected a venue outside SA.

It is understood the NP also held a high-level meeting yesterday.

Azapo yesterday repeated that it would not attend the talks.

'Monopolies a threat to democracy

Mandela



GIANT FLAW ... Mr Nelson Mandela

11A
CT 25/11/91

warns cartels

THE biggest threat to democracy, socio-economic justice and economic growth in South Africa was the monopoly control by a few companies of the whole economy, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend.

He accused the media of attacking the ANC, particularly about nationalisation, to divert attention from the alliance between government and big business against labour and the development of small and medium businesses.

Mr Mandela was delivering the opening address at a meeting at which the ANC and Cosatu, demanding a central role in South African economic policy and its implementation, took the first step towards establishing a national economic policy institute to shape a future economy.

The work of the institute, to be known as the National Institute for Economic Policy, will dovetail with ANC efforts to have an impact on present economic affairs through a proposed economic forum which would consist of the government, business and the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance.

The idea of the forum was first put to the government by Cosatu during negotiations on VAT. The government has not formally responded to the proposal, but the forum is viewed in ANC and Cosatu circles as a potential economic equivalent of all-party constitutional talks.

In his address at the weekend, Mr Mandela said the ANC would not allow the government unilaterally to restructure the economy in the transitional phase, even if it required renewed mass action.

He stressed the importance of the new economic institute, saying that not only did the ANC have to formulate economic policy to meet the challenges of a democratic South Africa, it also had to address immediate socio economic problems of the majority of the people.

"Without an economic policy framework we cannot contest economic policies and positions adopted by the regime and its supporters," Mr Mandela said.

He said that the "brutal socio political destabilisation and economic positions adopted by the regime sometimes appeared to be a deliberate strategy to discredit and cripple the ANC in the run up to possible elections for a transition to a non racial, democratic South Africa.

"On the one hand there is a systematic campaign to blame the ANC for the violence and on the other hand the ANC is portrayed in the media at best as being incapable of formulating economic policy and at worst as preparing for a massive nationalisation programme."

He said "monopoly control" of the media by the state and big business made it difficult for the ANC to put across its views without being misrepresented.

It was evident that the present hysteria that characterised big business and government responses to the ANC debate on economic policy was an attempt to foreclose discussion on any option that the ANC might choose in attaining its policy objectives.

"Thus nationalisation is presented as an ANC

To page 2

From page 1

policy objective when it is in fact one among many economic instruments that may be used to achieve growth through redistribution.

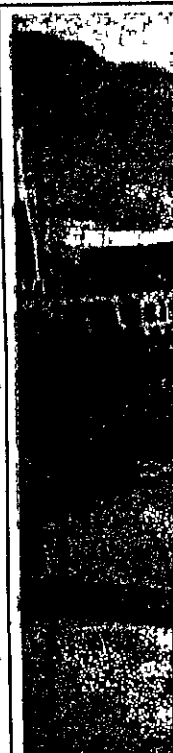
State intervention must ensure equal opportunities for hitherto disadvantaged communities and, through the provision of incentives, must ensure also redirect small and medium businesses away from the service sector towards manufacturing and the production of input and final consumption goods.

Mr Mandela said the ANC's draft resolution on economic policy identified the overall goals which would provide the guidelines from which its economic policy could be formulated.

Among other priorities it would have concentrated its efforts on job creation, raising real incomes, correcting racial and gender imbalances, implementing land reform, promoting rural and urban development, providing housing and infrastructural needs and encouraging the growth of small and medium businesses.

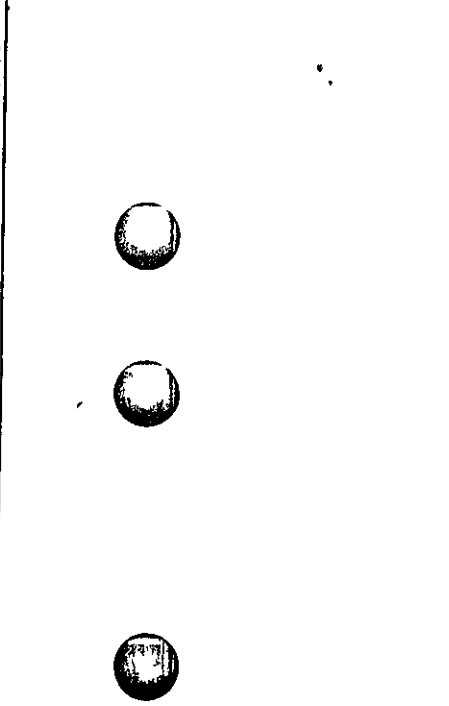
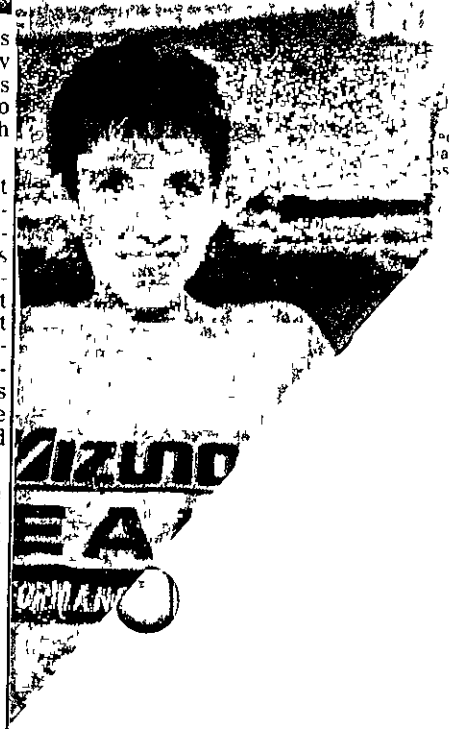
"We have to provide the community and industry with adequate means of transport, electricity and fuel requirements so as to ensure infrastructural stability for economic growth. These objectives must be the foundation of our policy framework."

Mr Mandela said that after the installation of a new, democratically elected government and the subsequent lifting of economic sanctions, the issue of markets for goods, services and finance would be brought to the top of the agenda.



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Azapo's foreign secretary Mbulelo Rakwena and publicity secretary Strini Moodley at a Press conference yesterday.

Azapo chief cuts short world tour

Sowetan 25/11/91

11A

AZAPO president Mr. Pandelani Nefolovhodwe has cut short his three-week overseas tour because of political developments at home.

Nefolovhodwe, who returned from a two-week visit in Britain where he met parliamentarians and interest groups in the UK, was accompanied by Azapo's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Mbulelo Rakwena.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Nefolovhodwe said political developments at home made it necessary to cut short the trip, originally scheduled for three weeks.

Planned visits to Canada, the US and the Netherlands were called off.

"We received reports from our office here that there is some activity

By SONTI MASEKO

geared at the allparty congress, we decided it was necessary that we should be back so we could watch developments," Nefolovhodwe said.

He reiterated Azapo's stand against the multi-party talks and its demand for the establishment of a constituent assembly.

He said the dialogue would continue between Azapo and the British government.

On Azapo's Black Christmas call, Rakwena said the organisation was engaging other interested parties like trade unions and the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal, who have "independently taken the same decision," to ensure that the call for protest was a success.

Nats to unveil a power-share plan

A PLAN aimed at granting extra-parliamentary organisations a say in the running of the country is to be proposed by the National Party at the multiparty talks next month.

The basic differences between the ANC and Government with regard to an interim arrangement revolve around the principle of where "responsibility" should start and where it should end, and where "power-sharing" should start and end.

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

A senior Government source yesterday confirmed that the National Party was in favour of effective power-sharing during the transitional period

Problem

It has also been learnt that President FW de Klerk last week told a visiting diplomat that the time of the Government making unilateral decisions "must come to an end"

"The problem is that if the ANC or PAC, for example, have a say in how to spend money from the Budget - both movements have to take responsibility for raising money for the budget," the source said

This would mean that if the ANC or PAC (or Patriotic Front) were given a role in the Government they would have to encourage economic investment.

The NP is expected to reveal its blueprint for an interim arrangement at multiparty talks scheduled for December 20 and 21

It is believed that Government will demand that the ANC and whoever else it meets at multiparty talks then would have to come to produce details about envisaged constitutional models

Policy

This could mean that the ANC would be forced to make detailed statements on its economic policy for the next South Africa - something which the movement has shied from since its unbanning on February 2 1990

The DP's young, bright black star

IN 1989 Mr Sam Leseme, then a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was jailed for two years in Kroonstad for sabotage and possessing explosives.

He was indemnified in April, released in June and joined the Democratic Party.

Leseme is one of a growing and somewhat embattled core of black members of the liberal opposition in the Free State Goldfields

Symbol

He is, in large measure, a symbol of the DP's hope to play an increasingly influential role in shaping the politics of the new South Africa

Recruiting people like Leseme to the DP cause was singled out as the priority for 1992 at the DP's annual congress in Sea Point last week

Leseme, from Welkom's Thabong township, accompanied several other black delegates to the congress and, though he was an observer, this fresh recruit was acutely interested in the exchanges of his political kin

Strategies

He joined the DP because of the party's strategies and policies "I support their policy and I believe in peaceful politics. I do not believe in mass action because our struggle has changed," he said in an interview.

Leseme, who is actively engaged in recruiting DP members, is help-

Sowetan 25/11/91

Sowetan
Correspondent

ing to form a DP youth branch in Thabong.

At 20, Leseme has had his fair share of the hurly-burly of political activism.

In 1986, as a 15-year-old in Standard 5 and Cosas member, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Odendaalsrus. He was detained for seven months and then sentenced to seven strokes.

Two years later, in Johannesburg, he was arrested for having an MK pamphlet and held for three months.

Explosives

During this time he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe, helped harbour fellow cadres and was trained by the Free State commander of MK in weaponry and the use of limpet and anti-personnel mines

Then, in 1989, he was arrested for sabotaging a school in Thabong and for possessing explosives. He was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for 11 months and then sentenced to four-and-a-half years' imprisonment, two suspended.

But within two months of his release from Kroonstad prison, Leseme, a hardened activist, took a brave decision. He joined the DP.

"In my area, I am well known

Members of the ANC know me well and they accept that I am member of the DP

"But some members of the DP are intimidated. One man, who was accused of being a sell-out, had a gun pointed at his head"

Problems

Dr Rhett Kahn, chairman of the DP's Goldfields Formation said black members had encountered many problems from ANC youth and members of civic organisations who did not heed their leaders' calls to cease intimidation

However, the DP had a good relationship with senior members of the ANC.

The DP's influence in the Free State goldfields goes back to 1987 when, as the Progressive Federal Party regional representative, Kahn won some adherents in Virginia's Meloding township

Meloding

The DP's contribution to a new housing development in Meloding was formally recognised when the site was named DP Park.

But the party has had to revoke the name and revert to the original name of the farm on which the township is built

And it is wryly ironic that DP Park is now called Stilte Park.

APR 25 11 1971

SACP elects union man

JOHANNESBURG. — A senior official of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Gwende Mantashe has been elected chairman of the SA Communist Party's PWV region Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association official Mr Bob Mabaso was elected deputy chairman; Mr Jabu Moleketi regional secretary — Sapa.

ANC, Azapo, PAC not disturbed

So we return

25/11/91

11A

~~2-3-81~~

THE ANC, Azapo and the PAC are not perturbed by the Democratic Party and National Party's shift in policy to gain black support

Since the mid-eighties, when it became legal for people to join political parties of their choice and not on racial lines, the DP has accrued only minimal black membership and support

It has, however recently been running a campaign through the black media for support, and a spokesman for the DP has said it plans to intensify this next year

The NP, on the other hand, "opened up" to all races last year and has since been developing black membership without emphasising this drive. The NP calls it a drive for "non-traditional" support

Azapo's secretary general Mr Don Nkadameng said support for the NP would be marginal. Most of the black people who supported the NP and DP would be what he called high-profile blacks

"They can forget about grass-roots. Because any black person

who knows what is going on (in South Africa) will never support them," Nkadameng said

Commenting on the marked drive of both the DP and the NP, the ANC's Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation was not disturbed by this

Niehaus said that the ANC did, however, believe that home for true liberation in South Africa is within the liberation movement

Referring to the NP, he said prospective black members should judge parties by their past - and the

"injustices" associated with this. He added "It was nevertheless the democratic right of every South African to join or support a political party of his or her choice - and the ANC will never support anything to the contrary"

A PAC source said people who joined the NP were "giving the regime credibility when it should be isolated"

However the source added that it would not interfere with the constituency building among black people by the NP

Opposition within ranks to PAC stance on negotiations

STAR 26/11/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The PAC faces opposition to its position on negotiations from some of its members on the Reef, who yesterday called for a national consultative conference "to address the crisis in the PAC".

At a press conference in Johannesburg, six members of the "Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee of the PAC" — a structure unknown to the organisation — announced that a consultative conference would be held at the Leth'ukuthula Secondary School Hall in Katlehong on Saturday.

Facilitating committee members Joe Khumalo and Victor Petu said the PAC leadership had strayed from PAC policy by embracing demands for a constituent assembly and forming a Patriotic Front (PF)

"with capitalists and reactionary forces".

The PAC is scheduled to take part in preparatory talks for a multiparty conference with the Government, the ANC and other organisations on Friday.

Mr Petu said Saturday's conference would be asked to come up with proposals "to solve the current crisis" and to reject the PAC leadership's pro-talks stance

Mr Petu and Mr Khumalo accused the PAC leadership of.

● Endorsing a constituent assembly position which did not "emanate from the ideological position of the PAC".

● Forming a PF "with capitalists and reactionary forces whose objective is to 'negotiate the new constitution with the colonial settler regime' and not to repossess the land and establish a socialist order".

● Deviating from the PAC's principle of non-collaboration with the Government and Government-created structures.

"These and several other examples of deliberate and flagrant disregard of PAC policies and principles have necessitated the need for PAC branches to convene a conference which should address such issues"

Contacted for comment yesterday, PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said the PAC was not aware of such a structure of the PAC, and referred inquiries to PAC West Rand leader Ntsundeni Madzunya.

He said that if the members of the facilitating committee understood the PAC's basic document, they would realise that the formation of a PF was one of the PAC's main policies.

17 in court after city ANC 'protest'

Staff Reporter

SEVENTEEN people have appeared in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court in connection with an alleged ANC Youth League protest at the Cape National Party offices in Burg Street in May.

Six others, including ANC lawyer Mr Willie Hofmeyr, did not appear.

Mr Hofmeyr, 36, of Woodstock, and several ANC Youth League members were arrested in May while allegedly waiting for a response to a petition demanding the release of political prisoners and the unhindered return of exiles.

Mr Wayne Field, Counsel for Mr Hofmeyr, said his client was ill.

Miss J Fleischer, counsel for the other five, said one of her clients was attending circumcision rites in Transkei and the others were students and could not attend the court proceedings.

The 23 are charged with trespassing and resisting arrest.

Prosecutor Mr G Olwage said all the accused had applied for indemnity from prosecution.

The case was postponed to February 20
Magistrate Mr Marais Du Toit was on the bench

(11A) ARG 26/11/91

PAC seeks a talks venue 'outside South Africa'

114

ARG 26/11/91

WINDHOEK. — The Pan Africanist Congress is looking for a venue outside South Africa for the All-Party Conference due to take place late in December, PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke has said.

"We have been looking at various venues and our present visit may or may not be related to that," he told a media briefing at Windhoek Airport

He declined to comment on whether Namibia might be a likely venue.

Mr Moseneke and the PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Mrs Patricia de Lille, are in Windhoek to brief President Sam Nujoma on events in South Africa regarding the newly formed Patriotic Front

"We are looking around to see who will be appropriate hosts for part or all of such a conference," he said of the planned All-Party-Conference.

Apart from wanting the conference held outside South Africa, the PAC also wants international involvement in the steps leading to a free and democratic South Africa

"If we are to have a lasting agreement in the face of the violence and intrigue that goes on in our country, it's going to be important that we agree on the nature and the extent of the role of the international community," he said, adding that a complete document on the subject would be presented at the preparatory talks on the All-Party Conference

"The bottom line is there must be international participation, there must be guaranteeing of the agreement," Mr Moseneke emphasised

The PAC delegates are due to meet senior government officials and Swapo representatives during their stay — Sapa



PAC talks 'not on'

Sowetan 27/11/91

By ISAAC MOLEDI

ANY flexibility in adapting to negotiating with the Government is now unacceptable and contrary to the Pan Africanist Congress' stand

Callers to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show told DJ Tim Modise yesterday that the PAC's present position in regard to talking to the Government was nothing but collaboration

Peter from Natal condemned the PAC leadership's position of wanting to talk to the Government as unacceptable and out

Regime

"We cannot talk to the regime at this moment when they still have the monopoly of power

"The membership of the PAC has agreed to talk to the Government at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman. So if the present leadership decides to talk to the

Government, then that is not PAC policy "

Peter said he did not see anything wrong with the ANC talking to the Government

"Maybe the ANC has prepared its membership for the talks. That is not the case with the PAC."

Thabiso from Welkom agreed with Peter that talks would be opportunistic and collaborative

He cautioned the liberation movement it was risking losing its following if they persisted

Pule from Pietersburg blamed the PAC for not consulting at grassroots level

"The PAC's position is unfortunate. Let talks wait and rather continue to strive towards uniting our people. Let us sort ourselves out "

All must take part - ANC

Sowetan 27/11/91

WHEN a new constitution is drawn up, participants must include everyone - from trade unions, health organisations, women's movements, the churches and civic associations.

This was said over the weekend by Mr Jeff Radebe, the newly elected chairman of the Southern Natal branch of the ANC.

The news release which detailed the results of the ANC's regional conference was, however, only pub-

lished on Wednesday.

Radebe replaced recently appointed ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma.

He also repeated the ANC's frequent accusations that the violence - while South Africa was in a stage of transition - formed "part of the agenda of the State and conservative forces to weaken and destabilise the ANC". - Sapa.

(11A)

Come Friday, SA politics get serious, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson

Let the (real) games begin!

STAR 2/11/91.



FRIDAY'S meeting of the "steering committee" for next month's multiparty talks is an important curtain-raiser to the final rounds of the new South Africa challenge, on two levels

Obliviously, it will lay the places at the negotiating table. But its significance goes beyond the dotting of logistical 't's when the members of the steering committee take their seats around the table, they will do so on the unspoken understanding that real politicking will henceforth begin to replace mere grandstanding.

Throughout this year, the key parties have enjoyed the luxury of making broad policy pronouncements without locking themselves into detail. Thus, in many vital areas, the impression of a high degree of consensus among rivals could be created — without spelling out the substance.

Terminological gymnastics was the useful method employed the public could be forgiven, for example, for assuming there was not much difference between the NP's proposed "transitional arrangements", the DP's "transitional government", the PAC's "transitional authority" and the ANC's "interim government". There was, of course, and still is.

Friday marks the beginning of the end of this period of cosy, mutually beneficial ambivalence. The various parties mean entirely different things in using these terms, and the formidable task of the multiparty talks is to thrash out a detailed compromise.

The NP, strategically alert as ever, is already playing publicly with the concept in preparation for some smart moves at the negotiating table. From an initial position that held that the Government's authority during transition was sacrosanct — and the likes of the ANC could hope at best for an "advisory" role — the party is suddenly releasing trial balloons on methods of pre-emptive power-sharing.

The NP is playing with the ingenious idea of softening its opposition to the notion of interim government — thus appearing flexible and conciliatory — while subverting the meaning and purpose of the concept as envisaged by the ANC.

The ANC wants an interim government that would wholly usurp the powers of the State for a limited period, constituting the transition to majority rule elections. The NP is thinking in terms of such a structure accruing powers — and responsibilities — incrementally, and developing an (indefinite) life of its own. The apparent convergence in terminology, therefore, disguises diametrically opposing strategic objectives.

For the ANC, the idea is to get the NP out of the political driver's seat as soon as possible. For the

NP, it is quite the reverse: allowing a few back seat drivers on board might ensure that President de Klerk is able to keep his grip on the steering wheel well into the journey.

The ANC is already showing signs of not being quite sure of what the NP is up to, but instinctively assuming the worst. The latest edition of the ANC mouth-piece *Mayibuye* observes "It is reliably learnt that the NP wants a drawn-out transitional process with an interim constitution and Interim Government taking 10 years or more." (Note that the ANC is preparing itself for the possibility that the NP will take the wind out of its propaganda sails by agreeing to an "interim government". A key ANC slogan could thereby be rendered worthless.)

Mayibuye continues "With this kind of weird approach and with its unworkable constitutional proposals, the position of the NP is

therefore tenuous. It has few friends as more and more forces ... join the quest for a fair and just transition."

This interpretation might be a useful tonic for the troops reading *Mayibuye*, but it is exceptionally sanguine under the circumstances. The use of the word "weird" in describing NP strategy suggests a degree of ANC confusion.

In truth, the NP idea is — from its own point of view — anything but weird. "Shrewd" would be a more appropriate term. If the party can succeed in locking its opponents into a form of shared rule on its own terms, it will benefit on many levels. The exercise of power, even pieces of power, will have an inevitably moderating effect on those who have previously been confined to the role of critics, the image of representativity at government level will lessen the pressure for "all-or-nothing" constitutional solutions, and the urgency for holding an election will decrease.

Then there is the ANC assumption that the NP is increasingly friendless as the countdown to the new South Africa begins. What is in fact remarkable is the extent to which NP proposals for avoiding a "winner-takes-all" result are receiving sympathetic hearings, notably in international circles. In the US, most of Europe and the Soviet Union, a uniquely South African solution — including "weird" arrangements restricting a new government's power — are anything but anathema.

The world in 1991 is very different from that of 1960, and foreign governments now listen carefully to any proposal they think might ensure that the future does not dissolve into ethnic chaos, as in Yugoslavia. For these reasons the ANC might be well advised to confront and combat politically NP tactics, rather than dismiss them. And, come Friday, the time for starting to do that will be well and truly nigh. □

PAC taking part in talks despite internal dissent

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Despite opposition from some of its members to its involvement in negotiations, the Pan Africanist Congress will attend the preparatory meeting for multiparty talks to be held on Friday, according to PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai.

In an interview with The Star yesterday, Mr Desai said that at the meeting the PAC would demand that round-table talks should be held in a neutral venue outside the country so that Pretoria would not have an "unfair advantage".

He said the PAC rejected the Chief Justice as convener of the talks because he was "a functionary of the State".

His confirmation comes a day after some members of the PAC, calling themselves the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee of the PAC — attacked the PAC for its willingness to take part in talks with the Government.

Members of the "facilitating committee", who claim to have the support of various PAC structures across the country, called for a na-

tional consultative conference to be held in Katlehong on Saturday to "address the crisis in the PAC".

They accused the PAC leadership of having strayed from PAC policy by embracing demands for a constituent assembly and aligning with "reactionary forces".

Committee member Victor Petu yesterday told The Star at least 500 delegates from across the country were expected at Saturday's meeting. He warned that the incumbent PAC leadership could be ousted "for its deviation from PAC policies and ideologies".

Mr Petu said his group had the support of the PAC's student, youth and women's wings, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, the Azanian National Youth Unity and the African Women's Organisation.

He said delegates attending Saturday's meeting would come from across the country, representing the organisation's rank and file.

The organisation would also call for the involvement of the international community during the negotiation process.

STAR 27/11/91

11A

Officials raise issue with Nujoma

PAC to flex muscles over talks venue

Bloddy 24/11/91 (11A)

THE PAC will present Friday's preparatory meeting called to arrange all-party talks with its first challenge by proposing that the talks be held at a neutral venue, probably Namibia.

The proposal is believed to be part of a PAC attempt to demonstrate its ability to make an impact on national decisions.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke was in Windhoek yesterday for discussions with Namibian President Sam Nujoma and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab. PAC information secretary Barney Desai said Moseneke and PAC foreign affairs secretary Patricia de Lille had briefed Nujoma on developments in SA and had discussed Namibia as a venue.

On arrival in Windhoek, Moseneke refused to comment on whether a Namibian venue would be discussed, but said the PAC was looking into a number of venues in southern Africa.

As a result of yesterday's meetings, the PAC hopes to be able to put before Friday's meeting solid information on what it would require to arrange a Namibia venue.

A source in the Namibian foreign ministry said the former SA territory could be an ideal venue because of its own recent experience of peaceful transition based on negotiations. Delegates would be able to see in Namibia's stability the utility of negotiations.

The venue issue has been dismissed as unimportant and even trivial by ANC, government and Inkatha sources. However, it conceals an anxiety within the PAC leadership to show its constituency that it can have a decisive impact on negotiations.

PATRICK BULGER

The ANC has been careful not to reject a foreign venue out of hand partly because the PAC's presence at the talks adds legitimacy to the process. The PAC's Namibia proposal was given qualified support by Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa who said he would agree to an outside venue if that was the consensus on Friday.

The PAC is facing intense grassroots pressure not to go to the negotiating table. A faction styled the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee has said it will host a national consultative conference at Katlehong at the weekend to try to change the PAC's stance.

Desai, however, dismissed the faction, saying the PAC had decided at its congress last year to engage government in a meeting to sort out modalities for the election of a constituent assembly. He conceded that "there are people in the PAC who genuinely feel apprehensive about the talks" but said the movement was keeping its branches fully informed.

Meanwhile, the ANC's national executive committee yesterday finished a meeting in preparation for the onset of negotiations. Among the issues discussed was whether there should be separate NP-government representation. ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the matter had yet to be finalised with government. Friday's meeting, to be held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, is taking place to arrange a venue, chairmanship, convener and title for the multiparty conference.

PAC moves to hold all-party talks in Namibia

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The PAC is moving to have the all-party talks held in Namibia, it emerged yesterday

The organisation's vice-president, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, held talks with Namibian President Sam Nujoma in Windhoek during the day and sources have indicated that the possibility of holding the discussions in the Namibian capital was raised.

A Namibian Department of Foreign Affairs source and a senior PAC member in Johannesburg both confirmed last night that the matter had been dealt with during the meeting between the two men

PAC publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said he could not comment, but added that "we are investigating different venues". On Monday Mr Desai had said a neighbouring African country would be an ideal venue

The organisation has insisted that what it calls the "pre-constituent assembly talks" must be held outside the country and a neutral conciliator should be convened to oversee any meetings

"We are insisting on international mediation, observation and verification," said Mr Desai

However, IFP president Chief Man-

gosuthu Buthelezi has flatly rejected the suggestion that the talks should be held outside the country and the government is also extremely unlikely to agree to this

The ANC's position at the moment appears to be neutral and a senior member said last night it would be talking to the PAC on this issue

The ANC will also be holding talks today with the government. These will centre on whether the government and the NP will be separately represented at the multi-party talks

ANC department of information and publicity member Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that it was unlikely the organisation would accept separate representation.

"There will only be political organisations at the talks," he said

However, there is a growing feeling in some circles that government representation might be needed at the talks to allow it to effectively implement decisions during the transition stage

Meanwhile Solidarity, the majority party in the House of Delegates, has said it will be represented at the talks by party leader Dr J N Reddy, national chairman Mr Ismail Omar and deputy chairman Mr Baldeo Dookie

Let's ^(11A) talk in Namibia insists PAC ^{Sowetan} _{24/11/91}

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress insists that next month's multiparty talks be held in Namibia.

This is what the PAC will lay on the table on Friday when delegations from 22 political organisations meet - possibly at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg - to discuss convening multiparty talks on December 20 and 21.

However, the Government has rejected this proposal, saying it is out of the question.

PAC's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and the movement's internal secretary for foreign affairs, Ms Patricia de Lille, yesterday met Namibian President Sam Nujoma and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Theo Ben Gurirab

Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's publicity secretary, confirmed the meeting. He said the discussion "covered a wide range of topics"

The possibility of holding multiparty talks in Windhoek was also addressed, he said.

Meanwhile, the PAC confirmed that it would attend Friday's talks. The rift that surfaced in its ranks this week was "not serious," the PAC leadership said.

It said the fissures could be ascribed to membership being misinformed over its intentions.

The movement would continue its call for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person-vote and was not on the verge of changing the mandate it was given by its congress in December last year.

Minister praises creation of PF

ARC 27/11/91
WINDHOEK — The creation of the Patriotic Front in South Africa is the "most significant" step towards democratisation, Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said.

"We are particularly heartened by the fact that the oppressed people of South Africa, led by the national liberation movements, have been able to strengthen unity and are continuing to consolidate that unity," he said after talks yesterday with a PAC delegation.

Mr Gurirab commended the leadership of the PAC, ANC, and all other parties, on reaching this point.

"By the time they meet the National Party government delegation they will be speaking on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa who are demanding an end to apartheid and also the creation of a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa."

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and foreign affairs secretary Mrs Patricia de Lille are in Namibia to brief the government and locate an alternative venue for the All-Party Conference scheduled for December 20 and 21 in South Africa.

— Sapa

PAC claim dismissed as reckless

ANC accused of secret pact with govt

11A

B/day 28/11/91

PATRICK BULGER

SECRET meetings between government and the ANC had led to an agreement on an interim government by February next year, joint decision-making on future legislation and the lifting of all remaining sanctions, the PAC claimed yesterday.

Producing what it said were the minutes of a briefing given by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to African ambassadors to the UN earlier this month, the PAC lashed out at its patriotic front partner, the ANC, accusing it of "deceit and duplicity".

But its deputy president Dikgang Mosenke said the PAC would still attend tomorrow's preparatory talks for a multiparty conference

Both government and the ANC yesterday denied the PAC claims.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said neither government nor the NP had negotiated with the ANC on constitutional matters "Negotiations of the government with the ANC have so far centred on the negotiation process and security problems," he said

TIM COHEN reports ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said "The ANC utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions and shall seek means other than the mass media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC"

At a hastily called news conference last night, Mbeki said no minutes were kept at the meeting

Mbeki said everything he told the meeting was in line with the ANC's position "Someone is trying to create mischief"

Ramaphosa said the PAC's statement,

although reckless, was only a "hiccup" in the ANC relations with the PAC and would not affect the patriotic front

A senior NP source said the declaration of intent referred to in the minutes had in fact been discussed in meetings between the ANC and government

"A declaration of intent has been mooted for the agenda of the (multiparty conference) meeting on December 20 It was mooted in meetings with the ANC," the source said

The PAC's document is two pages long and purports to be the minutes of a "lively meeting" which lasted for three-and-a-half hours The PAC said Mbeki had asked the ambassadors to exclude the PAC's UN representative from the briefing

Asked why the PAC was not invited to the meeting, Mbeki said last night he had gone to the UN to assist with the drafting of resolutions about SA, and the ANC had therefore called a meeting of states, because they were the ones that could cast votes "The PAC does the same"

Based on what has emerged regarding negotiations in the past few weeks, much of the document is correct

It says "The steering committee on the 29th of November will first consider a 'Declaration of Intent'. The declaration of intent will set up the legal basis for the decisions of the conference. It will set (out) how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into the SA law Provisions of the declaration of intent will override present SA law wherever the two

□ To Page 2

'Secret pact'

are at variance B/day 28/11/91

"The parties are eager to have things move fast, hence the ANC has problems with its constituent assembly demand which could delay the process by up to a year The ANC appealed for flexibility in negotiations even at the UN on SA resolutions The ANC saw the interim government being installed by February 1992"

Last night Ramaphosa specifically denied the ANC had changed its stance regarding its call for a constituent assembly to draw up SA's new constitution

The PAC document went on "Mr Mbeki discussed sanctions and the position of the Frontline states and Africa He believed

Africa lost the initiative at Abuja (scene of the OAU summit earlier this year), hence they will have to lag behind events

"It would be difficult to support or advocate sanctions after the acceptance of the declaration of intent on November 29 1991 Legally once the declaration of intent is accepted, apartheid will be dead

"Mr Mbeki dealt with the issue of the army and police forces He said Africans accounted for more than half the police force and that they were very supportive of the present changes Senior white officers too were co-operating In the army, only the top brass understood the situation The rank and file feared for their positions"

□ From Page 1

8/0009 28/11/91

Teams for talks

INKATHA will be represented at preparatory multiparty talks tomorrow by national chairman Frank Mdlalose, deputy secretary-general SH Gumede and central committee member Walter Felgate.

The ANC's delegation is believed to be secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki and Mohammed Valli Moosa.

The PAC team will consist of Barney Desai, Willie Seriti and M Mbandazayo while the Transkei delegation will be led by military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

The DP plays go-between

w/mant 22/11/91
GETTING a line on the various players' ideas for the route South Africa should take in drawing up a new constitution is like trying to nail a blanc-mange to the ceiling

But the Democratic Party's new proposal for a constitutional conference offers something altogether more substantial — and could lead the way for a compromise between the National Party and the African National Congress on the issue.

The new policy is contained in an amendment put before the DP's congress last weekend by Sea Point MP Colin Eglin, which was overwhelmingly adopted

Essentially, it suggests that an all-party or multi-party conference first agree on basic constitutional principles. Having achieved that, the country would then go to the polls to elect a 200-member constitutional conference on the basis of universal franchise, through a system of proportional representation. Each member would represent parties with at least one percent of the vote — ensuring it is truly representative, and that smaller parties also get their say.

The constitutional conference would then sit as long as it takes to draw up a new constitution, with a cut-off point after two years, when there would have to be fresh elections. Once a draft constitution emerges and a gov-

28/11/91 11A
The Democratic Party, through its proposal on a constitutional conference, may provide a solution to the impasse the ANC and NP are locked in.

By GAYE DAVIS

ernment of national unity is in place, a referendum to ratify the new constitution would be held.

"An all-party conference would not be representative enough to draw up a new constitution," Eglin said. "None of the parties — extra-parliamentary, tricameral, bantustan — can claim to be elected representatives of today's South Africa."

"It's important they come together, to ring down the curtain on the current conflict, but they shouldn't be responsible for deciding on a new constitution."

By limiting the life of the constitutional conference, and avoiding according it absolute sovereignty in its decisions, there would be no danger of members voting themselves into office or disregarding the basic principles agreed to at the all-party conference, Eglin said.

"This is why the DP uses the term constitutional conference rather than constitutional assembly," Eglin said. "In Namibia, the constitutional assembly became the government."

In addition, provision has been made for three veto powers: to one-third of the members of the constitutional conference, to the majority party at the conference and to the NP.

According to Eglin, this triple veto is "more a method of achieving consensus, than blocking decisions."

"You need an overall majority, but must also take into account the attitudes of the two major players. The vetoes stress the importance of achieving consensus between the majority and the two major parties."

So how does the DP's proposal compare with those of other players? Much depends on how one interprets what they intend.

The NP has rejected the ANC's proposal of a constituent assembly out of hand. President FW de Klerk has, however, identified the need for the job to be done by a body that is fully representative, with proven support.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress are calling for a constituent assembly — but it's as yet unclear whether they intend it to act as a sovereign, interim government. If they see it instead as a body bound to comply with the basic principles agreed to during an all-party conference, with a limited life-span, then less ground has to be covered in reaching a compromise than many would have thought.

For this reason, the DP's proposal has as much to do with strategy as policy.

"We're trying to look past the impasse the Nats and the ANC find themselves in at present to the common ground which lies beyond," Eglin said.

"We're not trying to dictate, but we think we could offer the possibility of consensus. If the Nats had produced this proposal, the ANC would have shot it down and vice versa. The DP is in a position to provide a possible solution."

As such, the proposal links in with DP leader Zach de Beer's belief that the party comes closer than any other substantial political grouping in the country to achieving "mutual trust to the left and the right."

According to Professor David Welsh, of the Department of Political Studies at the University of Cape Town, the DP seems to be presenting viable possibilities for compromise on issues such as a constituent assembly, an interim government and other transitional arrangements — ensuring for itself a significant brokerage function in the power plays that lie ahead.

Zach's pack paints it black

w/mant 22/11-28/11/91
Weekly Mail Reporter

One of the strongest things the Democratic Party has going for it is its liberal niceness. But its whiteness is still its Achilles heel.

This is why people like Etienne Phoofole are considered such bright stars in the DP firmament. An insurance broker in Katlehong, Phoofole has displayed recruitment efforts which have elevated that region into one of the party's key growth areas.

Phoofole joined the party in 1960 when, as the Progressive Party, it was "the only party allowing blacks to join."

As chairman of the party's Eastern Transvaal region, Phoofole has recruited more than 1 000 new members among the communities of Katlehong, Thokoza, Nelspruit, Lydenburg and Barberton since he launched his campaign in February.

Those joining were people "who are disillusioned with the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party."

"People like the DP's policies. They know about Helen Suzman and what she did for the black people, and they know about the DP's anti-apartheid history."

"Two or three people are joining every day — but in the Free State, membership is increasing even faster" at the DP's Free State regional congress, 150 of the 200 delegates were black," said Phoofole.

Recruiting significant numbers of black people to its ranks is crucial for the DP's continued existence, given the extent to which its white support has eroded.

Zach de Beer, elected party leader for another term, urged delegates to get down to the serious business of signing on new members.

If it succeeds in making itself and its policies known in black areas, the DP will stand a fighting chance of realising the vision De Beer holds for it: a party capable of bridging "the gap of mutual distrust between the Nats and the ANC." It would remain a niche party but one whose significance far exceeded its actual size.

Internal dissension in PAC

on talks
South 28/11 - 4/12/91
By Sabata Ngcal

IN AN apparent move to oppose talks with the government, two splinter groups are threatening to overturn "the present moderate stance" of the PAC.

The Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee, purporting to be part of the PAC, has accused the PAC of "deviating from the ideological principles of the organisation".

A member of the facilitating committee, Mr Victor Petu, said the Patriotic Front was "the last straw". It would no longer tolerate the "PAC flouting the principles of non-collaboration and non-recognition of the colonial settler-regime".

On the Constituent Assembly, which the PAC commends to demand, Petu said the move could not be called tactical, "owing to its bankruptcy in addressing the aspiration of the Azanian masses".

In a statement, PAC secretary for the West Rand region, Mr Tumediso Modise, said the splinter groups were non-existent and its statement was an attempt by the police to sow confusion.

"We wish to state categorically that no structure known as a Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee is in existence, neither officially nor unofficially," he said.

"The statement, in its name, emanates from a person who is working for the South African police in order to try and cause confusion."

Modise said members of the PAC did not "behave in that manner" and "we have no reason to doubt the hand of the system in what is going on with the false statement".

He said his statement was issued by the PAC West Rand Region in consultation with "the official and only East Rand Region".

Man dies in cell

South

By Rehana Rossouw

NONE of the policemen implicated in the death of 63-year-old Luizville resident Mr Frederick Cardinal have been suspended from duty, a police spokesman confirmed this week.

Cardinal's death in the northern Cape town last Sunday has angered political organisations, which have once again called for independent control over the South African Police.

ANC denies PAC's shock accusations of secret deal

South
28/11 - 4/12/91
By Mono Badela

THE ANC has rejected a PAC accusation that it is colluding with the government on a secret deal for an interim government, labelling the charge a "misconception and inaccurate".

A PAC claim that the ANC abandoned its demand for a constituent assembly as part of a "secret deal" has threatened the basis of the Patriotic Front (PF).

Observers note that the PAC's charge comes at a time when the organisation is wracked by dissension over negotiations.

At the same time, they add, it is unlikely that the ANC would drop its call for a constituent assembly when the demand has been given new impetus by the Patriotic Front conference.

The PAC said the ANC's Mr Thabo Mbeki traded the assembly demand in return for the government speeding up the installation of an interim government and amending the Referendum Act to make it non-racial. The PAC accused the ANC of "deceit and duplicity".

Immediately after the PAC's startling claims, Mbeki and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told a press conference the ANC remained committed to a constituent assembly and it had held no secret talks with the government.

Mr Mbeki said the PAC document was "certainly not a record of any meeting I attended".

The controversial document, allegedly minutes of a meeting held between Mbeki and President F. W. de Klerk at the United Nations, contains references to the ANC and government wanting to speed up the establishment of the interim government and the ANC abandoning its constituent assembly demand which could delay the process by up to a year.

Mr. Mohamed Valli Moosa, a member of the ANC's national working committee's Negotiating Commission, said all meetings with the government were on "how to get the All Party Conference started".

No discussion with the government, he insisted, had been held regarding the interim government.

"We will pursue the demand for a Constituent Assembly at the All Party talks in December. It is our main demand," he said.

Despite the rumpus, PAC officials, say they will still attend preparatory talks to plan for December.



PARENTAL POWER: Daily protests have been staged at a Tafelsig school. PIC: YUNUS MOHAMED

Angry parents allege 'abuse of children'

South 28/11 - 4/12/91

By Heather Robertson

OVER a hundred angry parents met last Thursday at the Micro centre in Mitchells Plain to launch a campaign to "clean up" a Tafelsig Primary School where they say children have been abused.

The parents have been holding daily placard protests outside Littlewood Primary School since the beginning of the week. Many parents complained about the vulgar language teachers use when addressing children while others spoke about more serious cases of

sexual abuse. One parent said her child was hit across the genitals while a child with a broken finger was hit so badly on his wrist that it went out of joint. The parents elected a committee to address the allegations with the Department of Education and Culture (DEC). The committee requested a meeting with the parents and teachers but was refused. Parents were dissatisfied with the DEC's explanation that the matter was still being investigated and have decided to embark on further action.

Since Friday parents have been holding a placard demonstration outside the school and are planning a march with the South African Democratic Teachers Union on December 4.

Since the issue has been highlighted, reports in the committee report their children have been victimised. One parent, Mrs Elyvra Adams, said her son was told children whose parents had demonstrated would not receive reports at the end of the year.

Department of Education and Culture spokesperson Mr Henne Jansen reiterated that the allegations of parents are under investigation. The principal of the school has refused to comment on the allegations.

Mr. Mohamed Valli Moosa, a member of the ANC's national working committee's Negotiating Commission, said all meetings with the government were on "how to get the All Party Conference started".

No discussion with the government, he insisted, had been held regarding the interim government. "We will pursue the demand for a Constituent Assembly at the All Party talks in December. It is our main demand," he said. Despite the rumpus, PAC officials, say they will still attend preparatory talks to plan for December.

No-name talks start battle over future SA

114
South 28 11 - 4 12 91

South Africa is on the threshold of negotiations. DAMIAN DE LANGE previews the issues.

AFTER decades of minority rule and months of stop-start negotiations, the "talks about talks" may soon give birth to fully-fledged negotiations. But will this process end in a democratic South Africa?

A preparatory committee gathers this week to finalise arrangements for an all party meeting. Among the issues to be resolved are where these negotiations will be held, who will chair, who will convene and who will take part.

Even a title for this historic meeting has to be agreed on. Various names are in use, each coming from specific political groupings. Among them are All-Party Conference (APC), used by the ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance, Multi-Party Conference, used by the National Party and its allies and Pre-Constitution Assembly Meeting, used in the PAC camp.

A major issue is whether these talks agree to the election of a Constituent Assembly or to setting up a form of transitional rule to lay the foundations for elections. The PAC camp wants to see the election of a Constituent Assembly. The ANC, despite its official position, has indicated flexibility. AZAPO has refused to take part, stating talks can only begin once a Constituent Assembly has been elected.

Despite the break-downs and stalling that characterised "talks about talks" a wide spectrum of political opinion agrees this final stage of negotiations should incorporate all political parties. This has yet to be achieved. Political parties to the right and the left, such as the Herstigte Nasionale Party and AZAPO, insist they will not take part. Others, like the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging, remain undecided.

Despite these refusals the prepara-

violence, bloodshed and death? Using recent history as a yardstick, the prospects are bleak well and new mechanisms may have to be devised. Political parties with well organised structures and enough money to fund publicity campaigns have a definite advantage.

And access to television and radio during this period is still unresolved, with a clear advantage to the National Party. Some form of regulated and equal access to the mass media might be arranged.

For all the political parties, the form of interim government is crucial.

The National Party will benefit if transition drags on and it can co-opt and swamp other parties within the government's structures.

The ANC and its allies prefer an interim government with a time limit of 18 months. How the transitional body exercises its authority and who it is answerable to must be agreed on. And who will run the country while the interim government prepares for elections? Will it be the NP or the interim government?

Negotiations have seen parties surface claiming significant support bases from which to launch their version of the new South Africa. Informal sources indicate at the preparatory committee phase that each interested party will have the same number of delegates. During this phase the number of delegates per invite will be decided.

Those invited to the All-Party talks may be limited to political parties, Labour federations or other groups which have played a role in South African politics, such as women and youth bodies, could be excluded.

The Patriotic Front enters the talks with a successful anti-VAT campaign behind it. The NP-led coalition, despite its gains on the sanctions front, is held accountable for the violence, inflation and is still accused of attempting to smuggle in some form of minority rule.

For the ordinary person as well as the members of political parties the next two years will be complex as political parties struggle for a place in tomorrow's South Africa.



Nelson Mandela



Clarence Makwethu



Gatscha Buthelezi



FW de Klerk

side. Another "inkathanga" would weaken the National Party while division and disorganisation could weaken the Patriotic Front.

The parties outside the talks will exert an influence on the process. If the talks fail they will be proved correct. If the talks succeed these parties will have to devise new tactics.

If a transitional arrangement is agreed upon how will it ensure that political differences do not lead to

ting into agreements and compromises with other parties. Political violence in its many forms will be a constant threat to the stability of the talks. Third force violence has been a constant threat during the whole period of "talks about talks."

In April this year the ANC-led alliance withdrew from negotiations due to the level of political violence. Parties will be fighting for their futures in the conference room and out-

tory committee is expected to reach consensus that will prepare the way for the first session of an all-party meeting on December 20 and 21.

When New Year dawns the first moves to gain the political highground will have been made. Manoeuvres will begin at the first session and will continue throughout the projected six months of negotiations. Each political party will attempt to maintain the highground while en-



WCC shifts funding from ANC and PAC

South 28/11 - 4/12/91

By Sabata Ngcai

11A

~~25A~~

FUNDING for South Africa's premier liberation movements is drying up as the World Council of Churches (WCC) shifts emphasis from financing the anti-apartheid ANC and PAC to combatting racism elsewhere in the world.

In a statement this month, the WCC explained: "As South Africans appear to be moving towards an All Party Conference later this year, we can now look towards a different relationship with the liberation movements in South Africa.

"Should they form part of an interim government, it will no longer be possible to provide the support we have given over the years"

It said the the WCC emphasis would now focus on "Indigenous People and the Struggle for Land Rights" and "Women under Racism" in different parts of the world.

"We need to increase provision to racial and ethnic minorities in Europe, North and South America where violence has become systematic"

Out of a grant of \$505 000 on offer from the WCC, a sum of \$235 000 was given jointly to the ANC and the PAC.

The rest was given to Asian and Australasian countries, Europe, North America, United Kingdom and Latin American countries.

The money was donated by the WCC Special Fund to Combat Racism.

The statement said that this year's allocations "mark the beginning of a shift of emphasis from groups struggling for the elimination of apartheid in South Africa".

ANC regional general secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, said the time had not yet come for funding from any source to be terminated "as our organisation is in need of money".

"We do not hold the WCC to task because it is also subject to other forces at play.

"We can't condemn the WCC because we understand the context within which it operates," he said.

Yengeni called on the international community for more financial assistance

In a statement, the PAC said the relaxation of pressures against South Africa would be "premature" at this stage.

"Any relaxation of pressures until an elected Constituent Assembly draws up a new constitution and a democratic non-racial government is in place, is premature and counter-productive".

It said the PAC would discuss the matter with the WCC "to ensure grants until power is transferred from a racist minority to an elected majority."

The two organisations had been the recipients of the anti-racism grants since 1970.

The money for the WCC Special Fund to combat racism comes from contributions made by WCC members, congregations, ecumenical councils, church agencies, anti-racism groups and governments.

Full text of PAC statement

Sowetan 28/11/91

11A

ON September 20 we received a fax from our Chief representative at the United Nations, Dr Motsoko Pheko. We were advised that Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of International Affairs of the ANC, held a briefing of African ambassadors at the United Nations.

At his request Dr Pheko was excluded from the briefing. This was remarkable in itself for our resolutions at the meeting of the Patriotic Front commended us to act jointly.

The PAC has obtained minutes detailing Mr Mbeki's briefing, which we believe are a true record of what transpired. The full minutes are as follows:

Report of the Front Line States meeting held on November 20 1991 in New York.

Introduction: The meeting was called at the insistence of the ANC, whose director of International Affairs, Thabo Mbeki, desired to brief the ambassadors on recent developments in negotiating South Africa's new constitution.

The lively meeting began at 10a 30 and ended shortly before 1pm.

1 Mr Mbeki informed the meeting that the ANC meeting in July had decided to go on with constitutional negotiations despite some obstacles they demanded to be removed.

The meeting had found it absurd that the South African Government which thrived on divisions among Africans, was expected to stop violence and create a climate conducive to free and fair political activity.

That decision was then sold to all the parties at the Natal Patriotic Front meeting. The PAC, which had refused to negotiate with the South African Government, was thus given an excuse to join hands with others.

2 Secret meetings between the ANC and the National Party were held. The ANC kept its partners informed while the NP did the same to the whites.

The parties agreed that 22 parties including the administrations of the independent bantustans were to be invited to attend an all-party conference.

A steering committee of 10 was created to prepare the ground for the conference. The steering committee was to have started its work on November 15 1991 but for objections by the Inkatha Freedom Party on its composition. It was finally agreed that there will be a steering committee of the whole (22) which will meet on November 29 1991. December 20 is now the day when the APC will begin.

3 The parties agreed that the APC will be convened by the South African Chief Justice and a minister each from the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churches

Once convened, the conference will elect five chairmen, one each from the ANC, PAC, NP and Inkatha plus one from the minority parties. In addition to the above five, the conference will elect three more chairmen from among eminent South Africans of no political persuasion.

4 The ANC and NP agreed on the following agenda:

- The creation of a climate conducive to free political activities i.e. current violence, control of the state media etc.

- Constitutional principles i.e. Bill of Rights, impartial judiciary, separation of powers (legislative and executive).

- Mechanism to draw up a constitution.

- Setting up a national interim Government.

- Reincorporation of the bantustans.

- The role of the international community.

- Time frame for the conference and interim Government.

- Any other business.

5 Mr Mbeki dwelt at length on the implication of accepting participation in the interim government.

He pointed out the fears of acquiring responsibility without power. The ANC had considered a number of alternatives i.e. that the interim government should concern itself only with elections, security, media, finance and foreign affairs or that the ANC appoint capable people to the interim government who are not necessarily members of the ANC. No decision has been reached on this issue.

6 The steering committee meeting on November 29 will first consider a "declaration of intent".

The declaration of intent will set up the legal basis for the decision of the conference. It will set up how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into the South African law.

Provisions of the declaration of intent will over-

'They are ditching the constituent assembly in face of their own congress decision'

ride present South African law wherever the two are at variance. The steering committee will set up committees to handle different issues before the main session on December 20.

7 The South African Government has agreed to amend the Referendum Act in order to make it non-racial and to give voting rights to all above 18 years.

The parties are eager to have things move faster, hence the ANC has problems with its constituent assembly demand which could delay the process by up to one year.

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday accused the African National Congress of deceit and duplicity following a briefing the ANC's foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki gave to African leaders. This is the full statement of the PAC released by its general secretary Mr Benny Alexander. The ANC, in its response, has dismissed the allegations. General secretary Cyril Ramaphosa's full response is published below.



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

BENNY ALEXANDER

The ANC appealed for flexibility in negotiations even at the United Nations on South African resolutions. The ANC saw the interim Government being

PAC comments The ANC, while purporting to be briefing the PAC about their secret meetings with the regime, failed to inform us that

posed agenda. Our own view of the agenda is that the principal matter to be discussed is the setting up of a constituent assembly and a transitional authority.

...and the ANC's response

SINCE the Patriotic Front conference held in Durban in October 1991, the NEC of the ANC has kept the PAC and all other parties that participated fully briefed on all discussions and talks it has held with the National Party or the South African Government.

The ANC therefore finds it regrettable that the national working committee of the PAC has seen fit to release a statement to the media filled with reckless charges against the ANC and the integrity of its leadership.

These actions on the part of the national working committee of the PAC are contrary to the letter and spirit of the PF which specifically set in place structures through which problems of common concern could be addressed. It would have been preferable for the PAC to have utilised these consultative structures to express its misgivings regarding the alle-

gations it is making.

The ANC wishes to state categorically that since the suspension of constitutional talks with the National Party in April 1991, the ANC has entered into no discussions with either the National Party or the South African Government regarding the interim government, the proposed Referendum Bill, or the constituent assembly.

Contrary to the claims made by the PAC's national working committee, at the plenary of the ANC's national executive committee which concluded on Tuesday 26th November, the NEC endorsed the decisions of the PF regarding the constituent assembly and committed itself to striving for an interim government of national unity, of limited duration.

The ANC utterly repudiates (these) unfounded and shall seek means other than the mass media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC.

installed by February 1992.

8 Mr Mbeki discussed sanctions and the position of the Frontline states and Africa. He believed Africa lost the initiative at Abuja, hence they will have to lag behind events. It would be difficult to support/advocate sanctions after the ac-

- The steering committee meeting of November 29 would be asked to consider declaration of intent nor that the impending conference will be given legality for its decisions which would be incorporated into South African law.

- We are completely ignorant of a decision that an interim government would be in place by February 1992.

- The ANC failed to advise that they discussed the question of the referendum bill with the regime.

- Most significantly, the ANC has never communicated with us that they have "problems with the constituent assembly", the bedrock of our agreement to form a Patriotic Front.

- We are astounded at the proposition contained in the minutes that "legally, once the declaration of intent is accepted, apartheid will be dead".

- The PAC were never advised that the ANC were having discussions with the army and police forces, nor that they were "supporters of changes".

- We were advised about the agreements reached between the ANC and the regime with regard to the pro-

resulting in democratic constitution coupled with the transfer of power to the people.

Convinced that the transcripts of minutes which we have acquired are accurate, the PAC national working committee have, with great regret, concluded that the

'The statement is filled with reckless charges against the ANC and its leadership' - ANC

ANC is without question guilty of deceit and duplicity.

They are ditching the constituent assembly in face of their own congress decision and the declaration of the Patriotic Front, offering the regime and escape from the constituent assembly by way of a Referendum Bill and abandoning sanctions on the basis of a spurious "declaration of intent" that apartheid is dead, and are prepared to rule this country in alliance with the NP by decree for many years to come.

None of the decisions

taken by ANC/NP are binding on us, (but) we'll attend the pre-constituent assembly meeting on November 29 1991, fully prepared to put our own proposals for the transfer of power to the people.

We refuse to be co-opted by the regime to co-manage the apartheid system.

We reiterate and firmly resolve to uphold the Declaration of the Patriotic Front which, inter-alia, states:

"Believing that a democratic order can only be ushered in through the mechanism in which our entire nation elects by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage, a constituent assembly that drafts and adopts a democratic constitution which should constitute the basis for unifying our divided and tortured land around a common patriotism."

We believe the ANC, in cahoots with the regime, is aborting our common resolve.

PAC's case: The PAC is convinced from its inception that peace and democracy can only be attained through the overthrow of white domination as stated in the second aim of the PAC Constitution.

The PAC, having been banned in 1960, had no option but to embark on the armed struggle to achieve its goal.

When the regime unbanned the PAC and other organisations in 1990, the PAC remained convinced that the regime, having caused a lot of pain and anguish to the majority of our people, could not midwife democracy and liquidate itself.

The PAC, as it did in 1959 under conditions of legality, put the only internationally acceptable and democratic solution of ending white domination and set our country along a democratic path.

This solution is a convocation of a democratically elected Constituent Assem-

pre-constituent assembly meeting to demand that the regime negotiate the terms for the calling of the constituent assembly which will draw up a democratic constitution and facilitate the transfer of power to the people.

Electors to the assembly will be on the basis of one-person-one vote, on a common voters role, by proportional representation and in a unitary state.

The PAC will further demand that immediate steps be taken to dismantle all homeland structures and the re-incorporation of the TCVB states into Azania.

Transitional Authority: The PAC, convinced that the regime cannot be trusted to oversee the process of change to democracy and full self determination, proposes the creation of a transitional authority to ensure that the elections to the assembly, are free and fair.

The transitional authority must assume control over the security services, the State-owned electronic media (TV and radio), defined areas of budget and finance and must monitor the elections for the assembly.

The UN Consensus Declaration contemplates the involvement of the international community in the transitional process.

This has been accepted by both the PAC and the ANC.

We propose that the OAU, Commonwealth and United Nations should play the role of mediators, observers and instruments of verification of agreements reached.

The tenure of the transitional authority must be of limited duration viz the period that it takes for the assembly to draw up a democratic constitution.

The PAC is totally opposed to an interim government which is open ended. We do not wish to rule by decree nor to be co-managers of apartheid.

The regime must abdicate as soon as a new constitution has been adopted by the assembly. Power must be transferred to the people.

International supervision: Venue: The PAC views the regime as illegal and illegitimate. In order to ensure the equality of participants in the talks, concerning the modalities of a constituent assembly and transitional authority, the PAC proposes that talks be held at a neutral venue preferably outside the country. Convenor: State appointed functionaries are unacceptable as convenors of the talks. The Chief Justice falls in this category.

The PAC proposes that independent convenors be sought through the agency of the OAU, the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. They should mediate, observe and verify all agreements reached.

THE PRE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MEETING

TRANSFER POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PAC DEMANDS

- Constituent Assembly ● Transitional Authority
- Neutral Venue ● Neutral Verification ● Neutral Convenor



*Boonfaw
28/11/91*

PAC'S CASE

The PAC convinced from its inception that peace and democracy can only be attained through the "overthrow of White Domination as stated in the Second Aim of the PAC Constitution

The PAC having been banned in 1960 had no option but to embark on the armed struggle to achieve this goal.

When the regime unbanned the PAC and other organisations in 1990, the PAC remained convinced that the regime having caused a lot of pain and anguish to the majority of our people could not midwife democracy and liquidate itself.

The PAC, as it did in 1959 up under conditions of legality put the only internationally acceptable and democratic solution of ending white domination and set our country along a democratic path

This solution is a convocation of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draw the New Constitution.

This has been and is a minimum position of the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS of Azania To facilitate the convening of a Constituent Assembly, the PAC puts forth its proposals to effect change forthwith.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By virtue of resolutions of the second conference of the PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS OF AZANIA and in terms of the Declaration of 92 Organisations of the PATRIOTIC FRONT, the PAC will engage participants at tomorrow's Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (PCAM) to demand that the regime negotiate the terms for the calling of the Constituent Assembly which will draw up a democratic constitution and facilitate the transfer of power to the people.

Elections to the Assembly will on the basis of one-person-one-vote, on a common voters role, by proportional representation and in a Unitary State. PAC will further demand that immediate steps be taken to dismantle all homeland structures and the re-incorporation of the TCVB states into AZANIA

TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY

The PAC, convinced that the regime cannot be trusted to oversee the process of change to democracy and full self determination, proposes the creation of a Transitional Authority to ensure that the elections to THE ASSEMBLY are free and fair. The Transitional Authority must assume control over the Security Services, the electronic media (T.V. and RADIO) must monitor the elections for the ASSEMBLY.

The UN Consensus Declaration contemplates the involvement of the International Community in the transitional process. This has been accepted by both the PAC and the ANC. We propose that the OAU, COMMONWEALTH and UNITED NATIONS should play the role of mediators, observers and instruments of verifications or agreements reached. The tenure of the Transitional Authority must be of limited duration viz the period that it takes for THE ASSEMBLY to draw up a democratic constitution. PAC is totally opposed to an Interim Government which is open ended. We do not wish to rule by decree nor to be co-managers of Apartheid. The regime must abdicate as soon as a New Constitution has been adopted by THE ASSEMBLY. Power must be transferred to the people.

INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION

VENUE. PAC views the regime as illegal and illegitimate. In order to ensure the equality of participants in the talks, concerning the modalities of a Constituent Assembly and Transitional Authority, the PAC proposes that talks be held at a neutral venue preferably outside the country.

CONVENOR:

State appointed functionaries are unacceptable as convenors of the talks. The Chief Justice falls in this category and is therefore totally unacceptable as convenor.

The PAC proposes that independent convenors be sought through the agency of the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations. They should mediate, observe and verify all agreements reached.

Pact exists to rule SA by decree, PAC claims

ANC, Govt deny secret deal

By Shaun Johnson
Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Davies

The ANC and the Government last night dismissed a bombshell allegation by the PAC that the NP and ANC have struck "secret deals" to run the country jointly.

At a hastily called media conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki denied the PAC claims, saying no talks on constitutional matters had taken place with the Government in the last six months.

Mr Mbeki said a document produced by the PAC to substantiate their claims was "a lot of mischief (invented by someone) who wants to discredit the ANC."

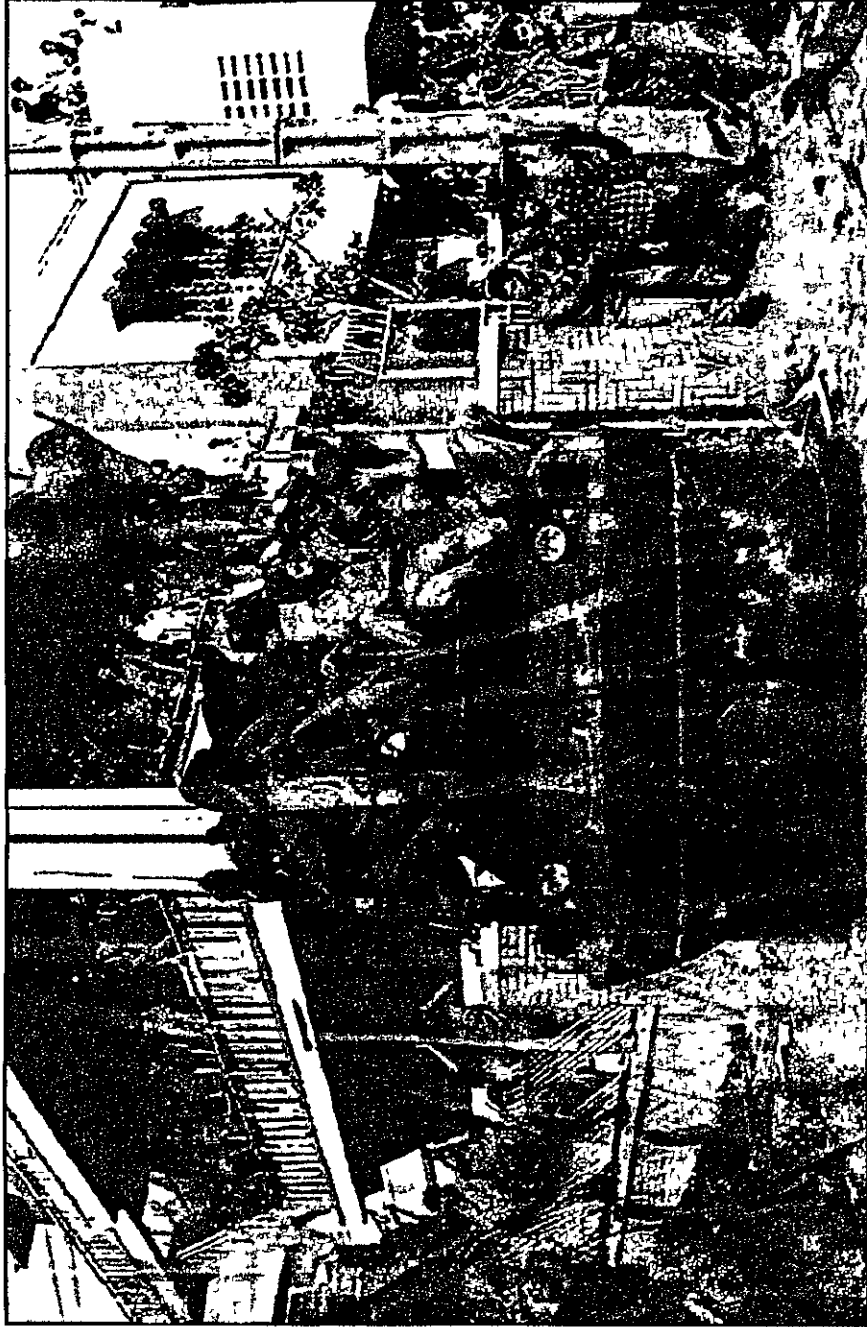
Mr Ramaphosa expressed regret that the PAC — the ANC's ally in the Patriotic Front — had chosen to make "reckless charges" through the media.

Dawie tipped to lead NP team — Page 3
Custodians of SA's future — Page 33

Yesterday afternoon the PAC produced a document alleging that the NP and ANC had secretly made deals which would allow the two parties to "rule South Africa in alliance by decree for many years to come".

The PAC said the document proved the ANC planned to

- Drop its demand for a constituent assembly
- Have an interim government installed in just more than two months from now
- Surprise tomorrow's steering committee meeting with a proposal for a "declaration of intent" with profound political implications
- Stop advocating sanctions after tomorrow's meeting.



Called to rescue an army vehicle outside the ransacked villa of Khmer Rouge leader Kieu Samphan.

Pictures AFP

3 held after gang kills two on train

By Monica Oosterbroek

Three men were arrested after two people were killed and two others seriously injured in an attack on train commuters on the Reef last night.

The men were arrested at the New Canada station in Soweto and three firearms, including a home-made rifle, were confiscated.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zeezel said the attacks took place on the train traveling between the George Goch station in downtown Johannesburg to the Nancefield station in Soweto at about 6 pm.

Two people were killed at the Langlaave station by a gang that rampaged through the carriages.

One of them was stabbed and beaten to death on the platform and the other was run over by the train after being thrown off.

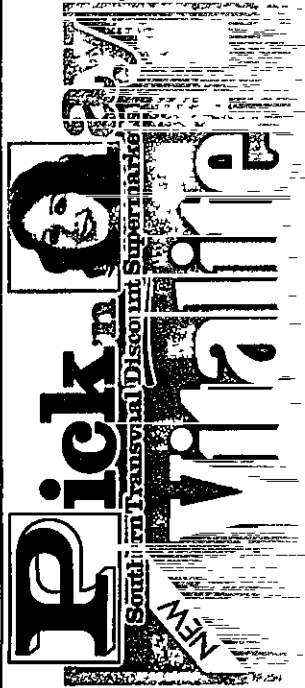
Two people were injured when the train pulled in at Langdale station.

One person was stabbed and thrown off the train and the other jumped off the train and broke his leg after the attackers hit him.

Mob storms villa, beats up hated Khmer Rouge leader

PHNOM PENH (Cambodia) — An angry mob screaming "Dog" and "Murderer" yesterday surged past sympathetic police and beat a top leader of the Khmer Rouge,

day's attack at the very least delayed what was to have been the first meeting of a national reconciliation council comprising the four warring factions, including the



Yesterday afternoon the PAC produced a document alleging that the NP and ANC had secretly made deals which would allow the two parties to "rule South Africa in alliance by decree for many years to come".

The PAC said the document proved the ANC planned to.

- Drop its demand for a constituent assembly.
- Have an interim government installed in just more than two months from now
- Surprise tomorrow's steering committee meeting with a proposal for a "declaration of intent" with profound political implications.
- Stop advocating sanctions after tomorrow's meeting

The PAC document contained what the organisation claims are the minutes of a confidential briefing given by Mr Mbeki to a group of African ambassadors at the United Nations last week

A copy of the minutes was allegedly obtained by the PAC's chief representative in New York, a Dr Pheko, and forwarded to the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters. Dr Pheko had been excluded from the New York meeting "at Mr Mbeki's request".

According to the document, Mr Mbeki told the ambassadors in a 2½-hour briefing that secret meetings between the ANC and the NP were held. In the course of these meetings, it is alleged, plans were made for the convening of the steering committee and the all-party conference itself.

An eight-point agenda for the conference was agreed to.

Rejecting the claims last night, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen said it was clear that in the recent past, disinformation about the negotiations between the Government and the ANC had been given to the press.

Neither the Government nor the NP had conducted any negotiations with the ANC about constitutional change, he said.

In his statement, Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC "utterly repudiates the unfounded assertions in the PAC's media release, and shall seek means other than the mass

● To Page 2

TELSTAR

ANC, Govt deny claim of secret deal

From Page 1

media to pursue them with the leadership of the PAC".

He added that at its national executive committee plenary meeting on Tuesday this week, the ANC "endorsed the decisions of the Patriotic Front regarding the constituent assembly and committed itself to striving for an interim government of national unity, of limited duration, to oversee the transition".

Mr Mbeki confirmed that a meeting had taken place on the date mentioned, but said "It was a meeting not of African ambassadors, but of Frontline states. Do you know the relationship between the ANC and the Frontline states? Frontline states don't issue minutes of meetings, so I don't know where the PAC (got this)".

The PAC document claimed further that Mr Mbeki had told the gathering that tomorrow's steering committee meeting would "first consider a 'declaration of intent'. The declaration

of intent would set up the legal basis for the decisions of the conference

"It will set up how decisions will be arrived at and how they will be incorporated into SA law"

In addition, Mr Mbeki is reported as saying the Government had agreed to the recent amendment of the Referendum Act in order to make it non-racial

"The parties are eager to have things move fast and hence the ANC has a problem with its own constituent-assembly demand

"The ANC saw the interim government being installed by February 1992"

The disputed document seems certain to provoke further controversy around Mr Mbeki, who has many left-wing critics because of his supposedly "moderate" views, and the ANC leadership. It has also posed a threat to the recently founded Patriotic Front

"We have with great regret

concluded that the ANC is without question guilty of deceit and duplicity," the PAC announced yesterday

"The ANC is ditching the constituent assembly in the face of their own congress decisions and the declaration of the Patriotic Front

"We believe the ANC, in cahoots with the regime, is aborting our common resolve," the PAC said

The PAC said although the ANC had purported to inform its Patriotic Front ally about meetings with the Government, it had not told them about most of the things mentioned by Mr Mbeki in the meeting

In spite of the surprise development, the PAC said it would still attend tomorrow's meeting

Nevertheless, Mr Ramaphosa said he regarded the row between the two key Patriotic Front members as "a hiccup". The PF exists among a whole range of organisations, not just the ANC and the PAC"

STAR 28/11/91

MEC Hoods quits Labour Party

STAR 28/11/79
By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The Labour Party yesterday suffered another defection blow when its national chairman, Transvaal MEC Dr Willie Hoods, announced his resignation from the party

The LP has recently lost a number of valued members to the National Party

The LP leadership immediately challenged Dr Hoods to "fulfil his moral and ethical obligation to the party by resigning as MEC of Transvaal" as he had been appointed to the position as an LP nominee

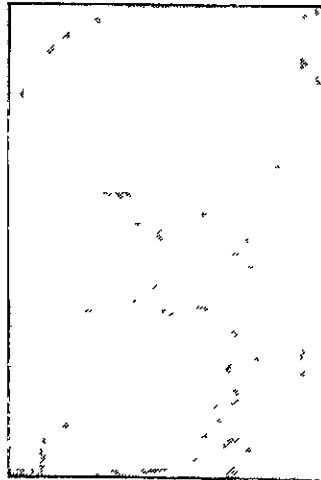
Dr Hoods said he had not yet decided on his future

party-political preferences, but in a statement applauded President de Klerk's reforms

LP sources predicted that Dr Hoods, elected party chairman early this year, would soon join the NP

Dr Hoods said he could no longer identify himself with the LP leadership's course and with its association with the Patriotic Front, which was established recently with the ANC alliance and PAC as main partners

Dr Hoods said "I wish to submit my view that the course the party is taking runs counter to the general spirit of reconciliation found nowadays among all the people of South Africa"



Unhappy with Labour Party
Dr Willie Hoods

ANC 'angry' at PAC

ANC 'angry' at PAC

11A

APR 28 11 91

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent
and Political Staff

EFFORTS were launched today by the ANC to smooth relations with its major Patriotic Front partner, the PAC, in the wake of allegations of a secret deal with the government for an interim administration from early next year.

The ANC is angry that the PAC made a public outcry over the claims without discussing them privately with the ANC leadership first.

However, the PAC's bombshell claim, which strains relations between the two major black groupings, is not thought to be a threat to the all-party talks. The first preparatory steering committee meeting starts tomorrow.

Indeed, observers believe the PAC's outburst was motivated by internal conflict over its decision to join the talks process and that it used the claims

about ANC/National Party duplicity as a signal to its supporters that it is going into negotiations in fighting form.

The PAC's decision to join the talks process is not universally popular in the movement since it is seen as a compromise.

The ANC last night dismissed the allegation that it had struck "secret deals" with the NP to run the country jointly from early next year.

At a hastily called media conference, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and International Affairs chief Mr Thabo Mbeki denied the PAC claims, saying no talks on constitutional matters had taken place with the NP Government in the last six months.

Mr Mbeki said a document produced by the PAC to substantiate their claims was "a lot of mischief (invented by someone) who wants to discredit the ANC. I don't know what or who would be responsible for that".

Mr Ramaphosa expressed regret that the PAC had chosen to make "reckless charges" via the media.

The PAC yesterday produced a document alleging the NP and ANC had secretly agreed to "rule South Africa in alliance by decree for many years to come".

In a furious attack, coming less than 48 hours before the first meeting of the steering committee on multiparty talks, the PAC leadership released a confidential document which they said proved the ANC planned to:

- Drop its demand for a constituent assembly
- Have an interim government installed in just over two months from now
- Surprise tomorrow's steering committee meeting with a proposal for a "Declaration of Intent", with profound political implications
- Stop advocating sanctions after tomorrow's meeting



HOME LANDING: The fuselage of a light aircraft lies among broken furniture after crashing into a flat in the northern Italian town of Cremona. The pilot escaped unhurt. No one was injured in the building.

PAC under fire for 'treachery'

11A
Sowetan 28/11/91
TWO PAC-affiliated organisations this week supported the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee in efforts to overturn the PAC's involvement in constitutional talks with the Government.

The Pan Africanist Students Organisation, a student body affiliated to the PAC, and the Azanian National Youth Unity both welcomed the call for a conference on the issue, which is to be held over the weekend.

The conference will be held in Katlehong by the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee, comprising two PAC splinter groups, according to committee member Mr



VICTOR PETU

Victor Petu

In a telephone interview, Paso chairman of the Witwatersrand region Mr Jacob Lephalo strongly at-

tacked the PAC leadership for acceding to talks with the Government.

Paso described the involvement of South Africa's liberation movements in talks with the Government as "naked collaboration with the minority racist settler regime and imperialists".

Azanyu publicity secretary Mr Mayaya Molefi yesterday accused the PAC leadership of "having deviated from the organisation's principles and

treachery of the revolution."

The denunciation of the PAC leadership follows its "recognition of bantustan leaders by having formed a Patriotic Front with them," he said.

He encouraged the Facilitating Committee to stand firm and ignore "the slander from the imperialist henchmen and the blue-eyed boys of the PAC leadership who want to sell the birthright of the Azanian masses."

He said Azanyu was committed to scientific socialism.

In reply, the West Rand region of the PAC has disowned the splinter groups.

The latest outcry has been described as deepening divisions within the PAC, but it is not known to what extent it will affect constitutional talks.

South Africa's major political organisations and leaders of the country's homelands have been invited to a convening meeting on multiparty talks tomorrow.

The invitation has been declined by Azapo and the Conservative Party.

Peace talks at Border

SEVENTEEN organisations attended the Border Peace Committee's first meeting in East London and the talks were described as constructive. Sowetan 28/11/91

High on the meeting's agenda was the formation of a full-time, three-member secretariat and its funding.

Also discussed in detail was the monitoring of groups dealing with violence, political detainees, the security forces and the media. The next meeting of the committee was scheduled for December 12. - Sapa. (S)

Education Issues 6: Organisation Then and Now

New Nation (Learning Nation)

29/11 - 5/12/91

Learning Nation spoke to Siphon Maseko, the President of the Azanian Students Convention (AZASCO), and Moeti Mpuru, the National Projects Officer of the South African Students Congress (SASCO), about the results and prospects of the education struggle over the past fifteen years

All round black students are losing out more than ever before. It is our view that only when the whole education scenario is democratically controlled by the community - the parents, students and teachers from school level upwards - will we be able to effect a process of democratising and transforming the education system

LN What is the state of student organisation and struggle currently?

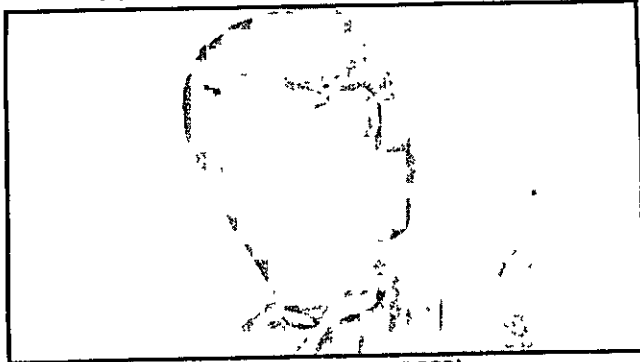
LN How do you see the current situation in the education struggle?

SASCO From the side of the democratic movement there are a number of political processes taking place, the latest being the Patriotic Front Conference. Now we are heading towards the All-Party Conference. The education crisis is being overshadowed by these national political events.

There's no sign that the education crisis is being addressed at this level. While the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), of which we are part, is involved in discussions with government, SASCO believes education must be addressed at some level as part of the national negotiations towards a political solution. Like COSATU on economic issues, we don't want to be left with the legacy of 40 years of apartheid education once the national political issues are resolved. Our central demand and goal remains one single non-racial democratic department of education in South Africa.

AZASCO What is happening now is the state wants to push black students out of secondary schooling. That is essentially what their proposals in the Education Renewal Strategy (ERS) amount to. If only primary schooling is compulsory, it is inevitably black students who will be the first to lose out when it comes to secondary schooling.

At a tertiary level, the cut in government subsidies will have a similar effect. Black students simply can't afford to pay the current fees, let alone increased fees. And now that the international community has been effectively duped by De Klerk, the amount of bursaries open to black students is negligible.



Siphon Maseko (AZASCO)

SASCO We are currently organised in 135 tertiary institutions - universities, colleges of education and technikons. We have been successful in drawing students into our campaigns this year. Organisation is strengthening - the merger between SANSKO and NUSAS is one example of this - but it has not been easy to adapt to the new conditions. Remember that prior to February 1990 SANSKO was banned. We've been rebuilding from scratch in a rapidly changing situation. Our campaigns, our struggles, have had to combine resistance to all facets of apartheid education with affirmative programmes to address the real crisis that students face. This crisis has created a strong sense of demoralisation and frustration among students over the past two years.

AZASCO The black student community is currently largely apolitical, demoralised and individualised. Student organisation is weak because SRC's, where they exist, do not reflect the interests of the student body as a whole. They tend to represent specific political interests. They are sectarian essentially. And this has alienated a lot of black students from their own struggle, their own organisations. It is not the concept of SRC's that black students are indifferent to, it's the conduct of existing SRC's. Blacks have collectively been traumatised by apartheid and we have to respond to that collectively. Our primary focus is to draw the lessons from our struggle and build genuine democratic organisation amongst all the people involved in education and primarily the parents.

LN What are the main differences for the education struggle between the situation



Moeti Mpuru (SASCO)

today and the period between 1976 and the unbannings?

SASCO In terms of the education system itself, there have been no changes. Apartheid education, fragmented from top to bottom on racial lines, is still intact. So all the issues we have struggled around over since 1976 are still on the table. And the struggle by students to topple apartheid education is still central. For example when we called on students to go back to school last year, they went back. But the schools were overflowing and students were turned back. There were not enough text books. Teachers were overstretched and so on. All these kind of problems are still there and still have to be struggled against.

But the main difference today is that we now have to push the government while trying to do something about the crisis ourselves. And it is not easy to find a balance between these things. But our Back to School campaign and Intensive Learning campaign are part of our efforts to try and solve the crisis while resisting the state.

AZASCO Well, the main difference is that in the seventies and early eighties the student struggle was informed by the politics of freedom. Today it's the politics of power. We need to concentrate on how to free ourselves instead of who is going to be in power. So in that sense the political situation today is worse, more complex, more divisive. In the past the student struggle was taken from the classroom to the streets to try and win the whole community. Today political divisions are taken from the streets into the classrooms. Yesterday students took their intolerance of apartheid education and threw it at the oppressor. Today they take their political intolerance and throw it at each other.

Despite this our experience of struggle has taught us to distinguish different methods of struggle which we must use to inflict the maximum damage on the enemy at any given time. Boycotts, for example, must not be used as an end in themselves but as a tactic. Every boycott must be reviewed from time to time in

terms of its own limits and the specific objectives it is meant to achieve. This way we won't end up undermining our need to be organised and even to be educated within the limits of apartheid education. It is a weapon to achieve a particular goal.

LN What is the way forward? What are your priorities now?

SASCO We want a non-racial democratic system of education. We have managed to build strong organisation and to get our SRC's recognised. Now our programme has to be geared towards the transformation of all apartheid educational institutions. We must fight to make all education institutions accountable to the people who work and learn there. We must intervene to change the curriculum content to something that meets our needs. We must improve the quality of our membership and this requires the proper political education of students. And we must build unity among all students. We need a kind of Patriotic Front of student organisations. Earlier this year there was an initiative to set up a National Students Consultative Conference with this aim in mind. It collapsed. SASCO believes the time is right to revive that initiative again. AZASCO We need to recreate proper democratic and accountable SRC's and PTA's. They must function like civics and trade unions representing all students and parents and teachers irrespective of their political beliefs. The minute an SRC, for example, goes beyond its mandate arising out of that school into other political issues, it will lose its respect and integrity. A key element for us is the organisation of parents. The parents, who are workers, have the power to help students to win their demands. With parents well organised, and strong links between them and students and teachers, the real struggle to transform the education system will be on.

Another area is to build unity between the various student organisations. The National Students Consultative Conference was a step in the right direction. This initiative must be taken forward till we have student unity.

NP making diplomatic gains

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's international gains in legitimacy were benefiting the NP at the ANC's expense, RAU political scientist Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting the NP and ANC had, in a sense, reversed roles.

It was the ANC which was now struggling with something of an international credibility problem.

In the past six months SA had played host to ministers and deputy ministers from Australia, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Finland, Japan, the

US, Romania, Kenya, Cameroon, Cape Verde and Ireland.

Since the beginning of the year, 65 official delegations from African states other than the SADCC countries had met members of the SA government.

The ANC was apparently not pleased with the growing diplomatic traffic.

Another indication that diplomatic isolation was collapsing was the expansion of the country's missions abroad, Geldenhuys said. *blay 29/11/91*

A total of 34 internationally recognised states were officially represented in Pretoria, 20 of them at ambassadorial level.

SA was in turn represented in 49 states, in 26 of them by ambassadors.

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 29/11/91

Getting to the beef

3060 (11A)

This Friday's preliminary meeting of 22 parties, dominated by the National Party and the ANC, is expected to prepare the agenda for multiparty constitutional negotiations, starting on December 20

That second-round meeting is expected to see the NP present its proposals on the shape of an interim authority. If they are acceptable to the ANC, financial sanctions against SA might be lifted almost immediately (see Face to Face)

Yet it remains to be seen whether the ANC will then have crossed the threshold by accepting joint responsibility for public policy — including the “unpopular” bits, which still leaves some in the ANC dubious about what they refer to as “dual power”

The pace of change may have been so dizzy that nobody has noticed, but Friday's meeting could effectively be the start of SA's second national convention. A new constitution might even be in place in about two years' time

While Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party alone has raised objections to two of three NP-nominated conveners of the multiparty conference, the Nats and ANC met separately last week to plan strategies and tactics for this week's meeting

Inkatha, no doubt peeved at being apparently relegated to second-level status in all this, has agreed with the nomination of Chief Justice Corbett as convener of the all-party talks. Its reservations concern the other two Nat-proposed candidates — former NGK moderator Johan Heyns and Methodist Church president Stanley Mogoba. This will not, however, present a serious hurdle in the preparatory meeting, says an ANC source, who adds that Inkatha “are back in line — for the moment.” The main thing is to get the ball rolling

Also on the agenda of the preparatory meeting, which is really concerned with administrative matters, is the mechanics of decision-making at the multiparty conference, who will issue invitations, and the number of working committees to be set up

Of crucial importance here will be the one on constitutional matters. If this committee is able to reach agreement on fundamental principles for a new constitution, then the NP might then go along with the demand for an elected constituent assembly to fill in the details

The ANC could also raise the question of a separate forum to negotiate economic policy, as demanded by its ally Cosatu

Related to the setting up of working committees (others suggested by the ANC include one on interim government arrangements, on incorporation of the TBVC states and the role of the international community)

is the status of parliament. There have been “whispers” that parliament may be adjourned for a while next year to get the multiparty conference going, partly because a number of MPs would be involved in its various preparatory committees

One benefit expected from the big indaba is that the violence, which largely hobbled an earlier commencement of the all-party conference, will at least abate, if not end altogether. Perhaps that's being too optimistic. But government and the ANC, at least, are determined to keep the negotiations on track, the stakes are too high to risk their derailment and each side recognises that the other is needed for a successful outcome



“There will be setbacks and disappointments,” President F W de Klerk acknowledged recently, but, he added hopefully, “the power of reason, realism and cool heads will assert itself to lay the foundation of a new society”

Though there is an encouraging degree of what Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Tertius Delpont has called “convergence” between the NP and ANC, there are fundamental differences, observes DP research chief Nic Olivier. However, Delpont has said there is enough agreement to be used “as the basis for negotiating an equitable, democratic future for all South Africans”

After analysing the ANC's constitutional guidelines, Olivier has identified the points where there is “probably no conflict” with

government, as well as areas of difference and possible conflict

Thus the NP is unlikely to have serious problems from the ANC over

- The ANC's wish for a united, democratic, non-racist, non-sexist, unitary SA with a bill of rights,
- Three branches of government and separation of powers,
- A bicameral legislature,
- Secret, regular elections,
- In independent judiciary,
- Citizenship,
- A justiciable bill of rights,
- Elimination of discrimination, and
- Provisions for declaring a state of emergency

Some of the areas of probable difference and conflict identified by Olivier (in last month's *South Africa International*)

- The ANC's demand for an interim government (though there has recently been some convergence on this), and for a constituent assembly,
- Majority government as against the concept of power sharing,
- Unitary or federal structure,
- The nature of affirmative action,
- The election, powers and functions of the president,
- Whether the Cabinet should be formed on a multiparty basis,
- The electoral system, and
- The language issue

CURRENT ISSUES

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Towards the All Party Congress: 2 Issues around the All Party Congress

New Nation (learning nation) 29/11 - 5/12/91. IIA

Many people have been puzzled by reports in the last few weeks around the convening of talks amongst different political parties on the future of this country. The first reports said that the talks would start on 29 November. Then we heard that the meeting that was to finalise the date had been cancelled and that the chances of the All Party Congress (APC) taking place this year were very slim. There is now talk that the meeting will probably take place before the end of this year.

It seems that there has been disagreement on who should convene the conference and who should participate in it. People were told that the preparatory meeting was cancelled because other parties objected to the announcement by the ANC president Nelson Mandela that the talks would start on 29 November before agreement was reached on the date with the other political parties. There are also different views on who was supposed to be in the preparatory meeting. The reports say that Inkatha wanted what it considers as 'major parties' like itself, the ANC and the National Party to be in the meeting. This is in line with its view that it must be the 'major parties' that issue invitations to other organisations to attend the All Party Congress. There has also been a debate on whether the conference should only be open to political parties. People are debating whether organisations such as trade unions, church bodies and organisations of the bosses should attend the All Party Congress.

At first it seems as though the disagreements are petty and revolve around practical arrangements. But underneath the fights about who will convene the APC and who will attend, lies the difference on the role of the conference.

Two points of view

Broadly, there are two points of view on the role of the APC.

- The government and the ruling class have argued up to this point that the role of the Multi-party Conference must be to draft a new constitution. This view is in line with the government's rejection of the demand for a Constituent Assembly. According to the government, to have elections for a Constituent Assembly before the constitution is actually agreed upon by the major parties, is to put the cart before the horse. From the arguments of government spokespersons it is clear that there is a fear that a constitution that emerges out of a forum of elected representatives will clearly not protect minority interests in the same way that

apartheid has been a benefit for a tiny section of the population. So for the ruling class the constitution must come out of the Multi-party Conference and not the Constituent Assembly. The fact that the strength of the different parties who will be attending the APC in terms of mass support would not have been tested in not an issue for the National Party

- Recognising that the APC will not be a forum of elected delegates, the liberation organisations like the ANC and PAC have been opposed to the insistence by the government that the conference draws up a new constitution for the country. Instead, they have argued that the Constituent Assembly is the only body that can draw up a new constitution. In line with the Harare Declaration, the liberation movements have defined the role of the APC as working out ways and means of getting to a new South Africa.

The questions that the liberation organisations are putting for discussion are

- How will South Africa be governed in the process of transition so that no party is disadvantaged in the process?
- What role should the international community play in the process of transition?
- What forum should draw up a new constitution?

The liberation organisations are going to the APC to call for the present government to step down and for the establishment of an Interim Government that will supervise

the elections to a Constituent Assembly. This is a process that the regime is opposed to.

Reaching an agreement.

These two points of view raise the question of how agreement will be reached at the APC. It also raises the question of how decisions will be made at the conference. This last point is related to the issue of representation.

- Can the delegates at the conference vote on whether the Constituent Assembly is the best forum for drawing up a new constitution?
- How will the vote of the different parties be determined?

Having allies at the conference is viewed as strengthening one's position. The battle for allies is reaching a climax.

In the preparations for the conference a suggestion has been made that decisions at the conference be reached on the basis of consensus - this means complete agreement. This would be fine if the parties that would be sitting at the negotiating table had some common interests. It is difficult to imagine how consensus would be reached on the issue of a democratic Constituent Assembly and an Interim Government. The options are clear: the mass movement either compromises on its stand on the Constituent Assembly and Interim Government or the regime gives in to the demands of the majority.

Constitutional Principles

The fact that the government has up to now not raised objections to the idea of a constitution being drawn up by a Constituent Assembly, must not lull us into thinking that they will not try to find a way out of this situation. The aim of the regime is to have a constitution that while giving the majority certain rights will not do away with minority privileges. It is possible for the regime to 'agree' to the demand for a CA or the APC, but this will obviously not be the CA that the masses have been calling for. The masses have been struggling for an Assembly that is not restricted by prior agreements and which has all the powers to draw up a new constitution.

What the National Party will do when it sees that there is overwhelming support for the CA at the conference, will probably be to demand that certain principles be agreed on at the APC. These would be the framework within which the elected delegates would have to do their work of drafting a new constitution. The Nats and their allies will try to define these principles in such a way that the CA will be a toy chamber where the elected delegates will be adding flesh to something that has been decided.

Concern has been raised about the possibility of the APC taking over the responsibilities of the CA. The relationship of the constitutional principles which the Harare Declaration says must be discussed in the APC and the actual constitution is something that needs to be discussed thoroughly.

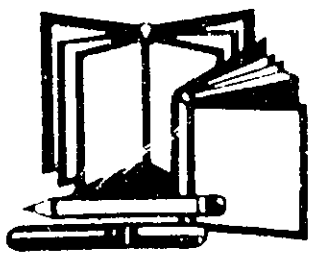
Mass involvement

What all these issues raise is how the mass movement will ensure that its positions win at the APC. From the arguments in this period towards the APC it is clear that issues in this new phase of negotiations are going to have to be struggled over. The APC will be a site of struggle and so the role of the masses becomes crucial in this regard. The challenge that faces the mass movement is how to involve the masses in this whole process. How will the movement ensure that the march towards the CA and the Interim Government continues unabated?

The question of keeping people informed about developments is vital for any approach that understands the role of the masses in the whole process. The mass movement needs to devise ways of ensuring that the masses are fully aware of developments on the negotiations front at all times. But it is not just the question of informing people that is at stake here. The question of the actual involvement of the masses in decision making is vital. This raises the question of mandates and regular report-backs. The suggestion that deadlocks at the conference need to be put to a popular referendum needs to be carefully considered.



SKILLS FOR LEARNING



Any person or organisation is welcome to use the material for educational purpose, but should let the Learning Nation Co-ordinator know

Our address is
Learning Nation
PO Box 11350
Johannesburg 2000.
Phone: (011) 333-9746.

Careers 4

*New Nation
(Learning Nation)
29/11/91 - 5/12/91.*

Last week we spoke about the biggest problem facing workers and school leavers - the problem of unemployment. One of the ways people are therefore forced to make a living is through selling goods in the informal sector. This week we will look at careers in the formal sector, ie jobs that we normally associate with receiving wages or salaries.

Aspirations and Reality

South Africa has a serious shortage in key skilled jobs such as information technology (computers), engineering, management and accountancy. What is noticeable in these areas is the imbalance between whites and blacks. For example there were only 6 African professional engineers in 1985, only 20 African chartered accountants in 1989 (out of 12 000) and only 5% of all professionals were Black. In contrast, it has been estimated that South African training institutions can at present satisfy no more than half to three quarters of the normal annual demand for 2 000 - 3 000 new engineers, and that the shortage of qualified accountants by the turn of the century will be 7 000.

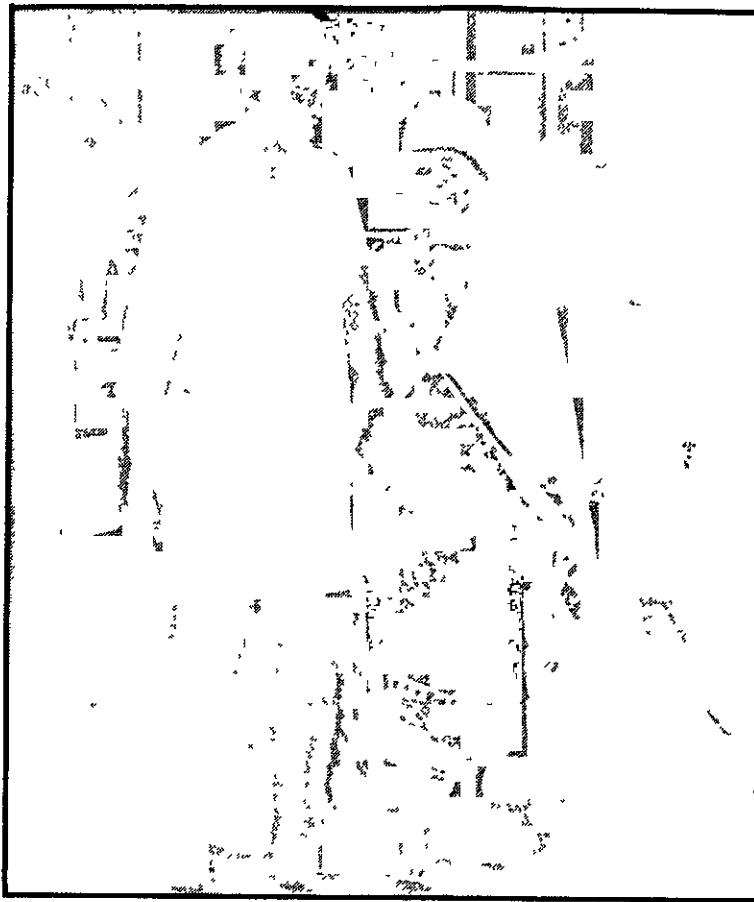
From the side of the future needs of our country it is right that students and workers want to obtain the skills and qualifications to fill these jobs. It is also important that school-leavers know how to get these skills through going to educational institutions and getting bursaries.

A strong view amongst the black working class about careers is the idea that education is the key to escaping the misery of poverty. This motivates parents to make tremendous sacrifices to ensure that their children can get a good education. Education can be an important advantage in obtaining a job in the future, but it is important to remember that education is no guarantee of a job. We should thus approach the whole question of careers for school leavers with a knowledge of how the economy is actually performing at the moment and ask ourselves, what approach is needed to have at least some chance of getting any job, let alone an exciting career.

Employment Opportunities and the Economy

The general trend in employment at the moment is a contradictory one. The fact of the matter is that the South African economy is in a crisis and is not growing fast enough to accommodate the amount of workseekers. At the same time the state and the bosses are in a stage of political reform and negotiations. These two features have the opposite impact on conditions of employment and the possibility of gaining jobs. If an economy is in crisis, most of its sectors are affected. This leads to an increase in unemployment and re-

Careers and Job Trends



Nurse with a blind patient

trenchments. At the same time the fact that the state is trying to move away from old-style Apartheid means that many laws against Blacks getting certain jobs is being done away with. The result of this contradiction is that, while the number of jobs are not increasing in most sectors, there are new opportunities for Blacks in jobs that were formerly reserved for whites.

Let us look at this trend in relation to the state and the private capitalist sector.

The State as Employer (The Public Sector)

Many South African people are employed by the state, either in some state department or in those industry's which are state owned. Of particular note is the fact that the number of workers in the private sector is currently almost the same as in 1980. This implies that the increase in employment from 1980 until now took place almost exclusively in the public sector. This picture is just more alarming if we consider this meagre rise in the number of jobs against an annual growth rate of more than 2,5% of the economically active population.

For Black people the area of greatest job growth has been in the area of local and provincial government. This is a result of the decision by the state to do away with job reservation in the civil service. The result is that the number of Blacks employed as clerical workers and administration staff has increased significantly. Coupled with this trend has been the growth of the civil services in the Homelands.

Two of the most important and skilled jobs in the state sector which have long been popular amongst African people are teaching and nursing. Given the fact that more and more skilled white nursing staff

are abandoning nursing, or going into the private hospitals, there are opportunities for Black people to take the load of nursing in the state health services. Similarly since 1976, when the state began to build more schools for Africans and improve the qualifications for African teachers, there have been job opportunities in the education sector.

There is a contradiction here though at present. While the estimated teacher shortage will be 350 000 by the turn of the century, current state policy is to freeze the number of teaching posts. And while health conditions continue to deteriorate, state policy is to cut the health budget. Both of these trends is likely to limit opportunities of these traditionally sought-after jobs in the near future.

Other state sector jobs which offer job opportunities show the same contradictions. The postal and telecommunications services and the transport services are two sectors which now officially take an equal opportunity stance on employment. As a result more Black people are being employed in a range of jobs from postmen, to telephone technicians, to clerical workers. But both the postal services and the transport services are on the road to privatisation through what is called commercialisation. This means that they are operating strictly on business principles of making a profit. The result is that, whereas formerly these sectors served as the means of promoting white working class employment in the 1940's - 1960's, the current trend is to cut down on staff.

The Private Sector

Throughout the 1980's the bosses have been cutting back on investment in new

industries and replacing workers with machines. The result is that most sectors in private industry are cutting back on employment.

Again here we have a contradiction between the fact that the bosses are employing more Black labour and yet the total number of jobs is not increasing. The proportion of African workers employed in semi-skilled operative positions nearly doubled between 1965 and 1985 (from 40% to 73%) and also expanded in middle level categories such as clerical and sales workers. There has also been increased employment of African women at lower levels of the economy.

On the other hand the number of apprentices in South Africa dropped by 36% from 1983 to 1987. Since the Wiehahn Commission published its report and opportunities were opened up for African apprentices to enter the lucrative artisan labour market some economists envisaged that the number of African would increase dramatically. Yet, the number of African apprentices dropped by 57% from almost 12 000 in 1983 to just more than 5 000 in 1987. Whites continue to dominate in every occupation except machine operators and African people are a small minority of those who receive training. The decrease in the number of apprentices is probably due to the fact that firms are employing Africans in positions for which they have the skills but are not registering them as apprentices. And many jobs are being de-skilled due to changes in the production process, with the result that bosses do not send their workers for training and apprenticeship.

What kind of skills will help us get a job?

With the increases in unemployment and retrenchment, school-leavers and workers should be asking themselves what kind of skills will increase our chances of getting a job? Clearly the skills needed will depend on the kinds of jobs available and the use of technology in that particular sector. In general however, at times of increasing unemployment, it is better to have a range of skills rather than be limited to only one specialist skill. For instance it would be better at present to learn say bricklaying and carpentry rather than just bricklaying. It may not always be possible to get a formal certificate in each of these skills but an ability to have a range of skills can improve job prospects.

At the moment there is also an international trend to get workers to work in workteams. This trend is being copied in certain industries like the electronics industry in South Africa. In these workteams workers have to be multi-skilled - they have to have the skills to produce the whole product. Again this shows the need to have many skills rather than one.

THE call for a more orthodox Marxist-Leninist perspective and a vanguard role for the South African Communist Party has surfaced strongly as the party prepares for next week's national conference — the first since it was unbanned.

Some party activists are not happy with what they see as the SACP leadership's attempts to water down socialism in the wake of its collapse in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

They are seeking to "extensively" revise a draft manifesto drawn up by the SACP leadership which they regard as too reformist and not Marxist enough.

They insist they are not returning to old-style dogmatism but want to prevent the SACP from moving into social democracy under the guise of "democratic socialism".

This concern was aired at the Communist Party's PWV conference last weekend.

Regional chairman Gwede Mantashe, while holding that that SACP had never changed its position on Marxism, said the term democratic socialism had been used "to emphasise the democratic content of socialism which suffered because of Stalinism".

However, he said that the congress had decided that there was no need to "place adjectives in front of socialism because the socialism that Marx and Lenin gave us was always democratic in content".

In a statement released after the congress, the PWV region said, "The crisis of socialism is in no way proof of the failure of the theory of Marxist-Leninism".

One delegate said the feeling at the congress was that the "incorrect application" of Marxism in Eastern Europe led to the collapse of socialism in those countries.

Putting the red back into the party

W/Mant 29/11 - 5/12/77

Give us Marx and Lenin say rank-and-file South African Communist Party activists who are not happy with their leaders' apparent shift to social democracy

By PAUL STOBER

"However, like capitalism, socialism also brought benefits to those countries and these are being totally ignored. We need to use the benefits socialism can bring, like free health and education, to popularize socialism and in the absence of any model, use Marxist theory to build a South African socialist project."

At the Western Cape regional congress a week earlier there were also reservations about the lack of Marxist-Leninist terminology in the SACP's draft manifesto.

The deputy secretary of the SACP in the region, Garth Strachan, said there had been a debate at the congress about "how rapidly" to review the old approaches in the light of new conditions.

A branch representative at the congress said

that some delegates wanted to apply an orthodox Marxist-Leninist, or class, analysis to the present situation in South Africa and the crisis in socialism internationally. "Marxist-Leninism would also confirm the democratic content of socialism," he said.

The Western Cape congress also wanted the Communist Party to establish a vanguard role for itself.

"Not in a vulgar sense by which we subject society to the party," said one delegate. "But by earning the role of the leading representative of the working class. We realise we will be competing with other parties for that role," he explained.

SACP members in the PWV agree. "Unity of the left is vital if we are to build socialism and prevent the kind of rightwing backlash occurring in Europe. We have to build socialism in South Africa along with other formations but we see ourselves earning the leading role in that process."

SACP Central Executive member, Ronnie Kasrils welcomes the debates in the regions. "We never expected the congress to be a rubber stamp. The draft manifesto is a discussion document to which the regions must contribute."

He does not believe the outcome of the debate around democratic socialism will influence the party's commitment to democracy. "The understanding that democracy is integral to socialism is entrenched in our party," he said.

According to Kasrils, the overwhelming majority of the SACP's membership remains committed to the economic transformation in South Africa, but this does not necessarily mean old-style communism or the Eastern European-style command economy.

Battle heats up for ANC



Fireworks expected at congress

W/Mail 29/11/91 - 5/12/91
Next week's African National Congress Youth League congress promises a battle for the presidency and heated debates over the youth movement's autonomy **By HUBERT MATLOU**

BATTLE lines are being drawn between the African National Congress Youth League's provisional president, Peter Mokaba, and its secretary-general, Rapulane Molekane, as the two run for the organisation's presidency at its "inaugural" congress in kwaNdebele next week.

The former hand-in-glove pair is now at loggerheads, each trying to test his popularity in the 500 000-strong youth movement.

Elections for the presidency are expected to cause a sharp debate on Mokaba's credibility following *The Weekly Mail's* revelation that the ANC's security department was investigating allegations that he was a spy — charges Mokaba has vehemently denied.

Ironically, the row is between two stalwarts both accused of having agreed to spy for police during a spell in detention. The difference is that Molekane informed the ANC on his release that he had made this agreement in order to get out of detention; Mokaba was accused of not informing the movement.

The row took a bitter turn during last week's PWV conference, which saw the organisation's most powerful region nominate Molekane for president.

For the first time Mokaba, the fiery "young lion", is being challenged. He led the now-defunct South African Youth Congress from 1987, and later was appointed to lead the national provisional committee of the Youth League following the unbanning of the ANC.

He is reported to be fighting for his political life after the ANC failed to satisfactorily clarify and resolve the controversy surrounding him. The row is steadily gaining momentum as the national congress draws nearer.

The battle is reported to be taking regional and national dimensions as factions begin to surface. The Natal Midlands and Border regions have come out in support of Mokaba, whereas the organisation's biggest region, Eastern Transvaal, is reported to be throwing its full weight behind Molekane.

Other regions such as the Eastern Cape, Transkei, Western Cape and Northern Free State, have refused to divulge their nominations.

Mokaba is reported to have visited the Northern Transvaal, his home constituency, in the past two weeks in an attempt to boost support. He is also said to have consulted Umkhonto weSizwe chief-of-staff Chris Hanu, Winnie Mandela and Steve Tshwete to persuade ANC president Nelson Mandela to intervene on his behalf.

Sources within ANCYL indicated that it is the second time Mokaba has refused to step down as a nominee, arguing that such a move would validate charges that he was a police spy. The first instance took place when Mokaba was elected to the ANC's national executive committee during the July congress, leading to increased consterna-

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Battle heats up for ANCYL presidency

From PAGE 15

ion within branches over the ANC's apparent avoidance of the issue.

The ANC, at the time of publication of the allegations in August, neither confirmed nor denied that Mokaba ever worked for the security police or had been summoned by the movement in exile and confessed.

Meanwhile, other candidates for the key positions of vice-president, assistant secretary-general and treasurer are Lulu Johnson, Mpho Lekgoro and Ignatius Jacobs, respectively.

Parks Makahlane, Eddie Mabitsa, Febe Polgieter and Kgaugelo Lekgoro are also expected to make it into the new national executive committee.

The four-day congress will discuss the draft

constitution and policy of the Youth League, the Youth Front, the education crisis, negotiations, violence and the peace process.

Other contentious issues expected to generate debate are the question of an age-limit and autonomy.

Following its revival late last year there has been concerted efforts to relaunch it as an independent component of the ANC.

The ANCYL's provisional constitution refers to organisational autonomy from the ANC, meaning independence in structures and activities. It also states that membership is open between ages 14 and 35. However, membership of the ANC is not automatic on reaching age 18.

"People in ANCYL should make a voluntary choice to join the ANC. They should not

South Africa, but this does not necessarily mean old-style communism or the Eastern European-style command economy

be forced to do so if the ANC is not appealing to them. However, members will be encouraged to join ANC," said provisional publicity secretary Parks Makahlane.

"I think it would be more dynamic to have a Youth League that is broader than the ANC, with an independent existence and capable of critically questioning the policy and strategies of the ANC," he said.

The contrasting view is that an independent Youth League will mean a completely different organisation, resulting in the energy of the youth not being channelled into the ANC.

Secondly, the draft constitution does not spell out how the ANCYL is to participate in the formulation of political perspectives. Neither is any mention made of how the Youth League will "liaise" with the ANC.

... IN THESE COUNTRIES ... CONSTITUTIONS ... A branch representative at the congress said ... SOUTH AFRICA ...

LABOUR

RAIL CRISIS: The ANC alliance looks at the ousting of Sarhwu's leaders, reports Ferial Haffajee

A HIGH-POWERED "tripartite alliance" commission is looking into the ousting of the entire executive of the South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhwu) by disgruntled workers earlier this month. The commission, drawn from the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, has been mandated to make a finding early next year. Sarhwu members used their power as employers to suspend general secretary Martin Sebakwane, his assistant Johnny Potgieter and president Justice Langa.

Citing the recently concluded wage agreement with Transnet as the reason for the palace coup, workers accused the executive of not consulting the rank and file before signing the agreement. They claimed the wage agreement was prejudicial and barred them from taking mass action unless they opted to forgo their bonuses. The agreement, which ended a six-month dispute, makes provision for the payment of an attendance bonus to workers who are absent from work for no more than one day a month.

Sarhwu members from the Southern Transvaal region occupied union offices at the beginning of October, five days after the signing of the wage agreement.

They continued their occupation despite a national executive committee (NEC) meeting called to resolve the issue.

At a second NEC meeting in Kimberley at the end of October, the suspension of the entire six-member

Commission investigates 'palace coup'

11A
w/Mail 29/11 - 5/12/91



Investigating the ousting ... Cosatu national administrator Jeremy Baskin, right, looks into the dismissal of former Sarhwu general secretary Martin Sebakwane

Photos: WILLIAM MATLALA

national management committee, of the office occupation. Only then including Sebakwane, Potgieter and Langa, was ratified. In addition, vacate the offices

Southern Transvaal regional office bearers have been suspended because al management committee deviated

from the tradition and norms of Sarhwu by signing an agreement without mandate," said Sarhwu's honorary president, Archie Sibeko.

Elected to deliberate on Sarhwu's crisis are Cosatu national administrator Jeremy Baskin, the SACP's Siphwe Nyanda and Jabu Moloketi of the ANC.

Baskin said that the commission had sat for the first time last week and he was confident that the inquiry would be completed in the mandated two months.

The leadership crisis is having sad consequences for a number of exciting developments in which Sarhwu is involved.

At stake is its contribution during the crucial preparatory stages of the newly established Transnet industrial council.

Although Sarhwu members have attended industrial council meetings, they have no mandate and are unable to take decisions.

This allowed the conservative Black Trade Union (Blatu) to take a leading union role in the council's fledgling deliberations.

In addition, the unity talks between the Transport and General Workers' Union and Sarhwu will have to be mothballed until the crisis is resolved.

Transnet labour executive Vic van Vuuren confirmed that the crisis had had a negative impact on labour relations. He said that Sarhwu and Transnet had, from a position of conflict, moved to a more fruitful and positive relationship.

Saying that he had absolute faith in the suspended executive, he added that it was currently impossible to communicate with the union.

Stage set for serious horse trading

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The constitutional negotiations process gets off the ground today with an historic first meeting of almost all the major players
By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK and GAVIN EVANS

SOME 60 delegates and hundreds of advisors will cram into a Johannesburg hotel this morning for the historic beginning of negotiations to forge a democratic South Africa

Although the talks about talks will simply set the terms for the December 20 and 21 Convention for a Democratic South Africa, never before has such a diverse collection of people representing a variety of views gathered together under one roof.

After almost two years of often acrimonious preliminaries, the talks are well on track — even if the National Party and the African National Congress this week strenuously denied Pan Africanist Congress claims that they had connived in a secret pact.

The way the process has been set up largely prevents the possibility of deadlock until February, when all the major parties will themselves be too locked into the talks to withdraw with ease

Today's meeting is the first step in a process that, once started, is likely to move more rapidly than many have predicted

The envisaged convention on December 20 and 21 will be similar to last year's Groote Schuur and Pretoria meetings. The aim is that the parties emerge with some form of a declaration of intent, while setting up working committees to narrow the differences on substantive issues

Issues on the agenda of the convention include the broad constitutional principles, an interim government, the forum to actually draw up the constitution (whether or not to have a constituent assembly), the reincorporation of the homelands, the role of the international community and the time frame within which to achieve these

If progress is made in the working committee, a follow-up conference in February could ratify agreements that could well set up a one person, one vote referendum and put in place "transitional arrangements" in government before the end of next year

Several contentious issues around the December convention — such as the convenorship, the venue, the chairmanship, who will attend and whether the media will be allowed in to witness the talks — will feature on today's agenda

However, none of these are make-or-break issues and representatives of the major parties are confident that the date of December 20 and 21 will be confirmed and, where there are differences, acceptable compromises will be found



Angry reaction ... PAC members bury Baby Mongwageloa, who was allegedly 'necklaced' by ANC rivals
Photo. TOM EDLEY

PAC digs in its heels over talks

w/mail 29/11 - 5/12/91

11A

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Pan Africanist Congress' blistering attack on the African National Congress over an alleged deal with the National Party this week is a reflection of the movement's struggle to appease its own internal factions and avoid a split.

And, while both the ANC and the PAC have played down the effect of the attack on the Patriotic Front alliance, there is little at the moment to show for the much-heralded "unity of the oppressed" that the PF promised.

The ANC, the PAC and other PF partners will not be united as a delegation at today's talks — the PAC has denounced the ANC for "deceit and duplicity" and a member of the PAC was "necklaced", allegedly by ANC rivals in the West Rand township of Munsieville last week

In an angry speech at the funeral of Baby Mongwageloa, PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke called upon PAC members under attack from other groups to hit back "if levels of intimidation increase, so should our levels of resistance... we have a duty to defend ourselves," he said.

Though Moseneke argued strongly for the principle of the PF, speaking of the need for the oppressed to speak in one voice, he urged PAC members who were unable to reform sectarian (that is, ANC) civic organisations to leave and form their own civics.

The hard-line tone of Moseneke's speech and the decision by the movement to dig in its heels over a venue outside South Africa for the talks also reflect the sensitivity of the leadership to charges that it is selling out by join-

ing in the all-party talks.

Divisions over whether to get involved in negotiations go back as far as the PAC's congress in December last year. Opposition to the talks is strong within the student wing of the PAC, the Pan African Students' Organisation (Paso).

These divisions will come to a head this weekend, when PAC members from the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee of the PAC have called a meeting in Katshehla in opposition to the leadership's decision to participate in the talks.

However, while there are unresolved divisions among the rank and file, the PAC is under intense pressure from some of its foreign backers, such as Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, to participate in the talks.

The first fissure among the 24 parties invited has been between the 20 who have chosen to participate and the four who are staying away — the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Azanian People's Organisation

On the right, the Conservative Party — despite its expected overwhelming victory in the Virginia by-election — is mortally divided between those who want to get into the talks and hard-liners opposed to negotiations

At the moment, CP leader Andries Treurnicht is maintaining a precarious party unity, but the pro-talks faction, including Koos van der Merwe and the Mulder brothers, have a month in which to get on to the negotiations train before it leaves the station platform without them

The only party of any significance on the left which has declined to attend is Azapo, which has opted instead to

call a conference of "true patriots" (as opposed to the Patriotic Front), including the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Unity, the considerable fallout from the fractured PAC and one or two others

Among those who have counted themselves in, the field looks something like this

●The PAC is already looking like the first casualty of negotiations, with a major split looming. The most interesting issue from today's talks will be whether the PAC stays in the process, and if it does, how much support it will lose

So far it has made two impossible demands — for an external venue and an external mediator. It will find no support for either of these today and will have to go back to its supporters having made yet another unacceptable compromise, or walk out and save some face

●The ANC has already successful-

ly cleared the largest obstacles over today's meeting: the perspective that a troika of itself, the government and Inkatha has no role to play, the principle of independent convenors, and the inclusion of the TBVC states

●The ANC, along with its immediate allies, the South African Communist Party, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Transkei Military Council, are backing religious leaders Dr Johan Heyns and Bishop Stanley Mogoba to join Mr Justice M Corbett as co-convenors of the December convention. It is opposed to the PAC's call to hold the convention outside the country because it does not want it held away from its supporters

While the ANC will get its way on some points, it is likely to find the going a lot tougher on the big issues about which the NP will be wanting agreement — the nature of the upper house, the presidency and the cabinet,

the inclusion of socio-economic rights in the Bill of Rights, the powers of provincial or federal governments and the future of the security forces

●The Labour Party, Inyandza (of kaNgwane) and the Intando Yesizwe Party (of kwaNdebele) are all, to varying extents, tending towards the ANC at present. At least as far as the process demands (constituent assembly and interim government), they should follow the Patriotic Front line. But on issues like devolution of power, federalism and the composition of the senate they may be less reliable

●The Democratic Party, the Venda Military Council and the Tshimoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu) do not fall squarely in either of the main camps. The DP, for instance, has come up with something close to the ANC's proposals on the process leading up to the first non-racial parliamentary elections

It accepts something approaching the NP's proposals for a multi-party cabinet and a federal system, but parts company with the NP on minority party representation in the senate and on the rotating presidency

●The government/National Party will be sending separate delegations, the government representing, for instance, the military, the police and the civil service. The NP/government looks ready to compromise on the transitional arrangements in return for some tough compromises from the ANC on constitutional principles, and perhaps a substantial time period in which coalition rule is enforced

●The Ciskei government, National People's Party, Solidarity and Dikwankwetla Party (QwaQwa) look likely to coalesce with the NP on most issues of substance and would be the most likely partners if the NP pushed ahead with its Christian Democratic Alliance idea

●The Bophuthatswana government is also a sure-fire supporter of the NP, except for the lengths that President Lucas Mangope is going to wriggle out of re-incorporation (which the NP accepts as inevitable)

●The kwaZulu government/Inkatha Freedom Party, another potential ally of the NP, is a special case. In the run-up to today's preparatory meeting, the IFP has already showed that it is prepared to vent its independence by blocking progress at every turn

The IFP will be hard-pressed to explain its insistence that the two church leaders not be co-convenors of the December convention.

What we're in line for is intense horse trading — of walk-outs, sell-outs, poses and postures, of new best friends and fresh antagonisms, break-downs, start-ups, optimism, pessimism, pockets of peace and waves of violence — and in the end, perhaps, lasting agreement. And it all starts today

A new start to a new epoch

with mail 29/11 - 5/12/91

3 THE constitutional talks get off the ground today with an historic first meeting of the major players. After almost two years of acrimonious preliminaries, the talks are well on track even though the National Party and African National Congress had to frantically deny Pan Africanist Congress claims this week that they had connived in a secret pact.

What South Africa can expect is several weeks of walk-outs, sell-outs, poses and postures, of new best friends and fresh antagonisms, break-downs, start-ups, optimism, pessimism, pockets of peace and waves of violence — and in the end, perhaps, lasting agreement.

The PAC, which caused controversy this week with its accusations against the ANC, is the first casualty of negotiations with a major split looming. The most interesting issue from today's talks will be whether the PAC stays in the process.

So far the PAC has made two impossible demands — for an external venue and an external mediator. They will find no support for either of these today.

BY DREW FORREST
 THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has deftly sidestepped the government's refusal to allow it a seat at next month's All-Party Conference

To be formally endorsed at a central executive committee meeting at the weekend, the strategy involves the inclusion of key Cosatu figures in the delegations of its political allies, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress. As the Cosatu delegates wear "two hats" — being simultaneously ANC or SACP leaders — no objection is possible.

The plan is to co-ordinate the approach of both teams to the APC talks, meaning that the "tripartite-alliance" will effectively be represented

Cosatu 'sneaks' into the APC

W/MAIL 29/11/91 - 5/12/91
 (11A)

The vital thing, it was felt, was that the major players were directly or indirectly represented, rather than "Mickey Mouse organisations whose leaders represent no-one but themselves and their jackets", as Shilowa puts it

Cosatu's presence at the APC will stiffen ANC sinews on three vital issues: the constitution-making arena, macro-economic negotiations and the timetable for interim rule

The unions are adamant that only broad constitutional principles — those embodied in the Harare Declaration, such as universal adult suffrage — may be discussed at the APC and an elected constituent

assembly must draw up the constitution.

They are equally adamant in opposing government moves to append macro-economic negotiations to the all-party talks, insisting that transitional economic arrangements be dealt with in a separate forum

The shift to a joint delegation to the APC signals the emergence of a more co-ordinated alliance strategy as real negotiations approach. Initially, Cosatu was content to leave political negotiations to the ANC, while economic negotiations were seen as the domain of the labour movement.

The current approach is an integrated team in both arenas, with the ANC leading the political thrust and Cosatu playing the spearhead role on the economy.

discussions with its alliance partners

The view was that although Cosatu was not a political party, it was an important political force — in fact, the strongest formation of the left. Government moves to narrow attendance at the APC to political parties were seen as a dodge to weaken the ANC and marginalise Cosatu's mass base. "The feeling was that Cosatu's role had been underplayed and the negotiating process impoverished as a result," Coleman said

The rethink arose from a Cosatu wish not to impede the APC process, in the face of the state's continued insistence that labour could not attend in its own right.



MAKWETU



MOSENEKE

We are still in the dark

(11A)

Sowetan
29/11/91

THE KwaThema branch of Paso is fully behind comrade general secretary Lawrence Nqandela who on November 13 said "the clever talk of preparatory meeting of a pre-constituent assembly is nothing but a statement towards negotiation."

As the oppressed and dispossessed African students we are still in the dark about the Patriotic Front and the resolutions adopted at that meeting.

Now PAC, amidst all the confusion, is leading us to another devastating crisis that will negate the spirit of revolution amongst the dispossessed masses of occupied Azania.

If the PAC leadership has a double agenda let it say so. Then we the students can take in upon ourselves to lead members to a revolution and establish a democratic, socialist order in our motherland.

Our struggle is not one of tactics or ideas but the struggle to topple this minority, cruel, barbaric regime of settlers.

The PAC leadership is now being manipulated by some liberal-minded members who are after their own personal gains at the expense of the oppressed, dispossessed masses.

We as Paso cannot go into this tunnel (PF) with the belief that there are lights at the end of it.

We appeal to our national executive to urgently reconsider its position as the component structure.

Yours in revolution,

Izwe lethu
**MA AFRICA,
MERIATO NTUNI,
Paso Branch,
Springs.**

2 judges may chair meeting

By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré van der Merwe

Today's historic preparatory committee meeting to set the scene for next month's multiparty negotiations may be chaired by two Supreme Court judges, The Star has learnt

As last-minute arrangements for the historic meeting were made yesterday, the names of Mr Justice P J Schabert and Mr Justice I Mahomed — the country's first black judge — were mentioned

The meeting is scheduled to start at 10 am at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, near Kempton Park

Sources said late yesterday the main players had been consulted, and the Government, ANC and DP had already agreed to the issue of the chairmanship

But it was possible that all the parties would not reach agreement before talks

started and the meeting itself would have to decide

Another proposal was that the chairmanship should rotate among the five bigger parties — the Government, ANC, PAC, IFP and DP

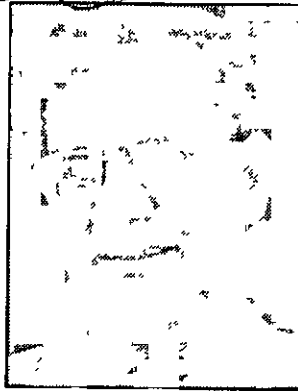
About 20 parties — including the six self-governing national states and the four TBVC states — will attend

The dispute about the chairmanship underlined the sensitivity about arrangements which has characterised preparations for the meeting. Exactly what would happen at the meeting remained something of a mystery yesterday

Because the meeting has not officially been convened by anyone, no official agenda has been prepared. The meeting itself will have to decide on one

This week, the ANC finalised a "statement of principles" to be presented at today's meeting

It outlines basic ANC poli-



Mr Justice I Mohamed . . .
tipped to co-chair talks

cy on a new constitution, stating that the country should be a non-racial, non-sexist democracy, that there should be free political choice, that human rights should be entrenched in a bill of rights, and that there should be an independent, representative judiciary

The statement also said there should be a separation of powers between the legis-

lature, executive and judiciary

Today's meeting will take place behind closed doors and the participants themselves will decide whether to issue a statement or hold a press conference afterwards

The meeting is expected to continue tomorrow

The PAC yesterday sent a delegation to some embassies in Pretoria to drum up support for its demand for an outside venue and neutral convener for the multiparty conference. Sources said the PAC did not receive a sympathetic hearing

● President de Klerk yesterday confirmed that the NP's Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, would lead the NP delegation to the meeting and that Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen would head a separate Government delegation

● More reports — Pages 3 and 14

'Deal' authentic, insists PAC

By Esmaré van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius (1A)

The PAC/ANC row over alleged "secret deals" between the Government and the ANC on constitutional negotiations continued yesterday on the eve of today's crucial meeting to prepare for next month's multiparty conference.

Following vehement ANC and Government denials that they had agreed to set up an interim government by February next year, the

PAC remained emphatic that its document revealing the "deal" was authentic

The document was leaked to the PAC's New York chief representative, Dr Motseko Pheko, by a diplomat who had attended a recent briefing of African diplomats at the United Nations by ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki

The PAC yesterday denied reports that Ghanaian president Jerry Rawlings was the source of its information.

The PAC claimed, among other things, that

the ANC and Government had already decided on a "declaration of intent" which would form the basis for decisions by the multiparty conference.

The declaration would state that conference decisions would over-ride existing law wherever they clashed, and would signal the end of apartheid and allow sanctions to be lifted.

However, sources close to the talks indicated yesterday that the PAC had put the matter too strongly and that no decisions had been made

by the ANC and Government

PAC sources said the row between them and the ANC had been smoothed over.

Both parties were concentrating on today's talks, they said

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander yesterday said his party was not trying to score political points by releasing the damaging report shortly before the preparatory meeting

Mr Mbeki on Wednesday said the document was "a lot of mischief" invented by someone

ANC briefing to UN envoys could spell doom for Front

Some few 29/11/91

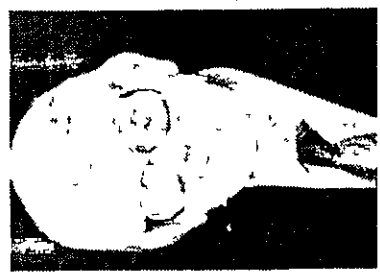
11A

THIS week's disclosures by the Pan Africanist Congress that African National Congress foreign affairs secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki had briefed African ambassadors to the UN on the Patriotic Front could spell doom for the initiative.

Mbeki's briefing to the ambassadors at the United Nations has once and for all shattered the grand illusion that the Patriotic Front, as it exists, is a watertight and workable concept for meaningful political change in South Africa.

Senior PAC leaders have for weeks secretly complained that the ANC was not honouring agreements which were reached at the launch of the PF in Durban last month.

When on November 20 Mbeki told the UN ambassadors of a series of behind-the-scenes agreements that the ANC had reached with the Govern-



GERRIT VILJOEN



ROELF MEYER



BENNY ALEXANDER

has suggested that he could use force to quell unwanted developments - he was not specific though.

The fact is, recent market research results had lent a measure of authenticity to the notion that the ANC was the putative government of South Africa.

Other polls have given the NP the majority of the vote. Effectively, between the two of them, the NP and ANC must feel that they can win an election without any help.

It is an established fact that senior and very influential Government people are not in favour of the Patriotic Front. Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen referred to

multi-party talks so it could gain credibility for having "done everything in its power to bring all sides to the negotiating table".

In the final analysis, the Government's Machiavellian scheme of incorporating sections of the liberation movement while it continues to gain friends and influence at home and abroad is working.

Commenting on the "deal" between the Government and the ANC, PAC secretary general Mr Benny Alexander said on Wednesday, "We believe that the ANC is in cahoots with the regime and is aborting our common resolve".



Now for the

11/11/92

Justin

realings

IT'S down to business.

South Africa gets its first real crack at national reconciliation today as the political leaders of this country go behind closed doors to unfold bold plans for a democratic future.

All but four of the country's major political organisations are expected at today's steering committee talks

ISMAL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

Azapo, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging will not be there.

And, by the end of the day, all political

● To page 2

All set for the real business

● From page 1

Leaders in attendance are expected to have produced a declaration of intent - to which a multiparty forum scheduled for December 20 and 21 will give legal teeth

Mr Mohammed Vally Moosa of the ANC's negotiations commission yesterday told Sowetan in a briefing that a next month's multiparty talks will be a waste if the laws of the country can simply override decisions made and agreements reached there

For this reason, he said, the ANC's legal team was looking into ways of giving "legal force" to decisions taken at a multiparty forum

The tentative agenda for today's meeting

- Appointment of chairman/men for multiparty talks,
- Adoption of the agenda,
- What the multiparty talks will be called,

● The overall purpose of the multiparty forum that emerges from the December 20-21 talks, and

● Agreement on an agenda for future progress

The ANC will today propose eight items for the agenda for those talks after wide-

spread consultations

The eight points are

- Climate for free political participation,
- General constitutional principles,
- The creation of a constitution-making body
- Interim government/transitional arrangements,
- The future of the homelands - both "independent" and otherwise,
- The role of the international community,

● The time frame for change, and

● Any other items that arise

Moosa said the ANC saw a "very big role" for the international community in the role of observing and monitoring the transitional period

He also said the Government had initially opposed the inclusion of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana at multiparty talks, saying that such talks should be between "the political parties of the Republic of South Africa"

Moosa said "It has been now agreed that they (TBVC) would be at tomorrow's (today's) preparatory meeting - which is quite significant, in that even before the first shot is fired it has been accepted what the definition of what South Africa is"

2nd Floor
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NP holds all the cards in this game

Sowden

29/11/91

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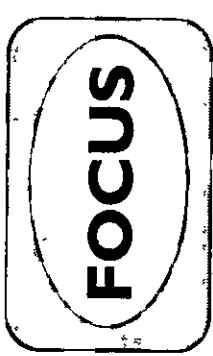
THE National Party's position in the driver's seat during the transition period could become the biggest setback to attaining democracy in South Africa.

The ANC and the PAC have since their unbanning led the call for an interim government - with the latter going as far as to declare the National Party Government illegitimate.

The PAC's claim is to some extent substantiated by the argument that the NP has never, in more than 40 years of rule, governed by consensus of the governed: it has never been voted into power by more than 15 per cent of the country's population.

Be that as it may, indications are that the Government will not give up its position of strength while it tries to win black support for future elections.

The PAC on Wednesday con-



BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

must monitor the elections for the (constituent) assembly," Alexander said.

His comments are not that misguided if one considers the following scenario.

The NP has become a two-headed beast: one continues to govern while the other seeks support among black people whom it has, through apartheid, rendered poor and underprivileged.

While the one NP holds out its hand to win support, the other pays for it (with taxpayers' money) through "safety nets" and money freed from strategic oil stockpiles.

Similarly, the spiral of violence in the country - which many people have suggested is the Government's creation - stops periodically only after Government troops have been sent in.

Altogether, when the poor and underprivileged black people vote, they will first vote with their stomachs for the party that can provide "safety nets" and secondly with their fears for the party that has troops to quell the violence.

In the final analysis, the NP has the media, the military, the money and a party - led by former Education and Training Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe - to win the next election.

A cursory tour of the political horizon produces this startling picture of imbalance and perhaps uncertainty.

There is every indication that today's meeting could be decisive - provided the ANC, PAC and its Patriotic Front allies revert back to its original agreements.

But time alone will tell.
See page 19.

Leak not from us Ghana 11A

THE Ghanaian government last night denied that its military ruler Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings had leaked minutes of a meeting addressed by the African National Congress foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki at the United Nations on November 20. The Pan Africanist Congress this week alleged that Mbeki had told African ambassadors to the UN that the ANC and the South African Government had entered into a "secret pact" on various issues including an interim government. The Ghanaian Foreign Ministry, however, rejected the claims about Rawlings. It said to attribute the source of the leak to Rawlings was "inaccurate". - *Sapa-Reuter.*

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refers

house after the council had put it on sale in June. Source close to the council said the house was put on sale because Venter's successor, Graham Collins, had no need for it

NP making diplomatic gains

PRETORIA — SA's international gains in legitimacy were benefiting the NP at the ANC's expense, RAU political scientist Deon Geldenhuys said yesterday.

He told an SA Institute of International Affairs meeting the NP and ANC had, in a sense, reversed roles

It was the ANC which was now struggling with something of an international credibility problem

In the past six months SA had played host to ministers and deputy ministers from Australia, the UK, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, Finland, Japan, the

GERALD REILLY

US, Romania, Kenya, Cameroon, Cape Verde and Ireland (32/27)

Since the beginning of the year, 65 official delegations from African states other than the SADCC countries had met members of the SA government (11A)

The ANC was apparently not pleased with the growing diplomatic traffic

Another indication that diplomatic isolation was collapsing was the expansion of the country's missions abroad, Geldenhuys said. (11A) 29/11/91

A total of 34 internationally recognised states were officially represented in Pretoria, 20 of them at ambassadorial level

SA was in turn represented in 49 states, in 26 of them by ambassadors

SPORTS/RESIDENCE

Australia and other countries
at consulate at now visiting SA
(31) 765-5377

DBN1477

ANC accused of colluding with Government

PAC rocks the talks boat

SAR 30/11/91

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE historic preparatory conference for substantive negotiations ended on an acrimonious note last night, with the Pan Africanist Congress accusing the African National Congress and the Government of collusion to ensure that their will prevailed.

In a statement read out at the end of talks, Barney Desai of the PAC referred to a "clear pattern" in which the ANC and "the regime" supported one another against the PAC.

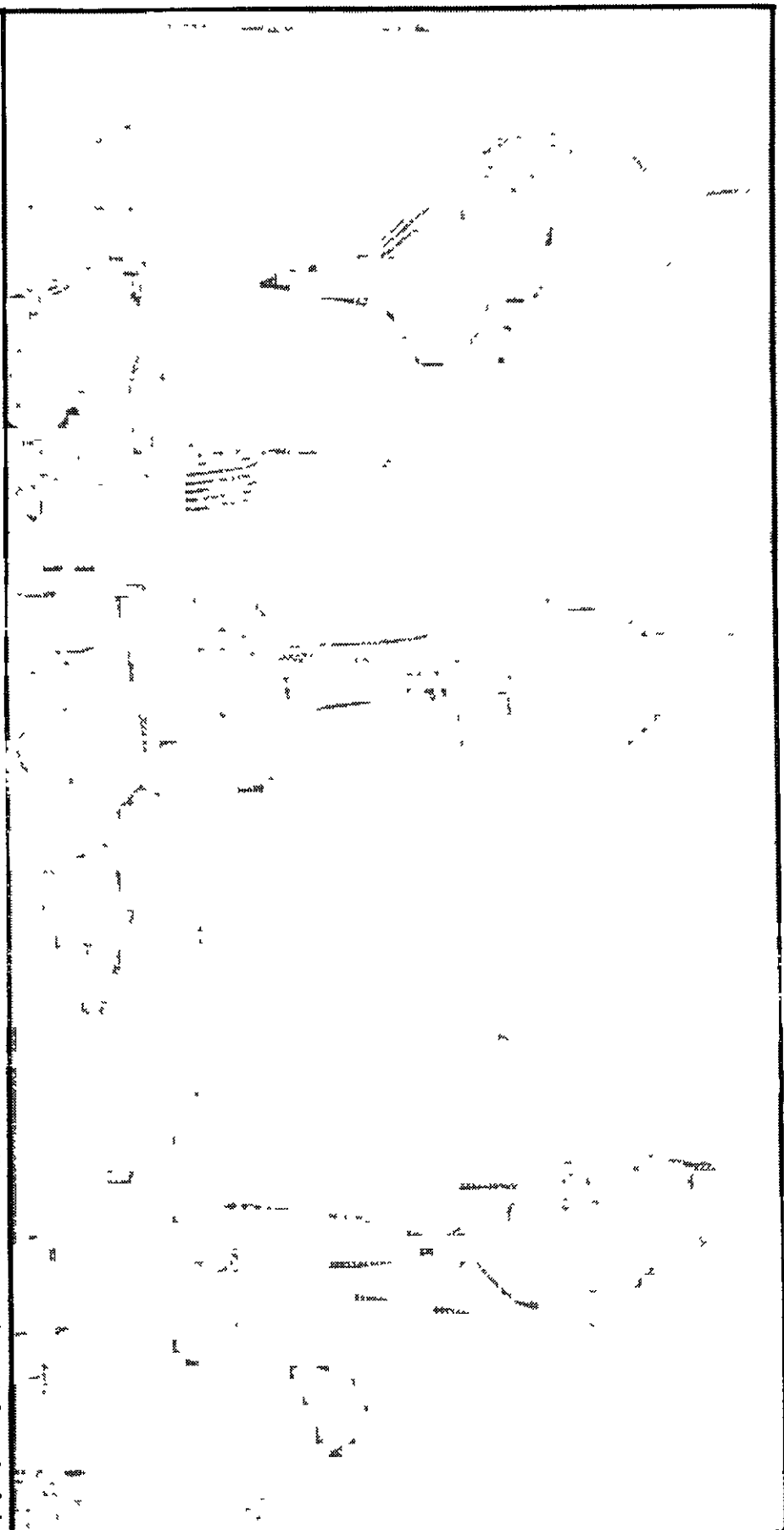
Noting that ANC-Government proposals were almost invariably backed by delegates from the "homelands" and the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament, Mr Desai said "Without exception, proposals made by the PAC were rejected."

Consulted

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa refused to be drawn into a public row with the PAC, insisting that the ANC was faithfully fulfilling its "historic responsibility to ensure the establishment of peace and democracy" in South Africa.

Mr Ramaphosa emphatically denied that the ANC had colluded with the De Klerk administration in any way. It had consulted with the Government, as it had conferred with the PAC and a whole range of political parties at a "high level" he added.

Mr Desai, who refused



SMILES ALL ROUND: SACP leader Joe Slovo (left) shakes hands with Defence Minister Roelf Meyer at the start of talks yesterday. Sydney Mufamadi of the ANC's national executive committee looks on. Photograph: AP

to take questions from journalists, bitterly recited a series of PAC proposals which had been rejected by the ANC-Government axis.

They included proposals that

- Yesterday's meeting should be chaired in rotation by the PAC and the ANC in terms of the Patriotic Front declaration
- The meeting voted that it should be chaired by two judges, Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed and Mr Justice Piet Schabert
- The media be allowed to attend all sessions
- The conference voted to exclude the press, except

for brief "photo sessions".

● The pending substantive negotiations should be called a Conference for a Constituent Assembly. The meeting opted for the label Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

● The pending negotiations should not be held in South Africa but at a neutral venue outside South Africa where no single party would be at an advantage. The meeting agreed that the negotiations should be held at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

In a clear expression of discontent, Mr Desai said

of the official statement, read out by judges Mahomed and Schabert. "It does not reflect the PAC's position."

But at the end of his address to journalists, Mr Desai acknowledged that the PAC would be present when the meeting reconvenes today, thus indicating, for the moment, that it would not withdraw.

There was one minor consolation for the PAC while its demand that the negotiation should be chaired by an eminent person from outside South Africa was rejected, the meeting did agree

South African Communist Party

Inhando Yesizwe Party

United People's Front

Transkei Government

National People's Party

Dikwankweta Party

Bophuthatswana Government

Ciskei Government

Solidarity

Inkatha Freedom Party

National Party

Pan Africanist Congress

Democratic Party

Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress

Inyandza National Movement

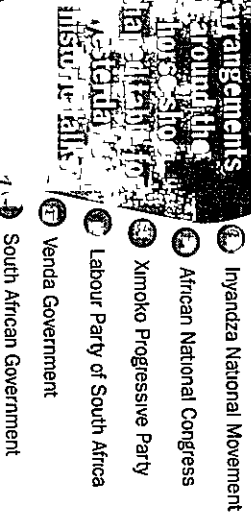
African National Congress

Ximoko Progressive Party

Labour Party of South Africa

Venda Government

South African Government

Seating Arrangements

Graphic: GAIL IRWIN

to invite representatives from foreign governments and international organizations to observe the negotiation process. The meeting agreed to

invite observers from the UN, the OAU, the Commission, the European

Community and the Non-Aligned Movement. Another hurdle remained to be cleared last night insistence by the Inkatha Freedom Party that the KwaZulu government should be represented at the negotiations as well.

The presence at yesterday's meeting of delegations from the Government and the National Party established, in the view of the IFP, a precedent for dual representation of the IFP and the KwaZulu government.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who headed the three-man Government delegation, adopted a positive note. He described yesterday's conference as historic, saying it prepared the way for "bridging the gap between peoples and points of view".

Unification

The choice of the name Codesa for the substantive negotiations was reminiscent of the National Convention of 1908-1909, which paved the way for the unification of the two former Boer Republics and the two British colonies into the Union of South Africa after the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

The presence at yesterday's meeting of South Africa's four nominally independent states of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei — and their scheduled presence at Codesa — foreshadowed that the Union which the nation's founding fathers established in 1910 and had been destroyed by apartheid would be re-established in the settlement ahead.

Azapo has to join the only game in town

STAR 30/11/91

11A

VERY few black political leaders around the age of 40 would seek to deny the seminal contribution of the Black Consciousness movement in the South African liberation struggle

At the height of ruthless State repression, it was young political activists of the Black Consciousness tradition who held the fort and tirelessly reminded the oppressed to hold their heads high and struggle for total liberation

No wonder that young leaders like Steve Biko came to the fore together with many others who now occupy senior positions in leading liberation movements like the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation

Ironic

Today the standard bearer of the Black Consciousness tradition is Azapo, under the capable leadership of Pandelani Nefolovhodwe.

It is therefore both ironic and tragic that when the struggle for liberation (of which Azapo and its predecessor have been an integral part) is about to reach its zenith with the convening of the multi-party/all-party conference — Azapo decides not to be part of this historic moment

Perhaps Azapo's main weakness in this regard is its failure to adapt its tactics and strategies to the changing political environment

It is this changing political environment that now sees erstwhile so-called "sell outs"

Through My Eyes

OSCAR DHLOMO



and "liberals" (in Azapo's vocabulary), suddenly transformed into crucial voters and power brokers who will decide who governs this country in a few years' time.

Their vote will carry the same weight as any other vote in the coming election

Indeed, shrewd political strategists in the ANC and PAC have already taken note of this fact and are now busy courting this vote, as was evidenced by the recent Patriotic Front conference.

It is political strategy — and not ideological purity — that wins the votes, and it is today's and not yesteryear's politics that we are about.

It would indeed be a pity if Azapo's unique perception of the intellectual dimension of the liberation struggle ends up by being absent from the negotiating table.

Similarly, it would be a pity if Azapo, through its pursuit of ideological purity and dogmatism, commits political suicide by marginalising itself.

We urge the leadership of the PAC to intensify their reported efforts to engage Azapo in dialogue aimed, not only at influencing Azapo to rejoin the Patriotic Front, but also at convincing this organisation that the only game in town at present is negotiating democratic transformation

20 parties, governments to take part in 'Convention for Democratic SA'

D-Day set for vital talks

SAPC 30/11/79 - (11A) (S) (S)

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

NEGOTIATIONS for a new constitution will be formally launched on December 20 and 21 when at least 20 political parties and governments will sit down at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — to be known as Codesa.

Codesa will take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport and will be observed by guests from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the European Community.

The name Codesa replaces the unwieldy and conflicting names for the multiparty conference proposed by different organisations.

Report, picture on Page 2.



HAPPY TOGETHER The Scotts in happier times spent last Christmas with close friend Eileen Healy (left) John Scott plays with Sarah (5) Next to her is baby Helene (2) and mother Andrea

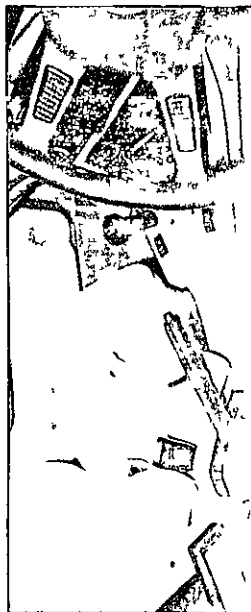
Eerie combination of slaughter, family bliss

BRONWYN WILKINSON

I'M SORRY was all John Scott had to say in a note left on his kitchen table after brutally stabbing to death his wife and two young daughters some time on Thursday night.

The 41 year-old managing director of a German chemical company also left instructions on how to dispose of his £2 million fortune.

John must have had a very good mood with



He had been to Germany on a business trip.

TPA identifies massive tracts for housing

SAPC 30/11/79 - (11A) (S) (S)

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration is believed to be on the verge of identifying about five vast tracts of land in the northern PVV region to be developed as site-and-service projects to meet massive urbanisation.

This follows the controversial establishment of Ivory Park on the eastern boundary of President Park, Midrand, where about 85 000 homes are being built. It is speculated that the so-called 'Norweto or Diepsloot' area is being considered to accommodate Sandton workers from Zevenfontein where squatter shacks were recently demolished.

Sources have indicated that the first of the sites

could be available from as early as March. According to reliable sources, the bulk of these settlements will accommodate Johannesburg's northern neighbours, specifically Sandton, Randburg, Midrand and Verwoerd. The following developments are expected to be announced soon.

● It is speculated that the so-called 'Norweto or Diepsloot' area is being considered to accommodate Sandton workers from Zevenfontein where squatter shacks were recently demolished.

● Cosmo City on the

● TO PAGE 2.

AN INVITATION
YOU CAN'T
AFFORD TO MISS

The historic decisions were taken on the highly successful first day of a preparatory committee meeting of 20 parties and governments at the Holiday Inn at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. The committee meeting will continue today

The committee agreed that Codesa's agenda would include general constitutional principles, a constitution-making body or process, transitional arrangements or interim government, the future of TBVC states and the international community's role.

Twelve delegates from each of the 20 political parties and governments represented at the preparatory committee will be invited to Codesa.

A steering committee of the 20 delegations is likely to be formed to make detailed arrangements for the talks.

One of its duties will be to try to secure the attendance of the parties which declined invitations to the preparatory meeting

These were the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Azapo

After weeks of wrangling among parties, the preparatory committee meeting's first day went extremely well.

Most delegates said the mood of the meeting had been good, with occasional moments of tension.

Triggered

African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said. "We have triggered a process that will lead to a democratic dispensation in which our people will have won the freedom they have been struggling for for years and years."

A senior Government delegate described the meeting as a "watershed" in the long historical process since 1910 of broadening the basis of the constitution.

The only real sour note was struck by the Pan Africanist Congress, which said afterwards that a joint statement issued by the two judges who chaired the meeting had not reflected their view

Only the PAC, which wants the conference to be held outside the country, opposed the decision to hold Codesa in South Africa. It was overruled.

As a consolation to the PAC, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is understood to have agreed that

● TO PAGE 2.

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YC

2 Saturday Star November 30 1991

Codesa

FROM PAGE 1.

all PAC exiles would be indemnified to attend the convention.

The meeting also agreed that the Government would be represented at Codesa as a separate delegation from the National Party, but with no voting power

The PAC voiced its dissent from the start by objecting to the choice of two Transvaal Supreme Court judges, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert, as chairmen of the meeting.

However, the PAC did not walk out, raising hopes that it is now fully aboard the negotiations process

One of the contentious issues which will have to be resolved today is who will convene and chair Codesa

The PAC wants the

convenor to be a foreign organisation and there are also differences between the ANC and IFP on whether clerics should be involved.

But it is widely accepted that the meeting will agree today on remaining issues

At yesterday's meeting, the IFP asked for separate representation at Codesa for the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu people. The meeting provisionally agreed there should be only one delegation for this grouping.

The Government delegation at first rejected the proposal for the Non-Aligned Movement to be invited to Codesa but relented after Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen telephoned President de Klerk.

In the absence of a chairman at the start, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer opened the meeting.

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Delay in IDT loan bid raises eyebrows

POLITICAL STAFF

THE Independent Development Trust's surprise postponement of its Eurobond issue to help fund a national school and clinic building programme has raised eyebrows in international banking circles — and prompted questions about the African National Congress's "reliability".

The IDT this week announced it was calling off until next year a bid for a \$100 million loan because it appeared that the ANC had at the last minute withdrawn its support for the venture.

Observers said that if there was not unanimous support in South Africa for the loan, it could make potential investors wary of showing interest next time around.

Saturday Star understands that the IDT decision — announced in newspaper advertisements this week — represents the failure of a 10-month-long process of consultation and preparation.

The IDT, headed by former judge Jan Steyn, said this week that "explicit support" for the venture had been sought — and received — from key political leaders before the loan bid was made.

Statement

These leaders included President de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The IDT said shortly before it was to make its first presentation in London in mid-October that the ANC had suddenly issued a statement "claiming that its support (for IDT fund-raising efforts) was confined to grant-funding, not to the raising of loan finance".

It is understood that the ANC decided that the IDT proposal, if successful, would constitute a breach of financial sanctions — a policy it still adheres to.

Mr Mandela is believed to have said his initial support was due to a misunderstanding of the implications of the ANC's sanctions policy.

The IDT said the ANC's October statement was "insupportable". It had gone ahead with its presentation on the basis that whatever "misunderstandings" had arisen would be resolved after its delegation's return from London.

"It appears that despite the support originally given to the venture, the ANC now regards the inflow of loan funds for a national school-building programme ... as being in conflict with its policy on financial sanctions," said the trust.

BLACK POLITICS

1991 - DEC.

ANC's plan for the press (11A)

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

AN ANC media charter, which the organisation hopes will form part a future constitution and bill of rights, is being considered by the ANC's national executive committee

According to the draft charter, everyone would have the right to freely publish, broadcast and disseminate information and opinion. People would also have the right of free access to information and opinion.

All legislation and institutions restricting the free flow of information or imposing censorship over the media would be forbidden.

But the citizen's right to privacy and any other freedoms entrenched in the bill of rights would not be violated on account of the free

flow of information, the charter states.

A declaration of media freedoms on its own is not enough, the draft charter says. It must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, enforcement mechanisms and developmental programmes.

Therefore, steps would be taken to ensure that all communities had access to skills like reading and

writing and the technical means for the receipt and dissemination of information, including electricity and telecommunications.

Diversity of ownership of media production and distribution facilities would be assured and affirmative action would be taken to provide financial, technical and other resources to deprived sectors of society, the charter states.

Clouds lifting

IT has been a difficult year for South African business. The recession has proved to be one of the most protracted on record, little apparent progress has been made in the fight against inflation and appalling violence, the "Inkathagate" scandal and the political atmospherics of feuding movements and organisations have further clouded the outlook.

Businessmen have been particularly frustrated by the reappearance of the tired old rhetoric of nationalisation on the part of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance just when it was believed that it was safely buried, by the inability of these and other movements to finally abandon sanctions despite the acknowledged damage they were doing to an already battered economy, and by the VAT-inspired but politically motivated two-day stayaway.

Yet beneath all of these troubling circumstances there are positive developments. These augur well for an environment which will provide greater domestic and foreign business opportunities.

In spite of appearances, there is strong political momentum to formal constitutional negotiations. All the obstacles which were said to be preventing progress this time last year have been systematically cleared.

The ANC has held its congress, formally rearranged its hierarchy and generally finds itself sufficiently confident to jettison delaying tactics.

The PAC, too, fearful of missing the negotiation boat (let's give the tired train a rest) has hopped on board through the Patriot Front.

Tensions in the Conservative Party and the appearance of the "new right" herald a similar move and it can be confidently expected that when the formal constitutional talks begin, the CP will be there.

Although there was a slight hiccup in preparations for the all-party/multi-party conference, a meeting can be expected early this month.

Rhetoric

There is a progressive closing of the gap between the parties on the issues of transitional arrangements and an elected constitutional forum.

But many people, including some observers who should know better, mistake the rhetoric of the political parties and organisations, which in recent weeks has been hotting up as the MPC talks become more imminent and as passions have been fuelled by Inkathagate, continuing violence and the stayaway, for a sign that the political process is in trouble.

No doubt the important ingredient of trust between the parties has been battered during the year.

But struggle as they will for advantage in the power stakes, an inescapable reality is Tina — as Mrs Thatcher would say, There Is No Alternative — in this case to a negotiated outcome.

And while that is in process, some form of coalition rule binding the parties together is also inescapable. Moralising and handwringing are neither helpful nor useful analytical tools.

By **MICHAEL SPICER**, public affairs consultant, Anglo American

On the international front, there has also been rapid progress.

That sanctions are yesterday's debate has been amply shown as country after country has welcomed South Africa back in the international economic community.

The European Community, led by Britain, but delayed by Denmark, was first and was followed mid-year by the critical scrapping of the CAAA by the Bush Administration.

In October, equally importantly, the Japanese ditched sanctions.

The result was that the Commonwealth and the South African parties it favoured had to recognise the irreversibility of the trend and telescope the process they were proposing for the lifting of sanctions.

Indeed, it is evident that the ANC leadership has become increasingly worried about the impact of continued sanctions on SA's weak economy. No doubt the leaders' looming co-responsibility for the performance of the economy is a major factor.

So it may be confidently predicted that formal economic sanctions will disappear next year — earlier rather than later.

The scrapping of the Gramm Amendment, which prevents South African access to International Monetary Fund money, will be an important fillip for confidence.

Confidence, that vital ingredient of economic activity, has also been underpinned by SA's re-entry to the international sporting scene.

Naturally, this has wider implications in helping to forge a sense of national unity and common values. Those politicians who have played a vital role in these moves deserve praise, and those sports administrators delaying the process

after tough year

11A
S/Times (Buss)

11/12/91

of macro-economic policies that businessmen can and should make an important contribution.

In my view, there is no need for kick starts or quick fixes — doing the right thing in terms of policy on a firm and sustained basis will allow the Government to pursue affordable poverty alleviation programmes and business to invest and create wealth.

In this respect, the imminent advent of an economic forum, whether it is part of the APC-MPC, or a separate but parallel process, is to be welcomed.

The forum will provide the opportunity of dealing in a sensible manner with the challenge thrown down by Nelson Mandela to businessmen to provide an alternative to nationalisation.

Business' contribution will be to draw the debate away from theoretical or ideological considerations to pragmatic ones of what works and what does not in the real world.

The politicians will find that business' essential optimism and preference for action more than words is a great asset in a time of transition when the population at large is looking for reassurance.

require a kick elsewhere. In the meantime, the psychological boost to businessmen of their return to important markets has been mirrored by a strong export performance.

Safto predicts even stronger growth next year as South Africans show that they have the entrepreneurial spirit to meet the challenges and seize new opportunities.

Useful

In passing, this is one of the reasons why businessmen do not have to be as gloomy about the state of the economy as the analysis contained in the Nedperm scenarios sometimes suggests.

Much useful restructuring and improved performances on several of fronts have been going on since the mid-1980s.

As most business observers agree, the economic fundamentals for a recovery next year are still set fair.

Indeed, it is in the field of helping the politicians to find a sensible framework

Assurers full of life as shares rocket

S/Times (Buss)
11/12/91

By **DAVID SOUTHEY**, investment analyst, Edey, Rogers & Co Inc

LIFE-ASSURANCE shares are seen as good defensive investments when the industrial market is expected to underperform. That is why most brokers retained assurance shares on their buying lists for the first half of 1991.

But the industrial market did not underperform — neither did assurance shares.

The overall insurance index — including short- and long-term insurers — rocketed by no less than 62% from 1 500 at the beginning of this year.

CONFERENCE BRIEFS

AT least one person from every organisation present at the preparatory All-Party Conference talks yesterday will be present at the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (Codesa) scheduled for December 20 and 21.

The decision that the National Party and the government would field separate delegations to Codesa was welcomed by all the delegates.

A LIST of nine items was compiled for the Codesa agenda, which included

- Creation of a climate for free political participation;
- General constitutional principles,
- Constitution-making body/process;
- Transitional arrangements/interim government-/transitional authority,
- Future of the TBVC states;
- Role of the international community,
- Implementation of decisions of Codesa; and
- Other items to be identified by a Steering Committee and decided upon by Codesa

Parties which had been invited but did not attend the preparatory talks will also receive invitations.

THE PAC accused the ANC and the government of supporting each other's proposals throughout the "talks about talks"

Speaking at a Press conference held separately from the joint media conference addressed by the rest of the delegates, PAC delegation leader Barney Desai said that by lunchtime a decision-making pattern had emerged

BOPHUTHATSWANA'S participation in the conference should not be seen as capitulation on the issue of reincorporation, said Bop Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Israel Menong

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday insisted that KwaZulu be represented by additional delegations - one from the KwaZulu government and another "from his Majesty, the King of the Zulus".

THE majority of participants agreed that Justice Ismail Mahomed and Justice Petrus Schabert - present co-chairmen of the "talks about talks" - should preside over the Codesa, which would be held at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park - Sapa

PAC walks



Dikgang Moseneke addresses the media

out in protest

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE PAC yesterday temporarily withdrew from the constitutional talks with the government and 20 other organisations in protest against alleged collusion between the government and the ANC.

The PAC is one of four major participants with the ANC, the government and the IFP. Its withdrawal from the constitutional meeting is seen as a blow against the constitutional "talks about talks".

Hopes are still high, despite setback

In a hurriedly organised press briefing, the PAC said it would hold a special national congress in Cape Town on December 16 to get a new mandate whether to engage in future talks or not.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke has not precluded the possibility of the organisation taking part in future talks but this is becoming increasingly unlikely.

The PAC was in a sombre mood during the opening day of the talks on Friday when all the organisation's proposals were rejected by the participants.

Despite this setback, it is all systems go for the launch of a new, nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The historic two-day preparatory meeting between the government, ANC, IFP and 18 other organisations with the PAC being a lone dissenting voice cleared most of the obstacles leading to a new constitutional dispensation.

At the end of yesterday's meeting the parties had resolved the contentious issues of chairman and convener of the December 20-21 conference - now officially known as the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). Judges Ismail Mohamed and Piet Schabert were appointed co-chairmen and convenors.

Another contentious issue, the conference meeting place, was resolved on Friday with the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park chosen as the venue.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen hailed yesterday's meeting as a 'watershed event in the history of our country'.

A member of the NP delegation Finance Minister Barend du Plessis said in reaction to the PAC leaving the conference that it was "their choice".

Inkatha delegation leader and chairman of the party, Dr Frank Mdlalose said the IFP "concludes participation in the first phase of this process with a feeling of optimism". He dismissed allegations by the PAC that issues which were dealt with were mainly between the ANC and NP.

The PAC walkout had been a long time coming. Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said:

The ANC and PAC had quarrelled over several issues during the preparatory meeting. "It is clear they were on a collision course."

ANC delegation leader and party secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said "More than ever we are convinced that we are walking the last mile."

Ramaphosa said the "successful" conclusion of the preparatory meeting marked the opening of genuine negotiations.

"None of us can afford the luxury of clinging to party political interests. The South Africa of tomorrow needs all of us to be party to the process," he said.



CHIEFS' CHOICE... Stunning Celani Ndlovu, 17, (centre) was voted 1991 Miss Kaizer Chiefs 1991 in the finals. She was snapped next to her princesses Mabaseka Makoti, 17, (left) and Angela Mokoti, 19.

Refugee burial sparks row

By SOPHIE TEMA

THE alleged secret burial in South Africa of Mozambican refugees shot by the security forces has torn apart the small Eastern Transvaal village of Jerusalem in KaNgwane.



to the "secret" plans to bury the refugees when 10 open graves were discovered in Jerusalem.

Villagers said they had been told at a meeting at the royal kraal that the bodies were of Mozambicans and that they were to be buried in Jerusalem.

The matter came to a

Sishi to testify against Bhamjee

By DESMOND BLOW

FORMER NSL chairman Roger Sishi will turn State witness against Abdul Bhamjee when Bhamjee appears in the Rand Supreme Court.

executive of the NSL.

Others to have been subpoenaed include Nocsas head Sam Ramsay, two Johannesburg attorneys who were members of the NSL executive.

Beauties fly into race row



SACP bids for 50 000 recruits

S/ Times 1/12/91 (11A)

THE South African Communist Party aims to increase its membership to 50 000 over five years, senior party officials said this week.

A resolution to this effect is expected to emerge from the party's first legal conference inside the country since it was banned in 1950.

The SACP, relaunched inside the country in July last year with a membership of 5 000, has recruited more than 20 000 members.

SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula said that building the party would be the main issue for debate by 400 delegates at the congress in Johannesburg next weekend.

Crucial to this question was the kind of party that people wanted to build. The SACP wanted a membership of political workers who would actively promote socialism.

These members would influence the policies of the organisations in which they worked, he said.

The SACP would therefore not try to attract a mass membership of sleeping members, he said.

The conference would also debate

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

the establishment of an independent party platform. Some believed that the SACP had been submerged in the policies and programmes of the ANC, he said.

To achieve an independent platform and to boost membership, the SACP would embark on campaigns devoted to nationalisation, jobs, food and housing.

Much of the three-day conference would be open to the media and afterwards the party would no longer have secret members.

While Robben Islander Ray Mhlaba is the popular choice to replace Mr Joe Slovo as general secretary, officials said this week it was doubtful whether Mr Mhlaba would agree to leave Port Elizabeth and move to Johannesburg.

If he did not, the general secretary would probably come from the ranks of the unions, the officials said. An obvious choice would be National Union of Metalworkers general

secretary Moses Mayekiso or fellow unionist Sidney Mafumadi.

Possible candidates to be his deputy are Mr Blade Nzimande and Mr Sydney Mufamadi.

It was likely that Mr Slovo would be elected as chairman of the party, while Robben Islander Govan Mbeki would be a popular choice as his deputy.

Those likely to compete for the eight positions on the central executive committee are Chris Hanu, Ronnie Kasrils, Jeremy Cronin, Sydney Mufamadi, Harry Gwala, John Gomomo, Cheryl Carolus, Geraldine Fraser, Charles Nqakula, Sphiwe Nyanda, Ray Mhlaba, Blade Nzimande, Sizakele Sigxashe, John Nkandimeng, Billy Nair, Ben Martins and Sam Shilowa.

Other topics for debate at the conference are the crisis in the Soviet Union, a new manifesto and the ratification of a new constitution.

Guests from China, Britain, Austria, France, Israel, Reumon, Cuba, Mozambique, Nicaragua, India, Italy, Senegal and Portugal are expected to attend.

SACP's dubious friends

SI Times 1/29/91

THAT well-known refrain of yesteryear — "When will they ever learn" — must apply to the communist brotherhood in South Africa

According to the chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Comrade Chris Hani, who also doubles as a senior member of the South African Communist Party, the latter organisation is about to engage in a campaign of solidarity with Cuba.

One of the reasons he advanced was that South Africans must be educated about "the achievements of the Cuban revolution". That is true, but certainly not in the sense Mr Hani intended.

South Africans should be made aware, if they do not know full well already, of the brutal oppression of the Castro regime, the grinding poverty, the shattered economy, the maltreated or worse political prisoners and the costly and failed military adventures designed to boost the dictator's image.

Other than that, South Africans have naught to learn of value from Cuba except to be reminded of the phrase "By their friends ye shall know them." — A SUTTON, Pretoria.

No more torture in SA, says Hani

By PETER DENNEHY

"THERE will never be torture of human beings in this country again," uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) chief of staff Mr Chris Hani vowed at an MK 30th anniversary rally in Langa yesterday

Dressed in combat fatigues at the rally in the Langa stadium attended by 2 000 to 3 000 people, Mr Hani said apartheid had created a machinery which "tortured and humiliated our people"

Police search

"We are coming into a new South Africa where not a single South African will be tortured by the security police. We will entrench a clause against torture in a new constitution," he said

There was a strong police and army presence at a road-block close to the stadium, and virtually every man and every vehicle going through it was searched. The Cape Times saw a knife and a big stick being confiscated

At least one gun must have been smuggled in, however, as MK fired a 21-round salute to fallen soldiers during a "minute of silence" in Mr Hani's speech. Police were watching from outside the stadium, but the gunman was concealed behind the truck on which Mr Hani stood

Mr Hani read out a list of 31 names of local people who had died in the armed struggle in Angola, Rhodesia, Lesotho,



SPEAR HANDOVER . . . uMkhonto weSizwe relay runners from Khayelitsha enter Langa stadium to hand over their spears — symbols of the armed struggle — to chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

Picture STEWART COLMAN

Botswana, Transkei and Bophuthatswana

Thirty relay runners carried two symbolic spears from Khayelitsha, through the road-block, and presented these "spears of the nation" to Mr Hani. Two local platoons of unarmed but uniformed MK sol-

diers drilled on the field and were inspected by Mr Hani

● Mr Willie Hofmeyr, assistant secretary of the Western Cape ANC, complained after the rally that the police searches seemed to treat the attenders of ANC rallies differently from the way they treated

those who went to Inkatha rallies

Police spokesman Captain Attie Laubscher responded that the searches had been conducted for the safety of those who attended the rally

"We would do the same for anybody," he said

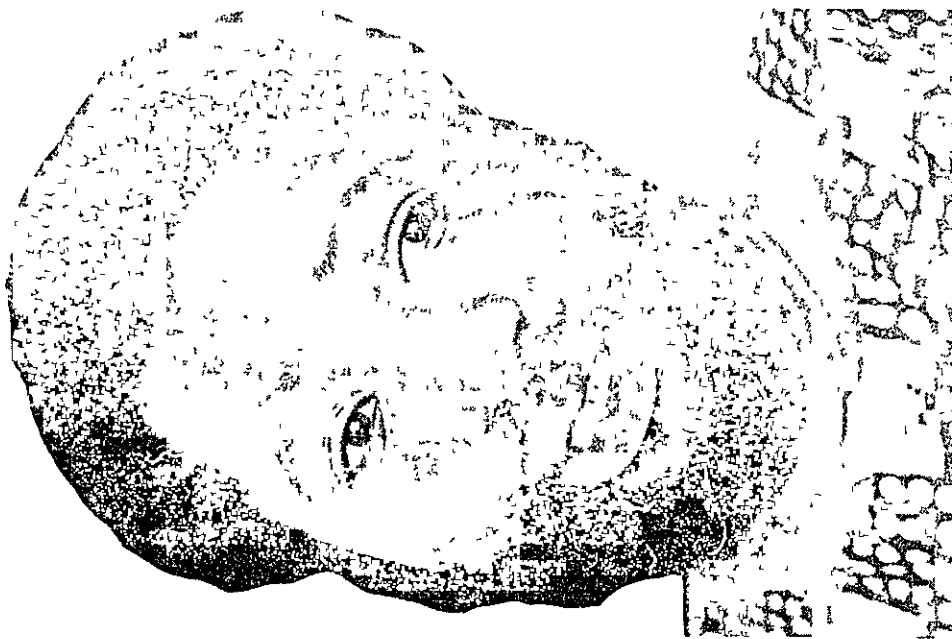
ANC youth gear for first congress

PREPARATIONS are at an advanced stage for the first ANC Youth League (ANCYL) conference in the country after three decades of banning.

Taking place from December 9 to 12 in KwaNdebele, the conference will elect a national executive committee and will look at issues facing the youth today the crisis in education; unemployment; the high crime rate, violence, youth development - and autonomy from the ANC.

11/12/91

(11)



CHARLES NQAKULA ... Starting work as a puncture repairman and petrol attendant the SACP's national organiser came face to face with the reality of being a black man in South Africa.

BIG Charles Nqakula, a former journalist and trade unionist, cuts the figure of an archetypal communist - bearded in the mould of a Karl Marx or Fidel Castro

Indeed, Nqakula belongs to that dwindling species - a professed and practising communist

But, he is quick to point out that contrary to popular belief, communists are not endangered animals

To underline this and their faith in the future, the South African Communist Party is this week launching its first legal conference on South African soil in 40 years

The conference will be held from Thursday to Sunday, "somewhere on the PWV", said Nqakula

This conference could not come at a more inauspicious time for communism. The ideology has all but collapsed in its crucible, the Soviet Union. It has been jettisoned in all the former Soviet-bloc satellite states

Even African states like Angola and Mozambique which had earlier embraced Marxism are in the process of ditching it

For years members of the SACP were based in both Angola and Mozambique. Nqakula in fact received military training in Angola

The fact that communism is being abandoned in these two countries does not leave him fazed in the least.

With singular conviction he says that communism in South Africa, like a thousand flowers, is going to bloom

"Socialism is going to triumph in this country," Nqakula declares

He dismisses notions that the SACP is clinging to a discredited and glorious past

As national organiser of a financially strapped organisation, a lot is expected of him

The real task facing the party at the moment is to increase its membership - and this is Nqakula's main

A dying breed? **Not in the least...**

In a series of profiles on South Africa's up-and-coming policy-makers, City Press assistant editor SEKOLA SELLO speaks to South African Communist Party national organiser Charles Nqakula.

EXP 11/12/91

Golden City Post and Imvo He later joined *Imvo* on a full-time basis, first as a sports reporter and later as political correspondent.

His abilities as a journalist attracted a wider audience and he was recruited by the *Daily Dispatch*

"Modesty aside, I think I transformed it into a serious newspaper," he says

Nqakula became the newspaper's political correspondent in the King William's Town bureau for several years

Being a journalist at the time was no bed of roses, he recalls. At the time the government took a dim view of crusading journalists in general - and black ones in particular

Nqakula was a constant target of harassment by the security police and in 1981 was banned for three-and-a-half years. He was also placed under house arrest.

At the time of his restriction, he was a long-serving underground activist of the ANC.

"I joined the ANC somewhere before 1976, and the SACP in the early 80s"

His banning order was lifted in 1982, only for him to be declared a prohibited person in South Africa and restricted to Zwellitsha township in the Ciskei

It was during this time that he launched a news agency, Ventas

(The Truth)
 "There were lots of political problems and repression in the Ciskei. The Soke brothers (Charles and Lennox) were absolute tyrants. They ruled the homeland with an iron fist. It required the least excuse to detain people.
 "I realised that the truth was suffering and decided to launch Ventas to show the truth."

Nqakula continued his underground ANC/SACP activities while working for Ventas. However, in 1984, one of his underground colleagues was arrested

He fled to Lesotho and proceeded to Tanzania and Zambia before going to Angola where he received military training

In the late 80s he entered the country several times preparing the structures of Operation Vula, which the government exposed last year and claimed was aimed at the violent overthrow of the State

Such is the esteem of this 49-year-old father of three children that he is even being punted as a possible successor to Joe Slovo as SACP general secretary at this week's conference

Nqakula says when the party was unbanned last year, it had a membership under 5 000. This rose to 15 000 by the time he took over as national organiser in August

Today, he says, the figure stands at 25 000 and is growing

A rough ride fo

By SEKOLA SELLO

The Patriotic Front sealed three months ago between joint leaders, the ANC and the PAC, seems to be coming apart at the seams.

Contrary to recent claims by both organisations the PF is now increasingly looking more and more like a paper agreement. Some even say it is not worth the paper it is written on.

Conceived largely at the instigation of the member states of the Organisation of African Unity as the desirable weapon to confront the South Africa's Government the PF has in the past elicited little enthusiasm from either the ANC or PAC.

In 1961 three years after the PAC split from the ANC owing to criticisms that the ANC leadership was dominated by communists and non Africans, the two groups had a short-lived relationship even sharing offices in London.

However problems surfaced again and both organisations went their separate ways. After this both engaged in sniping at each other claiming to be the true representative of the black masses instead of engaging Pretoria.

In recent years the OAU pressed the two to bury their differences. Their military efforts against white rule the ANC was far more active were having little effect on Pretoria.

As a result of lack of success in terms of the armed struggle both movements started edging closer (even if grudgingly) towards each other.

The first serious efforts towards achieving this goal was mooted when Nelson Mandela and Clarence Makwetu, ANC and PAC leaders respectively, met in Kampala, Uganda, last year.

Soon afterwards, the two held further deliberations in Swaziland where the idea of a Patriotic Front was given added impetus. After a series of setbacks, the PF conference took place in Durban in October.

The PF was hailed by both members of the ANC and the PAC as a "formidable force to confront the government" at the negotiating table. Today it looks like anything



(1/17)
C/P news
1/12/91

PAC LEADER ... Clarence Makwetu. PAC-ANC political rivalry stretches back a long way.

ANC LEADER ... Nelson Mandela

but this

Relations between the two took a turn for the worse two weeks ago when a PAC member, Abner Mongwagelwa, was killed with a garden fork and his body set alight in Munsieville, near Krugersdorp, on the West Rand, allegedly by ANC members.

At the funeral service of Mongwagelwa, the PAC issued a strong warning against their al-

lies in the Front, saying that in future the organisation will not allow its members to be killed.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke went on to say the ANC had to take visible, punitive measures against the killers of Mongwagelwa.

Taking action against the killers of Mongwagelwa, many observers argue will be difficult for the ANC to implement, given their lack of abso-

lute control on their membership and particularly the radical youth.

That the PF is going through a difficult period is also underlined by the failure of the two organisations to bring an end to the hostilities taking place in Kagiso near Munsieville, where young members of the PAC have been driven out of the township by the ANC youth.

Attempts to allow the

PAC youth to return to the township have failed. This is in spite of persistent mediating efforts by the senior leadership of the two organisations.

This week's allegations by the PAC that the ANC held secret talks with the government on sharing power has put a further strain on the PF. Both the government and the ANC deny that such talks took place.

The PAC is adamant

that their sources are impeccable. The fact that they released the contents of these secret talks without first consulting the ANC shows the extent of polarisation.

The fact that both the ANC and PAC attended the preparatory talks with the government on Friday and will also attend the December 20-21 talks as separate groups and not as the PF indicates the Front's diminishing role

The PAC is also plagued with factions and coming under immense pressure from its youth to withdraw from both talks and the PF. Laurence Ngandela, the general secretary of its youth wing Paso, criticised the PAC for entering talks with the Government threatened to withdraw its membership, which is estimated to be 195 000.

Paso president L. Mbandazayo later rep-

ride for unity

(1/17)
C/Press
1/12/91



rivalry stretches back a long way.

ANC LEADER . . . Nelson Mandela. OAU pressure prompted the Front's formation, but will it last?

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Paso president Lungelo
Mbandazayo later repu-

diated Nqandela and
claimed he had no man-
date to make such claims
He went on to endorse the
organisation's participa-
tion in the talks with the
Government

This week another fac-
tion calling itself the Joint
East and West Rand Fa-
cilitating Committee also
criticised the organisation
for talking to the Govern-
ment A similar opinion
was reportedly expressed
by Azanyu publicity sec-

retary Mayaya Molefi
Azanyu is a very impor-
tant component of the
PAC

Another group of mem-
bers calling themselves
the Revolutionary
Watchdogs have been
sniping at the leadership
for several months this
year Earlier on they were
regarded as mavericks
lacking any support
However, recent events
indicate that divisions
within the PAC could be

running deeper

Although the strength
of the various factions op-
posing the PAC leader-
ship is not known their
criticism is a source of
embarrassment to the
leadership and shows ser-
ious divisions within the
movement

A divided PAC would
be a further blow to the
PF now derisively re-
ferred to as the Pathetic
Front

Walkout 'storm in a teacup'

Sowetan 2/12/91

SA Press
Association

THE African National Congress yesterday criticised the Pan Africanist Congress for walking out of preparatory talks for negotiations and said the PAC had held secret high-level talks with the Government.

He also said the ANC would do "all in its power" to help President F W de Klerk

Addressing a media conference at his home in Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela described the PAC's walkout on Saturday as "a classic storm in a teacup"

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the conference that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had disclosed the secret meetings between the Government and the PAC, which has consistently rejected any dealings with the Government

"It came as a surprise for us to learn from Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday at

the preparatory meeting, a charge that the PAC did not deny, that there have been repeated secret meetings at the highest level between themselves and the PAC," Ramaphosa said.

Mandela said the PAC action would not have any serious impact on negotiations which get under way on December 20

Attitude

"The forward move towards a democratic South Africa does not depend on the attitude of the PAC nor can they do anything to slow down that process," he said

Mandela attempted to minimise the damage the accusations could have on the alliance which ended decades of political rivalry between the two organisations

"We don't think the Patriotic Front is going to be weakened. The Patriotic Front does not consist of the PAC and ANC alone

"The PAC alleges collusion between the Government and the ANC in order to create the perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country," Mandela said

He added. "A wide gulf exists between their (PAC) rhetoric and their actions. We experienced similar posturing and manoeuvres in the preparations and holding of the Patriotic Front"

On another point Mandela said the rightwing posed a threat to De Klerk and pledged that the ANC would do all in its power to consolidate his position.

"He is the only person we can negotiate with. We are keen to do anything in our power to strengthen his position," he said - Sapa

Patriotic Front in tatters after talks

TALKS SPECIAL

BY the end of Saturday the Patriotic Front, launched with much fanfare a month ago, lay in tatters.

When the PAC on Saturday walked out of the preparatory meeting for a Convention for a Democratic South Africa, scheduled for December 20 and 21, the movement's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke was careful not to go as far as actually saying that the PF was dead.

However, when asked by the *Sowetan* whether the PF did at anytime during the two-day meeting function as a front, Moseneke emphatically said, "No."

Yet the very presence of the PAC ~~at~~ the talks was inspired by the creation of the PF on October 26.

When the PAC was first invited to enter into negotiations with the Government soon after it was unbanned on February 2 1990, the

Sowetan 2/12/91
BY ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Africanists responded that they could not meet with the ruling National Party alone.

They maintained that a "united front of the oppressed" must confront the Government.

Hence the launch of the PF earlier this year.

At the launch in Durban, PAC president Mr Clarence Makweu said that the primary aim of the PF was "to unite the oppressed and democratic forces behind the just demand for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly".

There was a lot of excitement at the launch at the time, and expectations rose of a speedy settlement leading to a PF coalition government headed by the PAC and ANC.

And then last week the PAC received what it said were transcripts

of an address made by ANC director for international affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, to African ambassadors to the United Nations.

In this speech, Mbeki was reported to have broken all confidences established by the PF.

He allegedly told the UN meeting that the ANC had entered into fact agreements with the Government on a host of issues of which the PAC had no knowledge.

Pact

The PAC cried foul. What then, it asked, had become of the pact that had been established by the PF?

The ANC denied making such a speech, but that did nothing to lift the spirits of the PAC as it entered this weekend's talks.

The PAC deputy president said at the end of the talks that by lunch time on the first day, it had emerged that the PF was dead.

The Government and the ANC were initiating all decisions at the meeting and the homelands and Tri-cameral parties were "rubber stamping" them, the PAC said.

"Throughout the proceedings, parties, except for the PAC, did no more than endorse positions which were the result of prior consultation and agreement principally between the ANC and the regime," Moseneke said.

"Without exception proposals made by the PAC were opposed by the ANC or the regime and would not be supported by the homeland or tri-cameral leaders. It became increasingly clear that this pattern would persist throughout the rest of the meeting," Moseneke said.

Leader of the Democratic Party Mr Zac de Beer also noted that the front was defunct.

"I cannot recall the Patriotic Front functioning as a front at all," De Beer said.

PAC leader Dikgang Moseneke.

Codesa could get legal teeth



ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa (left) and South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo arrive at the venue where 22 political groups gathered for two days of talks to prepare for constitutional negotiations expected to begin this month

New style

of rule

Background reports on pages 10, 11 and 24

LIA (3000)

Sovetan 2/12/91

SOUTH Africa could have a new style of rule within months - when decisions taken at multi-party talks on December 20 and 21 are expected to be given legal clout.

The talks, which will be called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, will be held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg

And when Codesa does get legal power, the very nature and function of the South African Parliament as it has existed since 1910 will be changed

This will irrevocably launch South Africa into a transitional phase and a possible measure of effective joint rule through Codesa.

In the words of Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gernt Viljoen, the weekend's preparatory meeting for Codesa signalled a "clear break with the past"

"It augurs well for the implementation of a new South Africa with equal rights and equal opportunities for all its people and for everybody living within its confines."

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Viljoen said

In a statement after the meeting, the African National Congress' general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the political parties had "jointly taken" the future of South Africa into their own hands

"We shall continue to ensure that the government of the day takes practical steps to make it possible for a climate of free political activity to prevail," Ramaphosa said

The Pan Africanist Congress is to hold a consultative congress in Cape Town on December 16 to seek a fresh mandate from its followers after it stormed out of the Codesa meeting on Saturday

It accused the Government and the ANC of trying to ramrod their decisions with the "rubber stamp" support of the political parties of the tricameral parliament and the homeland leaders

The PAC also contended that the ANC had

To page 2

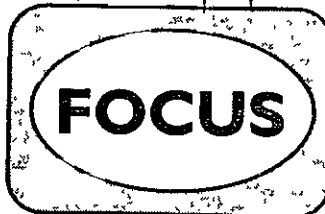
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CARLIE-PARKERS

Long, uphill road that led to Codesa

Sowetan 2/12/91



ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent
**TALKS
SPECIAL**

IT was never going to be easy to formally bring South Africa's political parties together in the same room - and nobody had any delusions to the contrary.

There was a point during the days and weeks before this past weekend's preparatory meeting for multiparty talks - which will now officially be known as the Conference for a Democratic South Africa - when the ANC wanted to call off the whole concept of a multiparty conference as the launching pad for constitutional negotiations

It was on Wednesday, November 20, after an intense six-hour debate with the Government that the ANC decided that perhaps the idea of a multiparty or all party conference was not going to work, and that perhaps its following had to come up with a better configuration to launch actual negotiations.

However, after having decided that negotiations were the only workable option for a democratic South Africa, to bury apartheid once and for all, there was no way the ANC could call them off

The leadership did a double-take they sat down again and resumed deliberations

The ANC's leadership first raised the issue of an "all party congress" on January 8, which incidentally sounded similar to the idea of a "multiparty conference" which the Government was playing around with at the time

In terms of ANC thinking at the time, such a conference would include all political parties and was aimed at reaching agreement on constitutional principles, interim arrangements and on the constitution-making body

The ANC then entered into "ex-

ploratory constitutional talks" as stipulated in terms of the Pretoria Minute

At the first, and only, such a meeting, at "the exploratory level", the possibility of an APC/MPC was discussed. The ANC's "open letter" to the Government on April 25 then cut these discussions short because of the violence in the country

However, the revelation of South African Police collusion and the Inkatha funding scandal, brought a new sense of urgency in the country

The ANC felt that the longer the process chugged along on half power, the greater the danger was of the country being plunged into total chaos

A member of the ANC's negotiations' commission, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said the movement realised then that "in terms of our analysis, the violence in the country could not end as long as the minority regime was in power"

"The existence of a white minority regime and peace was just not compatible because that was the basis of their existence"

It was then, at a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee on July 31, that the ANC

decided to start making preparations for an APC/MPC, and simultaneously elevated the demand for an interim government of national unity "as the immediate and primary demand," he explained.

Wide-ranging discussions with the various political organisations, trade unions, religious bodies and within the movement itself commenced with a newfound sense of urgency, and in search of a mandate for an APC/MPC

By the beginning of October, the ANC's negotiations' commission resumed its discussions with the Government - for the first time since its open letter - ostensibly to discuss the possibility of an APC/MPC

At the time the negotiations' commission was made up of Moosa, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Ms Barbara Masekela and headed by the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

This commission was strengthened at last week's NEC meeting by the inclusion of Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Joe Modise

A number of bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC took place on how an APC/MPC should take place, what the possible functions, agenda, venue, participants and principles of such a conference should be

Among other issues, too, was the question of the involvement in other organisations in the actual planning of an APC/MPC

Intense haggling took place during most of the meetings over the shape and size, who should be the convener and where an APC/MPC should take place

There was another development running concurrently with the planning of an APC/MPC - the

Patriotic Front.

The Front was launched on the weekend of October 26 and its birth strengthened the resolve of the extra-parliamentary force. Inclusion of at least the major signatories of the front in the preparatory meeting for multilateral talks was inevitable

However, as greater consensus on the APC/MPC grew, the suggestion arose that the preparatory meeting should be arranged by the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government.

This was when things fell apart. The IFP felt it was comfortable with the ANC and the Government only as partners in the preparatory meeting

The ANC dug its heels in and wanted a large preparatory meeting, which included as many political parties as possible - and more especially its Patriotic Front allies

Lengthy and sometimes acrimonious haggling took place. And it was during this period that the wheels almost came off

But consensus grew in tandem with the proposals of the size of the envisioned preparatory meeting

Two postponements later, and that near death of the APC/MPC (before it was even born) the number of delegates to the preparatory meeting had swelled from the three to seven, and then lurched to 24. The ANC was beaming

Then came this weekend's actual preparatory meeting

In summing up the meeting, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said "Through the conclusion of this meeting, we have jointly taken the future of our country into our hands - our people will not forgive us if we do not seize this moment and move speedily towards a democratic future"

See Page 24

TALKS SPECIAL



SMILES all round SACP leader Joe Slovo (left) shakes hands with Defence Minister Roelf Meyer at the start of talks on Friday Sydney Mufamadi of the ANC's national executive committee looks on Photograph AP

Able women at meeting but none in charge

Sowetan 2/12/91

Political Correspondent

THERE were remarkably few women in decision-making positions at the weekend's preparatory talks for a multiparty conference

There were none among the delegates, and merely a handful in the "support group" category

The women in attendance were nonetheless the media's umbilical cord with the conference

The ANC's Ms Gill Marcus, assertive and helpful as always and dressed in a green kaftan type dress with black trim, waded in and out of the disheveled press corps giving and taking instructions without a frown, a bead of sweat or a sigh

It's hard to remember what politi-

cians did with hungry hordes of hacks before Marcus came to town

The PAC's Ms Patricia de Lille worked diligently and unfailingly

She had her hands full with a top-level leadership delegation in a room at the Holiday Inn where the meeting was held - and another delegation in the conference

Ms Sheila Cameron, the National Party's answer to impatient journalists, was suave and swift she got everyone what they wanted and had enough energy to smile from ear to ear

non-stop

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Ms Suzanne Voss was all over the place but nowhere in particular, but one can assume that she filled her brief She looked comfortable with her bag of press releases

Another functionary was Ms Val Sutton from the South African Communications Service

Sutton whom every journalist knew as the voice on the other side of the telephone, became a face, and a valuable aide

There were women, too, in less prominent positions but at the risk of being repetitive, there were none among the delegates

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SOWETAN Monday December 2 1991 Page 3

Nujoma not our source says PAC

Sowetan 2/12/91
THE Pan Africanist Congress has strongly denied reports that Namibian President Mr Sam Nujoma was responsible for leaking the minutes of Mr Thabo Mbeki's diplomatic briefing to the Frontline states.

These revelations discussed with him " Alexander was reacting to a report in a Sunday newspaper which claimed that the source of the leak was Nujoma whose diplomatic representatives apparently passed the document on to him.

The alleged briefing resulted in accusations that the ANC and the Government were co-operating secretly.

"We regret any inconvenience this type of irresponsible reporting would cause Nujoma, as he is a trusted friend of both the PAC and the ANC.

In a statement yesterday general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said he "emphatically denied" that Nujoma was the source

"I reiterate that the source of our information is based in New York," Alexander said. - Sapa.

"I want to make it clear that at no stage

Preparatory talks were important more for style than content, Peter Fabricius reports.

Lion Lies down with the lamb

It was in a sense the first Parliament of the new South Africa. Sixty delegates representing 20 parties and governments from across almost the whole political spectrum sat down together to discuss the country's future, in the broadest convention of its kind in South Africa's history.

Presiding over them were two judges, functioning very much like the Speaker of Parliament.

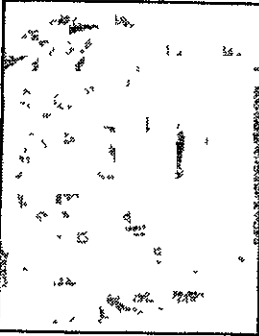
"It had very much the atmosphere of Parliament," one delegate and MP said.

"There were some sharp disagreements but afterwards everyone was friendly again."

There was a small but telling moment when ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa got up to oppose an Inkatha Freedom Party proposal that it and the KwaZulu government should be allowed to send separate delegations to this month's Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Before doing so Mr Ramaphosa asked the conference to join him in wishing IFP delegation head Frank Mdlalose a happy birthday. This was a long way from the killing fields of Natal or even the hostile rhetoric of ANC and IFP party-political platforms.

Democratic Party leader Dr



Cyril Ramaphosa opposed motion that IFP and KwaZulu send separate delegations

Zach de Beer said beforehand that the most important aspect of the meeting would be the style of negotiations it set.

If political parties were ready to seek compromise in the national interest, it would succeed. If they came, instead, looking to grandstand and score party-political points, it would be disastrous for the future.

In the event, the former approach prevailed with all but the Pan Africanist Congress.

One encouraging feature was the performance of the IFP, which, like the PAC, was expected to be at odds on some issues.

But it never broke ranks. It scored one minor victory — the decision not to involve clerics in the chairmanship of Codesa — and

took a bit of a knock in the defeat of its proposal that the KwaZulu government should be allowed a separate delegation.

However, the PAC made it clear from the start that total consensus would not be possible.

It objected to the very first decision of substance, the choice of judges Ismail Mahomed and Petrus Schabot as chairmen, and then to almost every other decision.

But on every point of difference the PAC stood alone, out-voted 19 to 1.

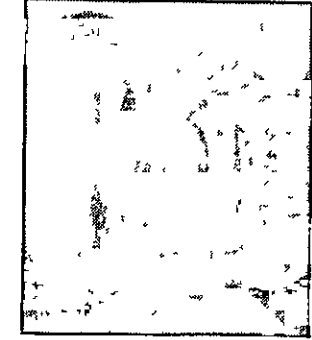
The PAC hung in until just before the end and then walked out in protest against what it called prior collusion between the Government and the ANC on the main issues.

The conference survived this trauma rather effortlessly. In fact, Dr de Beer said the PAC departure caused "hardly a hiccup" in the room.

No one followed the PAC out and all the other main players condemned it, more or less explicitly.

The principle of "sufficient consensus" had been successfully demonstrated and a new style of negotiations had been born.

The success of the conference undoubtedly enhanced the status of this sort of multi-party, consen-



Zach de Beer unexpected emergence as an honest broker in negotiations.

was never defined formally, but it was clear that it essentially meant consensus between the ANC and the Government.

As long as those two parties agree, sufficient consensus is likely to be an adequate decision-making mechanism, as most of the other parties are either allied to one or the other or find themselves between the two.

But should the Big Two disagree, as they are more likely to when more substantial issues are decided, then the method will be more sorely tested.

Codesa itself will provide such a test when it decides whether or not to establish a constituent assembly.

The preparatory meeting de-

monstrated another political theory, the centripetal effect of negotiations.

As negotiations gather momentum, they tend to pull centrist parties closer together and increase the tension in peripheral parties.

The PAC's walk-out proved that its decision at last month's Patriotic Front conference had aggravated tensions among moderates and hardliners.

Similarly, Conservative Party moderate Koois van der Merwe's "inadvertent" appearance at the meeting, underscored and aggravated the tensions in his party between negotiators and hardliners. Conversely, the conference benefited a perfectly centrist party such as the Democratic Party.

One of the unexpected features was the emergence of Dr Zach de Beer as an honest broker in negotiations.

The delegates spontaneously elected him to open the conference in the absence of a chairman they chose him to take the chair during the difficult two-hour debate on who should chair Codesa and he was elected again to chair the steering committee which will finalise plans for Codesa.

The DPs' convergence theory seemed to be working.

If De Klerk disappears, we are back to square one - Mandela

ANC backs FW against Right

Star 2/12/91 (117)

By Guy Jepson

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday pledged to do everything in his power to ensure that President de Klerk's power base was not eroded by the resurgent Conservative Party

Addressing a press conference at his Soweto home on the eve of his departure for a series of top-level meetings in the United States, the ANC leader also said a serious attempt would be made to woo the CP to the negotiating table

At the conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa charged that there had been "repeated secret meetings" between the PAC and the Government - a charge the PAC has recently made against the ANC

"At press conferences and public meetings the PAC has continued to deny that such secret meetings have taken place. However, at a private level, some of their leading officials admit that such meetings have been held," Mr Ramaphosa claimed

Discussing the question of the political threat posed by the white right wing to the thrust for a negotiated settlement, Mr Mandela said that there was "no doubt" that the CP was a danger to the NP Government

Although the ANC had "reservations" about Mr de Klerk and had previously perceived that his Govern-

ment was playing "a double game", the State President remained "the only person with whom we can negotiate" a new constitution, said Mr Mandela

"If De Klerk disappears, we are back to square one," Mr Mandela said, adding that the ANC would do "everything in its power" to assist the State President in the face of the CP threat

The ANC leader said the launch of real multiparty negotiations on December 20 under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic

that this is pure showmanship and that they will return to participate in Codesa on December 20," Mr Ramaphosa said

Mr Mandela was scheduled to fly to the United States last night where he is due to address the United Nations General Assembly, and meet President Bush and US Secretary of State James Baker and members of Congress

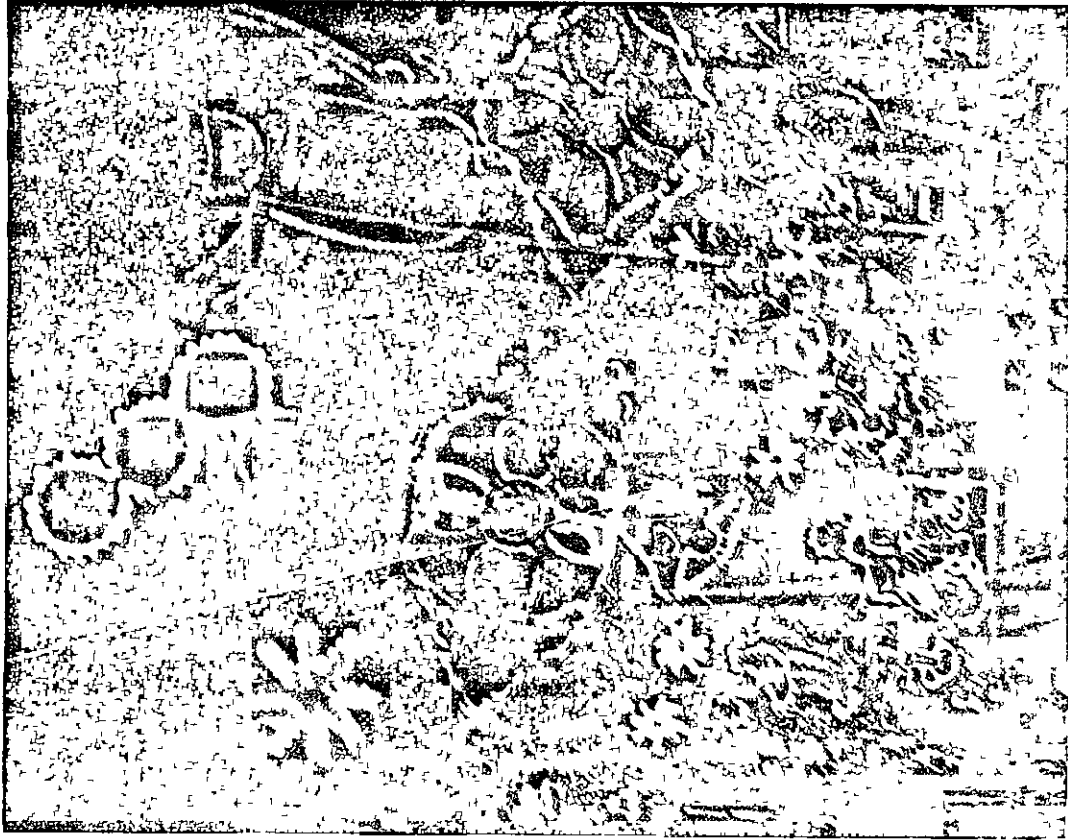
He will also be seeking financial support for the reintegration of political exiles. Meetings with top American business leaders and show-business personalities are also on Mr Mandela's itinerary

Sapa reports that the PAC has strongly denied claims that Namibian President Sam Nujoma was responsible for leaking the minutes of Thabo Mbeki's diplomatic briefing of Frontline state diplomats

The New York briefing resulted in accusations that the ANC and the Government were co-operating secretly. In a statement yesterday, PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said he "emphatically denied" that Mr Nujoma was the source

He was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star, claiming that the source of the leak was Mr Nujoma whose diplomatic representatives apparently passed the document on to him

"I reiterate that the source of our information is based in New York," Mr Alexander said



Woman may be UK's

'spymistress'

LONDON - Britain, traditionally secretive on the subject of spies, is staying silent about reports that a woman could be named to run its foreign intelligence service

The Sunday Express newspaper said that two women, both of them high-ranking diplomats, were among shortlisted candidates for the job of director of the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), the foreign intelligence arm known popularly as MI6

"The appointment of Britain's first 'spymistress' to succeed Sir Colin McColl the present head of the Secret Service who retires on his 60th birthday in September, would end 82 years of ex-public schoolboy dominance," the paper said

It named the two as Margaret Ramsay (55), just retired from the diplomatic service and Rosemary Jane Spencer (50), an assistant under-secretary at the Foreign Office

The Foreign Office refused to discuss the article "We never comment on intelligence matters," an FO spokesman said

Britain is among Europe's most secretive states on its intelligence affairs. Until recently, anyone who published the names of the heads of MI6 and domestic intelligence or MI5,

See Pages 3 and 10

South Africa (Codesa) was of "crucial importance" to South Africa

He described the controversy over the walkout of PAC delegates at Saturday's preparatory meeting as "a classic storm in a teacup"

"I am not prepared to spend a sleepless night over it. The forward movement to a democratic South Africa does not depend on the PAC. Nor can they do anything to slow down the process"

Earlier, Mr Ramaphosa read out a statement condemning the behaviour of the PAC before and during the preparatory conference as "dishonest, destructive and manipulative"

"It is clear that the PAC came to the preparatory conference with a decision to walk out. We have no doubt

Declaration of intent the key

Codesa set to be informal interim govt

B/Day 2/12/91

1117
BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

THE Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) was set to become an informal interim government that could be transformed into a formal executive body, government sources said at the weekend.

Codesa will meet on December 20 and 21 to consider a declaration of intent that will commit SA's political parties to a constitution-making process and give them an effective say in national policies pursued during the interim period leading to a new government.

A government source, impressed at the level of consensus displayed by most political parties and homeland governments, said major legislation or restructuring would have to be negotiated at Codesa.

However, the NP was intent on having the present government retain its ultimate sovereignty until a referendum was called if major changes to the constitution were to be made.

"In effect the interim government started at this meeting. Taken together with the peace accord, the powers that Codesa would command render it a kind of umbrella body over the whole process of transition SA is going through," he said.

The ANC made it clear before the start of the weekend meeting that it was not prepared to become involved in a negotiating forum that could be overruled by Parliament or Cabinet. The compromises reached at the preparatory meeting reinforced the power of the multiparty forum.

"Once Codesa is off the ground and working properly its decisions would force

government to implement them. Any recommendations coming from the working groups and accepted by Codesa would become policy," ANC national executive committee member Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The government source said Codesa would probably need to be transformed into another form during negotiations to satisfy the ANC demand for greater power over policy matters, while government insists that any transitional authority must accept greater responsibility for implementing decisions taken.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting demonstrated a common understanding by all organisations of the need to rise above party political interests and be guided by the national interest.

"The only assurance that we shall achieve democracy is this commitment to the national interest that has inspired us over the last two days. This should be the primary guide to the way we conduct ourselves," he said at the meeting's close.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the meeting represented "a clear and irreversible break with the past".

"We have now reached a phase where real talks will begin. This meeting is a watershed in our history. It augurs well for the actual implementation of the new SA, with equal rights for all within its confines," Viljoen said, adding that he was

□ To Page 2

Codesa 5/10/91
2/12/91
struck by the repeated efforts to find agreement "in areas where it seemed impossible".

Inkatha delegation leader Frank Mdlalose said SA was clearly on the path to a new, democratic dispensation.

"We are very pleased that the preparatory committee will now show the world that South Africans can put right that which is wrong. The IFP concludes its participation in the first phase of this process with a feeling of optimism," he said.

One representative of each of the participants at the weekend's meeting will sit down on Wednesday in a steering committee to finalise Codesa's logistics and funding arrangements.

In the meantime talks between government and the political parties will continue in an effort to reach consensus on the specifics of transitional arrangements. Government wants to increase pressure on the ANC to be more supportive of a trilateral decision-making process involving

1117
□ From Page 1

Inkatha
It is understood that each group will submit its nomination for the committee by tomorrow.

Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed and Mr Justice Petrus Schabert were elected chairmen of the steering committee which would meet throughout the negotiating process, but because neither of them were available for Wednesday's meeting DP leader Zach de Beer had been elected as chairman.

Chief Justice Corbett will officially open Codesa, with Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert chairing all sessions of the talks.

Despite the dramatic withdrawal from the proceedings of the PAC shortly before the preparatory meeting ended, participants kept their door open to its inclusion in the steering committee.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

Preparatory ^(11A) meeting sparks off controversy

STAR 3/12/91.

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The weekend's historic two-day preparatory meeting for multiparty talks has left in its wake raging controversy in various quarters.

As the dust settled after the conference

● ANC president Nelson Mandela criticised the PAC for walking out of the conference, saying "forward movement to a democratic South Africa does not depend on the PAC"

● Cosatu yesterday demanded that Codesa pave the way for constituent assembly elections within 18 months. Cosatu also said that if it could not attend Codesa in its own capacity, it would not attend at all.

● Government sources were quoted as saying the idea of Codesa becoming a form of interim government was one of many ideas being considered, but the ANC strongly rejected this possibility.

● The PAC leadership, which observers believe staged a walkout to save face in the wake of dissent within its ranks, was criticised by its Transvaal regions for having attended the November

29-30 conference.

● The Azanian People's Organisation, which did not attend the conference, accused the ANC of entering into secret deals with the Government and attacked all participants in the conference.

● The Conservative Party yesterday reprimanded Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe after his appearance at the conference.

CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht said the party's executive had had discussions with Mr van der Merwe yesterday following "occurrences" at the hotel.

"The executive reprimanded Mr van der Merwe over certain errors of judgment he made," Dr Treurnicht said. "Mr van der Merwe assured the executive that it was not his intention to harm the party, and apologised for embarrassment to the party. He reaffirmed that he fully endorsed the CP's standpoint on the all-party conference and negotiations."

Mr van der Merwe told reporters at the talks that he was there to introduce an Angolan delegation to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and not to attend the conference.

Coetsee tells conference PAC made secret deals over its delegates

PAC leaders had recently arranged deals with government at secret meetings not disclosed to the PAC's patriotic front, colleagues or its supporters.

This was disclosed at the weekend preparatory meeting. The PAC delegation walkout 10 minutes from the end of the conference came after two days of PAC opposition to proposals from the ANC, Inkatha and government. The PAC last week accused the ANC and government of negotiating secret deals.

Government delegate Justice Minister Kobia Coetsee expressed surprise at the PAC demand that, because of the number of its senior members in exile, the Conyen-

tion for a Democratic SA (Codesa) be held outside the country. Agreements had been reached in this regard in secret talks with its leadership, Coetsee said.

Among a range of issues discussed in the past few weeks was the granting of indemnity to exiled members of the PAC. He said he had assured the PAC, and it had accepted his assurance, that the Justice Department would facilitate the return of its exiles in time for Codesa.

At a briefing following the PAC's walkout, deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said there "was no accuracy in Coetsee's statement with regard to the PAC".

However, PAC delegate Barney Desai

BILLY PADDOCK

admitted that leaders had held talks with government, but in their capacities as lawyers and not PAC leaders.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen predicted the PAC would return to the negotiating table after consulting its members at a special consultative congress on December 16.

Diplomats and delegates said the PAC action was aimed at the more militant section within the PAC.

ANC delegates said they believed the PAC would also be back once it had consolidated its constituency. The ANC and

PAC said the walkout would not threaten the patriotic front agreements.

Moseneke refused to be drawn on what the PAC leadership's proposal to its consultative congress would be but said the PAC believed that where critical national issues were being decided it should be involved.

Delegates at the conference said they had expected the PAC walkout, and it appeared that they were attending with the full intention of making political capital out of the event.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the walkout had come when the conference was tying

up loose ends right at the end

It is understood the PAC had tried to have the venue discussion moved to the end of the conference agenda so it could walk out during this debate and appear to be taking a stand on a point of principle.

It is also understood that the PAC had been putting pressure on the ANC to join its delegation in bilateral talks with government prior to the preparatory conference to disguise the fact that it was talking to government. But the PAC was told by ANC negotiators it should set up independent meetings with government, the source said.

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa . . . PAC
walkout "showmanship"

PAC and Pretoria had 'secret meetings'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has disclosed that the PAC held secret high-level talks with the government, which could embarrass the militant movement.

The ANC castigated the PAC for storming out of Saturday's preparatory negotiations talks.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela called the walkout "a classic storm in a teacup".

"I am not prepared to spend sleepless nights over it," said Mr. Mandela, addressing a news conference at his Soweto home hours before he was scheduled to leave the country for a visit to the United States.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had revealed that secret meetings took place between the government and the PAC, which has consistently rejected any dealings with Pretoria.

"It came as a surprise for us to learn from Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday at the preparatory meeting, a charge that the PAC did not deny, that there have been repeated secret meetings at the highest level between themselves and the PAC," he said.

"At a private level, some of their (the PAC's) leading officials admit that such meetings have been held," he added.

Mr Ramaphosa, charging that the PAC had entered the talks with a mind to walk out, branded the move "pure showmanship".

Mr Mandela dismissed the PAC action and said it would not have any serious impact on negotiations, which get off the ground on December 20.

The PAC delegation stormed out of Saturday's meeting after accusing the ANC, its partner in the Patriotic Front, of colluding with the government.

Mr Mandela sought to minimise the damage the accusations could have on their alliance that buried decades of political rivalry.

The Argus Political Staff reports that PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said claims of secret meetings between the government and the PAC were "utter nonsense".

He said a full statement would be issued at a Press conference today — Sapa

Inkatha, PAC reject black Christmas call

SHOPPING sprees and parties will be a no-no for supporters of the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) and Azapo this Christmas. But Inkatha and PAC members in the PWV can let their hair down.

The ANC will decide only this afternoon whether to support the call by its ally Cast for a black Christmas.

Cast president Moses Mayekiso told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that township violence made Christmas a time of mourning. Cast was not issuing a directive but merely calling on

WILSON ZWANE
and TIM COHEN

residents to refrain from excessive spending and throwing big parties in an attempt to press government and big business to take "decisive steps" to end violence.

The PAC's Transvaal regions, however, said yesterday they would not participate in Cast's black Christmas, calling it "pathetic" and "counter-productive".

PAC Transvaal convener Ntsundeni Madzunya said in a statement there was inadequate consultation and consensus

Inkatha spokesman Suzanne Vos said the call was a destructive strategy not conducive to the peace process, but Azapo spokesman Strim Moodley said his organisation had also made such a call.

Cast vice-president Kgabiso Mosunkuthu stressed that buying basic foodstuffs and medicine from white-owned shops would not be affected, while Mayekiso urged the public not to heighten "tension and confusion" by buying firecrackers.

Mosunkuthu said the call was the first in a series of campaigns to force government to address "grievances".

B/Daw 3/12/91

114

Azapo hits at ANC, PAC

11A

Sowetan

3/12/91.

AZAPO yesterday accused the ANC of misleading the public and attacked all groups which participated in the weekend preparatory conference about negotiations.

Azapo also attacked the Pan Africanist Congress - which walked out of the talks on Saturday - for meeting "the bantustan and tricameral puppets"

In October Azapo was ejected from meetings convened by the ANC, PAC and other organisations to try to form a Patriotic Front prior to last weekend's talks

Azapo did not attend last Friday and Saturday's meetings Yesterday Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said a true PF was not formed in October

Homeland leaders and organisations participating in the racially-segregated tricameral parliament, who had attended the PF meeting, had shown in the past months that they were "still glued to their

master - the De Klerk regime"

Nefolovhodwe then referred to allegations by the PAC last week that the ANC and Government had secretly made agreements prior to the all-party talks

Misleading

He repeated the allegations and accused the ANC of misleading the public by pretending "that these matters were not agreed upon prior to the Jan Smuts meetings"

"Azapo and those who are fighting for the total liberation of black people should brace themselves for another fight," he said

The Government's strategy was to divide the liberation movements and it was "quite thrilled" at separating the ANC from organisations such as the PAC, BCMA and National Union of Mineworkers

Win-win was the name of the game

Sowetan 3/12/91. (LHA)

ALL 20 political parties, organisations and governments taking part in the preparatory talks at the weekend walked away feeling they had won much more than they had lost.

This was what experts in negotiations would call a win-win situation, and it certainly set the scene for all South Africans - barring the right white - to be hopeful that the political leaders will indeed be able to find a negotiated political settlement

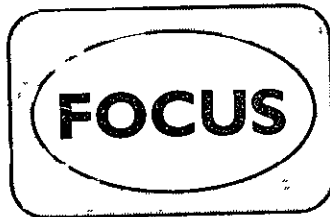
From the ANC point of view, they feel they won because, as secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said in words that filled media headlines around the world "More than ever we are convinced that we are walking the last mile"

Ramaphosa went on to say "The possibilities of achieving a democratic South Africa through negotiations have now become real. The successful conclusion of the preparatory meeting marks the opening of genuine negotiations"

This raises the question whether the ANC now thinks the reform process is irreversible, and if so would the ANC allow more sanctions to drop away?

Given the words of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, the Government and National Party seem happy "After a long series of obstacles on the way in the long process of talks about talks, we have now come to where the real talks have commenced"

On a broader perspective, the NP is contributing to change in South Africa in a way few of their opponents thought possible before February 2 last year, so the future of their party and their own political



Sowetan Correspondent

careers is a lot brighter now than it was two Christmases ago

The whole of South Africa, apart from the rightwing, won when Viljoen said the talks "represented a definite, clear and irreversible break with the past"

The Inkatha Freedom Party won. In the words of national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose "The deliberations to date have been better than we had anticipated and this augurs well for the future"

Mdlalose said the IFP walked away with a feeling of optimism

This feeling will undoubtedly be shared by most South Africans

The smaller parties walked away pleased that they had finally broken into the negotiation circle which has now opened to democratic participation, and were finally seeing some action

Parties from the Tricameral Parliament and those based in the national states left, grateful that they were being recognised as legitimate by the ANC and PAC, and worthy of making some contribution to the process of change. The ANC and the PAC have not received enough credit yet for dropping their hardline opening position of having nothing to do with the national state-governing parties and those based in Parliament

While the TBVC states will definitely disappear in the new South

Africa, their delegations left the talks with at least the comfort of knowing that they would be able to play a part in their own disbandment, and would not be summarily overthrown - a prospect that once seemed inevitable

Also, in their own way, the PAC left feeling they had won, well, at least won a moral battle

While other parties have accused the PAC of playing to the gallery, the PAC are actually engaging in a very democratic exercise. Their leaders said look, we got beat at every turn in the opening talks on who the convener should be, where the talks should take place, and the need for an immediate constituent assembly. Before we go further we are suspending our participation pending a fresh mandate from a special conference of our members on December 16

The PAC feel they won morally also because they alone specifically called for trade union federations to join the talks

While others said the PAC alone tried to score political points, and that they would not be missed, a place has been left open for them on the steering committee

Dr Zach de Beer, the Democratic Party leader and now chairman of the steering committee, said the preparatory talks continued without a hiccup when the PAC walked out just before lunch on Saturday. The smart money, however, says the PAC will be back. In an ambiguous answer, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, vice-president of the PAC, replied when asked what direction leadership would give their special meeting "We are aware there are critical national issues and by and large we will remain engaged"

What emerges then is a perception that delegates displayed a very mature attitude to the preparatory talks. As the talks were behind closed doors, this verdict of the atmosphere was based on what delegates said as they came out of the room to be pounced on by the media waiting in the foyer

Their message was that there was a measure of responsibility, with people wanting to make sure they did not wreck the party just for the sake of making politics

Delegates spoke of a willingness to be accommodating, and accepted each other's commitment to find answers and move forward. As Ramaphosa said "All organisations recognised the need to rise above party political interests and be guided by the national interest"

Selecting De Beer as chairman of the steering committee, as proposed by Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Defence, demonstrated the maturity De Beer stands for reform. He is the one person who would not make political mileage out of the honour bestowed on him. Although impatient with fools, De Beer would never forgive himself if any person thought he acted improperly as chairman of the steering committee

Asked by journalists if serving as chairman was not an honour, De Beer replied in his usual, unruffled, modest way "It is one of those things that comes with age"

All the positive points earned by delegates at the preparatory talks will be challenged by the tough negotiations that lie ahead, and everybody agrees that they will be tough

There is also widespread agreement that political violence is going to continue despite the best efforts of peacemakers

'Climate at talks was not right'

11A
~~25/1~~

SOWETAN RADIO METRO



THE PAC found neither the Government nor the ANC were listening to them and therefore decided to walk out of the preparatory talks, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said yesterday

Alexander was speaking

Sowetan 3/12/91

during the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show

He said the PAC had gone into the talks with a clear mandate to convince the meeting that any meaningful talks would have to be held outside the country

"We were also uncom-

fortable with the fact that the two presiding judges are employees of Mr Kobie Coetsee

Conditions

"When we made our objections both the ANC and the Government criticised

us We obviously could not continue under those conditions," Alexander said

The general secretary of Azapo, Mr Don Nkadmeng, said Azapo rated the talks no better than the Patriotic Front conference talks

involved in murders and other attacks are false, he said.

PAC denies (11A) 'secret deals'

Southern 3/12/91

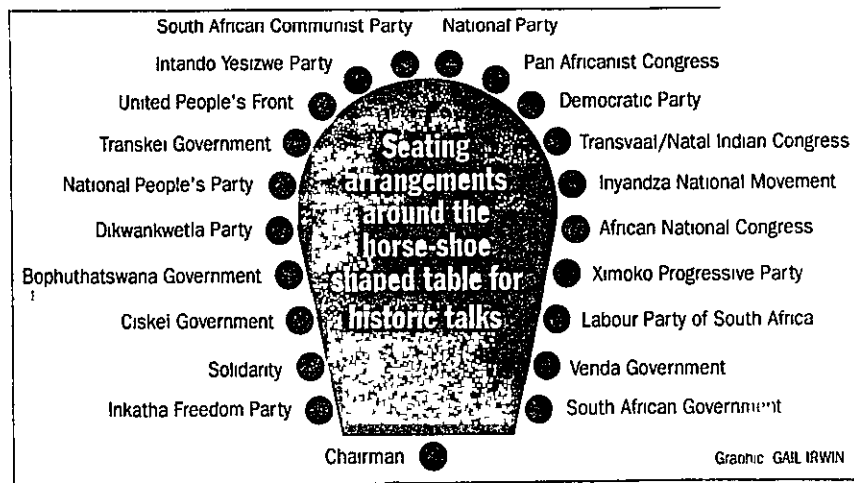
By THEMBA MOLEFE, Political Staff

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander yesterday said the organisation had no secret deals with the Government, except for above-board legal meetings to secure passports and visas for its exiled members.

Such meetings had been held between PAC lawyers and the Government, Alexander said.

If the regime insists that we had secret constitutional talks, then it must produce minutes and make them public. This is a weak attempt by the ANC and Government to save face after being caught out by the PAC. The PAC's attitude both inside and outside of formal discussions has always called for openness with everything open to the media."

Meanwhile, president of the Azapo Mr Pandelani Nefolohodwe said Azapo was not surprised by the PAC's walkout at the weekend and should have long realised the collusion between the ANC and the Government.



Hopes are high for 'refuseniks'

THE National Party delegation at last Friday's preparatory meeting for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was seated between the SACP delegation and that of the PAC

The Government delegation sat at one end of the horseshoe-shaped table and the Inkatha Freedom Party's delegation sat at the other

This was the nature of the status of the representation at Friday's talks

Although the Government delegation and that of the NP might at first appear to be a duplication, the obvious conclusion of which would be that the Government had an unfair advantage, the Government was there as a type of observer, or in a non-vote carrying position only - not that any voting was expected

There were four blank spaces on the official guest list under the names Azapo, Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging but there were great expectations that this too will pass

Last week's meeting resolved to extend to the four 'refuseniks' a second invitation to multiparty talks and Codesa

There were nevertheless 60 delegates from 20 political parties and organisations from South Africa (including the homelands and self-governing states) at Friday's meeting

- In alphabetical order, they were:
- ANC - Mr C Ramaphosa, Mr MV Moosa, Mr J Zuma
 - Boputhatswana - Mr SG Mothibe, Mr R Cronje, Mr BE Keikelame
 - Democratic Party - Dr ZJ de Beer, Mr D Dalling, Mr KM Andrew
 - Dikwankwetla Party (QwaQwa) - Rev TI Mohapi, Mr JSS Phatang, Mr RT Ramaisa

Soweto 3/12/91

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

IPF
Inkatha Freedom Party - Dr FT Mdlalose, Inkosi SH Gumedede, Mr WS Felgate

IPF
Intando Yesizwe Party - Mr MS Mahlangu, Mr NJ Mahlangu, Mr SV Mahlangu

Inyandza National Movement (KaNgwane) - Dr E Gumindza, Dr P Maduna, Prof SS Ripinga

Labour Party of South Africa - Mr M Richards, Mr P Hendrickse, Mr CJ April

National Party - Dr DJ de Villiers, Mr BJ du Plessis, Mr RP Meyer

National People's Party - Mr A Rajbansi, Mr K Panday, Mr S Naidoo

PAC - Mr B Desai, Mr M Mbandazayo, Mr W Senti

Solidarity - Dr JN Reddy, Mr B Dookie, Mr I Omar

SACP - Mr J Slovo, Mr S Mafumadi, Mr M Mayekiso

SA Government - Dr G van N Viljoen, Mr HJ Coetsee, Mr SS van der Merwe (not to be confused with Stoffel van der Merwe)

Joint delegation of Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses - Mr C Saloojee, Dr F Meer, Mr PJ Gordhan

Transkei - Maj-General HB Holomisa, Chief P Ndamase, Mr Z Titus

United People's Front (Lebowa) - Mr MJ Mahlangu, Mr MI Moroamoche, Mr Ramusi

Venda - Mr TG Ramabulawa, Mr S Makhanya, Mr VS Landela

Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu) - Prof HWE Ntsanwisi, Chief SDW Nxumalo, Mr EPP Mhinga

ANC slates Cape NP official's 'party' offer

CAPE TOWN — The ANC yesterday said it could not stomach suggestions by a "brown Nat" at the weekend that the NP would like to boost attendance at its meetings by offers of food and drink.

The Cape branch of the ANC said it was astounded by the admission of prominent "new Nat" and western Cape MP Abe Williams, that if funds had been available he would rather have organised a party to attract the public following a poor turnout at an NP meeting.

Fewer than 40 people attended the first NP public meeting in a coloured area at Austerville outside Durban, on Saturday night.

Former Labour Party secretary and now Deputy Minister of National Education, Williams told reporters "If we had the funds, we'd throw a party — that would attract the people."

The ANC said in a statement issued by assistant regional secretary Willie Hofmeyer that the ANC had always believed the purpose of holding political meetings was to explain viewpoints to the public.

"It surely demonstrates a remarkable lack of faith in the National Party's policy when its leaders confess that they have to hold parties (with an implicit promise of free food and drink) to attract the public to their meetings."

"It appears that the NP, and the 'New Nats' in particular, still hanker after their old ways of organising when more effort was made to 'buy' voters through free parties and other forms of entertainment," he said.

Hofmeyer said the ANC hoped that future free elections would not be conducted in this way, but that voters would have the opportunity to make an informed choice.

(S.P. Gov) Political Staff 11/10/91

TrustBank cancels cheque guarantee

(S.P. Gov) 3/12/91

TRUSTBANK has withdrawn with immediate effect its automatic R200 guarantee on its ordinary cheques because of rising costs associated with fraud.

Letters to clients said "Automatic cheque guarantees on ordinary cheques offer too many opportunities for fraud and misuse by criminals when cheques are lost or stolen."

However, the bank said clients would still be able to get guarantees on an individual basis. A "more standardised" cheque guarantee system was being introduced which TrustBank said would provide greater protection.

The decision, the bank said, was "in the interest of ensuring greater security and curbing the costs relating to fraud, and forms part of our programme of creating a safer banking environment."

Sources in the banking industry expressed little surprise at the move, suggesting TrustBank should never have offered such guarantees in the first place because of the risks of fraud. They pointed out TrustBank's ordinary clients were not in the same league as those of say, Nedbank, which also guarantees ordinary cheques.

Nedbank said in a statement that it would not withdraw its automatic R100 guarantee on its ordinary cheques.

"Nedbank has had very few instances of fraud, as we find our clients act responsibly with their cheque books."

The R100 guarantee could even be increased,

ROBERT GENTLE

the statement said "In this case, guarantees fall in line with the standardised clause and guarantee system of all banks" Cheques on other Nedbank products, like the N5000, were automatically guaranteed up to R1 000.

Two other Big Five banks said they had no intention of withdrawing their cheque guarantees, which in any case applied only to the higher category — and therefore less risky — accounts.

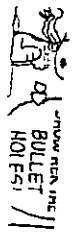
Standard Bank divisional GM personal banking John Holloway said the bank would continue to offer guarantees on accounts like AchieverPlan, PrestigePlan, ProElite and MedElite. These guarantees were linked to the cheque holder's credit card. The fraud risk associated with these guarantees was "acceptable", he said.

First National Bank senior GM Jimmy McKenzie said FNB had guarantees only on high category accounts like Status and Prestige, and these would continue.

The tough economic climate and high interest rate environment has increased the incidence of even traditionally creditworthy clients failing to honour their debts.

This has resulted in high bad debt provisions throughout the industry. Yesterday Amalgamated Banks of SA (Absa) reported bad debt provisions of R220m for the six months ending September, representing 19.5% of its net interest income of R1,127bn.

Rembrandt co-founder Easton...



Parties battle after talks

11A

RECRIMINATIONS flew between the ANC, PAC and Azapo yesterday, with each accusing the other of bad faith after the weekend's preparatory Codesa meeting

The patriotic front, intended to unite extraparliamentary groups, came under particular strain after the ANC's attack on its convening partner, the PAC

Azapo, ejected from the front's convening committee just before its formation in October, joined the fray yesterday, attacking the ANC for misleading the public and slamming the PAC for meeting "bantustan and tricameral puppets".

Also yesterday the Frontline states rejected claims by the PAC that they had minutes of a meeting at which the PAC said ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki had disclosed details of an ANC agreement with government on a future constitution.

TIM COHEN and VERA VON LIERES

Meanwhile, the PAC's Transvaal regions called for a "purification" of the "absolutely compromised" front, after a weekend meeting in Pretoria.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC repeated its chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa's accusation that the PAC's behaviour was "dishonest, destructive and manipulative". It said the PAC had endorsed the positions the ANC was putting to government. It had said it would table its position regarding international conveners, to satisfy its constituency, but would be willing to accept the consensus proposal of independent conveners.

Also, the PAC would merely state its position on the need for an external venue,

□ To Page 2

BID 3/12/91

Parties

BID 3/12/91

but had undertaken to support the proposal for a neutral venue inside the country the ANC statement said

Azapo president Pandelani Mefolohodwe said yesterday a true front had not been formed in October and repeated PAC allegations that the ANC had secretly made agreements with government.

The Transvaal PAC regions said the PAC's presence at the weekend meeting was "grossly unjustifiable" in terms of congress resolutions — but they also declared confidence in the PAC's leadership

PAC regional chairman Tham Plaaitjie praised the PAC's exit from the talks on Saturday and said contact between government and the PAC must be strictly limited to talks on a constituent assembly

11A

□ From Page 1

Meanwhile Cosatu announced yesterday it would not participate directly in the negotiating process but would throw its weight behind the ANC/SACP teams. It would set up a six-member political committee to liaise with the ANC and SACP.

General secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu wanted to see democratic, one man, one vote elections within 18 months. "We believe an interim government should be established without delay. It should have a limited lifespan and focus on ensuring free and fair elections to a constituent assembly of a united SA."

He said Codesa was not charged with formulating a new constitution — the process belonged to "elected representatives of the people"

ANC slates Govt's**Masterbond move**

11A ~~11A~~
STAR
Evis Mare van der Merwe
Political Reporter 3/12/91

The ANC yesterday labelled as "little strange" the Government's willingness to assist Masterbond investors by using taxpayers' money to rescue victims of the failed investment scheme.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the Government should rather spend all available funds on critical national needs such as housing and education.

Political parties across the spectrum have criticised the Government's intention to jump to the assistance of investors in the Masterbond group.

Their criticism followed an invitation by the director-general of the Department of Health Services and Welfare, Dr Jannie Pieterse, who said earlier that special arrangements had been made for Masterbond investors who were strapped for cash to apply for grants.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said the Government should be pressured into launching an in-depth investigation into legislation and regulations "to ensure that people feel more secure when investing in properly registered deposit-taking institutions."

SACP sees itself as 'best force for socialism' (114)

Political Staff STAR 3/12/91

The South African Communist Party, which holds its eighth national congress this week, regards itself as "the best organised force for socialism in the country".

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula said the congress, which runs from Thursday to Sunday, would be attended by guests from a number of socialist countries

He said the SACP was in favour of a mixed economy, but would nationalise all major industries

"People in this country have been oppressed in the most atrocious of ways. We want workers to be in charge of production and distribution in particular in major industries."

Mr Nqakula said the SACP wanted to "revive the international communist platform" and would pledge solidarity

with Cuba, the party's long-time ally

It was not known where the congress would be held because the original venue had had to be changed "for security reasons"

Reflecting the party's new openness, Mr Nqakula released the agenda and a list of countries from which guests would be coming.

He also disclosed that the party, which had started with about 5 000 members when it came

into the open after its unbanning last year, had registered 20 000

Most were also ANC members and some were members of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation

Mr Nqakula said at least 400 delegates were expected to attend the congress

Speakers would include ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo

PAC leaders

STAR 3/12/91

slated for

being at talks

Political Staff

(11A)

The Transvaal leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday criticised the PAC national leadership's decision to attend the multiparty preparatory talks at the weekend, but affirmed its confidence in the leaders.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, three PAC regional chairmen said the organisation's regional structures held a meeting at Hammanskraal at the weekend to discuss the national leadership's decision to attend the November 29-30 preparatory meeting.

The three — Ntsundem Madzunya (West Rand regional chairman), Lucas Mahlangu (northern Transvaal regional chairman) and Thami Plaatjie (Vaal regional chairman) — said the Hammanskraal meeting had resolved that "the presence of the PAC at the weekend talks was grossly unjustified".

They said delegates at last year's congress had mandated the PAC leadership to enter into negotiations with the Government only to discuss the modalities of creating a constituent assembly. The Government had not agreed to a constituent assembly, which did not even feature at the weekend talks.

In a statement, the three men said that what made matters worse was that the PAC's proposals at the conference that talks be held outside the country and be chaired by a representative of one of three international bodies were rejected.

However, the men said they stood "behind the PAC leadership in these trying times".

The PAC in the Transvaal had declared that the recently formed Patriotic Front had been "grossly compromised", they added.

Cosatu calls for full say at Codesa

By Mike Siluma

South Africa's biggest labour federation, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, has increased the temperature of the negotiations process by demanding the holding of constituent assembly elections within 18 months

In a hard-hitting statement yesterday, Cosatu also announced it would only take part in the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) — which holds its first meeting in two weeks' time — if it was allowed to attend in its own right, not as part of a delegation of either the ANC or the SA Communist Party

Announcing the decision at a press conference, Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo said "We believe that the process of political transition should involve as many major players as possible, and that includes Cosatu

"We want to see democratic, one-person, one-vote elections within 18 months, if not sooner. We believe that 18 months is enough for Codesa to complete its task of preparing for the installation of an interim government which will focus on ensuring free and fair elections to a constituent assembly."

Mr Naidoo said the decision was taken by Cosatu's central executive committee (CEC) — its highest policy-making body, after congress — after considering recent developments, including meetings between the Government and the ANC, as

well as deliberations within the Cosatu/ANC/SACP alliance

"The CEC resolved that if Cosatu could not take part (in Codesa) in its own right, (it) would not do so at all. Cosatu would throw its weight behind the ANC-SACP negotiating teams," Mr Naidoo said.

Flowing from this, Cosatu had set up a six-person committee "to liaise and strategise with the ANC and SACP in the negotiating process"

The Cosatu decision, which effectively overturns one taken last month by the federation's national executive committee, favouring the integration of Cosatu into ANC and SACP delegations to the talks, betrays fears about the Government's intentions and a desire by the organisation to reassert itself on the political stage

It is understood from union sources that Cosatu's decision to insist on attending the talks separately followed the Government's and other conservative parties' resistance to the participation of unions

Cosatu is understood to have been offered seats on the delegations of the ANC and the SACP, but the feeling among the 80-person CEC was that participation in this way would hinder the Cosatu delegates from independently articulating the federation's views

Other CEC decisions included urging the Government and employers to agree to the establishment of a macro-economic negotiating forum.

STAR 3/12/91

(11A)

(25A)

Youth league to carve out role

Sowetan 4/12/91

(11A)

THE ANC youth League will hold its 17th congress since the formation of the original league in 1944 from December 9 to 14 in KwaNdebele.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the historic congress, whose theme is "Youth in the vanguard of mass united struggle for peace, freedom and democracy", will be opened by the honorary life president of the Youth League, also ANC national chairman, Mr Oliver Tambo

The keynote address will be delivered by deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu

The programme will centre around the building of a broad youth front which will champion the cause of nonracialism and democracy

He said the ANC noted with regret the "unfounded accusations levelled against Rapu Molekane and Peter Mokaba who are both Youth League leaders and presidential candidates for the coming congress"

The allegations were aimed at disrupting the congress and sowing seeds of division among the youth, Ramaphosa said

He said they were confident the congress would be successful despite the allegations

The Youth League said deliberations of the congress

By GRACE RAPHOLO

will be aimed at carving out the role that should be played by the Youth League in accomplishing the immediate strategic objective of the ANC which was the transfer of power into the hands of the democratic majority

Central to that was the speedy progression of the current talks about talks phase into genuine negotiations

"The ANC Youth League has an obligation to ensure that the pending transition and negotiation processes give birth to a genuinely nonracial, united, democratic and non-sexist South Africa," the league said in a statement

The statement further said the draft constitution and code of conduct, policy document, autonomy of the league, international relations, affirmative action with specific reference to women's emancipation and the building of the league would be discussed at the congress

The hallmark of the congress is expected to be the adoption of a programme of action that will be expected to marshal the overwhelming majority of the youth into active struggle on all fronts

The congress will also address issues such as the education crisis, escalating crime, health, unemployment and the provision of social amenities relevant to young people

SACP opts for Nasrec venue

THE South African Communist Party's first legal congress inside the country since it was banned in 1950 will be held at Nasrec, just outside Johannesburg

For security reasons the SACP was forced to change the venue, the party announced on Monday (11/1)

The four-day congress, starting tomorrow, would be held under the strictest security, SACP central committee member Mr Essop Pahad said yesterday (11/2/91)

The original venue had been the Safari Hotel in Berea, Johannesburg, he said

Security reasons and a sudden surge in the number of delegates, international guests and media representatives had forced the change, Pahad said - Sapa

Azayo ^{11A} rejects ^{Sowetan} Codesa

THE Azanian Youth Organisation has rejected the 'newly' formed Convention for a Democratic South Africa. 4/12/91

Azayo deputy president Mr George Ngwenya said Codesa was no different from the National Convention, which was mooted by former State President PW Botha in 1979.

The only difference might be that Codesa enjoyed the support of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, he said.

"The formation of Codesa is a direct betrayal of our people's resolve to liberate themselves.

- *Sowetan Reporter*

Mandela hopeful about the new SA

Sowetan 4/12/91



NEW YORK - There was no reason why South Africa's new constitution could not be drawn up within a year, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said last night.

He told the 46th session of the United Nations' general assembly that a constitution-making body or elected constituent assembly should be established speedily after the Convention for a Democratic South Africa had finished its work

"Once established, we see no reason why this assembly should not conclude its work of drawing up the new constitution within a year."

Mandela also called for continued international pressure to encourage speedy movement forward, but said sanctions should be lifted in phases to correspond with the actual progress being achieved in South Africa

"The two major phases ahead of us would be delineated by the establishment of an interim government and secondly, the election of the new government in terms of a democratic constitution

"We would therefore urge this assembly and its member states to handle the issue of sanctions in this manner. We are convinced that this is the best way to use this form of pressure to realise our common ob-

jective of securing a speedy end to the system of apartheid"

He said it was "critically important" that the international community support the peaceful process leading to a democratic South Africa and stressed the ANC expected the UN to participate in the political processes in the country

Decisive

Mandela said it was "of decisive importance" to the work of Codesa that the National Party make a commitment that the decisions of the convention be given legal force

"Unless this is done, the convention will be no more than a mere

talking shop. Obviously, this cannot be allowed"

He described Codesa as an "important step forward" in the process leading to a negotiated political resolution

He said the convention would seek speedy decisions on a number of issues, including principles to underlie the new constitution, mechanism for its drawing-up, an interim government that would take charge of the country until a new democratically elected government was formed, the reincorporation of homelands into South Africa, the time frames for the transitional period as a whole, and the role of the international community

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SACP, ANC will not split now or in future Cronin

11A
B (July 4/12/91)

TIM COHEN

SA COMMUNIST Party (SACP) central committee member Jeremy Cronin yesterday predicted there would not be a split between the party and the ANC, even in the long term

Speaking in an interview on the eve of the SACP's eighth congress, Cronin said he would venture that a split between the SACP and the ANC in the long term was neither inevitable nor necessary

There was no prospect of a split in the short term, he said

Cronin said the SACP's draft manifesto, which will be one of the major focuses of the four-day conference, stated that change in SA would not be complete without socialism

"To deepen and defend national democratic change socialism enters into the picture. At such a time it will be possible and necessary to persuade the overwhelming number of ANC members to move in that direction

"Whether we will merge with the ANC or whether there will be a compact of forces, one does not really know, but as a relatively small party we cannot make the

socialist revolution alone"

The congress, the SACP's first inside SA for 40 years, will give the majority of the SACP's newly acquired 23 000 members their first opportunity of electing leaders

According to nominations received from SACP branches, the frontrunners for the top SACP post of general secretary include Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso, Cosatu assistant general secretary Sidney Mafumadi, SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula and central committee member Chris Hanu

Hanu has already indicated he will not stand for the post, although he would accept nomination to the central committee.

Frontrunner for national chairman is current SACP general secretary and de facto leader Joe Slovo, while central committee member Raymond Mhlaba has been nominated Slovo's deputy chairman

Figures released by the party indicate its strongest support comes from the Border region which will send 94 delegates

● See Page 10

(114)
810225 4/12/91

ANC language policy

THE ANC has decided to set up a standing commission to make proposals on a language policy for a new SA. Earlier proposals for 10 official languages were criticised because of the expense and difficulties of such an arrangement. Yesterday the ANC announced its arts and culture department's three-day conference had decided to establish standing commissions to make proposals on the implementation of a language policy; monuments, museums and national symbols, and how arts and culture should be financed.

New constitution could be ready in a year, Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela told the UN General Assembly he was confident SA could draw up a democratic constitution within a year, signalling that all economic sanctions could be lifted within this period.

He said that after Codesa had done its work it would have to move quickly to establish a constitution-making body, which the ANC believed should be an elected constituent assembly.

"We see no reason why this assembly should not conclude its work of drawing up the new constitution within the year," Mandela told the annual UN debate on SA

He also urged the General Assembly to maintain pressure on SA to compel the ruling NP to give a commitment that the decisions of Codesa would have legal force, failing which it ran the risk of becoming a "mere talking shop".

Mandela said SA was on the final lap of its race to normality and a new society. But the new SA would have to embark on extensive socio-economic transformation to ensure the permanence of the democratic outcome of negotiations.

The political settlement SA sought could not survive for very long if the living stan-

ready in a year, Mandela

BILLY PADDOCK

dards of the people as a whole and the quality of life were not addressed. That was why the growth of the economy and its restructuring to serve the needs of the entire population had to be an integral part of the process of reconstruction.

A democratic, peaceful and stable country could not be attained if SA had to rely entirely on its domestic resources, it would require the support of the international community. Economic sanctions should be maintained until an interim government

was in place, the remaining sanctions should be lifted once a new government had been elected.

But the international community should make preparations to enable it to lift sanctions immediately.

He reiterated his call on the world body to implement measures of censure and sanction on any organisation acting contrary to the purpose of the peace accord to help create a violence-free process.

He also urged the International Atomic Energy Authority to "move with all speed to inspect the nuclear installations in our

country' to ensure compliance with the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

He hailed the convening of Codesa later this month and said "We can see rising on the horizon the new glorious entity which shall no longer be spoken of as the pariah among the nations, the detestable example of what is impermissible in the ordering of human relations."

□ Sapa-AP reports PAC president Clarence Makwethu told the General Assembly on Monday that President F W de Klerk's government had introduced only a veneer of reform.

tells the UN

Breaching the barricades of compulsory consensus

consensus

A POTENTIALLY important if problematic precedent was established during last week's preparatory meeting for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — a new principle of "sufficient consensus".

Several times during the two-day meeting the joint chairmen, Mr Justice Petrus Schabert and Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed, applied this concept in overruling minority party dissent — mostly against the PAC — when it was clear an overwhelming majority of the 20 parties agreed.

In doing so they gave a new interpretation to the notion of consensus politics, ruling that it means more than a simple majority but less than unanimity, without defining precisely where the line should be. What is clear, however, is that this ruling removes the power of a minority-party veto from the concept of consensus decision-making.

Later, in considering the deci-

sion-making mechanisms to be used at Codesa, the preparatory meeting agreed that this principle of "sufficient consensus" should be applied there as well.

The implications are far-reaching, for consensus decision-making and minority-party vetoes lie at the heart of the National Party's constitutional proposals.

As this column noted last week, President de Klerk's concept of "power-sharing", as distinct from "majority rule", is built around an elaborate system of consensus requirements in the senate, a multi-party Cabinet and a troika presidency that would effectively give minority parties, such as the NP, a veto power enabling them to paralyse a black parliamentary majority and entrench the status quo of white advantage.

Now the very core feature of that proposal has been bent.

What makes it doubly significant is that it was the NP that proposed that this flexible concept

precision in this intriguing new concept. On Saturday the Bophuthatswana delegation wanted to know what the position would be if there were a decision on the homeland's future to which everyone else agreed and it was the only dissenter. Would it be overruled on the grounds of "sufficient consensus" and then be bound by the majority decision?

No, said the South African Government. If one party was so vitally affected, it would have to be part of the consensus.

Where does that leave us? The Government and the ANC, the two major players, will be vitally affected by every decision at Codesa. Does that mean they will have a veto, but lesser parties not?

It was also the general feeling — dare one say consensus? — of the preparatory meeting that the issue should be left to the chairman's judgment. They should strive for unanimity, but if this was unattainable they would have

to judge whether they could declare a decision taken on a majority basis without causing a breakdown.

A good, pragmatic approach, but where does it leave us in terms of principle? Again, objections by the big parties are more likely to cause breakdowns than objections by small parties.

In the end the steering committee was asked to lay down guidelines for the chairmen. A difficult task, but not impossible. And the good news is that a breach has been made in the paralysing principle of decisions by unanimity.

Speaking of the steering committee brings me to another point of note about the meeting. This is the special role in which the Democratic Party has been cast, with its leader, Dr Zach de Beer, having been asked to perform several key functions as conference starter and interim chairman at delicate moments in last week's talks, and then elected chairman of the

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Allister Sparks

of consensus decision-making should be applied at Codesa too. As the NP's delegation leader, Dr Dawie de Vilhiers, put it: "At all times the chairmen must seek unanimity, but we must accept the principle that the convention cannot be held up by a small minority."

Well, if the principle of unanimity cannot be strictly applied in the all-important process of making the national constitution, it surely cannot be required either in the constitution that that process produces. If the convention cannot be held up by a small minority, then neither can the political process that it initiates.

Yet there are problems of im-

steering committee to make the arrangements for Codesa.

This is a remarkable recognition of the DP's role as a key facilitator and catalyst in the negotiating process, and a vindication of the party's bridge-building efforts to the ANC, despite attempts by a small band of DP conservatives to discredit them.

A final word about this much-vaunted preparatory meeting. I was appalled that of the 60 delegates from 20 parties who participated, not one was a woman.

Worse still, I have yet to see or hear a word of criticism from any reporter, commentator, analyst or bag-carrier about this omission.

Are we seriously intending to exclude 55 percent of our population from the making of a new national constitution?

Each party will be sending 12 delegates to Codesa in three weeks' time. They'd better get it right then. □

CP man 'not ruling out talks with ANC'

Political Staff ~~STAR~~ 4/12/91

Conservative Party general secretary Andries Beyers yesterday appeared to endorse the view for which CP MP Koos van der Merwe was rebuked by the party on Monday — raising fresh speculation over differences in the CP over negotiations.

In a front-page article today, Beeld newspaper reported that Mr Beyers, the CP candidate in the forthcoming by-election in Potchefstroom, indicated that

the CP could change its policy and negotiate with the ANC if it fully acknowledged the Afrikaners' right to rule themselves

Contacted for comment today on Mr Beyers's statement, CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said he was not prepared to comment on the issue

However, he said it sounded to him "like a mistake" and that CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht had "a lengthy statement" — to be issued today

~~SECRET~~ (11A)



Andries Beyers . . . shift in CP's stance on talks?

Patrick Laurence looks at the issues that confront the SACP at its congress

The challenge of a new era

SFLR 4/11/2/1-11

(11A)

A SPECTRE haunts the South African Communist Party on the eve of its eighth congress tomorrow, the first to be held legally in South Africa for more than 40 years.

It is, of course, the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and, more especially, the Soviet Union, where, in the wake of the failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in August, the Communist Party was dissolved and statues of Lenin hauled down.

The failure of communism in its heartland, and the implications and lessons for South African communists, will be the dominant theme at the SACP congress. It is a question the 400 delegates from nearly 250 branches cannot avoid.

The challenge posed to the SACP by the crisis of world communism has been given an additional significance by a curious paradox: the decline of communism in its former bastions coincides with the continuing appeal of communism in South Africa.

The membership of the SACP now stands at 25 000, the highest it has been since its formation in 1921. Most members are new recruits since the SACP was unbanned on February 2 1990.

Its membership profile is predominantly black and working class, with a high proportion of young people; these traits show, communists believe, that the SACP is riding the demographic wave of the future.

Joe Slovo, outgoing SACP general secretary, has set the tone for the debate about the lessons of the catastrophic developments — for communists — in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

His discussion paper, "Has Socialism Failed?", written in December 1989, argues that communist regimes failed because they renege on their commitment to democracy, his prescription for the SACP is that it should commit itself to democracy, in its own ranks and in the wider society.

The importance of the eighth congress, to be held in Johannesburg, is that it will give party members an opportunity to de-

bate many of the central ideas in Mr Slovo's seminal paper.

Many have been incorporated, after consideration by party leaders, into a new, 24-page draft manifesto to be put before the congress, as the SACP's supreme policy-making body, for adoption, modification or rejection.

One of the central ideas in the manifesto is "democratic socialism", a notion embracing multi-party democracy — or "bourgeois democracy", as party comrades sneeringly used to refer to it — and "participatory democracy".

The commitment to participatory democracy is particularly important: it means the SACP will fight for the continuous participation of ordinary people in the government of South Africa instead of restricting their role to voting in elections every five years.

As Mr Slovo has made clear, his discussion paper was addressed to comrades within the party as well as the wider audience that the SACP hoped to convince that it had learnt the lessons of history. His motive was, as he has noted,

to prepare for "ideological battle (within the SACP) with those who still defended Stalinism or questioned its existence".

Even today Mr Slovo's analysis has not won complete acceptance in the SACP. There are members who contend that the crisis of communism was caused by Mr Gorbachev's "revisionist" doctrines of glasnost and perestroika. The remedy, they infer, is to turn the clock back and re-install orthodoxy, even if it means reinstating Brezhnev's neo-Stalinism.

Harry Gwala, a veteran member of the SACP and chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region, is perhaps the best known member of the SACP's Old Guard. Mr Gwala, a forthright man, is a self-acknowledged Stalinist.

The pertinence of the "revisionist" versus "Stalinist" issue is reflected in the latest issue of the African Communist. It contains articles by Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP central committee, and Mr Gwala. Both are former political prisoners who have fought for communism at risk to life and liberty.

When the draft manifesto is put to the congress, ideological battle will be joined. Observers, however, expect a resounding victory for the Slovo camp.

The battle will be fought for positions as well as ideology. At stake are five senior posts — chairman, deputy chairman, general secretary, deputy general secretary and treasurer — as well as the remaining 20 vacancies on the SACP's central committee.

Interest in the elections has been stirred by Mr Slovo's decision to step down as general secretary: he has done narrow career and, in view of his already heavy responsibilities on the ANC's national executive, has decided not to stand for re-election.

It is an open secret that the SACP leadership, which feels that position should be filled by a black person, wanted Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hanu to take over at the helm.

The party leaders have, however, abandoned their quest to persuade the ANC to release Mr Hanu, who is also a senior member

of the ANC national executive, to take up the SACP post.

With Mr Hanu no longer a candidate, conjecture is rife over who will succeed Mr Slovo.

One name that has been mentioned is Charles Ngakula, an official at the party's head office and a former journalist who served as an Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter. But one or more challenger is likely to emerge from the ranks of the trade unions.

Moses Mayekiso and Sydney Mufamadi, who, with Mr Slovo, represented the SACP at the preparatory talks for Codesa, may surface as candidates.

The SACP has promised to put aside the secrecy of its underground past — forced on it when it was outlawed in 1950 — and to make its congress a time when those with communist convictions will be proud to proclaim them.

Observers will be watching with more than a little interest to see whether any unexpected people emerge from their inconspicuous political existence to declare allegiance to the SACP. □

ANC 'no' to Azapo

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

STAR 4/12/91.
11A

The Azanian People's Organisation's calls for a "Black Christmas" this month suffered a major blow yesterday when the ANC's most influential region, the PWV, decided not to support it.

Azapo said blacks have nothing to celebrate over the Christmas period and should therefore withdraw their buying power from mid-December to mid-January.

The action would also be in protest against VAT and the Government's failure to end violence.

The ANC PWV regional committee's decision last night means that the

major forces in black politics — the ANC, the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — are opposed to a "Black Christmas". This could turn Azapo's "Black Christmas" into a flop.

The PAC's Transvaal regional leaders said this week that they were not in favour of a Christmas consumer boycott because there had been "no adequate consultation". Boycotts were "tantamount to token resistance bound to cause division among the people", they said.

The IFP, on the other hand, is always opposed to boycotts of any kind.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night

that the ANC PWV regional executive committee decided that the community deserved a break from mass action.

"We believe our people should be accorded the opportunity to celebrate Christmas and New Year in a spirit of goodwill, and to use that period to regain their strength and dedication to launch higher forms of mass action next year," he said.

The community had been involved in the recent two-day national campaign against the introduction of VAT and it would therefore be difficult to organise a national consumer boycott in the short space of time before Christmas, Mr Mamoepa said.

SA COMMUNIST Party (SACP) members gather for their eighth congress — the first in SA for more than 40 years — in Johannesburg tomorrow to face an awesome challenge.

Not only does the party face an ideological crisis following the collapse of Eastern European and Soviet communism, but it has to deal with a fundamentally changed domestic situation where the old strategy which aimed at a "seizure of power" is a less realistic option than ever before.

But despite the (for them) near cataclysmic changes in the nature of the playing field, SACP members enter their congress with two trump cards a rapidly expanding membership and a solid and long-established alliance with the ANC. These two factors save the SACP from the irrelevance that has afflicted Western and most Eastern communist parties — but these factors also pose problems the organisation may not yet be fully aware of.

In the face of the new national and international order, the party has decided to debate and adopt a new manifesto at its congress which will chart the way forward. The manifesto contains superficial analysis. But it is also, in some respects, a remarkably moderate document which reflects the past expressions

A challenge for communists

11A

TIM COHEN

SACP members are completely new to the organisation. Many are union shop stewards and some are even PAC members. Many join because they wish to develop their political understanding — an educational service the ANC is too large and too caught up in immediate issues to offer effectively. Explaining and debating the party's policy will be a major function of the congress.

The congress will also mark another important break with the past, the organisation's membership will no longer be withheld, apart from exceptional situations. Up till now membership has been a closely guarded secret (other than the obvious exceptions), to the extent that SACP regions recently asked the head office to circulate to them the names of the current members of the central committee!

Party insiders concede that large numbers of talented party members have neglected their party work in favour of greater involvement with the ANC. There is some sarcastic speculation about the motives of the

people concerned — the prospect of power is clearly alluring. Cronin concedes that the drift away from the party has and will weaken it.

But the one issue that does not appear to be high on the agenda is the SACP's relationship with the ANC. Cronin is quite unabashed about the nature of the relationship — the SACP's role is to influence the ANC, to strengthen its resolve and to protect the interests of the working class.

This role is the *raison d'être* of the SACP at the moment, but it involves problems the SACP appears unwilling to bring into sharp focus. The SACP appears to be walking a tight-rope between wanting to develop its own identity and the necessity of not to clash with the ANC.

SACP members have claimed that, at the moment, there are no differences between its goals and those of the ANC or, alternatively, that it is more a matter of emphasis than a matter of substance. Cronin says the SACP will attempt to play a constructive role within the alliance, which he does not see collapsing either in the short or long term. But whether the new membership will be satisfied with playing second fiddle to the ANC remains to be seen.

SACP, ANC 'never to split'

JOHANNESBURG — SA Communist Party central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin yesterday predicted there would not be a split between the party and the ANC, even in the long-term

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Speaking in an interview on the eve of the SACP's eighth congress, Mr Cronin said he would venture that a split between the SACP and the ANC in the long-term was neither inevitable nor necessary.

There was no prospect of a split in the short-term, he said

Mr Cronin said the SACP's draft

manifesto, which will be one of the major focuses of the four-day conference, stated that change in South Africa would not be complete without socialism

"To deepen and defend national democratic change socialism enters into the picture. At such a time it will be possible and necessary to persuade the overwhelming number of ANC members to move in that direction"

The congress, the SACP's first inside South Africa for 40 years, will give the majority of the SACP's newly-acquired 23 000 members their first opportunity to elect leaders

ANC calls off boycotts on Reef for Christmas

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC in the PWV region will not support calls for a "black Christmas" — a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses over the festive season

This was decided at a meeting of the ANC's regional executive committee late yesterday, spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said

The regional leadership believed the community deserved a break from mass action.

"We believe our people should be accorded the opportunity to celebrate Christmas and New Year in a spirit of goodwill and to use that period to regain their strength and dedication to launch higher forms of mass action in the new year," he said

The community had been involved in the national campaign against Value Added Tax and it would be difficult to organise a national consumer boycott before Christmas, Mr Mamoepa said.

The campaign "was not sufficiently canvassed ... and may cause more confusion and unnecessary conflict," he said.

Azapo is the only political organisation fully committed to a "black Christmas".

The organisation's stance is that the black community has nothing to celebrate. — Sapa.

All smiles as SACP meets

THE South African Communist Party begins its eighth congress today with glowing confidence - in the wake of a staggering 25 000 paid-up membership enrolled in less than two years.

The recent collapse of Eastern-bloc communist dictators notwithstanding, the 400 delegates will grapple with burning issues over the next four days.

These issues have swung the debate on communism from a heavily centralised government and bureaucracy to a "democratic-socialist" concept which embraces a multi-party system in a democracy.

In a new development, all plenary sessions of the congress will be open to the media - and therefore by proxy to the public - to allow the world a view of debates during the event, the party's Mr Jeremy Cronin said on the eve of today's meeting.

Growing self-respect within the SACP is also inspired by its burgeoning membership and the establishment of 249 branches in eight regions nationwide.

The SACP will also wrestle with the question of whether it should be a vanguard party - as it existed during its period underground - or a mass-based party in line with the Leninist thinking of opening the party to "hundreds and

thousands" of workers, in order to change its character in the light of material changes in the world.

There is only a slim chance of the SACP dropping the word "communist" from its name or literature. The debate within the party is not in that direction, Cronin explains, but it does surface and is never dismissed.

A concept that does enjoy much debate within the party is that of "democratic socialism". Outgoing general secretary of the SACP Mr Joe Slovo has often criticised the separation of democracy from socialism.

This argument was submitted as the reason for the collapse of communist leaders in central and eastern Europe - hence the growing predilection for multi-partyism within the SACP.

Much of this debate on multi-partyism has been entered into a draft constitution, and which will probably be the cause of crucial debates over the next four days.

Entries made into the draft constitution were also greatly inspired by a 1989 discussion paper by Slovo entitled Has Socialism Failed?

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Sowetan 5/12/91

If this week's congress accepts the multi-party approach and "democratic socialism" - and indications are that it will - the SACP will, on its own, have rewritten the rules of communism as it has traditionally been known.

This will mean the SACP will, through participatory democracy - also a subject which will be debated at the congress - advocate continuous participation in the parliamentary system.

Slovo is expected to brief the congress on developments in national politics, especially progress made during negotiations and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, which has been scheduled for December 20 and 21.

While he will stand down as general secretary, Slovo will make himself available for the post of chairman of the party. Mr Charles Nqakula, Mr Sydney Mufamadi and Mr Moses Mayekiso have been nominated for the position of general secretary.

The congress will also elect a new central committee, and a second chairmanship has been suggested. Mr Raymond Mhlaba is the main nominee for one of the proposed chairmanships.

Elections will be held by secret ballot and an independent election-monitoring group will oversee the procedure.

JOE SLOVO

Task groups for talks set up

ANC moves to woo CP into Codesa

Biday 5/12/91

11A

THE Codesa steering committee has set up its first task groups to get constitutional negotiations moving

And while it met at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel yesterday, the ANC reached across the divide to the CP, offering it a face-saving way to join the process

Tilting the scale in favour of the pro-negotiation faction within the CP, ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Saki Macozoma said his organisation would welcome the CP and place its key demand of self-determination in a white homeland on the Codesa agenda

At the Codesa preparatory meeting at the weekend 19 parties resolved to endeavour to woo the CP and other right-wing groups to the negotiating table

Macozoma was responding to CP chief secretary Andries Beyers' statement that his party was not entirely inflexible on its opposition to joining negotiations if the ANC acknowledged the right of Afrikaners to rule themselves

"There is no reason why their demand, that whites have a right to a homeland where they rule themselves, cannot be put on the Codesa agenda," Macozoma said

He said while the ANC was opposed to fragmentation and was involved in trying to reintegrate the homelands into a unified SA, the organisation would listen to the CP and evaluate its proposals carefully

He questioned the practicality of establishing a whites-only homeland and said its acceptability would depend on a number of factors, including where it could be situated, who would have to be removed, the implications of the removals and the rela-

BILLY PADDOCK

tionship it would have to a unified SA

Macozoma said no party could go into negotiations demanding that certain of its policies be accepted — this would be unreasonable and defeat the essence of negotiations. But the CP was entitled to raise its self-determination demand

On Sunday ANC president Nelson Mandela also made a conciliatory gesture towards the CP. He said the ANC "understood the CP people's fears of being a minority and feeling dominated" But this should not happen in a democracy

President F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen have also assured the CP that they would fight for its right to negotiate as an equal partner and put forward its views at Codesa

Beyers is the CP hardline candidate for the Potchefstroom by-election. His statement yesterday, which he qualified by saying he did not differ with CP policy, indicated the CP stand on joining negotiations was not inflexible

Yesterday's steering committee meeting decided to form three task groups to organise and plan Codesa, to draft documents and statements for Codesa and to deal with the process behind the plenary meeting, chairman Zach de Beer said last night

He said the committee had made steady progress and the consensus was that government would foot the bill. The budget for hosting more than 240 delegates to the

□ To Page 2

Codesa

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December 20 and 21 talks, including travel and venue costs, for support staff and a permanent secretariat was expected to be substantial, he said

He said a five-member secretariat, made up of De Beer, P M H Maduna, N J Mahlangu, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, was appointed to oversee the provision of administrative services for the task groups, the steering committee and the first plenary meeting of Codesa

It would also arrange invitations to the first plenary meeting and the venues for next week's meetings of the task groups on Monday and the steering committee on Tuesday

The organisation and planning group would arrange finance and the venue for Codesa talks. The process group would be responsible for setting up working groups, for finalising Codesa's agenda and for encouraging full participation

● Comment. Page 8

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Invitations to five international bodies

Codesa cuts first teeth

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

STAR 5/12/91

The multiparty organisers of negotiations have begun to assert their independence from the Government by establishing their own infrastructure and issuing invitations to five international bodies to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

As President de Klerk led his Cabinet and other senior executives into a countryside retreat yesterday to discuss negotiations strategy, the negotiations process began to take on a life of its own.

Codesa's first steering committee meeting yesterday decided it, and not the Government, would invite "guest observers" from the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, the Commonwealth, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement.

It is understood that Foreign Minister Pik Botha telephoned ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday night suggesting that the Department of Foreign Affairs should issue the invitations.

It is understood too that the Government is still sensitive about the possibility of a person such as PLO leader Yasser Arafat attending Codesa.

To prevent this, it persuaded the weekend preparatory committee that only officials of international organisations and representatives of internationally recognised states should be invited.

Confirmed

The steering committee also decided to employ a private company to handle administration for Codesa rather than the Government, which has so far done most negotiations administration.

The chairman of the steering committee, Dr Zach de Beer, confirmed that invitations to the five international organisations would be sent today. They will be signed by Codesa's co-chairmen Mr Justice Schabert and Mr Justice Mohammed.

Invitations will also be sent to organisations which refused to attend the preparatory meeting at the weekend — the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Azapo.

The PAC will also be invited again after its delegates stormed out of the preparatory meeting.

The steering committee remains determined to make the process as inclusive as possible. The groups which did not attend the preparatory meeting clearly qualified to attend and will have the option to join the process," said Dr de Beer.

He said no specific moves were decided on at yesterday's meeting to include these groups and parties.

The meeting yesterday established a multiparty secretariat to oversee the arrangements for the first meeting of Codesa on December 20 and 21. Three task groups were formed to reach consensus on issues such as finance, security, protocol, a declaration of intent and an agenda for Codesa.

The secretariat consists of Dr de Beer, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, Mr Ramaphosa, Dr P M H Maduna of KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement and N J Mahlangu of the Intando Yesizwe Party in KwaNdebele.

The task groups are to be chaired by Dr Maduna, Walter Felgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party and M J Mahlangu of Lebowa's United People's Front.

The task groups will meet on Monday and the steering committee, to be chaired by Dr de Beer, on Tuesday.

The two-day Government retreat will discuss broad Government strategy for the year ahead.

Serote spells out views of ANC on arts and culture

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The ANC's department of arts and culture (DAC) would like a non-sectarian arts council to be established within the next six months, well-known writer and DAC head Mongane Wally Serote said yesterday.

He told a press conference at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg that DAC had opened informal discussions

with the four provincial arts councils but would soon formalise these discussions.

The ANC, he said, would like a new and non-sectarian arts council to be formed in the country within the next six months — around the same time an interim government would have been installed.

Mr Serote said the department last week held a four-day in-house conference in Broedersdroom, attended by delegates from all over the country,

which discussed the various art forms and established four standing commissions.

The four commissions were on symbols, museums and monuments; language; Government funding of the arts "purely on merit"; and on negotiations in the arts.

Also discussed at the Broedersdroom conference was "a foreign policy for culture". Mr Serote said the ANC would encourage exchanges with the international community while

insisting that such exchanges should help "bring down the invisible walls of apartheid".

The DAC chief and his team told the press briefing they were opposed to the unilateral restructuring currently going on at the SABC. They said the Government had no right to privatise "a national asset" and that an interim government would have to radically restructure the corporation.

The DAC team said it would call for the establishment of an

interim broadcasting consultative committee representative of a broad spectrum of the community and negotiated in the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Mr Serote said that while the ANC approached the question of national symbols, museums and monuments with great sensitivity, it nevertheless believed these had to be more representative of the entire South African population.

SACP defends decision to bar Soviet academic

STAR 5/12/91

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

On the eve of its first national congress on South African soil in 41 years, the South African Communist Party yesterday defended its decision to deny a Soviet academic observer status at its congress, saying only organisations and not individuals had been invited

SACP central committee member Essop Pahad yesterday told The Star that Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov's request to be granted observer status at the four-day congress had been rejected not because the party had anything against him, but because he wanted to come as an individual

"There are no political reasons behind the decision. We simply have not invited individuals, but rather organisations and parties from inside and outside SA as observers"

He was responding to a statement issued by the South African chapter of the conservative and staunchly anti-communist International Freedom Foundation (IFF), accusing the SACP of having snubbed Dr Tikhomirov

Dr Tikhomirov, a visiting lecturer in the University of Potchefstroom's political science department and an IFF visiting research Fellow, is

the deputy director for the Centre of Southern African Studies at the Institute for African Studies attached to the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow

Meanwhile the SACP's eighth national congress — which will be open to the press — gets under way today at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg

The congress, which will end on Sunday, is to be attended by guests from a number of socialist countries around the world and is expected to be the SACP's most important in years. It takes place at a time when communism and socialism have suffered severe setbacks.

At a press conference in Johannesburg this week, SACP national organiser Charles Ngakula said the party, which had started with a membership of about 5 000 when it came into the open after its unbanning last year, was experiencing very high morale and had now registered 20 000 members

At least 400 delegates are expected to attend the congress, which will be opened by SACP chairman Dan Tloome, who is still based in Zambia. ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo will also address the congress today

Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo examines ANC-PAC relations

Lessons of the war of the allies

STAR 5/12/91 (11A)

THE claim last week by the PAC that the ANC and the Government had struck a deal to co-manage the country as an interim measure from as early as February is an indication of the PAC's mistrust of its Patriotic Front partner — and the walk-out from the weekend preparatory conference was further indication of how that mistrust has deepened.

While the PAC knew it had to reconsider its options on whether to take part in the talks aimed at paving the way for a political settlement, it was wary of the ANC, which had jealously guarded its own turf gains in the negotiation stakes and was not about to share those gains without its partner going through a similar process of support erosion because of its shift in policy.

For that reason, every time the PAC felt left out, or not consulted, it saw this as part of what its supporters term the "arrogance of the ANC". The PAC therefore kept up its guard at all times, and was often very sensitive to statements or actions by the ANC.

The PAC's West Rand region chairman, Ntsundeni Madzunya,

described his organisation's relations with the ANC as being "strained, to put it mildly". The important point for the ANC is not to be seen to have been co-opted by the Government, while at the same time working towards accommodation of white interests in line with the mission of the Freedom Charter.

At a press conference hosted by the PAC's Transvaal regional chairmen, the ANC was described as "pseudo-revolutionaries and puppets who are supporting the Government", while Mr Mandela described the PAC walk-out as a "classic storm in a teacup".

Although both the Government and the ANC have denied in particularly strong terms the existence of any "minutes" reflecting a deal, there seems reasonable grounds for believing that ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki did make certain statements during a briefing of African diplomats in New York.

Allegations by Cyril Ramaphosa that the ANC had information from Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee that the PAC had been involved in high-level negotiations with the Government have also

been strongly denied PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said that some time ago the Government offered to allow PAC refugees to return provided they accepted certain conditions. The PAC's response was that there would be no deal if such communication was considered by some as "negotiation", then "you are welcome to call it that".

The PAC's suspicions must have been aroused by the exclusion of its United Nations representative from the ANC's briefing. It argues that, as a partner in the Patriotic Front, it was at least more entitled to information than the African diplomats.

It was therefore no surprise when it went about ferreting out information about what transpired at the meeting. Even if it is assumed that the document the PAC produced was the personal interpretation of one diplomat of what was said, the status of the diplomat suggests it would be a fair reflection of proceedings. Desperate efforts to trace the source of the document also suggest there may be some truth in the document's content.

Did the ANC then strike a deal

with the Government, only details of which may be wrong in this interpretation? That is perhaps part of the fire in this row.

However, there is another element the PAC had been under siege from some of its grassroots constituents to withdraw from the "talks". Their understanding was that the mandate from the PAC conference had been only to talk about the modalities of handing over power and setting up the mechanisms for an election for a constituent assembly, which would then write a new constitution.

When units calling themselves the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee called a meeting in Katlehong — ostensibly representing factions within the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation, Azanian National Youth Unity and Azanian Women's Organisation — it sent shock waves through the PAC.

Although the PAC dismissed the group, claiming it did not have or speak for a constituency, there was much running around ascertaining loyalty to the leadership. This was found to a large extent — and led to the Paso leader-

ship announcing that, if members were dissatisfied, they would use existing channels in the PAC to address those issues and not unauthorised or undemocratic meetings. This seemed to indicate at least a level of support for the leadership, although the question of participation still haunted the organisation.

For its part, the ANC has gone through precisely this kind of baptism when the leadership first decided to engage the Government in talks. Largely because the ANC then did not have any grassroots structures, the groundswell of opposition could not be handled directly. Instead, the organisation had to work through mostly United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Union structures. In response, the ANC leadership went into a "revolutionary mode", after soft-shoeing it with the Government and being hosted by it at lavish occasions.

That the ANC averted major divisions at that time is a measure of the negotiating and leadership skills of Mr Mandela, and all was well by the time the ANC congress arrived.

This is the first time that the PAC leadership is being tested, and Clarence Makwetu and his deputy will be required to take to the road and explain to their constituents that unless the organisation gets on board, there is a grave danger that it will be left out of any solution — and that there is a need for the PAC's voice to be heard up front, instead of it being seen as an armchair critic. The leadership skills of the team will be measured against the success or failure in this regard.

Added to that, there is extreme pressure on the liberation movements from their funding and moral supporters to find a settlement soon. The PAC, in particular, has not been as well endowed financially, and there must be a limit to how long it can hold out without beginning to show financial bankruptcy, something no political organisation can survive.

Realpolitik will determine whether the PAC remains a significant player in the political scenario over the next few months, and that is clearly not being appreciated by the organisation's grassroots structures. □

In order to guide the process of re-establishing the ANCYL, a draft constitution was drawn up and distributed to all Youth League structures for discussion. This constitution shall be perfected and adopted as an ANCYL constitution in the forthcoming congress.

Youth autonomy

South 5/12 - 11/12/91 (11/12)

A discussion paper on the relationship between the ANC and the ANC Youth League

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANC

On the question of the ANCYL relationship with the ANC, the ANCYL draft constitution states the following: "The ANCYL shall be organisationally autonomous. Based on the broad political perspective of the ANC the policies and programmes of the Youth League shall, however, be determined by its membership in accordance with this constitution. The ANCYL shall closely liaise with the ANC at all levels."

A good example of this is that from national to branch level the Youth League sits in the executive meetings of the ANC. The national chairperson and secretary general of the ANC Youth League are ex-officio members of the ANC National Executive Committee. The same applies to regional and branch executives. The ANC Youth League also sits in almost all the special and departmental committees of the ANC. These provisions are not only intended to facilitate communication between the Youth League and the ANC, but to also ensure that the Youth League plays a dynamic and effective role in the formulation of policy of the ANC and the determination of the general direction the organisation is taking. These constitutional provisions are complimented by regular meetings that take place between the leadership structures of the two organisations whenever the need arises. A specified number of Youth League members are

granted delegate status with voting rights at all ANC national conferences. This practice may have to be extended to regional level.

On the same relationship the ANC Constitution states the following: "The ANC Youth League will function as an autonomous body within the overall structure of the ANC, of which it shall be an integral part, with its own constitution, rules and regulations, provided that these shall not conflict with the constitution and policies of the ANC. Members of the ANCYL over the age of 18 shall be expected to play a full part in the general political life of the ANC. A member of the ANCYL shall not be eligible for any position as an office bearer of the ANC or to attend ANC conferences, members or executive meetings of the ANC (unless specially invited) unless he/she is a full member of the ANC."

THE MEANING

In broad political and legal terms the term autonomy as used in the two documents quoted above means 'independence'. This independence is however not absolute nor is it complete. It is qualified. In order to explain our understanding of the exact meaning of this autonomy or independence let us confine ourselves to the ANCYL draft constitution.

The ANCYL draft constitution refers to organisational autonomy of the

ANCYL from the ANC. Organisational autonomy in this particular case also implies administrative autonomy. It means independence in structure and activity. It is not merely an auxiliary or appendage of the ANC but should have organisational and administrative life of its own.

This form of autonomy means the right of the Youth League to convene and hold its own conferences, to take resolutions which affect it and its programmes and to elect its own leadership. It has the right to establish its own infrastructure, its own bank accounts and to set up and run its own projects.

Political allegiance of the ANCYL to policies and programmes of the ANC is founded on the common objective of liberating our country from Apartheid colonialism and establishing a non-racial, non-sexist, unitary and democratic South Africa. This allegiance means adherence to the policy, political programme, strategy and tactics plus the ideological view of the ANC. On the other hand, the ANC always welcomes those ANCYL political positions which help to enrich its own policies. In cases where the conference and other leading structures of the ANCYL take decisions which affect these policy positions, those decisions are subject to approval, modification or rejection by the ANC.

CORRECTNESS OF AUTONOMY

The ANCYL draft constitution states that membership of the Youth League is open to all South Africans between the ages of 14 and 35 who support the policy and guidelines, aims and objectives of the ANC Youth League. Young people under the age of 18, whilst they can become members of the Youth League, cannot join the ANC. On the other hand, even if a young person is a member of the ANCYL, membership of the ANC is not automatic on reaching the age of 18. Such a young person must make her/his own individual voluntary application for membership to the ANC.

This means that there is a significant section of the membership of the ANCYL over which the ANC cannot lay any constitutional claim.

On the other hand there is a sizeable membership of the ANC between the ages of 18 and 35 which is not part of the membership of the ANCYL. For them to become members they have to make

a deliberate and conscious decision to join the Youth League. Membership of the ANCYL cannot be assumed.

We acknowledge the fact that the youth can only effectively participate in the liberation of our country and get involved in the building of a democratic South Africa on the basis of the totality of knowledge and experience handed over to it by the older generations. At the same time young people should not be encouraged merely to copy or assimilate what is handed over to them. They should do that through an investigative and critical approach. Through many bitter struggles our youth have shown that they are worthy successors of those who struggled before them.

The real education in struggle and development of the youth cannot be separated from their independent involvement in political struggle. A profound appreciation by the youth of the democratic ideals we are fighting for is better consolidated if verified by their independent experience in struggle.

The autonomy of the Youth League will offer the opportunity for the realisation of the boundless resources of energy, enterprise, initiative and free application of the creative potential of our youth.

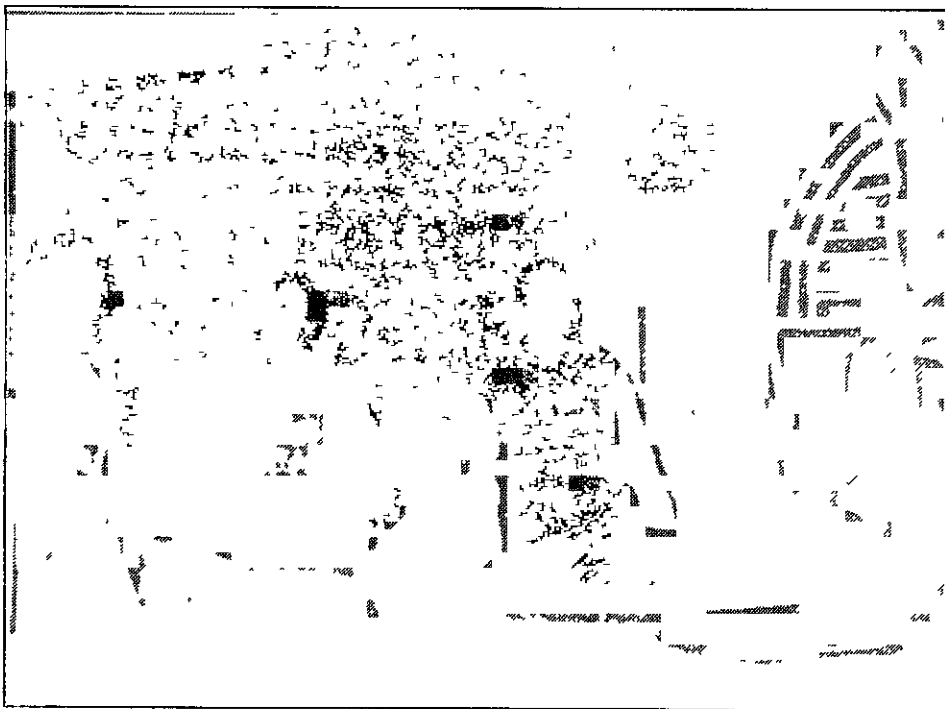
It would be a big mistake to confuse the Youth League's desire for organisational independence with insolence, dissension or lack of confidence in the ANC.

Stifling the development of the youth militates against the very belief that our youth is the reserve force for our future struggles. It is only a nation that does not deserve its future which can stifle the development of its youth.

What is stated above does not mean that the older generations should abandon its responsibility of guiding the youth. Its guidance and criticism of the youth should appreciate the social character of the youth and the nature of the Youth League. It should strive to avoid stereotypes and uniformity rigidly imposed from above. It should be conducted patiently, persuasively and politically.

We should strive to combine mutual trust and respect between the young and the old. In the event of persistent differences of opinion the supreme judge should be what objectively unites them, the liberation of our country and the construction of a democratic society.

The autonomy of the Youth League shall make it easier for it to involve the youth independently in struggle, to organise, educate and unite them. In the process of doing that it shall train both itself and those who look up to it for leadership. It shall also inspire respect from the older generation and contribute towards the enrichment of the ANC policy, activity and tradition of struggle. ♦



Continue from p 16.

resigned. In June 1985, a state of emergency was declared and a few months later, Cosas was banned.

Thousands were detained as the security forces intensified their occupation of the townships, leaving a trail of death and destruction in their wake. Schools came to a standstill.

Youth formations were forced to operate in semi-clandestine conditions.

By this time, moves to form youth structures at regional and national level were already afoot.

The first national gathering of youth congresses took place in 1984. There was general appreciation of the need to work for the establishment of a national youth organisation.

In 1985 youth congresses came together again in Natal to reassess their progress. A few interim regional structures had been formed. However, these structures were still working to forge the formations in their regions into a cohesive structure. There was disagreement on whether the proposed national youth organisation should have a federal or unitary structure. It was finally agreed that it should take the form of a federal organisation.

Clandestine consultations with the ANC Youth

Section were also taking place.

By 1986, concrete arrangements were reaching their finality. A national workshop reached agreement on a draft constitution, emblem, motto and policy. A spirit of unity and enthusiasm prevailed.

Towards the end of 1986, a few regional youth congresses were established.

SAYCO LAUNCH

Finally, the South African Youth Congress was formed in Cape Town on March 28 1987. Taking place at the height of the state of emergency, the launch was a dramatic event. More than 200 delegates clandestinely came together for the gathering.

Deliberate disinformation was leaked to direct the security police to Durban while more than 200 delegates from youth congresses all over the country met secretly in Cape Town.

Sayco adopted a militant and far-reaching programme of action. It also adopted the Freedom Charter as a guiding document for the establishment of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa.

The organisation came out unambiguously in

acknowledging the centrality of the ANC in the resolution of political conflict in our country. Its slogan, "Freedom or Death, Victory is Certain", struck fear into the hearts of the regime.

Sayco was the UDF's biggest affiliate. Among the demands it vigorously put forward were:

- The unbanning of the ANC,
- The release of detainees and political prisoners,
- The lifting of the state of emergency,
- The freeing of prisoners on Death Row,
- The withdrawal of troops from the townships and villages.

Sayco structures played a vital role in mobilising the rural people. Together with other democratic organisations, they won over many traditional leaders to the side of the democratic movement.

The unbanning of the ANC raised the need to re-establish the ANC Youth League. The ANC Youth Section, Sayco, SA National Students Congress, Cosas, National Union of SA Students, the Young Christian Students and other democratic youth organisations came together in 1990 to launch a Provisional National Youth Committee at Orlando Stadium. This process saw the rebirth of the ANCYL in the country. ♦

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● The ANC Youth League is a youth organisation of the ANC which has about 500 000 members throughout its 14 regions: Pretoria-Witwaters-Vaal triangle, Northern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Northern Orange Free State, Southern Orange Free State, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, Transkei, Northern Cape, Northern Natal, Natal Midlands and Southern Natal.

A small portion of our membership is still outside the country in the different parts of the world where ANC communities are found. Years of exile forced our compatriots to settle in foreign lands. A number of them have returned in the course of repatriation. However, some of them are still outside the country due to several commitments and problems. While a number are pursuing their studies in Europe, America, Africa, Asia; some cannot return due to complications that have arisen as a result of the continued threat to their lives that is posed by agencies of the S A government. It is indeed true to say that many of our returned compatriots have lost their lives in the hands of the South African Police in the main and that others continue to endure severe harassment and intimidation by the same force.

● The smallest component part of the ANC Youth League is its branches. There are about 700 branches of the Youth League all over the country. The Youth League exists in the urban townships, rural villages, and a number of white, Indian and coloured communities. A few branches have been established in the mines. Recruiting committees have also been constituted in some factories and other workplaces. Discussions are still raging on how the Youth League should exist at universities and colleges. The Youth

Facts and figures

The structures of the Youth League

League has, however, not gone beyond establishing recruiting committees due to the discussions that are still taking place between us and SASCO on the matter.

BRANCHES

● The Youth League only formally constitutes a branch once 100 youth have been recruited in a particular locality. The branch membership is subdivided into several sub-committees which deal with various aspects of the organisation like campaigns, recruitment, fund-raising, media, political education, culture, sport, pioneer organisation and liaison with student and other organisations. This sub-division is intended to achieve maximum participation by the entire membership in the activities of the organisation. The membership of the branch meets once a year in an annual general meeting to elect a branch leadership, the Branch Executive Committee.

To facilitate co-ordination between branches and the regions and eventually the national headquarters, the regions are divided into numerous zones. For instance, seven zones make up the PWV region, namely Pretoria, Johannesburg, Vaal, East Rand, West Rand, Soweto and far East Rand.

The size of and number of branches in each zone is determined by the proximity of branches to one another and the extent to which co-ordination between such branches can be easily

sustained.

Zonal and Regional Congresses should, according to the draft constitution which is to be adopted at the coming national congress, be held once a year.

The different regions will come together once every two years to elect the National Executive Committee and to determine the policy and programme for the following two years.

At the National Congress representation is proportional to the size of each branch. Each branch is entitled to two delegates for the first 100 members and one more for each additional 200. Unlaunched branches have observer status at the congress and can only send one such observer.

The National Executive Committee shall consist of seventeen (17) or twenty (20) members (a number still to be determined by the National Congress) and the 14 regional chairpersons and secretaries. This means the Youth League should eventually end up with an NEC of 42 members or so.

● The ANC Youth League's operational work is carried out by its various departments: organising, women, students, information and publicity, political education, pioneers, labour, finance and projects, religion and international.

The organising department is responsible for setting up Youth League structures throughout the country, plus the recruitment of membership. It also oversees the implementation of the organisation's programme of action.

The women's department looks after interests of women within and outside the organisation. It also has a responsibility of ensuring that more and more women are joining the organisation. The student department looks after the interests of student members of the organisation. It is also charged with maintaining liaison with student organisations.

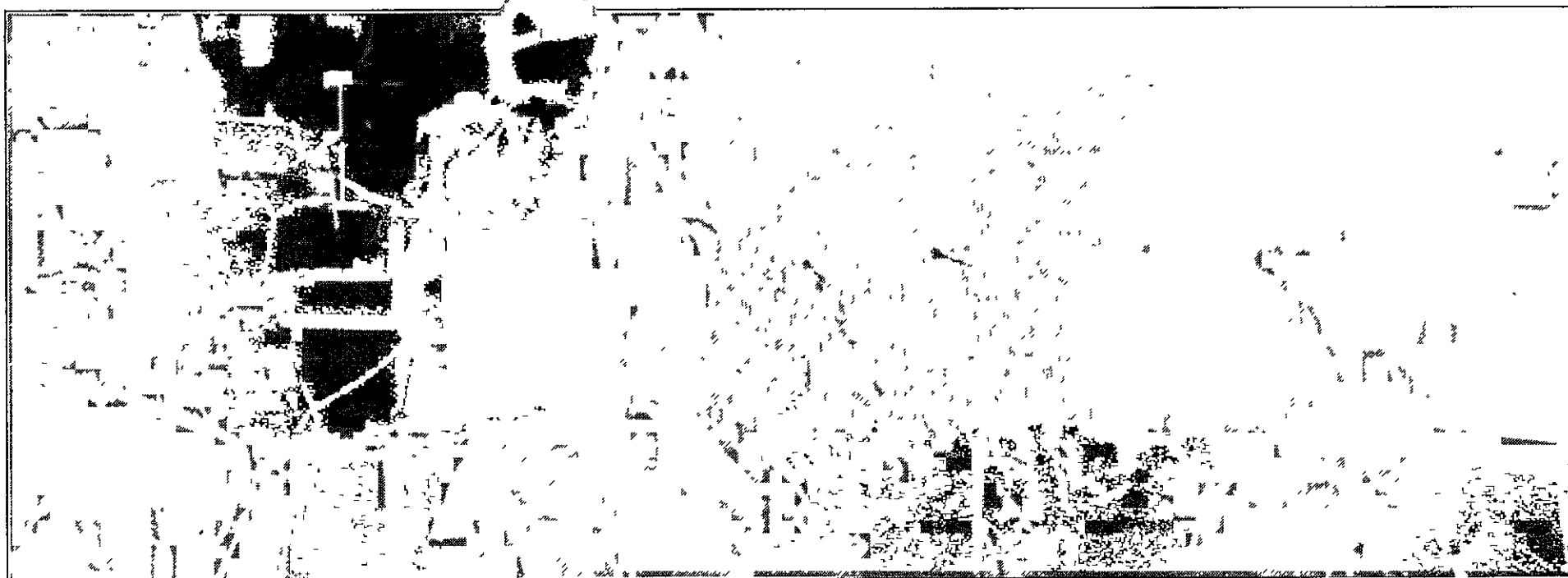
DEPARTMENTS

Like student affairs the religious and labour departments are charged with looking after the interests of the respective constituencies within and outside the organisation, namely, the religious and working youth and liaising with these sectors of youth.

International affairs is responsible for maintaining relations with other youth organisations all over the world. The ANC Youth League is at the moment the incumbent president of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. Our term of office ends in 1994.

The Department of Political Education deals with the political training of Youth League members. The Department of Information and Publicity is responsible for all media and publicity of the organisation. ♦

Below left: Toyi-toying on the stage - tens of thousands commemorate the anniversary of the June 16 uprisings at a rally hosted by Sayco last year. Below right: ANC and ANCYL banners at the launch of the League's Eastern Transvaal region earlier this year.



From page 15.
Youth at the cutting edge

Section was established to cater for the interests of youth in exile and to become involved in building the national youth movement inside South Africa.

The Youth Section cultivated bilateral relations with international youth movements. This helped foster a spirit of international solidarity and complemented the ANC's work for the international isolation of the apartheid regime.

By the early 80's, Cosas had already begun to build a firm base in the schools. On the education front, it formed a strong alliance and took up joint campaigns with democratic student organisations at tertiary educational institutions, Azaso and Nusas.

The 1982 Cosas national congress resolved to build and strengthen youth organisations. Many Cosas activists across the country had been expelled from school or had finished their high school studies and were now young workers or unemployed. They played a central part in the formation of local youth congresses

The formation of youth congresses took place at a time when community-based mass struggles and civic organisations were gaining momentum. Youth activists played a central role in organising residents around their immediate demands. These included demands for affordable rents and bus fares, upgrading of services and facilities, the resignation of councillors and so on.

FREEDOM CHARTER

Youth congresses were vociferous in projecting the Freedom Charter as a programme for the democratic transformation of apartheid South Africa. They fearlessly chanted slogans and sang songs of the ANC and MK at a time when these organisations were still illegal.

The youth congresses brought together the young militants of the 76/77 period with the emerging Young Lions of the 80's. In the midst of battles against police and soldiers occupying the townships, the youth were forging political and organisational resilience.

They used sticks and stones and defence units to protect their communities.

The organised youth also played a key role in the

UDF, which was formed in August 1983 and united hundreds of organisations nationally.

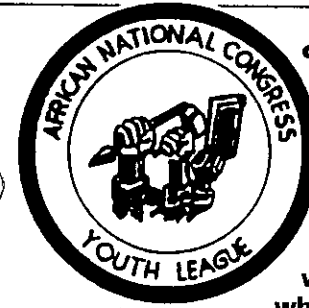
As local youth organisations mushroomed, the need for national co-ordination was becoming evident. An interim national youth structure was formed for this purpose.

After the UN General Assembly declared 1985 the International Year of the Youth, a national co-ordinating structure was set up and campaigns, cultural festivals, workshops and seminars were organised to mark the event.

With youth organisations often playing a key role in anti-apartheid opposition, youth and student activists became the main target for detentions and assassinations. Like with the 1976 generation, another wave of young people left the country for military training.

Repression aimed at crushing countrywide resistance was reaching unprecedented levels. Mass funerals became regular events. By 1985/86 the country had become ungovernable, true to the ANC's call at the time to "render the country ungovernable and make apartheid unworkable". Apartheid structures in many townships collapsed and community councillors

contin p17



cost, to preserve white domination and privilege. The proposals are a manifestation of the racist stupor in which the National Party still wallows. The ANCYL should therefore formulate its perspectives and programmes well aware of the extent to which the adversary is still committed to the white racist ideology.

As we go to Congress, the patriotic forces, at the head of which stands the ANC, have agreed with the regime and its allies on the date, agenda and venue of the All-Party Congress (Codesa). This will begin to outline the route we should follow into a democratic South Africa.

While things seem to be going according to our intentions, we must always be vigilant of the manoeuvres of the regime. The need to escalate struggle for our demands – a sovereign interim government and a constituent assembly elected on a one-person-one-vote basis – cannot be overemphasised.

The added challenge is to build the ANC into a formidable vehicle of liberation. These are tasks on which we cannot fail our people, our freedom and our country.

Forward to Congress! ♦

Challenges facing the youth

11A

South 5/12 - 11/12/91

the ANC should, in unambiguous terms, detail how it is going to redress the legacy of devastated communities and peoples.

In pursuit of their nefarious goals, the regime and its allies have unleashed an unprecedented campaign of violence to weaken the ANC and to defeat the effort for the establishment of a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The ANCYL National Congress has the challenge of not only participating in the further elaboration of ANC policy, strategy and tactics, but must also work out ways of how the above objectives can be realised within the shortest possible time.

The intentions of reaction have been eloquently echoed by the National Party's constitutional proposals, which seek, at whatever

The ANC Youth League's 17th National Congress, which begins in KwaNdebele on 9 December 1991, bears particular historical significance because it is the first national congress of the Youth League since the unbanning of the ANC.

After 30 years of inactivity, the ANC Youth League re-emerges as a force unifying all democratic youth organisations and individuals which held aloft the banner of the ANC during the years of illegality. That delegates to the congress will be coming from different parts of the world – Africa, Europe, America and Asia and, of course, from our 14 regions – is an illustration of the wealth of youthful experience that the congress is bringing together.

The congress comes at a time when the ANC is confronted with the task of the transferral of power into the hands of the majority of our people. The immense nature of the responsibility is reflected by the pressure placed on the national liberation forces by leaders of big business and apologists of white domination to renege on basic tenets of fundamental political and socio-economic transformation.

Countless efforts are being made by forces of reaction to manufacture a "troika" whose primary objective is to defeat our revolutionary objectives. Equally significant and irresistible is the expectation of the oppressed majority that

At the cutting edge

South 5/12 - 11/12/91

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Youth organisation since the seventies has been built in the midst of the anti-apartheid struggle

The decade from 1976 to 1986 was characterised by militant struggles by black youth and students throughout the country. June 16 1976 stands

out as a watershed in popular resistance by the oppressed and exploited people of our country. On that day, thousands of high school students took to the streets of Soweto to protest against the forced imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This was to become a rallying point in South Africa and abroad in the struggle against apartheid colonialism.

The white minority Pretoria regime was shaken to its roots. The political scenario in South Africa would never be the same.

In the 1960s and early 1970's, the Pretoria racists scored some successes in suppressing the liberation forces, particularly following the banning of the ANC. However, by the mid-seventies, the tide was turning.

The apartheid government responded to the peaceful protests with brute force, killing and maiming thousands of unarmed students and youth.

Following the demonstrations, thousands of youth left the country for military training rather than to continue offering themselves as cannon fodder for Pretoria's security forces.

They swelled the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the glorious fighting arm

of the ANC, ready to occupy the forward-most trenches of battle.

The events of 1976 and 1977 revitalised the ANC politically and militarily. The old stream of ANC activists fused with the militant young generation thrown up by the popular uprisings.

In the 70's, several youth and student organisations were formed as an organisational expression of the determination of young people to continue the struggle against white minority domination. These included the South African Students Organisation (Saso), the South African Student Movement (Sasm) and the National Youth Organisation (Nayo). The political orientation of these organisations was Black Consciousness.

Saso rose to prominence in 1975 when it pioneered "Viva Frelimo" rallies to celebrate Mozambique's independence from colonial rule.

While thousands of young people

were mobilised into action, the organisations at the time were unable to develop a solid and coherent mass base. In addition, there was a lack of national political and organisational youth leadership to guide, instill political cohesion and organise thousands of disorganised youth.

In October 1977, Saso, Sasm and a number of other organisations were banned.

However, the flames of resistance could not be extinguished.

The post 76-77 period was qualitatively different from the previous period. The ANC and MK were reasserting themselves. The Freedom Charter, non-racialism and democracy, and the centrality of mass mobilisation and organisation were gaining prominence. Black Consciousness as a philosophy was increasingly seen as having serious limitations as an effective instrument to marshal the democratic

forces

The perspectives of the Congress movement were on the ascendancy. By the late seventies, more and more young people were beginning to embrace the Freedom Charter and non-racialism as guiding perspectives of the liberation movement as led by the ANC.

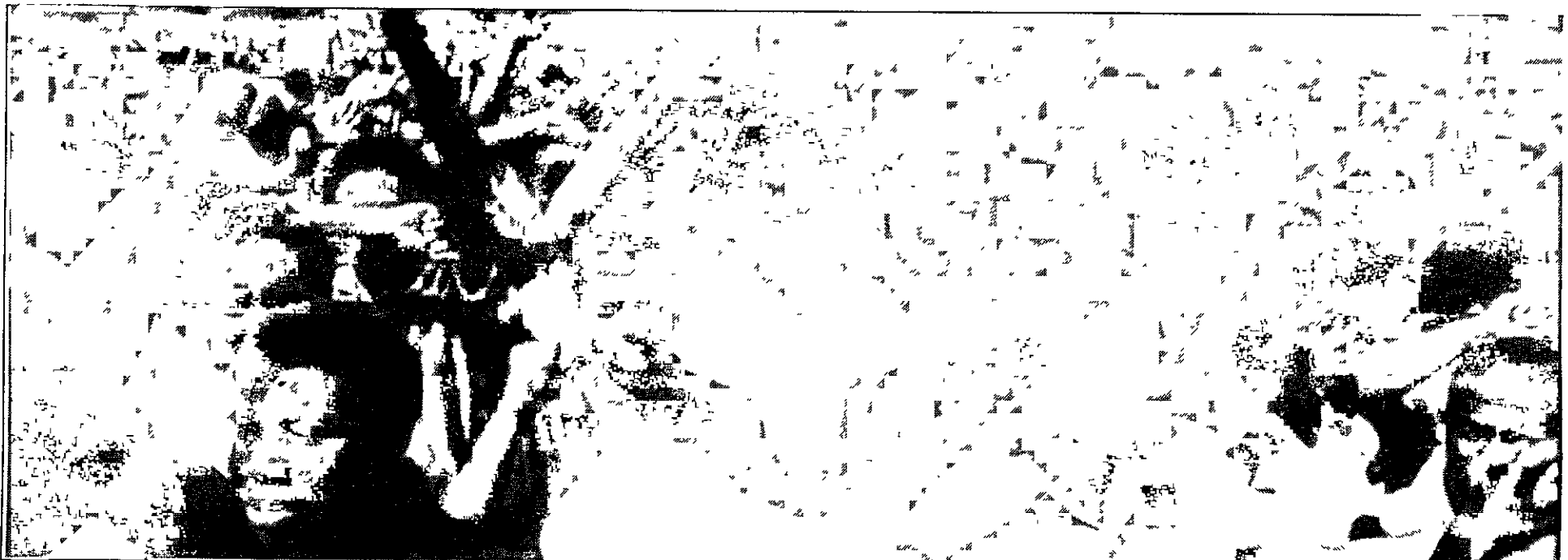
The formation of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in 1979 stands out as an important achievement. A tight and coherent layer of activists schooled in the policies and perspectives of the ANC-led liberation alliance emerged. Cosas, which developed into a strong national movement of high-school students, laid the foundation stone for significant political developments.

Whereas in the 1976 period students erroneously believed that they could lead the national democratic struggle, Cosas deepened the appreciation of the central leadership role of the working class.

Cosas also formulated a programme which linked students' immediate grievances with national political and community-based struggles. This approach was to inform the method of mass organisation in the 80's.

In exile, youth in the ANC and MK were making a powerful political impact. Many of the 1976 generation rose in the structures of MK and the ANC, including its international missions. The ANC Youth

to next page



Youth predominate at a mass funeral in GaRankuwa at the height of Sayco's popularity in the late eighties.

In the mid-1940's, young men and women in their mid-twenties or early thirties, mainly teachers and students, became dissatisfied with the manner in which things were done by the ANC and the pace at which they were done. They came from the Anglican (Episcopal) Secondary School of St Peters in Johannesburg, from Lovedale or Healdtown, Adam's College and Fort Hare. A few, notably Walter Sisulu, came from the ranks of the workers.

This new breed was impatient with the minority regime and called for more militant forms of struggle. In response to this upsurge of militant youth, the ANC annual conference on 21 December 1942 authorised the Executive Committee of the ANC to establish a Youth League "to include students at Fort Hare". This decision was implemented in April 1944 when the ANC Youth League was launched at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg. Anton Muziwakhe Lembede became its first president and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela its secretary.

In addition to Lembede and Mandela, the Youth League's first leaders included Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Dr James Njongwe, Dr William Nkomo, Jordan Ngubane, Robert Sobukwe, Ntsu Mokhehle and AP Mda.

The ANC Youth League, in the words of Anton Lembede, advocated a philosophy of Africanism. The Provincial Committee of 1944 adopted a manifesto which, in its preamble, stated that "Africanism must be promoted". This meant that Africans should struggle for development, progress and national liberation so as to occupy their rightful and honourable place among nations of the world.

FUTURE LEADERS

In addition, the African youth should be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined, because, from their ranks, future leaders would emerge.

The document went on to explain the policy of the ANCYL, which was based on the conviction that the contact of "the white race with the black has resulted in the emergence of a set of conflicting living conditions and outlooks on life which seriously hamper South Africa's progress to nationhood".

The whites, said the Leaguers of the time, possessed superior military strength and superior organising skills, and therefore had arrogated to themselves the ownership of the land and invested themselves with the authority and right to "regard South Africa as a white man's land". The Youth League described the ANC as "the symbol and embodiment of the African's will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression".

Early days

The roots of the Youth League

The central theme of the Youth League philosophy was the struggle for national self-determination, which would be brought about by "building a strong national unity". The organisation was also orientated towards mass action, a method of struggle new to the ANC and one which was bound to strengthen the ANC and hasten the march to freedom.

The document, "Our Creed", which became the guiding document of the ANCYL, marked a profound development in the policies of the ANC. The emphasis on Africanism "was a radical departure from the predominantly liberal and traditionalist thinking of the ANC" at that time.

The creed forecast the formation of the Organisation of African Unity twenty years prior to its birth. The emphasis on African unity and the subjection of ideology to popular demands and aspirations were significant mileposts in the development of progressive and revolutionary thought.

It is, however, important to note that the Africanism of the Youth League was devoid of racial prejudice. It sought to emphasize the unity of the African people and the need to fight for self-determination by the Africans themselves.

It never sought to exclude from struggle those non-African democrats who were prepared to fight side by side with Africans and accept the policies of the ANC and African leadership.

The ANC Youth League policy document went on to explain the aims of African nationalism as

- the creation of a united nation out of the heterogeneous tribes,
- the freeing of Africans from foreign domination and foreign leadership,
- the creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to human progress and happiness.

About whites, the ANC Youth League talked of the "possibility of a compromise" if

- The whites completely abandoned their domination of Africa,
- They agreed to an equitable and proportionate redivision of land,
- They assisted in establishing a free people's democracy.

in South Africa and Africa in general.

The ANC Youth League documents distinguished between different types of African Nationalism. "It must be noted that there are two streams of African Nationalism. One centres around Marcus Garvey's slogan - 'Africa for the Africans'. It is based on the 'Quit Africa' slogan and cry 'Hurl the white man into the sea'. This brand of African Nationalism is extreme and ultra-revolutionary.

"There is another stream of African Nationalism (Africanism) which is moderate, and which the congress Youth League professes. We of the Youth League take account of the current situation in South Africa, and realise that the different racial groups have come to stay. "But we insist that a condition for inter-racial peace and progress is the abandonment of white domination, and such a change in the basic structure of South African society that those relations which breed exploitation and human misery will disappear.

"Therefore our goal is the winning of National Freedom for the African people and the inauguration of a people's free society where racial oppression and persecution will be outlawed."

On 24 August 1948, AP Mda wrote to GM Pitje: "Please note that our Nationalism has nothing to do with Fascism and National Socialism (Hitleric version) nor with the imperialistic and neo-fascist Nationalism of the Afrikaners (the Malanite type). Ours is the pure nationalism of an oppressed people, seeking freedom from foreign oppression".

PROGRAMME OF ACTION

The birth of the ANCYL largely influenced the ANC's 1949 Programme of Action, which emphasised:

- The principle of self-determination.
- Rejection of white domination.
- A vigorous pro-African policy under the banner of African Nationalism.
- Injection of the spirit of self-confidence in being African as opposed to racist theories and paternalistic attitudes of liberals who sought to instill a sense of self-pity, shame in and even "excuses" for being black.
- Mass action strikes, demonstration, protests and so on.

They refuted accusations that African nationalism was one-sided and racialistic and condemned "pseudo-nationalism", "people who pretend to be nationalists when in fact they are only imperialist or capitalist agents, using Nationalistic slogans in order to cloak their reactionary position", "fascist agents", "vendors of foreign method" and "tribalism".

Acknowledgement "South Africa belongs to the us: A history of the ANC" by the late Francis Meli. ♦

Can you briefly tell us about your involvement in the ANC Youth League?

My first contact with the Youth League was as a teacher at Orlando High in 1945. I was teaching children who were very politically aware. I considered it appropriate that I should join the ANC Youth League.

From 1946 onwards I was directly in touch with AP Mda. In 1948 I was appointed to the staff at Fort Hare. It was suggested that we form a Youth League branch at Fort Hare. I convened the first meeting, which formally resolved to start a branch of the Youth League. After forming the branch, we had a visit from Mda, who filled the gaps in our knowledge about the Youth League.

We then went to the Cape ANC conference in Port Elizabeth. Here we pushed forward the programme of action. We did not succeed in persuading the Cape Congress to adopt it. But we got encouragement to proceed in 1949 to Bloemfontein to present the programme.

We canvassed the views of the leading candidates for the presidency: Xuma, the incumbent; Cape leader Z.K. Matthews and Dr Moroka from the Free State. Xuma and Matthews turned us down, but Moroka agreed to stand on the basis of the 1949 programme of action. He was eventually elected, thus unseating Xuma.

At the 1949 conference, Youth Leaguer Walter Sisulu was elected as Secretary General of the ANC. Youth League members A.P. Mda, Oliver Tambo, Jimmy Njongwe from Port Elizabeth and myself were also included on the executive.

From that conference onwards, the Youth League gradually rose through the hierarchy of the ANC and were largely responsible for the replacement of Dr Moroka with Chief Albert Luthuli.

Can you tell us something about the Youth League leaders at the time?

I remember Oliver Tambo. He remained, as far as we were concerned, an African Nationalist. Even at the firm of Nelson Mandela and Tambo, you had a Mandela

One who was there

The ANCYL spoke to Godfrey Pitje (right), an active Youth Leaguer in the 1940's and 1950's

who was obviously left inclined and made no bones about it. We used to witness heated discussions between him and Mda in which he would say quite bluntly that we should move towards non-racialism. Mda would counter and say there was no reason for us to depart from the basic policy of pan-africanism.

I remember a meeting where we were attacked for being narrow-minded and bigotted. Oliver Tambo replied in defence of our view and said "For a spear or an assegai to be effective it must be narrow and sharp pointed." That intervention was extremely persuasive.

Chaps like MB Yengwa in Durban were also amongst the Youth League leaders. J.K. Ngubane was amongst the founders, even though he was more left and considered the rest to be right. He was the editor of Inkundla and used that forum to attack the Youth League leadership for being bigotted, and to a certain extent, even for being tribalist. He questioned the tenets of African Nationalism. He also criticised our statement "Africa for the Africans", feeling that that creed was exclusive. There was a regular exchange between him and Mda. As the Youth League chaps who were senior in the ANC grew in influence, we



began to have a "right wing" and a "left wing" within the Youth League. The left wing was led by people like Mandela, Joe Matthews and, to a certain extent, Dr Mji. On the right you had the Sobukwe's, the Peter Tsele's, the Dr Motlana's and others.

The left tended to be more accommodative, to want to work with Indians, coloureds and even with the whites. Through that sort of approach, a body called the Congress of Democrats was formed which was co-operating with the ANC, the Indian Congresses and the Coloured People's Organisation.

The 1949 ANC conference was perhaps one of the most important events in the history of the Youth League. Can you tell us about it?

There was uneasiness about the leadership of Xuma, based on the feeling that he was not championing the philosophy of African Nationalism and was coming under the influence of the white liberals. Because of his strength within the ANC he would not be persuaded to be re-elected on the basis of the programme of action. You also had the likes of AG Champion, who saw us as little boys and students. It was quite

common after you had spoken or whilst you were speaking for him to say "Hlala phantsi mfana" (keep quiet young man) "you ought to be still at school". It revealed their attitude towards the youth.

It was finally Moroka who said he had no problems with our programme. He agreed to assume leadership on the basis of it.

Two names were proposed for the Secretary General's post: Mr Ntlabathi, a principal from Bethlehem, and Dan Tloome, who was a leading member of the Communist Party. Just before a vote was taken, a member of the Communist Party argued that it would be difficult for Mr Ntlabathi, given his position with the department of education, to carry out his duties. He motivated successfully and then put a motion that Dan Tloome be put in unopposed because there was no other candidate. I remember that Chief Luthuli was in the chair. We quickly put forward a motion that the other group be given an opportunity to renominate Chief Luthuli ruled in our favour. We then put forward the name of Walter Sisulu. We won the vote.

Did your opposition to Tloome reflect differences between the Youth League and the Communist Party?

The old guard in the ANC saw nothing wrong in having communists in the ANC. The Youth League had an attitude towards the Communist Party. There was a strong feeling that they could never be African Nationalists when their policy was what we understood it to be. This view was particularly upheld by the "right wing" of the Youth League.

What would you say the role of the ANC Youth League should be in the current period?

I see the Youth League as a watchdog. They must always make sure that the senior people do not deviate from whatever is the declared position of the movement. I also see them doing exactly what happened in the past by playing an active role in deciding the direction of the ANC. ♦

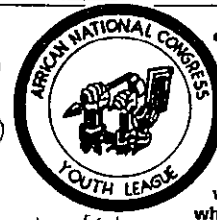
The ANC Youth League's 17th National Congress, which begins in KwaNdebele on 9 December 1991, bears particular historical significance because it is the first national congress of the Youth League since the unbanning of the ANC.

After 30 years of inactivity, the ANC Youth League re-emerges as a force unifying all democratic youth organisations and individuals which held aloft the banner of the ANC during the years of illegality. That delegates to the congress will be coming from different parts of the world - Africa, Europe, America and Asia and, of course, from our 14 regions - is an illustration of the wealth of youthful experience that the congress is bringing together.

The congress comes at a time when the ANC is confronted with the task of the transferral of power into the hands of the majority of our people. The immense nature of the responsibility is reflected by the pressure placed on the national liberation forces by leaders of big business and apologists of white domination to renege on basic tenets of fundamental political and socio-economic transformation.

Countless efforts are being made by forces of reaction to manufacture a "troika" whose primary objective is to defeat our revolutionary objectives. Equally significant and irresistible is the expectation of the oppressed majority that

Challenges facing the youth



cost, to preserve white domination and privilege. The proposals are a manifestation of the racist stupor in which the National Party still wallows. The ANCYL should therefore formulate its perspectives and programmes well aware of the extent to which the adversary is still committed to the white racist ideology.

the ANC should, in unambiguous terms, detail how it is going to redress the legacy of devastated communities and peoples.

In pursuit of their nefarious goals, the regime and its allies have unleashed an unprecedented campaign of violence to weaken the ANC and to defeat the effort for the establishment of a truly united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.

The ANCYL National Congress has the challenge of not only participating in the further elaboration of ANC policy, strategy and tactics, but must also work out ways of how the above objectives can be realised within the shortest possible time.

The intentions of reaction have been eloquently echoed by the National Party's constitutional proposals, which seek, at whatever

As we go to Congress, the patriotic forces, at the head of which stands the ANC, have agreed with the regime and its allies on the date, agenda and venue of the All-Party Congress (Codesa). This will begin to outline the route we should follow into a democratic South Africa.

While things seem to be going according to our intentions, we must always be vigilant of the manoeuvres of the regime. The need to escalate struggle for our demands - a sovereign interim government and a constituent assembly elected on a one-person-one-vote basis - cannot be overemphasised.

The added challenge is to build the ANC into a formidable vehicle of liberation. These are tasks on which we cannot fail our people, our freedom and our country.

Forward to Congress!

At the cutting edge

The decade from 1976 to 1986 was characterised by militant struggles by black youth and students throughout the country. June 16 1976 stands out as a watershed in popular resistance by the oppressed and exploited people of our country. On that day, thousands of high school students took to the streets of Soweto to protest against the forced imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. This was to become a rallying point in South Africa and abroad in the struggle against apartheid colonialism.

The white minority Pretoria regime was shaken to its roots. The political scenario in South Africa would never be the same.

In the 1960s and early 1970's, the Pretoria racists scored some successes in suppressing the liberation forces, particularly following the banning of the ANC. However, by the mid seventies, the tide was turning.

The apartheid government responded to the peaceful protests with brute force, killing and maiming thousands of unarmed students and youth.

Following the demonstrations, thousands of youth left the country for military training rather than to continue offering themselves as cannon fodder for Pretoria's security forces.

They swelled the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the glorious fighting arm

Youth organisation since the seventies has been built in the midst of the anti-apartheid struggle

of the ANC, ready to occupy the forward-most trenches of battle.

The events of 1976 and 1977 revitalised the ANC politically and militarily. The old stream of ANC activists fused with the militant young generation thrown up by the popular uprisings.

In the 70's, several youth and student organisations were formed as an organisational expression of the determination of young people to continue the struggle against white minority domination. These included the South African Students Organisation (Saso), the South African Student Movement (Sasm) and the National Youth Organisation (Nayo). The political orientation of these organisations was Black Consciousness.

Saso rose to prominence in 1975 when it pioneered "Viva Frelimo" rallies to celebrate Mozambique's independence from colonial rule.

While thousands of young people

were mobilised into action, the organisations at the time were unable to develop a solid and coherent mass base. In addition, there was a lack of national political and organisational youth leadership to guide, instill political cohesion and organise thousands of disorganised youth.

In October 1977, Saso, Sasm and a number of other organisations were banned.

However, the flames of resistance could not be extinguished.

The post 76-77 period was qualitatively different from the previous period. The ANC and MK were reasserting themselves. The Freedom Charter, non-racialism and democracy, and the centrality of mass mobilisation and organisation were gaining prominence. Black Consciousness as a philosophy was increasingly seen as having serious limitations as an effective instrument to marshal the democratic

forces

The perspectives of the Congress movement were on the ascendancy. By the late seventies, more and more young people were beginning to embrace the Freedom Charter and non-racialism as guiding perspectives of the liberation movement as led by the ANC.

The formation of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) in 1979 stands out as an important achievement. A tight and coherent layer of activists schooled in the policies and perspectives of the ANC-led liberation alliance emerged. Cosas, which developed into a strong national movement of high-school students, laid the foundation stone for significant political developments.

Whereas in the 1976 period students erroneously believed that they could lead the national democratic struggle, Cosas deepened the appreciation of the central leadership role of the working class.

Cosas also formulated a programme which linked students' immediate grievances with national political and community based struggles. This approach was to inform the method of mass organisation in the 80's.

In exile, youth in the ANC and MK were making a powerful political impact. Many of the 1976 generation rose in the structures of MK and the ANC, including its international missions. The ANC Youth

to next page



Youth predominate at a mass funeral in GaRankuwa at the height of Sayco's popularity in the late eighties.

SACP: Hani urges growth

JOHANNESBURG —
The SA Communist
Party has to become a
bigger party because it
wants to influence the
political process, SACP
central committee mem-
ber Mr Chris Hani says

Speaking on the eve of
the party's first legal
congress in the country
since it was banned in
1950, he said "You can't
influence the political
process if you are just a
small party"

The SACP's eighth
national congress, to be
attended by some 400
delegates, opens today
outside Johannesburg
— Sapa (17) CTS 12/91

No ANC action

South 5/12-11/12/91
MEMBERS of MK and the ANC Youth League charged with the murder of Mr "Pro" Jack have not been suspended by their organisations

The ANC said: "We cannot suspend our members on the mere say so of the police as we have seen on numerous occasions that the police have brought completely spurious charges against ANC members for political reasons."

The ANC, which has started its own investigation, said it will wait for a "duly constituted hearing where the charges must be put" before considering disciplinary measures.

ANC 'no' to boycott call

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC in the Western Cape has rejected a call by the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) for a consumer boycott over the festive season.

"The ANC wishes to state very clearly that it has made no call for a consumer boycott over the festive season," it said in a statement by its publicity secretary in the region, Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.

The ANC had met with Azapo on November 29 to discuss Azapo's proposal for a consumer boycott in protest against VAT over the festive season.

The ANC's response had been that any protest action against VAT should be co-ordinated by the VAT Action Committee.

"The ANC raised concerns about the lateness of the call as people are already preparing themselves for the festive season."

The ANC added that it would find it very difficult to support any call for a consumer boycott over the festive season.

ANC in the PWV area as well as the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party have also rejected Azapo calls for a black Christmas, as has the ANC in the Northern Transvaal.

CT5/12/91

'No peace without land deal'

PORT ELIZABETH — Former ANC executive Govan Mbeki warned yesterday that there would be no peace in SA unless the question of the redistribution of land, income and wealth was addressed properly by government

Mbeki told the Eastern Province Clothing Manufacturers' annual lunch the ANC specifically wanted land taken from blacks in the past 40 years to be given back

It also wanted government to honour promises made in 1936 for the acquisition of additional land. The division of land made in terms of the Native Land Act of 1930 which favoured whites at the expense of Africans was a cause for conflict.

"At the time it was estimated that the total area of SA was 143-million morgen. The 1,25-million whites took 133-million morgen and left the 4-million Africans 10-million morgen."

In 1936 government promised Africans a further 7-million morgen, but all this land had not yet been bought by the state. Meanwhile the African population had grown to an estimated 30-million

The ANC would have to take steps to

change the whole network of policies which affected the disadvantaged people

Mbeki said the state should intervene to make education accessible to disadvantaged people "It is estimated that 60% of the able-bodied workforce is illiterate."

He said the ANC was interested in economic growth because only a growing economy could give employment to the millions of jobless

The manufacturing sector needed investment on a big scale to provide for exports, but in a situation where the rate of unemployment was high stability could not be expected. Prospective investors would steer clear of unstable areas

Business should in its own interest force government to provide training. It was not enough for business to wait for ANC policy proposals and then criticise them. Business should also make suggestions on how to address poverty

He said the intervention of the state in the economy should be aimed at helping to solve the poverty problem. For this reason the ANC opposed the privatisation of public utilities

SACP will resist 'hardline acts' by govt

SA COMMUNIST Party (SACP) general secretary Joe Slovo hinted yesterday that his party would use force to oppose any hardline acts of government, which, he predicted, would use every device at its disposal to prevent a full-blooded democracy

At the opening of the SACP's eighth congress, the first inside SA for 40 years, Slovo said as the "moment of truth" drew near, government's agenda was being spelt out "with ominous clarity"

Government feared "like the devil" the idea that the final shape of the constitution would be left to a constituent assembly elected by the whole of SA's population

In a wide-ranging speech, Slovo criti-

TIM COHEN

cised Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, defended the SACP's alliance with the ANC and said his party would press for increasing degrees of socialism

He spoke in glowing terms about Marxism and the Russian revolution, but said there was nothing in Marxist theory which prescribed the one-party state as a permanent feature of socialist rule

There was room for compromise in negotiations, but he warned the SACP was facing an enemy "with an agenda to rescue racist privileges in key political and economic sectors of post-apartheid SA"

● See Page 4

Slovo 6/12/91

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SACP in policy shift

Sowetan
THE SACP opened its first legal congress in South Africa in more than 40 years and in no uncertain terms supported the idea of participatory and economic democracy

This phenomenon is a remarkable shift as communism advocates a highly centralised bureaucracy in a one-party state and a command economy

Speaking at the eighth congress at Nasrec near Soweto yesterday, the party's outgoing general secretary, Mr Joe Slovo yesterday described the much heralded "death of socialism" around the world as misinformation

Those "corpses" he said, referring to the collapsed communist dictatorships of East and Central Europe, were during their lifetime "drained of the life-blood" of socialism. That which is "based on participatory and economic democracy."

This places the SACP in a position where they will

6/12/91. 11A
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

encourage and participate on an equal basis in any multi-party democracy with a democratic economy

The alliance between the ANC/Cosatu and the SACP was also emphasised by the leaders of the alliance with patriotic speeches by the ANC's deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu and Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo

Delegates came from eight regions and was attended by the communist parties of Cuba, France, Britain, the People's Republic of China, Reunion as well as Leftist Parties from Portugal, Italy, Germany, the United States of America and Frelimo

A nation of worried pessimists

Sowetan 6/12/91

(11A)

SOUTH Africans are unduly cautious about the timetable for political negotiations, research has revealed.

Johannesburg-based Markinor Research Group said yesterday a Gallup poll in September showed that only 42 percent of whites and 39 percent of blacks were confident that negotiations would begin this year.

Since then, preparatory talks have been successfully completed and negotiations for a new constitution should begin this month.

Markinor polled 2,300 urban adults and discovered deep-seated concern about the outcome of the talks, particularly among whites.

Two-thirds of these whites and nearly half the blacks were "not very confident" or "not at all confident" that the talks would reduce the level of violence.

More than half the whites and 44 percent of the blacks believed the major parties would fail to agree on a new order.

Even if a new constitu-

tion was agreed upon, most whites (63 percent) and nearly half the blacks (44 percent) worried that it would not bring about peace and harmony.

Christine Woessner, deputy marketing manager of Markinor, said the higher level of pessimism among whites was because they felt they had a lot to lose.

But, she added, the picture was not entirely gloomy.

"We had about 26 percent of whites and nearly 40 percent of blacks who expressed confidence in the negotiation process.

"Hopefully, developments over the next few weeks will help reinforce their views."

Among the 1,300 black participants in the poll, regional differences were rife.

Port Elizabeth and East London scored 49 percent for those who believed talks would reduce violence and that agreement would be reached, and 56 percent believed in a peaceful outcome.

In Cape Town, only 19 percent believed less violence would result.

Among whites, regional variations were less pronounced.

Durban residents were the least optimistic about talks starting this year. - Sapa

PAC mistrust of Patriotic Front partner runs deep Rivalry, high stakes, make for suspicion

THE dramatic claim by the PAC that the ANC and the Government had struck a deal to co-manage the country as an interim measure indicates its deep-lying mistrust of its Patriotic Front partner.

The PAC's walk-out at the weekend's preparatory conference was further indication of that mistrust.

While the PAC knew it had to reconsider its options on whether or not to take part in the talks aimed at paving the way for a political settlement, it was wary of the ANC.

Jealously guarding its own turf gains in the negotiation stakes - sometimes against the wishes of some of its more radical constituents - the ANC was not about to share those gains unless its partner also went through a similar process of support erosion because of their shift in policy.

For that reason, every time the PAC felt left out, or not consulted, they saw this as part of what their supporters term the "arrogance of the ANC".

They therefore kept their guard up at all times, and were often very sensitive to statements by the ANC, or actions by their members.

The PAC's West Rand regional chairman, Mr Nisundeni Madzunya, described the relations be-

tween his organisation and the ANC as being "strained, to put it mildly".

The important point, for the ANC, is not to be seen as having been co-opted by the Government, while at the same time working towards accommodation of white interests in line with the mission of the Freedom Charter.

At a Press conference hosted by the PAC's Transvaal regional chairman, the ANC was described as "pseudo-revolutionaries and puppets who are supporting the Government", while Mr Nelson Mandela described the PAC walk-out as a "classic storm in a teacup".

Although both the Government and the ANC have denied in particular strong terms the existence of any "minutes" reflecting a deal, there seems reasonable grounds

for believing that ANC international affairs director, Mr Thabo Mbeki, did make certain statements during a briefing of African diplomats in New York.

And the allegations by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa that they had information from the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, that the PAC had been involved in high-level negotiations with the Government have been strongly denied.

PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Mosenke said that some time ago, the Government offered to allow PAC refugees to return, provided they accepted certain conditions. The organisation's response was that there would be no deal, and if such a communication was considered by some as "negotiation", then "you are welcome to call it that".

Clearly, the PAC's suspicions must have been aroused by the exclusion of their representative at the United Nations from the briefing. They argue that, as a partner in the Patriotic Front, they were entitled to more information than the African diplomats.

It was therefore no surprise that they went about ferreting out information about what transpired at the meeting. Even if it were assumed that the document they produced was the personal interpretation of one diplomat of what was said, the status of the diplomat suggests that it would be a fair reflection of proceedings. Added to that, desperate efforts to trace the source of the document also suggest that there may be some truth in the document's content.

Did the ANC then strike a deal with the Government, only details of which may be wrong in this interpretation? That is perhaps part of the fire which exists in this row. However, there is also another element: the PAC had been under siege from some of its grassroots constituents to withdraw from participation in the "talks", with their understanding being that the mandate from the PAC conference had only been for talking about the modalities of handing over power and setting up the mechanisms for an election for a constituent assembly which would then be charged with the task of writing a new constitution for the country. When units calling themselves the Joint East and West Rand Facilitating Committee called a meeting in Katshehong, ostensibly representing major factions within the

Pan Africanist Students Organisation and youth body, Azanian National Youth Unity, and also, Azanian Women's Organisation, it sent shock waves through the organisation.

Although the PAC dismissed the group, claiming they did not have or speak for a constituency, there was much running around ascertaining loyalty to the leadership.

This was found to a large extent and led to the Paso leadership announcing that if members were dissatisfied, they would use existing channels within the democratic structure of the PAC to address those issues and not through unauthorised, or undemocratic meetings. This seemed to indicate at least a level of support for the leadership, although the question of participation still haunted the organisation.

For its part, the ANC has gone through precisely this kind of baptism when the leadership first decided to engage the Government in talks. Largely because the ANC then did not have any grassroots structures, the groundswell of opposition could not be handled directly. Instead, the organisation had to work through mostly United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Trade Union structures.



Former Sowetan Editor Joe Latakomo examines ANC-PAC relations.

In response, the ANC leadership went into a "revolutionary mode", after soft-shoeing it with the Government and being hosted by it at lavish occasions. Word at the time was that the "young lions" had decided to seek a changing of the guard - with the older leadership from either jail or Lusaka being relegated to the status of "Council of Elders", while younger leaders, mainly, but not exclusively, from the UDF, took over the organisation's day-to-day running.

That the ANC averted major divisions at that time is a measure of the negotiating and leadership skills of Mandela, and all was well by the time the ANC congress arrived. Realpolitik will determine whether the PAC remains a significant player.

Dhlomo denies money crisis: We're in the black he says



Sowetan 6/12/91

THE Institute for Multi-Party Democracy has denied reports that it is facing a financial crisis, saying that for an organisation which depends solely on donations its situation is "far from critical"

In a statement issued yesterday, IMPD executive director Dr Oscar Dhlomo said the institute had received a donation of R5,2 million from the United States Agency for International Development at the beginning of the year and

had so far spent less than R1 million of that money

The German-based Hans Seidel Foundation, Dhlomo said, was also sponsoring the IMPD's Political Leadership Programme for almost R1 million, in addition to other "relatively smaller donations" the institute had received from the private sector and some Western governments

Dhlomo was responding to an article in this week's *Financial Mail*, which

claimed the IMPD was "under severe financial strain" and had outstanding claims of more than R600 000 against it

The FM story, based on the contents of a confidential internal memorandum, said IMPD financial chairman Mr Robin Lee had instructed institute financial and administrative manager Ms Marian Nell to "place a moratorium on all future payments . . . until further notice"

In his response, Dhlomo

said the confidential memorandum was a projected cash-flow analysis for December that anticipated "a temporary cash-flow crisis" this month if outstanding money from donors were not paid on time. Some of this money had since been paid "and the crisis the memorandum foresaw did not materialise", he said.

In another development, IMPD national director Dr Saths Cooper has not renewed his contract with the

Institute, Dhlomo has confirmed

Cooper, former leader of the Azapo before leaving for the United States in 1986 to further his studies, yesterday said he had not renewed his contract "for a variety of personal reasons", but will remain a member of the institute's board of trustees

Cooper will resume lecturing psychology at the University of the Western Cape - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Editor-in-Chief Richard Steyn reviews a book on power-play in political bargaining

Tactics for transforming SA

STAR 6/12/91



DELEGATES to the forthcoming constitutional talks would do well to study carefully a short, timely and well-argued primer on bargaining tactics for transforming South Africa. The author, Pierre du Toit, a Stellenbosch University political scientist, pours a bucket of cold water over prospects for successful "quick-fix" negotiations. Not for him the wishful thinking of angst-ridden liberals or the claptrap about "democracy" emanating from some of the progressive camp. He points out forcefully that the basis needed for a genuine democracy — namely a community that shares values and agrees on fundamental principles — is absent in South Africa.

Does this mean that the contending parties should pack their briefcases and cultural weapons and head back to the trenches? Not at all. But it does mean that the journey towards democracy will be long rather than short, and that its driving force will be the power the main contenders hold

over each other. Crucially, it suggests that the proper tactics for a democratic outcome are to increase the mutual dependence of each main political force upon the other. No one stands to gain from winner-takes-all tactics.

Du Toit's argument may be simply stated. The foundation of any successful negotiation is that each party has some commodity to offer the other. A bargaining relationship is maintained by a mutually profitable exchange of commodities. The way for one party to increase its power is not to undermine its opponent, but to make that opponent more dependent upon it. Coercive tactics like strikes, hit squads and sanctions, which undermine the mutual profitability of the exchange, threaten the relationship itself.

The point has been partially grasped by both the Government and the ANC. By conceding the armed struggle, the ANC has locked the Government into certain commitments, thereby making the ANC rather more than less powerful in negotiations. The Gov-

ernment, while weakening itself by concessions to the ANC, has gained the major prize of international recognition and a loosening of sanctions. By giving away a measure of power, each side has actually gained power over the other.

But each side has made life difficult for its opponent. The coercive tactics used in the past — sanctions and strikes by the ANC and an assortment of destabilising tactics by the Government — be-
 devil any future relationship. Together, sanctions, hit squads, strikes and boycotts have exacted a huge toll in human suffering and made the task of national reconciliation much more difficult. By raising the costs to their opponents, pro- and anti-apartheid forces have raised their own costs considerably. Forces have been set in motion that are eroding the basic structure of civil society. Economic hardship, unemployment, low growth, poor education and a general breakdown of law and order have combined to produce a poisoned chalice from

which any future government will drink.

The point is important enough to bear repeating. If you make the country ungovernable for others, you make it ungovernable for yourself. The advocates of sanctions will have to reckon with the damage they have inflicted, at the same time they have strengthened the power of those needing to create wealth in the new South Africa. Given Du Toit's view that a liberal-democratic constitution, while eminently desirable, is not possible without the existence of a middle ground, how does he propose to create conditions under which a democratic polity might develop?

He falls back on Professor Donald Horowitz's complex proposals for an electoral system that takes account of ethnic differences and forces public representatives to compete for support across ethnic boundaries. The three contending "regime models" currently on offer — the "radical" people-oriented vision of the ANC, the "technocratic" vision of the NP

and the "liberal" vision of the DP — are largely incompatible, he says. The middle ground will have to be manufactured by the bargainers themselves.

One of the trickiest questions that Codesa will have to resolve is how to bring a new constitution into being by fair and reasonable means. The ANC insists that a constituent assembly, chosen by the people, should devise the constitution. The Government argues that to do so is to put the cart before the horse: a new constitution should first be negotiated and then put to the popular vote. The standoff, Du Toit argues, is unsolvable by purely democratic means. The only way out is to use undemocratic procedures — such as were used centuries ago in Britain and America, when an unrepresentative Parliament and a group of Founding Fathers respectively laid the foundations for democracy without obtaining a prior mandate from the people.

Transitional societies, the author points out, do not have the luxury of a consensus on basic

pre-constitutional matters. Yet there are examples of successful transitions that might be followed here. Democratisation by "heavy-weight pact" of political parties has worked in Spain, Brazil and Hungary, while negotiated agreements by opposing forces within authoritarian regimes have been successful in Poland, South Korea and Hungary. A similarly undemocratic though well-intentioned arrangement may be needed to break the logjam here.

But the options are narrowing as the economy falters and social pressures grow. Successful transitions to democracy seldom take place in rapidly declining economies. As every newspaper reader knows, the threat posed by an underperforming economy and the accompanying social dislocation is now at least as formidable as the political conundrum confronting our constitution-makers. □

* *Power Plays — Bargaining Tactics for Transforming South Africa* by Pierre du Toit (Southern Books)

Major Goal of Which
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the percentage of and customers. Many people said

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, December 6 1991

TIM COHEN

Cash squeeze may put SACP in the red soon

Blouay 6/12/91

11A

THE SA Communist Party was facing cash constraints and would soon be in the red if it did not solve its cash squeeze, national organiser Charles Nqakula told the party's congress yesterday.

Presenting his report, Nqakula called on members to raise funds. "We must consider all possible avenues of fund-raising to keep out of the red".

The SACP had depended on the ANC and Cosatu for facilities such as computers and fax machines, he said.

Nqakula said the biggest

dilemma for SACP regions was that the party was operating openly with a constitution designed for underground activity.

"Our experiences as cadres from exile and from the mass democratic formation internally led to differences on the type of party we wanted to build".

During this period some people within the interim leadership, particularly the national office, were "marginalised", often because

they were working for more than one organisation

This "many hats syndrome" made it impossible to create a cohesive collective of dedicated activists to serve at regional offices and the national office also suffered "tremendously", Nqakula said.

But despite these problems membership had grown by leaps and bounds in the past six months. The

party had about 25 000 members in eight fully fledged regions, and another region still had to be launched.

General secretary Joe Slovo said yesterday former Operation Vula trialist Mac Maharaj had resigned.

In answer to a question from the floor, Slovo said he had resigned in a letter in which he stated that his resignation was "non-revocable and non-discussable".

Maharaj resigned from his post in the interim leadership of the ANC shortly after being released from prison, but rejoined the ANC during its August conference.

Slovo accuses De Klerk of war talk

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo accused President F W de Klerk of "the worst kind of war talk" during his opening speech at the party's eighth congress yesterday.

He said De Klerk had once again begun to use the "language of the Vosters and Bothas" - threatening emergencies, the use of his army and police force and what he menacingly calls 'other measures'.

"He should be warned that he is not the only one with the power to use other measures," Slovo told about 600 delegates.

"What De Klerk has been saying recently is not table talk, it is the worst kind of war talk. It is the kind of talk which can only help pollute the air surrounding the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa)."

Non-negotiable

Slovo described the convention as a "major watershed" but to ensure that it did not become a mere talking shop, its decisions had to be binding and have the force of law.

He said also the calling of a democratically elected constituent assembly to finally decide on a future constitution was "absolutely non-negotiable".

Slovo welcomed the new sense of realism across a wide political spectrum that had been displayed at the recent preparatory meeting which discussed Codesa.

In a sharply critical attack on the Soviet Union, Slovo said its president Mikhail Gorbachev had "completely lost his way".

"It is saddening that some of those in the Soviet Union who helped diagnose the disease have now allowed themselves to be

TIM COHEN

pushed into a treatment which addresses the disease by killing the patient."

Gorbachev responded to the attempted coup by hardline Stalinists by issuing a Stalinist decree to dissolve the party "as if it were his personal property", said Slovo.

"He is colluding in the chorus of vilification against Lenin, the greatest Soviet and world revolutionary which this century has produced," he said.

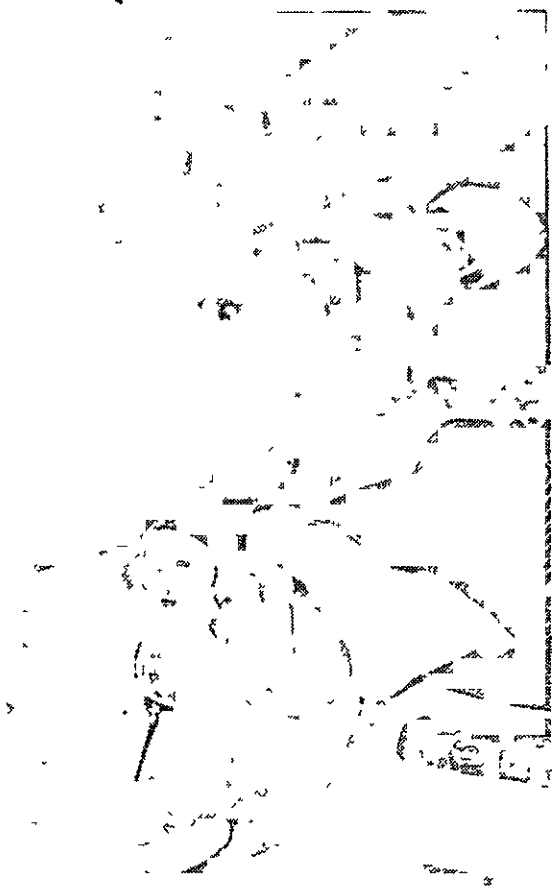
"The 10 days of October that shook the world are being treated like a shameful family legacy. November 7 this year was officially wiped out from Soviet history. Even simple patriotism is being sold in an attempt to fill the begging bowl of charity from the West."

The record of Soviet internationalism, despite a number of Stalinist perversions, was a "shining inspiration" to every struggling person.

"This too has been completely sacrificed on the altar of the so-called new world order. And nowhere is this more evident today than in the indecent haste with which the new Soviet establishment is rushing to make friends with racist Pretoria."

The SACP rejected "old-style statism and commandist bureaucratic control" and its draft constitution committed the party to respect all personal non-exploitative property "and such other private property as may be necessary for effective economic development and growth."

This was the broad vision of the SACP for the immediate shape of the post-apartheid mixed economy. "But we give notice that we will exert every political effort to orientate this mixed economy in a so-



ANC leaders Steve Tshwete and Cyril Ramaphosa at yesterday's SACP congress in Johannesburg listen to SACP general secretary Joe Slovo's speech. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

cialist direction. porters genuinely questioned whether, in the light of East European practices, socialism could ensure real democracy.

"This must imply a steadily growing socialisation of the economy involving the independent participation in economic life of social organisations and the people as a whole, in their capacity as producers, consumer and-owners."

Slovo said he respected members who were critical of the notion of "democratic socialism", but emphasised that some sup-

They also questioned whether the SACP, as earlier supporters of these practices, could be trusted to respect real democracy. Therefore inclusion of the word "democratic" in the phrase was justified.

FM 6/12/91

(11A)

The end of the beginning

Codesa marks a good start to the process — but now comes the hard part

Multiparty negotiations on a new constitution formally kicked off in a good and optimistic spirit at last weekend's preparatory meeting of 19 parties and organisations, dominated by the ruling National Party and the ANC

Though marred a little by the non-attendance of the rightwing parties, the most important being the Conservative Party, and by the staged walkout of the Pan-Africanist Congress, the parties agreed to style their watershed forum the Convention for a Democratic SA. And so the latest acronym, Codesa (the emphasis is on the second syllable), is set to loom large in SA politics

The name — suggested, incidentally, by SA Communist Party chief Joe Slovo — recalls another historic indaba the 1909 National Convention which led to the formation of the Union of South Africa. Agreement was also fairly easy on appointing Judges Petrus Schabert and Ismail Mohammed as chairmen and, after some disagreement, it was settled that the Chief Justice, Michael Corbett, together with religious leaders, would ceremonially convene Codesa's first substantive meeting on December 20-21

Optimism is not misplaced, says a member of the ANC negotiating team, Mohammed Valli. The reason was the meeting's swift agreement on procedures, which, he observed, can often hold up negotiations

Delight at the outcome of the preparatory meeting was palpable. "More than ever," said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, "we are convinced that we are walking the last mile." Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, who led a separate government delegation (as distinct from the NP one led by Economic Co-ordination Minister Dawie de Villiers), declared that the meeting represented "a clear, irreversible and definite break with the past"

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose was similarly upbeat. The meeting had shown that South Africans could overcome "the difficulties and divisions of apartheid and the violent society it had created"

According to Ramaphosa, the preparatory meeting "marks the opening of genuine negotiations." He went on to say "The main characteristics of this meeting have been the demonstrable commitments of the overwhelming majority of organisations that attended to show flexibility to engage in discussion so that the process can move forward. If there have been any jarring moments they have not been of a nature that can arrest this process now under way to realise a democratic SA"

"And yet it is necessary for us to say to all formations that remain outside this process the entire SA people demand their involvement. None of us can afford the luxury of clinging to party political interest"

This spirit, Ramaphosa added, must be the foundation stone of Codesa. There would be many difficult moments, he warned, however "the only assurance we have that we shall achieve democracy is this commitment to the national interest that has inspired us over the last two days. Through the successful conclusion of this meeting, we have jointly taken the future of our country into our hands. The momentum must not be lost"

Despite the PAC-ANC slanging match over an alleged secret deal between government and the ANC, the latter is convinced that the Africanists will attend Codesa's first meeting in a fortnight's time. Nor does it seem cut and dried that the CP will stand aloof from Codesa. The appearance of the CP's leading pro-negotiations advocate, Koos van der Merwe, at the venue last Saturday clearly had more to it than his claim that he had previously arranged an appointment

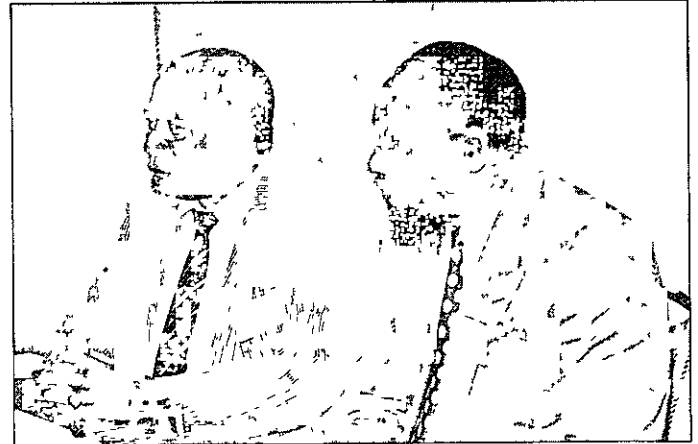
there. Van der Merwe caused a bit of a spectacle by not only claiming the name-board prepared for the CP, but by having Slovo, of all people, autograph it as well

The preparatory meeting decided that all parties, including the CP, HNP, AWB and Azapo — none of which attended last week — would again be invited to the meeting later this month and that each could send up to 12 delegates. That would allow Inkatha to include, as it demanded, a team from the KwaZulu government as well, and the ANC, perhaps, to include Cosatu representatives. Further, observers from the UN, EC, OAU, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement would be invited to Codesa

The convention's momentum is being maintained. A logistical steering committee composed of a representative from each organisation and temporarily chaired by Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer, was due to meet as the *FM* went to press. The steering committee is expected to draft a Declaration of Intent and to refine the agenda for the December 20 plenary meeting, to take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts airport

- The agenda agreed last week includes
- Creating a climate for free political activity,
 - General constitutional principles,
 - Transitional arrangements,
 - The future of the TBVC States,
 - The role of the international community;
 - Time-frames, and
 - Implementation of decisions

The December 20 meeting, says NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, will deal with certain procedural matters such as electing a chairman and hearing opening statements. Then, most important, it will appoint a number of working committees which will meet from time to time between plenary sessions



Delegations to Codesa: (L) ANC's Valli, Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma; (R) IFP's Mdlalose and Gumede re-run of National Convention

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sponsorship allowance

Determination as to whether the sponsor gets 30% (category A events) or 15% (category B) depends on how important and international the event is

The criteria are vague but if it attracts a "substantial number" of participants from outside the country and is of "material advantage" to SA sport, it could be classified as category A

Though the export allowance concession will be repealed on March 31, the wording of the legislation suggests that as long as the sponsor makes a legal commitment before that date, the allowance will be granted even if the money is spent after the cut-off date

Does this mean there will be a rush of applications for sponsorships of events which will only be held much later in the year — or even in 1993? Almost certainly not, believes Wend Wendland, an entertainment/sports legal consultant

For one thing, he says, "the test is when the sponsor is legally obliged to pay the money without condition" Most sponsors would have to acquire exchange control permission and that is unlikely to be forthcoming unless the planning of an event is already far advanced

Sponsors are not likely to make commitments to vaguely conceptualised future events

The Olympic sponsors, however, are likely to benefit because of the timing of the Barcelona sport fest in June They are almost certain to have made their commitments well before the deadline

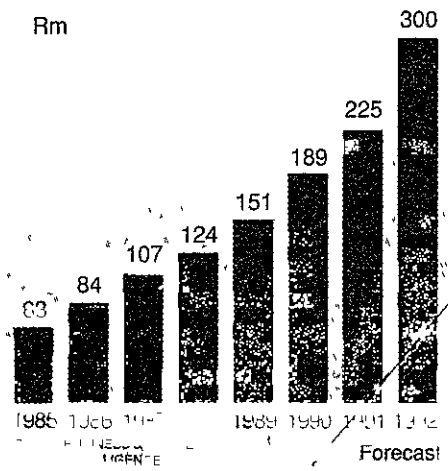
On the other hand, the Olympics is an event of such appeal that they might not need the extra tax break to persuade them to get involved "With the Olympics, the marketing side-benefits have become much more important than the tax benefits," says Wendland "The tax break is just a bonus"



Grobler demands on the sponsor are becoming too great

Money talks

Estimated SA sponsorship expenditure



Without the tax breaks, the onus on sponsorship to work as a marketing tool is stronger "The industry has changed overnight," says Grinaker "Gone are the days of exclusive ownership of an event Secondly, international sponsorship has become much more expensive If we want to bring an overseas team to SA, we have to pay enormous appearance fees Most sports have become professional in this way"

Multi-sponsorship deals are likely to become more common, believes Grinaker The main sponsor would have either a naming right (for example, The Ford Marathon) or a presenting right (The ATP World Doubles Championship presented by Standard Bank) Then there would be up to five official sponsors of, for example, refreshments, running shoes, clothing or car hire

The practical limit would be about five sponsors "More than that and it gets too diluted," says Grinaker

Critical to the success of such sponsorship is TV coverage, which broadcasts the sponsors' names to an audience of millions

Though local coverage in the past has generally been provided by SABC without charge, the trend towards sponsors paying SABC for coverage is already established and is likely to grow Ideally, this should be done by the official on-ground sponsors of the event If they are not involved, the sport might not benefit the way it should

TV coverage of the Comrades Marathon this year, for example, was paid for by Ohlsson's Lager SABC purchased from the organisers the right to broadcast the event and in turn sold the sponsorship to SA Breweries

Though 1991 was a slow year, with growth of only 19%, sponsorship spending has been expanding at a steady rate of around 25% a year since the mid-Eighties At least 1 000 companies are estimated to be involved in backing everything from cycling to the Rothmans July

Horse racing is the biggest beneficiary, receiving something like R20m last year It is followed, in order of importance, by golf, soccer, rugby, motor racing, boxing, tennis, road running and cricket

Money wise

Not all of them are spending their money wisely, however One mistake many sponsors make is to assume that it is a substitute for advertising For an event such as the Comrades, which takes a whole day to complete and during which the sponsor's names are exposed repeatedly, that may be true But, in general, it is not enough to rely on the exposure of a product or company name during TV coverage of the event

To make sponsorship work, the experts advise, additional money must be spent on advertising The rule of thumb among experts is that every rand spent on sponsorship should be matched by R1 to R1.25 in back-up advertising Though the figure is increasing, local sponsors spend only about 90c in advertising per rand of sponsorship

"The most basic function of advertising is to create awareness," says Erik du Plessis, MD of Impact Information, which runs a monitoring service called Sponsortrack "In most cases, the awareness of sponsorship is remarkably low

"The advertising of sponsorships should never be seen as a secondary exercise to the sponsorship or the event itself, but the sponsor is irresponsible if he believes he can merely announce the sponsorship and sit back He should be building the event and his brand"



Wendland tax break simply a bonus for the Olympics

FM 6/12/91

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Other issues, such as a constituent assembly, will no doubt be placed on the agenda too — though “not by us,” avers Van der Merwe. He adds “This is where transitional arrangements become important. They have to be the result of negotiated agreement. When and whether this will happen is problematic and will require very intricate negotiation.”

The NP has some fundamental objections to a constituent assembly, Van der Merwe points out. It would require a great deal of negotiation simply over mechanisms and even the ANC, he says, has acknowledged it would have to operate under predetermined constitutional principles.

Another problem with such an assembly is that it necessitates an election. At this point, Van der Merwe asks, on what platforms would it be held? His point is that, in being forced to distinguish their platforms, the parties would become locked into them, thus making the process of give and take much more difficult. In any case, the precise strengths of the parties is not material since their consent would be needed in any case for drawing up the constitution. The constitution should “preferably be drawn up by Codesa,” though “some kind of election” would of course be needed to give it legitimacy.

“We say, let’s negotiate and see how far we get,” is how Van der Merwe puts it.

He is loath to place a time-frame on all of this, though the NP “would like the process concluded as soon as possible.” The life of an interim government would depend on progress in Codesa, as some form of transitional arrangement would be needed “until a new constitution is in place.”

To the ANC, interim government appears to mean suspending the present constitution, which is not on as far as the NP is concerned. While Codesa has no legislative powers, says Van der Merwe, morally it would have some sway and resolutions it agreed on would have to be honoured and translated into law.

The hard part — aside from agreeing, further down the line, on constitutional nuts and bolts and in what forum that should occur — seems at this stage to have settled on the mechanics of arriving at an interim government (as the ANC would have it), or

government’s transitional arrangements

While government sources had indicated that Codesa could, as one option, transmorph into an interim government, the ANC rejects this notion. The ANC’s Valli says Codesa is a negotiating forum and cannot be an interim government. “Its task is to negotiate what sort of interim arrangements are necessary for the transition.” Interim government is viewed by the ANC as having certain sovereign, though temporary, powers, which will set up a constituent assembly and elections to it and oversee the transition.

Van der Merwe was somewhat peeved by a newspaper headline after the preparatory meeting which said “Codesa set to be informal interim government.” Though the convention “could have developed into something like that informally, and with good results, this avenue is now closed because it is perceived as an NP aim,” Van der Merwe explained. He sounded a bit dubious.

However, says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, there is already enough agreement on the question of interim arrangements to start a discussion. Codesa will determine their precise shape based on “sufficient consensus” being reached. It was impossible to put a time-frame on this matter, but the weekend’s good progress had left everyone feeling pretty “upbeat,” Niehaus said.

The ANC envisages an interim government as having a “limited life-span with clearly defined goals.” That is “to create conditions for an equal playing field preparatory to constituent assembly elections.”

Valli says the ANC sees an interim government being in place for “a maximum of 18 months,” whereas, he believes, government would like it to go on “for 10 years.”

Interim government will come “after all the items on Codesa’s agenda have been agreed on,” Valli reckons. “Its first task then would be to organise elections for a constituent assembly. The interim government will conduct these elections in terms of the new constitution and as soon as a new government is elected the interim government will dissolve.”

However, the constituent assembly has to draft the new constitution, Valli maintains.

What, then, is the point of Codesa looking at general constitutional principles in terms of its agenda? To the ANC — at least according to Valli — this is meant merely to act as “a vision” and the ANC would, therefore, like this embodied in a statement of intent.

The ANC wants early agreement on a constituent assembly “so we can get down to the business of constitution-making. The regime places less emphasis on this than on transitional arrangements.”

Such has been the apparent “convergence” of government-ANC thinking — at least over the stuff of which constitutional preambles are made — that it is hard to detect serious differences emerging over “a vision” (*Current Affairs* November 29). Yet there are different nuances and emphases, Valli points out. Similarly, while there is, “at the level of general principles,” agreement on a bill of rights, “the details are for the constituent assembly” to work out.

Another big problem area that Valli foresees is over the time-frame. He believes government wants to drag out the process as long as possible and detects nervousness on its part at the speed at which events are moving, since “once the process is over, they won’t be in power anymore.”

But surely government’s whole thrust is on power-sharing precisely to ensure a place for itself in running the country? But the NP notions of a multiparty Cabinet and so forth “just won’t go down and haven’t received support from any quarter. We are convinced it won’t fly,” asserts Valli. He dismisses the Nat proposal for an upper house of parliament based on equal representation and a veto regardless of voter strength.

So where, then, will the trade-off be? “Look at the preparatory conference,” Valli suggests. “All the positions agreed on were ANC [ones]. Government will find it difficult to resist our proposals. The concessions have all along come from the government. Remember they have not agreed to Codesa, or our unbanning, or Mandela’s release out of choice.”

Perhaps much of that can be taken with a pinch of salt as bargaining for position — even now. After all, the real bargaining has yet to begin. ■



Chairmen: (L) Justices Mohammed and Schabort; (R) government’s Kobie Coetsee and Viljoen

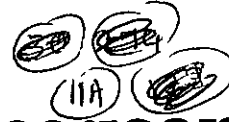
irreversible change?



POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

FM 6/12/91

To everything its season



Calls for a Black Christmas are not making much headway. The idea emanates mainly from the Civics Association of Southern Transvaal (Cast) — the body which has sought to replace “government” township authorities with itself in conditions of violence and uncertainty for which it must bear some responsibility.

A Black Christmas is one in which blacks neither buy anything nor celebrate on the basis that there is nothing to celebrate. In fact, of course, this would mean a consumer boycott over the holidays, enforced, one must assume, by a variety of means. It must be expected that in certain areas Christmas gifts will have to be taken home in brown paper parcels disguised as essential medicines and foodstuffs which are exempt from the boycott.

Retailers are gloomily anticipating a Black Christmas in any case. Consumer spending is depressed and likely to remain so for some months. What most people want for 1992 is a job. To compel entire communities to forgo any enjoyment that the coming season might bring is to compound misery with discomfort. Perhaps that is the point.

What Cast and Azapo both appear to need is reassurance that nothing whatsoever is getting better — not the political situation, not the daily lot of average people, not even a sense that someday violence will abate and normality return.

Cast's demand that government should take decisive steps to end township violence is either meaningless or disingenuous, a Christmas consumer boycott would bring with it fear and recrimination in the affected communities.

What such calls and demands have in common is that they monotonously insist upon seeing blacks as perpetual victims. They are the sackcloth to go with the ashes of destitution. By implication, blacks can never improve their political or economic lot except through the negative force of boycott.

As last weekend's preparatory meeting on constitutional negotiations demonstrated, blacks are perfectly capable of sitting down to make significant deals on a common future. The presence of the ANC, for example, suggests that the main liberation movement now sees its best advantage in smoke-filled chambers of debate rather than in the streets — a major shift in emphasis from its stance earlier this year when it suspended negotiations because of violence.

The big question for next year is not who can appear most revolutionary in terms of street theatre. It will be whether the sharing of power will also mean, as it should, the sharing of responsibility. It is one thing to rant about taxes and the redistribution of wealth — quite another for an interim government to take a cold look at the national accounts and decide what is best for all. ■

SACP battles to stay out of the red

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter (11A)

STAR 6/12/91.

The SACP would have "serious problems" if funds were not urgently raised, the convener of the party's national organising committee, former journalist Charles Nqakula, said yesterday.

Delivering his report to the SACP's eighth annual congress — the first to be held in South Africa in 30 years — Mr Nqakula said the party's recruitment

campaign had been badly affected by a lack of funds.

"We must, at this congress,

consider all possible avenues of fund-raising in an effort, in banking terms, 'to keep out of the red'," he said.

In a frank review of the party's state of organisation, Mr Nqakula said the SACP had tended to "tail" its partners in the tripartite alliance and had not engaged in programmes which would have confirmed its independence.

With a paid-up membership of about 25 000, the party had failed to attract women into its structures. However, the party had decided that communist women should remain active in the ANC Women's League rather than duplicate structures by setting up another forum for women.

He described the party's lack of contact with and guidance to still-exiled members as "a very sad indictment against us"

● Gorbachev has lost way — Page 6

Gorbachev has lost his way, says SACP chief

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

South African Communist Party general-secretary Joe Slovo yesterday launched a stinging attack on Mikhail Gorbachev, saying the Soviet leader had "completely lost his way".

Mr Slovo chose the opening day of the SACP's first legal annual conference in South Africa in 30 years to make the surprise attack

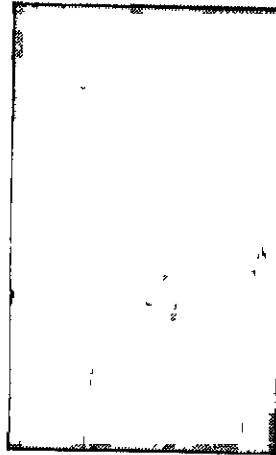
The 400 delegates, representing 25 000 communists, at the conference held at Nasrec outside Johannesburg murmured in surprise at Mr Slovo's remarks

He said the Soviet leader had sacrificed true socialism on the altar of a new world order. This was evident from the "indecent haste" with which the Soviet Union had rushed to make friends with "racist Pretoria"

Mr Gorbachev had responded to the attempted coup earlier this year with Stalinist treatment, by banning the party as if it were his personal property.

The 10 days of Lenin's October Revolution, which had shaken the world, had been treated like a shameful family history and erased from modern Soviet history books

Mr Slovo said the majority of the Soviet people would in the long run not allow "a new breed of power-seeking bureaucrats" to undo some of



Seeing red . . .
Joe Slovo.

the positive advances of the October Revolution

All "genuine communists" in the Soviet Union could count on SACP solidarity, he added

Mr Slovo also told President de Klerk to "keep his nose out of our affairs" and to stop telling the SACP whom it should choose as its allies

Responding to a recent statement by Mr de Klerk that the SACP was a dying party that was clinging to the ANC like a parasite, he said "One thing is certain we will certainly outlive the decadent National Party. This is their nightmare. As much as it makes their hearts bleed, our alliance with the ANC remains firmly in place."

The conference was opened by SACP chairman Dan Tloome. Messages of support were delivered by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo

Bush and I agree on pressure — Mandela

STAR 6/12/91

11A

WASHINGTON — ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday that he and US President George Bush seemed to agree on most issues, including the need for continued US pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.

"I come out of this meeting full of confidence and hope that we are seeing eye to eye with the president on a number of points," Mr Mandela said at a news conference after he and Mr Bush had held a half-hour discussion at the White House.

"One thing is clear the American government is deadly opposed to apartheid and any form of racial discrimination.

"There are, of course, differences on the question of how we should tackle the question of apartheid. But I believe that he (Bush) is exacting pressure on (President) De Klerk to speed up the reform process. And we urged that this morning," Mr Mandela said.

He said he and Mr Bush had been in frequent contact since

they met during Mr Mandela's first trip to the United States 18 months ago.

Mr Mandela is on a week-long visit to the US to promote investment in a post-apartheid South Africa.

On Tuesday he addressed the UN General Assembly in New York and urged other nations to continue economic sanctions against South Africa until apartheid was ended.

Reforms

The United States lifted its sanctions on Pretoria recently.

Mr Mandela said the De Klerk Government should be replaced with an interim government while reforms were being worked out.

"It is a minority regime, without credibility, without legitimacy, and that is why we are demanding the installation of an interim government of national unity, which can be seen by the masses of our people that this is a government which represents all South Africans, with-

out discrimination."

Mr Mandela said the ANC believed in a free-enterprise economy but with some intervention by government.

"You require a measure of State intervention to ensure that land is equitably distributed," he said.

Mr Mandela said Mr Bush had shown a great deal of interest in a proposed development bank to promote investment in post-apartheid South Africa, which the ANC supports.

He was optimistic about the success of meetings beginning on December 20 between the ANC and other anti-apartheid groups and the SA Government to discuss a new political system.

"We are hoping that that convention will constitute a milestone in our quest for a democratic South Africa. It gives an opportunity to all the people of South Africa to be involved in determining the future of this country," he said. — Sapa-Reuter.

Corruption alleged in DET matric marking

JOHANNESBURG — Maladministration and corruption in the marking of matriculation exam papers under the auspices of the Department of Education and Training will result in thousands of black matriculants being assessed unfairly, the SA Democratic Teachers' Union said yesterday.

The Sadtu statement called for "speedy movement" towards establishing an interim government to resolve South Africa's education problems.

The teachers' union said that after investigation it had come to the conclusion that "once more there are gross irregularities" in the marking of matric exam papers.

The DET's inability to follow a clear criterion for marking, maladministration at various levels, favouritism in the appointment of markers, nepotism, corruption, victimisation of markers who were Sadtu members and lack of proper planning were among the causes of the high failure rate, Sadtu said. — Sapa

(3) CT 6/2/91

Women defy police, march

RICHMOND. — About 300 women defied police orders and staged an illegal protest march from Ndaleni township to Richmond in the Natal Midlands yesterday to demand that riot unit members alleged to be inciting violence be withdrawn from the township.

The Richmond district was declared an unrest area in Wednesday's Government Gazette. More than 200 people have been killed in Richmond's townships this year. (11A) CT 6/12/91

Police told the ANC-supporting women who gathered in Ndaleni yesterday morning that they would be dispersed or arrested if they marched.

The singing marchers were, however, adamant about delivering a memorandum to Richmond's police station commander and they ignored police orders. — Sapa

SACP battles to keep out of the red (NR)

JOHANNESBURG —
The South African Communist Party was facing cash constraints and would soon be in the red if it did not solve its cash squeeze, national organiser Mr Charles Ngakula told the party's congress yesterday.

Presenting his report, Mr Ngakula called on members to raise funds. "We must consider all possible avenues of fund-raising to keep out of the red," he said.

The biggest dilemma for SACP regions was that the party was operating openly with a constitution designed for underground activity.

● General-secretary Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday that former Operation Vula trialist Mr Mac Maharaj had resigned in a letter stating that his resignation was "non-revocable and non-discussable." CT 6/12/91

Mandela on US crusade for billions

HUGH ROBERTSON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela is crusading in America for massive investment in South Africa — but has repeated the ANC stance on sanctions and has hinted that they are reviewing their position on nationalisation.

During his week-long tour of the United States, he urged President Bush and the president of the World Bank, Mr Lewis Preston, to back two multi-billion-dollar aid programmes for South Africa.

Members of Mr Mandela's entourage confirmed he had repeated his appeal for massive aid and investment and the response had been "most encouraging".

They emphasised, however, that Mr Mandela's call was for investment and aid in a post-apartheid South Africa and that until a new government was in place the ANC believed sanctions should be retained.

Asked whether the ANC's views on nationalisation would not discourage aid and investment, Mr Mandela said "Since the Freedom Charter was drawn up in 1955, attitudes have changed.

"Although this remains our official policy, we are discussing with business people inside South Africa, and abroad, what alternatives there might be. We are going to have an important meeting next year to review our policy."

While the PAC fracture deepens

Wally Mbhele
6/12-12/12/91
11A

BY WALLY MBHELE
THE Pan Africanist Congress suffered a powerful rupture at the weekend when delegates from more than 50 branches around the country declared their autonomy from the PAC's leadership and its policies.

As the organisation's leaders were walking out of the preparatory meeting for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Saturday, in protest against the alleged collusion between the government and the African National Congress, little did they know of bitter accusations levelled against them by "loyal members of the organisation".

At a conference, attended by more than 400 people, at Lethukuthula Secondary School in Katlehong, the PAC leadership was accused of "selling out the African masses" and creating confusion within the organisation.

The Katlehong conference, which was organised by a splinter group known as the East and West Rand Facilitating Committee, was charac-

terised by a militant mood among the delegates who denounced their leaders as "co-managers of imperialism". One delegate won a standing ovation amid the reverberating chant of "one settler, one bullet" when he said that "we have been betrayed by the people we loved".

He attacked PAC president Clarence Makwethu's support for the Constituent Assembly as "arrogant". "Our hopes and aspirations are being toyed with. They have lost our love and respect," he said. "Negotiations are like a minefield. Once you go, you'll never come back."

The Katlehong conference saw the election of a National Steering Committee and the adoption of resolutions with far-reaching implications.

The committee was asked to convene the "2nd National Congress of the PAC" on April 6 next year and a motion was adopted that last year's congress should be declared "null and void".

Meanwhile, after suspending their further participation in the preparatory meeting, the PAC announced a special congress in Cape Town on

December 16, to obtain a mandate on whether to take part in Codesa or boycott it.

However, it was the very question of mandate which brought the PAC leadership on a collision course with its members.

Blasting the leadership for acting without a mandate, delegates at the Katlehong conference rejected the Constituent Assembly and a Patriotic Front as products of "sell-outs and a betrayal of PAC policy". "The land question," argued the delegates, "was non-negotiable and the Constituent Assembly could not guarantee the unconditional return of the land..."

The Constituent Assembly was adopted at the PAC's first congress within the country since its unbanning while it acted as a co-convenor of the Patriotic Front in Durban on October 25.

The organisation's sudden departure from the preparatory meeting and the immediate announcement of a special congress on December 16 is seen by observers as an attempt to avoid a split in the PAC.



PAC president Clarence Makwethu

Peter Mokaba has for years been undisputed leader of the youth. But this weekend, the ANC Youth League must choose between the Lion of the North and a surprise challenger. HERBERT MATLOU profiles two hardened activists from the same militant mould

The tussle for leader of the youth

RAPU MOLEKANE... Christian and communist

RAPU MOLEKANE has embraced both Christianity and communism with equal passion in a political career that began in his early teens

"I have always seen Christianity as a source of our desire for liberation," he explains. "At the same time I have long been inspired by the works of people in the South African Communist Party

"Communists fought side by side with the nationalists, as reflected in the history of our liberation struggle. Moreover, most communists have religious backgrounds. The philosophical differences between the two doesn't stop their adherents from working together. In fact, a lot of comrades continue to join the party and still adhere to their Christian values"

Molekane's credentials for the position of president of the African National Congress Youth League, currently held by Peter Mokaba, will be put to the test at the league's congress next week.

He served as national publications officer for the Young Christian Students before his election on to the executive committee of the Soweto Youth Congress in 1984

He continued working for the Christian movement until 1987, when he was elected secretary-general of the South African Youth Congress, the ANCYL's predecessor

Molekane (31) comes from a politically active family. His brother, Sibido, and his sister, Ellen, were South African Students' Movement activists and both were involved in the march which triggered the 1976 student uprising.

"Some posters for the march were made at my home," he recalls. "As a result, the uprising didn't come as a surprise but I was startled by the large numbers it attracted."

As a 16-year-old Standard Six pupil, Molekane joined the procession as it

PETER MOKABA... in and out of jail

PETER MOKABA — like Rapu Molekane, the man challenging him for presidency of the ANC Youth League — first cut his political teeth in the student uprisings of 1976.

As a student at Hwits High School, Mokaba (33) became one of the leaders of the student movement in the north that led the school boycotts.

He slept in the mountains at night to evade arrest until he was captured in November 1977. He was later acquitted on public violence charges after all 28 state witnesses refused to give evidence against him.

Prohibition by the authorities to attend school led him to study part-time until he completed Standard 10 in 1978.

At one stage, he worked as a labourer in a silicon mine, in a construction company and at Pep stores in Pietersburg. He also taught mathematics and science at Makgoka High School in Morija City in 1979 — all with the purpose of raising funds to continue his education.

Mokaba did not respond to *The Weekly Mail's* requests for an interview. However, he has a lengthy political pedigree.

He was admitted to the University of the North in 1980 on condition that he kept out of politics. In June 1982 he was arrested and tried for membership of the ANC, possessing weapons of war, undergoing military training in Angola and Mozambique, and attempting to recruit members for the ANC.

He was sentenced to six years imprisonment on Robben Island. A year after, he was released when the Appeal Court set his conviction aside, only to be re-arrested on the same charges and retried in Pietersburg where he was sentenced to three years suspended

for five years. When the Mankweng Youth Congress was formed in mid-1985, Mokaba was elected president. He went on to serve as education officer for the Northern Transvaal regional youth coordinating committee.

The launching of the South African Youth Congress in Cape Town on March 28 1987 saw the unanimous election of Mokaba as Sayon's 1990 national congress. In March 1988 he was arrested in Johannesburg in terms of section 29, and later transferred to Pietersburg to stand trial on charges of commanding Umkhonto weSizwe structures in the Northern Transvaal.

Co-accused Mallebane and Thabo Mesemela were convicted for illegal possession of arms and sentenced to four years imprisonment. State witnesses refused to testify against Mokaba, leading to his acquittal in May 1989.



11/11

W/M and 6/12 - 12/12/91



(Cosas) after registering at Mampela-Tswana Secondary School

At the time, the Department of Education and Training was attempting to diffuse student militancy by closing down Morris Isaacson High School, referred to as a "trouble spot", and by dispersing students to various other schools. But the move backfired, leading to the consolidation of Cosas at Mampela-Tswana.

Molekane says the most striking feature about Cosas was the organisation of political workshops "I remember one weekend seminar at Magaliesburg which drew students from Soweto, Bosmont, Eldorado Park and Noordgesig. Discussions centred around arguments raised in Luli Callinicos work, *Goldland Workers* it



SACP chooses Hani

● FROM PAGE 1.

SACP that it needs to assert its independence to counter the impression that it is an ancillary to the larger ANC. (1/A)

Mr Slovo was the only nominee for the position as SACP chairman, a less onerous post than the general secretaryship. Charles Nqakula, a former journalist and guerrilla fighter, was nominated as deputy secretary-general. STAR 7/12/91

Discussion at yesterday's plenary session of the SACP congress focused on its draft constitution, drawn up, in large measure, to take account of the changed situation in South Africa since the party was unbanned on February 2 last year and in a world where communism is on the retreat.

In contrast to communist parties in Europe, the SACP proudly affirmed it was a communist party by re-adopting its name in the new constitution. The 400 congress delegates then re-proclaimed their commitment to Marxism-Leninism.

Where the drafters of the new constitution — understood to have included Mr Slovo — studiously avoided that phrase, the congress wanted it written into the constitution. The un-amended draft constitution was deemed, judging by delegates' comments yesterday, to have

relegated Lenin in the hierarchy of revolutionary leaders.

Complaints were raised about the draft manifesto which does not even mention Lenin, committing the SACP to work for the return of socialism to "its true and original vocation as envisaged by Marx, Engels and many other great socialist pioneers".

In another critical decision, the congress voted overwhelmingly against a phrase describing the aim of the SACP as the establishment of a "democratic socialist society".

The chairman of the SACP's Natal Midland's branch, Harry Gwala, was cheered when he spoke in favour of not putting the adjective "democratic" before the word "socialism".

Many delegates argued that the word "democratic" was superfluous because socialism was "intrinsicly democratic".

A majority of the leaders on the podium voted for the use of the word "democratic". They included Mr Slovo and Mr Hani.

Afterwards Mr Slovo cautioned against reading too much into the vote. The SACP had unequivocally committed itself to democracy by its acceptance of earlier clauses in the draft constitution, he said.

One clause committed the SACP to work for its "acceptance as a vanguard (party) by democratic means and in ideological contest with other political parties".

PAC's absence from negotiations is a signal of good news for rest of us

STAR 7/12/91

LONG may the PAC continue to walk out of negotiations. As long as that is happening, most South Africans will be able to sleep soundly at night.

Why do I say that? Simply because it means that everything is on track.

Like the puff of smoke from the enclave of cardinals at the Vatican, it tells the world waiting outside that what's happening inside is going smoothly.

More specifically, PAC walkouts tell the world waiting outside that, inside, the National Party and the ANC are getting closer and closer.

Don't misunderstand me. I don't have it in for the PAC any more than for any other political grouping.

But reality dictates that a serious and workable settlement will have to be between the National Party on one side and the ANC on the other.

The PAC appears to have a limited power base and, therefore, the more it squeals, the more it is being marginalised by the Nat/ANC bloc.

The same, to greater or lesser extent, will apply to the other would-be-major player jostling for power at Codesa — Inkatha.

For the rest, like the various odds and ends masquerading as homeland political parties, discount them from the political game — they are doing nothing more than wasting oxygen.

Don't be alarmed, either, when I mention the Nat/ANC bloc. This is unlikely to turn into a permanent political alliance, with one party swal-

Notebook

11A
CHRIS GIBBONS



lowing the other.

There is simply too much distance and too much bad blood between them for that to happen.

But in terms of negotiating a settlement and a new constitution, the more billing and cooing that appears to go on, the better for us all.

It's been said repeatedly that the Nats need the ANC and vice versa.

That sentiment was echoed this past weekend by Nelson Mandela who believes firmly that President de Klerk is the man to carry sufficient numbers of white voters to endorse whatever blueprint emerges for the new South Africa.

Equally, De Klerk needs Mandela to carry the bulk of the black population and stave off the ravening radicals of the far left wing.

Nowhere is this mutual need more critical than at the negotiating table itself.

If a constitution can be hammered out which leaves both Nat diehard and ANC cadre happy, then there is reasonable chance that it will suit the rest of us too.

And if the more radical elements, like the PAC, continue to grumble, then there is also a reasonable likeli-

hood that this document will be sufficiently middle-of-the-road to guarantee our futures.

Once the constitution is settled, then you can expect both parties to go their own sweet way and fight it out at the polls. And we will all live happily ever after.

Well, that's the way it's supposed to end in all the best political fairy tales. Unfortunately, in this case, waiting out in the woods are several rather big and rather bad wolves.

For example, there is the Conservative Party, which after the Virginia by-election result can claim, with some degree of confidence, to represent just under half the white voters.

Where does the CP fit into the cosy little scenario outlined above?

Believe me, if the PAC carried the same kind of weight among black voters, no one would be writing about them being marginalised, nor dreaming up clever little newspaper columns about what a good thing it is when they walk out of talks.

Nelson Mandela needs F W de Klerk to carry the bulk of the white voters if a settlement is going to work. But as things stand at the moment, De Klerk may be able to deliver just over half. And that will not be enough.

So far, the pieces in the negotiation puzzle seem to be fitting quite nicely. The next major step will be to try to place the CP in the jigsaw.

Without them, I suspect the picture will be incomplete.

Mangope slates ANC League over protest call

STAR 7/12/91

(11A)

MAFIKENG — Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday launched a scathing attack on the ANC Youth League for appealing to the homeland's residents to engage in mass action against his rule.

Speaking at a ceremony to mark his third term as president since independence 14 years ago, Mr Mangope told more than 3 000 people that the Youth League had called for action to "bring Mangope to his knees and make Bophuthatswana ungovernable".

Delegates from the break-away Soviet republics of Latvia and the Ukraine heard Mr Mangope reveal that he had altered his internal security laws to permit organisations such as the

ABBEY MAKOPE

ANC to register as political parties so that they could challenge his popularity at the polls.

He would welcome it if the ANC or other parties challenged him, he said.

The Youth League's attack on his government had resulted in homeland residents having false expectations similar to "those ex-wrapped Easter eggs — once you have opened them they are hollow and empty inside".

Mr Mangope also accused newspapers of printing propaganda about him.

He said his government should not be accused of op-

pression if it reacted to the organisations involved, in not subversive activities aimed at topping his government.

● Sapa reports that 60 members of the ANC were allegedly arrested yesterday in Winterveld, north of Pretoria, shortly before embarking on protest action against the 14th anniversary celebrations.

Ronnie Mamoepa of the ANC PWV region said the protesters were meeting at the local Riba Primary School when homeland police rounded them up.

They were arrested shortly before marching on the local police station to hand over a memorandum calling for the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into greater South Africa.



CHALLENGE TO OPPONENTS: President Mangope said organisations such as the ANC could register as political parties and fight him at the polls.

Hani is SACP boss

(11A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 7/12/91

IN a shock move, Mr Chris Hani last night bucked directives from both the ANC and uMkhonto weSizwe and bowed to overwhelming SA Communist Party pressure to take over its leadership.

The surprise turnaround by the MK chief of staff and member of the ANC's inner cabinet caught the ANC off guard and could fuel tensions with its SACP alliance partner.

Mr Hani's unexpected decision to take over as general secretary of the party from the ailing Mr Joe Slovo comes just weeks after the SACP formally lost a tug-of-war contest for the charismatic leader.

The recent ANC national executive decision that Mr Hani would not be allowed to transfer to the SACP full-time followed an earlier unanimous resolution by a special MK congress calling on the ANC to retain Mr Hani as MK chief of staff and to decline an SACP request for him to work full-time for the party.

The unopposed nomination of the militant, high-profile and extremely popular leader to the leadership of the SACP comes as a major coup for the party and is likely to boost its popularity during a difficult period in its history. Mr Hani received the most votes during elections for positions on the ANC's executive at its July conference in Durban.

After Mr Slovo announced recently that ill-health prevented him from standing for re-election to the demanding general secretary post, the contest for the position seemed wide open.

However, shortly before nominations closed last night, Mr Hani — in the words of SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin — "bowed to the overwhelming pressure from congress (to stand), which happens to coincide with his personal feelings".

When the Cape Times broke the news of

To page 4

From page 1

Hani leads SACP

Mr Hani's decision take over the top job in the SACP to ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma, he responded "I'm as surprised as you are".

However, he added "Whatever the ANC or MK feels about this, ultimately Mr Hani will have to follow his personal inclination. Other structures in the (ANC-SACP-Cosatu) alliance can say what they want to say."

Mr Cronin told the Cape Times that while Mr Hani felt a commitment towards MK and the ANC, the SACP had been his "first choice" all along.

He hoped that Mr Hani's decision would not lead to tensions and strains with the alliance partners. "The SACP value Chris Hani but also the alliance partners — I think the congress feeling eventually got to him."

Mr Cronin said that the main purpose of getting Mr Hani to lead the SACP was to improve its prospects of recruiting new members.

"However, it will certainly lend stature and appeal to our party," he said.

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From page 1

Hani leads SACP 111A

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Why secret talks almost faltered

From Page 1

any further we shall be in very deep water indeed."

Mr Ramaphosa agreed, saying, "We do have to have a cut-off point. If we open the floodgates, the flood will just sweep us away."

Mr Desai, a former Cape Town city councillor, attacked Mr Ramaphosa, saying he found it astonishing that he could support the exclusion of trade unions.

Mr Ramaphosa replied that the ANC had discussed the matter with Cosatu, its alliance partner. It was clear Mr Desai was not well-informed.

The question of whether there should be separate delegations for Inkatha, the Kwazulu government and the Zulu king — still unresolved — featured prominently at the meeting.

The minutes show that Dr Frank Mdlalose, Inkatha chairman, launched into a lengthy dissertation on Kwazulu's history to support his point.

The minutes also reflect intense debate on the choice of chairmen for the first meeting of the Codesa conference.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee proposed that Mr Justice Schabert and Mr Justice Mahomed should continue as co-chairmen but that Chief Justice Corbett officiate at the first meeting.

There was unanimity on the two judges continuing as co-chairmen but the ANC, SACP and PAC objected to the choice of the Chief Justice. The ANC and SACP later conceded the point.

During debate on the issue, acting chairman Dr De Beer clashed with Mr Desai.

Revealed: Judge Mahomed's angry clash with communist delegate

INSIDERS REVEALS



MR JUSTICE MAHOMED Demanded apology

SUNDAY 8/12/91 (11P)

By Norman West: Political Reporter

THE secret minutes of last week's multi-party talks show that they came to the point of breakdown when the two chairmen threatened to walk out after an attack on their impartiality by prominent communist Moses Mayekiso.

One of the chairmen, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed, rescued the situation when he offered an apology from a reluctant Mr Mayekiso.

The Sunday Times has acquired a 400-page transcript which reveals the drama behind the bargaining at last week's preparatory meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The meeting at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn set the ground rules for the historic December 20 and 21 talks which will negotiate a new constitution for South Africa.

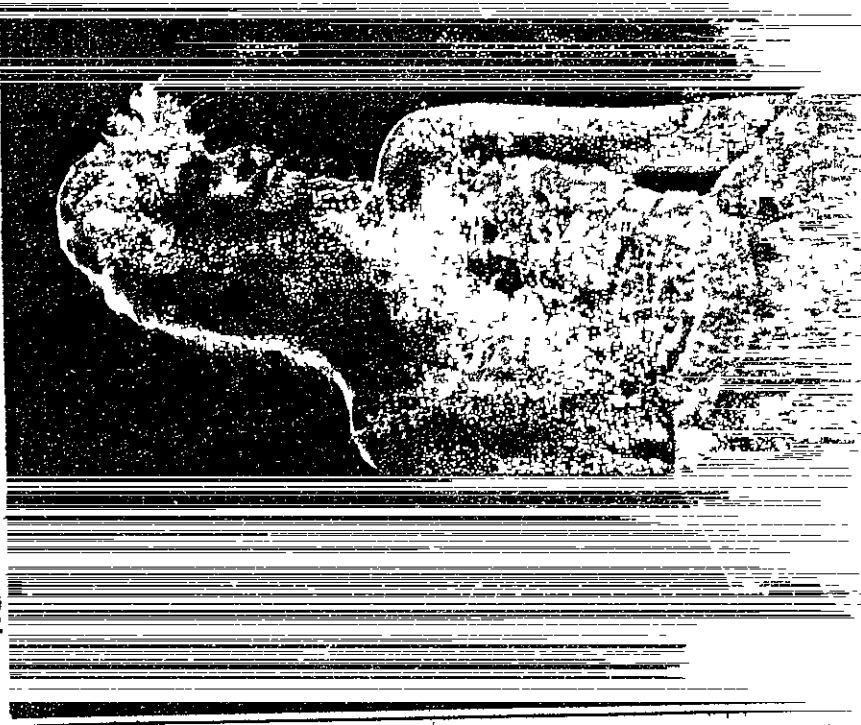
The minutes show that a crisis loomed when Mr Justice Mahomed felt his impartiality, and that of co-chairman, Mr Justice Petrus Schabert, had been impugned.

The drama arose after Mr Justice Mahomed had allowed considerable debate by the Inkatha Freedom Party delegates on why the KwaZulu government and the Zulu king should have separate delegations.

Mr Mayekiso remarked that it seemed as if "you want to satisfy a certain party".

The judge responded: "No, I do not think that is fair. If there is any issue as to my impartiality, let us develop it straight away, because I do not particularly need to be here, if there is a perception that this (his efforts to resolve conflict) constituted bias on the part of me and my colleague, we are quite happy not to carry on in our present position."

DIANA'S WINNING LOOK



Doctors' fury over Rina's bid to slash health bills

By CHARLENE SMITH

DOCTORS are fighting a proposed new law which would allow the establishment of medical care systems that have proved they can slash medical costs by almost half.

Such schemes, claim their supporters, could extend medical aid benefits to 11-million more South Africans.

Anger at the proposed law is at the root of the recent demand by the 12 500 doctors in the Medical Association of South Africa for the resignation of Dr Rina Venter, the Minister of Health.

The draft Medical Schemes Act which has been rejected in its entirety by Masibane would for the first time allow medical schemes to contract only with doctors or medical services that are prepared to operate within affordable rates.

It would also spur the establishment of what is called Managed Health Care Sys-

Apologise

"We need the confidence of this assembly in order

Mandela gives Hani go-ahead as SACP chief

S/Time 2
8/12/91
(11A)

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela gave permission at short notice for Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani to become leader of the SACP after he was telephoned in America by his deputy, Mr Walter Sisulu.

The decision to elect Mr Hani as general secretary of the SACP at the party's first legal conference in South Africa in 40 years was taken despite initial strong opposition from the ANC and MK.

But the party had no alternative after the only other leading candidate, former Cosatu assistant general secretary Sydney Mufamadi, told members he was not available for a top position.

Mr Hani will resign from the ANC's national working committee and is likely to resign as chief of staff of MK.

their commitment to socialism as the only viable solution to South Africa's problems

The crisis in Eastern Europe featured prominently in lively debate — which was open to the media — by more than 400 delegates

While recognising that socialism had failed in the Soviet Union because of its distorted implementation and a lack of democracy, delegates reaffirmed their commitment to socialism and Marxist-Leninism

They also committed themselves to multi-partyism and the pursuit of socialism by democratic means

Debating the party's constitution, delegates voted overwhelmingly to scrap the word "democratic" to qualify socialism.

● Operation Vula activist Ronnie Kasrils and full time SACP worker Jeremy Cronin topped the polls in the SACP central committee elections

Cosatu vice-president Chris Dlamini, Mr Mufamadi and Cosatu deputy president John Gomomo captured the third, fourth and fifth positions respectively

Former general secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions John Nkandimeng was elected sixth, while Southern Natal regional executive committee member Billy Nair came seventh

National Union of Metalworkers of SA general secretary Moses Mayekiso came eighth while Natal Midlands ANC regional executive committee member Blade Nzimande came ninth and Natal Midlands ANC regional chairman Harry Gwala came tenth

Others elected to the remaining 15 positions on the central committee are Sizakele Sigxashe, Essop Pahad, Geraldine Fraser, Raymond Suttner, Jenny Schreiner, Sam Shulowa, Tony Yengeni, January Masilela, Garth Strachan, Thenjwe Mthintso, Stan Nkosi, Brian Bunting, Govan Mbeki, Matthew Makhahum and Nozizwe Madlala

TRIUMPHANT
Chris Hani
acknowledges
applause after
being elected
to replace Joe
Slovo at the
first
communist
conference to
be held in SA
in 40 years
Picture.
BRIAN
HENDLER

Surprise

Former SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was not available for re-election because of ill-health and work commitments elsewhere. He was elected unopposed as party chairman.

Former journalist and Operation Vula activist Charles Ngukala was elected unopposed as deputy general secretary, former Sactu president Kay Moonsamy was elected unopposed as treasurer and Robben Islander Ray Mhlaba was elected deputy chairman.

Mr Slovo said yesterday that Mr Mandela had no objection to Mr Hani taking the top position.

Mr Hani said he believed he could still play some role in MK, although he doubted it would be as chief of staff. He would retain his position on the ANC's national executive committee.

He said his nomination had come as a surprise, as he had said before the congress that he was unavailable for an official position. Mr Hani is now likely to lead the SACP delegation in the Codesa talks. Delegates at the congress reaffirmed

Mandela, Bush agree ^{11A}

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Thursday that he and United States President George Bush seem to agree on most issues, including the need for continued US pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.

given 8/12/91
"I come out of this meeting full of confidence and hope that we are seeing eye to eye with the president on a number of points," Mandela said at a news conference after he and Bush had a half-hour discussion at the White House.

"One thing is clear that the American government is deady opposed to apartheid and any form of racial discrimination."

CPA 8/12/91

No black Christmas, says ANC

THE ANC's PWV region will not support calls for a "black Christmas" - a consumer boycott of white-owned businesses over the festive season.

Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this was decided at a meeting of the ANC's regional executive committee.

The regional leadership believed the community deserved a break from mass action, he said.

"We believe our people should be given the opportunity to celebrate Christmas and New Year in a spirit of goodwill and to use that period to regain their strength and dedication to launch higher forms of mass action in the new year."

Future is red, says the party

11/11
8/12/91

THE party faithful came in their hundreds to relaunch the South African Communist Party - banned in this country for four decades

Held at the Nasrec Centre near Soweto, the mood of the 400-odd delegates at the party's eighth congress was buoyant

Although communism is on the retreat in most parts of the world, the one clear message that came out of the Nasrec meeting was that communism is alive and kicking in South Africa

Most of the delegates at the four-day congress, which ends today, were in their late 20s or mid 30s, indicating its potential for greater growth. This must have been gratifying to the several foreign guests who attended

Since it was unbanned in 1990, the party has shown a steady growth in membership. According to national organiser Charles Nqakula, membership stands at 25 000 and is growing fast

Most of these guests belong to communist parties in countries where socialism is under extreme pressure. They came from Britain where the party disbanded two weeks ago, Nicaragua where the Marxist Sandinista government was recently ousted and Italy and Portugal where membership is diminishing. Other delegates came

from Senegal, Reunion, Austria, France and Israel

The strangest absentees were members of the Communist Party from the Soviet Union or whatever remains of the party in that disintegrating country. Since its inception in 1921, the SACP has had very close ties with its counterpart in the USSR

While there were no representatives from the USSR, China and Cuba (a traditional ally of the SACP) each sent three delegates. The presence of China - the world's major communist-ruled country - indicates that it may now replace the Soviet Union as the SACP's major benefactor

In his main address to the faithful, outgoing secretary-general Joe Slovo sketched a brief outline of the party's moments of great achievements and those periods when they hit lows

Predictably, he extolled the virtues of communism or democratic socialism, denounced Stalinist practices committed in the name of socialism, and declared that the party would outlive the National Party

In a major departure from previous SACP positions, Slovo launched a vicious attack on Mikhail Gorbachev and went as far as to say he (Gorbachev) "had completely lost his way"

The SACP leader accused Gorbachev of "colluding in the chorus

of vilification against Lenin" whom he described as the "greatest Soviet and world revolutionary this century has produced"

Unlike most local political parties, most of the party's deliberations were open to the public and the press

Slovo's two-hour address was regarded by several political observers as one of the most brilliant. He did not gloss over the failures of communism. He addressed these seriously

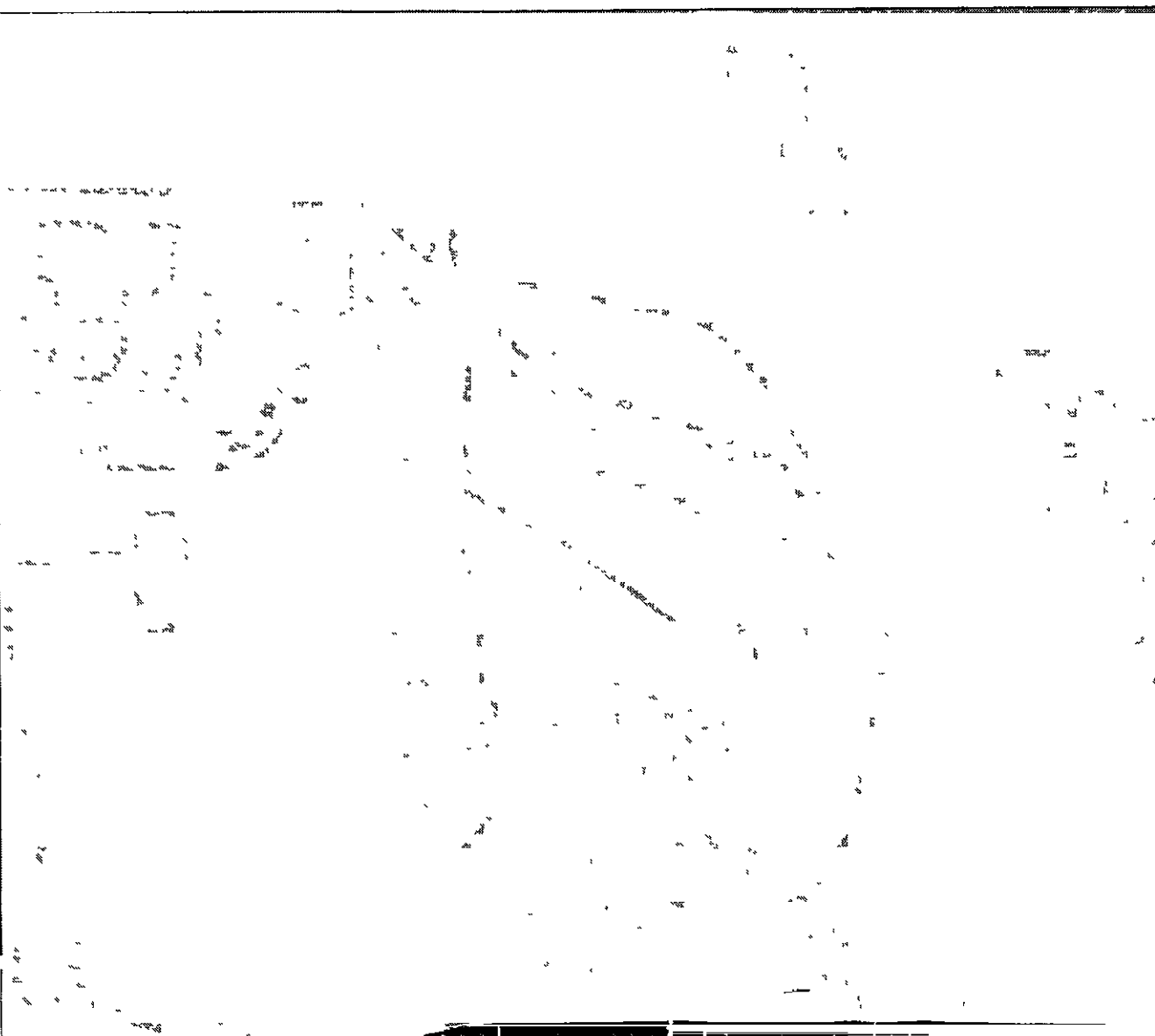
But he was equally brutal in his attack on rampant capitalism. He said the world's poor or the "wretched of the earth" lived in capitalist societies or capitalist-oriented societies

"If for them socialism is not the answer, there is no answer at all"

Slovo also restated the party's well-known positions on the continued alliance with the ANC. He tried to tell the ANC who their friends should be. In a blunt statement he told De Klerk to "keep his nose out of our business"

Owing to poor health, Slovo will not stand for re-election. New office-bearers will be elected today. If the torch of socialism is dimming elsewhere in the world, Slovo told his audience, in South Africa it is shining brighter

A huge red banner at the podium in the hall said it all: "The future is socialism."



COMRADE JOE . . . SACP stalwart Joe Slovo speaking at the party's relaunch after decades of State suppression. The launch was noted for openness and the buoyant mood among delegates.

Lenin still SACP's guide

By SEKOLA SELLO
and Sapa

MARXISM-Leninism as the guiding principle of the South African Communist Party was heavily debated at the party's eighth congress held at Nasrec, near Soweto, at the weekend.

Delegates were divided down the middle on dropping the name of Lenin from the description

Others, like Essop Pahad, proposed including the name of "Engels and other revolutionaries"

After fierce debate the proposal to remove Lenin's name was finally dropped. C. S. 8/12/91

Natal Midlands communist hardliner and member of the ANC NEC, Harry Gwala, drew wild applause when he said calling the party Marxist without Leninism was a "limping explanation of ourselves".

Another contentious issue was the proposal to insert "democratic socialism" in the constitution, instead of simply referring to "socialism".

After a lengthy debate the matter was put to the vote and defeated

■ Chris Hanu was nominated unopposed to become the new SACP general secretary after Joe Slovo stood down

Also nominated unopposed were Slovo as national chairman, Charles Nqakula as deputy general secretary, and Kay Moonsamy as treasurer

In the only contested position Raymond Mhlaba was elected deputy national chairman after standing against the incumbent Dan Tloome

■ See Page 14

Azayo slams talks

By SUSU MOTSHUTSHU

CPA (11A)

THE newly-formed Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) will come under the spotlight during a conference of the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) in Port Elizabeth next weekend

Azayo president Thami Mcerwa told journalists in Johannesburg this week that Codesa was trying to find "a quick-fix solution" to the country's problems.

Mcerwa said Codesa would compromise the liberation struggle and was doomed to fail like the Patriotic Front

CPA 8/12/91

He also criticised the ANC's rejection of a "black Christmas", saying Azayo would continue the campaign.

About 1 000 delegates, including ANC members, are expected to attend the conference in New Brighton's Centenary Hall from Saturday to Monday, he said

De Klerk will accomplish little on his Moscow visit, says

8 Day 9/12/91

Government sources said De Klerk would definitely meet the Soviet Union's two most powerful leaders during his visit, although a spokesman for De Klerk's office said yesterday his itinerary had not yet been finalised.

Sapa-Reuters reports Soviet foreign ministry spokesman Vitaly Churkin told a news briefing in Moscow the visit was arranged on Pretoria's initiative.

It follows a similar visit by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last month during which the two countries signed an accord restoring consular relations.

Business Day Reporter

However, Churkin was cautious about whether the restoration of full diplomatic links would even be discussed during De Klerk's ground-breaking visit.

He was careful to mention Moscow's traditional links with the ANC.

Ironically, De Klerk will visit the Soviet Union before Mandela, whose organisation received extensive backing from Moscow during the period of his imprisonment.

The announcement that the trip was on came only a day after the attack on Gorba-

chev by SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo. Slovo accused the Soviet leader of issuing a Stalinist decree by dissolving the Soviet Communist Party which, Slovo said, Gorbachev treated like his personal property.

Mandela, who arrived in Houston on Saturday on a tour to promote investment in a post-apartheid SA, said De Klerk's visit would accomplish little because of government's history of racial oppression.

"We (the ANC) have no objection to the visit," Mandela said. "Whether he (De Klerk) goes to a country or not makes no

difference to us, because nothing can advance his cause. Nothing can advance the cause of racial oppression in our country or in the world."

Mandela said he also had been invited to visit Moscow. He said De Klerk "has fighting to sell and we have something to sell" regarding future investments in SA.

Mandela was invited to the Soviet Union this week, but could not make the trip because of his visit to the US and the UN. Earlier this year, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Niko Lynako travelled to SA for talks with government and other leaders

Mandela

De Klerk will accomplish little on his Moscow visit, says Mandela

5 (Day) 9/12/91

Business Day Reporter

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk would meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin during his trip to Moscow this week, government sources confirmed.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela predicted at the weekend that the visit, confirmed by the Soviet government on Friday, would accomplish little.

The Soviet Union will be the 20th country De Klerk has visited since April last year and, in the light of the traditional animosities between the two countries, his most historic to date.

However, Churkin was cautious about whether the restoration of full diplomatic links would even be discussed during De Klerk's ground-breaking visit.

He was careful to mention Moscow's traditional links with the ANC.

Ironically, De Klerk will visit the Soviet Union before Mandela, whose organisation received extensive backing from Moscow during the period of his imprisonment.

The announcement that the trip was on came only a day after the attack on Gorbachev by SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo.

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SACP to go own route, but strengthen alliance

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The South African Communist Party intends developing into an independent political force while, on the other hand, strengthening its alliance with the ANC and Cosatu

At the conclusion of its eighth annual congress — the first legal congress to be held in South Africa in more than 30 years — the SACP

said it remained a revolutionary party committed to a radical transformation of the country into a socialist state

Newly elected general secretary Chris Ham — who indicated that he would step down as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — told the congress that the advance to socialism had become unstoppable

"Surely the National

Party, which is trying to destroy us, must feel uncomfortable to see us united and invigorated to continue the struggle. They must be petrified to see that we are prepared to continue until we get a socialist South Africa," he said to loud applause from more than 400 delegates representing the party's 25 000 members

Mr Ham said that asserting the SACP's independence did not mean it would necessarily clash with the ANC or Cosatu.

SACP to go own route, keep ties

From Page 1

attempts to "delay the adoption of a new constitution by proposing that interim arrangements should last for an unacceptably long time"

The SACP also demanded that President de Klerk and the NP retract their statements that they would never hand over power to the ANC

In a resolution on the tri-partite alliance, the SACP noted that consultations between the parties on major initiatives — particularly on negotiations — were inadequate. The alliance had often failed to give decisive leadership at national, regional and local levels

Congress resolved that alliance structures should be strengthened at all levels, and that a common programme of action should be developed, including mass campaigns to strengthen the alliance in the negotiation process

The SACP would debate constructive criticism from other members of the alliance.

It would ensure that the SACP developed an independence within the alliance and, through its participation, advance socialism

Congress also criticised the lack of co-ordination within the alliance regarding negotiations on national and regional levels, and decided to develop a comprehensive strategy to co-ordinate these efforts

Expressing its commitment to multiparty talks, the SACP said Codesa had to create a climate for negotiations and the acceleration of the process to release all political prisoners and bring an end to political violence

Prisoners

The alliance partners would continue to pursue common strategies. However, if the SACP did not "sit eye to eye" with the ANC on certain issues, it would not hesitate to say so, he told a press conference after the congress at Nasrec outside Johannesburg

Mr Ham added that the party would devise its own strategies for constitutional negotiations

The SACP said it intended to use the upcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to demand the release of all remaining political prisoners before Christmas.

Congress resolved that its negotiating team should demand that all decisions taken at Codesa on December 20/21 should have the force of law

New SACP national chairman Joe Slovo, who stepped down as general secretary because of heavy ANC workload and ill health, said Codesa's decisions could only be legally enforced if entrenched by the existing Parliament. There were no other legal channels available, he told the press conference

Congress also passed a resolution demanding that an interim government be given the power to convene a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution. This process should be concluded within 18 months

It rejected National Party

● To Page 3

five-shot victory in the
See reports on Pages 2

SACP slams lack of consultation in alliance (11A)

SACP delegates yesterday sharply criticised what they said was a lack of consultation within the SACP/ANC/Cosatu alliance and resolved to develop the party's independence within the alliance.

Following four days of discussions, the SACP congress committed itself to abide by the result of free and fair elections, support the continued participation in the Congress for a Democratic SA (Codesa) and provide support for Cuba

Newly-elected SACP general secretary Chris Hani said after the congress that he would have to be phased out of his job as Unkhonto We Sizwe chief of staff as he

TIM COHEN

would be working full time for the party. In his closing address, Hani criticised capitalism as "a danger to humanity". He also expressed support for Cuba and the international socialist movement.

In the party's resolution on negotiations, the SACP noted that it had not adequately consulted its membership in working out its positions and participation in the negotiations process.

It also slammed the NP for attempting to delay the adoption of a democratic constitution by proposing that interim ar-

rangements should last for an unacceptably long time.

Codesa should establish an interim government to govern for a period of not longer than 18 months and all its decisions should have the force of law.

The SACP decided to call on the inaugural meeting of Codesa later this month to ensure the release of all political prisoners before Christmas.

In a resolution on the tripartite alliance, the congress noted that there had not been adequate consultation on major initiatives of common concern and decisive leader-

□ To Page 2

SACP *blows* 9/12/91. (11A) ~~(SACP)~~

ship has not always been forthcoming.

The congress therefore resolved to strengthen the alliance and decided that delegates to alliance meetings had to be specifically mandated by, and accountable to, their respective organisations.

The resolution also committed the SACP to "ensure that the SACP develops its independence within the alliance and advance the cause of socialism".

Hani said yesterday that this criticism was aimed at the SACP itself as much as other alliance members.

The new SACP central committee consists of five members of the leadership and 25 other members elected by the congress.

□ From Page 1

The five leadership members are Hani, Joe Slovo, Charles Nqokala, Ray Mhlaba and Kay Moonsammy.

The 25 elected, in order of the votes they received, are Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils, Chris Dlamini, Sidney Mufamadi, John Gomomo, John Nkandeng, Billy Nair, Moses Mayekiso, Blade Nzimande, Harry Gwala, Sizakele Sigxashe, Essop Pahad, Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, Raymond Sutner, Jenny Schreiner, Sam Shilowa, Tony Yengeni, January Masilela, Garth Strachan, Thenjuwe Mthintso, Stan Nkosi, Brian Bunting, Govan Mbeki, Matthew Makhahuma and Nozizwe Madlala.

Hani likely to step down as MK chief

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

Newly elected SACP general-secretary Chris Hani indicated yesterday that he would step down as chief of staff of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), to work full-time for the SACP.

Mr Hani said the ANC would soon be requested to "phase out" his MK duties since he clearly could not do justice to both positions.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave the green light

Asked whether he would resign as MK chief of staff, he said: "Well, I will be working full-time for the SACP. As soon as possible we will sit down with the ANC leadership, where I think the request will be made that I be phased out."

Mr Hani's availability for the job came as a surprise, as he had indicated earlier that he would not be available.

The ANC, which had earlier turned down an SACP request to relieve him of his MK duties to build up the SACP, has not yet officially responded to Mr Hani's unanimous election.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said on Saturday the ANC would have to accept Mr Hani's election and that it would not cause friction between the two parties.

"It is true that the ANC wanted Mr Hani. They did not want him to take other positions

"But once the congress of the Communist Party meets, it is its prerogative to appoint a man they've got confidence in, and we granted them that," he said.

At its first legal congress in South Africa in more than three decades, the SACP elected a new leadership of 30 people.

Outgoing general-secretary Joe Slovo was elected national chairman, former journalist Charles Nqakula was elected deputy general-secretary and Robben Island stalwart Raymond Mhlaba was elected as deputy national chairman.

The position of treasurer went to former SA Congress of Trade Unions president Kay Moonsamy.

Other members of the SACP's central committee, in order of the number of votes attracted in the secret ballot conducted among 413 delegates, were Jeremy Cronin (407), Ronnie Kasrils (400), Chris Dlamini (392), Sydney Mufamadi (387), John Gomomo (385), John Nkadimeng (365), Billy Nair (361), Moses Mayekiso (350), Blade Nzimande (339), Harry Gwala (332), Sizakele Sigxashe (329), Essop Pahad (329), Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi (324), Raymond Suttner (321), Jenny Schreiner (291), Sam Shilowa (285), Tony Yengeni (283), January Masilela (276), Garth Strachan (267), Thenjiwe Mthintso (266), Stan Nkosi (258), Brian Bunting (258), Govan Mbeki (252), Matthew Makhahma (251) and Nozizwe Madlala (248).

● Who speaks for SA's workers?
— Page 10, SACP delegates
score major coup — Page 11

SACP delegates score major coup

STAR 9/12/91.

(11A)

THE SOUTH African Communist Party gave notice at its congress in Johannesburg at the weekend that it would, where necessary, pursue an independent course rather than serve as a mere ancillary to the ANC

The election of Chris Hani, a senior member of the ANC and chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, as SACP general-secretary is a clear manifestation of the independent-minded mood of the 400 delegates who attended the congress.

It is common knowledge, as Mr Hani acknowledged at a news conference after his election, that the ANC was loath to release him to serve as a full-time officer of the SACP

Yet the delegates, who occupy leadership positions at local branch level and who reflect grassroots opinion in the SACP, insisted that he make himself available to succeed Joe Slovo as general-secretary and take over the single most important position in the party.

They simply refused to take "no" for an answer, either from Mr Hani, who spoke jokingly of their insistent "friendly persuasion", or from the ANC leadership

Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, ANC president and vice-president respectively, were informed of the mood of the congress and raised no objections, Mr Slovo, who was unanimously elected as SACP chairman, told journalists. One wonders, however, whether they had any option but to concur

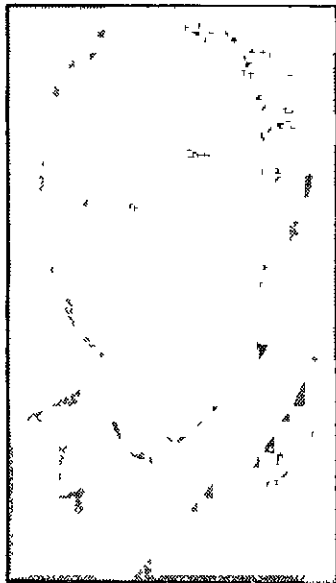
By persuading Mr Hani to stand and the ANC to release him, the SACP delegates scored a major coup for the party. Mr Hani, a charismatic man with popular support, can only strengthen the SACP's appeal in the black community where, in large measure, the ideological battles of the future will be won or lost.

It is true that there are fraternal relations between the SACP and the ANC. It is true, too, as Mr Hani was quick to point out, that he will not be the first man to hold top posts in both the ANC and SACP. Two of the best-known black communists from an earlier era — Moses Kotane and Moses Mabhida — held senior positions in ANC.

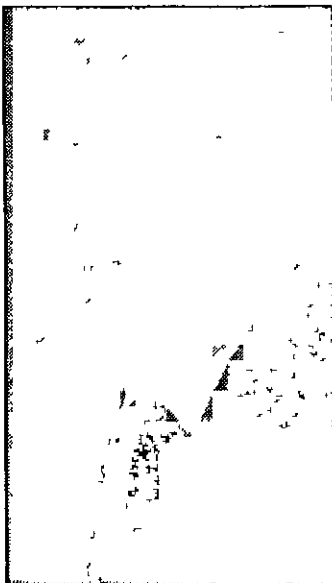
But these are different times and, to quote Mr Hani, "the position of general-secretary in the SACP is a fulltime job". The SACP will thus be the primary beneficiary of his talents, energy and popularity

A measure of Mr Hani's popularity was given in July at the ANC's conference when he topped the list of successful candidates for the 50 seats on the national executive chosen by popular vote after the elec-

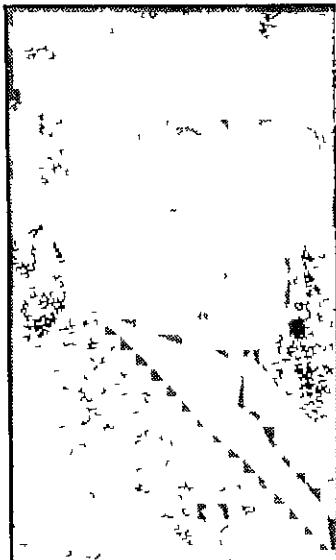
PATRICK LAURENCE appraises the significance of the SA Communist Party's historic eighth congress.



Chris Hani ANC was loathe to release him to serve as a full time officer of the SACP.



Joe Slovo congress opted against his wishes and chose to speak of "socialism"



Harry Gwala old hardliner argued for the reinsertion of the phrase Marxism-Leninism



Jeremy Cronin protagonist of indissoluble links between communism and democracy

tion of the six major office bearers.

Another indication of the SACP's independent role emerged during the news conference after Mr Hani's election. Mr Hani will almost certainly lead the SACP team at the pending Codesa negotiations, with the seasoned Mr Slovo at his side.

In recording the emergence of a mood favouring a higher profile and a more independent role for the SACP, one should not over-emphasise the point. The SACP is not about to part company with the ANC. It remains a key partner in the tripartite alliance with the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Union.

"Each of the organisations in the alliance discusses the negotiating process," Mr Slovo said

in reply to a question on whether — and if so, how — the positions of the SACP differed from those of the ANC.

"They don't always start off with the same points of view on every detail. But a mechanism has been established — a special joint negotiating forum which meets once a week — where whatever differences that exist are ironed out to reach sufficient consensus.

"But there is no guarantee that we will go into the negotiating process with an undertaking by each organisation that we will necessarily follow one another on every single issue."

The independent mood of the congress was manifest against the SACP leadership itself in debate at the weekend.

Congress overwhelmingly re-

jected the use of the phrase "democratic socialism", opting instead, against the wishes of Mr Slovo and Mr Hani, to speak of "socialism" in the newly adopted party constitution. It chose, too, to reject a move to describe the SACP as a Marxist party — and thus downplay the role of Lenin — rather than a Marxist-Leninist Party.

These decisions were interpreted by some observers as a rejection of Mr Slovo's attempts to reassert the importance of democracy and a resurgence of pre-Gorbachev communism in the SACP. Mr Slovo, however, disagreed when that interpretation was put to him.

"There was no rejection of the concept of democratic socialism, there was only rejection of the adjective 'democratic' in the context in which it was used," he said.

"If you look at the balance of the constitution — which was adopted unanimously — you will see that the delegates unanimously tied themselves to multiparty democracy and to respect for the right of all political and social organisations to exist.

"What they were doing in removing the adjective was to state their belief that socialism incorporated democracy."

Against that, however, when Harry Gwala argued for the reinsertion of the phrase "Marxism-Leninism", he was cheered widely. Mr Gwala, an old-style hardliner, is the chairman of the region which sent a congratulatory message to the men who tried to oust Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and restore the old Brezhnev regime in the Soviet Union in August.

Mr Slovo is on record, too, as arguing that what passes for Leninism is often no more than disguised Stalinism.

The SACP congress was, however, true to the post-Brezhnev concept of glasnost or openness, it fulfilled a promise — made by its leaders more than a year ago — to discard the secrecy which had characterised the SACP underground existence and led to its being accused of clandestine manipulation of the ANC.

Elections to its central committee — the highest policy-making body after the congress itself — were held during the congress, with independent organisers ensuring that everyone knew who the candidates were and that all delegates could exercise a secret vote.

The names of the central committee were published at the congress and released to the press. They were headed by Jeremy Cronin, with 407 votes. Mr Cronin is a strong protagonist of reforging strong and indissoluble links between communism and democracy. □

Mike Siluma reflects on the SACP conference which ended yesterday

Who speaks for SA's workers?



THE weekend conference of the SACP once more brought into focus the need for the unions to carve a niche for themselves. The need was first articulated after the ANC conference, and again recently when Cosatu demanded representation at the multiparty talks.

After nearly 40 years as an underground party, the SACP formally re-launched itself into a South Africa where its mantle as the defender of the interests of the working class has, in practice, been usurped by the union movement, primarily Cosatu.

While SACP membership currently stands at a claimed 25 000, its ideological allies, the unions, command far greater visible support among workers. Cosatu, for instance, claims a membership of more than a million, while the National Council of Trade Unions boasts more than 300 000.

In addition, a new survey of the political views of Cosatu shop

stewards has shown that if an election were called today, an overwhelming 94 percent would vote for the ANC. A paltry three percent would vote for the SACP.

The survey, commissioned by Cosatu and carried out in September by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE), also showed that of the 860 shop-stewards interviewed, 70 percent believed Cosatu was the body best able to represent workers' interests during the constitutional negotiations, against nine percent for the SACP and 21 percent for the ANC.

Senior CASE researcher Siphon Pityana, who co-ordinated the survey, ascribed the low support for the SACP to two main factors — the party's lack of an independent political profile as a result of its participation in the ANC/Cosatu alliance, and Cosatu's prominent political role in recent years.

"Until the unbanning of ... the ANC and SACP, Cosatu played the

role of representing workers' interests both politically and on the shopfloor, and won the workers' confidence."

SACP executive member Charles Ngakula was dismissive of the findings. "We do not place a lot of emphasis on such surveys. The fact that our membership has grown from 5 000 at the beginning of the year to 25 000 shows that there is a lot of interest among the working masses in the SACP."

He points out that many Cosatu shop stewards are also active as party activists at branch level. Also, key Cosatu leaders hold party executive posts.

"The party is the political home of the working class. The labour movement largely concerns itself with the situation at the factory floor. The main objective of the party in the short term is to work with the ANC to achieve national liberation for all our people. In the longer term our aim is to introduce socialism in SA."

But what common ground is there between Mr. Ngakula's views and those of union leaders?

Plenty, it seems, in the case of Nactu assistant general secretary Mahlomola Skhosana. "We see the SACP as an important organisation. We believe that a strong communist party in SA can help to fight the economic imbalances in the country."

"Unions are reformist by the nature of their work, whereas the party is a revolutionary body which is a necessary complement to the unions' struggle."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo agreed there was a convergence of objectives in as far as the party and Cosatu wanted "a democratic socialist SA", but added that, while Cosatu's primary role was to look after workers' interests such as wages, employment and economic issues in general, the federation remained a major political player. □

Boesak says rural success vital to ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

IF the ANC did not succeed in the platteland, it would not succeed at all, the Western Cape leader of the ANC, Dr Allan Boesak, warned at the weekend.

Dr Boesak was speaking at the ANC's first rural conference in Worcester, an event, he said, which marked a turning point in the ANC's history.

Introduced to the 300 delegates from throughout the Cape as "the voice of the rural people", Dr Boesak said it was vital for the ANC to build a formidable organisation among the rural poor because they represented the majority of South Africans.

No democracy would be possible in a future South Africa unless the rural areas developed a powerful voice and ensured that their problems were addressed at the negotiation table, he said.

Dr Boesak said that despite talks at national level for a new constitution, it often appeared as if nothing had changed in the rural areas.

He said some farmers were paying their workers between R12 and R20 a month — "and people are expected to live on this".

Dr Boesak said that although the Labour Party now formed part of the Patriotic Front, LP-controlled management committees "are throttling our people in the rural areas".

"The government may be willing to change, but its hangers-on are not."

Earlier, the ANC's director of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, said the conditions experienced by the oppressed in the rural areas of South Africa was "a scandal that would put any other country to shame".

He slammed the use of prison labour and migrant labour on farms as a way of keeping wages down.

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Twelve ANC national executive members and 10 trade unionists are on the new SACP central committee

They were elected by 413 voters at the party's national congress

Mr John Gomomo, Cosatu president, Mr Chris Dlamini, Cosatu vice-president and Mr Sam Shilowa, Cosatu assistant general-secretary,

Top ANC (11A) people on 27.9/12/91 committee

were among the top trade unionists elected

Prof Jeremy Cronin was voted in by 407 delegates

Members of the electoral commission were,

Prof Kader Asmal (an expert in constitutional law), Mr Alan Taylor (a senior administrator at the University of the Western Cape), Prof Fink Haysom (of the Centre for Legal and Applied Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand) and Miss Lauren Richter

The South African Communist Party also decided not to change its name

Mandela surprised by US award worth R280 000

(114) ARC 9/2/91

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — A wealthy oil industry heiress gave ANC president Nelson Mandela a surprise \$100 000 (R280 000) award at a Houston ceremony where he honoured recipients of another award

Mr Mandela had just completed a speech honouring the winners of the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize, which commemorates six Jesuit priests murdered by government forces in El Salvador in 1989, when Mrs Dominique de Menil ushered him back.

She announced "As always, when men and women commit themselves totally to an indisputably just cause, our hearts and souls respond with fervour and gratitude To express this

fervour and gratitude the Rothko Chapel is presenting you, Mr Mandela, a very exceptional award for truth and freedom of \$100 000"

The Rothko Chapel is a non-denominational sanctuary set up by Mrs De Menil and her late husband, Mr John de Menil, to house a collection of 14 huge paintings by the American artist Mark Rothko.

The sanctuary is open to the public and it is understood that the \$100 000 award to Mr Mandela came from the proceeds of contributions made by visitors

Mrs De Menil, who was born in France, inherited an oil industry equipment corporation in Texas and a fortune in oil holdings in the US and abroad She owns one of the world's largest collections of impressionist and abstract expressionist art

ANC men keep posts

MR Mathew Phosa and Mr Joe Nkuna were re-elected to their positions of regional chairman and regional secretary respectively at the ANC Eastern Transvaal conference

In a statement yesterday the ANC Eastern Transvaal branch said Mr Johannes Shabangu, former death row and Robben Island prisoner for Umkonto we Sizwe activities, was elected regional treasurer. (11A)

Mr Crosby Moni was unanimously elected deputy chairman and Mr Jacques Modipane was elected deputy secretary. Sowetan 10/12/91.

Mr Jackson Mthembu retains his position in the regional executive committee as regional spokesman. - Sapa

Natal women form alliance

Sowetan 10/12/91
A HISTORIC alliance of women's organisations, cutting across political, social and economic boundaries, was established in Natal at the weekend

The front, to be known as the Women's Charter Alliance of Southern Natal, has as its main objective the drawing up of a national charter for women's rights

(11A)
SA Press Association

Participants in the southern Natal alliance are the ANC's Women's League, the Federated Women's Institutes of Natal and KwaZulu and the Business and Professional Women's Association

Groups gather to oppose Codesa

Sowetan 10/12/91
A NEW front is emerging in opposition to Codesa after the apparent collapse of the Patriotic Front.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Azapo, Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the New Unity Movement and the PAC could form a new front

Stopping short of saying that the move towards unity of the non-participants in Codesa is an attempt to re-launch the floundering Patriotic Front and - if need be - without the ANC, Azapo's Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe yesterday suggested that ANC political thinking was "merging with that of the regime (Government) and the liberal establishment"

History had shown that during a country's political redevelopment, "a section of the liberation movement and its leaders" was always co-opted to fit into the grand scheme of the government of the day

"What we are about to witness is a new alliance between the old bosses and a new induna class
"It happened in (pre-independ-

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

ence) Zimbabwe, where the Ian Smith government installed (Bishop Abel) Muzorewa - but real freedom came much later," Nefolovhodwe said

He said Codesa, as it stood without the PAC, was a continuation of talks about talks between the ANC and the Government and not the Government and the PF

There was a chance of the PF surviving in some form or another with the PAC and ANC at the preliminary talks - but that ideal was horribly shattered, Nefolovhodwe said

The PF failed to "act as a front" at Codesa's planning meeting on November 29 and 30, most political observers agreed

This apparent collapse sparked the walkout of the PAC from the meeting, leaving the ANC alone against the Government and its allies

Nefolovhodwe said "As an alternative, Azapo is looking into a broad consultation of all those organisations and groups which

are still committed to total liberation of our people"

The wild card in the pack is the PAC

They walked out of Codesa's preparatory meeting on November 30

The movement's publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, said at the time that the PAC had to return to its membership for "a fresh mandate to participate in Codesa"

The PAC's Mr Benny Alexander yesterday confirmed that the organisation was holding its consultative conference at the University of the Western Cape near Cape Town this weekend where the movement will put the framework for participation in Codesa to its membership

Nefolovhodwe said without the participation of the PAC, Azapo, the BCMA, the NUM (not to be confused with National Union of Mineworkers) and Wosa, Codesa was worthless and not representative of the black working class

Codesa was not the appropriate means for "the transfer of power from the minority to the majority"



PANDELANI NEFOLOVHODHWE

Govt 'agrees to carry out Codesa decisions'

STAR 10/12/91

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The crucial question of what force the decisions of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) will enjoy, is close to being resolved in multiparty talks, it is understood.

Sources said that the Government had agreed yesterday to commit itself to carry out the decisions of Codesa. But where they clashed with the law, the law would have to be changed constitutionally, through Parliament.

The issue was thrashed out in one of the three Codesa task groups which met for the first time yesterday at the World Trade Centre, near Jan Smuts airport where Codesa will be held on December 20 and 21.

Codesa will have to reach agreements on far-

reaching questions such as the nature of an interim government or transitional authority, the kind of institution which will draft a new constitution and the broad principles that will underlie a new constitution.

According to some sources, the issue of the status of Codesa's decisions took up so much of the time of the task group on drafting, that the group will have to meet again today.

The ANC has previously expressed the view that Codesa's decisions will have to be given the force of law or it will degenerate into no more than a talk shop.

Some sources said the issue was complicated by the Government's commitment to go back to its white electorate for a mandate to make any fundamental changes to the constitution.

It is now clear that the Inkatha Freedom Party is digging in its heels over its demand that it, the KwaZulu govern-

ment and the Zulu king should be allowed to send separate delegations to Codesa.

IFP sources said that the KwaZulu Government could not be dealt with like any other homeland. This refers to the decision that only the majority parties in the six self-governing territories should attend.

The Star learnt yesterday that the NP delegation to Codesa will include some of the coloured MPs from the House of Representatives who joined the party this year, mostly from the Labour Party.

Among the NP delegation are likely to be senior coloured members such as Deputy Minister of National Education Abie Williams.

The NP delegation will also include NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Finance Minister and Transvaal leader Barend du Plessis and Defence Minister Roelf Meyer. It will be led by Cape Leader Dr Dawie de Villiers.

R280 000 surprise for Mandela

WASHINGTON - A wealthy oil industry heiress gave ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela a surprise R280 000 award at a human rights ceremony in Houston at the weekend, after he had delivered the keynote address to honour recipients of another award.

Mandela had just completed his speech honouring the winners of the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize on Saturday, which commemorates six Jesuit priests who were murdered by government forces in El Salvador in 1989, when Mrs Dominique de Menil ushered

Sowetan Foreign Service
10 12 91

him back to the podium. She announced: "As always, when men and women commit themselves totally to an indisputably just cause, our hearts and souls respond with fervour and gratitude. To express this fervour and gratitude the Rothko Chapel is presenting you, Mr Mandela, a very exceptional award for truth and freedom of R280 000."

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Menil and her late husband, Mr John de Menil, to house a collection of 14 huge paintings by the American artist Mark Rothko.

The sanctuary is open to the public and it is understood that the award to Mandela came from the proceeds of donations made by visitors.

De Menil, who was born in France, inherited an oil industry equipment corporation in Texas, and a fortune in oil holdings in the US and abroad, and she owns one of the world's largest collections of impressionist and abstract expres-

sionist art. Since the death of her husband, she has devoted her life to the promotion of human rights around the world and to philanthropic projects in Central America and other regions.

With former US president Mr Jimmy Carter, she set up the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize.

Mandela appeared surprised by the award but was quickly ushered by De Menil into a huge marquee where 1 000 guests were waiting to meet him. He was not available for comment on Sunday and was due to leave the US yesterday.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All the reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978. *Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663, Johannesburg 2000. Nom-de-Plumes can be used, but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published.

Azapo talks stance firm

TIM COHEN *HA*

AZAPO yesterday reaffirmed its rejection of Codesa and said it would embark on a new process of consultation with groups outside the negotiating process *B/Ow 10/12/91.*

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe told a Johannesburg news conference Azapo still stood for comprehensive sanctions, including the sports and cultural boycotts

"Today's opportunists have substituted what they call sports unity for the real demand of the masses which is no normal sport in an abnormal society"

Nefolovhodwe said Codesa was a government ploy to derail efforts to establish a constituent assembly

Without Azapo and the PAC, Codesa participants fell into two camps, government and its "satellites" and the ANC, whose thinking was merging with that of government and the liberal establishment.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo was aware a section of the liberation movement would be co-opted



ndon



TIM COHEN

Codesa task groups 'make good progress' on summit

THREE Codesa task groups made good progress yesterday in preparation for today's steering committee meeting, sources said

The steering committee will prepare for next week's Codesa summit at which at least 20 political parties will negotiate SA's future constitutional direction.

(11/20/91)
The task group on or-

ganisation and planning discussed arrangements for Codesa's plenary session and the task group on future mechanisms, called the "process" task group, prepared for discussions on the transitional period and the constituent assembly.

The three meetings took place in an "extremely

positive" atmosphere, a source said.

PAC representatives, who walked out of the preparatory meeting, did not attend the talks.

None of the groups completed their agendas and will meet again next week, but substantial progress was made, one source said

ADDRESS:



ANC urges land sales freeze

5 Day
10/12/91
TIM COHEN

THE ANC's first rural conference has called for a moratorium on major land sales, particularly in rural reserves and homelands, until a national land dispensation has been negotiated.

The conference, held in Worcester at the weekend, urged government to call in the debts of unproductive farmers and distribute their land to productive, disadvantaged communities.

More than 300 delegates attended the two-day conference, which was organised to identify development problems in rural areas and strengthen the ANC's organisational structures there.

The conference called for the formation of a land claims court to address the grievances of dispossessed communities and to make legal aid available to help them regain their land.

The conference also resolved to

urge the establishment of a permanent land commission to assist rural communities, involved in land struggles. Immediate efforts should also be made to acquire vacant land to assist communities facing land shortages.

Communities should "consider occupying such vacant land to highlight their plight", an ANC news release said.

The conference also called for an investigation into ways of limiting the amount of farms which one person could own.

It reiterated the ANC's rejection of local authority structures, such as management committees. Local communities should not, where possible, enter into negotiations "with such puppet structures", the conference decided.

Delegates expressed concern at

the restrictions on organising ANC branches in rural areas, where, they said, local ANC structures were often refused access to venues and farmers usually did not allow workers to attend meetings or join political parties.

GERALD REILLY reports that the Free State Agricultural Union is to ask government to subsidise farmers' production credit interest rates down to a maximum of 8%.

In a statement yesterday union president Piet Gous said unless government agreed, hundreds of farmers would be unable to work their land with serious consequences for food production. A big drop in production was inevitable with interest rates at current levels. This year alone farmers would pay R2,5bn in interest on massive debt of around R17bn.

Pamphlet 'a fake'

THEO RAWANA

A PAMPHLET directed at peace-makers in the nine-month-old Cape Town taxi war was designed to sow confusion and discredit Sabta, the taxi organisation said yesterday. **5 Day 10/12/91**
The toll in the war between two taxi organisations was 87 people killed, 58 houses burnt down and R21m damage to vehicles, Sabta national media manager Fanyana Shiburi said.

He said a pamphlet, released on Friday and purporting to have been issued by Sabta, attacked members of the Cape Town peace committee and the taxi crisis coordinating committee as "political fat cats" who should be rejected by taxi operators.

Shiburi said Sabta acknowledged the efforts of the Cape Town committees as partners in the task of working to bring peace and "completely disassociated itself" from the pamphlet.

'No peace without Left'

If the Azanian People's Organisation and other organisations on the Left were not involved in negotiations, South Africa would not know peace, Azapo said yesterday.

Azapo president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said those in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa had to realise there would be no true settlement if these groups were excluded.

Azapo argued that no group could transfer power — Political Reporter. *STAR 10/12/91*

Azapo in
majority
rule drive

11A

ET 10/12/91

JOHANNESBURG —
The Azanian People's
Organisation yesterday
committed itself to a
broad consultation drive
to mobilise its campaign
for the transfer of power
to the black majority

Azapo president Mr
Pandelani Nefolov-
hodwe said no amount of
pressure, whether from
the international com-
munity or African allies,
would change the de-
mand for majority rule

He said the organisa-
tion would make contact
with groupings within
and outside the antici-
pated Convention for a
Democratic SA forma-
tions — Sapa

6/10/91 10/27/91

\$100 000 windfall

ANC leader Nelson Mandela left Houston with an unexpected \$100 000 on Sunday. (11A)

Houston philanthropist Dominique de Menil, president of the Carter-Menil Human Rights Foundation, presented Mandela with a \$100 000 dollar cheque as "a token of our solidarity against apartheid".

REPORTS: Business Day Reporter, Sapa-Reuter.

ANC Youth League plans to buy shares

PATRICK BULGER

EMBEZZLED funds and a shortage of foreign funding have left the ANC Youth League's finances in a parlous state, says a confidential report prepared by the organisation's treasurer

The report discloses that the league has plans to invest in blue chip shares

The report was to have been discussed on the first day of the league's 17th national conference in Siyabuswa, Kwa-Ndebele, yesterday

"Apart from joining fees disappearing, head office discovered embezzlement of funds in two regions

"In one region criminal charges have been laid. Investigations are still continu-

ing and appropriate action will be taken," says the report, which has been given to the 1 000 delegates

It says foreign funding to political organisations is drying up and urges the league's 500 000 members to become its chief source of income. It notes that 99% of the almost R5m the league spent this year came from the ANC. However, "very few members are paying their monthly subscriptions"

The league's financial problems had forced it to abandon a number of projects to boost self-sufficiency. A 6,5ha farm at

Zuurbekom outside Soweto, which the owner wanted to sell for R190 000, will no longer be bought because the ANC cannot provide an additional R1,5m it promised its youth wing

An agricultural project in Venda will not be established for a similar reason. Plans to establish a jazz club in Yeoville, Johannesburg, have also been abandoned

The league's financial problems notwithstanding, the organisation is planning to move into the capitalist sector by putting aside 10% of all subscriptions to buy blue chip shares on the JSE, property that it will let to tenants, and shares in mortgage participation schemes

15/12/1991
SID

11A

PAC to thrash out talks issue

By BARRY STREEK

CRUCIAL decisions about whether the PAC will participate in the all-party Codesa negotiations are to be taken this weekend at the organisation's two-day consultative conference in Cape Town

The PAC has openly admitted divisions within its ranks on the issue

The conference is to be opened by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu at a public rally at the University of the Western Cape tomorrow morning

Between 700 and 1 000 delegates will then meet behind closed doors tomorrow and Monday to discuss the PAC's possible participation in Codesa

The organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday a number of issues had to be discussed "There are those in our organisation who believe we must continue to fight for a constituent assembly inside Codesa. There is a contrary view that being involved in Codesa is a useless exercise"

Mr Desai said some foreign observers, including representatives from Libya, were expected at the conference

Nothing sinister in ANC objective

SOUTH AFRICANS have lived through an eventful few days recently which saw the birth of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa and the withdrawal of the PAC amid accusations by it of collusion between the ANC and the government.

The PAC accusation is as hollow as it sounds and therefore there is no need to respond. As a liberation movement, the ANC has remained steadfast in its objective of achieving the transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole.

There is nothing sinister in this. In concrete terms it implies an end to white minority domination and the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic South Africa based on one person, one vote.

The ANC bases its approach on the OAU Declaration adopted in Harare in July 1989 and the UN Consensus Resolution of December 1989, both of which call on all parties to enter into negotiations for a new constitution based on democratic principles (which are spelt out).

There is therefore no uncertainty as to the objective of negotiations. For the ANC, entering negotiations is not

these parties can demand no more than the right to exist, to subject themselves to elections, to campaign for support in the political process and to participate in elections to determine their representivity and support.

In South Africa the central issue is to transform South Africa into a democracy. Elections form the core of democracy. Hence it is elections that must determine the composition of the body which must draw up the constitution for the country.

None of the parties represented at Codesa can claim either to be representative or mandated. A constitution produced by such a body will lack legitimacy and will not last much longer than the Muzorewa constitution did in Zimbabwe in 1979.

Fair manner

Central to the strategy of the ANC at Codesa will therefore be the winning of such an elected constituent assembly. All the other demands underpin this central demand.

Thus we want an interim government now because elections to a constituent assembly cannot be left in the

hands of the De Klerk government. It is inherently incapable of managing the period of transition in a fair manner. It cannot be referee and player at the same time.

At Codesa, therefore, we also want to win an interim government made up of the various parties. This interim government must at the very least take control over the electoral process, state media, security forces and certain areas of finance and budget, to ensure that the transitional process is not manipulated and that the elections to the constituent assembly are fair and free.

The government has a different view. It wants to remain in control over the process from beginning to end. It argues that it is the lawful government and South Africa has a valid constitution. It argues further that the tricameral parliament will remain in existence throughout the period of transition and ultimately will adopt the new constitution.

This means that the process itself will remain at De Klerk's mercy until the very end, thus making the process of transition reversible at De Klerk's instance. The transi-

tional measure the government has thus far proposed implies being sucked into government-created structures.

Obviously this is unacceptable to the ANC. De Klerk's government must give way to an interim government. De Klerk and his party would become part of an interim government but in an entirely different capacity.

Time frame

At Codesa the ANC also wants a clear time frame to be agreed upon for the whole process.

The ANC also wants maximum participation by the international community in the transitional period — especially to ensure that elections are fair and free, that peace is maintained and that there is no intimidation or violence.

At Codesa the issue of the reincorporation of the Bantustans must feature high on the agenda. It is our view that the people of the Bantustans should have the right to participate in the process of constitution-making from the very beginning and that the fragmentation of South Africa must come to an end.

CT 10/12/91 (11A)

ANC
Viewpoint
By DULLAR
OMAR &
MZIWONKE
JACOBS

just a publicity gimmick. We are serious in our resolve to explore every possibility of achieving our objective (namely an end to apartheid and the achievement of a truly democratic constitution) by peaceful means.

Right to exist

Our fundamental objective insofar as Codesa is concerned is to win an elected constituent assembly which will be responsible for drawing up and adopting a new constitution for the country.

The South African regime is seeking ways of bypassing a constituent assembly and getting the parties to adopt a new constitution at Codesa itself.

This is unacceptable to the ANC. While all existing parties need to be involved in the process of negotiations,

Codesa committee makes progress

B/day 11/12/91

11A

TIM COHEN

ENCOURAGING progress was made at a Codesa steering committee meeting yesterday, with a consensus being developed that the group should meet on a monthly basis until a new constitution was in place, sources said.

The steering committee, which was given the task of preparing next week's first Codesa meeting, ended yesterday without issuing a formal statement.

But sources said the committee intended to propose that Codesa should meet monthly or at least bi-monthly, even if agreement was reached that a Constituent Assembly should draw up a new constitution.

There was growing consensus that even if there was acceptance of proposals by the ANC and other groups for a constitutional assembly and interim government, there would still be work for Codesa to do, the sources said.

Between Codesa meetings, it is proposed that task groups should be formed to discuss and achieve consensus on specific issues.

Three task groups have already been established by the steering committee. The first has been charged with drawing up a statement of intent, which will be Codesa's founding charter.

This task-group has been further charged with discussing, among other things, a statement of commitment which will indicate Codesa's guiding principles.

The second task group has been discuss-

ing the organisation and planning of Codesa while the third, called the "process task group" has been discussing possible future mechanisms such as the Constituent Assembly and how the country should be governed during the transitional period.

This task group will continue meeting during the week, and will report back to the steering committee, which is due to meet again on Wednesday next week.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday encouraging progress had been made, emphasising that a personal understanding was developing among negotiators.

Chairman of yesterday's meeting, DP leader Zach de Beer, agreed, saying many of the participants did not know each other before the meetings began and so the development of mutual trust was of the utmost importance.

De Beer said the issue of Inkatha's demand that it, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu king all be represented independently of one another was not debated at yesterday's steering committee meeting, apart from the meeting deciding this issue should be discussed at a later date.

Delegates said the steering committee was making substantial progress and there was, at this stage, no intention to delay Codesa, which is due to take place on December 20 and 21.

Government slams AWB war talk

B/day 11/12/91

TIM COHEN

THE ministries of Law and Order and Constitutional Development slammed the AWB yesterday for its "irresponsible" war talk. Law and Order predicted the AWB could expect to be monitored by state security forces.

Their statements follow AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche's threat this week that the AWB would prepare for war after he walked out of a meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen on Monday.

Viljoen said yesterday it was unfair and irresponsible of the AWB to conclude there was no alternative to armed conflict and added that the door to Codesa remained open.

Terre'Blanche said yesterday that the AWB was not prepared to present its demands in front of communists and anti-Christians and claimed government was not prepared to consider its demands for a Boerestaat in any forum other than Codesa.

Viljoen said it was incorrect for the AWB to presume its policy would be dismissed when it took part in debate.

"The purpose of Codesa is to achieve consensus between opposed and clashing points of view through negotiation... instead of resolving differences through violence," Viljoen said.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday that there was a direct correlation between war talk and acts of violence.

People or organisations making such statements laid themselves open to monitoring by the state's security organs.

Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) leader Andrew Ford said yesterday he was pleased that the AWB would not take part in Codesa, reports Sapa.

Ford said he had stated three years ago that should the AWB get involved in a war, the BWB would give it its full support to restore "our Boer republics".

The Boerestaat Party said yesterday that the AWB had no option but to turn down the invitation to take part in the negotiations.

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Agreements pave way for negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff *Star 11/12/91*

Agreements were reached in meetings of the steering committee and task groups of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) this week, paving the way for the beginning of serious bargaining when real negotiations begin next week.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, who heads the Codesa steering committee, confirmed to The Star this morning that the Monday-Tuesday meetings had reached some crucial agreements.

These, Dr de Beer said, included the appointment of the ANC's Murphy Morobe to head a Codesa office at the World Trade Centre where the negotiations will be held.

Isolation

Mr Morobe, a former United Democratic Front (UDF) leader, was among those who publicly called for the isolation of Winnie Mandela at the height of the Stompie Seipei controversy in 1989.

After his return from a year-long study programme in the US this year, Mr Morobe has gradually risen in ANC structures. He was the ANC's representative in the Patriotic Front's preparatory committee and was also nominated by the organisation's powerful PWV region for the position of regional chairman, but he did not stand.

Other issues agreed on at the steering committee meetings included that:

- Transkei will have a role, jointly with the South African Ministry of Law and Order, in

being responsible for the security of delegates

This development is sure to enhance Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa's position in Codesa, especially after various Government spokesmen had often alleged General Holomisa had been harbouring and training Umkhonto weSizwe cadres.

- The ANC and the Government will be responsible for media arrangements for the conference. However, a special media committee made up of representatives of all convention participants will be created to handle publicity.

- Dr Theuns Eloff's Consultative Business Movement will handle the administration and logistics for Codesa, with the help of participating parties' representatives.

- Deon Swanepoel of the Department of Constitutional Development was appointed head of finances, and will also have an office at the World Trade Centre with Mr Morobe.

- The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will be responsible for protocol at the convention.

The steering committee meeting also ratified the November 29-30 preparatory conference's decision that each delegation to Codesa will have 12 delegates each. However, the committee decided that each delegation can bring along "a support component" of five members and 12 others who will not be allowed into the hall.

Despite these agreements, the steering committee left unresolved the question of whether Codesa's decision should be given a force of law and whether the IFP's demand that it, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the KwaZulu Government should have separate delegations.

Putting party before power

STAR 11/12/91 (11A)

ON WHY he changed his mind and accepted the SACP leadership.

"It was tremendous pressure from delegates, who wouldn't take no for an answer. They threatened to put it to the congress floor. The ANC congress had made no such binding decision on me, and the MK conference (which refused to release him) is only a branch of the ANC. I had no choice in the end.

"The SACP needs a formidable team at the top. The ANC has established itself. This is the time for the party to benefit from the experience of a few of us."

On where his ultimate political loyalties lie:

"Objectively and finally my loyalties lie with the Communist Party. I joined the party three years after I joined the ANC. It has a lot to do with growing up among the poor in Transkei.

"I don't want to move away from my association with the wretched of the earth. I will move away materially of course — I won't be living in a roundavel — but I want to be a crusader. I want to do something about the poor people."

On his own political future:

"I've accepted that I'll no longer be central in the ANC. This gives me the opportunity to go down to the grassroots — to take a high profile in the campaigns of the people, to inspire the people.

"I don't even think I'll be in the next government. In the Cabinet, I would like to be building the party, even under the next government."

On the ANC's limitations for socialism:

"The ANC cannot take my vision (a socialist South Africa) to its logical conclusion. It is a multiclass movement, deriving its unity from opposing apartheid. Remove apartheid, and of

course there will be tensions. There are people who join the ANC because they want to be capitalists. There are blacks who are against the unions. We have seen in Africa the emergence of a greedy, immoral, capitalist class. Capitalism has nothing to do with race."

On his vision of socialism:

"I'm a socialist because I want to live better than I live now, and I want poor people to live better too. But I don't believe in vulgar egalitarianism, where we must all wear the same terrible shoes. That is wrong."

On socialism in the SA context:

"We accept social democracy as an interim phase. But it is a phase leading towards socialism.

"I accept the gradualist vision. We do not have the resources to bring about a drastic restructuring straight away. For me it will be revolutionary if in the South African context we begin to attack basic things — housing, water, schools, transport."

On why he is still a Leninist:

"The principles of Marxism-Leninism have been proved to be historically correct. So in a general way we are guided by Lenin, in a similar way to how

whites, certainly — think he's crazy to have accepted the stewardship of the South African Communist Party, thus leading a detachment of an ideological army that is in full retreat all over the world. But he also thinks they don't understand why he has sacrificed his role as a "crown prince" in the ANC. The answer is simple, he says, he is a completely committed socialist, a true believer. In the first major interview since Mir Hani's election, Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON presses the new SACP general-secretary on why he is loyal to a doctrine that has been discredited, even in its birthplace. Here is Chris Hani in his own words:

shallow grave with nothing. Whites have to examine their consciences and say: did we reward that labour properly? And the black middle class will have to face exactly the same questions."

On interim government:

"In my view we don't (in the interim period) want to run agriculture, education, etcetera. Why lumber ourselves with unpopular things? We would be looking at areas like policing, broadcasting. And even there you are not talking about involving high-profile politicians like Mandela. Rather we would involve technocrats, church people, neutral people."

On how the SACP and ANC will approach elections:

"My personal view is that the alliance must sit down and talk before elections. We must accept that the ANC is the senior partner, but we must not split the vote — for example, a contest between me and Thabo Mbeki in Diepkloof would be bruising.

"The new parliament and government must reflect the input of Cosatu and the party. They must reflect the radicalism of the party. Before the elections we must say this is a joint programme, and in the list (of candidates) there must be party people. One could look at percentages."

On why socialism failed in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union:

"Socialism was imposed (in Eastern Europe) as a result of the victory of the Red Army. The objective conditions for socialism did not exist.

"If socialism in the USSR had been allowed to follow its course without outside interference, and no Second World War, would the economy have stagnated to that extent? Stalin wanted for total and ruthless nationalisation and collectivisation. He paralysed people's initiative. We were wrong as communists, and we accept that. We thought there were no antagonisms and contradictions (in the USSR). Meanwhile, internal bleeding was taking place. By saying every worker has a right to a job, no matter how unproductive, you destroy natural incentives.

"But don't forget that in Russia and Cuba, there were achievements. What went wrong was that technology was applied incorrectly. A country that could make spaceships



Looking ahead "I don't even think I'll be in the next government," says Chris Hani

couldn't make shirts for its own people."

On whether socialism is dead:

"Every social system has had to face a crisis. Capitalism is now passing through a similar crisis. You can never say this is the end of the class struggle. There's a lot of poverty in the world, and it's not due to socialism."

On loyalty to the Soviet Union:

"How can the working class

through our own practices. We're not going to be grabbing things from people.

"We must convince the international community that we are not going to act as an outlaw state. Our primary responsibility is to our own people, and we know you can't move out of poverty without assistance from abroad."

On whether the SACP would accept an election defeat:

"If we are defeated in an election, we will accept this."

GIANTS TAKE

Mandela and De Klerk make peace on day SA is reborn

By SEKOLA SELLO, THEMBA KHUMALO and Sapa
CODESA had made a giant leap forward from the days of an apartheid South Africa, co-chairman Justice Ismail Mahomed said in his closing address to the convention yesterday.

Future South Africans would identify "this day and this moment" as the time when South Africa was reborn, he said.

The two-day Codessa meeting ended yesterday amid high hopes that the interim government preceding a Constituent Assembly could be established within the next 12 months.

State President FW-de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela publicly shook hands and made peace at Codessa's closing yesterday after their bitter clash on the first day of the convention.

De Klerk had attacked the ANC for refusing to disarm its armed wing, and Mandela later launched a scathing attack on the State President, saying he was not fit to be a head of state and was guilty of double-dealing - talking peace but waging war against the ANC at the same time.

After the two leaders publicly made peace, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told delegates that NP had been badly hurt by Mandela's remarks, but had not hit back in the interests of conciliation.

Although Botha and De Klerk and Mandela were not prepared to bind themselves to specific time frames, both said an interim government should be implemented soon.

Mandela went as far as saying that given the circumstances of the

negotiating table, he said at a press conference at the close of Codessa.

However, he reiterated the government's well known stand that in any new dispensation no majority must be in a position to abuse its position in dominating minorities.

On his stand that Umkhonto weSizwe disbanded, De Klerk said this applied equally to rightwing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

He said he had not mentioned them by name in his speech to Codessa on Friday because they were not present at the convention.

At separate press conferences, Mandela and SACAP national chairman Joe Slovo had expressed



Merry Xmas
THE Editor and staff wish all City Press readers a merry Christmas and a peaceful New Year.
 May the spirit of peace prevail in our hearts, minds and in communities throughout our beloved land this festive season.
 May we also enter 1992 with a spirit of dedication to a better South Africa.
 City Press will take a break this festive season. Next Sunday, December 29, there will be an issue of your favourite Sunday newspaper. But we will be back on January 5.

Soccer boss on car theft charge

By DESMOND BLOW
SAMUEL Coloured Mdululi, better known as Coloured Passmore - a defence witness in Abduji Bhamjee's R7.4-million theft trial - has been charged with car theft.

Passmore, one of the most flamboyant characters in football appeared with co-accused Moroka Swallows coach Sandile Bah in the Benoni Regional Court on Thursday. Bah managed Passmore's business in Dobsonville, Soweto - called Passmore Panel Beaters - at the time of the alleged theft of a Toyota Hi-Ace.

No evidence was led. The case was postponed until next month.
 Passmore, who lives in a luxury home in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, is the managing director of Highlands Park Soccer Club and an executive member of the NSL.

The charge sheet alleges that the theft occurred in Benoni between July 30 and November 30 1987. It lists the stolen vehicle's owner but states that the registra-



SACP won't veer off chosen course

LAST week, as the cradle of socialist revolution - the Soviet Union - finally dissolved like a sand castle in a monsoon, the South African Communist Party, at its eighth national congress, re-asserted itself as the holder of the key to pristine socialism.

And in an almost wicked stonewalling of a loosening up of the SACP's outlook, the rank and file rejected outright the dumping of Leninism, and decried the association of democracy with socialism as unnecessary

Nevertheless, the draft constitution accepted at last weekend's congress, contained only nominal changes to existing communist doctrine, and made no great departure from that which is widely understood to have led to the collapse of the East Bloc. It did however accept the principle of a multiparty democracy as a departure point for the eventual creation of a "communist society"

According to the SACP, what caused the collapse of the communist governments in Central and Eastern Europe, and indeed the Soviet Union, was not socialism but a perversion of it

The general feeling among the delegates and leadership was that the SACP would do it right, and prove that the East Bloc regimes were wrong

More specifically, and in the words of the former secretary-general of the SACP, Mr Joe Slovo, the dictators of the former East Bloc had separated democracy from socialism

Slovo has on numerous occasions referred to them as dicta-



ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

torships

But when Slovo and the newly elected general secretary of the SACP, Mr Chris Hanu, spoke of democracy and socialism in the same breath at the conference, it was as if they had uttered a tautology of the most profound kind

Socialism was inherently democratic, the SACP rank and file said, there was no need to attach "democratic" to socialism. They contended that they, the rank and file of the SACP, knew the route to the establishment of a unique and workable communist society

Democracy

This summary and arbitrary dismissal of the collapse of the East Bloc communist government is however not enough, political scientists and political observers claim

One, Professor Tom Lodge of the political science department of the University of the Witwatersrand believes that the rejection of the word democracy on the basis that socialism was inherently democratic was a "lump" excuse

To merely brush over the collapse of the East Bloc and the

Soviet Union was not enough - not in the face of the advances made by capitalist societies across the world and the literal material and structural collapse of these former communist countries

"Clearly the events in Eastern Europe do not seem to have been as philosophically disturbing for party rank and file as for the leadership

"I think that the party has yet to produce a really persuasive explanation of what went wrong with East European socialism," Lodge said

The dichotomy between the leadership of the SACP and the membership widens further on the retention of the term Marxist-Leninism

Before last weekend's congress, the SACP had in its draft manifesto conspicuously dumped all references to Lenin or Leninism, and in so doing had effectively dumped the essence of the communist revolution, that of the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat

This preferred dumping of hardline Leninism and the introduction of multipartyism was largely inspired by Slovo's seminal work *Has Socialism Failed?*

Slovo and, to a lesser degree, the newly elected Hanu, tried to move this concept of multiparty democracy further by encouraging some kind of political pluralism

But, it appeared that the delegates at last weekend's congress were backing this kind of Gorbachevian approach - this openness

Slovo however rejected this after the congress. He said that the objections from the floor were merely semantic

On the other hand when the self-proclaimed Stalinist, Mr Harry Gwala, argued in favour of the re-insertion of the phrase Marxist-Leninism he received a rapturous applause

This praise for Gwala and evident rejection of Slovo's and Hanu's concept of democratic socialism and indeed political pluralism is alarming, especially when one notes Gwala's scurrilous comments on democracy.

Journal

Writing in the African Communist, the official journal of the SACP, Gwala notes "To speak of democracy in abstract is as wicked as speaking of society in general

"Democracy in abstract is nothing but bourgeois philistinism

"Unless we make it clear today (that) democracy means capitalism we shall ourselves do the work of the bourgeois theoreticians and deceive the working masses"

On the issue of the alliance between the SACP and the ANC, there was virtual unanimity on the question of paving its own path into the next South Africa - stopping short only of severing the alliance

In the final analysis, the SACP is assuming more of an identity of its own. It will participate in the forthcoming multiparty talks separate from the ANC. It is understood that Hanu will lead the delegation to Codesa

ANC
chief
comes
back

Soweto
12/17/91

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returned to South Africa from his United States visit yesterday saying he was looking forward to the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa

On hand to greet him at Jan Smuts Airport were his wife Winnie and Mrs Adelaide Tambo, wife of former ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo

(11A)

Delegation

The ANC delegation to the US, including international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki, landed on a British Airways flight from London at 9 15am, about 40 minutes late

Pressed for comment from national and foreign journalists, Mandela would only say he was looking forward to Codesa

A smiling Mandela was warmly welcomed by a small group of supporters and admirers before being taken away in a black luxury car

His wife Winnie stayed behind to receive the first group of 120 exiles from Tanzania expected to arrive at the airport on a chartered Tanzanian Airways flight at 11am

Their return is part of the R84 million repatriation programme - *Sapa*

A lesson for the ANC – and SA

STAR 12/12/91.

IT MIGHT come as a thought-provoking revelation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to know that his seven-day visit to the US last week was eclipsed — in terms of media coverage — by the rousing hyperbole of his friend and ANC colleague Chris Ham, newly-elected general-secretary of the SA Communist Party

And it is bound to come as a worrying revelation to many South Africans to know that a computerised scrutiny of the major newspapers and news agencies in the US last week showed up almost as much coverage of Mr Ham's election and the SACP's congress as was given to the multi-party talks that were hailed in South Africa as a watershed

Why all this should be so is something upon which Mr Mandela and the ANC might usefully reflect, for there can be little doubt that in their still evolving relationship with the US something is woefully amiss and the dysfunction is bound to have as much impact on SA as it does on the ANC

Already, for instance, it would be reasonable to assume that at least some of the constructive message that Mr Mandela delivered to the movers and shakers of US banking and business last week was undermined by the SACP and Mr Ham, since they are seen — with every justification — as being as much a part of the ANC as Mr Mandela

When a party, which by all accounts is small but has a significant representation at the highest levels in the ANC, declares itself to be a revolutionary organisation committed to the radical transformation of SA into a socialist state, Americans cannot be expected to disbelieve it, or to lightly dismiss the implications. Neither, surely, can South Africans

When it also denounces the US and launches a campaign of solidarity with Cuba aimed at exposing US "imperialism", the ANC could hardly expect American hackles not to rise, or doubt not to emerge about the words of friendship uttered in the US only a few days before by the ANC president

And when the ANC president lends credence to the doings and



sayings of Mr Ham, he cannot expect to be received with anything more than the friendly politeness that, reportedly, characterised his discussions in the US

When Mr Mandela was asked about the ANC's attitude to Cuba at a Washington press conference, he made an ill-advised comment

"Do not make the mistake of believing that your enemies are our enemies," he said

The US had turned its back on the ANC during the years of the armed struggle, while Cuba had embraced it and given it the means with which to wage the battle. The ANC would not turn its back on Cuba

Therein, perhaps, lies the reason for so much continuing doubt in the US about the ANC, for Mr Mandela's statement begged the question does the ANC place political indebtedness above principle, its sense of obligation to Cuba above its commitment to human rights? And that leads to a host of other questions

If there is doubt about the ANC's commitment to human rights, what about its commitment to democracy and free enterprise?

And if Mr Ham and the SACP can embark on a campaign to vilify the US and prop up the crumbling edifice of communism in Cuba, and with Mr Mandela sharing their support of the Castro regime, have they not indeed become what the ANC's right-wing critics in the US disparagingly call them — the only moving parts in the ANC machine?

To many Americans there seem to be no parts in the machine moving in a contrary direction, and until there are they will continue to believe they were justified in placing greater importance on the rantings of Mr Ham and the machinations of the SACP than on the visit of Mr Mandela or the start of constitutional talks □

Don't let old wine in new bottles deceive you

Sowetan 12/12/91 *(11A)* *(128)*

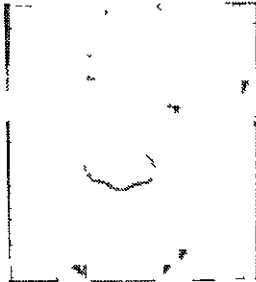
ON A recent Agenda programme on television the new general secretary of the South African Communist party was interviewed by John Bishop.

Since Bishop was unable to challenge comrade Chris Hani on any of the essentials of communism, Hani was able to pull off the same kind of revisionist deception about communism as did his predecessor Joe Slovo

Comrade Hani expressed embarrassment about the outcome of communist rule in Eastern Europe, but indicated that this was because of errors in implementing communism properly

He asserted that communism is essentially democratic and that somehow the State abused its power in Eastern Europe

South African communism, in contrast, would be



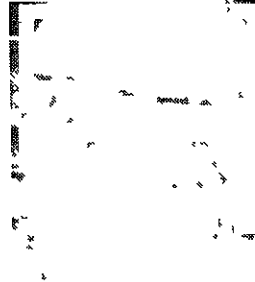
CHRIS HANI

in favour of multiparty democracy and a mixed economy, though capitalism is an evil that relies on the exploitation of labour

He also condemned capitalism for supporting apartheid, ignoring human rights, generating huge profits and for an inequitable distribution of wealth

What Mr Hani is advocating is "not" the Marxism-Leninism that he claims, he is advocating the very state capitalism (Fascism) that has existed for decades in South Africa

Marx did not advocate private property but rather



JOE SLOVO

state ownership of all production. He was not for multiparty elections but for dictatorship of the proletariat (working people)

What comrade Hani means by "empowerment of the people" is state control by a handful of politicians in the name of a very evil, failed ideology about which he is trying to deceive us.

Mr Hani, like other communists worldwide, has realised that parasitic, repressive communism cannot long exist without the aid of productive capitalism

He is willing to let some

capitalism exist so that the non-productive can use it to survive. Capitalists should be content to have the state regulate and redistribute the wealth created by capitalism in the name of "socialism"

Comrade Hani misses the point of basic economics. People will take action only when there is an incentive to do so. There must be gain or profit for anyone to expend effort

Communism and to a somewhat lesser extent, fascism, robs people of their dreams to excel and attain excellence

Don't be deceived by old wine in new bottles. Comrade Chris Hani wants the destruction of freedom and prosperity for all South Africans

**STEVE WHITE,
Florida Hills,
West Rand.**

women, from
physically raped the
BY SONTI MASEKO
South African author Nadine Gordimer receives the 1991 Nobel Prize
Literature from Swedish King Carl XVI at the Stockholm Globe
Arena this week.

Codesa goes to work

Sowetan 12/12/91
THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa is poised for action.

Steering committee chairman Dr Zac de Beer said yesterday a great deal of progress had been made over the past few days to clear the way for Codesa to commence on December 20 without any foreseeable hitches.

He confirmed that duties such as administration, organisation, funding and security had been farmed out to various political

11A *20/11*
organisations, while at least two office-bearers had been installed at the venue.

The ANC's Mr Murphy Morobe has been appointed to head the Codesa office, established at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

This office has been rigged up with fax and telephone facilities, while Codesa also has its own letterhead and a postal box at Isando Post Office.



Democratic socialism by any other name

(11K)

STAR 12/12/91

EXCEPT for the name and some of the rhetoric, communism is as dead in South Africa today as it is everywhere else. There were strenuous efforts at the SACP's congress last weekend to pretend that nothing had really changed, that it was still the same old party it had always been. It stuck proudly to its old name, rejected use of the phrase "democratic socialism" in its new manifesto, and reinserted a description of itself as "Marxist-Leninist".

But even as the congress delegates put on this show of a return to communist orthodoxy, against the revisionism which Joe Slovo had scripted for it, they contradicted themselves by the manner in which they did it. In throwing out the word "democratic" they voted against both the outgoing and incoming general secretaries, Mr Slovo and Chris Hani, as well as the interim party chairman, Raymond Mhlaba, and so asserted the very thing they were rejecting.

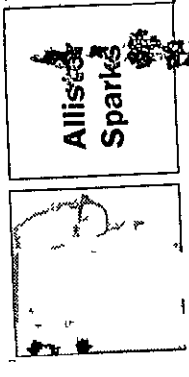
It was as vigorous a display of democratic self-expression as I have witnessed at any political congress — and a thoroughly un-

communist style of political behaviour.

It was the same with the election of Mr Hani as the new general secretary. The ANC had said it would not release him, the party leadership had accepted this and Mr Hani had declared himself unavailable. But the delegates were not having any of it. They were mostly young "comrades" who are not accustomed to toeing anyone's party line, least of all one laid down by their elders. They wanted Mr Hani, so they demanded and got him.

If this is still communism then it has undergone such a mutation as to be no longer recognisable. I would describe it as a new form of populist socialism, driven by grassroots sentiment rather than the top-down authoritarianism of the true Marxist-Leninist "vanguard party". Mr Hani himself is a populist leader rather than a dialectic ideologist.

Mr Slovo has tried hard to present his concept of "democratic socialism" — the verbal form of which was rejected but the concept effectively endorsed by the congress — as a return to original



Communist principles being they were perverted by Stalin, in who turned an essentially human and democratic movement into a authoritarian one and so did much the cause of socialism. It was the congress added the new form of it was really "bureaucratic socialism" that had failed in Europe and the Soviet Union.

I don't buy this. It was not Stalin, who introduced the one-party state in 1918. I who formed the notorious "Red Guard" Party. I who formed the Communist Party. I who formed the notorious "Red Guard" Party. I who formed the Communist Party. I who formed the notorious "Red Guard" Party.

the environment in which Soviet communism was launched, beset by enemies within and without, made this brutally enforced conformity necessary. Again, I don't buy it. The party of insubordinate and anarchic behaviour in the mid-1920s and again in the World War II era, and again in the 1950s, was a party which was in an ideological and organisational sense a party of revolution. It was a party of revolution. It was a party of revolution. It was a party of revolution.

"If one really believes that such a solution is possible," Berlin writes in a recently published collection of essays, "then surely no cost would be too high to obtain it to a mankind just and happy and harmonious for all. — pay for that?"

To make such an omelette, surely no limit to the number of eggs that should be cracked. Berlin comes back to this theme in all eight of these essays, published under the title of 'The Crooked Timber of Humanity'. It is the leitmotif of his philosophy.

"Since I know the only true path to the ultimate solution of the problems of society," he writes, "I know which way to drive the human caravan, and since you are ignorant of what I know, you cannot be allowed to have human choice even within the narrowest limits, if the goal is to be reached."

"You declare that a given policy will make you happier, or freer, or give you room to breathe, but I know that you are mistaken. I know what you need

what all men need, and if there is resistance based on ignorance or malevolence, then it must be broken and hundreds of thousands may have to perish to make millions happy for all time."

That was the faith of Robespierre, of Lenin, of Stalin, of Trotsky, of Mao, of Hitler, of Verwoerd, of Pol Pot. It was the faith, too, of the Christian Crusaders, the Inquisition, the Ayatollah Khomeini and other religious fundamentalists who have committed, and continue to commit, great atrocities in the name of a greater good.

That is the faith the SACP has at last relinquished. Thanks to the collapse of international communism it has lost its Utopian vision. It still has its socialist ideals but accepts now that in putting them forward it is but one legitimate competitor among many, that it has no monopoly on the truth.

It has become politically agnostic, if not yet atheist, and is the more acceptable for that. For all the Marxist-Leninist garb it tried to wrap itself in last weekend, it is no longer a dangerous movement. It is a sheep in wolf's clothing. □

Senior Assistant Editor Joe Latakomo on the prospects for continued inter-

Reading the writing on the wall

STAR 12/12/91. (11A) 300

THE message is quite clear there will be no peace without freedom. It is not a message from the African National Congress nor its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. Nor is it from the Pan Africanist Congress nor its military arm, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This message, which adorns overhead bridges, road signs and every possible visible point in some towns and cities, is from the right wing. That it is in Afrikaans is perhaps a measure of the bitterness that seems to have revisited the Afrikaner, reminiscent of the old anti-British sentiment that resulted from the Anglo-Boer War.

There is an irony in this message, though. For years, the Afrikaner, through the National Party, and even before that, systematically eroded the rights and freedoms of the black people of this country. When blacks spoke of the doctrine of consent, which states that no government is legitimate if it governs without the consent of the governed, they

were jailed and banned. Through repression, white interests were protected and black interests suppressed.

Even as the right wing — and it would be wrong to assume it is only Afrikaans-speaking — preaches its message of fight or be doomed and pleads the need for its own freedom, the Azanian People's Organisation is making the same statement. For it, too, there will be no peace without freedom. Its statement, however, is made for different reasons, but it is significant that both organisations have chosen to use the same clarion call.

Pandelani Nefholovodwe, president of Azapo, declared that without the involvement of his organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa, the PAC, the New Unity Movement and the Workers' Association of South Africa in real negotiations, there would be no peace, justice or freedom in this country.

When people no longer feel obliged to obey those in authority, the slide to anarchy clearly

begins. While the ANC and the National Party may believe they have the support of a reasonable majority of people, it must be clear that — unless they wish to rule through sheer terror and repression — political and democratic demands, based on legitimate issues, will continue being made. The very instruments used by particularly the ANC can and will be used in pursuit of political ideals. Only this time it will not only be black opposition engaged in these activities of making the country ungovernable.

The temptation to draw parallels with the events in the Soviet Union is often great. That Mikhail Gorbachev has been caught in the rush of his own creation could suggest that perhaps President de Klerk will face the same here.

Clearly, resistance to reform in the Soviet Union provided the initial inertia, and it is for that reason that Mr de Klerk and his partners will need to move with considerable haste if they are not to be caught in their own creation. He will need to deliver, and deliv-

er well, to survive politically and create a climate that would say to the right wing, in particular, that it was worth it in the end.

Already the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has warned that it would be preparing itself to go to war after leader Eugene Terreblanche walked out of talks with Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen. Mr Terreblanche even refused to be interviewed in English by an independent radio station. But the AWB's position was stated quite clearly: it would not negotiate with "communists and the anti-Christ".

While the AWB demands the creation of a *boerestaat*, it has stated clearly that it is not prepared to be ruled by "foreigners" — and that, to them, means blacks. The ANC's Pallo Jordan has called on the organisation to present its demand at Codesa, and said that it had a legitimate right to its view, which needs to be articulated. However, there seems no likelihood of right-wing participation in Codesa. Indeed, the AWB has said it would prepare itself for

war. But if wars were fought with slogans on walls and road signs, the world would be a different place today.

Many analysts play down the strength of the AWB. One often mathematically works out its strength on the basis of available data and generally comes to the conclusion that right-wing support is insignificant. To blacks, however, there is a growing realisation that inter-racial strife will grow rather than diminish as we move into a post-apartheid South Africa. Race hatred is certainly getting more and more evident, from the petrol attendant who has to deal with hostile whites, to the black supermarket manager who has to deal with responses like "Do I look like somebody who needs help?" when asked in the simply courteous manner demanded of him whether he can be of help.

To them the threat is real and not just a matter of politics. What leaves doubts in the minds of black South Africans is what the response of whites generally would be when the crunch came.

and they had to make a cross in the appropriate box. Would common sense prevail and whites vote for the best person or would they simply vote with their hearts and hope for the best? Privately most whites express concern about their future. Like the filling station owner who invites me into his

office then in an almost hostile manner demands of me whether his son has a future in South Africa. Even before I can answer he declares that he will make sure that the boy has a future — even if he has to use his gun to secure that. The boy is obviously proud of his father. But so is my son, and

the sons of other blacks and right-wingers. And so the stage looks set for continued hostilities. What if the Government and the ANC reached some solution excluding some of the major black and white political players, and civil war broke out? Could the country

deal with such a situation, or would we make Yugoslavia look like a Sunday school picnic? To coin a phrase, the prospect is too ghastly to contemplate. □

acial strife

wall

Celebrate with us!

South 12/12 - 18/12/91

80th anniversary of the ANC

(11A)

On January 8 1992 the African National Congress launches in Bloemfontein a year-long observance of our 80th Anniversary.

This historic occasion will mark 80 years of struggle against racial oppression and discrimination for a united, non-racial, democratic and non-sexist South Africa.

Throughout these decades, the ANC has stood for these ideals. It has survived a sustained campaign of persecution unleashed by successive white minority regimes.

When the time came to resist apartheid oppression and repression arms in hand, the ANC did not shirk its responsibility. It is thanks to the efforts of the majority of South Africans, led by the ANC, that today our country stands at the threshold of democracy and reconciliation. Those who sought to destroy the ANC today pretend to embrace some of its ideals. This further testifies to the justness of our cause and the nobility of the ideals we have cherished for eight decades.

We remain steadfast in our commitment to the unity of South Africans across ethnic and racial lines. The ANC will spare no effort to rid our country of apartheid - a crime against humanity - and create a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society.

As we approach our 80th anniversary, the ANC is more confident than ever before that our beautiful country will soon breathe the sweet fragrance of freedom, peace and social justice.

We invite all our people and our friends internationally to join us in celebrating this, South Africa's historic moment.



**Nelson Mandela
President**

Inserted by Department of Information and Publicity, African National Congress,
PO Box 61884, Marshalltown, 2107.

December 12 to December 18 1991

PAC groups in bid to stop talks

By Sabata Ngcai (11A)

South 12/12 - 18/12/91
IN AN eleventh-hour attempt to avert negotiations with the government, two PAC splinter groups are threatening to overthrow "the undemocratically-elected PAC leadership" in its forthcoming national congress.

PAC National Steering Committee (NSC) member, Mr Victor Petu, said the PAC leadership "was not in touch with its members at grassroots level".

"The leadership is only consulting with a section of the grassroots which connive with its interests."

The NSC was elected at a recent PAC National Consultative Conference convened by the Joint East Rand and West Rand Facilitating Committee

The committee, purporting to be part of the PAC, resolved to convene a second National Congress on April 6, 1992 to elect a new leadership.

Labelling last year's national PAC conference "unconstitutional and imperialistic", Petu said "The issues discussed at the congress were not discussed at branch level"

He said the time for constitutional negotiations with the regime was still far away.

"Negotiations cannot be considered in the near future as we are still in a very weak position. If we negotiate at this stage, we will only accept what will be given to us by the government, which is in a strong position."

Petu said to win self-determination and freedom for the oppressed masses, "the armed struggle is the only weapon we will use to overthrow the regime and return the long lost land to the Africans"

"It would only be at this stage that constitutional negotiations could be necessary."

Petu said the PAC would rely on fundraising to achieve its objectives

"We are aware of the fact that the imperialists won't support us because they have vested business interests in South Africa. We will rely on ourselves by raising funds so that we continue with the armed struggle"

PAC publicity secretary, Mr Barney Desai, dismissed allegations by the dissident group as "nonsensical, wild and irresponsible".

"There is no question about the legality of last year's PAC congress"

"They call themselves revolutionary watchdogs, but they are doing nothing to advance their cause"

"These people are disruptive and we question their motives"

Desai said the dissident group had attacked the constituent assembly, "but they didn't attack the late PAC president, Mr Zeph Motopeng, when he called for it last year."

In their National Consultative Conference, the dissidents dismissed the constituent assembly as a "bourgeois concept" which was "inimical to the interests of the Azanian masses".

Deep in the heartland of Ashley Kriel territory: a Nat MP The 'interesting struggle' of Patrick McKenzie

South 12/12 - 18/12/91

MR PATRICK MCKENZIE, the black National Party MP for Bonteheuwel, who regards himself as a comrade, represents the township of slain ANC cadre, Mr Ashley Kriel. "I guess the struggle was and is my life," he says firmly.

His "very interesting experience of the struggle" goes from dodging police bullets to calling his oppressors "liberators".

Forcibly moved from District Six, the "wickedness" of apartheid shunted the McKenzies first to Mowbray and then to the "concentration camp of Bonteheuwel".

"The old National Party destroyed our dignity and our heritage," he believes

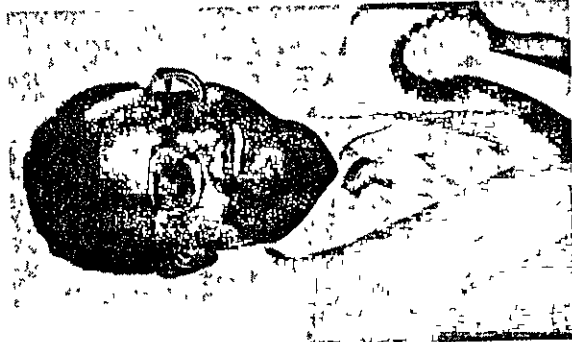
Involved in every part of the struggle, McKenzie claims he was instrumental in the 1976 Bonteheuwel riots as part of the black consciousness movement.

Nostalgically he recounts running down Turksvy Road in Bonteheuwel "with the police helicopter shooting at me", the police van parked outside his door to keep him under virtual house arrest, sleeping in his jeans and T-shirt so he would be ready if the police came to arrest him

The turning point in his "radicalism" came in a visit to the United States and Britain.

After meeting many revolutionaries from South America, as well as Mr Oliver Tambo, he reconsidered his role in the struggle

"Then I was a young person and



McKenzie 'I am a comrade'

After finding a 'Nasionalis' in my letter box, urging me to sign up, I called my MP My MP (a Mr Rhoda), however, refused an interview He had nothing to say to SOUTH, his secretary said. I eventually got hold of Patrick McKenzie, Nat MP for Bonteheuwel, who promised me the Nats would not bus pensioners from church to polling stations, tricameral style, in democratic elections **KAREN WILLIAMS** reports.

highly emotional," says the 39-year-old MP

"I hated the regime and anyone white and thought change could only come through the barrel of the gun"

Following a wave of soul-searching practicalism, McKenzie realised his stones could never measure up to the guns in the hands "of virtually every white person"

"I will not swim through rivers of blood in order to get freedom," says the companion who had only the air between him and police bullets in 1976

Political strategies were studied, including those of Mahatma Gandhi and Mao Tse-Tung

"You see, my dear, if I continued on the violent road, it would have been mass suicide for our people.

Why did I need to burn down today what I was going to use tomorrow?" He was part of the Labour Party for 23 years. he signed up in 1962 when he was about 16

"That was a time which I call a period where spies were spying on spies," he whispers confidentially

"All our organisations were either locked up or banned and I went to the Labour Party where I could at least have a political platform.

"The LP at that time enjoyed mass support and people viewed it as fighting against a wicked regime."

But as a coloured-only party, the LP has now served its purpose and President FW de Klerk, oppressor of yesterday, is now a freedom fighter

"You can't blame De Klerk for what

Verwoerd did, even though De Klerk benefited from apartheid."

Besides joining the NP for less money, McKenzie also now has more members in his constituency since joining the NP

The liberation movements had "positive effects" towards what De Klerk has done, he concedes

"When I joined the National Party, I told Mr De Klerk that he may lose the support of white people, but you are going to win South Africa if you lead us to justice"

He saw the effects of communism on a trip to East Germany five months ago "Roads were sand, not concrete like in Bonteheuwel"

The poverty was appalling Poverty in Khayelitsha is worse but that is only because of urbanisation.

Despite the massive opposition to the 1984 tricameral elections, McKenzie firmly believes he was asked by the people of Bonteheuwel to stand for election.

"Nowhere in any of my speeches have I ever condoned the tricameral parliament. While other radicals were destroying apartheid from the outside I wanted to destroy it from inside."

"If the National Party is part of murdering people, the people who asked me to join the NP must give me a fresh mandate," he answers after I show him Nico Basson's allegations that De Klerk is directly involved in political violence.

Young people in his party visit his constituency and if people need any further information or want to meet

him, he does house calls

When I question the NP's bona fides during democratic elections, he says NP constitutional guidelines make provision for other parties to take part in the transition, and therefore Mr Nelson Mandela would also be part of the presidency if any abuses occurred, the world would know

I point out the world was in Namibia (in the form of the United Nations), yet it did not stop the South African government's dirty tricks

The UN was not part of the Namibian government, he snaps "Like in any job, some things go away," he adds as an afterthought

Confident a new parliament could be elected in the next three years, he is convinced the NP is strong enough to win an election without alliances

He refuses the possibility of a Conservative Party-NP alliance.

Yes, Inkathagate hurt Inkatha, and Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi's support base, but Inkatha is anti-Communist and stands for a "free world"

Although the NP was implicated in Inkathagate, it was the "old" NP that was responsible When I point out it happened in the post-February 2 period, he says the NP did explain the money was used in anti-sanctions campaigns

McKenzie leaves, assuring me the black Nats would not repeat the LP's electrifying style of bussing old people to polling stations.

"Things of the past and present will come out. The electorate must keep the NP on its toes — the people will govern."

By Rehana Rossouw

A SPEAR will be carried across the Peninsula this weekend as ANC members celebrate the 30th anniversary of their organisation's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

Members will run with the spear and a shield from Khayelitsha, through Guguletu, Heideveld and Bontehuwel before handing them to MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hami in Langa.

Hami will address a rally at the Langa Stadium which starts at 12 noon on Monday December 16.

MK's history will be recalled this week at a three-day celebration in the Western Cape.

The ANC launched its military wing on December 16, 1961, with bombings at government offices and installations in Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. The blasts signalled the ANC's departure from solely non-violent resistance.

One of the first campaigns of MK was to fight alongside the Zimbabwean freedom fighters in the late sixties.

Codenamed the Wankie Campaign, MK soldiers in the Luthuli Detachment were sent to assist the Zimbabweans and find routes into South Africa. MK commander Mr Joe Modise and Hami were among those who saw action in this campaign.

The seventies saw MK sending cadres into South Africa to build underground structures under more favourable conditions following the liberation of Angola, Mozambique and the intensification of the war in Zimbabwe.

Then came the "armed propaganda" phase. Sasol, Koeberg and Voortrekkerhoogte were attacked following the establishment of bases inside the country.

The improved capacity of MK led to attacks against police stations, army

ANC army celebrates 30 years of struggle

11A ~~11A~~ 235

South 12/12 - 18/12/91



MARCH OF THE SPEAR. MK soldiers practise drill during the 1967-68 Wankie campaign

PIC FROM THE MAYIBUYE CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

barracks and several government installations

As retribution, the SADF raided Lesotho, Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, resulting in some ANC members being killed and many being captured.

Although MK has suspended its armed struggle as part of the negotiation process, the army has not disbanded.

It continues to recruit members and upgrades their skills to prepare them to form part of the regular army in the post-apartheid South Africa.

On Saturday an exhibition of material depicting the history of MK will be opened at the University of the Western Cape auditorium by ANC national executive committee member Prof Kader Asmal.

The exhibition, prepared by the

Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture in South Africa, will portray the role of MK from the early sabotage actions to the development of the strategy of People's War.

There will also be speakers on the Wankie Campaign and the role of women in MK.

On Saturday a "gumba" kicks off at the Guguletu Civic Centre at 2pm with a range of cultural events.

'Hani's shoes can be filled'

South
By Rehana Rossouw

DESPITE losing their charismatic leader to the South African Communist Party (SACP), Umkhonto we Sizwe officers are confident the position can be filled by a younger soldier.

Last weekend Mr Chris Hani was elected general secretary of the SACP, an appointment which could lead to him resigning his post in MK.

He said while he believed he could still play a role in MK, he doubted he could continue serving the organisation as chief of staff.

According to MK sources, Hani could be heading for a more prominent national political role in the SACP.

Already, his new post could see him leading the party's delegation to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) talks.

12/12 - 18/12/91
Although MK has not yet officially discussed the implications of Hani's new position, sources say that, while his departure would be a loss, it is also a positive development for young officials of the armed wing and Hani's political career.

Described as a "reluctant soldier", Hani has indicated frequently in the past few months that he sees himself as a politician rather than a soldier and would welcome an opportunity to play a role in the forthcoming negotiations.

His willingness to serve the SACP in a fulltime capacity is also seen as an indication that the party's role is regarded as more important than MK's in the present political climate.

Finding a replacement chief of staff will be a "process" which has both organisational and political implications for MK and the ANC as a whole.

"Obviously we recognise his leaving MK is going to affect the organi-

be filled' MK

sional capacity of the leadership structures of the army," said a senior MK official. "His contribution has been incredible at that level and it will be important to ensure that his successor plays the same political role in MK as he did."

All indications are the ANC and MK will not be rushed into finding a new chief of staff.

While MK officials are reluctant to name a likely successor, two contenders for the post could be Mr Siphwe Nyanda, Operation Vula commander and former Robben Islander Mr Tokyo Sexwale.

The strongest contenders, sources say, are Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Lambert Moloi.

"What must be understood is that choosing a new chief of staff is a political decision," said the MK source. "The future of MK must in no way be marginalised. Having Chris Hani take up a senior position in a

political organisation in a way ensures that MK is continually placed on the political agenda."

The chief of staff fulfils a key organisational role in MK and has the responsibility of overseeing the day to day functioning of the army.

The chief of staff's duties include attending the welfare of MK members, their deployment and setting up the army's infrastructure.

"There are many young people in the army who are ready to fill this gap. Given the opportunity, they can fulfil the political role as well," said the MK source.

"We must not create an institution of Chris Hani. Despite his incredible contribution, things will not grind to a halt because he is leaving."

Because Hani's successor will be a political appointment, the decision will be taken by the ANC's national executive committee, with input from the military leadership as well

Commonwealth to send observers

Top-level teams named for Codesa

11A
13/12/91

HOPES rose yesterday for a successful start to constitutional negotiations with the announcement of high-level national and international delegations to next week's Codesa meeting.

The Commonwealth announced a six-member observer team, including former British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and former Zimbabwe president the Rev Canaan Banana

President F W de Klerk will lead the government delegation, which includes just one non-Cabinet member. The NP delegation, led by its Cape leader Dawie de Vilhiers, includes three coloured members

The ANC will announce its delegation soon, but it is sure to be led by its president Nelson Mandela and include secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa

The Commonwealth delegation includes two other former foreign ministers Malaysia's Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and India's Shri Dinesh Singh. The other members are former Australian governor-general Sir Ninian Stephen, and Telford George, former chief justice of the Bahamas.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku said the attendance of the delegation was an important development in Commonwealth relations with SA

Other foreign organisations invited to attend — the EC, the OAU and the UN — have yet to announce their delegations.

The NP delegation also includes Natal leader George Bartlett and two other Ministers — Defence Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The other members are Natal chairman Jurie Mentz, Cape vice-chairman the Rev Andrew Julius, NP leader in the House of Representatives Jac Rabie, Bloemfontein North MP Frik van Heerden, Durbanville

TIM COHEN and
KIN BENTLEY

MP Frik van Deventer, President's Councillors Anne Routier and Peter Marais, and secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe

The government delegation includes Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Education Minister Sam de Beer, Health Minister Dr Rina Venter, Provincial Affairs Minister Leon Wessels, Deputy Development Aid Minister Piet Marais, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delport, Deputy Education Minister Abe Williams and Constitutional Affairs director-general Fanie van der Merwe

Du Plessis has switched from the NP delegation at the preparatory meeting to the government delegation for Codesa

Anyaoku said yesterday he would personally return to SA "from time to time" next year as negotiations proceeded, bringing with him "appropriate advisers whose expertise might be helpful to (Codesa)"

He expected the observers "to hold consultations with the leaders of the political parties and to be available to assist in whatever way might be helpful".

□ Sapa reports that US President George Bush expressed his support for the negotiation process to De Klerk in a telephone conversation on Wednesday.

The President's office said in a statement De Klerk told Bush he was completely confident that good progress would be made, and informed him of problems expected to be the main point of focus in the weeks ahead

Azapo youth plan to mar talks

A PROGRAMME of action to make the Convention for a Democratic South Africa a failure will be tabled at the second annual congress of the Azanian Youth Organisation later this month.

Addressing a Press conference yesterday, the organisation's president Mr Tham Mcerwa said hasty decisions and early compromises by some sections of the liberation movement compromised the struggle for the liberation of black people.

"Codesa, like the Patriotic Front, is doomed to fail because reconciliation is not acceptable to the masses at this stage," he said.

"The militancy of the youth is being diluted and misdirected. We believe the youth should stand up and wage a genuine struggle for liberation."

Fighters

The congress, to be held at the Great Centenary Hall in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, from tomorrow until Monday, will be addressed by Mr Richard Zikhali (Zanu-PF Youth League) and former Azapo president Mr Itumeleng Mosala.

The theme of the congress is "Fighters arise, seize the time for a socialist Azania."

Among issues to be discussed are Codesa, implications of an interim government, constituent assembly, consultative conference of the youth, formation of a genuine Patriotic Front and launch of an anti-alcohol and drugs campaign.

PAC faces some difficult choices

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa is not in a crisis because of the PAC's uncertainty over taking part.

The leadership of political parties who will go to the convention on December 20 and 21 are emphatic that the show will go on with or without the PAC

In fact, Codesa 2 is already coming into view, say sources within the steering committees that were established after last month's preparatory meeting

It is perhaps the PAC that is in crisis

And when it meets at its consultative congress in Cape Town on Sunday and Monday it will have to find a way out

The PAC did what it believed to be the honourable thing and walked out of Codesa's preparatory meeting on November 30 on the grounds that the ANC and Government had in preliminary discussions secured a series of agreements

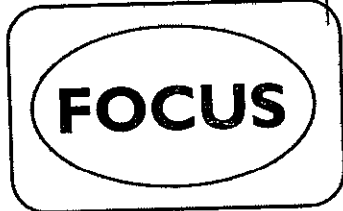
The PAC contended at the time that the Government and the ANC were using the preparatory meeting for the purpose only of receiving a "rubber stamp" of approval from the self-governing states, homeland governments and political parties within Parliament

Another contention was that the ANC had broken all the agreements made with the PAC at the launch of the Patriotic Front

The PAC therefore felt that it could not continue to participate in Codesa within the framework that had been established by the preparatory meeting, and that it had to seek a fresh mandate from its membership to continue

Hence this weekend's consultative congress

The PAC thus finds itself at a



ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

crossroads with the question of entering into formal multiparty talks - which Codesa has officially become

The PAC's options are two-fold. If it decides not to continue in Codesa, it could be relegating itself to the periphery of South African politics, if it chooses to continue, it stands to play only a marginal role in the creation of the next South Africa

Going into Codesa while retaining its glory as a liberation movement is the PAC's biggest challenge

Thinking in the PAC is that the ANC has fallen for the Government's grand scheme, and will gradually be sucked into a compromising position in which it will be forced to drop its role as a liberation movement, lose the support of the international community and be forced to drop the sanctions campaign

This, a top-level PAC source says, is what lies in store for whoever takes part in Codesa and eventually the interim government of national unity

It is known that the Government has a bent for what it calls an interim government of national unity with a lifespan of between five and 10 years

The Government wants to use this time to "stabilise the economy and encourage economic growth" as well as to create jobs and preserve the basic infrastructure of the country like roads, railways and the communications system

The Government believes too

that through such an interim government it will be able to stop the violence in the country

The Government appears to have a well worked-out plan, and it also has a well-oiled engine to suck in whomever it chooses

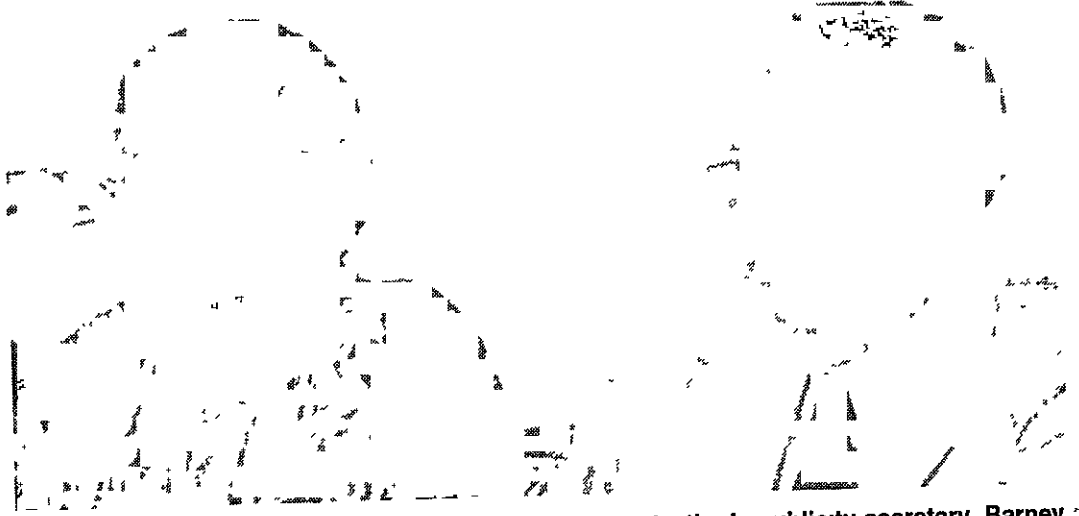
After incorporating into a super-cabinet as many political parties as it chooses (to give it maximal credibility), the interim government could then safely run the country for up to 10 years

On the other hand, the ANC has said it prefers an interim period of up to 18 months

The PAC has not come out with an interim plan

Both the ANC and PAC have exposed themselves to the possibility of being incorporated into the kind of transitional government that the National Party has in mind

In the final analysis, the PAC has to decide whether it wants to live on the periphery of South African politics or lose its ideals and identity



PAC general secretary Benny Alexander and the organisation's publicity secretary, Barney Desai at the Codesa talks last month.

Exiled PAC

chiefs jet in

11A

Sowetan 13/12/91

A HIGH-POWERED Pan Africanist Congress delegation from outside the country, including first deputy president Mr John Mlambo, will attend the organisation's congress in Cape Town this weekend.

The congress will determine the PAC's future in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Former chairman of the PAC's central committee and leader of its military wing, Mlambo

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

returns from Tanzania with PAC representatives from various overseas countries

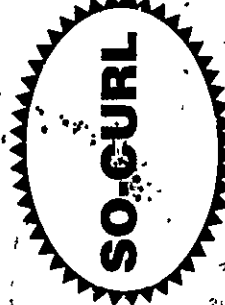
Mlambo left the country in 1983 after serving a 20-year prison sentence. He is probably the most powerful PAC leader to return to South Africa since the organisation was unbanned on February 2 1990.

His presence is likely to pull the rug from under the feet of dissident PAC radicals who have campaigned against

To page 2



Mr Siphwe Nyanda (left), a senior commander of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and chief of staff Mr Chris Hani during a Press conference to launch MK's 30th anniversary. See report on Page 3 Pic JOF MOI EFE



HAIRDRESSERS' CHRISTMAS SPECIAL

P.T.O.

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Mandela's cargo cult

11A ~~11A~~

FM 13/12/91

The cancelled visit of President F W de Klerk to the leaders of the former Soviet Union nonetheless represents a remarkable development. It shows a diplomatic détente unthinkable only a brief time ago, when the spectre of communism produced rabid responses in Pretoria. Now communism is dead. De Klerk will yet be in Moscow.

Of course, as diplomacy establishes its priorities, it will be a problem for the President, in the months ahead, to know precisely with whom to resume full diplomatic ties. Ethnic fission on even a sub-Yugoslavian scale could well replicate itself across the remnants of Stalin's empire. Boris Yeltsin's newly announced Slavic commonwealth — Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia — is obviously a big-ticket number, but it is inherently unstable.

That aside, the significance of the mooted visit was that De Klerk would get to Moscow before ANC president Nelson Mandela. This was extraordinary, given that the Soviet Union was the major backer of the ANC throughout its years of exile. Mandela has at least twice cancelled trips to Moscow because the time was not propitious — leaving the impression that the fate of the ANC is now of less commanding interest to Mikhail Gorbachev than it might once have been.

Mandela's response to news of the De Klerk visit was ungracious. "We have no objection to the visit. Whether he goes to a country or not makes no difference to us because nothing can advance his cause. Nothing can advance the cause of racial oppression in our country or in the world."

This is sufficient to suggest that Mandela still hasn't got the idea of what the fall of communism means. Strictly interpreted, he also appears to believe that De Klerk is attempting to extend the life of apartheid, but this is probably not so.

Mandela must understand that if Gorbachev and Yeltsin give their blessing to De Klerk's reforms, it will be all that more difficult to persuade ANC followers that the "liberation struggle" remains a purely black-white affair with inevitable victory for the victims of oppression, hand in hand with progressive nations.

This is rather like the belief that once Mandela is in Tuynhuys, foreign aid and handouts will rush to the rescue of an economy that sanctions have helped to ruin. It has the authentic ring of the cargo cult — the faith that, as one encyclopaedia has it, "a new paradise will be heralded by the arrival of a supernatural cargo of goods brought by spirits."

It takes no cognisance of new world realities. ■



THE TALKS

FM 13/12/91

11A

Still sweetness and light

Aside from being rattled by the PAC's allegations of having already done a deal with government, the ANC seems euphoric to a fault about a successful outcome of constitutional negotiations

Based on the smooth run — more or less in its favour — of the recent preparatory conference (which was only procedural), senior ANC figures seem remarkably convinced that matters will, via the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa), just about go their way. The optimism extends to their firm demand for an elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution.

The first meeting of Codesa next Friday is not expected to get down to the central and linked issues of an interim government and constituent assembly. Instead, working groups will be set up to develop proposals for the second and most important plenary session in January or February, at which more detail on those two key questions may have emerged.

What the ANC will be pushing for on December 20 and 21, however, is to secure government's commitment to being bound by all Codesa decisions, and to giving these legal force through the present parliament. Sources in the National Party indicate that government acceptance of these apparently drastic demands is not unlikely. But if they are accepted, would this not amount to the setting up of a form of interim government and the undermining of the sovereignty of parliament?

The ANC further hopes to dispense with the second item on the agenda set by the preparatory conference — general constitutional principles — by the disarmingly optimistic device of getting Codesa to adopt basically the ANC's own statement of principles. This is a broad, nine-point statement about SA being united, democratic, non-racial and nonsexist, with equal citizenship, universal suffrage on a common voters' roll based on proportional representation, the separation of powers, human rights protected by a Bill of Rights, equality before the law and an independent judiciary.

Even if this apple-pie stuff is unlikely to be seriously opposed by any of the parties involved, it is hard to imagine the debate on fundamental constitutional principles simply ending there, with the nuts and bolts to be decided in an ANC-dominated constituent assembly.

But the ANC seems genuinely to believe so. It is dead against Codesa being turned into a detailed policymaking body of any kind — let alone having it transform itself into an interim government or constitution-making forum, as government had hoped it might become (*Leaders* December 6)

As the ANC sees it, Codesa is strictly a negotiating forum concerned with the "modalities" of transition.

The ANC also intends seeking early agreement — "sufficient consensus" is the term that has emerged — on the principle of an elected constituent assembly. It wants this secured before agreement emerges on an interim government or transitional arrangements, because it can then be established precisely what an interim government is for, as well as what its lifespan will be.

There is great wariness of government wanting the life of an interim government drawn out for as long as possible, and suspicion that it seems to be seeking an interim constitution. It is pointed out that the issue of a "constitution-making body/process" appears on the agenda before the item on transitional arrangements (or interim government or transitional authority, as the agenda has it). This matter is to be raised by the ANC at Codesa 2 early next year.

On the key question of when an interim government will be set up, much will turn on how well negotiations proceed in the working group, and an indication should emerge at Codesa's second meeting.

To the ANC, simply appointing members from its organisation, the PAC and anyone else to the Cabinet is emphatically not an interim government. Further, it believes that the life of such a government must be limited and tied to the time it takes to hold universal suffrage elections. The ANC envisages a package of agreements including an interim government and constituent assembly.

Though difficult to define, "sufficient consensus" refers, in effect, not so much to numbers as to agreement between the NP and ANC, without which the process can't go forward. Others may spoil, only these two can exercise an automatic veto. ■

FM 13/12/91 (11A)

PATRIOTIC FRONT FM
13/12/91
Questions of distance (11A)

Despite the stated intention of both parties to try to heal the breach, there is no sign of a meeting to patch things up between the ANC and the PAC — key parties in the Patriotic Front (PF) formed in October

PAC spokesman Barney Desai describes relations with the ANC as “rather strained” at the moment and the PF as not quite dead but “rather lame” This follows PAC “disclosures” alleging that a “secret deal” has been done by government and the ANC over transitional arrangements

The charge is claimed by the PAC to be backed up by the minutes of a briefing that the ANC's Thabo Mbeki gave to Frontline States recently The ANC vehemently denies all of it — including the allegation that

it is downgrading the demand for a constituent assembly

Despite the existence of consultative mechanisms like the PF liaison committee, the PAC went public on this charge only days before the multi-party preparatory conference recently Worse, the PAC walked out of that historic conference, claiming that the ANC had failed to support it on the question of an outside venue for Codesa

The ANC was publicly slammed for “deceit and duplicity,” to which it responded by describing the PAC's behaviour and statements as “dishonest, destructive and manipulative”

The ANC is convinced the PAC will return to participate in Codesa on December 20 Whether it will could depend on the outcome of a special PAC congress in Cape Town this weekend Desai's feeling is that “we should consolidate our struggle on all fronts and we need to watch Codesa,” which suggests a belief that the PAC should be there

To the statement “we are walking the last mile,” made by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa after the preparatory meeting, Desai says the best response came from the PAC's deputy president, Dikgang Mosenke, that “Cyril is very bad at distances”

According to the ANC, its extensive bilateral discussions with a host of parties, including government and the PAC itself, in the run-up to Codesa were public knowledge

In discussions with the PAC as well as at the PF, says the ANC, the PAC committed itself to certain positions

□ That “given their difficulties within the organisation, they would put their position regarding international convenors on the table to satisfy their constituency but would be willing to accept the consensus proposal of independent convenors, and

□ “Similarly, with regard to the venue they would merely state their position but undertook to support the proposal for a neutral venue inside the country”

The ANC says a wide gulf exists between the PAC's rhetoric and actions and that similar posturing occurred in the preparation for the PF

“The PAC alleges collusion between the government and the ANC in order to create the perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country This is in keeping with their conduct throughout their existence,” says the ANC, adding that it will “never negotiate behind the backs of our people”

Desai maintains that as a partner in the PF, the ANC “did not inform us of what they were up to.” Early this year, after the ANC floated the notion of an all-party conference, it had said, maintains Desai, that such a conference could be transformed into an interim government The PAC all along rejected that on the understanding that the primary goal was a constituent assembly

“Our perceptions are clearly that the ANC would ditch the constituent assembly if they found it difficult,” says Desai ■

ANC, IFP argue, form peace body

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The establishment of a local dispute resolution committee (LDRC) for Greater Soweto was almost called off yesterday — for the second time this week — because of a dispute between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC.

Transvaal IFP leader Themba Khoza said yesterday's meeting to set up the LDRC was adjourned twice because the ANC had refused to accede to an IFP demand that the organisation apologise for blaming the IFP for the Dobsonville massacre last Sunday.

An investigation by The Star's sister newspaper, the Sowetan, has revealed that the killing of nine people in Dobsonville on Sunday night was the result of a lovers' tiff.

Val Paquet, personal assistant to National Peace Committee chairman John Hall, said the LDRC was established yesterday afternoon after a meeting in Soweto between various parties representing a wide section of the community.

Mr Khoza said although the LDRC had been formally established, new structures had not yet been formed because of a disagreement over who should serve on the committee.

The next meeting of the committee on January 15 would decide on the future structures.

The LDRC was to have been established on Monday but was postponed in the wake of weekend violence.

During one of the adjournments in yesterday's meeting, Mr Khoza mistakenly informed Sapa that the meeting had been cancelled "due to the failure of the ANC to apologise about their statement concerning the Dobsonville massacre".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC had said nothing for which it had to apologise, since its statement had simply called for an investigation into the Dobsonville killings.

Mr Khoza said the murders could not have been politically motivated since the victims had not been members of the IFP or the ANC. The IFP accepted that the killings had been the result of a lovers' squabble.

Mr Khoza also accused the ANC of trying to destabilise IFP rallies and inciting violence.

Rallies planned as MK turns 30

STAR 13/12/91

11A

By Esmaré
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

The ANC has organised 13 rallies countrywide and one in Uganda to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on Monday

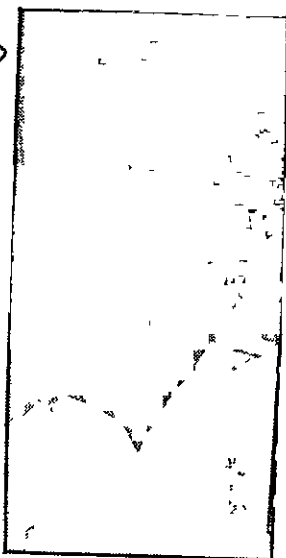
Details of the celebrations were announced by MK's top leadership — including chief of staff Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale and Rashid Patel — at a press conference at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg yesterday

In a statement, MK said it would be the first time in its history that people could take part in "the public rallies and peaceful manifestations of their army"

The anniversary would focus attention on the State's continued military aggression against people by highlighting the ongoing violence and "crimes committed by the notorious death squads", as well as the ANC army's role in the negotiation process and the strengthening of "self-protection units"

Mr Hani declined to give details of MK's soldier numbers or the number of self-defence units which had been set up with MK assistance

MK said it continued to recruit, train and de-



Chris Hani . won't reveal number of cadres

velop cadres for a future nonracial army. It would not disarm or disband its force before achieving its goal of a nonracial, democratic, united and non-sexist South Africa

Inviting all democrats to join in the celebrations, MK noted it was neither a private army or the army of a political party, but a people's army of national liberation

The main rally will be held at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Monday, addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, MK commander Joe Modise and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo

Additional policemen and troops are being moved into Soweto to watch over the rally

The district commissioner of police for the Soweto region, Major-General Kobus Malan, yesterday asked for the co-operation of all participants in the rally to avoid violence

"The SA Police has, with big additional costs, acquired reinforcements from outside Soweto, as well as from the SA Army, to do everything in the security force's capabilities so that violence will be avoided," General Malan said

He added that the security forces did not want to "put a damper or restrictions" on the rally, but requested the organisers and participants to behave within the parameters of South Africa's laws, "and not create a situation for conflict and violence"

On the same day, Winnie Mandela and Mr Kasrils will speak in Port Elizabeth and Chris Hani in the western Cape. The venues of other rallies on Monday include Durban, Welkom, Nelspruit, Middelburg (Tvl), Turfloop University in the northern Transvaal, Thabazimbi, Pretoria and Kimberley

Tomorrow Mr Hani and Mrs Mandela will address a rally at Umtata in Transkei and on Sunday MK soldiers who have died in the struggle against apartheid will be commemorated at a rally in Kagiso

The PAC has to decide this weekend whether to rejoin Codesa, writes Ismail Lagardien

The Africanists stand at the crossroads

13/12/91
S.M.C.

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is not in crisis as a result of the PAC walkout. Leaders of the various political parties who will gather at the World Trade Centre next week are emphatic that the show will go on with or without the turbulent Africanists.

In fact, so confident are they of pressing on regardless that "Codesa 2" is already being discussed, according to sources within the steering committees established after last month's preparatory meeting.

It is perhaps more accurate to say it is the PAC that is in crisis over its on-off participation in Codesa. This makes its special consultative congress in Cape Town on Sunday and Monday extremely important: the organisation will have to find its own way out of the impasse.

The PAC did what it believed to be the honourable thing when it walked out of Codesa's preparatory meeting on November 30, on the grounds that the ANC and the

Government had in preliminary discussions secured a series of "agreements" during bilateral discussions. The Africanists contended at the time that the Government and the ANC were using the preparatory meeting for the express purpose of receiving the "rubber stamp" of the self-governing states and homeland governments, as well as the political parties within Parliament for these agreements.

Another contention was that the ANC had broken all the agreements it had made with the PAC at the launch of the Patriotic Front. The PAC therefore felt it could not continue to take part in Codesa within the framework that had been established by the preparatory meeting, and that it had to seek a fresh mandate from its membership to continue within this established context.

Hence this weekend's consultative congress. The PAC thus finds itself at a crossroads, on the question of entering into formal multi-party talks — which Codesa has

officially become. For the PAC the options are twofold: if it decides not to continue in Codesa, it could be relegating itself to the periphery of South African politics, if it chooses to continue, it stands to play only a marginal role in the creation of the next South Africa.

Going into Codesa and retaining its integrity as a liberation movement is the PAC's biggest problem — and it sees the ANC losing the initiative in this regard. The thinking in the PAC is that the ANC has fallen for the Government's "grand scheme", will gradually be sucked into a compromising position where it will be forced to drop its role as a liberation movement, will lose the support of the international community (against the Government) and be forced to drop the sanctions campaign.

This is not a fate the PAC would like to share, and PAC sources are worried that it might inevitably be what lies in store for whoever takes part in Codesa — and in

time an interim government of national unity. It is believed the Government favours some sort of interim structure with a lifespan of five to 10 years. The Government wants to use this time to "stabilise the economy and encourage economic growth", as well as create jobs and preserve the basic infrastructure of the country — including roads, railways and communications systems as well as the civil service. The Government believes, too, that through such an interim government it will be able to stop the violence in the country.

The problem is compounded not only by the fact that the Government appears to have a well-worked-out plan, but that it also has an equally well-oiled engine to implement it. The PAC fears Pretoria's capacity to co-opt outsiders into a "super Cabinet" and interim structure through which it will co-administer South Africa.

After incorporating into this super-Cabinet as many political

parties as it chooses (in order to give it maximum credibility) the interim government could then safely run the country for an extended period. The PAC's problem — and that of the ANC — is that it has no better thought-out alternative.

The ANC has said that it prefers an interim period of about 18 months, but has given little additional detail. The PAC has given no detail at all. Both parties have thus exposed themselves to the possibility of being incorporated, by default, into the kind of transitional or interim government the National Party has in mind.

In broad terms, these are the reasons why PAC leaders' brows will be furrowed this weekend — The PAC faces a tough choice — made tougher by the uncompromising militancy of many of its followers. It can choose to stay "pure", but will then have to watch mute as Codesa takes off without it. □

Govt arrogant over call-up - Hani

Political Reporter

5 MK 13/12/91

(11A)

The ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, have strongly criticised the Government's decision to maintain the 12-month period of military national service for white males

MK chief of staff Chris Hani said yesterday the decision, announced by Defence Minister Roelf Meyer, reflected the arrogance of the Government "when dealing with serious matters"

With multiparty constitutional negotiations formally starting next weekend at the Convention for a Democratic

South Africa (Codesa), he would have expected the Government to have negotiated all matters regarding the defence forces with the ANC and other liberation armies

The head of the ANC's department of information and publicity, Dr Pailo Jordan, said continued conscription for one racial community was alarming

"In its conception, structure and whole ethos, the SADF is not a defence force of the people but the military arm of the dominant white minority," he said

Addressing a press

conference in Johannesburg to publicise details of MK's 30th anniversary celebrations on Monday, Mr Hani added that MK would never amalgamate with the SADF

A new defence force would have to be formed, including elements of all armies, including the SADF, MK and homeland armies, once a new government was in place

Mr Hani added that MK commands had been set up in several regions of the country to exercise control over the army and soldiers returning from exile

11A
8/20/91

Mandela gets his cash

DETROIT has finally handed over more than \$1m raised during Nelson Mandela's US tour, nearly 18 months after the ANC president visited the city. Mayor Coleman Young said the transfer of \$1.1m had been finalised this week.

R2,8m for Mandela fund

DETROIT.— The city has finally handed over more than R2,8 million raised during Mr Nelson Mandela's US tour — nearly 18 months after he visited the city.

Detroit yesterday finalised the transfer to the Mandela Freedom Fund, which will send it to the Matla Trust Fund, the mayor, Mr Coleman Young, said in a written statement. Mr Coleman said the money had been withheld because of red tape.

Mr Mandela asked that the money be transferred to the trust fund, Mr Young said. The fund was organised in October 1990 to support education and charitable activities. — Sapa-AP (11A) CT 13/12/91

MK to train ^(11A) in India — Hani ^{CT13/14}

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC's armed wing, uMkhonto weSiswe, would send members to India for training in conventional warfare, chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

He made the announcement at a news conference held to announce a series of nationwide uMkhonto weSiswe meetings to mark its 30th anniversary.

The focus of the celebrations will be a meeting planned for Orlando Stadium in Soweto, which will be addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, the organisation's chairman Mr Oliver Tambo and uMkhonto weSiswe commander Mr Joe Modise.

ANC national executive committee member Mrs Winnie Mandela will speak at two of the 13 meetings planned, all except one of which will be held on Monday.

The anniversary celebrations are intended to mark the first bomb blasts of the "Sabotage Campaign" and the launching of uMkhonto weSiswe on December 16, 1961.

In a statement the organisation said it would continue to recruit and train its members for a future army.

Comrade Charisma takes the hard road

13/12 - 18/12/91
 The most popular politician in the African National Congress is Chris Hani. He could probably have any top ANC post he chooses. Why then, has he chosen to walk away, into a precarious future with the South African Communist Party?
 PHILIP VAN NIEKERK reports

AS political commissar of Umkhonto weSizwe in the early 1980s, Chris Hani once walked unarmed into a camp of mutinous soldiers in Angola and persuaded them to lay down their arms.

It takes the same kind of courage to walk away from the prize of being the most popular politician in the African National Congress into the dubious future of general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

And it will take even greater powers of persuasion than Hani applied in Angola to convince any but the party faithful that in this day and age the SACP remains a serious player.

The SACP's keenness to secure Hani as leader, wresting him from the ANC and MK's equally vociferous attempts to keep him, represented an unusually sound grip on reality.

It is a recognition that Hani, with his populist, inspirational style, could be the only person to rescue the SACP from its image as a dinosaur, a party wedded to an international movement discredited by the worldwide collapse of socialist regimes.

But who is Chris Hani? Is he the hard-line ideologue, the revolutionary in army fatigues striking fear into the heart of the suburbs? Or is he just an idealist fighting for a square deal for the man on the street, the son of a migrant worker whose hatred for injustice led him as a 12-year-old to dream of becoming a Catholic priest?

"I joined the Communist Party in 1962," says Hani, explaining his adherence to the communist movement. "I was born in one of the most backward backyards of South Africa — the Transkei, a very poor area where the majority of the males were migrant workers."

"My father was one, working on the mines and in the construction industry in Cape Town."

"I have always been motivated by the idea of fighting against exploitation because as a child I experienced what exploitation meant. I have come back after more than 20 years in exile and I have found that as far as the ordinary people in the rural areas and workers are concerned, very little has changed."

The party's role, says Hani, is to focus on the aspirations of the working class and the poor in a way that the ANC, as a multi-class organisation, cannot.

"The poorest people of our country need the Communist Party," he says.

For the moment, the ANC and the party have identical views on the immediate goal — the struggle for national democracy — and on the way of achieving that goal — through negotiation but with "mass action of the oppressed" to back up demands if the government gets stubborn at the negotiating table.

There is no prospect but that the ANC and the SACP will stand as one entity in elections — even though the National Party views the party link as one of the ANC's biggest electoral liabilities.

It is on the question of the second phase — on socialism and economic policies — that the two diverge. Communists have a role, says Hani, to



Charismatic dinosaur facing an uphill climb: Chris Hani

hold the ANC to "radical ideas on socio-economic matters" such as partial nationalisation and drastic reorganisation of the economy.

ANC President Nelson Mandela's utterances in the United States that the movement is reviewing its position on nationalisation would have to be put to a national congress of the ANC, says Hani.

"We have supported the ANC on the basis of these policies," he says. "Any departure from that programme would lead to a situation where some of us would have to reassess our role in the African National Congress."

Hani professes a passionate commitment to multiparty democracy, and dismisses any "wrong impressions" one might glean from the fact that the rank-and-file at last weekend's congress knocked the adjective "democratic" off democratic socialism.

"Our people talked about the distortions of socialism in the Soviet Union," he says. "They said there was no material basis for socialism in Eastern Europe — it was imposed as a result of the victories of the Red Army."

"I thought that was an important observation to be made by delegates at the congress. They were saying we don't want those distortions because they are not inherent in socialism."

However, the insistence by the rank-and-file that socialism doesn't need to be qualified because it is inherently democratic, in the light of the history of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, stretches credulity, particularly given the presence at the congress of honoured guests from the People's Republic of China.

Hani strongly defends their presence, one suspects because the party badly needs their financial backing, with other sources such as the Soviet Union drying up.

"I must look at the positive contribution of the Chinese people towards the liberation of the people in the Third World," says Hani. "We are united with the Chinese in our support for socialism, in our hatred and abhorrence of capitalism."

"I'm sure there are serious problems in China. There are some mistakes that the Chinese are committing."

"Even capitalist countries have the propensity



Outgoing SACP general secretary Joe Slovo and ANC national chairman, observer at SACP's congress, Oliver Tambo
 Photo: KEVIN CARTER

to use violence when trapped against the wall. I am not defending the Chinese. What I am saying is I am not prepared to stay away from the Chinese because I disapprove of what they did at Tiananmen Square.

"Our position has always been to accept assistance from all those willing to give without strings attached. The Chinese are not saying adopt our methods. Those are their methods. They came here to express solidarity with the struggle of workers."

"But we will not implement Chinese socialism. We have our own road to socialism in South Africa."

Hani is more passionate on the issue of Cuba, which has supplanted Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as the model for many South African communists.

"Why should we not believe in some of the positive aspects of the Cuban revolution?" asks Hani. "Why should we not believe in the internationalism of Cuban communists who came to Africa to shed their blood for the liberation of Namibia, who stood up against the bulhies of racist South Africa? Why shouldn't we admire people who, though poor, were able to train doctors and teachers for us and have sent doctors and engineers to the developing world?"

"Why shouldn't we admire people who erased illiteracy within 31 years, which the USA has still not done? Our gripe with Cuba is the notion of one-party rule, the Communist Party dominating. They will have to find their own answer to this problem."

In economically sagging South Africa, the still-strong, albeit waning, appeal of communism to the militant youth and workers has cushioned the party from some of the consequences of the collapse of the socialist bloc. Yet by voting against the term democratic socialism and to preserve concepts like politburo and even the name of the Communist Party the members were making more than a grammatical point.

One could detect among delegates a defensive reaction to gloating capitalists and anti-communists wishing to consign socialism and all its symbols to the dustbin.

"We are on the defensive as communists and

we don't want to be on the defensive," says Hani. "People are forgetting the terrible things that are happening in the capitalist countries. Britain is entering a second recession — no one writes about that. In America there are millions without jobs. Young blacks are either in prison or being paroled."

"Drug trafficking has become a serious problem. Take Brazil and the other countries of Latin America. Some of them are in a worse situation than Cuba."

The media is not writing about the miseries in these other countries."

The SACP, as one of the few really viable remaining communist parties, sees for itself a major international role. "We have to contribute towards the regrouping and reasserting of communist parties throughout the world," says Hani.

"We want to restore to the working people of the world the capacity to influence developments globally."

"We are worried about the aggressive emergence of United States power which is becoming very arrogant and is wanting to impose its will on the people of the world."

Not the theoretician that his predecessor Joe Slovo was, Hani explains his commitment to socialism in idealistic terms. "The socialism we want must be one that respects human rights, that allows pluralism in society, that is not imposed from above, that is not bureaucratic."

Hani sidesteps the question of whether he has made a wise career move by accepting the leadership of the SACP, instead of holding out for presidency of the ANC, a position for which his popular appeal clearly put him in the running. Other potential contenders for senior positions in the party have quietly opted to stay out of the central committee for the more certain career path offered by the ANC.

The situation has been transformed from only a few years ago when membership of the party was almost a prerequisite for ambitious young cadres wanting to get ahead.

For Chris Hani, the process of building the SACP into a credible force is likely to prove an uphill battle. No one said it didn't take courage. Or the powers of persuasion of a Dale Carnegie.



Youth power ... Chanting delegates at the ANC Youth League national conference in kwaNdebele

Photo WILLIAM MATLALA

Mokaba (11A) wins Youth League vote

By HUBERT MATLOU

IN a move widely perceived as a closing of the ranks, the African National Congress Youth League yesterday elected Peter Mokaba as its president

Soweto youth leader Rapu Molekane, who was expected to contest the position in the election, which rounded off the organisation's four-day congress in kwaNdebele, failed to secure nomination

The presidential race seemed to turn on a behind-doors meeting attended by delegates of all regions on Wednesday, in which the presidential race was discussed. Observers say consensus was reached that a contest for the position could be damaging, and that defeat for Mokaba could give credibility to allegations earlier this year that Mokaba had security police links

In the first round of nominations yesterday, Molekane failed to receive the necessary one-third support from the house to make his candidacy possible. Molekane was instead chosen as the Youth League's secretary

Lulu Johnson, from the Eastern Cape, was elected vice-president, Mpho Lekgoro of Atteridgeville was voted deputy secretary and Ignatius Jacobs, of Riverlea, is the youth league's new treasurer

CP councils defy Dr No's line

By GAVIN EVANS

LOCAL-LEVEL negotiations between members of the Conservative Party and the African National Congress are happening in several areas of the country — in direct defiance on a CP ban on such contact.

While the ANC is keen for the Conservative Party to be drawn into talks at both national and municipal level, the CP officially remains implacably opposed to meetings at any level with the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress or "unelected" civic associations.

Putting the official party line, acting CP general secretary Paul Fouché said that it was completely against party policy for even individual town councillors to be engaged in talks

with such organisations

However, CP councils and councillors have been involved in negotiations with ANC, PAC and Congress of South African Trade Unions members in areas such as Standerton, Messina, Phalaborwa, Louis Trichardt, Uitenhage and Witbank — in most cases in response to consumer boycotts.

In Standerton, in the south-eastern Transvaal, the town council is CP-controlled while the Sakhule Civic Association (SCA) includes members of the ANC, PAC and Inkatha

Negotiations began after rent and consumer boycotts led to the resignation of the local black councillors

"It puzzles me that the CP says there are no negotiations, because we have been involved in negotiations with the Standerton Town Council," said SCA chairman Dan Soko

He said the CP mayor, Ian Thom, went as far as raising money from local businesses to help the community pay back its electricity arrears, and the council appointed one of its members, HV van der Merwe, to administer the township after the resignation

of the councillors.

Thom, who confirmed that he and most of his council were CP members, said he'd had "a lot of meetings" with the SCA and that he'd raised R80 000 to pay off the arrears.

A very different situation exists in Louis Trichardt where the CP mayor, Louis Hartzenberg, was involved in talks with the ANC-controlled Tshukotoa Consumer Boycott Committee last year.

The issue at stake was that the boycott committee and the local residents' association wanted the new

township incorporated into a single municipality while the CP council wanted a separate black authority.

CP members were involved in talks whenever a new consumer boycott got off the ground, but so far this year there have been no boycotts and no talks, and the council has dug in its heels by refusing to meet the residents' association.

This was also the initial strategy adopted by CP-controlled council in Phalaborwa — which stated emphatically it would never talk to the ANC.

But last month, after a long consumer boycott they mandated their town clerk to attend meetings between the ANC-dominated boycott committee and the chamber of commerce.

Soul-searching time for PAC

STAR 14/12/91

POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

11A

TWO THINGS can come out of the PAC's consultative congress in Cape Town tomorrow and Monday, at which the Africanists expect to receive or be refused a mandate to resume a role in Codesa

Delegates could either ask the leadership to return and continue fighting its cause, or can ask the leadership to remain out of Codesa and seek an alternative platform, possibly with Azapo and the other leftist splinter groups who have chosen not to enter into multiparty talks

The PAC suspended its participation in the talks at last month's preparatory meeting for such talks on the grounds that the ANC and the Government were steamrolling through decisions which they had jointly worked out before, and denying the Africanists a decisive role in Codesa

However, the PAC's survival in the short and medium term is dictated more by the success (or failure) of Codesa than by any immediate political or ideological decisions, departures or directions the PAC takes

If Codesa fails — which the PAC and indeed Azapo and its fellow travellers of the Left are holding out for — the Africanists believe they would step in to rescue the democratisation of SA

Azapo president Pende-lani Nefolovhodwe this week expressed exactly this sentiment, citing the Zimbabwean experience where the government of Abel Muzorewa, who was installed by the Ian Smith administration, failed and was re-

placed in a landslide victory by that of Robert Mugabe

But Codesa could succeed, and the PAC and Azapo could find themselves marginalised

This could see them in a situation similar to that of post-independence Angola and Mozambique. In these countries, the liberation movement (as it were) split at independence. The faction that did not make it into government waged a guerilla war against the first post-colonial government.

This latter option is however improbable, for the simple reason that no leftist guerilla movement can today garner enough military or even financial support to sustain a war. The (present) world order is not conducive to this

There are strong indications that Codesa will succeed, simply because the

Government and the ANC have vested all their efforts in it. Prominent Government and Codesa sources have in no uncertain terms said this — some have gone as far as to speculate on a time and place for Codesa 2. It is thus safe to assume that Codesa will be the vehicle for at least initial change in South Africa

Unless the conclusions the PAC has arrived at with regard to Codesa are at variance with these realities, their decision is made for them: stay on board Codesa

It is no small coincidence that the PAC's top political leadership is in South Africa in time for the December 20 and 21 meeting of Codesa 1. If the future looks as certain as it does through Codesa, the PAC would do itself a great political service if it shifted into a more conservative position

Socialist ideals born of

STAR 14/12/91

(11A)

Charismatic leader has turned his back on role as ANC

Everybody has strong feelings, one way or another, about Chris Hani. But where does he come from and what is he like? SHAUN JOHNSON and PATRICK LAURENCE try to provide some answers.

SOON after his elevation to the position of South Africa's communist in chief, Chris Hani found himself in a television studio, about to be interviewed. Just before the cameras rolled, the presenter leant over to him and said "Well, what should I ask you?"

Hani didn't hesitate "Ask me if I'm normal. Ask me if I belong in a psychiatric hospital for advocating a policy that has been so discredited."

The presenter demurred — which was a pity, because the answer would have been revealing of Hani's shoot-from-the-hip, straight talking style.

He is a surprisingly direct,

communist parties.

Great piles of paper have been consumed by analysts and speculation about his motives in doing so.

There are, to put the matter at its simplest, two versions to choose from.

Either Hani is positioning himself in fiendish fashion to benefit from the radicalism associated with the SACP — in other words waiting to ride into power on a wave of militant grassroots support — or he has made his move because he believes it is the right thing to do and has resigned himself to whatever political fortune, or misfortune, it brings.



To the professional in the northern suburbs he is evil incarnate, the unacceptable face of the democratic future. To the toy-toyler in the townships he is a hero without peer, the man who fought 'the system' with guns and who refuses to be any white man's piccanin.

even blunt man for someone who has spent the best part of his adult life occupied in the most secretive of political work.

Hani is among the most controversial political figures in South Africa in that he arouses contrary passions. No one feels neutral about this swashbuckling militarist, aficionado of Lenin, and admirer of Lenin.

To the professional in the northern suburbs (let alone the white miner in Carletonville) he is evil incarnate, the frighteningly unacceptable face of the democratic future.

To the toy-toyler in the townships he is a hero without peer, the man who fought "the system" with guns at Wankie, who cheated assassination attempts, and who refuses to be any white man's piccanin.

Hani has just sacrificed his position as one of three "crown princes" in the ANC (the others are Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki) in favour of the unenviable task of leading one of the world's few surviving

Those who know Hani well lean towards the latter scenario. An understanding of his life story, they say, presents a reasonably explicable picture of how the man has ended up where he is.

For these people — and they include some detractors — Hani is a fairly stereotypical communist in that his belief stems from a very personal experience of poverty combined with a razor sharp intellect.

He did not begin life as an intellectual, he became one. His conversion was visceral first.

HE WAS born in a very poor area of Transkei called Cofimvaba, not far from Queenstown, he says. "I had to travel 20 km to the nearest railway station to go to school at Lovedale. My mother had to ensure there were at least two people to help me carry my luggage. There were no taxis

"There was no clinic near my home. Whenever any of us were sick we had to be driven to a place called Lady Frere. It was serious poverty. None of the kids at the primary school had shoes, most of them didn't even have trousers. They would put on their father's long shirts, that sort of thing. Mine is a back

ground of poverty, unemployment and disease."

When he began to study, Hani was immediately "attracted to the idea of the redistribution of wealth. I felt strongly that in our country a small group of people monopolised the wealth and used this position — in this case it was whites — to deprive us of the basic things in life.

"So when I began to be exposed to (communist) party literature, the idea of socialism really caught on. It addressed what I had never heard addressed before by anybody else — the idea of social justice."

"I looked at the capitalist system and I felt it had no answer whatsoever to this question. I was more than ready to join

and to apply the theories to African conditions.

So my joining the ANC was a little to do with the questions, rather, it was the product of personal experiences. And despite the fact that socialism in Eastern Europe had that experience rebbbed in my mind, Hani's parents had



ideals born of poverty

He has turned his back on role as ANC crown prince



effect on him 'My father was a migrant worker. He was on some mine in Jo'burg for a long time. From there he went to Cape Town as a construction worker. Afterwards he became a hawker. We spent very little time with him — he was always away.'

HE ADDS: My father was semi literate but my mother was absolutely completely illiterate. He bought her a sewing machine so that she could contribute to the family budget. This background sharpened my concern for social justice — I've been back to my area, and very little has changed. Hani joined the Communist Party in 1961 while in his final year of study at Fort Hare. "I had been studying political science very seriously," he says. "I studied the whole issue of

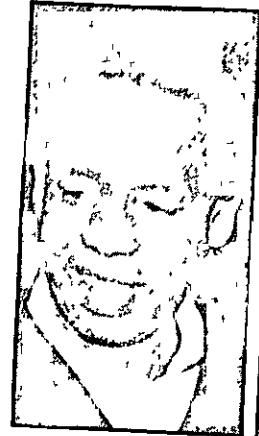
asked to contribute significant proportions of their incomes. We will hold stokvels and we might even go to some enlightened capitalists to see if they will support a party that believes in social justice.

He notes with pleasure that small surviving communist parties in Europe see the SACP as something of an heroic role model, resisting the pressure to change its name and persona as in, say, Italy and France. The Austrian communists sent us R5 000 for our congress — we are not going to be a rich party but we are strong.

In some ways Hani can be viewed as a protagonist of a form of Euro communism rather than the Afro communism of the post colonial era as practised in Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique.

His form of Afro communism II' stresses democracy as a result of developments in Eastern Europe — Hani voted

Hani is genuinely excited about his new role — because it will put him back in touch with the grassroots experience that shaped his views. He insists he is not politically ambitious, saying he does not believe he will be a member of the first 'new South Africa' Cabinet.



Nationalist oppression, and the party provided the best answers.

HANI is genuinely excited about his new role in the SACP — because it will put him back in touch with the grassroots experience that shaped his views all those years ago. He insists he is not politically ambitious in terms of acquiring a senior position in government, saying he does not believe he will be a member of the first "new South Africa" Cabinet.

And he is certainly not financially ambitious. The SACP salary is considerably lower than ANC salaries," he laughs.

He is also an optimist — as indeed he has to be — viewing the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe as a challenge rather than a defeat. He concedes that international funding has all but dried up ("our finances are dire") but insists that the party's members should pay their way. This is a purer form of politics, he believes.

"Better-off" members will be

(and lost) with Slovo on the question of retaining the term 'democratic socialism' at the SACP congress — and the model favours parliamentary participation rather than seizure of power and the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Hani is magnanimous about those former communists — many of them now on the ANC national executive committee — who have chosen to let their membership lapse by not attending the SACP's recent congress.

"We allowed them to lapse quietly," he says. "They are no longer communists. They believe there is no longer a role for the party, and that the ANC has the capacity to become a progressive social democratic party. I respect their honesty."

He also says he is prepared to be patient — that a resurgence of fortunes for socialists might take a very long time.

How does he feel about being so popular that parties have to squabble over securing his services? For once he does not smile. "I think it might kill me in the end."

my ground of poverty, unemployment and disease."

When he began to study, Hani was immediately "attracted to the idea of the redistribution of wealth. I felt strongly that in our country a small group of people monopolised the wealth and used this position — in this case it was whites — to deprive us of the basic things in life."

"So when I began to be exposed to (communist) party literature, the idea of socialism really caught on. It addressed what I had never heard addressed before by anybody else — the idea of social justice."

"I looked at the capitalist system and I felt it had no answer whatsoever to this question. I was more than ready to join

and to apply the theory to South African conditions.

"So my joining the party had little to do with theoretical questions, rather, it was the product of personal experiences. And despite the crisis of socialism in Eastern Europe, that experience remains embedded in my mind."

Hani's parents had a profound

Man behind flight into exile

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

IT was a time of oppression, a period when the apartheid ideologues were spreading their gospel of segregation, an action which asked for armed retaliation.

Mr Christmas Tinto, immediate past president of the ANC (Western Cape) and former Robben Island prisoner, was one of those who joined the armed struggle against the National Party's policies.

His full story, like that of many Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers, cannot be told — not if he is to stay out of prison.

But the unbanning of the ANC and beginning of serious negotiations have cleared the way for him to tell how he helped Umkhonto chief of staff Mr Chris Hani and others escape from Cape Town and skip the country.

Mr Hani is credited as the man who played a major role

in rebuilding MK, recruiting cadres and planning operations. For years he was one of the most wanted men by assassins for state agencies.

But back to Mr Tinto and his story.

He recalls that Mr Hani, Mr Archie Sibeko, now deputy ANC leader in the Western Cape, and two others whose first names he could not recall, were released on bail in March 1963.

"We feared that they would be jailed and the ANC high command gave instructions that they should leave the country."

While making arrangements for them to slip out of Cape Town, he found accommodation for the four in NY7 Guguletu.

"In those days Guguletu was a squatter area. We knew the police would be searching the settlement and decided that

they should stay with non-ANC members."

He and Communist Party official Mr Fred Carneson arranged for them to be driven to Johannesburg from where they left for Botswana and exile.

Mr Tinto was present in court on the day when the four were due to appear.

"As soon as they did not appear, Mr Sauerman, a security policeman, looked up at me. He knew I had something to do with their failure to be in court."

He was detained and held for 90 days "during which I was closely questioned about the disappearance of Mr Hani and Mr Sibeko."

Today when they get together Mr Tinto, Mr Hani and Mr Sibeko "laugh" when they recall his role in their flight into exile.



Mr Christmas Tinto ... helped Mr Chris Hani escape.

Mbeki lauds UN resolution

THE United Nations resolution echoed recent decision on sanctions adopted this week would ensure that no countries arbitrarily lifted sanctions until a transitional government was in place in South Africa, said ANC international affairs head, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

He added that the resolution echoed recent decisions by the Organisation of African Unity and the Commonwealth to lift "people" sanctions now, but linking the lifting of remaining economic sanctions to the establishment of a transitional government.

Women on march for female rights

By ROY RUDDEN

SOUTH AFRICAN women have begun mobilising for a battle aimed at enshrining gender rights in the new constitution.

A rapidly growing Women's Charter Alliance — already flourishing in the Western Cape and launched in Natal at the weekend — is expected to take the country by storm

It leaps political, racial and religious barriers and has the backing of women's organisations representing thousands of members.

This week, alliance member Dr Nkosasana Zuma, a leading figure in the ANC, hit out at what

she called all-too-vague references to non-sexism in both the ANC's and the Law Commission's proposed bills of rights

She urged women to put aside political, cultural, social and religious differences and to mobilise in the common cause of fighting to incorporate clauses against sexual discrimination in South Africa's future constitution

Dr Zuma is married to ANC deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma and is chairman of the Southern Natal region of the ANC Women's League

Along with prominent people such as Democratic Party MP Carole Charlewood (who initiated the alliance), she is at the forefront of the Women's Charter Alliance of Southern Natal

Charter

Delegates from 34 organisations have decided to survey the needs of women of all races to reach a consensus on the content of a women's charter

"It's not enough to refer to a 'non-racial, non-sexist South Africa' in the bill of rights," Dr Zuma said.

"We want to spell out what non-sexism should mean and not leave it to men to decide what is good for us."

"That's why it is essential for all women to have the opportunity to contribute to the final charter of women's rights."

Discriminatory issues to be dealt with include customary and other marriage laws, employment practices, sexual harassment, property buying which requires husbands' consent, housing policies (such as the denial of home-owners' subsidies to wives who are government employees) and taxation

WE, THE PEOPLE

STimes 15/12/91



ON TUESDAY the Codesa working group charged with drafting a Declaration of Intent will meet. Before them they will have draft proposals from the two major participants — the ANC and the National Party. The Sunday Times today publishes the full text of the draft declarations. Drawing from both, Codesa will have to decide which values and principles will guide the new South Africa.

11A

NATIONAL PARTY DECLARATION OF INTENT

WE, the participants to the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa hereby commit ourselves

■ TO bring about through peaceful negotiations an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst the diversity of our community, freedom, equality and security for all regardless of colour, creed or culture, free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or denigration,

■ TO create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional reform by eliminating political violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation,

■ TO follow procedures conducive to achieving maximum support and consensus,

■ TO map out the road to a new constitution based on the following principles
ONE: South Africa shall continue to be a sovereign Republic constituted of all its citizens and exercising authority over the whole of its territory.

TWO: The constitution shall be the supreme law, and everything done by the state and its organs shall be justiciable by an independent judiciary in terms of the

constitution and of a Charter of Fundamental Rights,

THREE: There shall be an effective separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judicial authority,

FOUR: There shall be three tiers of government, namely central, regional and local and the division of powers and functions among the three tiers shall be defined and entrenched in the constitution,

FIVE: The constitution shall guarantee a multi-party democracy based on universal adult suffrage and the right to form and join political parties,

SIX: The constitution shall guarantee the entrenched protection of the fundamental rights of all citizens, minorities and communities,

SEVEN: Economic growth and development shall be promoted by a market orientated economic system with minimum state intervention based on free enterprise, private initiative and the right to own property and to contract freely and there shall be social responsibility on the part of the state and the private sector to enhance the quality of life and ensure equal opportunities for all the people,

EIGHT: The constitution shall acknowledge the plurality of cultures and the ethnic diversity of the citizens of South Africa

WE, the representatives of the political movements and administrations, aware of the responsibility that rests upon all South Africans to work towards healing the divisions of the past and bringing peace, justice and the advancement of all to our country, declare our solemn commitment to

■ BRING about an undivided South Africa under one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty — pursuing, amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination,

■ WORK for the establishment of a free and open society based on democratic values where the dignity, worth and rights of every South African man and woman is protected by the law,

■ SET in motion the process of arriving at a constitution which will ensure

THAT South Africa will be an undivided, democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist state,

THAT there shall be a multi-party democracy with regular elections in which all South Africans will be able to vote for the parties of their choice on the basis of universal suffrage and one person one

vote on a common voters roll,
THAT in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation

THAT there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances

THAT all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly, protected under an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights,

THAT the legal system shall guarantee equality of all before the law

THAT South Africa has an independent, non-racial judiciary representing the skills, wisdom and life experience of all South Africans

WE FURTHER solemnly commit ourselves to be bound by the decisions of Codesa and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation

WE AGREE that Codesa will establish an implementing mechanism (which shall include the government) whose task it will be to determine the procedures and draft the texts of all legislation and executive and administrative acts necessary to give effect to the decisions of Codesa

ANC'S PROPOSED DECLARATION OF INTENT

Mokaba's task is to blunt the teeth of his Young Lions

S/Times 15/12/91

11A

POINTING OUT NEW REALITIES
Peter Mokaba, president of the ANC Youth League
Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

PETER MOKABA, president of the ANC Youth League, calls many of his supporters "the prisoners of history".

He believes many of the league's half-million members are locked into the politics of the past, still manning the barricades of former struggles and longing for the days when they were the Young Lions of the upheavals of the 80s. But, says Mr Mokaba, events move on. This week, 1 000 league delegates packed a cheerless

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

stances has brought about. Since the unbanning of the ANC, the youth feel they have been shifted from centre stage.

While the Youth League is administratively autonomous from the ANC, it is guided by its parent's principles and policies.

Mr Mokaba says consultation between the Youth League and the ANC has been unsatisfactory.

The Youth League has asked the ANC to include youth representation in every department and on every committee during negotiations. While the ANC has no objection, there has been no follow-up.

The Youth League will form its own negotiations commission and insist on taking part in the ANC's negotiations committee, he

says. Disillusionment among the youth has also been caused by a drop-off in mass action and difficulty in sustaining campaigns.

Mass action, he says, will be the main way of mobilising support — but it will have to become more focused and include all sectors of the community from the start. Issues on the agenda are rent, textbooks, better living conditions and housing.

In Kwandebele this week Mr Mokaba's fractious constituency met, each delegate with his own demands.

One delegate confided that he had run up an R8 000 debt for a year's study at the University of the Western Cape. He wanted a resolution supporting free tertiary education.

During a debate on the Youth League's symbol — a spear representing the fighting youth, a hammer representing the working youth and a book representing the studying youth — one delegate asked why unemployed youth could not also be represented.

Provisional deputy chairman Lyndall Shope says the aims of the youth should be to fight to improve themselves through education.

For the youngster who asked for medical treatment for pain caused by a bullet wound sustained in police action two months earlier, these objectives will not be easy to accept.

in between toyi-toying, that tumultuous past and consider an uncertain future. It was the league's first congress inside the country in 30 years.

Mr Mokaba sees his main task as leading the youth in adapting to changed political circumstances — the phase of negotiations.

This, he says, involves a different strategy in fighting apartheid and ensuring the ANC's victory in elections. He says part of the problem of adapting is that the battle lines are no longer so clearly drawn.

It is necessary to gain the support of individuals within the system rather than alienate them during negotiations, he says. This will not be an easy task. Internecine violence has made the youth question the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle, Mr Mokaba says.

Heightened expectations during this period are also a problem. Mr Mokaba says the youth need to understand that many of their expectations will not be achieved by the raising of a flag.

The youngsters, a highly politicised and militant force, had one aim during the 80s — the removal of apartheid. This is still the aim, Mr Mokaba says. But now it is time to think about obtaining the skills necessary to build a new South Africa. "It is one thing to get rid of President FW de Klerk. It is quite another to rid the country of hunger."

The Youth League will campaign for the right to work, but this right has to be earned by attaining skills, Mr Mokaba says.

But how does one tell children to go to school when they have been brought up on a solid diet of revolutionary rhetoric about the evils of "Bantu Education"?

Mr Mokaba couches his appeal in language his followers understand.

"You tell them. 'Go back to school, we need skilled soldiers in MK'."

Mr Mokaba's biggest challenge is not only to channel and direct the fire of the youth, but to combat the lethargy which changed political circum-

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PROFILE

A dyed-in-the-wool BC man

by SEKOLA SELLO

WHEN thousands of school-children countrywide defied the Department of Education and Training in the mid-80s, naming "liberation now, education for Siphon Masoko" as their slogan, Siphon Masoko was not always the most prominent figure in the movement.

While thousands of pupils were chanting this slogan and believing the revolution was around the corner, Masoko identified himself with another group of pupils which did not, this is self-defeating. This group argued that bad as Education was, the tactics of dress class boycotts did not always advance the interests of pupils. They further argued that some of the reasons for class boycotts were related to education matters.

Although history has vindicated Masoko and the others, he is not saying and saying "I told you so". Instead, he finds himself once more championing causes that are very popular.

A refusal to change tack

As president of the Azaman Student Convention (Azasco), Masoko leads an organisation which is exclusively black (African, Coloured and Indian) at a time when non-racialism is the vogue word. He is also a member of the Azan-people's Organisation which has far rejected engaging in constitutional discussions with government. I says it will not take part in the Azan Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Refusal by Azapo and its various lectures, including Azasco, to engage tack, and embrace what is

increasingly becoming popular positions, or as some prefer to call them - realistic positions - has led to claims by some political commentators that the organisation may soon find itself marginalised.

The fact that even the government or the ruling National Party has abandoned racial exclusivity as its official policy does not impress on Masoko that they could be clinging to archaic ideas.

As for being marginalised, he says "Perish the thought".

"Azasco must still remain fundamentally a black organisation

"It must continue to be a black organisation purely because of the different life experiences that we encounter between ourselves and white students

"Black students have an essentially different life that they live apart from whites

"Even after a meeting between black and whites, black students still go back to the ghetto while white students go back to the suburbs"

This line of reasoning is nothing new

It was used by adherents of BC in the late 60s and mid 70s when the movement was at its height and found a popular following, particularly among students

However, Azasco's critics including some former BC members, argue that whereas it might have been desirable for black organisations to lose ranks in the past, this is no longer the case and there is now a need to open up

A dyed-in-the-wool BC man, Masoko remains singularly unimpressed by this argument.

Instead, he says "There is a great need to close ranks than ever

before

"Those who advance this line of argument pretend as if we have now achieved our freedom, which was one of the reasons why we had to close ranks in the first place

"These people must be reminded that white rule is still firmly in place"

While State President FW de Klerk's rule is earning warm reception all over the world, Masoko says contrary to popular belief, his liberalising policies are not filtering down to black students in particular

Hard times for students

According to Masoko the problems of black students are increasing and unless there is a change in policy and attitude from the authorities these will grow

He says one of the major problems facing students are the cuts in State subsidies at universities

"These cuts are going to impact very negatively upon black students in the sense that black parents at the moment can hardly afford to finance their kids through high school

"This will put university education out of reach of many black pupils

"It will also mean that the government will find itself placed in a strong position to manipulate who receives higher education and who does not"

The Azasco president sees collusion between government and big business in disfavoured blacks students in terms of academic advancement

Masoko says the private sector more often than not tends to favour whites

"Whenever bursaries and grants and donations are given, all those are directed at certain white academic

institutions where very few black students are enrolled

We really believe that if they (the private sector) want to make a gesture of honesty and brotherhood, all those gestures should go to black institutions where the majority of black students are, and where there is a greater need"

Born 23 years ago in GaRankuwa near Pretoria, Masoko was in his early years not active in politics

"At primary school I might have been aware of oppression, but I could not say I was politically clear

"I think my political awareness took shape when I was in high school, particularly after coming into contact with serious political literature"

The first serious book Masoko read was Steve Biko's *I Write What I Like* a compilation of articles by the founding father of BC in South Africa

"I read this book while attending high school in St. Lewis in northern Natal. This was a very conservative environment and there was a serious lack of political discussion at school. Even at high school I could not say I had a good grasp of or clarity on political issues"

Before completing high school at St. Lewis, Masoko came into contact with Gomolomo Mokae who was later to become a leading light in BC

"Gomolomo was probably the first person associated with political organisations I met while at school. Luckily I had a lot of things in common with Gomolomo. Both of us came from GaRankuwa. We both had a great passion for Reggae music"

"Reggae," says Masoko, "can help in one way or the other to clarify and demystify certain things in life"

Apart from Mokae, who is now a medical practitioner, another influence in his life was his aunt Zodiwa Masoko

She was a close associate of leading BC members like Mthuli ka Shezi and Muntu Myeza

As a student at the University of Zululand Zodiwa was harassed regularly by the police

"Aunt Zodiwa was the only member of the family who had a high profile in politics. I was close to her and learnt a lot from her"

After completing matric Masoko returned to the Transvaal in 1988 where he joined the Azaman Student Movement and was elected to its regional committee

The following year he became its national publicity secretary

When Azasco was formed last year he became its founding publicity secretary and was elected national president this year

For his links with BC, Masoko has had to pay a high price

BC has a future

He has been assaulted by members of the rival South African National Student Congress and there have been efforts to force him out of Wits University

Masoko, who completed his junior degree this year and intends studying for a law degree next year, is not worried about threats on his life

"They have beaten me once, but I am indifferent to them," he says. Masoko is also indifferent to critics who believe BC is dying

"There is a future for Azasco. There is a future for BC," is how he dismisses his critics



WALKING IN BIKO'S FOOTSTEPS... Azasco president Siphon Masoko is not one to just hop on to the popular political bandwagon.

Two problems for Codesa

ST/imes 15/12/91

POLITICAL parties were this weekend locked in intensive discussions to resolve two remaining obstacles to a successful launch of South Africa's second national convention next week.

The issues that have not been resolved are

● Inkatha's insistence that the Zulu King be allowed to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

● An ANC proposal that all parties, including the government, commit themselves to abide by decisions taken by Codesa and that the convention establish an implementing mechanism to draft the text of all legislation necessary to give effect to decisions of Codesa.

A solution to the first problem, at present being discussed, centred on issuing invitations to all tribal kings and chiefs to attend Codesa as observers

Dispute

The second obstacle was proving more intractable

The government objected to the ANC's proposal for an implementing mechanism on the grounds that it was a backdoor attempt to introduce an interim government. Its draft declaration of intent made no provision for an implementing mechanism.

A sub-committee consisting of Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, the ANC's Feroz Cachalia and one other has been appointed to try to resolve the dispute.

A government spokesman said the resolution of the problem lay in defining

for Codesa

11A

BY MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

what was meant by "sufficient consensus" — the manner in which decisions were taken by Codesa — without creating the impression that some parties were more important than others.

The spokesman said rather than stipulate that Codesa itself draft legislation, government believed a process similar to that followed in setting up the peace secretariat should be followed. This involved the parties agreeing on what course of action to follow and government drawing up the required legislation.

However, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday that it was important that all parties, especially the government, committed themselves to abiding by decisions taken by Codesa and also to giving legal effect to those decisions. It was vital that Codesa had an implementing mechanism.

He rejected suggestions that this could be construed as bringing about an interim government through the back door.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC believed that Codesa should have a relatively short lifespan and that the first non-racial elections flowing from agreements reached at the convention should take place within 12 months.

● ANC President Nelson Mandela will head the organisation's delegation at Codesa. Others in the delegation will be Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Barbara Masakela, Joe Modise, Allan Boesak, Getrude Shope, Peter Mokaba, Marion Sparg and Sam Shlowa.

● See Page 29

Major parties sending top men to constitutional talks

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE arduous task of putting South Africa on the road to a democratic future takes place in Kempton Park near Jan Smuts Airport on Friday and Saturday

Having removed the obstacle of deciding who gets invited to the constitutional negotiating forum, the real job of sorting out South Africa's future begins.

Two major players - the government/National Party and its allies and the ANC and its allies - are now all geared up to enter full-blown constitutional talks

Although there are 19 political organisations, including the government, taking part in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the real contest is between the ANC and the government

Who will line up behind the ANC or the government is still not known. But in the true nature of politics, alliances will be made and dissolved depending on the exigencies of the moment

That next week's talks are considered crucial can be deduced by the high-level delegations the major parties are sending

The government will be headed by State President FW de Klerk, with seven cabinet ministers and three deputy ministers, while the ANC is expected to be led by its president, Nelson Mandela, and senior members of the national executive committee

The PAC, which walked out of the preparatory talks two weeks ago, is expected to take part

cial empire which the Russian tsars had created over several centuries

By 1917 Russia was a gigantic and potentially wealthy state, but it was also a backward and repressive one. The tsars had not only deprived the

contained 15 SSRs, 20 ASSRs and numerous smaller semi-autonomous regions. The USSR came out of the war as a superpower, armed with nuclear weapons and in control of the "satellite states" of Eastern Europe

Former CP big shots silent

DESPITE the significant swelling of the South African Communist Party (SACP) to 25 000 members within two years of its unbanning, it has suffered some losses as well.

A few of the party's pre-February 1990 "big shots" were nowhere to be seen during the party's eighth congress at Nasrec, near Johannesburg.

Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj, Aziz Pahad and Jacob Zuma did not attend either as guests or observers.

Central Committee member Ronnie Kasrils says they are still welcome to join the party at any time.

"Not specifically refer-

ring to the four, we have said that from the time of this congress we would have no secret membership. Those who have been in the party in the past have to decide whether they would like to emerge as members of the party.

"If they do not, if they make that decision for whatever reason, it's up to them. And if they do not want to emerge openly, they will no longer be considered members of the party," says Kasrils.

Another critical issue that is haunting the party is that although it has finally been truly Africanised, it still has only a handful of African "theoreticians".

Presently, most of those who reportedly prepare theoretical drafts for the party are white - notably Joe Slovo, Jeremy Cronin, Ronnie Kasrils, Brian Bunting and Raymond Suttner.

Kasrils says this temporary imbalance is because of historical developments and educational backgrounds. But, he adds, there are some exceptional black theoreticians emerging.

Kasrils says the party will be establishing night classes like those which the original Communist Party of South Africa was running in the '30s and '40s to raise the ideological and educational level of party members - AIA

SA

Who's who on far left of political spectrum

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

AS Codesa picks its way cautiously forward, there is a growing cacophony of opposition from a cluster of groupings on the political left.

Who are these foes of Codesa? What support do they have? The largest among them is the Pan Africanist Congress which will today begin thrashing out the issue of whether or not to rejoin the NP, ANC, Inkatha and the 18 other organisations in Codesa.

Surprisingly, this disparate formation has held together. But the decision, taken at the recent Patriotic Front conference, to participate in multi-party talks has not gone down well with the party's more radical membership.

The PAC is likely to decide to rejoin Codesa — but probably at a price. Radicals who have

developed strongholds in the East and West Rand branches might well choose to walk.

The principle beneficiaries in that case would be the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

This party, which propounds a philosophy drawing on both black consciousness and Marxist/Leninism, pulled out of the Patriotic Front conference on the grounds that it objected to the presence of parties that had participated in the tricameral parliament.

What is more likely is that Azapo realised earlier than the PAC that the end result of the conference, in which the ANC was easily the main partner, would be participation in all-

party talks and that it would not be able to justify this to its support base.

The level of popular support for Azapo is difficult to determine. Its leading figures were this week not prepared to hazard an estimate.

The only member said to know the real membership figure was away on holiday.

Opponents put it at no more than 5 000.

Broadly speaking, Azapo's game plan would seem to revolve around the ANC alliance getting involved in an interim government which would be unable to deliver to black workers, while it would be in a posi-

tion to provide a home for the disaffected.

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) — with 1 000 members (70 percent working class) according to its own estimate (or 200 intellectual Trotskites according to its opponents) — envisages a similar outcome.

Wosa believes that the Codesa process will lead to a realignment of the left involving Cosatu breaking its ties with the ANC and linking up with parties such as Wosa.

The range of parties on the left does not end with Wosa. The International Socialists of SA (membership about 100 by their own estimate) split from Wosa,

on the grounds that socialists needed to provide unconditional, but not uncritical, support for the nationalist movements (the ANC and PAC) and over their analysis that the Soviet Union was a state capitalist society.

There is also, within the ANC, the Marxist Workers' Tendency, a Trotskyste grouping which believes in working within the major nationalist organisation to propound its beliefs.

Finally, there is the Cape-based New Unity Movement which has raised the principle of non-collaboration to levels of inaction bordering on an art form. As a result it is difficult to fund any one who regards it with any degree of seriousness.

It's 30 years of MK!

UMKHONTO weSizwe
chief of staff Chris Hani
yesterday in Umtata in-
spected a guard of honour
of 16 uniformed fighters
in MK's first open mili-
tary parade inside the
country (11A) (30A)

The 16, who were un-
armed, performed a drill
display before enthusias-
tic crowds at Umtata In-
dependence Stadium

During his speech Hani
paid tribute to MK mem-

bers who fell during the
armed struggle, and a 21-
shot salute was fired. Oth-
er speakers were Winnie
Mandela and Billie Nair

The occasion was part
of national celebrations to
mark the 30th anniversa-
ry of MK's public launch
- Veritas

Political comment and newsbills
by K' Sibya, headlines and sub-
editing by S James, both of 2 Herb
Street, Johannesburg.

Delegates thrash out SACP manifesto

CENTRAL to the eighth conference of the South African Communist Party (SACP) held from December 5 to 8 in Johannesburg was the adoption of a manifesto.

A 16-page draft manifesto was circulated prior to the conference. The manifesto was peculiar in that little space was devoted to the formation of actual policy. The first 10 pages are devoted to an analysis of the global and national context, with some implicit policy statements. Globally, a central focus is the "collapse of bureaucratic socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union". The collapse is blamed on three key factors.

■ The undeveloped nature of the USSR at the time of the revolution.

■ The imperialist onslaught in the aftermath of the 1917 Revo-

lution and in the post-World War 2 period.

■ The undemocratic nature of the societies in question.

The manifesto concludes that "it is not possible to sustain and develop socialism in an authoritarian environment".

The manifesto reiterates the party's commitment to "a multi-party democracy, a justifiable bill of rights, an independent judiciary and the basic freedoms of speech, association, worship and press freedom".

However, these basic freedoms are seen as not nearly enough. It is argued that for democracy to become effective, what is required is the "building and strengthening of an independent vanguard party of the working class" and "the development of a vast network of democratic organs of popular participation

in both the economy and the political system under the leadership of the working class". How this will work in practice is not spelt out.

Furthermore, the economy would have to be restructured so that there is "a decisive increase of the sectors of the economy under social control and subject to democratic planning".

The enormous concentration of wealth and control in the economy is seen as a major problem. It is argued that "as long as the commanding heights of the economy are monopolised by a small group of powerful capitalists, the deepening and defence of democratic gains will be limited and under constant threat".

The manifesto gives little indication as to how this enormous concentration of private capital will be resolved.

A major debate at the conference revolved around the question of democracy. The draft manifesto used the phrase "democratic socialism" presumably to make clear the break with past practices. However, the use of the term was strongly challenged by many delegates.

In one view socialism was inherently democratic and thus there was no need to place "democratic" before it. Another argument said "democratic" gave the impression that the party was lapsing into a social democratic mode and forgetting that it was a militant, fighting party.

Linked to this debate were strong objections from delegates about the failure to portray the party as the vanguard party of the working class which was guided by "the principles of Marxism-Leninism" - AIA



■ Pic: WALTER DHLADHLA

■ Pic: WALTER DHLADHLA

Albertina Sisulu to be honoured *iff*

ALBERTINA Sisulu will receive the Albert Schweitzer Humanitarian Award at the Riverside Church in New York on Tuesday

The ANC said Sisulu, wife of ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, and a president of the now defunct United Democratic Front, will leave for the United States today *15/12/91*

ANC accuses PAC of showmanship

By **DESMOND BLOW**

C/Prem 15/12/91
(11A)

WITH a week to go to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) conference, the ANC has launched a strong attack on the PAC calling their behaviour "dishonest, destructive and manipulative"

The ANC accused the PAC of "showmanship" by staging a walkout at the preparatory talks and accused the PAC of planning to do the same at the Codesa talks. In a press statement the ANC said the PAC was using the negotiations on which the ANC had embarked to continue a posture of non-negotiations and walkouts.

"The PAC alleges collusion between the government and the ANC in order to create the perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country."

The statement said opinions and agreements reached in consultations with the PAC guided the ANC in its meetings with the National Party/government meetings.

The ANC claimed the PAC had asked to accompany the ANC to meetings with the government but the ANC

said they should arrange such meetings themselves.

"It therefore came as a surprise for us to learn from Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday at the preparatory meeting that there have been repeated secret meetings at the highest level between themselves and the PAC.

"We repeat the ANC has not, and will not, negotiate behind the backs of the people. Our meetings with the government are known to all.

"Our commitment is to ensure that the people of South Africa, through all their political formations, determine the destiny of this country."

In a separate statement on this week's Codesa conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is quoted as saying the ANC was more than ever convinced that "we are walking the last mile."

Ramaphosa said there had been no secret deals, nor would there be.

"The momentum must not be lost. Our people will not forgive us if we do not seize this moment and move speedily towards a democratic future."

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Communist Party, in alliance with the African National Congress and Cosatu, will use mass action in support of its demands for an interim government within the next six months and a constituent assembly within two years

This was said by Mr Chris Hanı yesterday in his first interview since his appointment as the new SACP general-secretary at the party's eighth national congress, outside Johannesburg

Mass action would play a key role in the tripartite alliance's negotiating strategy, Mr Hanı said

Mass action forecast by Chris Hanı

"We cannot allow a situation where the regime can employ delaying tactics

"Our demands for an interim government are immediate. We don't want to be delaying for another six months

"We feel that at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) there must be a commitment, a declaration of intent, that there's going to be an interim government.

"Immediately the interim government is in place we expect that interim government to begin the process of preparing for a constituent assembly, by registering all the voters in this country so that they can begin to elect their own representatives to a constituent assembly

"We want this process to be taking place within the next 18 months or two years" — Sapa

No gun licences for ANC members

11A
C/Pres 5/12/91

By THEMBA KHUMALO

SEVERAL frustrated ANC members who wanted to defend themselves in the township violence applied for firearm licences this year - but were turned down by government officials, senior Umkhonto weSizwe commander Tokyo Sexwale said this week.

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg to mark the 30th anniversary of MK, Sexwale said the ANC was aware that their supporters were concerned about the level of violence.

He said they were not dismayed because they understood why the ANC suspended the armed struggle.

However, Sexwale said MK commanders were helping in the formation of defence units.

Outgoing MK chief of staff Chris Hanu said MK would soon set up military commands in certain regions in the country.

"Our comrades will soon be deployed because they have a role to play in defending our people," Hanu said.

Speaking about the 12 remaining MK combatants still imprisoned, MK intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils said Mthetheleli Mncube, Mzondeleli Nondula, Robert McBride and Sibusiso Masuku were disciplined MK soldiers whom the government

should free immediately.

Twelve rallies to mark MK's 30th anniversary will be held throughout the country tomorrow. The biggest will be held at Orlando Stadium where ANC President Nelson Mandela, national chairman Oliver Tambo and MK commander Joe Modise will speak.

Other rallies will be held at Rylands Stadium, Cape Town, Curries Fountain, Durban, Phillip Smith, Welkom, Turfloop, Northern Transvaal, Thabazimbi, Western Transvaal, Tulamahashe Stadium, Eastern Transvaal, Open Air Arena, Kimberley and at Moretele Park in Mamelodi.

Hani departure angers MK cadres

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSION is mounting in the ranks of Umkhonto weSizwe cadres after hearing about the impending departure of their chief of staff, Chris Hani, from the guerrilla army to his new post in the SACP.

At a press conference in Johannesburg this week to launch the 30th anniversary of the guerrilla army, Tokyo Sexwale told City Press that Hani's news was met with discontent and frustration by cadres.

Hani was almost irreplaceable, Sexwale said.

Sexwale, who is chairman of the ANC PWV region and one of Hani's right-hand men, emphasised that the guerrillas' decision at their conference in Venda four months back that Hani be left alone with MK, still stood.

Sexwale said: "Comrade Hani's popularity among both our soldiers and politicians makes him a unique man. He is liked by everyone in the ANC-SACP alliance."

"After his appointment last week, Comrade Hani said he would like to be given a less important post in MK so that he could devote more of his time to the new post.

"As much as we would have preferred him remaining in the army, there is very little that we in MK leadership can do to discourage him from going away. That's against the principle of democracy."

Immediately after his appointment as general secretary of the SACP, Hani said he would like to remain in MK in an advisory capacity.

Sexwale would not elaborate on the matter as Hani's appointment was subject to the decision of the ANC's national executive committee.

The imposing Sexwale, who served 13 of his 15 years' imprisonment on Robben Island, would not be drawn on speculation of who was Hani's possi-



MK HEAVIES ... Ronnie Kasrils, Tokyo Sexwale, Sphiwe Nyanda and Chris Hani.

ble successor. However, sources close to MK point out that Hani's successor will probably be chosen from his right-hand men.

Among them are Sphiwe Nyanda, the commander of "Operation Vula" which made head-

lines when the police uncovered it last year. Ronnie Kasrils, MK's chief of intelligence, has also been tipped by Pretoria for some of the military operations he masterminded from Lu-saka during the days of the armed struggle, he is a household name among cadres.

Rodney Rashed, the MK commander from the Eastern Transvaal, is another of the names mentioned for Chris Hani's military post.

See page 14

PAC set to rejoin Codesa talks after indaba

11A

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress will decide today whether it will rejoin the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in Johannesburg next weekend.

The PAC walked out of last week's preparatory talks on Codesa after failing to convince the meeting of the need for a "neutral venue" and "neutral chairman".

The PAC's role in future talks

will be discussed at a national consultative conference, to be opened by its president Mr Clarence Makenzie, at the University of the Western Cape this morning.

Information and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai, who led the walkout at Codesa, said last night the PAC leadership was "confident" that there was "a consensus developing among divisions in favour of continued participation and those against it... and that it would be in the best interest of

PAC's political philosophy to engage the regime at Codesa".

He conceded, however, there were "strong views against participation" but said these were "normal and healthy disagreements" on which consensus would be reached.

He said the PAC leadership who attended the November 29-30 Codesa preparatory meeting, would explain to the conference that, although they had not succeeded in securing a "neutral venue" and a

"neutral chairman", the PAC should not shun Codesa.

The PAC's bottom-line demands for an "elected Constituent Assembly", and a "transitional authority" were issues still to be debated "and we must engage the regime itself on these matters at Codesa", said Mr Desai.

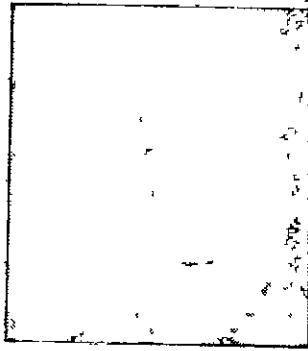
Informed sources said the PAC would find a "rationale" to extract itself from the dilemma it landed itself in when it walked out of the Codesa talks.

PAC unsure of Codesa's role

CAPE TOWN — The Pan Africanist Congress had to decide whether the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa was a democratic forum which would ensure the transfer of power or "merely an instrument of the regime designed to give the illusion of negotiations", PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

He was speaking at the start of the PAC's consultative congress at the University of the Western Cape.

About 300 delegates, including a delegation from the PAC's external wing based in Tanzania and diplomats from Libya and Iran, are attending the two-day



No democratic mandate.
Clarence Makwetu

conference to decide on the PAC's continued participation in the Codesa talks which begin on Friday.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC had pioneered the demand

for a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up the new constitution for South Africa. But he claimed that the Government wanted to subvert this demand by "putting into place the so-called interim government of national unity of long duration without a democratic mandate".

"This is a form of co-optation that we have categorically rejected and will continue rejecting because it means government by decree and not by popular mandate," Mr Makwetu said.

He said the Government had "pre-packed" the talks with leaders from the homelands and the tricameral Parliament — Sapa.

PAC set to boycott Codesa

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

11A CT 16/12/91

DESPITE internal divisions, the PAC seems set against the all-party Codesa negotiations at the end of the week

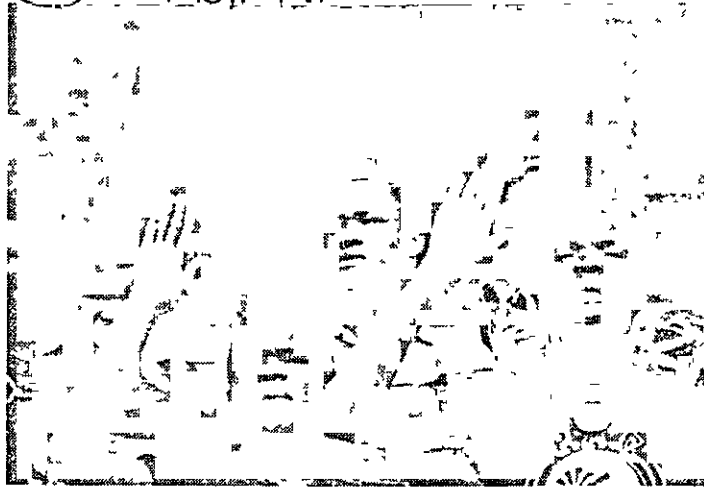
PAC members, apparently in the majority, yesterday repeatedly chanted "Down with Codesa" ("Phantsi iCodesa") at a rally at the start of its consultative conference

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu also strongly criticised Codesa and said most participants in the talks had been "thoroughly rejected by the oppressed and exploited African masses and cannot and will not test their popularity at the polls"

He was also loudly applauded when he said "If this congress decides that it (Codesa) is a dangerous instrument of the regime, then the question of our participation falls away"

There was, however, no applause when he added "If the congress decides that it is a legitimate forum, then we have to decide on our role in it"

The mood of the 5 000-strong crowd at the opening rally at



SALUTE . . . Delegates to the PAC's Special National Congress give the open-handed salute of their organisation before the opening address by their president, Mr Clarence Makwetu (right). On the wall behind them is their slogan "One Settler, One Bullet".

the University of the Western Cape was clearly against joining the negotiations

But most of those were not delegates to the behind-the-scenes congress, which began debating the issue yesterday afternoon, and some PAC mem-

bers, particularly in the leadership, are in favour of joining the talks

PAC information and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai has said the organisation's leadership was confident there would be consensus in favour

of continued participation and it would be in the PAC's inter-

From page 2

● PAC silent after attack claim — Page 5

● Buthelezi warning to Codesa — Page 5

From page 1

PAC

est "to engage the regime at Codesa"

However, he has also repeatedly admitted open divisions on the issue, though both he and PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke have said there would be open debate and healthy disagreement within the organisation

At yesterday's rally, Mr Moseneke said he was aware of differences, but a decision at the congress would be taken by the people, not the leaders

At this point, a member of the audience shouted out "Down with Codesa" and was loudly applauded

It seemed most were opposed to the PAC taking part in the Codesa conference

No lack of support for PAC

Political Staff

THE Pan-Africanist Congress often dismissed as a minor factor on the political scene, yesterday demonstrated that it cannot be ignored.

In just two weeks, it hastily organised a two-day conference of almost 1 000 delegates, including representatives of its Dar es Salaam-based external mission and its Harare branch

Delegates have come to Cape Town for the two-day consultative confer-

ence from all over South Africa, including the homelands.

This is no mean achievement for an apparently minor player with limited financial resources.

As the audience patiently waited for their leaders to arrive, they sang and chanted slogans, including the infamous "one settler, one bullet, one settler", which was significantly omitted by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke when the rally finally began.

Mr Makwetu's speech underlined this

However, he introduced his speech by saying the congress had not been called "because there is a crisis within the PAC (to applause) it has been called because of the PAC's principle of consultation at all levels"

Mr Makwetu criticised the ANC indirectly by saying the PAC had discovered that issues which they had agreed in the Patriotic Front conference should be taken up collectively had "already been decided" contrary to the agreed positions.

The PAC had rejected a multi-party confer-

ence, which would be "prepacked with puppets of the regime and delegates from the tri-cameral structures", but the decisions at preparatory talks "confirmed our worst fears"

Mr Makwetu added "It soon became obvious that the regime is intent on side-tracking the constituent assembly by putting into place a so-called interim government of national unity of long duration without a democratic mandate"

He also criticised the international community, saying its participation in Codesa as observers would, in the PAC's view, "only help give legitimacy to the regime's

undemocratic practices"

"This process of undermining international pressures will not enhance the democratic process in South Africa, on the contrary it will delay our liberation," Mr Makwetu said

Although he did not take a firm position on participation in Codesa, his comments suggested that he was not in favour of PAC involvement in the negotiations, and this seemed to be the position of majority of delegates.

A press conference will be held this afternoon where the decisions of the conference will be disclosed

Bravery and pain both part of MK's story

(11A)

CT 16/12/91

THE history of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) was full of heroic deeds and great bravery, said the ANC's assistant secretary, Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

It was also "a history of a lot of pain and suffering", he said on Saturday, while opening an MK exhibition at the University of the Western Cape as part of MK's 30th anniversary celebrations.

"We must remember those who paid the ultimate price for our freedom, now that we are on the brink of freedom."

A Western Cape MK squad sang and drilled outside the venue, before being despatched for sentry and security work.

The squad's commander, Mr Sindy Mphahlela, said he had trained as a guerilla in Angola during his 11 years of exile before returning to Cape Town, where he had grown up.

● The expectations of the 2 000 people who attended the MK rally in Umtata on Saturday, to mark the start of MK's celebrations, were dashed when only 16 "soldiers" turned up for the parade through the city's streets.

During a ceremony at the Independence Stadium, MK's chief of staff Mr Chris Hanu read out the names of 28 MK members from the Transkei who had died in clashes with the South African security forces inside and outside South Africa.

DRILLED ... uMkhonto weSizwe members drill under the command of Mr Sindy Mphahlela outside the MK exhibition at UWC on Saturday.

An MK member then fired 21 shots from his AK-47 rifle in a salute to the dead.

Mr Hanu said the ANC would accept the outcome of a democratic election even if it lost.

Speakers at the rally included Mrs Winnie Mandela, executive member of the ANC Mr Billy Nair and Transkei Defence Force acting commander Brigadier Temba Matanzima.

● The celebrations end in Cape Town this morning with an address in the Langa Stadium by Mr Hanu — Political Staff and Sapa

Rally ban defied by Umkhonto

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1967/12/11

The Argus Correspondent

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN. — Umkhonto we Sizwe defied a ban by the Ciskei's military government and held a rally in Zwelitsha to commemorate its 30th anniversary

Although both Ciskei and South African police kept a careful watch on proceedings in the Zwelitsha stadium yesterday, no attempt was made to stop the rally

ANC spokeswoman Ms Marion Sparg said the organisation's regional office had been phoned on Friday by Ciskei security police, who had said no MK rally would be allowed in Ciskei.

At another commemorative rally in Umtata on Saturday, MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani appealed for people to defy the ban.

The main speakers at yesterday's rally were MK's former intelligence chief, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, and a member of the national executive, the Rev Arnold Stofile

PAC renews fight for constituent assembly

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ARC 16/12/91

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu has re-committed his movement to fighting for a constituent assembly and has cast doubts on the role of Codesa

In a fiery speech at the University of the Western Cape yesterday, the first day of the movement's two-day consultative conference, he said delegates had to decide on "the so-called Codesa"

"This congress will have to decide whether Codesa is a democratic forum that can ensure the transfer of power or merely an instrument of the regime designed to give the illusion of negotiations"

If delegates resolved that Codesa was a legitimate forum the PAC would take part, he said

"If this congress decides that Codesa is a dangerous instrument of the regime, the question of our participation falls away"

He warned that the vast majority of participants in Codesa had been rejected by the exploited and oppressed African masses

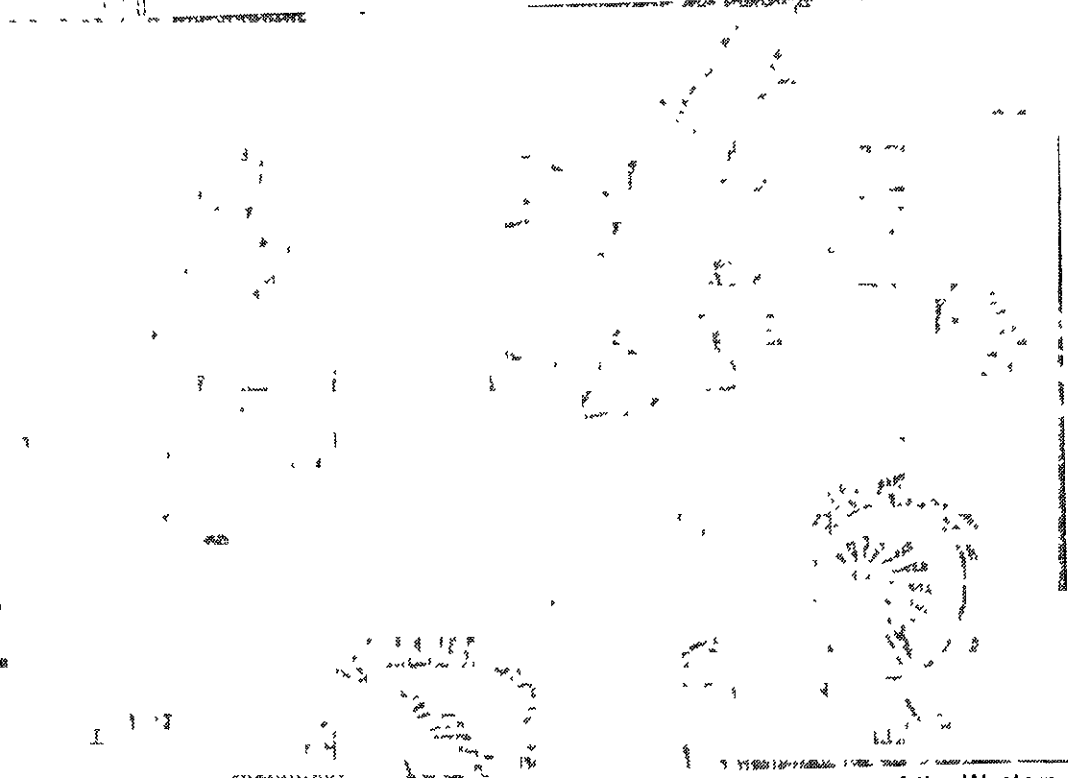
"They cannot and will not test their popularity at the polls. It is inconceivable that they will risk an election for a constituent assembly. The chances of their agreeing to the establishment of a constituent assembly are very limited indeed"

He said the PAC had always adopted a positive and consistent attitude to the solutions of the country's problems

"We are therefore always ready to discuss the issue of an elected constituent assembly with all interested parties."

He said the PAC was still committed to the decisions and principles of the Patriotic Front

Referring to the nationwide violence, he said the PAC believed "it is part of the strategy of the De Klerk regime to dismember the liberation movements and to destroy the resolve of the African people to liberate themselves"



SALUTE: Delegates to the PAC's consultative congress at the University of the Western Cape give the open-handed salute of their organisation during the opening address by Mr Clarence Makwetu, PAC president

ANC will rule within two years says Ramaphosa

Sowetan

17/12/91

(11A)

THE African National Congress will rule South Africa within two years, a top official of the organisation said at the weekend

In a British Broadcasting Corporation radio interview, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said apartheid would end soon

"We would expect that the nightmare of apartheid will end fairly soon and within two years we will have a government of the people," Ramaphosa said

Addressing a meeting on Sunday, he said constitutional talks with the South African Government could quickly reach a stalemate and "other means" might be needed to force the

Government to capitulate

Ramaphosa, Mandela's right-hand man in the talks that start on Friday, said serious differences would arise once substantive issues were addressed next month

"The apartheid regime will want to frustrate the aspirations of our people," he told the Transvaal Indian Congress, an ANC ally

"But there are certain issues on which there can be no compromise," he said, citing the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly

"Our people as a whole must be in a position of readiness to engage the apartheid regime in all forms. The real

negotiations are not going to be at the table, they are going to be in broader society"

Ramaphosa said talks so far with the Government and other parties including the Inkatha Freedom Party had gone smoothly because they dealt mainly with procedural matters

"Comrades, the conflicts are going to emerge in January when the real negotiations start, when we are going to see that Government leaders have plastic smiles

"I have never been able to vote in my life. I want very much to be able to vote for a constituent assembly by December 1992," he said - *Sapa-Reuters*

(TIA)

Barney Desai is not telling truth

Sowetan 17/12/91

I WAS disturbed by Barney Desai's remarks in *Sowetan* November 26 that the late PAC president Zeph Mothopeng was the one who first came with the idea of a constituent assembly.

It is not true. For Desai's information, Uncle Zeph was the president of PAC and not Pan Africanist Movement. The idea of a constituent assembly was adopted by PAM at its Bloemfontein conference last year.

The then PAM general secretary Benny Alexander and his other friends approached the PAC pres-

ident before the PAM conference and asked him to deliver a speech on the constituent assembly.

Uncle Zeph did just that. And for that matter explained that a constituent assembly is only

a mechanism for drafting a new constitution.

He further explained that you can only talk of a constituent assembly after the land had been returned to its rightful owners and State power had been completely seized.

Now Barney Desai, ex-vice-president of the tribalist and collaborationist Coloured People's Congress, is trying to sow confusion in the ranks of the PAC.

The politics articulated by Desai are Coloured People's Congress politics and not the PAC. Therefore stop lying.

**SETH MAHLANGU,
Tokoza,
Alberton.**

ANC denies issuing declaration of intent

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

11A

The ANC yesterday denied it had released a draft declaration of intent before the start of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) this week.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said a statement published in the Sunday Times this week was not an ANC draft declaration of intent as reported.

However, it was "a compromise document" with input from various parties and organisations taking part in Codesa.

Discussed

The ANC said the statement, which appeared side by side with what was described as a National Party draft declaration of intent, was a product of "lengthy discussions and several consultations" and had "expressly included" texts from an NP document.

"Terminology was discussed with many participants, including the NP representatives. The document, then, is in fact a proposal with across-the-board support, not an ANC document.

"We have no idea if the version attributed to the NP is correct. It was not submitted to the group established by the Codesa Preparatory

Committee to draw up a declaration of intent acceptable to all.

"If the NP wishes to negotiate through selective presentations to the press, all we can say is that is not our way. What is more important is that they not be permitted to leak documents in the name of the ANC that are not ANC documents," the ANC said.

● The ANC's northern Transvaal region is to seek a meeting with Venda's Military Council to discuss reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa, it was announced yesterday.

At its second annual northern Transvaal regional congress at the weekend, the ANC called on its newly elected regional executive committee to discuss an Incorporation Forum instituted by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana's military government "and other matters related to the whole transitional period".

The regional congress also resolved to improve relations between the ANC and traditional leaders who "had an important role to play in the transitional period and in a democratic future".

The congress also recommended that traditional leaders should be accorded observer status at Codesa.

Makwetu denies crisis in PAC

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Sunday that the PAC was not in a crisis.

He was addressing a militant crowd at the University of the Western Cape at the opening of the PAC's special consultative congress

The PAC leadership as a whole is constantly trying to dispel the notion that there is dissent in its ranks and gross dissatisfaction amongst its membership with the leadership with regard to participation in Codesa, and association with "non-Africans" or settlers as the rank and file calls them.

This past weekend in Cape Town was a perfect example of the growing - if not glaring - dissent among the PAC rank and file.

When the news broke before last weekend that the powerful Mr Johnson Mlambo, the PAC's former chairman and present leader of the military wing, was coming into the country, sources in and around the leadership suggested very strongly that Mlambo's visit would strengthen the pro-talks leadership.

To say that there is a pro-talks faction within the PAC suggests that there is an anti-talks faction

MLAMBO

When the PAC entered into the Patriotic Front with a motley collection of other organisations on October 25 and 26, a faction known within the PAC as "the watchdogs of the revolution" accused the leadership of associating with "bourgeois liberals, white capitalists and puppets of the ruling class".

This faction went one further and said that the external leadership was behind it and that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was supported of the "non-collaboration" dictum.

Senior PAC leaders, and advisers always argue that the "watchdogs of the revolution" are a very small but very vocal group.

And when Mlambo arrived, sources said, the hand of the pro-talks faction in the PAC would be strengthened.

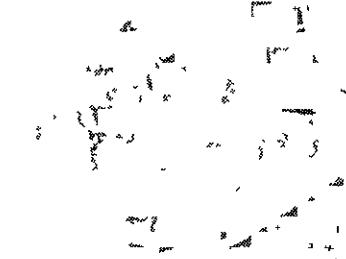
MAKWETU

But going back to this past weekend and Makwetu's opening address which was delivered more than two hours late.

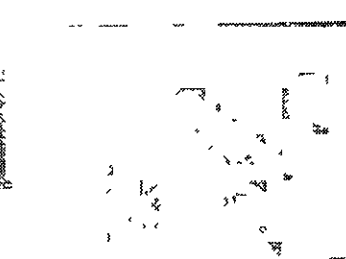
When Makwetu finally delivered his speech, the almost more than 2 000 strong crowd had gone into a hypnotic frenzy, through repetitively chanting "One settler one bullet, one bullet one settler" and other equally rhetorical - but not less militant - slogans.

Makwetu's speech differed markedly with the sentiment in the crowd - arguably because he is the leader of an organisation that takes pride in not forcing a party line but letting "the grassroots membership decide for themselves".

The dichotomy was very clear, Makwetu very diplomatically and eloquently told the crowd of the pros and cons of participation



MOSENEKE



MAKWETU

and non-participation in Codesa.

However, the crowd had already intoxicated themselves - after more than two hours of cant - with the cry "Down with Codesa" (Pans iCodesa).

The crowd in fact, delivered an impromptu, and monotonous song (and jive) with this slogan.

So intoxicated were they that there were moments when it seemed as if the delirium was going to sweep the entire crowd into a kind of nether world where you go when nothing that anybody else says makes sense to you.

This marked a vehement rejection of "settlers" and Codesa was nowhere in the speeches of the leaders.

The second deputy-president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Mosenke who chaired the meeting, cried "viva" to every wing of the

Africanists in a kind of pleading voice but bit the bullet on the "settler" issue, and he didn't even mention Codesa.

When Mosenke welcomed Western diplomats and thanked them for attending the congress, the crowd was infuriated.

Sunday's crowd of party loyalists were against

On the other hand, the leadership was "confident" that delegates at the congress would vote in favour of participation in Codesa and to "engage the regime" at this forum.

All of this brought one to the conclusion that the leaders were in favour of continued participation, the ordinary members on the ground were dead against it while the delegates were stuck in the middle.

And then somewhere "out there" are the watchdogs of the revolution

11A

Sowetan 17/12/91

PAC

Sowetan 17/12/91

SAYS

NO

Thumbs down for Codesa

(11A)

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress decided at a crucial meeting in Cape Town yesterday against returning to Codesa, saying the forum was a charade and a farce from which no democratic solution could come.

Delegates and leaders - some of whom came from different parts of the world - were unanimous in their decision

The PAC suspended its participation in Codesa at the preparatory talks held in Johannesburg last

month, alleging that the talks were contrived and stage-managed.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim, yesterday said his movement would enter into talks with the Government only to discuss one-person one-vote elections to a constituent assembly.

to page 2

PAC says 'No' to Codesa

Sowetan 17/12/91

From page 1

Ebrahim said Codesa was a "collection of people" who were invited by the Government, and not people who were elected to the gathering in a democratic manner

"If a democratic solution was going to be found in South Africa, a democratic process must be instituted from the beginning to reach this goal," he said

The entire leadership of the PAC, the delegates and membership were emphatic that no democratic solution could be reached through Codesa

The PAC is also planning a meeting of the leaders of the Frontline states in Arusha, Tanzania where the ANC would be invited to explain to African leaders why it had "deserted the

agreements reached at the Patriotic Front," according to a senior PAC source

He said the Government and the ANC had, even before the preparatory talks, reached agreement on the date, venue and conveners of Codesa

"Moreover, the ANC and the Government are stage-managing the whole show. It's a charade and a farce. delegates at today's congress expressed that explicitly. We would be bound by decisions reached in an undemocratic way," the source said

Commenting on the decision not to continue talks, Ebrahim said this did not mean there was no way out of the deadlock

He said the PAC was still in favour of meeting the Government to discuss the means of creating a constituent assembly, but it had to be at a neutral venue

Reading the declaration of the congress at the end of the two-day session, Ebrahim said

"The PAC has consistently maintained that the new democratic constitution can be drawn up only by elected representatives of the people, and not invitees of the regime

"The election must be to a constituent assembly. The method of election must be one-person, one-vote on a common voters' roll," he said

"The PAC believes that voting has to be for political parties, and representation in a constituent assembly must be on a basis of proportional representation as the country was divided on racial lines, thus making it almost impossible to split the country into constituencies

"This constituent assembly would be truly representative and enjoy the mandate to draw up the new constitution," Ebrahim said

Bid to set ground rules for Codesa

PAC refuses to take part in negotiations

B/Day 17/12/91 (11A)

TIM COHEN
and DARIUS SANAI

THE PAC yesterday pulled out of Codesa, saying the convention was undemocratic and had refused to convene at a neutral venue under a neutral convener.

In another development, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned that no further progress would be made at the talks unless Codesa's decisions had the force of law.

The PAC decision came a day before working groups involved in the talks meet to discuss how Codesa's decisions will be arrived at. The issue is critical because the NP is unwilling to accept a clause in the ANC-drafted declaration of intent which would effectively give Codesa the power to draw up legislation to be rubber-stamped by Parliament.

NP negotiators are convinced the dispute can be resolved by refining the currently accepted method of arriving at decisions, which is by "sufficient consensus".

Sapa reports the PAC's special consultative congress in Bellville unanimously endorsed — to a standing ovation — the decision not to take part in Codesa. The PAC reaffirmed its commitment to the demand for an elected constituent assembly and wanted its leadership to reconvene the patriotic front as soon as possible.

Meanwhile Mandela, speaking at a rally in Soweto to mark Umkhonto we Sizwe's 30th anniversary, said the ANC would insist that government unequivocally accept decisions made at Codesa be given legal force. If Codesa's decisions did not have legal force, it would simply become a "talk

shop" or a propaganda platform.

But he remained optimistic about Codesa, saying that never in his life had he experienced so much unity among all South Africans, including the NP, in striving for democracy and peace.

He urged South Africans to unite in the demand for the immediate installation of an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly and pointed out that financial sanctions would be lifted if an interim government was installed.

The ANC said yesterday there was across-the-board support for a proposal that the declaration of intent — which it is planned should be adopted at the December 20 and 21 conference — should bind participants to Codesa decisions and commit them to "take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation".

Government negotiators have expressed opposition to giving Codesa decisions the force of law because they argue this would jeopardise the sovereignty of Parliament.

They were concerned that Codesa might come to a decision which it was constitutionally unable to implement, like the re-incorporation of the TVBC states, sources said yesterday.

NP chief organiser Stoffel van der Merwe said the solution to this dilemma might lie in refining the method by which

□ To Page 2

Negotiations

B/Day 17/12/91 (11A)

decisions were arrived at, which in practice would mean more closely defining the currently accepted method of coming to decisions by "sufficient consensus".

Van der Merwe appeared to be arguing that the sovereignty of Parliament would not be undermined if all Codesa decisions required NP acquiescence.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrikse yesterday rejected this position, saying it would effectively give the NP a veto.

Van der Merwe said this construction misconstrued the situation, because all

parties had veto powers over decisions affecting them. "It works both ways," he said, adding that "sufficient consensus" was a valuable tool, but its strength and its weakness was its vagueness.

Codesa task groups meet today to discuss decision-making and other issues, including Inkatha's demand that the Zulu king be present. Hendrickse said Inkatha appeared to have dropped its demand that it, the king and the KwaZulu government be present. He said parties seemed willing to accept the presence of the king, and other tribal dignitaries, as observers.

□ From Page 1

ANC plans to expand army

UMKHONTO we Sizwe commander-in-chief Joe Modise said yesterday that the ANC's military wing would upgrade and expand its forces as it prepared to form part of a new SA national army.

Modise, speaking at a rally at Orlando Stadium, Soweto to celebrate Umkhonto's 30th anniversary, said Umkhonto would not be dictated to in its decision to continue training officers.

A tense atmosphere prevailed and there was heavy security. Speakers included ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

Modise said Umkhonto was a people's army, readying itself for the role of becoming a defence force for SA, not a private army as its critics suggested.

It reserved the right to upgrade and expand its forces as part of the process of change in SA. Many young officers were undergoing training in modern military techniques in a number of countries in preparation for Umkhonto's future role in a revamped defence force for SA, he said.

Tambo warned that the apparent inabil-

ity of government to stop the current violence could only lead to "a further poisoning of the political atmosphere".

He said he felt a sense of pride and vindication that Umkhonto had grown into "a formidable army of liberation that strikes fear into the hearts of oppressors".

Modise and Tambo called for all remaining political prisoners to be released.

The Matkeng Anti-Repression Forum, a group campaigning for the release of political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, said last week there were 11 political prisoners remaining in the homeland.

But Modise said yesterday there will still "many MK cadres" being kept in jail in the homeland, and accused government of acting with the "utmost arrogance", in refusing to release remaining political prisoners.

Sapa reports only about 18 Umkhonto members took part in a parade around the stadium which was supposed to have been the highlight of the proceedings.

DARIUS SANAI



ANC president Nelson Mandela sports an American-style baseball cap while acknowledging applause at yesterday's Umkhonto we Sizwe rally in Soweto. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Low-key MK rally

17/12/77

By Zingisa Mkhuma (114) and Montshiswa Moroke

A shot was fired and several clashes between the police and ANC youths took place as temporary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at Orlando Stadium yesterday.

About 10 000 ANC members attended the rally, which was addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela, national chairman Oliver Tambo and MK commander Joe Modise.

But the rally was marred by several police clashes with people coming to the rally.

The people accused the police of provocation by conducting searches at the gates.

Weapons

However, Captain Joseph Ngobeni of the Soweto police denied the allegations, saying the police had the prerogative to conduct searches anywhere.

Crowds from various areas converged on the stadium by bus, minibus and taxi while others arrived on foot.

They chanted slogans and freedom songs and hoisted ANC, SACP and Cosatu flags.

Sections of the crowd were seen carrying an assortment of weapons, such as spears, pangas, sticks, axes and iron bars, as they entered the stadium.

Tension grew before the rally when a shot was fired on the eastern side of the stadium. Angry youths accused the police of firing the shot but the police denied doing so.

A potentially explosive situation was averted by the intervention of senior ANC officials when police detained a 17-year-old Soweto youth, known only as "Saddam", for wearing camou-

flage uniform. The youth was driven away in a Flying Squad car while a crowd milled around, shouting and demanding that the youth be brought back.

After negotiations between the police and some ANC members, the youth was returned to the stadium minutes later. He was allowed to keep his military-style shirt and the crowd responded by applauding.

Just as tensions seemed to be flaring, a policeman collapsed on the ground to the delight of the crowd, who screamed "Die, you devil".

In another incident, police grappled with youths travelling in a minibus taxi and threatened to arrest the driver for allegedly driving a stolen car. There were heated exchanges between the two sides and an ugly situation was averted when the police decided to let the man go.

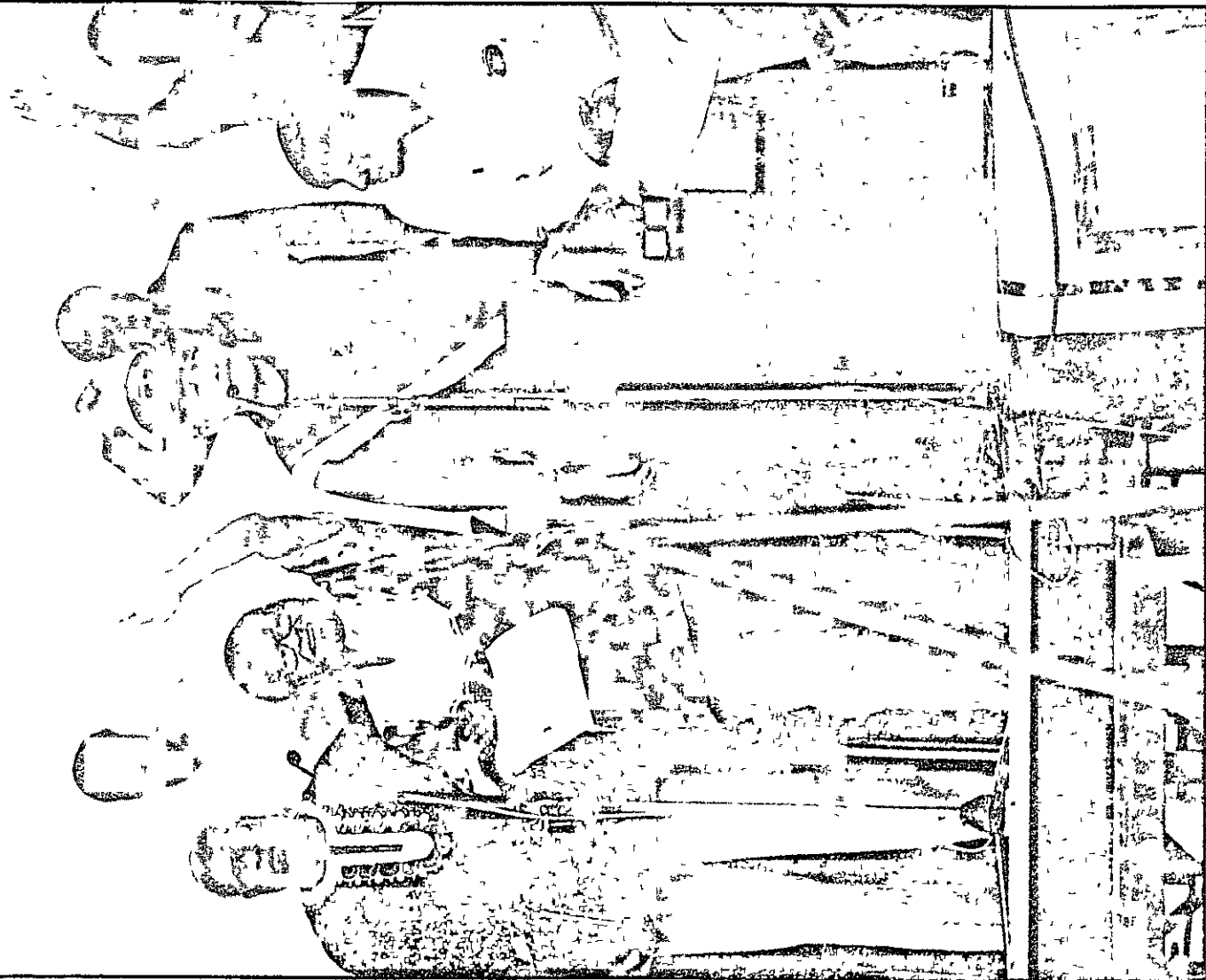
There were several road-blocks on roads leading to the stadium and the police maintained a heavy presence outside the arena.

In what was supposed to have been the highlight of the day, only 18 khaki-clad MK members drilled in a military parade. Part of the crowd expressed disappointment at this small number of participants.

However, the majority of the spectators ululated and whistled enthusiastically as the small squad marched around the soccer field.

Also in attendance at the rally were a number of prominent ANC Women's League members, including president Gertrude Shope, who was dressed in a military outfit.

The African Youth Band, Sipho "Hotstix" Mabuse and Jonas Gwangwa entertained the



Thirty years of armed struggle and Isaac Nkobi are some of the ANC leadership who attended the MK anniversary celebration at Orlando Stadium yesterday. Picture: Herbert Mabuza

Codesa a charade, say PAC leaders

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The PAC yesterday decided against returning to Codesa on the grounds that it was a charade and farce from which no democratic solution could come.

Delegates and leaders of the PAC who had travelled from around the world to the crucial consultative congress to reassess the Africanists' participation in Codesa were unanimous in their decision.

The PAC suspended its participation in Codesa at the preparatory talks at the end of last month, alleging at the time that those talks were contrived and stage-managed.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ahmed Gora Ebrahim yesterday said his movement would only discuss with the Government one person, one vote elections leading to a constituent assembly.

Mr Ebrahim said Codesa was a collection of people who were invited to talks by the Government, and not people who were

STAR 17/12/91
elected to that gathering in a democratic manner

"If a democratic solution was going to be found in South Africa, a democratic process must be instituted, from the beginning, to reach this goal."

The entire leadership of the PAC, the delegates and members who attended the congress were emphatic that no democratic solution could be reached through Codesa.

Deadlock

The PAC was also planning a meeting of the leaders of the Frontline states in Arusha, Tanzania, where the ANC would be invited to explain to African leaders why it had "deserted the agreements reached at the Patriotic Front", a senior Africanist said.

He said the Government and ANC had, even before the preparatory talks, reached agreement on the date, venue and conveners of Codesa.

"Moreover, the ANC and the Government are stage-managing the whole show. It's a charade and a farce ... delegates at the congress expressed that explicitly. We would be bound

by decisions reached in an undemocratic way," the source said.

Commenting on the decision not to continue talks, Mr Ebrahim said it was not that there was no way out of the deadlock.

He said the PAC was still in favour of meeting the Government to discuss way of creating a constituent assembly, but it had to be at a neutral venue (in a foreign country) and with a neutral convener.

Reading the declaration of congress at the end of the two-day session, Mr Ebrahim said "The PAC has consistently maintained that the new democratic constitution can be drawn up only by elected representatives of the people, and not invitees of the regime."

The PAC believed that voting had to be for political parties, and representation in a constituent assembly had to be on a basis of proportional representation as the country was divided on racial lines thus making it almost impossible to split the country into constituencies.

"This constituent assembly would be truly representative and enjoy the mandate to draw up the new constitution," Mr Ebrahim said.

'Talks must carry legal force'

STAR 17/12/91

Staff Reporters

The ANC will insist that the Government give an unequivocal undertaking that decisions taken at the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) be given legal force, Nelson Mandela said at the 30th anniversary rally of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

Rallies to mark MK's anniversary were also held in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The Soweto rally was addressed by ANC and MK stalwarts, including ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, MK leader Joe Modise and ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope.

Professor Kader Asmal, of the ANC's national executive committee, and MK chief of staff Chris Hanu spoke in Cape Town, and ANC head of social welfare Winnie Mandela and Transkei

leader General Bantu Holomisa addressed crowds in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Mandela said that if the National Party refused to stick to the ANC's demand that Codesa's decisions be legally binding, there would be no further progress.

Sanctions

He also called on "all South Africans to unite in the demand for the immediate installation of an interim government of national unity and the election of a constituent assembly".

"The interim government would result in the lifting of financial sanctions and would help our South African economy to recover," he said.

Referring to the role of traditional leaders in the black community, Mr Mandela said he had asked that "all paramount chiefs and kings be invited and participate as observers to Codesa".

Mr Mandela said Codesa was the hope of all South Africans, and the ANC, together with all the political parties, were working harmoniously to bring about democracy and peace in the country. "All the people of South Africa stand behind us," he said.

Mr Tambo said that as parties met at the negotiating table, they "must remember the contribution of MK to the current political climate".

He added that the release of "the heroes and heroines of our struggle still languishing in apartheid jails" would contribute towards mutual trust at the pending Codesa meeting.

Mr Modise revealed that MK was intensifying preparations for the formation of a defence force in the future new South Africa and that "many of our young officers are undergoing training in modern military techniques".

In Port Elizabeth, General Holomisa —

slating Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's request for two separate representations for the Zulu king and KwaZulu government at Codesa — said Transkei would not hesitate to demand that its five kings be represented by 12 members each at Codesa, should the steering committee yield to the IFP's call.

Mrs Mandela, dressed in camouflage uniform, told about 10 000 people who braved a cold drizzle that armed action had brought the Government to talks.

She then launched a scathing attack on President de Klerk, saying he was "not a man of integrity" but "a mast of hypocrisy".

In Cape Town, Mr Hanu was presented with a symbolic spear and inspected a guard of honour of about 40 unarmed MK cadres, dressed in parade ground uniforms.

● Buthelezi hits out at ANC — Page 9

Buthelezi hits out at ANC in UK interview

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused the ANC of "seeding" white towns with black squatters in order to upset the vote in the forthcoming South African elections

This, together with a bitter attack on the ANC and its leader Nelson Mandela, forms the basis of a two-page interview with Chief Buthelezi by Brian Hitchen, editor of the London Daily Star.

Chief Buthelezi says "It is happening on a very large scale. They (the ANC) are encouraging squatter camps so that the people will be lined up to vote for them when the time comes and have specially selected areas to overturn

the existing vote."

The Inkatha leader, described as "every inch a leader" and "the political torchbearer of democracy", also accuses the ANC of ensuring that violence will continue throughout the country

Plotting

And in an astonishing personal attack on Mr Mandela, he tells the Daily Star "Mandela is fashionable. Out of his release the press created the impression that he was the leader of South Africa. That he was the future president.

"But they forget to mention why he was put in jail in the first place. He was a convicted terrorist plotting the very bloody overthrow of the Government."

He claims the ANC's "cultural weapon" re-

mains the AK-47 and says Mr Mandela's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe contributes to the danger of violence in the months to come

"Definitely there is going to be violence if the ANC thinks it can take over the running of South Africa as some sort of government returned from exile, they can think again I am afraid there will be terrible violence."

Chief Buthelezi also warns British readers of an alleged white backlash if they are "rolled up in a certain way against their will", and attacks sanctions as "pulverising the country" He calls on Western nations to lift sanctions as soon as possible

"While they are still in force, economic pressure will continue to add to South Africa's problems," he says

PAC's principled road a lonely trek

So what
18/12/91

(11A)

FOR the PAC, which withdrew from Codesa at the weekend, it is the beginning of the struggle.

The immediate plan, or the one for the short or medium term, has not yet come into view on a formal basis, but personalities in the party's boiler room have expressed grave concern (stopping short only of panic), over the road ahead for the Africanists.

And the road ahead is treacherous, one of the PAC's strategists has said.

Pointing to the decisions which were endorsed by 92 organisations at the Patriotic Front and the alarming alacrity "with which each and every one of them dropped them" at Codesa's preparatory talks is cause for concern, he said.

"Who knows what other concessions will be made and what else will be removed from the agenda to get to power," he said.

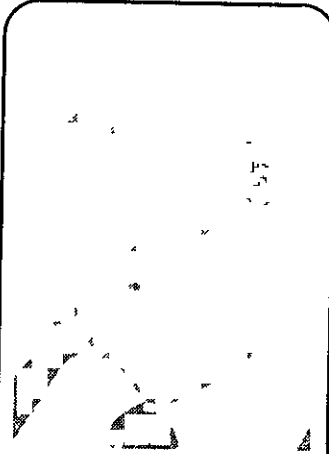
Power

But be that as it may, the PAC has chosen the lonely road of pristine principles as opposed to the conciliatory and concessionary course which Codesa seems to represent.

The PAC has chosen this route while its very identity is regarded as shadowy, and its policies perceived as having fossilised over the years.

There is also (perhaps seriously misguided) alarm over its bent for Africanism - the very essence of the PAC - when Africa has been swept away in a tidal wave of ideological corruption and bankruptcy, economic self-destruction and environmental decay with no end in sight.

FOCUS



The PAC at the weekend rejected participation in Codesa. ISMAIL LAGARDIEN, our Political Correspondent, looks at the challenges facing the Africanists.

The PAC has chosen this route with the odds stacked against it. Whites, who arguably hold the economic, technological and academic power, regard the PAC as the biggest threat to their wellbeing.

Polls

Whites in this country can deal with the ANC - for as long as the ruling National Party has it on a tether.

But they will not accept the PAC,

or at least this is what the polls suggest in spite of the fact that the Africanists are not against white membership or white participation in political, social and economic activity.

The PAC is perceived to have agreed - by accepting the militant slogan "One settler one bullet" - that whites could leave the country (or be killed) and would not be bothered in the least.

Not many people have heard of Patrick Duncan, the white who held a senior diplomatic post for the PAC in North Africa during the Sixties.

The road the PAC has chosen is also made difficult by Codesa itself.

It has been endorsed by almost every Western government and by many African and Asian governments.

The PAC will want to create a forum, or a sideshow as it were, that could overshadow, and in their own words "show Codesa up for the charade that it is".

Slogans

How can the PAC put together an argument which will blow the top of a well-oiled machine like the National Party, or even Codesa, when its following repeat, violent slogans over and over and over again like a mantra while the very people they're trying to defeat are winning diplomatic battles from Matjiesfontein to Moscow, and from Witbank to Washington?

The PAC appears to want to reach a delicate balance between hoping for the failure of the future (which Codesa represents) and bracing itself for it (the future).

And to achieve this incredible

task it is embarking on a massive restructuring of its infrastructures including communication, management and especially its image.

A very highly placed source has confirmed that the PAC will work very hard, in a tacit manner, to try and influence whites next year.

The "influence" will not be a drive for membership, but more a conversion process of the PAC's policies to make them more amenable to the public, this source explained.

Diplomacy

Another source in the movement has told this correspondent that "a group of youngsters" might leave South Africa early next year to do a short course in diplomacy in an Asian country.

The PAC has also been gaming friends among the Frontline states over the past year.

They have been invited to, or have opened offices in most of the sub-Saharan countries into which they were formerly not allowed.

There is also an outside chance of the Patriotic Front being revitalised next year, if the PAC manages to get the ANC to a meeting of Frontline states in Arusha, Tanzania, in the first week of January.

At this stage, where the PAC will benefit most is if Codesa does not reach agreement on elections to a constituent assembly.

In this event, as in the talks about talks between the Government and the ANC, the PAC will stand on the sidelines and gain from agreements reached there.

Its leaders will not miss a chance to prove its support at the polls.

But for the time being, the work has just begun for the PAC.

Callers divided over PAC's stance

CALLERS to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show were yesterday divided on the PAC's decision to stay out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks due to start on December 20

Sanna of Diepkloof, Soweto, said the PAC had made the correct decision as Codesa was called by the "racist regime"



"(Nelson) Mandela is only calling for its legalisation because he has already taken money from foreign

countries"
- Jonas of Botshabelo in the Free State said the PAC's decision was a "grave" mistake and a sure way of keeping the National Party in power

"They should have participated and then made their call for a constituent assembly after the interim government has been set up," he said

Sowetan 18/12/91
Patson of Venda said he did not understand the PAC's position and how it hoped to achieve democracy without negotiating
"Do they think they will go back to the bush?" he asked

Michael of Eldorado Park, Johannesburg, supported the PAC's stance as it had received a mandate from its members

"The enemy is now using our brothers who are seen to be influential among us to oppress us," he said

Moses of Rockville, Soweto, said the PAC was a classic case of a tail wagging the dog

"The leaders should have shown their membership the way," he said

Hold Patriotic Front together, ANC is told (11A)

Sowetan 18/12/91

By DON SEOKANE

THE Northern Transvaal ANC region has instructed its leadership to have talks with the Venda administration to discuss the incorporation forum formed by the homeland's military leaders

The instruction was part of the four resolutions adopted at the regional conference at the University of the North over the weekend

The national office was also urged to do everything possible to keep the strained Patriotic-Front intact and to bring other organisations of the oppressed together

Venda's incorporation forum was formed by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana

this year, in an effort to reincorporate the homeland into South Africa

The conference also decided that the region, in consultation with the national office and homeland administrations should urgently work out the process of phasing out the homelands

It was recommended that traditional leaders should have observer status at Codesa talks

The conference ended with a rally to mark the 30th anniversary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe

Mcerwa re-elected

TWO-TIME president of the Azanian Youth Organisation Mr Thami Mcerwa was unanimously re-elected to the position at the second annual congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend

Mr Phindi Mavuso was elected deputy president of the organisation *Sowetan 18/12/91* (111)

Elected to the national executive committee of Azayo are Mr Masedi Molebatsi (general secretary), Mr Fanie Sekoere (projects co-ordinator), Mr Siphiso Sigotyana (national political commissar), Mr George Ngwenya (publicity secretary) and Mr Mkhiri Tshello (national organiser)

- Sapa

The Africanists have chosen the lonely road of pristine principle, writes

The PAC's job has just

STAR 18/12/91.

(111)

Ismail Lagardien

IF ABSOLUTE unanimity within the PAC to withdraw from Codesa means — even implicitly — that this decision has been reached with relative ease, the struggle for the Africanists has only just begun.

The immediate plan, or the one for the short or medium term, has not come into view on a formal basis yet, but personalities in the party's boiler room have expressed grave concern (stopping short only of panic) over the road ahead for the Africanists.

And the road ahead as treacherous, one of the PAC's strategists has said.

Pointing to the decisions that were endorsed by 92 organisations at the Patriotic Front and the alarming alacrily "with which each and every one of them dropped them" at Codesa's preparatory talks is cause for concern, he said.

"Who knows what other conces-

sions will be made and what else will be removed from the agenda to get to power," he said.

But be that as it may, the PAC has chosen the lonely road of pristine principles as opposed to the conciliatory and concessionary course that Codesa seems to represent.

The PAC has chosen this route while its very identity is regarded as shadowy, and its policies perceived as having fossilised over the years.

There is also (perhaps seriously misguided) alarm over its bent for Africanism — the very essence of the PAC — when Africa has been swept away in a tidal wave of ideological corruption and bankruptcy, economic self-destruction and environmental decay with no end in sight.

The PAC also has chosen this route with the odds stacked against it. Whites, who arguably hold the economic, technological and academic power, regard the

PAC as the biggest threat to their well-being.

Whites in this country can deal with the ANC — for as long as the ruling National Party has it on a tether.

But they will not accept the PAC, or at least this is what the polls suggest, in spite of the fact that the Africanists are not against white membership or white participation in political, social and economic activity.

The PAC is perceived to have agreed — by accepting the militant slogan "One Settler One Bullet" — that whites could leave the country (or be killed) and it would not be in the least bothered.

Not many people have heard of Patrick Duncan, the white who held a senior diplomatic post for the PAC in north Africa during the '60s.

The road the PAC has chosen is also made difficult by Codesa itself. It has been endorsed by almost every Western government

and by a great deal of African and Asian governments as well.

The PAC will want to create a forum, or a sideshow as it were, that could overshadow, and in their own words "show Codesa up for the charade that it is".

How can the PAC do this when its front office is in a mess? When half the staff at its national headquarters don't know how to answer a switchboard, and the other half has never even seen a fax machine — to name but two infrastructural implements of crucial importance in an age where people are flying to the moon on a bit more than a candy bar?

How can the PAC put together an argument that will blow the top of a well-oiled machine like the National Party, or even Codesa, when its following repeats like a mantra violent slogans over and over and over again while the very people they're trying to defeat are winning diplomatic battles from Matjiesfontein to

Moscow, and from Witbank to Washington?

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And, to achieve this incredible task, it is embarking on a massive restructuring of its infrastructures, including communication, management and especially its image.

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The "influence" will not be a drive for membership, but more a proselytising process of the PAC's policies and making them more amenable to the public, this source explained.

Another source in the movement says that "a group of youngsters" might leave South Africa early next year to do a short course in diplomacy in an Asian country.

At this stage, where the PAC will benefit most is if Codesa does reach agreement on elections to a constituent assembly. In this event, as in the talks about talks between the Government and the ANC, the PAC will stand on the sidelines and gain from agreements reached there.

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The PAC has also been gaining friends among the Frontline states over the past year. They have been invited to, or have opened offices in, most of the sub-Saharan countries where they were formerly never allowed.

There is also an outside chance of the Patriotic Front being revitalised next year, if the PAC manages to get the ANC to a meeting of Frontline states in Arusha, Tanzania, in the first week of January.

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begun

(11A)
Hat trick for Mcwera

Twice president of the Azanian Youth Organisation Thami Mcwera was unanimously re-elected to the position at Azayo's second annual congress in Port Elizabeth at the weekend. Mr Mcwera held the post for 1990 and 1991. Phindi Mavuso, is deputy president.

13/12/91

A COMMON observation from foreigners who know this country is how impressed and encouraged they are with SA leaders in general. SA is fortunate, at this critical point in its history, in having spiritual, business and political leaders of a very high calibre.

The two leaders on whose maturity and judgment so much depends are F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. Both have already demonstrated their greatness.

De Klerk has shown tremendous moral courage in the way he has chosen to close the chapter on apartheid and risk his power and position by negotiating a completely new SA. He has done what his predecessor dared not do, and in the process, moved way ahead of the NP's traditional electorate.

Mandela's greatness is of a different kind. Despite the enormous personal sacrifice which he paid for his opposition to apartheid, he has emerged as a force for reason and reconciliation.

Together, these two men, from profoundly different backgrounds and with very different constituencies, have it within their power (insofar as these things are humanly possible) to heal and unite the SA people, and capture the attention and imagination of the whole world.

If this is their historical destiny, and they are to achieve it, it will be by adopting more or less the same agenda, co-ordinating their statements and actions, and resisting local constituency pressure and (less obviously) the international type-casting which has already started.

More than any other leaders, De Klerk and Mandela between them will determine the priorities of the transition — the period between the start of constitutional talks and the election of a new government in terms of a new constitution. For example, SA has a sophisticated public service, and it is essential to keep these skills in the system and maintain morale, even though, obviously, a major change of policies is inevitable. Mandela and De Klerk, between them, can ensure that this happens.

But in specific terms, De Klerk and Mandela should have as their goal the re-establishment of respect

Mandela and FW must co-operate to build a new order

(11/17) *Denise Worrall*
DENIS WORRALL

01/20/91 15/12/91

Klerk and Mandela together could revive "kith and kin" feelings toward this country in, for example, India, the Netherlands, Portugal, Scotland and Greece, just to mention a few lands with demographic and historical ties to SA.

The democratic culture in SA is skin deep, and while all political leaders have a responsibility consciously to strengthen it, the influence of De Klerk and Mandela acting together could be invaluable. Together, they should specifically highlight the concept and practice of tolerance, and drive home the fact that people can legitimately hold varying views as to the public interest.

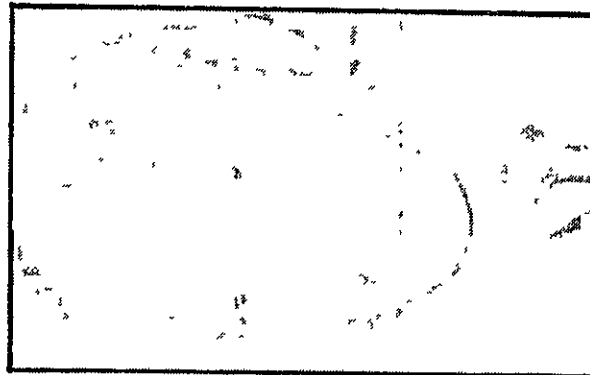
Mandela and De Klerk, more than any other leaders, can influence perceptions of the process on which we are embarking and its outcome. Even before the constitutional talks began, political parties and organisations have tended to polarise, and internationally the dominant media perception is that one major party must surrender and the other must be victorious. News commentators expect to see one party having to give up power, and the other taking power.

Mandela and De Klerk know in their hearts that this is not the case. Unlike a classic colonial situation, the issue in SA is not the defeat or withdrawal of any one group or community, but the terms of our co-existence — whether black or white, Christian or Muslim, Xhosa, Zulu or Afrikaner, ANC, Inkatha or NP.

Neither is it a case of an old and a new order, with those of the old order handing over power to those in the new order and disappearing. Both De Klerk and Mandela come from the old order. De Klerk's institutionally based power is rooted in apartheid, Mandela's fame and stature are derived from his role in the struggle against apartheid. Together, in the process of forming a new system of democratic government, they must convey the conviction that they, and therefore their followers, will both be part of the new order.

These are some of the challenges facing these two remarkable men at this critical stage in SA's history. Neither can refuse the call to greatness which history offers them.

□ Worrall is constitutional spokesman for the DP.



□ MANDELA

build their countries. SA also has its diasporas. This does not stop with ANC exiles, but includes the many talented individuals who left this country in the years of apartheid. They should be wooed back, and nobody can do this more effectively than Mandela and De Klerk. And, with a little bit of effort and the help of local leaders, De

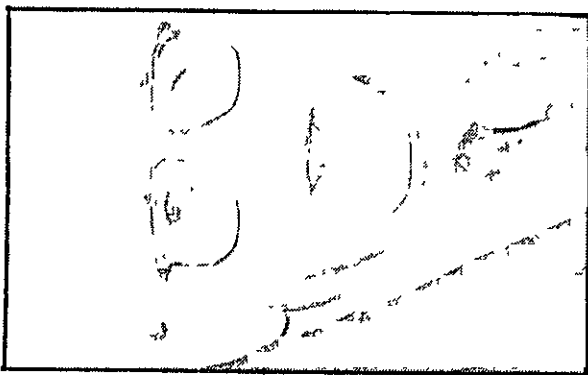
ment policies during the transition and in the new SA, and De Klerk and Mandela need to get their act together in attracting foreign investment.

After all, SA starts with important advantages over comparable countries. Few similar countries have anything like SA's financial institutions, a stock market which in terms of capitalisation is the ninth largest in the world, and an informal economic sector that pulses with the spirit of free enterprise.

The first session of Codesa later this week will unquestionably attract the international spotlight. While all around the world people and governments will wish us well, what De Klerk and Mandela must understand is that "governance" (to use the World Bank's description) in Africa is seriously in question.

The failure of African economies in general, the dreadful happenings in Zaïre (the senseless loss of life, the pillaging and the sheer destruction captured on world television), and, earlier this year, also in Liberia, have created widespread prejudice, rightly or wrongly, against black rule specifically. And while so many people around the world want to see SA succeed, many are sceptical.

A noticeable feature of East European countries, now that they have been liberated from the former Soviet Union and are establishing market economies, is how former nationals are returning from exile to help re-



□ DE KLERK

for law and order, even though this is a transitional concept of law and order.

On their agenda should be a commitment to getting the economy to work again, and both should consciously act in a way that generates foreign confidence.

Business and trade union leaders need clarity on the nature of govern-

Govt, ANC locked in talks to decide on status of Codesa

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were locked in talks last night to resolve their opposing positions on the status of decisions taken at Codesa.

Indications were that they would be able to reach some form of consensus.

The parties are due to report on this issue, and the question of how decisions will be arrived at, at a meeting of Codesa's steering committee today.

The main point of contention arose in the task group preparing Codesa's statement of intent. The ANC wanted to implement that Codesa would establish an implementation mechanism (which would include gov-

ernment) to determine the procedures and draft the texts of all legislation necessary to give effect to Codesa's decisions.

The ANC does not want any body, including Parliament, to overrule Codesa decisions. It is prepared to accept that Parliament passes all legislation because this is the body with constitutional and legal power. Government is concerned that this would amount to a suspension of the constitution and create a constitutional vacuum.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela and rejected his demand that automatic legal force be giv-

en to the decisions of Codesa.

He criticised Mandela for raising "a delicate matter in public on which parties are still negotiating". Codesa's agreement could not be legally binding; the only way this could happen was through the present constitutional structures of Parliament.

However, he said that any organisation party to any of the agreements would be duty bound to — as far as it is within their power — implement those agreements or promote their implementation.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der

status of Codesa decisions

Merwe issued a similar statement last night, saying the NP would be honour-bound to promote any necessary changes in legislation.

Mandela and the ANC insist this is not enough and claim unless such a mechanism is put into effect, Codesa risks relegation to a "mere talking shop" or leaving its decisions to be interpreted by government officials. It says this is what happened with the Grooté Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

"People were ecstatic that exiles would return and political prisoners would be released, only to find later... there were certain conditions and interpretive deci-

sions made that were not clear, at the negotiations," constitutional committee member Albie Sachs said.

One ANC source said the ANC was not trying to prevent Parliament from carrying out its functions, but was insisting the drafting of legislation be done jointly to avoid unnecessary problems.

He said all parties in Parliament except the CP were represented at Codesa so there would be no usurping of Parliament.

The task group dealing with decision-making has decided to recommend to the steering committee today that all deci-

From Page 1

mediate suspension of Codesa and warned that the agenda for a majority government in a unitary SA would suppress the white minority to such a degree that it could lead to unprecedented bloodshed.

Reiterating his stand that his party would not attend the talks, he said the entire negotiation process would have to be restructured — and that the starting point for talks would have to be the autonomous rights of nations.

● Comment Page 6

Codesa

5/10/91 18/12/91

sions are taken on the basis of sufficient consensus to ensure the negotiating process continues.

Meanwhile, Mandela called last night for all the highest-ranking traditional leaders to be involved in Codesa and attend the proceedings as observers. This would include Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, apparently Inkatha and its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed that observer status be accorded to traditional leaders.

Sapa reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht called yesterday for an imme-

To Page 2

Be vigilant, Tambo tells ANC youth

(11A)
STAR 10/12/91

While the "regime" was conceding ground on numerous fronts, the fundamental need for struggle had not waned, said ANC Youth League (Ancyl) honorary president Oliver Tambo yesterday.

Opening the Ancyl conference at KwaMhlanga, in KwaNdebele, Mr Tambo said the youth had been at the forefront of the ANC struggle.

"As a result of the contributions of our youth and other formations, we are poised to grasp our freedom. However, the forces of the past are still intent on arresting our march to freedom.

"This is not the time to lower our guard or to be complacent. If anything, we have to be more bold, more vigilant and more imaginative," Mr Tambo said.

"Our call for the installation of an interim government of national unity should grow louder by the day."

Ancyl president Peter Mokaba said various forces had unleashed a low-intensity war against the league's middle leadership in a bid to stop the organisation amassing support.

Mr Mokaba told delegates the purpose of the disruptive campaign was to make blacks sue for peace at all costs.

"The regime rejects our proposal for a constituent assembly. Alternatively, they would like to bypass it by making the all-party conference the constitution-making body." — Sapa

No easy road to democracy in SA

South 12/12 - 18/12/91

11A

As South Africa's hopes rise for the successful negotiation of democracy at next week's high powered convention, **QUENTIN WILSON** examines whether it will be enough to speedily secure an interim government and a constituent assembly:

THERE IS NO INDICATION that next week's negotiations are going to be easy. Desperation does cling to racist rule South Africa deeper into chaos.

There are fears that assassination attempts, taxi warfare, train massacres and other forms of violence too awful to consider will "coincidentally" escalate as negotiations progress.

This ongoing violence will remain a key issue the Convention for a Democratic South Africa will have to act on for its deliberations to succeed. The sooner joint control is established over security machinery and strong measures are taken against those who destabilise talks, the better.

It is necessary to see how the two main protagonists, the ANC and NP, square up next Friday before determining the outcome.

The ANC appears to be entering the Convention on a strong footing. Internationally, Mr Nelson Mandela was accorded head of state status at the recent UN South African debate. Even on prime time American television he was introduced as "South Africa's



DIVISIONS: The PAC's Patricia de Lille and Benny Alexander take a break during preliminary Codesa talks

leader" — which indicates how much credibility there is abroad for the ANC's programme — particularly that of a constituent assembly.

Domestically, Mr Caryl Ramaphosa of the ANC's negotiating team claimed overwhelming support for the organisation's participation in Codesa.

Another significant factor for the ANC is that the working class is possibly the best equipped it has ever been. The November VAT stayaway showed Cosatu could muster an enormous number of people in support of ANC objectives. Although not directly represented at Codesa, Cosatu could do a lot to influence talks through its future actions.

The ANC has indeed the space to insist that an interim government and a constituent assembly are two bot-

tom-line demands at Codesa. These two demands should be supported by the other 90 organisations in the Patriotic Front.

However, a massive split has already materialised between PAC leadership and membership — their walkout at the preliminary Codesa talks can be seen as a token gesture of "hardline militance" to appease their seething supporters.

The fact it occurred after almost all discussions had ended, shows the leadership's willingness to be involved — with or without support on the ground. This will, however, have a negative effect on the impact the Patriotic Front could make from next Friday.

That Codesa comes in the wake of the Inkathagate scandal is also significant.

Politically, it has forced a wedge into the Nationalist Party/Inkatha axis. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, once the black moderate hope of the NP, has subsequently become an embarrassment to President FW de Klerk.

The two parties certainly will not be going to Codesa as a united bloc, which limits the NP's clout.

The scandal also placed in serious light the role of the two players in South Africa's "low intensity civil war" — that they are being increasingly perceived as the guilty parties, diminishes their chances of reaching the moral high ground during talks.

The common ground among most Codesa participants is the establishment of an interim government to oversee transition up to democratic elections. However, the ruling period for this structure and its nature will be difficult for Codesa to agree on.

Government sources have indicated they would like to see an interim government manage the country for at least a decade. The ANC is saying its months — its brief being to set up and oversee impartial conditions for an elected constituent assembly whose representatives arrive at a new South African constitution.

At this complex historical moment the maintenance of discipline during their forthcoming programmes is of vital importance — the NP cannot be given the space to get away with another crippling state of emergency during renewed mass action.

At the same time, however, the voice of ordinary South Africans must be clearly heard at the negotiation table. Delegates should be left in no doubt as to what the majority of South Africans want, expect and demand from Codesa before they preach how best South Africa can be democratised.

If organisations fail to co-ordinate these efforts, Codesa could very well establish a transitional government that is no more than an NP-controlled caucus, successful in co-opting the ANC leadership into its programmes. Pointing to black faces in this government would relieve a lot of pressure from the NP in moving towards democratic elections.

ANOTHER KEY ISSUE on Codesa's agenda is the re-incorporation of bantustans. There seems to be enough unanimity to suggest their long-overdue dismantling will be cemented at the talks. The ANC's policy of canvassing support among homeland leaders will pay dividends during this point on the agenda.

Codesa's steering committee, geared to draw up a common set of constitutional principles, shouldn't be a major stumbling block to proceedings.

The majority of groupings will almost certainly pay lip service to a most democratic-sounding document. It will probably include provision for a bill of rights, a common voters' roll, with one person one vote, proportional representation, an independent judiciary and some form of minority protection.

Whether allegiance to this democratic rhetoric will be transformed into real commitment during later stages is altogether questionable.

CT 18/12/91 (11A)

Mcwere re-elected president of Azayo

PORT ELIZABETH. — Two-time president of the Azanian Youth Organisation Mr Thami Mcwera was unanimously re-elected to the position at Azayo's second annual congress here at the weekend.

He has held the post for the past two years.

Mr Phindi Mavuso, one of the leaders of the June 16 uprising in 1976, was elected deputy president.

Executive committee members are: Mr Masedi Molebatsi (secretary-general), Mr Fanie Sekoere (projects co-ordinator), Mr Sipho Sigotyana (national political commissar), Mr George Ngwenya (publicity secretary) and Mr Mkirri Tshello (national organiser).

Mr Ngwenya said the congress had resolved to organise a national anti-Codesa campaign. — Sapa



A watershed year in politics, economics and culture

At the point of no return

W/Mail 19/12/91 - 2/1/92

Despite the sabre-rattling of politicians, a fundamental shift took place in South African power relations in the past six months. At the Codesa talks this weekend, 19 political parties, only three of them white, will make decisions from which there can be no retreat.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK



Wild in the streets

Protesting unionists argue it out with armed police. The streets were more violent than ever but behind closed doors there was movement towards peace.
Photo: KEVIN CARTER

A YEAR of slaughter in the streets and raw political confrontation is about to end with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the beginning of a negotiated formal transfer of power from white minority rule.

In that sense 1991 has been a reverse mirror image of 1990 which began with euphoria at the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political parties and ended in hopeless despair.

Despite the ongoing agony on township streets and the sabre rattling of political parties, a fundamental realignment has taken place in South Africa during the past six months.

If the African National Congress achieves its demand this weekend that decisions made at Codesa have the power of law, the transfer of power will have begun. On the principle of sufficient consensus that will govern decisions at the convention, the ANC probably has enough support for the demand already.

Codesa, consisting of 19 political groupings, only three of which are predominantly white, will then have the power to draft legislation — on issues such as an interim government and a constitution making body — which will bind the National Party government.

There will then be no retreat from

South Africa by numbers

How the statisticians summed up the year

INFLATION
Goods costing four cents in 1975 cost R1 in 1990. A basket of goods costing R10 in 1945 cost R242,76 in 1990.

POPULATION
About 26.5-million people lived in South Africa on census day, March 7 1991. This is almost five million less than expected.

MIGRATION
14 449 people immigrated in 1990, the highest number since 1985, and 4 722 emigrated, the lowest number in 30 years.

CAPITAL FLIGHT
Capital flight from SA between 1970 and 1988 was more than R34-billion and may have been as high as R64.9-billion.

FIREARMS
Some 10 305 guns were reported stolen

this year. Stolen firearms were used in 3 237 murders or attempted murders, 6 682 armed robberies and 411 rapes.

GUN OWNERSHIP
48 percent of white households (38 percent English, 58 percent Afrikaans) own guns.

POLICE DEATHS
117 police officers died on duty this year.

MURDERS
About 11 760 murders were committed between January and August.

HOUSING SHORTAGE
South Africa has a shortage of about 1.2-million housing units with demand increasing at a rate of 175 000 units per year.

SQUATTERS
Two million people live in more than 864 squatter camps. About 1.3-million squatters

live in the PWV area.

ACCESS TO ELECTRICITY
23-million South Africans living in three million homes do not have electricity.

MALNUTRITION
About 12 percent of black children under the age of five are malnourished.

AIDS
Between 130 000 and 200 000 South Africans are HIV positive. There are 893 recorded cases of AIDS.

PRISONERS
57 000 prisoners were released under the three amnesties. Seven percent of those freed were rearrested on fresh charges.

ASSASSINATIONS
27 Inkatha officials and 60 ANC officials were killed this year.

majority rule in South Africa — a remarkable conclusion to a bumpy year in which the passage of the negotiations was often cast into doubt by the bloodletting in the townships.

Two key reasons for the shift in mid-year were the Inkathagate funding scandal and the election of a new ANC team in July with a new strategic vision.

The early period of negotiations was conducted by an ANC still emerging from exile and hibernation and unprepared for State President FW de Klerk's leaps in lateral thinking that permitted him to maintain the political initiative for the 18 months

following February 2 1990. The bureaucrats clung to their authority, applying the letter rather than the spirit of the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes, delaying agreement on the return of exiles and slowing the release of political prisoners.

The prisoner releases were not nearly complete by the April 30 deadline agreed at in the Pretoria Minute — sparking a hunger strike by remaining inmates that only slightly upset the composure of the NP.

An even bigger problem was on the ground where a long-politicised and mostly unreformed police force continued to fail to protect ordinary town-

ship residents in a year where massacres became commonplace.

Allegations of police complicity or partisanship in the violence continued to fly thick and fast and the body count of both activists and policemen rose higher than even in the darkest days of the state of emergency.

De Klerk was suspected of having a double agenda — a Santa Claus smiling for the TV camera while his security forces destabilised the townships — a view that gained wider acceptance after the Inkathagate scandal.

But in the eyes of the international community De Klerk could do no wrong — and his itinerary of foreign travel was as extensive as that of ANC

president Nelson Mandela. The NP picked up kudos for lifting the last heavyweight apartheid laws — the Land Acts, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act.

It was indeed a poignant moment during the final parliamentary debate on Population Registration when coloured MP David Curry, soon to join the NP, declared: "It is nice what Afrikaners are doing today because it is nice to be an Afrikaner."

De Klerk retained the initiative against an ANC that appeared so disorganised and incompetent that the malfunctioning of its switchboard became a national joke.

The NP was on a roll. Polls showed the party had convincing leads in the Indian and coloured communities and growing support among blacks, Labour Party MPs defected to join them, there was even talk of the NP making a bid to defeat the ANC at the polls.

But the major beneficiary of the violence — which converted the obscurebantustan dorp of Ulundi into one of the triple pillars of South Africa — was the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In January, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi got his long-awaited photo-opportunity with Mandela. It did not stop the killing, but it did lift Buthelezi's sagging stature.

The ANC performed poorly during the first six months. Sanctions contin-

Continued on PAGE 6

Reaching the point of no return

From PAGE 5

ued to crumble, each step being interpreted as a victory for De Klerk and defeat for the ANC.

The Winnie Mandela trial — the disappearance of key witnesses, the attendance of ANC leaders at her trial and her conviction on kidnap charges — didn't help the struggle for the high ground.

But it was the violence, heating up the Reef townships, that confronted the ANC with its greatest challenge. The leadership were accused of sitting and talking to the enemy while Rome was burning. Either way, they were helpless to stop the attacks on their own activists let alone black residents of the townships.

In desperation, the ANC issued an ultimatum to the government in April, threatening to withdraw from all negotiations unless it acted seriously to stop the violence. It was this initiative that led ultimately to the September 22 Peace Accord, hailed as a great breakthrough. But at the time it was the ANC that came across as unreasonable and were accused of delaying negotiations. Mandela almost went hoarse briefing a sceptical press and diplomatic corps on why the ANC had chosen that path.

The ANC went into its July congress in a mood of disorganisation, immobilisation and distrust of the NP. It emerged at the other end fitter for the task ahead, with a strong mandate to proceed with talks and new hands on the helm, including secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Sanctions was one area where the ANC sought to take back the initiative after the July conference. An attempt by international affairs director Thabo Mbeki to shift direction at the ANC's December 1990 consultative conference was angrily voted down by delegates already smarting at the suspension of the armed struggle in the Pretoria Minute.

Mbeki was back at that ANC congress in July, this time more conscious of the need to sell his proposal and speaking to a membership more receptive to new ideas. His persuasive speech on the last night of the congress was a winner.

It was too late to influence the decision of President US George Bush to lift the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act which was taken within days of the congress.

However, the ANC did succeed in getting its new perspective of a phased lifting of sanctions, with "people to people" sanctions being the first to go, accepted internationally — most notably by the British Commonwealth and the United Nations.

In line with this, South Africa's readmission to international sport — brokered largely by ANC executive member Steve Tshwete — was seen as an ANC victory and not a govern-

ment one.

The row over the sidelining of the Springbok emblem revealed a white population waking up too late to the fact that they were not getting back into world sport on their own terms, that something fundamental had indeed changed.

In July, the *Sunday Times* declared *The Weekly Mail* revelations of how the security police used public money to secure the advantage of the IFP against the ANC was "the day the bubble burst" for De Klerk.

The president — suffering his biggest international setback since February 2 1990 — was pushed unexpectedly on to the defensive.

The ANC negotiating team, now led by Ramaphosa, were quick to seize the advantage and to back up their demand for an interim government on the basis that the scandal proved that De Klerk could not be expected to play the role of impartial referee during negotiations.

Instead of yet again threatening to pull out of negotiations, the ANC subtly moved the remaining "obstacles" to negotiation out of the way by changing their key demand to the removal of the government itself.

The handling of the Inkatha funding scandal represented a transformation of the ANC's strategic vision, bringing about a modernisation equally as important as the modernisation of the NP that took place after De Klerk took over in 1989.

It involved a change of perspective. When Mandela came out of prison he had sought to cleanse De Klerk's image in the eyes of ANC supporters by publicly announcing that he was a man of integrity.

This was a necessary act of exculpation that would permit the ANC in the eyes of its militant supporters to sit down and negotiate with "the enemy". But at times Mandela seemed to believe his own premise — that negotiations could only proceed if the NP were to be trusted.

Inkathagate seemed to blow that trust away. Yet it helped everyone concerned to the realistic understanding that people do not negotiate because they trust one another but precisely because they have differences to settle.

In the new thinking, the notion of two big chiefs — De Klerk and Mandela — making a deal and smoking a pipe of peace was thrown out the window.

The lesson of taking reforms and using the space opened up by them to transform the situation through negotiation in the way that the ANC was now doing was by and large one learned from the trade union movement.

The detail of the Peace Accord — setting up codes of conduct for political parties and the security forces and



Peace accords, but the violence continues - Photo. KEVIN CARTER

local dispute-settling mechanisms — was also a crucial intervention by the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

And again, the VAT strike — an instance of well-planned mass action around a specific demand — saw the unions proving the mobilising power of the democratic movement and staking a claim to a pivotal role in the transition and beyond.

The biggest victim of Inkathagate was Buthelezi and his IFP which lost more and more credibility as skeletons kept tumbling out of its closets.

A sense of desperation has started to emanate from IFP statements and the role that it has played in negotiations thus far has often been that of a spoiler, inventing issues of principle in a bid to prove themselves as players capable of influencing events.

Strangely, the NP gained from the IFP's loss of standing, because it opened the way for the Nats to emerge as the principal opposition to the ANC

at the first elections.

For all that he was hurt by Inkathagate, De Klerk's surefooted handling of the crisis — demoting two key cabinet ministers, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan, while retaining their loyalty and defusing a major embarrassment — proves that the NP should never be underestimated.

The NP also suffered some humiliating setbacks in by-elections, but here too De Klerk appeared to ride the crisis confidently — this one from the right. He bearded the lion Eugene TerreBlanche in his den, Ventersdorp, and did not give in to the demands of rightwing hunger strikers — who, it later transpired, were cheating anyway.

The Ventersdorp and hunger strike debacles — in which the extreme right failed to live up to its dire threats of mobilisation — further undermined the credibility of its war talk.

Despite its Pyrrhic triumphs in by-elections, the Conservative Party displayed absolutely no movement during the year, a reflection of the lacklustre conservatism of its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The CP is still putting all its money on a white election and a white referendum — an arena where it would fare well, but if it were better at reading De Klerk's signals it would be making alternative preparations.

On the left, the Pan Africanist Congress, immobilised by the schism between the militancy of its rank and file and pressure from foreign backers such as the Zimbabwe government to be in the negotiations, opted to stay out of Codesa.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) saw no such dilemma — having neither mass membership nor caring much for these negotiations.

One party that did seem ready to move with the times was the Democratic Party. At times the DP had seemed about to be trampled by the elephants dancing on the grass but emerged increasingly with a clearcut identity and a potential viable role in the transition as a party trusted by all the major parties.

The DP will benefit most from the system of proportional representation, which both the NP and the ANC support, and could put in a strong bid to be South Africa's third party, if it is ever able to get some credible black faces at the head of the party.

One thing is clear: after furious boarding and unloading again, the final whistle has been blown and the negotiations train is about to leave the station, leaving all those who want to stay out on the platform.

The next stop could be a siding in the Karoo, a junction in the Free State or the mythical new South Africa, but 1991 just made it — and the train is moving, at last, into the future.

The simple guide to Codesa

w/m a/j

19/12/91-2/1/92

(SIA) (IA)

	FUTURE OF HOMELANDS	INTERIM GOVERNMENT	CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
ANC, SACP, TIC-NIC, TRANSKEI MILITARY COUNCIL, INYANZA	Support the immediate reincorporation of the four "independent homelands" and the removal of the authority of the self governing territories. They favour a unitary state with a strong central government and limited devolution of power to the provinces, to be decided according to the distribution of populations	All strongly believe that Codesa should have the function of setting up an interim government to govern during the transition period prior to the first general election. This should replace the authority of the present government though it is not clear whether they believe it should assume all its roles. They believe that Codesa should not itself be transformed into an interim government and should have a short lifespan. They reject the idea of their members being incorporated into the current government for the transition period	All support the idea of an elected constituent assembly being the body which negotiates the details of a new constitution. They accept that the broad principles can be negotiated through Codesa and have not rejected the idea of a referendum on these. But this should replace constituent assembly elections held on a party political basis. Once the new constitution is negotiated through the elected constituent assembly, a general election should be held for the new parliament, after which the interim government should be replaced by the new government.
INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY, TSHIMDKO PROGRESSIVE, VENDA MILITARY COUNCIL, LABOUR PARTY	Also favour reincorporation of all homelands but tend to favour a more federally based constitution	Most of these parties have come out in favour of an interim government or are tending in that direction.	All tend to favour the idea of an elected constituent assembly, but appear to be flexible on the issue
DEMOCRATIC PARTY	Supports the reincorporation of all homelands and a federal constitution with strong powers for the regions, as well as regional representation within the upper house of parliament.	Supports the idea of a Transitional Government of National Reconciliation, which should be the product of Codesa. Among its functions should be controlling key government functions such as expenditure, the broadcast media and the security forces. This should be headed by a Council of Leaders appointed by Codesa, representing the major political parties. The state president should continue to exercise all executive functions provided for in the constitution on the advice of the Council of Leaders, instead of the cabinet. Multi-party cabinet committees should be set up.	Favours a solution similar to that of an elected constituent assembly. A constitutional conference, elected on a one-person, one-vote basis, with a one per cent cut-off, should negotiate the new constitution. Its decisions should be made by a two-thirds majority and must have the agreement of both the majority party in the constitutional conference and the majority party in parliament — effectively giving both veto powers. Once a new constitution is agreed upon it should be put to the electorate through a referendum.
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY	Supports the idea of a reunified state including the independent homelands and self governing territories, with the conditions of the "re-accession" of the TBVC states to be subject to negotiation. Stresses strong state powers with each state being represented in the senate having a state legislature, state premier and a governor and the constitutional recognition of traditional rulers.	Accepts the sovereignty of the current government and believes it should continue to govern until a new constitution is negotiated. It therefore strongly rejects the idea of an interim government or any other solution which detracts from the authority of present government, though it has not ruled out transitional provisions to expand its base.	Rejects the idea of an elected constituent assembly being the forum which negotiates the new constitution. Instead believes the constitution should be negotiated by Codesa and put to the electorate through a referendum.
CISKEI GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY, SOLIDARITY, DIKWANKWETLA PARTY	All say they favour the reincorporation of the TBVC states with the retention of strong powers for the regions. Ciskei has shown some ambiguity in this regard but tends to accept the inevitability of returning to the South African fold.	Have not all expressed strong opinions on this issue, but are likely to oppose the idea of an interim government replacing the current government.	Those who have expressed opinions on this issue have tended to oppose the idea of an elected constituent assembly.
SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL PARTY	Have still not made their position on the reincorporation of the TBVC states clear, saying this is subject to negotiation and that the TBVC states are independent and therefore can't be compelled to return. Privately, NP officials say they accept the notion of full reincorporation. Support strong federal powers for the proposed nine regions, each being governed by an executive committee and equally represented in the Senate.	Have clearly rejected the idea of an interim government or any other form of transitional authority which interferes with the sovereignty of the South African government. Believe the government should continue to govern until such time as the first elections based on a new constitution are held. However they are open to the idea of transitional arrangements which broaden the legitimacy of the current government, such as the expansion of the cabinet, and increasing aspects of the authority of Codesa.	Reject the idea of an elected constituent assembly which they feel will lead to "majoritarianism". They believe that once there has been agreement on the major facets of the new constitution, these should be put to the electorate through a referendum among all the "population groups" — which makes separate provision for counting the votes of each group. President FW de Klerk has promised they will only go ahead with the new constitution if it is accepted by the white electorate. The present government should continue to govern until the first general election is held on the basis of the new constitution.
BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT	Still opposes its own reincorporation and believes that Bophuthatswana should continue to exist as a separate state, possibly as part of a confederation of states.	Does not wish to be governed by an interim government or any government other than itself.	At the moment it does not want to be part of a future South Africa and therefore rejects any solution — including constituent assembly elections — through which it would be bound.

Negotiations start in earnest on Friday
GAVIN EVANS
outlines where the parties stand on the eve of the talks

NEGOTIATIONS begin in earnest this weekend in a climate of heightened tension between the parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).
 With Inkatha being accused of receiving further funding from the police and hit-squad training from the army, the government being accused by the African National Congress of lying about aid to Inkatha, and Inkatha threatening to pull out of negotiations unless its demand

for representation for kwaZulu and its king is accepted, relations between the major players are not particularly cosy.
 By the time the conference begins, however, the Preparatory Committee should have come to an agreement on representation and negotiations can begin on the key agenda items: interim government or transitional arrangements, the form of the constitution-making body, and the reincorporation of the homelands into South Africa.
 The task of reaching "sufficient con-

sensus" may be made easier by the Pan Africanist Congress' decision to pull out of the conference and the Conservative Party's confirmation of its decision to stay away.
 Two preliminary issues will need sorting out. What the ANC describes as the "leveling of the political ground", and the legal status of Codesa.
 On the first point, there appears to be agreement among the parties about the return of exiles and the National Peace Accord but there are still points of dispute

relating to several political prisoners. The ANC is pressing hard for the release of members such as Robert McBride and Mithetheleli Mncube in Pretoria Central Prison and Bophuthatswana coup leader Timothy Phutu in Roosgrond Prison.
 The issue of the legal status of Codesa has been a major discussion point between the parties over the past fortnight. ANC president Nelson Mandela has made it clear that the decisions of Codesa should be legally binding. According to the ANC this means that once decisions have been reached at the conference, they should be drafted into legislation by Codesa sub-committees and passed in parliament.

The government has yet to state a firm view on this issue, but is wary of Codesa having any implementing mechanism or of it interfering with the sovereignty of parliament. It prefers a solution along the lines followed with the peace secretariat, whereby Codesa will make decisions and the government will then draft them into legislation.
 Both issues are likely to involve some tough horse trading, but neither is expected to hold up proceedings.

The three major issues, which will be discussed this weekend and in March, will be the future of the homelands, the establishment of an interim government or transitional authority, and whether an elected constituent assembly or Codesa itself should draw up a future constitution.
 The table above will help you understand how the 19 participating parties think on these issues.



Parliament could soon be just Number Two

W/Mcal 19/12/91 - 2/1/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE issue that could vindicate leftwing or rightwing reasons for staying out of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) — the legal status of decisions taken at the convention — was largely hammered out at preparatory meetings this week.

The government, as one of 19 participants at Codesa, will be bound to implement agreements worked out by Codesa and follow-up conventions — by facilitating legislation in parliament and amendments to the constitution.

This means that, while maintaining legal sovereignty, parliament will in effect be overridden by Codesa which will become the country's de facto highest decision-making body on constitutional matters.

That would lend credence to claims by Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht that Codesa is to be treated as a "super-parliament".

However, as Codesa decisions will have to be taken on the basis of "sufficient consensus", it will not be able to take major decisions without government consent.

On the other hand, if the government delegation does resist demands, for instance on an interim government and a constituent assembly, supported by virtually all other parties, it risks collapsing the entire negotiating process.

And it would give credibility to claims by the Pan Africanist Congress that Codesa is little more than a "ploy" of the regime.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Gerrit Viljoen said this week that Codesa did not have legal status and its agreements "of themselves" could not have legally binding force.

He was apparently slapping down African National Congress demands that Codesa decisions be given legal force.

However, Viljoen conceded that while

Codesa's decisions could not "of themselves" have legally binding force, organisations would be duty-bound to implement such agreements or promote their implementation.

The other thorny issue — the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand that the kwaZulu government and the Zulu king both be allowed to send delegations — was not yet resolved yesterday.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's strong demand for their inclusion as separate delegations did not appear to synch with the stand of the IFP's own representatives on the steering committee, who had agreed to drop the demand for a separate kwaZulu delegation and downgrade the king to observer status.

The ANC's compromise proposal is to invite all paramount chiefs and kings to attend the historic first session of Codesa, due to start at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts on Friday.

Aggrieved Buthelezi won't attend but..

Codesa ready to roll

Sowetan 19/12/91

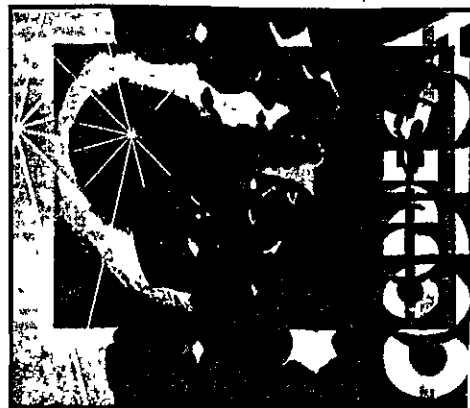
By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

A DECLARATION of intent will top the agenda at this weekend's historic inaugural meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa:

The two-day convention, which starts tomorrow, will be at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg.

The declaration will lay the ground rules for future negotiations of a political dispensation for a new South Africa.

An early setback, however, is the refusal by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend the convention in a dispute over his insistence that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini



Go to page 2

Codesa on way forward

11A @ (10)

From page 1

Sowetan 19/12/91
be invited to Codesa separately from the IFP and the KwaZulu government

The Codesa media committee yesterday also released the agenda for the convention as well as a logo and poster showing a rising sun against a blue and red sky

19/12/91
Media committee member Saki Macozoma refused to comment on the demand by the IFP to send more than one delegation to the convention

Buthelezi's statement last night did not indicate whether the IFP would also withdraw from the talks

It is understood senior IFP officials were discussing the issue with Buthelezi, spokeswoman Ms Sue Vos said yesterday

Vital

The KwaZulu leader said it had been shown how vital the king and his government's role were in attaining peace and stability in the country

"Now some wish to refuse them representation, which is rightfully theirs, on all the matters pertaining to the future of South Africa and the Zulu king

"The king and KwaZulu are a vital part of the South African reality and will have to be afforded the full status of negotiating partners," he said

Tomorrow's proceedings will be opened at 10am by Chief Justice Corbett. This will be followed by prayers to be delivered by religious leaders of various faiths and denominations

Justice Corbett will then hand over the reigns of the convention to the co-chairmen, Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabot

See Pages 8, 14 and 20

Political Staff

The serious politicking is about to get under way at Codesa — but not just yet.

Yesterday's urgent preparatory meetings at the World Trade Centre were leavened by a non-political disagreement between the Ciskei and SA Communist Party delegations.

It transpires that Ciskei representative Dr Denise Bjorkman was somewhat taken aback when "a female member of the Communist

Dispute, but **mammaries** are made of this . . .

STAR
19/12/91
(11A)

Party unveiled her breast and suckled her infant during a heated (preparatory committee) debate involving a male-dominated negotiating team"

Dr Bjorkman noted that "the men did not lose focus on the discussion at hand, and the women accepted it

as a normal function when serious discussions about the future of a country take place.

"It was the most powerful statement on dual role and unusual crisis management. It certainly makes history," she said.

SACP representative

Essop Pahad was not amused by Dr Bjorkman's observations, however

"Facetious remarks relating to the gender question say very little for the spokesman for the Ciskei government at a time when this country needs to take decisive steps to eliminate gender discrimination

"All possible help needs to be given to parents with little babies so that they may be able to play a rightful role in negotiations," he said.

Foreign observers will add weight to Codesa

So wefan

19/12/91

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LONDON - When the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) opens in Johannesburg tomorrow, it will be under the watchful eye of illustrious observers from a range of international organisations.

The observers will be just what they say they are - observers, not participants or monitors or advisers - not initially, at least

Pretoria wrestled with the decision to admit international observers, although not quite as hard as it wrestled with the decision earlier this year to allow the UNHCR (UN

High Commissioner for Refugees) to assist with the repatriation of exiles to South Africa.

It still nurtures deep, primeval fears about "foreign interference," the most dramatic manifestation of which was its torpedoing of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's visit to South Africa a few years ago

Blurred

Times have changed since then. The dividing line between "foreign interference" and South Africa's reacceptance into the international community is a blurred one these days

Anyway, the whole

concept of the sanctity of a country's sovereignty is wearing thin, as recipients of Western aid, IMF and World Bank support and US approval around the world will testify.

Pretoria cannot regret its decision to admit the UNHCR, nor is there any reason why it should resist the arrival of other UN agencies, such as the World Health Organisation

The UNHCR is sharing responsibility, including financial responsibility, for the repatriation of refugees, and the WHO similarly would share responsibility for health-care projects.

'Foreign interference' is a small price to pay for

such benefits.

The fact that Codesa's distinguished visitors will be only observers does not mean they will serve no useful purpose. Their presence will be highly significant for several reasons.

First, the observers will give Codesa an international imprimatur, and this in itself carries implications

Weight

It means that Codesa is being taken seriously. The more progress it makes towards agreement on an interim authority and a new constitution, the more South Africa's return to the world community will be assured (and incidentally

the more obsolete sanctions will become)

The presence of the international observers will give added weight to Codesa. It can begin its deliberations tomorrow as a heavyweight assembly, and thereafter it will be in its own hands to maintain that status.

The Commonwealth Secretariat in London, announcing the names of its six distinguished representatives last week, went so far as to say that the arrival of its delegation "will begin a new phase in its relations with South Africa".

This is likely to be true of all the other international organisations represented at Codesa.

It is interesting to note that, while the Commonwealth "at this stage" of its involvement will only be demonstrating its strong support for Codesa and helping to promote "mutual trust among the various parties," it envisages consultations with leaders of Codesa's political parties and making itself "available to assist in whatever way might be helpful to the negotiating process".

Helpful

As the negotiations proceed, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, will visit South Africa from time to time "with appropriate advisers whose expertise might be helpful to the Convention"

Pretoria will keep a wary eye on this offer, but there are no indications that the Commonwealth intends to be anything but helpful, or that Pretoria may find this help useful some future point

The very core significant aspect of the international presence at Codesa is that, hopefully, it will cause the 240 delegates to conduct

themselves with dignity and decorum. This is a large number of delegates, and the gathering could become unwieldy and undisciplined.

If the effect of the presence of the observers is to keep the rhetoric, the posturing and the walkouts down to a minimum, this alone will be a valuable service.

The delegates must realise by now that what will be happening at Codesa is that South Africa's political parties will be judged *in situ* by what in effect will be an international jury, and that this judgment will be passed not only on the government, but also on the ANC, etc, and not only on the absentees, such as the Conservative Party, PAC and Azapo.

Judgment will be on performance, not on what moral high ground was once occupied.

- Sowetan Correspondent

100 years of waiting have ended for blacks

Sowetan 198/12/91

11A

The day we, the black people of South Africa, have been looking forward to for over 100 years, has at last arrived.

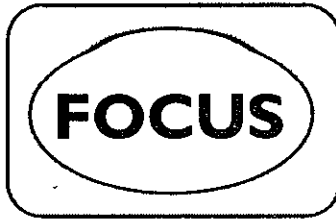
Since our ancestors were crushed militarily between the years 1877 and 1883 by the physical might of the British and the Boers, the blacks have been calling on the white government to bring together the representatives of all the races of South Africa to discuss how this country should be governed

At long last that day has arrived. Oddly, there is no dancing in the streets - a clear enough testimony to how difficult the South African problem has become

No one expects miracles will happen at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, which convenes in Johannesburg tomorrow. This is because "the miracle" has already happened. It happened a few years ago when PW Botha then state president of South Africa met his regime's long standing opponent and prisoner, Nelson Mandela. Since that day the whites have been coming to terms with the realisation that they have to sit down with blacks and talk about how this country should be governed

Quite how difficult this decision was for the whites - and still is for many - is reflected in the fact that PW Botha is still agonising over it. History, however, has moved on and the "miracle" continues to reveal itself in many strange ways

The whites are not the only ones however who are caught in the painful vice of history, many blacks are also just as shocked by



MOELETSI MBEKI, Cosatu's head of communications, writes here in his personal capacity. This is the first of a two-part series analysing the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Before returning from exile last year Mbeki was a senior journalist with the Herald in Zimbabwe. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in the US in 1988-89.

of that conquest. This demand takes several forms, the demand for socialism for example, or for nationalisation. These are only polite words for expropriating from the whites and returning what is perceived as the assets

The conquest of the Africans meant their complete subjugation to the whims of the whites. It also meant the exercise of naked, unrestrained power by the whites over the blacks. The Group Areas Act, and the forced removals that went with it, the Bantu Education Act and the emasculation of black culture and education that went with it, the Industrial Conciliation Act and the exploitation of black workers that went with it - are only but a few examples of this naked power. Some of these laws may now have been repealed by their initiators but the social and economic reality these laws were designed to bring about have been left intact.

From the standpoint of the whites, Codesa is therefore intended to preserve the social and economic reality created during the past hundred years but without the racially based laws which have led to so many black revolts in the past and to the wrath of the international community against South African whites.

The whites however have also learnt their lessons from the decolonisation of Africa. They have learnt that black government in Africa does not necessarily lead to the loss of white privileges.

From the point of view of the whites Codesa will therefore have succeeded even if it leads to a black or a black-dominated government provided this does not lead to the collapse of white privileges.

How then is Codesa likely to reconcile these apparently mutually exclusive positions?

Tomorrow. Why there's hope for Codesa.

the unfolding events. Perhaps it is this shock more than the anxiety about what lies ahead that explains the absence of celebrations by the blacks.

Many blacks cannot believe what is happening. It is therefore more comforting for some to convince themselves that things have not changed from the day their ancestors were defeated and their centuries-old social systems smashed in the 19th century and subsequently. This is the position of many in Azapo, PAC, Wosa and some even in the ANC.

From the standpoint of black South Africans, Codesa has to reverse what happened in the years 1877-83. It has to reverse the humiliation that went with the crushing defeats of those years. It has to cure the painful aftermath

which were forcibly taken away from the blacks.

To the minds of the negotiators, Codesa is about bringing democracy to South Africa. The truth of the matter is that very few blacks care about democracy if it does not reverse the effects of their conquest.

From what they see in the experience of countries to the north of the Limpopo - Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe - they have learnt that democracy or black majority rule is not the same thing as shaking off subjugation. You can have a black government and still be subjugated.

In the eyes of the blacks if Codesa only brings about democracy then it will have failed and therefore not be worth dancing in the streets about.

PAC plan to fight Codesa

8/10/71
19/12/71
TIM COHEN (1/11)

THE PAC would meet Commonwealth delegates to Codesa today and would outline a campaign it intended launching next year under the banner "Death to Codesa", PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Alexander said the PAC and the ANC would meet members of the frontline states early next month, when the ANC would have to explain why it deviated from decisions made at the Patriotic Front conference.

He said Azapo had proposed the formation of another front. The PAC would meet Azapo but would press for the continuation of the current front.

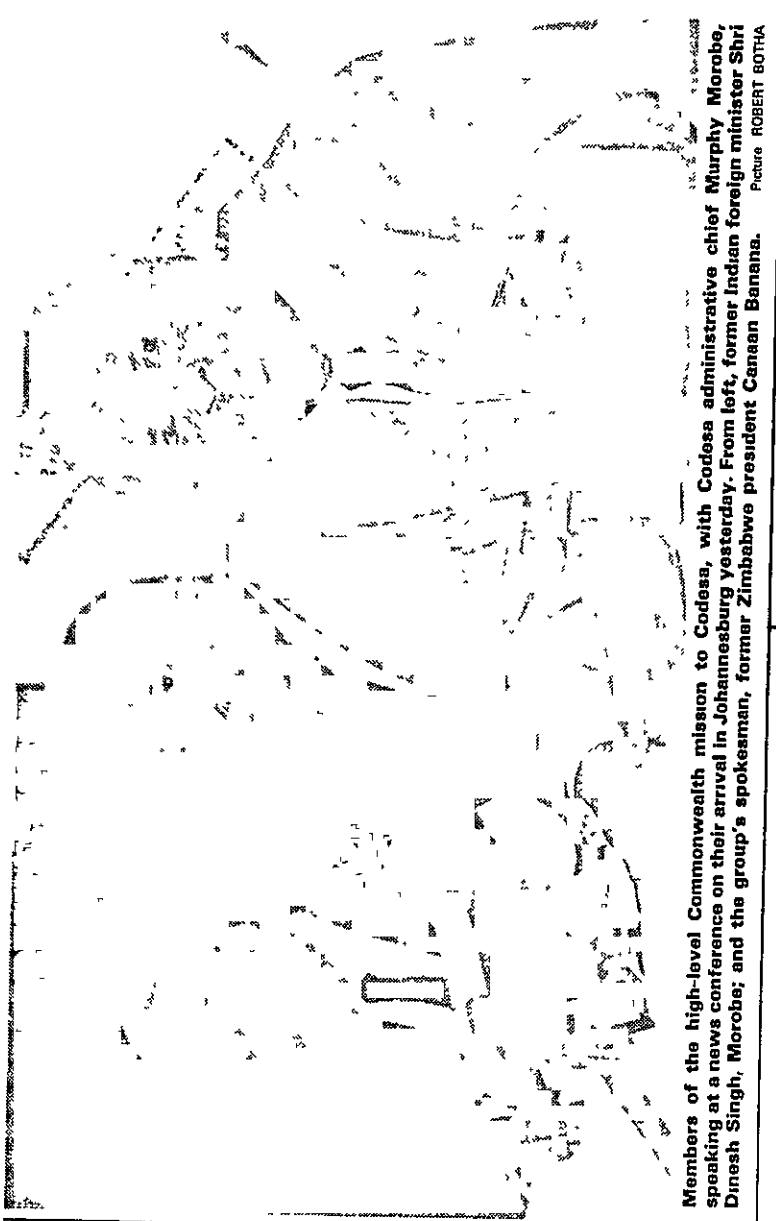
DARIUS SANAI reports that former Zimbabwe president Canaan Banana, spokesman for the high-level Commonwealth mission to Codesa, said yesterday he hoped the PAC and right-wing parties could still be persuaded to join the negotiations.

Banana said the delegation thought Codesa was a "highly significant moment in the history of SA".

Our Durban correspondent reports that a PAC splinter group calling itself PAC of SA has announced it will attend the talks.

□ The National Marze Producers' Organisation says the SA agricultural industry cannot expect politicians to decide the future on its behalf, Sapa reports.

Nampo said it was clear the agricultural policies of the NP and the ANC were contradictory.



Members of the high-level Commonwealth mission to Codesa, with Codesa administrative chief **Murphy Morobe**, speaking at a news conference on their arrival in Johannesburg yesterday. From left, former Indian foreign minister **Shri Dinesh Singh, Morobe**; and the group's spokesman, former Zimbabwe president **Canaan Banana**.
Picture ROBERT BOTHA

Buthelezi quits over 'snub' to king

Codesa given go-ahead to draw up laws

Bloom 19/12/91

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

GOVERNMENT agreed yesterday that Codesa would be involved in drafting all legislation needed to give effect to convention decisions, steering committee sources said

This and other key issues were resolved during yesterday's steering committee meeting.

But just as it seemed that all systems were go, with parties expressing their satisfaction at the progress, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced he was withdrawing from Codesa because the committee had failed to reach agreement on Inkatha's demand that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini have his own delegation.

Buthelezi said the committee's inability to reach a decision on the king's participation amounted to an insult to his dignity. "I simply cannot endorse this by attending Codesa with the knowledge that the king has been snubbed," he said.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that Inkatha, however, decided that, as a party, it would remain in the talks despite its leader pulling out. The decision would go before a meeting of the full Inkatha delegation today.

Steering committee chairman Zach de Beer had said last night the committee had been unable to resolve the issue of the Zulu king's participation in Codesa and he would thus not be an active participant.

In reaction to Buthelezi's announce-

ment, De Beer said later he had not been informed.

"I think it is a pity that Dr Buthelezi will not attend. He is a leading SA figure and it would have been nice to have him, but Codesa is much bigger than all of us and it must continue."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation regretted Buthelezi pulling out but there had been agreement that any issues that could not be resolved in the steering committee would be referred to the Codesa plenary tomorrow. The ANC expected Buthelezi to abide by this decision.

Defence Minister and member of the NP delegation Roelf Meyer said "It is a great pity that he will not be there personally, because of the importance of Codesa. It is very disappointing."

Yesterday the steering committee agreed to recommend to Codesa that an implementing mechanism be set up to meet the ANC's demand that decisions of Codesa be given legal force. It was also decided that a working group, with government involvement, would be given the task of drafting legislation for Codesa.

After a Codesa plenary session agreed to draft legislation, government would be

□ To Page 2

P.T.O

Codesa ^{11 Dec} 19/12/91

From Page 1

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obliged to put this to Parliament, to vote into law

Because most parliamentary parties — apart from the CP — would be involved in drawing up the legislation through Codesa, it was likely Parliament would pass it.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday the ANC and government/NP had resolved the question of the legality of Codesa decisions and agreed it could not be regarded as a legally constituted body with the force of law.

Government also agreed to a clause binding it to do everything in its power to have Codesa decisions implemented.

A source said government faced the threat that if it did not reach agreement on an implementing mechanism, this would be raised on the open agenda at Codesa and be debated before the international community.

The implementing mechanism and other major agreements, including broad constitutional proposals, will be enshrined in the declaration of intent, which all parties agree is one of the most important documents that will emanate from Codesa

The steering committee also decided to recommend that five working groups be established to negotiate critical areas for the way forward. These are

- Creation of a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community;
- General constitutional principles and a constitution-making body, such as a constituent assembly;
- Transitional arrangements and an interim government;
- The future of the TBVC states; and
- Timeframes and the implementation of Codesa decisions

Another key issue agreed to by the parties was a set of standing rules for negotiation at Codesa. Among these was a definition for decision-making

NP delegation leader Dawie de Vilhiers said consensus was the basis of decision-making and if all parties did not agree,

then sufficient consensus to ensure the process "moving forward effectively" would be employed

It is understood mechanisms for arbitration, mediation and bilateral negotiation have been included in case there is serious disagreement preventing progress

Before the steering committee had completed its discussions on the participation of the king, Inkatha released an "interim Press statement" which said Inkatha could not accept being put in a position in which it could be interpreted that it had "endorsed the elbowing out of the Zulu king and the Zulu nation from participating in shaping a new SA".

At the preparatory meeting at the end of last month, it was decided that only political parties or organisations would be invited to Codesa as delegates

Yesterday the committee decided also that religious leaders would not be included even in an observer role at tomorrow's meeting. But they may be called upon as specialists later in the process to give specific input.

De Vilhiers said this had been decided because it would have meant trade unions, business organisations and other interest groups would also have to be included, and this would have become unmanageable

Mixed security teams would also be a feature of tomorrow's meeting. A security committee has been set up which includes representatives from the ANC, Inkatha, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, among others

The parties also agreed in the statement of intent to leave a door open for parties that have refused to attend Codesa. It makes provision for participating parties to add items to the agenda for debate

Van der Merwe said the democratic principle of defending any party's right to debate and put forward proposals was being adhered to by Codesa in the hope that the CP, PAC, Azapo and others wanting to join still could, and have their proposals given fair treatment.

Medical
BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, Dec 2



ANC after billions for upliftment scheme

STAR 19/12/71
(117) (20)
S TAR 19/12/71
A drive to create a \$5 billion (about R14 billion) scheme for development purposes is currently being spearheaded by top ANC officials, including Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, with the project possibly coming into existence in the new year.

To be called the South African Trust for Equity and Development (Sated), it would disburse large amounts of money for housing, education and other socio-economic projects.

Sources linked to the project said it was designed to level the playing field by allowing the ANC similar patronage that is currently available to the National Party through the Government in the run-up to constituent assembly elections. Its board would be independent.

In an interview yesterday, Mr Mandela would not put a figure to the scheme, but in an earlier interview the organisation's director for international affairs, Thabo Mbeki, said the ANC was initially aiming for \$5 billion.

Full details were still being worked out, Mr Mandela pointed out.

"We do not have a constitution for the trust as yet, but have the principles of what it should be.

Expectations

"This trust would operate once we have installed an interim government of national unity," Mr Mandela said.

Sated was an initiative of the ANC and the Rockefeller Foundation's Peter Goldmark, he continued, but as it affected all South Africans, it would be independently controlled.

Mr Mandela, however, warned against the expectations of the people being fully satisfied.

The SA Trust for Equity and Development will not handle the whole problem of socio-economic development in South Africa.

"There have been distortions of the economy on a wide scale over the last 300 years. It would take much more than Sated to rectify these problems," he said.

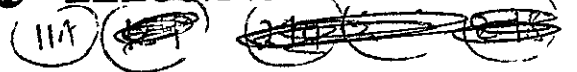
Mr Mbeki said in the earlier interview that the finance would come from public and private sources and would need to be "new money", rather than resources diverted from existing pledges to the African Development Bank.

The head of the local technical committee overseeing the trust fund is University of the Transkei rector Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu.

It is believed former First National Bank chief Chris Ball has been approached to be a director. — Sapa.

An objective look at mass action

STAR 19/12/91



DISRUPTION resulting from mass mobilisation can result in self-imposed sanctions, deterring foreign investment far into the future. This warning, from a senior academic in strategic studies, comes from the verbatim notes that make up a new book published by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

"Forum on Mass Mobilisation" focuses primarily on the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), and specifically the resolution by the MDM at its July 1989 Lusaka meeting, to strengthen mass action in order to control the pace and agenda of the negotiation process.

The tragedy, the book concludes, is that none of the major political players involved — the Government on the one hand and the ANC on the other — is capable of stopping mass action even if it wanted to. The Government, it seems, faults the ANC for continuing with mass action, which it sees as contrary to the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minute, while the ANC sees this action as a legitimate weapon to pressure the Government and to ensure itself a major role at the negotiating table.

The study is structured around interviews with several political participants, academics, police and journalists. These interviews are based on the same questions, without attempting to define "mass mobilisation", and each of the respondents gives his own interpretation of what it means. The book lists several incidents of "mass action", ranging from rent boycotts to consumer boycotts, disruption of schools and attacks on black councillors.

Using this method of presentation ensures also an objectivity — limited only by the selection of participants — which would otherwise be impossible in an interpretive documentation. It leaves judgment on the various issues raised to the reader, and thereby makes a practical contribution to the debate on the whole issue of mass mobilisation — an issue which will be with us right into the new South Africa, judging from

statements made by some of the interviewees.

Dr Anthea Jeffrey points out that the ANC had decided to make 1991 "the year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people", a resolution taken at the organisation's national congress last year. This action had resulted in local authorities being owed more than R1,6 billion in rent and service charges, while services in 23 townships had been cut off at various times over the year. Consumer boycotts had been called in several towns, for several reasons — but mostly because of the refusal by Conservative Party-controlled towns to grant permission for the holding of marches.

On the education side, there have been class boycotts throughout the year, including the expulsion of teachers — particularly principals — from school premises. Work stayaways have been called over issues such as the demand for a constituent assembly election. The institute points out that the last stayaway on November 4 and 5 (not included in the book itself), where an estimated three million people were absent from work, cost workers in excess of R200 million in lost wages, with the economy suffering substantial losses.

A senior State official is quoted as saying that mass mobilisation "will collapse the economic system. We want to build — not from a state of collapse — but from what we have now. It will also lead to a mass exodus of skills and entrepreneurship from South Africa if it goes too far."

A senior academic in strategic studies warns "Countries which are prone to this kind of atmosphere suffer from almost perpetual sanctions afterwards. This is best summed up in the phrase developed in Argentina, where they talk of 'self-imposed' sanctions: they went through a period of instability with mobs on the street — now nobody wants to spend money or invest there."

A spokesman for the Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal

(CAST) says that no single organisation is responsible for mass action throughout the country. The contradiction becomes clear when the spokesman says "we have suspended the armed struggle", clearly referring to the position of the ANC, and in the next breath says "we will not stop mass mobilisation, even under a new government."

"We will intensify mass mobilisation to get rid of apartheid. We do not trust the Government to get rid of apartheid without the pressure of the people who feel its pinch," he says.

On the question of intimidation and the role this plays in the success of mass mobilisation, the spokesman said. "The Government talks of intimidation. This is propaganda. Organisations do not initiate intimidation." And then, again in contradiction "It does happen however — some individuals who are not instructed by their organisations do this."

CAST's campaign to force the resignation of black councillors has led to the bombing of homes and killings. But the CAST spokesman says "This is not encouraged or authorised by CAST. But the council police use violence against the people and then the people resort to violence against them. We understand why people are using violence. We do not sanction it. But we also do not condemn it."

A spokesman for Cosatu says that "the whole history of South Africa in the last 20 years is one firstly of brutal repression of any attempts to engage in any peaceful protest and demonstration."

"What the South African state has done is to criminalise all opposition by the disenfranchised majority. So that various forms of action — now described as mass mobilisation — which sprang from concrete grievances which people were experiencing in schools, communities and factories, all these forms of mass mobilisation came to be seen as legitimate targets for State brutality: detentions, shootings, bannings, etc."

The ANC is, for its part, aware of the dangers of mass mobilisa-

tion deterring investment. A university researcher and member of the ANC said "The fact that the mass mobilisation will put off foreign capital is something which is inherent and well understood. We do not want capital to come into South Africa. This is well understood by the leadership and is part of the equation."

A senior police spokesman provides some revealing perceptions at that level, the most striking being the perception that "it is part of black tradition to settle disputes by violence", and "the Zulus are aggressive and war-like. We must take account of their history and tradition".

Another senior police officer believes that mass mobilisation is part of the armed struggle, and sees this in the context of a "people's war". "This is a war in which a liberation army becomes rooted among the people who participate in the armed struggle politically and militarily, including the possibility of engaging in general insurrection."

He argues that intimidation has to be viewed in the light of events since 1984. "Then there were widespread people's courts, necklaces, etc. This instilled a lot of fear. If someone now tells residents to march, they will be there. They fear what will otherwise happen to them, even if there are no necklaces and murders actually happening. It is not even necessary to make specific threats. The climate of fear has been created."

The book has responses on this, and other issues, from police, from Raymond Suttner, head of the ANC's department of political education, a spokesman from Inkatha, academics (two of whom are ANC members), the Government, CAST and Cosatu, and provides interesting — often conflicting — views on issues such as mobilisation, intimidation, the efficacy of boycotts and whether these organisations still have any control over events. □

● Forum on Mass Mobilisation, edited by Anthea Jeffrey, is available from the SA Institute of Race Relations at R26,20

Codesa will have say in law-making

STAR 19/12/91

By Peter Fabricius and Esmaré van der Merwe

In a far-reaching move, the Government agreed yesterday to give Codesa — the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — a role in drafting legislation to give effect to Codesa's decisions. **11A**

This critical agreement will give real teeth to Codesa's multiparty negotiations for a new constitution.

However, both ANC and Government sources stressed that this would not impinge upon Parliament's constitutional sovereignty as legislation would still have to be tabled and passed by Parliament. The breakthrough — a concession to the ANC, which wanted Codesa's decisions to have the force of law — was achieved after a day of hard bargaining at the Codesa steering committee yesterday.

Feverish activity to thrash out political disagreements and make final arrangements for Codesa continued yesterday.

The high-powered Commonwealth delegation arrived and the Codesa administration announced that members of the OAU and European Community delegations would start arriving today. The United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement are also to attend.

The commitment to abide by Codesa's decisions and to agree on a mechanism for implementing them will form a major part of a declaration of intent to be made by 19 political parties and homeland administrations at the first Codesa meeting.

The declaration will include a commitment to broad democratic principles such as multiparty democracy and an independent judiciary. However, it is understood that the Government

will make a separate commitment, phrased slightly differently but with the same meaning.

The declaration will ensure that Codesa — the most representative constitutional gathering in South African history — will launch the country irrevocably on the road to a new democratic constitution.

The steering committee agreement to give Codesa a role in drafting legislation to implement its decisions went a long way towards satisfying the ANC demand that Codesa should be more than just a "talk shop".

However, in an important compromise to the Government's concerns about its sovereignty being undermined, the steering committee agreed that the SA Government and the TBVC administrations would jointly draft Codesa legislation with Codesa itself.

Undivided

Detracting from the general mood of agreement between the parties, Bophuthatswana government delegate Rowan Cronje said after the steering committee meeting that his government would not be bound by any Codesa decisions which affected the homeland's existence.

It is understood that the statement of intent clearly spells out that South Africa would be a unitary and undivided country.

Government sources also made it clear that its commitment to abide by Codesa decisions was only made possible by the steering committee's decision that Codesa decisions should not lead to a breakdown of Codesa.

This will in effect give the Government — and the ANC — a veto right

And National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe stated clearly at a press conference yesterday that there was another proviso to the NP's commit-

ment to implement Codesa's decisions.

He said it was subject to approval by the white electorate in the referendum which President de Klerk had promised if major constitutional changes were planned.

Yesterday it was also agreed that the Government, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the IFP, the Transkei government and the Intando yeSizwe Party of the Kwa-Ndebele homeland government should be given joint control of the security force to protect Codesa delegates.

However, Government sources said a private understanding had been reached with the other parties that in the event of an emergency, only an SAP officer could give commands to other policemen.

The Codesa administration also released the Codesa logo — a rising sun against a bright yellow and red background — and said this symbolised "the dawn of a new era in South Africa's history".

The symbol was accepted as politically neutral, it said.

The administration also released the agenda for Codesa.

The meeting will start with an official opening by Chief Justice Michael Corbett, and then prayers, before co-chairpersons Mr Justice Piet Schabert and Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed take over.

The heads of the 19 delegations will make opening remarks, and then the declaration of intent will be considered.

On Saturday, Codesa will discuss its standing rules and the formation of working groups to discuss major issues such as an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The last item on the agenda will be the way forward, including the date and venue for the next plenary meeting of Codesa.

Inkatha delegation considers its position

Buthelezi pulls

out of Codesa

STAR 19/12/91

(11A) (11B) (11C)

A blow was dealt to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa last night when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced his withdrawal because of an impasse reached on separate delegations for the KwaZulu government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

However, the IFP will retain its participation in Codesa, pending a meeting of the full delegation in Johannesburg today.

In his statement from Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said the impasse, which arose during the final meeting of Codesa's steering committee, amounted to an insult to the dignity of the king and that he could not "endorse this by attending Codesa".

"We find it contradictory that his majesty the king, the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu Chiefs' Caucus attended the National Peace Convention with full delega-

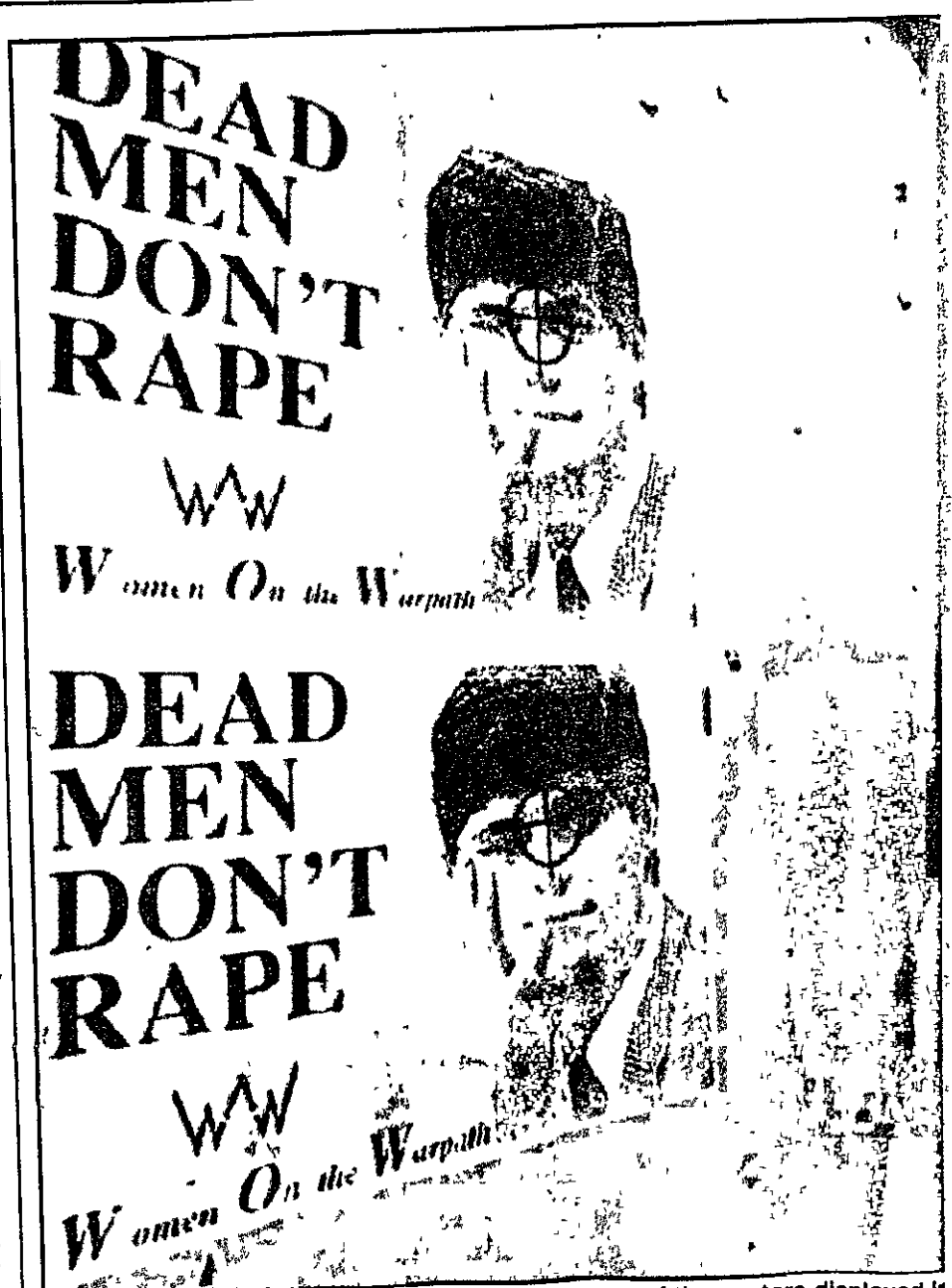
**More reports —
Pages 3 and 25**

tions, and this is now being denied them," he added.

The negotiations ahead would dispose of boundaries and rewrite the provinces and provincial boundaries and perhaps divide South Africa into a number of states for a federal or another kind of constitutional structure.

"The people whose boundaries are being altered must be a party to the discussion. This is not negotiable," Chief Buthelezi said.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Codesa's steering committee, said last night Chief Buthelezi's sudden withdrawal from the two-day gathering would not greatly harm the convention as a real national movement.



Deadly serious . . . one of the posters displayed in

Kennedy Smith rape trial spurs SA women on to the warpath

STAR 19/12/91

By Shirlev Woodgate (29M) about the crime," she said Jeanette Schmid said

and provincial boundaries and perhaps divide South Africa into a number of states for a federal or another kind of constitutional structure.

"The people whose boundaries are being altered must be a party to the discussion. This is not negotiable," Chief Buthelezi said.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Codesa's steering committee, said last night Chief Buthelezi's sudden withdrawal from the two-day gathering would not greatly harm the convention as a real national movement.

"It is well known that Inkatha has been seeking additional representation, and the fact that this was not awarded might have been expected to elicit negative reaction."

ANC media official Gill Marcus said last night that while the ANC regretted Chief Buthelezi's decision, the organisation hoped the IFP would retain its full participation in Codesa.

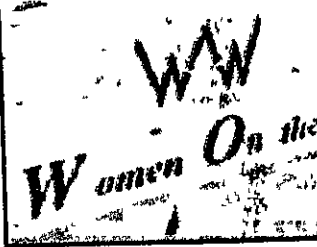
Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the National Party delegation to Codesa, said that although the withdrawal of Chief Buthelezi was a disappointment, he was confident the process would continue successfully and that Chief Buthelezi would eventually return to continue playing his important role.

"It is heartening to note that the IFP presence will continue and therefore I believe that this action is only connected to the issue surrounding the king, which could not be resolved in Chief Buthelezi's view in a satisfactory manner."

The Transkei delegation to Codesa was expected to have raised a storm should King Goodwill Zwelithini have been admitted to the forum.

Speaking in Umtata yesterday to brief Transkeians on several points to be raised at the convention, military leader and leader of Transkei's delegation Major-General Bantu Holomisa said Transkei's preparatory committee had raised the question of the king's admission.

"We want equal representation at Codesa. Should he be admitted it will mean that all our five paramount chiefs and kings from the other national states should be on standby to fly to Johannesburg for the convention," he said — Sapa



Kennedy S SA women

By Shirley Woodgate

"Dead men don't rape," says a poster that appeared in Cape Town's St George's Mall this week, following the acquittal of William Kennedy Smith on charges of sexual battery.

The poster, bearing his photograph with telescopic sight cross-hairs superimposed on his face, was produced by a group calling itself Women on the Warpath.

South African experts may disagree about the imposition of the death sentence for rape, but they were outspoken about the message conveyed to the public.

National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) Cape Youth Justice co-ordinator Rosemary Shapiro claimed all rape cases placed women on the stand to be judged by the public.

"We are light years away from enlightenment about rape, and these posters indicate the total frustration not only with the existing legal system but public opinion

Carols utter



Cliff Richard... more meaning in his lyrics

TELSTAR

Dial a dream

SACP (11A)
names team
for talks (11A)

Political Correspondent

THE SA Communist Party (SACP) yesterday named its team of 12 delegates and five advisers to attend Codesa

The SACP delegation, which will be led by its newly elected general secretary Mr Chris Ham, will comprise Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Essop Pahad, Mr Blade Nzimande, Mr Thenjiwe Mtintso, Mr Skenjana Roji, Mr John Gomomo, Mr Moses Mayekiso and Mr Nozizwe Madlala

The five-person backup team of advisers are Mr Raymond Suttner, Mr Gwede Mantashe, Mr Faku Ndamase, Mr Howard Yawa and Mr Dipuo Mvelase

In a statement issued after a meeting of its central committee yesterday, the SACP said it was going to Codesa because the party was committed to peace

"We support all reasonable efforts to secure lasting peace"

6 Huge debating pit an ersatz Superbowl with ghastly chandeliers

Political Editor SHAUN JOHNSON bets that some of the crazy political events in South Africa since February 1990 are not a patch on the preparations for the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Inside the hallowed hall

STAK 19/12/91 (11A)

DO YOU remember President de Klerk announcing the unbanning of political organisations at the very moment that unknown protesters marched on Parliament to demand the unbanning of political organisations?

Nelson Mandela being late for his own release?

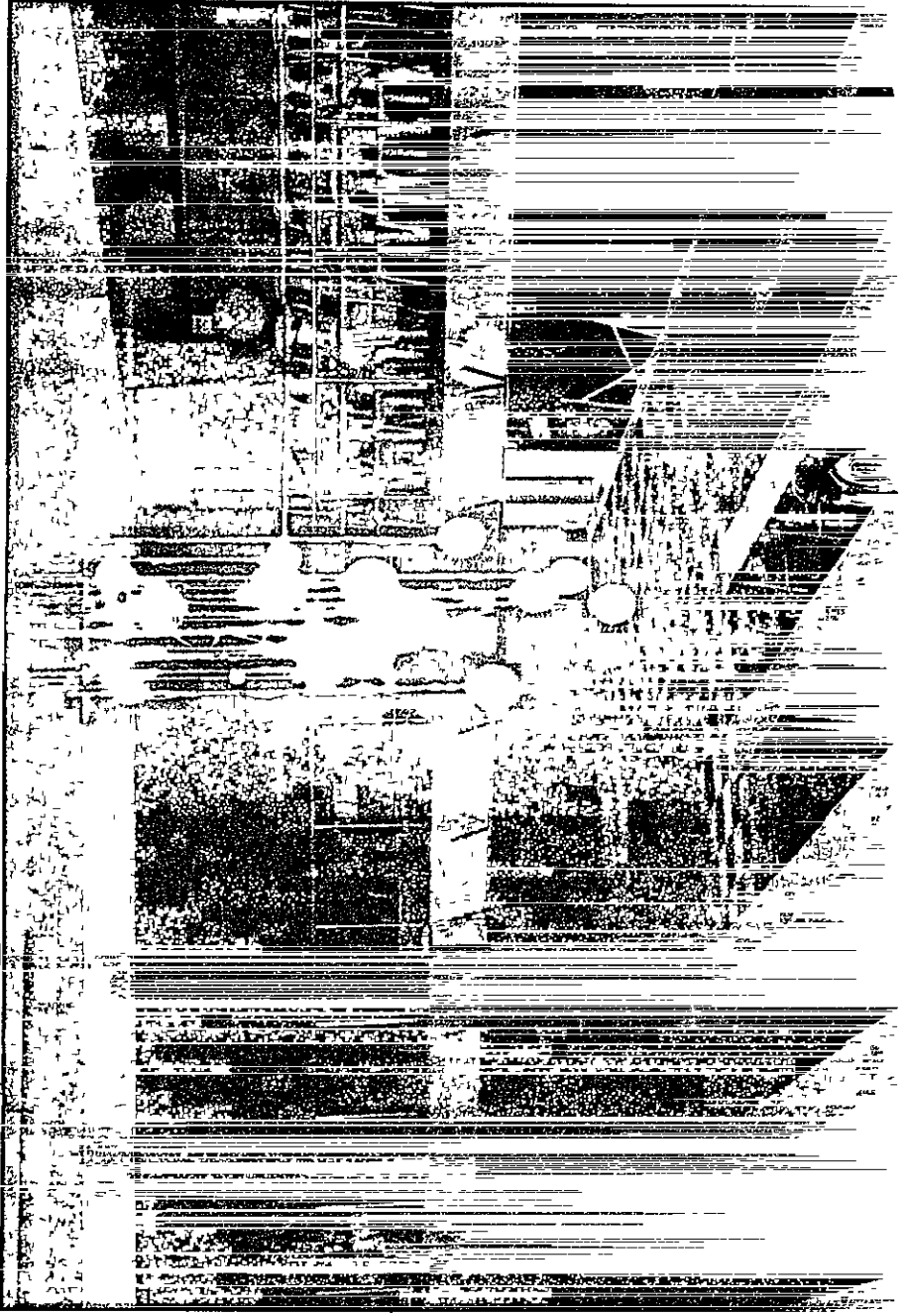
The President's son falling in love with a woman who was decidedly not of the folk? And so on? It's a crazy country we live in, we're a crazy people, and this makes for crazy political events.

But the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), which is an epiphany of sorts in the reform epic that started on February 2 1990, looks set to top all of these.

The future of South Africa will begin to be determined tomorrow morning.

The venue for this monumental occasion is an anything-but-monumental building within ear-plugging distance of Jan Smuts Airport; a building that looks like a Rainbow Chickens battery on the outside, and a low-budget version of the Sun City foyer on the inside.

It is a World Trade Centre that has seen precious little world trade, and this is its big moment. With less than 24 hours to go before the start of Codesa negotiations inside the



desa Security", "Codesa Administration", "Codesa Media" and "Codesa Site Managers" at work.

The big boys — the National Party and the ANC — have roomy accommodation, complete with sofas and, in the NP's case, an ethnic sculpture.

The Dikwankwela and Solidarity parties are not quite so fortunate, being stuck at the end of a very long corridor in rather less salubrious surroundings. Delegates' aides have entered into the spirit of the times a zealous Ximoko Progressive Party devotee has stuck a hand-drawn sign on his office window "Hi kombala nlela", it reads, "We show the way". And the XPP helpers are as good as their word, showing the way smilingly to the nearby Inkatha Freedom Party office.

The IFP office sports on its door a large poster of Chief Mangosuthu Buthe. Above the leader's portrait is a slogan "Come share the feeling". Below it is another "Come feel the thunder". The door is closed, leading the casual passer-by to eschew both invitations.

The South African Communist Party is situated uncomfortably close to the Ciskei government ("Ag, but this is what toendaring is all about," says a friendly SACP staffer) and the Transkei government is even.

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It is a World Trade Centre that has seen precious little world trade, and this is its big moment. With less than 24 hours to go before the start of Codesa, the scenes inside the World Trade Centre are extraordinary in the murky half-light one is confronted by figures teeming and shuffling around in amiable chaos.

Many of those one bumps into are recognisable ("Ah, there's Dr Viljoen, and Mr Ramaphosa, and Mr Rabhans) and many are not, although they speak importantly into two-way radios.

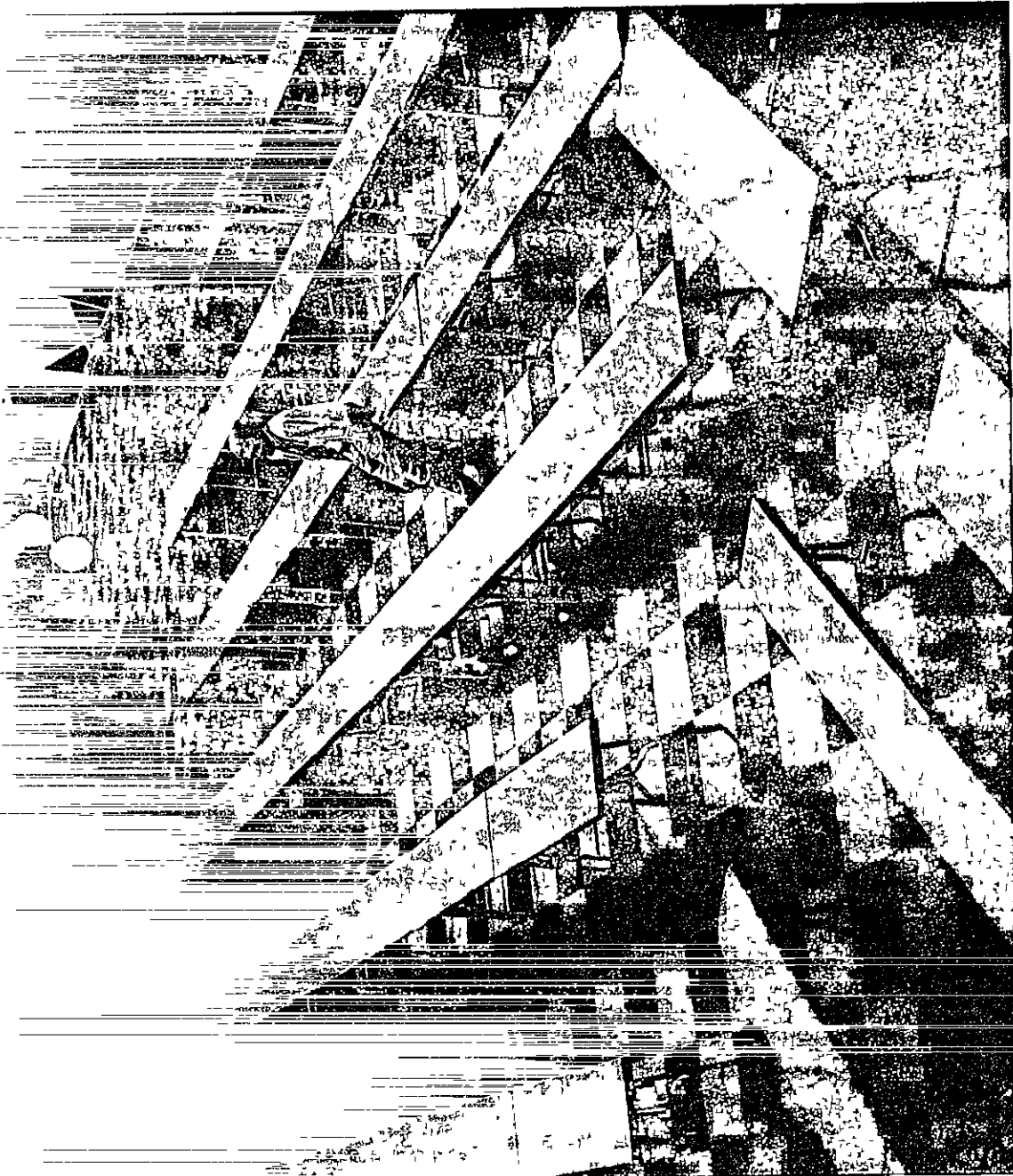
The aural backdrop is an interesting mixture of hammering, vacuuming, furniture-shifting and mumbled "leaking" from political figures to hovering journalists. A large South African flag, memento of some less momentous occasion, is being bundled into a storeroom with maximum noise and minimum ceremony.

The bulging within ear-plugging distance of Jan Smuts Airport, and complete with red-and-blue checked carpeting, this is the unlikely chamber in the World Trade Centre, where Codesa meets tomorrow.

Picture.
Karen Fletcher

Behind a pair of wooden doors which look surprisingly like the entrance to a lavatory, the steering committee under the chairmanship of Dr Zach de Beer is meeting. He is patient with those who enter by accident, with other business on their minds.

The focal point in the cavern-



The IFP office sports on its door a large poster of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Above the leader's portrait is a slogan. "Come share the feeling." Below it is another. "Come feel the thunder." The door is closed, leading the casual passer-by to eschew both invitations.

The South African Communist Party is situated uncomfortably close to the Ciskei government ("Ag, but this is what to endering is all about," says a friendly SACP staffer) and the Transkei government is even closer.

The mood is benign, however, with no signs of an immediate resumption of the Kei-versus-Kei wars.

In the canteen — which, as a colleague pointed out, is a fore-taste of the dining hall of the new South Africa's parliament — nationalists, democrats, communists and exponents of most imaginable political "isms" queue for appropriately unremarkable food.

The juke-box and pinball machine in the corner are in constant use.

The choice of music available is highly appropriate among the songs on offer are "Everybody Wants to Rule the World", "Many Rivers to Cross", "Change", and "I Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For". "With or Without You", another option, seems as appropriate a ballad for the PAC as could be asked for, and "Don't Stand so Close to Me" says a lot about current feelings between the IFP and ANC.

Murphy Morobe, the amiable and able man in charge of arrangements for Codesa, is unruffled. It will be ready by Friday, he says, and he will get a bit more sleep thereafter. He surveys the bizarre hive of activity with some pride and fondness.

The World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, is surely among the oddest locales ever chosen for a nation's date with its destiny. But it has its place in the history books now, and no one can take it away. □

The offices in between the boutiques have been fitted with thick black linen curtains, producing an effect not unlike that of Von Wielligh Street escort agencies.

The other offices, for administrators, are not so coy, and the passing observer can peer through the glass to watch "Co-

mused when asked for a list of her delegates to Codesa, but politely refers all inquiries to the office of Intando yeSizwe, cunningly located behind the lingerie. Nearby, a man with a computer is sitting in a shop window, surrounded by summer fashions, typing up a political press statement.

Off to one side, glass-fronted offices have been (and in some cases are still being) constructed for each of the 20 12-person delegations and their helpers.

To find them, one must negotiate one's way through several fashion boutiques, which still appear to be operating.

A shop manageress is be-

ing a labyrinthine complex is a gigantic debating pit, ringed by a viewing platform. It is rather like an ersatz Superbowl, red-and-blue check carpeting, and all ghastly chandeliers and all this is where the delegates will sit and make up their minds about the kind of country we are going to live out our lives

One big bantustan is the aim says Azapo

Sowetan 20/12/71

By MOKGADI PELA

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa was an attempt to increase the ranks of those who the regime could co-opt and turn the country into one big bantustan, Azapo said yesterday

Mr Lybon Mabasa, Azapo's projects coordinator, told a Press conference in Johannesburg that Codesa would not transfer power from "a white minority to a national majority"

He said the best Codesa could do was to

keep white structures intact "Our people are not fighting for inclusion in the system, but to completely destroy it and install a just and democratic order in the country," Mabasa said

Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said "The Patriotic Front constituted in Durban has collapsed as we predicted

"A true front of patriots must be formed not because the OAU or UN wants it, but because our people demand it"

11A

Pullout by PAC hailed

By JOE MDHLELA

THE withdrawal of the PAC from the "sham schemes sponsored by the Government" has given impetus to the need for the establishment of an alternative to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

This was said yesterday by Mr Nkosi Sehume, a publicity officer of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. Speaking from Harare, Sehume said the BCMA had always said it was not prepared to negotiate the "desirability of the transfer of power".

He said the movement had always maintained that the Government was a minority that it was both illegal and illegitimate.

"If such a government has undergone a Damascus transformation, similar to that which turned biblical Saul into St Paul, it should not find it hard to relinquish power and hand over to the majority," he said.

The BCMA would be prepared to meet the Government once this undertaking had been made, he said. He reiterated that such a meeting would have to take place outside South Africa under an agreed neutral convenor.

Sowetan 20/12/81

11/8

'Foreign observers needed'



FOREIGN observers were needed to ensure that universal democratic principles were adhered to during the Codesa talks, callers to the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show told DJ Tim Modise yesterday

Bonginkosi of KwaMashu said South Africa needed United Nations observers as they would determine whether or not sanctions should be lifted. International organisations given observer status at Codesa had helped black South Africans during their struggle.

Simiso of Katlehong wanted to know who invited the foreign observers and whether they were not interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state.

He said the pull-out by Azapo and PAC spelled doom for Codesa.

Tsepo of Berea said UN and Commonwealth observers were needed to ensure that if the interim government was formed it did not end up ruling forever. "They will be there to safeguard liberation movements in case of a log-jam," he said.

Steven of Dobsonville, Soweto, said American observers were needed to go back and start lobbying for reinvestment.

Victor of Secunda said foreign observers would have influence on cultural and economic relationship. "Their presence will also ensure that participants try to look good and impressive," he said.

Andries of Tsakane, Brakpan, said observers were just that so that no influence should be expected as they were neither monitors nor participants.

IFP confirms it will attend historic talks

Sowetan 20/12/91 (11A) (circled)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday confirmed it would attend and participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa today and tomorrow

The IFP was fully committed to the success of Codesa, national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said at a media conference at the World Trade Centre yesterday

He, however, placed on record the party's "profound scepticism" regarding the political significance of Codesa debates that would take place or solutions which would be reached in the absence of "relevant players", in particular Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini

He said IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to de-

cline his personal invitation to attend was supported by the IFP, as the king of the Zulus and his delegation had been snubbed

Mdlalose said the issue of the king's attendance at negotiations had been raised "long before the preparatory talks on November 29"

He said each time the issue was raised with the Government, it had given a clear statement to the effect that "there would never be opposition to it at all"

He said the issue had been raised at the November 5 meeting in Pretoria and it was not opposed then

"Despite these reservations, the IFP still stands committed in this historic occasion," Mdlalose said - Sapa

FRANK MDLALOSE

Who's who at the big talks

Sowetan 20/12/91

NATIONAL PARTY

Leader Dawie de Villiers George Bartlett, Hermus Kriel, Roelf Meyer, Jurie Mentz, Andrew Julius, Jac Rabie, Frnk van Deventer, Anne Rouiter, Peter Marais, Frnk van Heerden, Stoffel van der Merwe

SA GOVERNMENT

Leader FW de Klerk Pk Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee, Barend du Plessis, Sam de Beer, Rina Venter, Leon Wessels, Piet Marais, Tertius Delport, Abe Williams, Fanie van der Merwe

LABOUR PARTY

Leader Alan Hendrickse Miley Richards, Chris April, David Curry, Peter Hendrickse, Ken Lategan, Douglas Josephs, John Douw, Desmond Lockey, Wilham Whyte, Anver Essop, Godfrey Macalagh

SA COMMUNIST PARTY

Leader Chris Hanu Joe Slovo, Sydney Mufamadi, Ronnie Kasrils, Raymond Mhlaba, Essop Pahad, Blades Nzimande, Thenjwe Muntso, Skenjana Roji, John Gomomo, Moses Mayekiso, N Madlala

XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Leader Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi Mr EPP Mhunga, Chief CJM Hlaneke, Chief SDW Nxumalo, Chief MS Mubiaba, Chief ML Nkuna, Mr AE Nkondo, Mr KR Myakayaka, Mr DZ Mtebula, Mr SE Mathumbu, Mr EE Ngobeni, Mr BM Tlakula, Ms LB Kubay

CISKEI GOVERNMENT

Leader Oupa Gqozo Mr N Nqocantsi, Dr HJS Kayser, Mr LW Maqoma, Dr A Pretorius, Mr SV Ntshhe, Mr BR Tokota, Chief WP Zibr, the Rev Madikane, Mr M Webb, Mr LS Dorrington, Mr S Tanana

BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Leader Lucas Mangope Rowan Cronje, Ephraim Keikelame, Godfrey Mothibe, Tom Setloane, Gert Nkau, Clement Sehume Seroke Kgobokoe, Simon Seane, Itomeleng Mogamu, Jerry Reid, Schalk Pienaar

TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT

Leader Bantu Holomisa Mr AT Sigcau, Mr PZ Ndamase, Mr M Titus, Mr Z Titus Miss SN Sigcau, Mr P Holomisa, Mr M Nonkonyana, Mr LL Mtshizana, Mr G Zilwa, Mr LV Ntsubane, Mr N Bebeza

VENDA GOVERNMENT

Leader Gabriel Ramushwana V Landela, TG Ramabulana, KB Magwaba, SM Makhuvha, GM Ligege, E Mulaudzi, TA Mulna, M Ndou, MJ Mushasha, T Dau, M Mphaphuli

(UP)

SOLIDARITY PARTY

Leader JN Reddy I Omar, Y Moolla, K Rajoo, DS Rajah, K Moodley, PI Devan, L Chetty, N Jumuna, Y Makda, A Khan, AS Akoob

INTANDO YESIZWE PARTY

Leader JS Mahlangu NJ Mahlangu, VS Mahlangu, SJ Mgidi ES Masango, JS Mabena, N Mbonani, JS Mabona, MP Mahlangu, MS Mahlangu, C Mahlangu, JL Mahlangu

UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT

Leader Neilson Ramodike LM Mokoena, MJ Mahlangu MI Moroamoche, MC Ramusi, MJ Duba, EM Maswanganyi, NM Malekana, Richard Maponya, IKE Moloko, KA Mariri, R Ramontja

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Leader Zach de Beer Colin Eglm, Ken Andrew, Helen Suzman, Dens Worrall, Kobus Jordaan, Dave Dalling, Peter Soal, EK Moorcroft, Richard van der Ross, M Rajab, DW Gant

INYANDZA NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Leader MC Zitha. EN Ginmdza, SS Ripinga, DS Mkhwanazi, MS Gininda, PMH Maduna, MM Khumalo, EJ Mabuza, D Kunene, C Albertyn E Mabuza, GG Zama

INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Leader Frank Mdlosse Walter Felgate, P Satyadeva, DRB Madide, BS Ngubane, I Mars, ET Bhengu, SE Mzumela, Musa Myeni, Suzanne Vos, FX Gasa, E Barnard

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Leader Nelson Mandela. Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma, Thabo Mbeki Valli Moosa, Barbara Masekela, Joe Modise, Gertrude Shope, Alan Boesak, Marion Sparg, Peter Mokaba, Sam Shulowa

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY

Leader TK Mopeli RH Mopeli, LC Mota, DT Mokoena, TJ Mohapi, SOM Moji, SP Matla, JSS Phatang, RT Ramasia, MM Maekane, M Mopeli, MM Makhalemele

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

Leader A Rajbansi, D Govender R Panday, S Naidoo H Neerahoo, E Joosab, M Govender, C Naidoo, S Ismail, AS Pillay, AK Bheesham, DK Padiachey

The Codesa talks will be broadcast in full on I V1 tomorrow and on TV2/3/4 on Saturday. The SABC announced yesterday that transmission would begin at 9.45am and run until about 6pm. During the lunch break there will be summaries, interviews, special news bulletins and panel discussions.

There will also be full coverage on Radio 2000 on both days. News bulletins on TV1, 2 and 3 will have live crossings to the talks and, when necessary, radio news bulletins will be extended.

All day on TV

Bids to sway PAC over talks

11A
Sowetan 26/12/91

DELEGATIONS from the South African Council of Churches and the Commonwealth met separately with the Pan Africanist Congress in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the movements position on the negotiation process

The SACC delegations met for an hour before deciding to resume talks later in the day. The PAC officials left to keep an appointment with the Commonwealth delegation, in South Africa to observe the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which starts today

Yesterday's meeting was convened by the SACC, whose delegation was led by its general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane. The PAC delegation was led by deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke

"Church leaders have expressed concern, prior to last weekend's decision by the PAC not to take part in Codesa, that the negotiation process should include as many parties and groups as possible"

The PAC delegation remained defiant after a



MOSENEKE

three-hour meeting with the Commonwealth observers

Moseneke said the observers largely agreed



CHIKANE

with his organisation on why the PAC had pulled out of the Codesa preparatory meeting of December 8

Sapa

More about Codesa on





OPENING MOVES The cover of the *Sowetan/Vryeweekblad* quarterly report, *State of the Nation*, captures the issues and symbols that are at stake at the start of today's Convention for a Democratic South Africa. The sketch is by Jonathan Shapiro

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Now let it begin

Sowetan 20/12/91

11A *35A*

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa starts today after weeks of intense debate, accusations of deceit and treachery and last-minute withdrawals by leading parties.

Most significant of the absentees will be the Pan Africanist Congress, the Azanian Peoples Organisation and KwaZulu Chief

**By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent**

Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Others staying out are the rightwing political organisations such as the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

● To page 2

Watershed 48 hours

Sowetan 20/12/91

From page 1
However, the discussions over the next 48 hours are a watershed in South African politics.

It is the first time in the history of the country that people of various ethnic, racial, social and political persuasions are to sit down under the same roof with the single objective of creating a democratic political order in South Africa.

Political groups which have chosen not to participate have done so for political and ideological reasons. Commenting on the absence of a section of the

the Non-Aligned Movement.

The presence of these organisations at the opening meeting of Codesa will weigh heavily against the Government which will be led by State President FW de Klerk.

The Government was allowed to send a separate delegation from the National Party in an attempt to bind it, at least morally, to decisions taken at Codesa.

Today's meeting is seen by many as the inception of the new South Africa, but the PAC and Azapo view it as nothing more than a charade.

General said he wished Codesa success in its efforts to create a new order in South Africa.

"The Secretary General expressed his best wishes for the success of the convention and hopes that the goal of achieving a peaceful transition to a new democratic order will be reached as soon as possible," he said.

The United Nations has also sent an observer delegation.

Other international observers include representatives from the European Community, the Organisation of African Unity and

Codesa can never deliver PAC explains why it is frustrated

12/19/91 CJA
Soveran 20



DIKGANG MOSEN-EKE, deputy president of the PAC, details his organisation's stand on Codesa, and why it will not participate.

THE supporters of Codesa argue that Codesa is the only forum that can bring reconciliation, peace and democracy in a so-called new South Africa.

Many others hold that Codesa is a creation of the present regime, prepacked with political puppets to weaken the legitimate demand for majority rule and thereby ensure that the status quo remains unchanged.

Central to the struggle of the African people in Azania is the termination of white colonial racist domination, the reconquest of the land and the establishment of a nonracial democratic order free from economic oppression and social degradation.

The PAC has from time to time identified and implemented appropriate methods of struggle and, at this stage, has opted to retain them all.

On the political front, the PAC, in its congress resolution of December 1990, reaffirmed that it has no policy, principle or tactic which bar it from seeking a democratic solution. National Congress then dedicated itself to a democratically elected constituent assembly on the basis of one person one vote on a common voters' roll within a unitary state. This would be the democratic mechanism for the transfer of power from the racist minority to a democratic majority.

Our December 1990 congress further resolved on the formation of a united front in order to increase the fighting capacity of our people. This front would be led by the broad liberation movement. The Patriotic/United Front, financed and supported by the OAU, was then formed in Durban in October 1991.

It accepted the establishment of an elected constituent assembly as the bedrock of the Patriotic/United Front.

Other significant agreements arrived at the Front conference are that

"The most urgent necessity of struggle" was "transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole",

"The De Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate and

can homeland and tricameral puppets have a greater right to shape the political future of this country than worker representatives?

Dr Germit Viljoen was this week quoted as saying. "Codesa would have no constitutional or legal status. It was a coming together of political parties whose agreement would acquire no automatic legal status". He further said the regime would implement the Codesa agreements through normal constitutional channels. Clearly, Codesa is no more than a talk-shop whose agreements are subject to the approval of the present illegitimate racist parliamentary structure.

We in the PAC reaffirm our demand for a neutrality of convenership, chairpersonship and venue. Only internationally monitored, guaranteed and verified agreements, free from such blatant manipulation and veto by the regime, would be acceptable. A substantial role of the international community - and not as mere ceremonial invitees - right from the start of the constitutional process is absolutely indispensable.

The way forward for our liberation movement is to refuse to give legitimacy to a forum which is designed to frustrate our legitimate goals of liberation. We must consolidate the ranks of the oppressed through a viable Patriotic/United Front.

We must resist short-term and quick solutions in favour of a genuine process directed at creating a true democracy and capable of advancing the quest for liberation. The PAC is prepared to engage all interested parties, including the regime, in order to reach agreements on the modalities of a CA.

We are not prepared to be locked in processes such as Codesa which cannot deliver a CA, and more significantly, which are designed to frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle.

17th Lethu

"De Klerk's constitutional proposals are intended to entrench minority privilege",

"The holding as soon as possible of an All-Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly meeting, which shall be brought together by independent and neutral conveners, was necessary to prepare for a democratically elected constituent assembly", and

"The APC/PCAM shall find modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly "

The Front conference also agreed that the Front should execute all issues agreed upon at conference

Issues not agreed upon should be pursued in discussion until agreement was reached. If agreement cannot be reached the parties will continue with their own programmes on these issues. The Front also agreed that an interim government or transitional authority should be set up "in order to ensure that elections of the constituent assembly are free and fair"

The interim government or transitional authority's lifespan was seen as bound to that of the CA and not one which should be achieved without a CA

Can Codesa deliver, if not all, a substantial part of all these goals of the Patriotic/United Front which are also the minimum demands of the PAC?

Of the 20 delegations which attended the preparatory meeting at Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, 14 are homeland ruling parties, rulers of military juntas and tricameral parliament parties, two are the National Party and the SA regime; three are from the Congress Alliance (ANC, SACP and South African Indian Congress) and the PAC. The National Party, the regime, Inkatha Freedom Party and several of the homeland leaders and tricameral parties are dead set against the CA

It is not surprising. They do not, and have never had the support of the oppressed in this country. It will be remembered that at the preparatory meeting all of these opposed the PAC proposal that the CA be placed on the agenda of Codesa by name. Codesa will thus never deliver the CA

the decision-making mechanism of "sufficient consensus" is farcical and undemocratic. Does the vote of the 14 tricameral and homeland leaders constitute "sufficient consensus" against the NP or regime? By what fact, logic or principle does each of the tricameral and homeland parties enjoy an equal vote with any of the liberation movements?

What would "sufficient consensus" mean against our demand for a CA? Would the PAC and ANC - if they remain faithful to this demand - be bound by such consensus of the regime and its allies?

Would the NP and regime give legal force to the "sufficient consensus" in favour of the CA?

These questions, in my view, effectively expose the structural and procedural inability of Codesa to deliver a CA and our related demand for a transitional authority

The PAC proposal that Nactu, Cosatu and independent trade unions should be part of Codesa was rejected by all parties at the preparatory meeting, including the ANC alliance, through "sufficient consensus". How on earth

SALDRU STAFF, YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED TO WENDY AND VERNIE-:2&: "!!!!

NOTICE NOTICE NOTICE

Little room for women in Codesa

11A
Sowetan 20/12/91

WOMEN comprise an estimated five percent of the more than 400 delegates and advisers expected to attend this weekend's Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

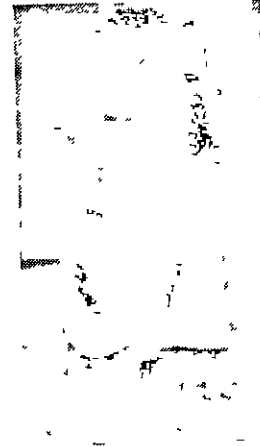
Twenty-three women will attend as delegates and advisers, but a snap survey has shown that women are in the majority as typists, secretaries and receptionists



RINA VENTER



THENJIWE MTHINTSO



SUSANNE VOS

High-level

The largest high-level female representation is in the Natal Indian Congress, which has sent seven women

The Inkatha Freedom Party has four women delegates, the SA Communist Party and the African National Congress three each and the Lebowa and Ciskeian governments one each

The Democratic Party and the Solidarity Party each have one woman as an adviser, while the National Party and National Peo-

ple's Party each have one woman delegate

The Government has Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter as its only woman delegate

The NIC's Natal woman delegate is Ms Ela Ramgobin while the Transvaal division has Ms Rehana Adam as an adviser. The NIC also has five other women on the Codesa sub-committees as decision-making delegates

Inkatha's four women delegates are Mrs ET

Mhentu, Mrs FX Gasa, Mrs I Mars and Mrs Sue Vos, while the SACP's women are Ms Thenjiwe Mthintso, Ms Nozizwe Madlala and Ms Geraldine Moleketi

The DP has Ms Dene Smuts as an adviser. Inkatha member Ms Denise Bjorkman will attend as a delegate for Ciskei, while the ANC's three women delegates are Ms Marion Sparg, women's league president Mrs Gertrude Shope and Ms Barbara Masekela

Both the Labour Party and the Bophuthatswana government do not have women in their delegations

Ms Mthintso, one of the SACP delegates, said yesterday she considered the near-total lack of women on the decision-making level "very distressing, quite shocking and typical of our patriarchal society".

Democratic Party spokesman -- Mr Ken Andrew yesterday also expressed disappointment at the low representation of women. - Sapa

NP may stall but ANC needs a quick accord

Spokane 20/12/91

11A

ACCUSATIONS, counter-accusations and all manner of posturing promise to make the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which convenes today the stuff great historical dramas are made of.

We can safely guess that many of the protagonists who will be staring at one another across the table, are finding it hard to sleep soundly at night

Many must be asking themselves how future generations will remember them - as the Tshombes of South Africa, as heroic liberators of their long suffering people, or, as larger-than-life figures but doomed from the start by the inexorable logic of a Greek tragedy?

Yesterday we identified two apparently diametrically opposed positions that have evolved during the past hundred or so years

These positions drove South Africa nearly to self-destruction during the past three decades since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960

On one side are the demands of the blacks that their conquest and the legacy of that conquest must be reversed To achieve that the blacks want to re-conquer the country, not by throwing the whites back into the sea, but by making the whites live like blacks, as equals in all respects

If that means sharing in the prosperity, well and good, but if it means sharing the poverty and the squalor, so be it

The whites, on the other hand, feel that everything they have, they deserve by right of conquest or, for the more thoughtful, by right of their ingenuity and hard work

They are willing to share political power with the blacks or even to surrender it provided that does not affect the material gains whites

CODESA

MOELETSI MBEKI, Cosatu's head of communications, writing here in his personal capacity, concludes his analysis of Codesa and finds hope that the historic initiative might well work.



made as a result of what took place during the past 100 years

These are the two core issues that Codesa has to resolve The matter of the interim government - or transitional mechanism if you wish - next month or next year, the matter of the duration of that interim government, the matter of the constituent assembly, and so on

All these are important matters for Codesa to talk about, but relative to the core issues, they are of secondary importance After all, the interim government and the constituent assembly are only means to an end - black liberation - they are not an end in themselves

Can Codesa solve this seemingly imponderable equation? The answer surprisingly is yes and the reason is not as complex as one might think

The delegates who are meeting at the World Trade Centre today are not the black people of South Africa and they are not the white people of South Africa notwithstanding the fact that some are black and some are white

The people who are meeting at Codesa are representatives of political parties and political parties are not identical with the people they

represent.

It is because political parties are not synonymous with the people that in theory, and practically, it is feasible for political parties to reach agreement while the people they purport to speak for continue to hold strongly opposed, even antagonistic, positions

When such a situation arises what becomes important is that the political parties must be able to persuade the people they claim to represent that the agreement they have reached is in their best interests This reflects the fact that political parties are relatively independent of the people they say they represent.

The degree of that independence is of course a matter that has to be constantly negotiated with the followers to ensure that the party does not become completely alienated from its supporters or vice versa This poses the interesting question of what are political parties That however, is another story we cannot go into here

That agreement can be reached between the political parties meeting at Codesa should not distract from the immediate difficulties,

especially those faced by the ANC and its allies in the current round of negotiations

Looking at the National Party/Government side first, it is clear that they are bringing into Codesa all their strongest forces with them Besides the NP and its government, there will be an array of players from the tricameral parliament and the bantustans who owe their very existence to the NP

What is more, the NP has by and the large manoeuvred itself out of economic, sports and diplomatic sanctions We can therefore expect the NP to play for time The longer the NP can string out the whole process of negotiations, the longer its supporters will enjoy their privileges

The NP and the Government are well practised in the art of playing for time After agreeing to the independence of Namibia with the United Nations in Resolution 435 of 1978, the South African regime obstructed the resolution's implementation for more than 10 years

The ANC and its allies are faced with almost exactly the opposite situation faced by the NP De Klerk and the Government have consistently refused to allow black trade unions to participate in Codesa This means that the liberation movement is actually entering the wrestling match with one arm, the unions, tied behind its back

To make headway at Codesa, the ANC will therefore have to depend more on its agility and cunning than on its brute strength

There are of course all sorts of bit players in between who have a multitude of agendas One thing one could perhaps safely predict about Codesa is that the participants will have plenty to tell their grandchildren

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis Newsbills by Sydney Mailhaku Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg

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Papers succeed where Codesa fails

Sowetan 20/12/91 (2/3) (3/3) (1/1)

WHERE Codesa has failed, the *Sowetan/Vrye Weekblad State of the Nation* report has succeeded

The summer edition of the quarterly report has been able to bring together disparate groups like the CP, Afrikaner Volkswag and Azapo and the PAC to express their views on negotiations

Its table of contents, based on the theme "Negotiating the Future", cut across the political spectrum

Former leader of the Opposition in Parliament, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, espouses the meaning of democracy and the likelihood that in South Africa "in its first few years go through turbulence and uncertainty"

The report tackles two of the key actors in the negotiation process through in-depth question-and-answer interviews with the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and the National Party's general secretary, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe

Moosa expects major areas of conflict in the negotiation process, especially in areas like an elected constituent assembly and a

timeframe for an interim government

Van der Merwe gives the assurance that in spite of eroding white support, the NP is committed to seeing "the negotiation process to its logical conclusion"

Soulmate

In an interesting encounter, *Sowetan* Editor Aggrey Klaaste and a colleague attempt to "beard" the Lion of the Waterberg, Dr Andries Treurnicht in his den

The interview results in a trip in a time machine back to the Verwoerdian years. Treurnicht promises to turn back the clock and reintroduce apartheid measures like the Group Areas Act

His soulmate on the Right, Professor Carel Boshoff, articulates an erudite and convincing argument for a separate state for Afrikaners, albeit removed from world realities

Boshoff promises that whites will not automatically become citizens of his "Volkstaat" and blacks will not automatically be excluded

Chopping at Codesa from the left is Azapo's Strini Moodley, who warns

organisations like the ANC that participation in the convention is like "going to duel with an unloaded gun"

Moodley avers that the only victor in the negotiations up to now has been the Government

Other contributors to the report are *Sowetan's* Themba Molefe who looks at the clouded future of the Patriotic Front, Raymond Suttner on the ANC's constitutional proposals, Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Inkatha's vision for the future, editor of *Die Patriot* ZB du Toit who calls on Codesa to disband and Barney Desai who outlines the PAC's constitutional ideas

On a different note, Professor Adrio Konig of Unisa says groups other than politicians should be part of shaping South Africa's political destiny

Seshu Chonco of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy looks at the proposals of all the parties and concludes that coalition politics is here to stay

The *State of the Nation* report is posted to 10 000 of South Africa's senior leaders at all levels of society

Hopes rise on eve of talks

IN a major coup for negotiations political leaders have slipped easily into the initial stages of a transitional government by agreeing to extra-parliamentary groups drafting legislation for Parliament's approval.

"It is far enough to say this is the first stage of a transitional government," Democratic Party leader and chairman of the steering committee of the Conference for a Democratic South Africa Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday

Priority

The new era was achieved yesterday - even before Codesa's official start at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park today - as 19 political groups and the Government prepared for two days of talks which will inscribe negotiations as the priority next year

"There is a deep commitment to the success of Codesa of all the parties," De Beer said, "and I would say that includes Inkatha, in spite of all the trouble"

He was referring to a dispute between the Inkatha Freedom Party and other Codesa members over a demand that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini be al-

Sowetan 20/12/91

'First stage to transitional government'

lowed to take part fully in the conference with his own delegation

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Wednesday night withdrew from the IFP delegation in protest against his king's exclusion as a separate entity. He said the monarch had been snubbed

In a far-reaching move, the Government gave Codesa and Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei a role in drafting legislation to implement Codesa's decisions

This crucial step effectively gives teeth to the multiparty negotiations, easing ANC fears of it lapsing into a mere "talk shop"

Both ANC and Government sources stressed that this would not impinge on Parliament's constitutional sovereignty. Legislation would still have to be tabled and passed by Parliament

The commitment to abide by Codesa's decisions and to agree on a mechanism for implementing them will form a major part of a declaration of intent which will be made by 19 political parties and homeland administrations at the inaugural meeting

The declaration will include a commitment to broad democratic principles such as multiparty democracy and an independent judiciary

The declaration will seek to ensure that Codesa - the most representative constitutional gathering in South African history - will launch the country irrevocably on the road to a new democratic constitution

Decision

Government sources also made it clear that its commitment to abide by Codesa decisions was only made possible by the steering committee's decision

that Codesa decisions should not lead to a breakdown of the convention

This will in effect give the Government, and the ANC, a veto right since Codesa could not continue without them

The steering committee overcame another problem yesterday by agreeing that the Government and five political parties would jointly command the security force protecting delegates to the convention

Command

The Government had wanted the South African Police in sole command. The ANC and other parties had wanted the Venda government to be in command of security outside the World Trade Centre - and the Transkei government second-in-command inside

The Government firmly rejected this position, arguing that only the SAP had the legal authority to arrest or shoot people should this become necessary

It was agreed that the Government, ANC, the SA Communist Party, IFP, the Transkei government and Intando Yesizwe Party of the KwaNdebele homeland, should be given joint control of security

The Government noted, however, that a private understanding had been reached with the other parties that in the event of emergency only an SAP officer could give commands to other policemen

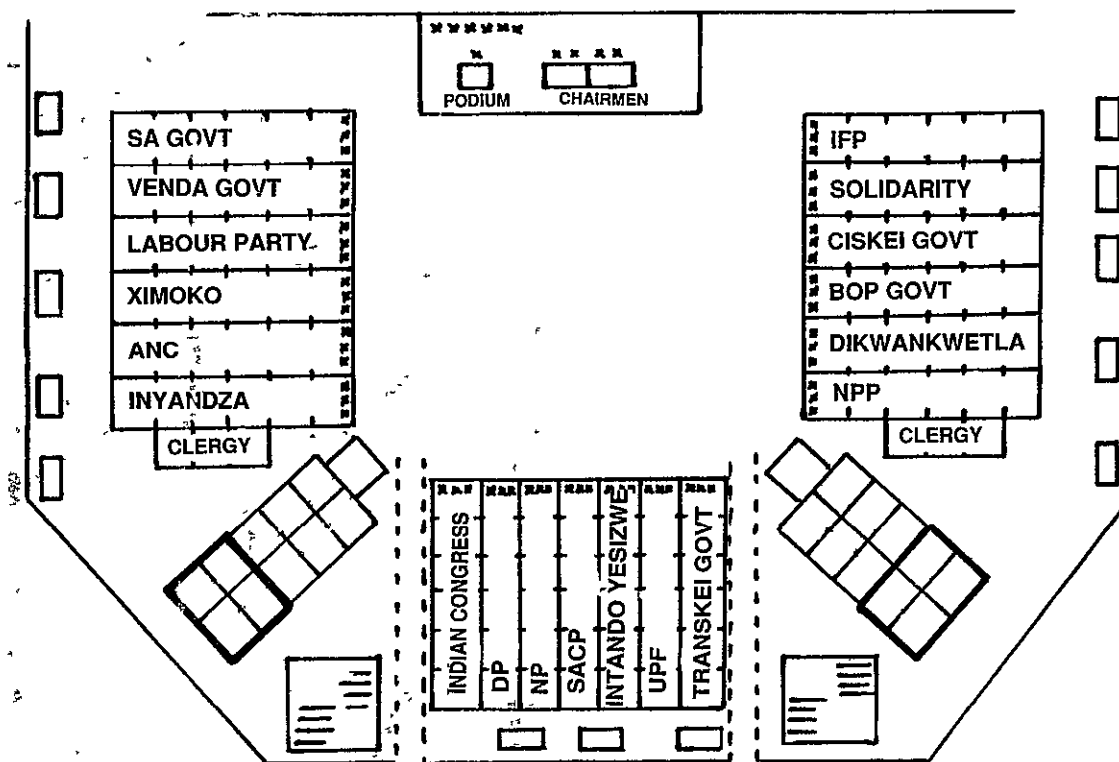
Codesa will start today with an official opening by Chief Justice Michael Corbett - South African Press Association

9th August, 1991.

Mr John Mzamo

CODESA

How and where they will be seated



still

in

This is the seating arrangement for political parties at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, Johannesburg.

NEW constitution is going to emerge today, nor will there be agreement tomorrow on interim rule. But the two-day opening meeting of SA's second national convention starts the final process towards achieving both.

Nor, for all the publicity focused on the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) is it going to be a public negotiating forum. Most of the decisions are likely to be taken privately in committees and endorsed in open session, some crucial conflict breaking debates may, however, take place in public.

Codesa is the beginning of a process so much so that this weekend's session is already being called Codesa I. More are to come next year.

The 18 organisations meeting in a blaze of international publicity at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park will be gathering for what is largely but not entirely, a ceremonial occasion.

Those parties accept there is no way forward except through the guidelines to be adopted over the next two days. They stand charged with the task of completing the job made possible by the reforms President F.W. de Klerk started last year.

The most important decision to be taken today and tomorrow will be the public acceptance of a declaration of intent. For the rest, most of today will be taken up with the delegation leaders making opening speeches.

Codesa will also consider its standing rules and the formation and terms of reference for the five proposed working groups.

The task groups set up at the preparatory meeting at the end of last month have moved with what one negotiator described as "breakneck speed" achieving agreement on almost all substantive matters.

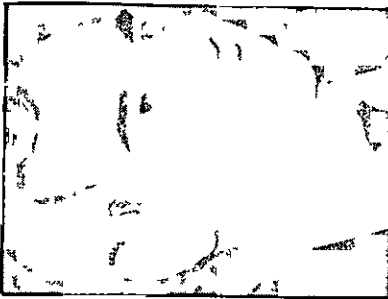
Much of the real negotiation work has already been done quietly behind the scenes. Significant agreements charting the course of the constitutional process have already been agreed. In drafting the declaration of intent. This is how things are likely to proceed, with all critical negotiations happening behind closed doors in the working groups with occasional public flourishes where decisions will be confirmed.

The most significant decisions taken by the task groups leading up to Codesa involved the declaration of intent and a set of standing rules for decision-making and negotiating

Codesa sets SA on an arduous course towards democracy

B. Day 2/12/91

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN



MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

The proposed declaration includes some broad constitutional principles to set SA on course towards a fully fledged multiparty democracy.

The draft declaration also includes a commitment from all parties to do everything in their power to ensure Codesa decisions are implemented. This means government is morally and politically bound to enact decisions where required. It also includes a more specific mechanism to give force to this commitment, by ensuring that a Codesa working group draws up draft legislation with government to give legal effect to decisions.

This was one of the ANC's principal demands its negotiators felt that after agreements were reached in

the past, government officials had interpreted them differently from the spirit in which they were agreed. The standing rules include a codification of the method by which decisions have been arrived at so far, providing a unique and somewhat vague definition of consensus.

The key to decision-making is "sufficient consensus" which the rules define as an agreement that allows the process to move forward effectively. Although negotiators are reluctant to be specific effectively there will be deadlock if the ANC, government/NP and a significant number of others do not agree.

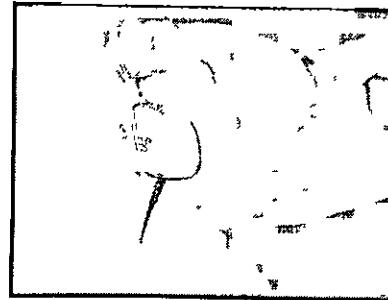
Should this happen the standing rules make provision for the chairman Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert, to withdraw so that the parties can engage in bilateral or multilateral negotiations which may include mediation and arbitration.

Failing agreement in the working groups the matter will be referred to the plenary session of Codesa, the parties will have to negotiate their proposals in the full glare of the media and more pertinently, the international community.

Parties hope this prospect will be sufficient to encourage compromise before they have to argue possibly untenable positions in public.

As significant as these decisions are, vast gulfs between parties still need to be bridged. But even here, the task groups have made progress, outlining terms of reference for working groups to continue the negotiations.

The major differences still to be resolved at this and future Codesa meetings include the type of consti-



MR JUSTICE SCHABERT

tution-making body that will be set up and what form of interim government should be established. There also has to be agreement on how long these bodies should take to complete their work.

It is at this point that the parties have elected constituent assembly members and rallying points. It is gradually winning over a broad body of support for this demand, and government will be hard pressed to avoid it. Government members argue that a constituent assembly would harden political positions, forcing parties to define constitutional proposals prior to negotiations

and so reduce the possibilities for creative give and take.

According to the ANC, Codesa should have a markedly shorter life than government members apparently prefer. The ANC wants Codesa to complete its work by mid-1992, after playing a similar role to the one the UN played in drawing up parameters for a new constitution for Namibia.

This would result in a package deal, including an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. The ANC contends that Codesa would cease to operate at this point, an interim government would take over with the objective of conducting elections for the constituent assembly and governing the country until a new government is elected.

Government wants the new constitution to be hammered out by the parties at Codesa sessions, with the convention to last as long as is needed to achieve this objective.

ANC negotiators emerged jubilant from the first round of secret negotiations this week, having won their major demands. This does not mean the rest of the process will go the same way.

While government and the NP have made some significant compromises at this early stage, they will have less room to compromise on their position later, resulting in much tougher bargaining. In addition, government has won an important concession through the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus: it gives them a virtual veto.

Parties like the CP and PAC are gambling on Codesa failing, or on their being able to shoot down its decisions on the basis that there is a grand conspiracy between the participants.

Codesa has left room for their participation but this appears to be a window rather than a door as by the end of its opening session, Codesa will have made decisions which contradict the demands of those who are boycotting its decisions.

The Union of SA was formed in 1910 after a national convention designed to forge reconciliation between Boer and Brit, it excluded black representatives. One of the results of that was the formation of the ANC in 1912.

The ANC is now present at a convention designed to forge a wider reconciliation and produce a constitution with wider legitimacy. Codesa's meeting today marks the end of one process and the beginning of another.

ANC trust's role explored

CAPE TOWN — A close working relationship — even a merger — between the ANC's new \$5bn development trust and a restructured Development Bank of Southern Africa was likely in future, bank GM Johan Kruger said yesterday.

He said there had been consultations between the ANC and the bank's executive chairman Simon Brand on the establishment of the new trust, to be called the SA Trust for Equity and Development (Sated).

The establishment of Sated has raised questions about the future role of development agencies such as the Development Bank and the Independent Development Trust (IDT). Duplication and a lack of co-ordination in the development sector has already been criticised by former auditor-general and Finance director-general Joop

(11A) 
LINDA ENSOR

de Loor, who recommended in a report on housing earlier this year that development institutions be rationalised.

The ANC is apparently discussing its view of Sated's position in relation to other development agencies.

"SA cannot afford too many development institutions because of the scarcity of manpower and lack of co-ordination," Kruger said.

Links between the two bodies are likely to be further strengthened by the fact that the proposed chairman of Sated's steering committee, Transkei University rector Wiseman Nkhuhlu, is also on the board of directors of the Development Bank.

□ To Page 2

8/10/91 20/12/91

ANC ^{6/12/91}

Kruger said if Sated were to become a permanent institution, rather than an interim body established to address SA's development needs in the period of transition, there definitely would be potential for duplication of the bank's work.

In that event Kruger foresaw that the two bodies would need to work very closely together, or even merge. A merger would be likely if the ANC became the future government as government was the major shareholder in the Development Bank, owning 84% of its shares. The TBVC states were also shareholders.

Brand has recently raised the prospect of reconstituting the Development Bank.

The bank was aware of perceptions of it being an "apartheid-linked" body and for some time had considered changing its control structure. However, it had been hesitant to do so until there was clarity on the outcome of the constitutional negotiations. Various options for restructuring the bank had been formulated, Kruger said.

The formation of Sated might create a potential for conflict over funding between

(11A) □ From Page 1

the different agencies. The initial aim is for \$5bn to be raised for Sated for housing, education and other socio-economic projects, areas in which the IDT is also involved. ANC president Nelson Mandela has said the scheme had received a favourable international response.

The ANC's announcement about Sated comes shortly after the IDT's postponement of its plans for a \$100m Eurobond issue, partly because of ANC opposition.

But an IDT spokesman said the IDT in no way regarded Sated as a slap in the face for its own efforts. He said SA's development needs were "colossal" and the IDT did not have any monopoly in meeting these needs. He did not foresee any competition for finance.

PETER DELMAR reports that the CP yesterday slated the planned trust, saying it was aimed at favouring the ANC over other political groups.

Deputy leader Ferdie Hartzenberg urged government to exercise greater control over "the financing of revolutionary organisations such as the ANC".

FM 20/12/91

THE TALKS



11A

When consensus is sufficient

Nelson Mandela wants decisions taken by the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) to have "legal force" Government has rejected the demand This is hardly surprising To accept it would mean transferring the sovereignty of parliament to Codesa, which — despite its multiparty composition — is even less representative of the people than the white House of Assembly. Codesa is not an elected assembly It is a collection of appointed debating teams

If the future were to be left to the leaders of the African National Congress and the National Party, working without the prospect of soon being accountable to a vast electorate, they would probably reach an accommodation rapidly and then happily get on with running the country There are far more points of agreement than disagreement between them and both are essentially conservative organisations

But both have broad and nervous constituencies to keep happy and neither can afford to give the impression that too much is being conceded to the other The ANC wants Codesa to be more than a talking shop, government refuses to share power without also unloading some responsibility If the ANC is terrified about being co-opted by stealth, the Nats are scared of an interim government by stealth

But however much they wrangle, the ANC and the National Party are the Siamese twins of negotiations This is

the real meaning of the Codesa concept of "sufficient consensus" If the big two agree, nobody else has enough weight or credibility to veto their proposals, if they disagree, the other parties simply cannot proceed without them

Despite the threats, neither the NP nor the ANC has any option but to press on The trick will be to maintain equipoise as they do so, to give the impression — as they huff and puff — that the rope being used in the tug-of-war is not moving too far either way at any stage

And this gives credence to the PAC's accusation that the ANC and the Nats are in some kind of deal together, though it may be unspoken and uncodified, and the less acute leaders on each side may as yet be unaware of it

Sometimes others see us more clearly than we see ourselves *The Economist* has pointed out that Codesa, with its 200 delegates, will be "a bureaucratic monster Without some agreement, however tentative, between the two strongest powers in the land, the monster will be able to do nothing but wobble at some point in the transition to democracy, the two giants will have to work as partners It suits neither to bring the partnership into the open just yet"

The point is that the partnership is in operation already It is threatened mainly by elements outside it, which are prepared to turn to violence ■

Some kind of beacon

FM 20/12/91
 (11A) (circled)



Joe Slovo, who was recently elected chairman of the SA Communist Party, is a leading strategist in the ANC's delegation to attend the Convention for Democratic SA (Codesa) this Friday

FM: What does the ANC hope to achieve at the first meeting of Codesa?

Slovo: The most important objective we must all set ourselves is that those who reach agreement at Codesa will undertake to be bound by its decisions. This applies more particularly to government itself because it will be an absolutely useless exercise if it ends up without any commitment that government will be bound by the decisions.

For the rest it's pretty obvious. The broad guidelines for a future SA that we hope will be contained in the declaration of intent — though it is not a constitution in itself — will provide some kind of beacon towards which to aim and will inform the follow-up work.

The statement of intent is being worked on by a task force. There have been a number of drafts which are being worked over. We hope that by the time Codesa meets there will be some kind of broadly acceptable draft that, of course, will still have to be debated.

What would such a statement encapsulate?

It can be no more than a broad declaration of the kind of vision of a future SA to which all parties tie themselves. It can't begin to spell out in any detail the modalities of how we're going to get there or the details of what's going to happen when we get there.

This is separate from the item "constitutional principles" on Codesa's agenda?

We don't want to negotiate the constitution at Codesa, that's the task of a representative body — a constituent assembly or whatever you call such an elected body.

There are going to be two tendencies — the one, that one senses will come from government and the National Party, will be to try to tie down this body to some kind of fixed provisions about the future SA. In other words, to try to transform Codesa itself into some kind of constitution-making body. We are going to resist that. We think there's only one ultimate constitution-making body and that's an elected body, whatever you call it. This doesn't mean there won't be room for tossing about broad objectives. But we are going to resist replacing the constituent as-

sembly with Codesa. **Mandela spoke (last Monday) about the demand for a transitional government of national unity. Can you see Codesa becoming that?**

Not at all. Codesa will have to work out the parameters for such a structure and obviously, for it to be given the force of law, it will have to be legislated for. And this can really only be done by existing legislature. Codesa has no judicial basis or powers. Its decisions depend upon implementation, in the first place by government. Codesa could work out the broad framework for an interim structure, but it would have to be given the force of law.

How soon before a decision is taken to set up an interim government?

The process envisages the first stage — December 20-21 — at which working groups will then settle down to see whether they can reach some kind of consensus and report back both majority and minority views, or consensus if there is consensus on any of these issues. So it's difficult to work out the precise time-frame.

But again, there's evidence, publicly at any rate, of different emphasis in regard to time-frames. Government has been talking generally about a 10-15 year period of transition. To us that's completely unacceptable. We're looking at a year to 18 months and a speedy end to the Codesa process itself so that its decisions can be implemented.

Does the ANC want acceptance in principle of a constituent assembly before you get on to the question of transitional government?

A transitional government is by definition one in transition to something. As far as we're concerned, it's transition to the election of a body that will finally determine the constitution. But it's obvious that such a body when it meets will not *ab initio* begin to debate the principles of the constitution. Between now and the time that it meets there will obviously have to be a negotiated process, so that by the time we get there, whatever gaps there are will be narrowed.

Where do you see the trade-off coming, or is President De Klerk simply negotiating himself out of power?

I'm sure that's not his intention and I'm sure he'll try his best (and he has announced it at NP congresses) that he will not hand over power to the ANC. That is his political objective. But whether he'll achieve that is not completely in his control, because if the process takes the kind of course we all agree it should take — that is, ultimately a sort of

democratic endorsement of the future — that must surely depend on what happens in an election.

But could a trade-off emerge over things like minority representation or economic principles?

We've got a general bias against Codesa trying to pre-empt the precise nature of the future of the SA economy. We obviously are open to accepting broad principles, like all dedicating ourselves to economic growth, to redressing imbalances, equalising the gap between races. But beyond that we're going to resist getting tied down so that this basically unrepresentative gathering of people determines the precise nature of future society.

Our position on questions of private property, market mechanisms, minority parties and so on are public and clear. We've got a Bill of Rights that does safeguard the interests of individuals and, by implication therefore, the interests of minorities as well. We've accepted that there'll be a role for the market, a mixed economy.

Beyond this we don't see Codesa settling down to commit itself to the precise way in which all of these objectives will be achieved.

Will the ANC concede a place in an upper house, say, for all parties with "significant support"?

However you clothe it, the ANC, I believe, will not concede an arrangement that in effect will give minorities the right to veto on fundamental questions.

Would you comment on the PAC's decision not to attend Codesa?

It's very mistaken. One hopes they will see their way clear as this process continues not to isolate themselves from the future, which is what they're doing.

Do you foresee an ANC government in place within two years?

It's not an unreasonable projection. If there's an election in the next two years, I've no doubt the ANC will win a majority. Which doesn't imply that it will ride roughshod over even minority political groupings. It might well be considered in the interests of the post-transition period to try to create a broader consensus than just a single party monopolising all levels of power and government.

But that's a different question that has been answered by agreement and negotiation. It mustn't be by some provision which forces you into coalitions or governments of national unity.

Political Editor Shaun Johnson on an early estimate of how the parties will fare

Who'll be who in Parliament?

STAR 20/12/91  (11A)

YOU know the transition process is in full swing when analysts start predicting, in precise figures, the composition of the new South Africa's first Parliament.

This is the stage we have now reached — and the first detailed attempt at non-racial electoral number-crunching will not please the likes of the National and Inkatha Freedom parties.

As delegates scurry through the cavernous halls of the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg, ready to take their seats at today's historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa, they do so with unspoken but common purpose. Each hopes fervently that, after the series of Codesas, they will be rewarded by the electorate with a seat in parliament or a constituent assembly. Will their hopes be realised?

According to the calculations of Logan Naidu, a prominent Dur-

ban-based professional consultant, the answer for a great many of them is no. Drawing on a Development Bank of Southern Africa report on voter estimates, as well as a June Marknor poll and other sources, Mr Naidu has played prophet and come up with a breakdown of party support in a putative constituent assembly. It makes for fascinating reading — although it should obviously be approached with extreme caution due to the arbitrary assumptions any analyst must make, and the volatility and variability inherent in transitional politics.

Mr Naidu proceeds from the basis of the Development Bank estimate of the total number of voters in South Africa (that is people over the age of 18) as of last year. That figure is 17 319 120. In terms of the old-style South African racial breakdown, he divides this up as follows: 13 800 000 Africans, 1 500 000 whites, 1 300 000

coloured people and 642 000 Indians. This gives Africans just more than 80 percent of the vote, whites nearly 9 percent, coloured people a touch more than 7 percent, and Indians a little less than 4 percent.

Assuming a 50/50 split in the African voting population between urban and rural areas, and using available opinion polls, he foresees the following levels of support for existing political parties, expressed in actual votes (percentages in brackets):

African National Congress 8 609 000 votes (54,2 percent)
National Party 3 632 000 (22,87)
Inkatha Freedom Party 694 000 (4,37)
Pan Africanist Congress 630 000 (3,97)
Azanian People's Organisation 630 000 (3,97)
South African Communist Party 630 000 (3,97)
Democratic Party 482 000 (3,04)

Conservative Party 315 000 (1,98)
Labour Party 130 000 (0,82)
Solidarity 64 000 (0,4)
National People's Party 64 000 (0,4)

Then assuming, for purposes of the exercise, that a constituent assembly comprises 200 members, and that parties attracting less than one percent of the overall vote do not qualify for representation, Mr Naidu converts these figures into seats for each party as follows:

African National Congress 110 seats
National Party 47
Inkatha Freedom Party 9
Pan Africanist Congress 8
Azanian People's Organisation 8
South African Communist Party 8
Democratic Party 6
Conservative Party 4
This would mean that no single

party enjoyed a two-thirds majority, but clearly if alliances were constructed the ANC could theoretically achieve this level of control — subject to the co-operation of the PAC and Azapo. The CP would be marginalised, and the DP would have to choose an alliance to increase its influence.

An NP/IFP alliance would be significant, but a minority one nevertheless. Mr Naidu concludes that on the level of pure voter support, "there is only one 'major player' in South African politics — the ANC".

Mr Naidu's prognosis is, like all similar attempts at political crystal ball-gazing, subject to a great deal of scepticism. For example, he has had to estimate rural votes himself — no reliable surveys being available — and he has not included any homeland-based parties, save Inkatha. He has not al-

lowed for the formation of new parties.

Moreover, he is even more vulnerable given his clear personal predilection for the (ANC/PAC) policy of constituting a constituent assembly to negotiate a constitution, rather than arriving at such a result in pre-electoral negotiations. He can therefore be accused of being biased from the outset, and manipulating the figures in order to make the political point that the NP and others are opposing a constituent assembly because they realise the extent to which they will be outnumbered.

This said, however, his exercise is pioneering, thought-provoking — and certainly the first of many. It is also a sign of how quickly South Africa is moving towards a more "normal" brand of politics: party political opinion polls and the extrapolations that go with them are an inevitable adjunct of inclusive democratic systems. □

The man behind the scenes

STAIR
20/12/91
(117)
GUP

Former UDF activist Murphy Morobe is "Mr Codesa" — the man charged with organising the historic negotiations now under way. He talks to political reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

ONE MAN surveying today's Codesa meeting with pride and relief is the ANC's Murphy Mafison Morobe, as he has carried Codesa's organisational can for the past two weeks.

It is quite a change of role for Mr Morobe, a former Robben Island prisoner, UDF activist and escaped detainee. From an office in the World Trade Centre he has co-ordinated arrangements for one of the most complicated political gatherings ever staged in South Africa.

His surprise appointment to the job came after a two-day meeting of the Codesa steering committee early last week.

His responsibilities included overseeing the setting up of an infrastructure to prepare for Codesa, and overseeing the deliberations of the crucial preparatory committees.

Mr Morobe (35), born in Orlando East, Soweto, became deeply involved in student politics, eventually becoming deputy president of the Soweto Students Representative Council.

He was one of 11 people found guilty of sedition in 1979 and sentenced to seven years' jail.

When he was released in 1982 he worked for the General and Allied Workers Union, and the following year was involved in the formation of the UDF, an organisation he was later to serve as acting publicity secretary for a number of years.

He was active in the formation of youth congresses in 1983, and represented the UDF on various platforms abroad as well as co-ordinating its One Million Signature Campaign.

Mr Morobe and two others made world headlines in 1989 when they escaped from prison and took refuge at the US Consulate in Johannesburg.

Describing himself as "an eternal optimist", the father of two says he is confident that Codesa will be successful. □

Weekend celebrations to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) again highlighted the difficulties involved in creating a defence force for the new SA

MK chief of staff Chris Hani (recently elected general secretary of the SA Communist Party) insists that the organisation can't simply be swallowed up by the SADF. In an attempt to avoid this, MK personnel are due to attend conventional army training courses in India. On the other hand, senior SADF officers have repeatedly insisted that the two forces won't simply merge. Suitable members of MK will be recruited and retrained.

Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said last week that the SADF needed to be repositioned as a symbol of nationhood. At a function in Durban he contended that the SADF was apolitical, professional and not open to party-political interference.

The ANC disputes this view and has repeatedly accused the SADF of acting like the military wing of the NP. But MK, according to Hani (who is to relinquish his post as chief of staff once a replacement is decided), is not a private army but a "people's army".

For the time being constitutional talks will dominate the agendas of both the ANC and government. The future defence force will be dealt with later.

In a recent paper published by the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, Laurie Nathan, author on war resistance in SA and a critic of the SADF, says the "new defence force will probably be dominated by white SADF officers. A kind of dual power may exist after apartheid with formal political power held by the ANC while the military and police institutions effectively remain in the hands of the incumbent security establishment".

In contrast to Zimbabwe and Namibia, where the numerical strengths of the opposing armies were about equal, the SADF is "generally regarded as the most formidable force in Africa". He says it is estimated to have an active force of 77 400 and reserves of 425 000.

MK on the other hand is "a comparatively ill-equipped and ill-trained guerrilla army" which some analysts estimated to be 10 000-strong. Those analysts will presumably have

revised their estimates after the pathetically small turnouts (fewer than 100 in total) at three MK "parades" over the weekend.

In interviews in Lusaka, MK members told Nathan they did not see themselves as career soldiers and did not expect to join a post-apartheid defence force.

Nathan says that in spite of MK attempts to address the imbalance between its capabilities and those of the SADF, through more sophisticated foreign training, it was likely that MK soldiers would be absorbed into the SADF after apartheid.

"Some of these soldiers may be placed in top posts in the new defence force for political reasons, but for practical reasons most of the senior and middle positions will be filled by white SADF officers with the skills and



Hani



Meyer

experience to manage a large and complex organisation".

Such an arrangement could also pay political dividends for the current government. Quoting Canada-based SA-watcher Herbert Adam, Nathan says in return for giving up political control, Afrikaner nationalists are likely to insist on a "security fallback" in case constitutional guarantees are violated.

Nathan concludes that the new government's overriding consideration in restructuring the defence force may be the need to avoid antagonising the white officer corps — "to ride the tiger without ending up inside her".

The military establishment's hand will obviously have been strengthened by the weekend's evidence that MK exists almost entirely in the minds of ANC propagandists. ■

THE TALKS

FM 20/12/91

No turning back now

11A ~~11A~~

The obstacle created by ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand that decisions of the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) should automatically become legally binding — and which government in the shape of Gerrit Viljoen quickly rejected — is more apparent than real

Addressing an Umkhonto we Sizwe rally on Monday, Mandela's remark was a classic example of position-bargaining before the first Codesa meeting this Friday, when par-



Mandela decisions of Codesa should be law

ties will start getting into the meat of the negotiations (see *Face to Face*)

The issue of "implementation of decisions" was, after all, placed on the agenda at the multiparty preparatory meeting at the end of November

There will doubtless be many more examples of the major parties stating their maximum positions to the faithful — only to have them inevitably watered down in the bargaining process

In any event, close reading of Viljoen's response to Mandela's demand smacks a little of hair-splitting, or talking at cross purposes. Viljoen, who was disappointed at the "insensitive and inopportune" way in which Mandela had made public this sensitive matter, reportedly said that to acquiesce in the ANC demand would indirectly amount to suspending the constitution and creating a vacuum

Legal implementation of Codesa decisions, the Minister added, would have to take place according to the normal constitutional route — that is through parliament and the organs of government. Viljoen observed that Codesa had no legal status

All of which is perfectly well known to the ANC — as Joe Slovo, for example, has acknowledged to the *FM* (see page 30)

In reality, what Viljoen rejects is the notion that decisions of the convention should automatically become law, not that they could (and some of them will have to, at some stage, if they're to have any meaning)

"Obviously, where parties agree at Codesa, this would imply that as far as it is in their power, they will implement them through the proper legal and institutional channels," said Viljoen. "But it is inconceivable that they can automatically acquire legal or binding force"

This is stating the obvious — but the game has to be played on two sides. The ANC sets out its position, even if it knows in advance that its demand will be rejected — and that this rejection will not result in its withdrawal from the talks. Government knows all this — but it must also go through the motions of explaining why it rejects the ANC's position

If Viljoen had been silent after Mandela's statement, this might have been construed as evidence of a shift in government's position

Noting that the issue was already being discussed in committee, Viljoen was confident that a compromise would be found

The irony of Mandela's demand is that it would effectively transform Codesa into an interim government. That's something government would like — and the ANC says it wants to avoid

The major political players are now in the fourth and final stage of a process that was identified by Frederik Van Zyl Slabert

Some years ago Slabbert set out the process in the form of a mantra, reflecting the dominant demands in radical opposition politics: "Unban, release, dismantle, negotiate". Without this, he argued, peaceful reform would not be possible

Now organisations are unbanned, leaders have been released from prison, apartheid

laws are largely dismantled — and the talks are under way

The process is now surely irreversible ■



Viljoen the normal constitutional route

We reaffirm our decision - PAC

STAR

20/12/91.

11A (20/12/91)

After meeting for more than an hour with the Commonwealth Observer Delegation yesterday, the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) confirmed its decision not to attend Codesa

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke warned that his organisation would start campaigns which would de-

stroy Codesa

He added that the PAC had explained its position to the delegation

"They understood some of our views, but feel that these views should be put to Codesa."

Mr Moseneke said this was not possible with the Government and the ANC "dead set" against

a constituent assembly.

Besides, Mr Moseneke explained, Codesa was a prepacked forum with the National Party and ANC and their affiliates, including the unrepresentative homeland delegations, predominating at the proceedings

Last minute attempts by a church delegation lead by SA Council of

Churches general-secretary Dr Frank Chikane to persuade the PAC to rejoin Codesa have also apparently failed

In a statement released after talks with the PAC, the SACC "expressed sorrow" at the breakdown of Patriotic Front co-operation - Staff Reporter and Sapa

Talks a betrayal of workers - Azapo

(11A)

Sowetan

21/2/91

THE highly publicised preparatory meeting of the all-party conference was a crucial step in the betrayal of working-class interests, Azanian People's Organisation executive member Mr Enos Nephawe said at the weekend

Nephawe was speaking to several hundred Azapo members at Sibasa, outside Thohoyandou in Venda

He said the final outcome of negotiations "will be the sharing of political rights"

"Political freedom is not enough for the millions of disadvantaged black workers who have been ruthlessly exploited through the capitalist system"

Nephawe was applauded when he echoed the organisation's policy of non-collaboration "with the Government and its creations".

He said that was the main reason Azapo was not part of the so-called "Patriotic Front"

Azapo, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging refused to attend this past weekend's preparatory talks about negotiations

Lashing out at the Press, Nephawe said "The liberal Press is going out of its way to create an impression that the only progressive thing to do was to enter into talks with the Government

"As if they care about Azapo, the Press warn us that we will be marginalised if we shun the negotiations

"The truth is that to negotiate under the present conditions is to betray our people and to legitimise economic exploitation"

- Sapa

11A 2/11/2/91

When ANC will reveal arms caches

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC would reveal its arms caches once an interim government was in place, Umkhonto weSizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said last night.

He was speaking after President F W de Klerk's attack on MK at Codesa and Mr Nelson Mandela's stinging response.

Mr Hani, who is also the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, accused Mr De Klerk of trying to use Codesa for party political gain.

"It was wrong, it was in bad taste, for De Klerk to raise this issue at the Codesa confer-

ence, because he knows our position. "We will immediately sit down with an interim government to devise the best possible methods of joint control of those weapons. "You must remember that ultimately those weapons, including the arsenal of the SADF, will be handed over to a new South African army once there is a democratic government in place in SA," Mr Hani said.

"This position has been stated several times, and there will be no way the ANC will hand over arms or disband Umkhonto weSizwe until we have reached a situation

where we are not ruled by the National Party government." Mr Hani denied that MK's arms caches were a threat to the government, and said they were in "very safe" hands.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Mr Hani said the ANC would "push strongly" in the new year for the merging of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) with the SADF.

Mr Hani told the Cape Times that the talks between the ANC and the government had not yet produced any commitments from the government

"But we will continue to push hard for the integration of all armed formations in the country," he said.

Earlier, Mr Hani told a press conference called by the SA Communist Party that the integration of the country's varied fighting forces was a complex problem but the process was "inevitable".

He said the time was approaching when the armies of the state, the ANC, the PAC and the homeland governments would have to sit down together to resolve the problem. — Political Correspondent and Sapa

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F W, Mandela clash over disarming of ANC

STAR 21/12/91

IT WAS unacceptable for State President de Klerk to insist that the African National Congress hand over its arms to those regarded by the people as responsible for the ongoing massacres, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference after the first day of Codesa, he said that the perception still existed among blacks that innocent people were being murdered by elements in the security forces

"No political organisation can commit suicide as he (Mr de Klerk) is recommending," he said

Mr Mandela said death squads continued to prowl the country and the right-wing was arming itself

"It is therefore unacceptable for him to insist we hand over our arms to those regarded as responsible for the massacres"

Mr de Klerk's remarks at Codesa had been unaccept-

able, as he had raised issues which were unresolved and were the subject of ongoing bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC

Asked if Mr de Klerk's actions would affect their relationship, Mr Mandela said "The incident occurred, it is past and I have forgotten about it"

Despite the acrimony, the ANC agreed to sign the declaration of intent drawn up by Codesa.

Mr Mandela revealed that it had agreed to do this despite reservations by the national working committee of the ANC.

He said the NWC had wanted him to insist on an amendment proposing that all political parties and the Government should give legal effect to decisions taken by the convention

"Mr de Klerk persuaded me not to press this demand," he said — Sapa

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Thabo Mbeki urges LP: Let's walk same road

S/Times 29/12/91
11A

THE ANC and the Labour Party yesterday signalled their willingness to enter an alliance.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC Foreign Affairs chief, told about 1 500 delegates at the Labour Party's 26th annual conference in Durban yesterday that his message had been dictated to him by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He said Labour and the ANC should walk the same road as they were on the "same side", having signed the National Peace Accord, the Codesa Declaration of Intent and having been co-founders of the Patriotic Front conference.

By Norman West: Political Reporter

The ANC and the LP are also both committed to an interim government and an elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution for South Africa. Indicating that his differences should be discussed in a new joint attempt to arrive at a new South Africa, Mr Mbeki said in the past the ANC had been called "terrorists" and "communists" and the LP, for participating in the tricameral parliament, had been called "sell-outs" and "puppets".

But this morning the congress will be called on to take that decision — already anticipated by Mr Mbeki in his address.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe, last a letter apologising for it at a meeting, saying he had not expected when he accepted an invitation to address the congress that he would be occupied with a "serious crisis" involving the exclusion from Codesa of King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu nation.

His speech was read out by Dr BS Ngubane, a member of the Inkatha central committee member.

● Another serious matter facing Labour today is questions about the R500 000 that auditors could not trace in the party's books.

On Friday, the party's finance and administration committee met behind closed doors to discuss the financial report to be tabled this morning by treasurer Douglas Josephs,

MP for Riversdale and deputy chairman of the House of Representatives. Sources said there was a fierce verbal clash between senior party members over cash shortfalls, including a disputed cheque for R20 000.

The committee, which comprises the party's leadership, including the treasurer and administrative secretary, later decided — after fierce argument — to withhold the auditor's report at today's session of the congress and to present to the delegates a watered-down treasurer's report without any reference to the missing money.

Assets

According to the auditor's report, Labour's balance sheet should reflect assets of at least R1-million.

Instead it shows assets valued at R562 000.

There is also no account of cheque No 053, for R21 860.39, drawn on January 30 this year, plus another cheque for R6 800 (No 2121), sources told the Sunday Times.

Only the members of the finance and administration committee knew about this, the sources added.

Sharp

He said Labour and the ANC had "redefined our relationship" and both bodies had to strive towards achieving a new constitution "within two years or less".

It was therefore imperative to set aside sectional interests.

Yesterday's opening address by Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in which he indicated a decision would have to be taken today on an alliance with the ANC, sparked sharp debate.

Most delegates who



NICE TO SEE YOU ... Allan Hendrickse greets NPP leader Ramzansi at the Labour Party's conference in Durban yesterday. Picture: MRS ROY

Fiery first round as leaders clash over MK

AN extraordinary gloves-off exchange between State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the opening session of Codesa is being seen as the opening shots in the battle for control of South Africa

Their confrontation has proved in the most dramatic way that old style politics are dead and the new has arrived.

In a confrontation unprecedented in South African politics, stunned delegates and dignitaries heard Mr Mandela publicly harangue Mr de Klerk for nearly half an hour in the closing session of the first day of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

The issue was the continuing existence of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's armed wing, which Mr de

SHAUN JOHNSON Political Editor

Klerk had attacked in his opening remarks at Codesa on behalf of the Government. Mr de Klerk had issued an apparent ultimatum to the ANC to dismantle its armed wing, or "disqualify itself from entering into binding agreements."

Drama

The drama began after the signing of the Codesa Declaration of Intent by 16 of 19 delegations, when Mr Mandela requested permission from Codesa co-chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed to "raise a matter of national importance"

He took the podium and accused Mr de Klerk

personally of using the last speaking slot granted to him by the ANC to "launch an attack on the ANC, and in doing so he has been less than frank"

"He has abused his position because he thought I would not reply," said Mr Mandela. "He was mistaken, because I am replying now."

A calm but icy Mr Mandela said "even the head of an illegitimate, discredited minority regime (Mr de Klerk) has certain standards to uphold..."

Mr Mandela said Mr de Klerk had given no indication in a telephone conversation the night before Codesa that he would raise the issue in such a way.

The ANC leader, using

● TO PAGE 2.

Mandela, FW clash

● FROM PAGE 1.

the angriest language to pass publicly between himself and the president, said Mr de Klerk had to "forget (the idea) that he can impose conditions on the ANC..."

Mr Mandela said the Government spoke from a position of weakness because it had failed to stop violence in the country, and berated Mr de Klerk for trying to undermine the ANC.

The ANC realised that neither it nor the NPT should undermine each other, Mr Mandela said, because that would not be in the interests of the country.

Mr Mandela said the president had distorted the situation about Umkhonto, and claimed that confidence had been broken about ongoing discussions on the subject. The ANC would not "commit suicide" by disbanding Umkhonto now, he said.

"He can do what he likes. We are not going to disband Umkhonto weSizwe"

He also lambasted the Government for "using taxpayers' money to fund certain political organisations", and contemptuously dismissed Mr de Klerk's recent statement that he "had not known" about official money for an Inkatha rally in January

"If he didn't know, then he isn't fit to be the head of a government," Mr Mandela said

He paid indirect credit to Mr de Klerk as a reformer, but said he had to "work together openly" with the ANC.

Mr de Klerk, who

heard the protracted attack in silence, was eventually granted the right of reply by co-chairman Mr Justice Piet Schabert

"I do not intend to attack Mr Mandela," he began "I prefer to play the ball and not the man"

A visibly charged Mr de Klerk then launched into a rebuttal of Mr Mandela's accusations, saying it was a vital matter of principle that no party should have a private army

Mr de Klerk said he had reluctantly raised the issue at Codesa because no progress had been made in extended meetings with the ANC on the subject

He said he had no intention of apologising for his words

"Yes sir, I said it... (We cannot have) a party with a pen in one hand and claiming the right to hold arms in the other"

Mr de Klerk said the disagreement was an example of "how democracy should really work", adding that he "hoped that having cleared the air in the best interests of South Africa, we will find a way to resolve the problem"

He then made an impassioned plea for goodwill at Codesa

Mr Justice Mahomed attempted to defuse the tense situation when closing Codesa's first session, saying "no one believed the journey would be easy. But it is a journey we must make. Let the exchange of the last half hour or more not detract from what the Declaration of Intent has said"

Power-sharing parliament is key to interim government plan

10-YEAR JOINT RULE: FW'S AIM

S Times 22/12/91

By MIKE ROBERTSON and EDYTH BULBRING

SOUTH AFRICA will have an interim government for a minimum of 10 years in terms of proposals to be put to South Africa's second national convention by the National Party. The proposals will be submitted to Codesa in January.

This follows President FW de Klerk's announcement this week that the NP is prepared to accept a democratically elected interim government which would share power, govern the country and negotiate a new constitution. Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen said yesterday the proposals to Codesa would contain some of the principles and guidelines contained in the NP constitutional model unveiled earlier this year.

Key elements of the model include a presidency composed of the leaders of the three largest parties, an enforced coalition cabinet and a two-chamber parliament with the first house elected on the basis of one man one vote by proportional representation, while in the second chamber all regions would be accorded an equal number of seats.

Dr Viljoen said the NP proposal to Codesa would definitely contain a two-chamber parliament and measures to protect minority interests.

He said there was no point in making a drastic change to the constitution if it was not going to be in place for "at least one and probably several" parliamentary terms. Each term lasts five years.

He said the NP believed that the parliament elected under its envisaged interim constitution would be a far more representa-

All she wants for Christmas



One man's scorn and another's blind spot

S Times 22/12/91

By KEN OWEN

CODESA came to birth at a few minutes before seven o'clock on Friday evening when Mr Nelson Mandela set out, coldly and deliberately, to assassinate the character of President De Klerk.

He began by accusing the president of moral turpitude and duplicity, and went on to pile insult on insult, scornfully, abusively, venomously, and when it was over nobody could doubt

(304) (111)

announcement this week that the locally elected interim government of the country and negotiate a new constitution. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday the proposals to Codesa would contain some of the principles and guidelines contained in the NP constitutional model unveiled earlier this year.

Key elements of the model include a presidency composed of the leaders of the three largest parties, an enforced coalition cabinet and a two-chamber parliament with the first house elected on the basis of one man one vote by proportional representation, while in the second chamber all regions would be accorded an equal number of seats.

Dr Viljoen said the NP proposal to Codesa would definitely contain a two-chamber parliament and measures to protect minority interests.

He said there was no point in making a drastic change to the constitution if it was not going to be in place for "at least one and probably several" parliamentary terms. Each term lasts five years.

He said the NP believed that the parliament elected under its envisaged interim constitution would be a far more representative forum to negotiate a final

WITH THE BEST OF INTENTIONS
See Pages 28 & 29

constitution than Codesa, in which it was impossible to gauge the relative strengths of the various parties.

In addition to negotiating a final constitution, the parliament and the executive elected from its members would be able to carry out the work of government.

The ANC's response to the proposal has been wary, although the organisation has conceded that parliament is the legally constituted body that must usher in any changes to the constitution.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said "We are ready to consider the proposals which the government says it is almost ready to present concerning these matters."

However, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the long-term interim government envisaged by the National Party was unacceptable to his organisation.

The ANC insisted that an interim government of national unity be appointed for at most 18 months and that its primary function be to oversee the transition process before the holding of elections for a constituent assembly that would draw up a new constitution.

ANC negotiating team mem-

□ To Page 2

Ten years of joint rule

From Page 1
ber Mohammed Valli Moosa described Mr de Klerk's proposals as a "trap". The interim government envisaged by the NP, he said, would "go on for ever".

Mr Ramaphosa said the interim government which the ANC envisaged should be appointed in much the same way as members of the Codesa steering committee had been, and be representative of all parties.

He rejected suggestions that this would lead to inefficient government, saying "We have done marvellous work in the committee. I can tell you that the degree of consensus and level of understanding we have reached in the committee

SI TIMES 22/12/91
has surpassed our expectations" such an interim government.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC wanted a sovereign interim government to exercise jurisdiction over all areas of government. The very minimum it would be prepared to accept was that the interim government exercise control over those areas specified by the recent Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

Ensure

These include control of security forces, state media, the electoral process and defined areas of the budget and finance.

Mr Ramaphosa added that the ANC accepted that the existing parliament was the legally constituted body that should usher in

Feelings

Codesa ended its two-day meeting yesterday with the shadow of the blazing row between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk over the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing still hanging over delegates.

Yesterday, senior government officials were adamant that Mr Mandela knew the issue was to be raised at Codesa and that it was necessary to put the matter on the table before negotiations could continue.

Mr Ramaphosa, however, denied that the ANC had been informed that it would be raised.

After formal proceedings at Codesa yesterday, the hard feelings raised the previous day were somewhat allayed by a conciliatory speech by Mr Mandela which he concluded by shaking hands with Mr De Klerk.

Hurt

But Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha was not that easily appeased when he said after the ANC leader's speech "On behalf of the SA government it is my duty and the wish of my heart to tell the leader of the ANC and the ANC that we were badly hurt yesterday. Very badly hurt by his remarks yesterday."

Mr Botha said that the Afrikaner could also go back in history to list the injustices against his *volk*.

● In his closing remarks, Mr Mandela praised the "excellent and even-handed manner" in which three judges had chaired Codesa. "Their performance was evidence that some of the traditions of great judges of the country have not altogether been lost."

Moves to get PAC back into negotiations

By CHARLES LEONARD
and NORMAN WEST

THE UN and the OAU plan to play the role of facilitators to get the PAC back into the Codesa fold

"It will be a continuous process through our organisations," said Professor Ibrahim Gambari of the UN Special Committee

Against Apartheid and Nigeria's permanent representative at the UN

"Both the PAC and the ANC have observer status at the UN and the OAU. The role we will play there will be those of observer and facilitator.

"However, we do not intend to pressurise anyone

— it is ultimately the people of South Africa who have to find the solutions in establishing a new SA"

Professor Gambari's sentiments were echoed by Chief Segun Olusola, Nigeria's ambassador to the OAU and the representative at Codesa of the chairman of the OAU, President Babangida of Nigeria

^{S/Time 22/12/91}
"The OAU will continue to play any role it is required by the South African people to play. We will not impose ourselves, though," Chief Olusola said

Meanwhile, a revolt is reportedly brewing in PAC ranks after militants forced the organisation to quit Codesa at their consultative conference this

week. (S) (114)
PAC president Clarence Makwetu — a leading hawk — said on Monday the PAC had decided unanimously to quit Codesa, mainly because the government and the ANC appeared to have collaborated in rejecting his organisation's demand for a neutral venue and convener for Codesa.

OF INTENTIONS

IT was a turbulent week leading up to Codesa. EDYTH BULBRING and MIKE ROBERTSON report on the crises and reconciliations behind the scenes

THE real crunch for Codesa did not come late on Friday when Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk clashed in a raw and angry exchange. It came, instead, on Tuesday morning. A task group, comprising representatives of the government and 18 political parties and organisations, met to decide on a final draft for a declaration of intent that would guide the workings of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The ANC and the government could not agree. The meeting between the ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa and the government's Dr Gerrit Viljoen began politely but ended in harsh words and threats.

The core of the dispute was that the ANC wanted Codesa and its decisions to have a legal and binding effect and structures put in place which would make this possible. The government refused to surrender its authority. Mr Valli Moosa threatened to take the issue to the floor of the first plenary session of Codesa, thus ensuring a bruising and public debate.

Compromise

That night 10 people met the ANC's Thabo Mbeki, Valli Moosa, Jacob Zuma, Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo met the government's Dr Viljoen, Roelf Meyer, Ferrus Delpoit, Dawie de Villiers and Barend du Plessis.

At the end of the meeting the government had compromised. Codesa would have a hand in drafting legislation which gave effect to the decisions of the convention and all parties would be bound to it. The crisis had passed. The Tuesday row was only one event in a turbulent week leading up to the Codesa meeting; a week that did not begin propitiously when Pan Africanist Congress leaders arrived at their



TENSION - President de Klerk, Gerrit Viljoen and Pik Botha register displeasure during Nelson Mandela's attack on Friday. Imme diately behind are Sam de Beer, Barend du Plessis and Kobie Coetsee. Back: Rina Venter. But the real crunch came behind closed doors earlier in the week

Legal tussle nearly blew it

STAFF REPORTS 22/11/91

congress on Monday confident they could persuade their members to rejoin the convention. Instead, they were met by supporters who chanted "Panzi Codesa — down with Codesa." The matter was decided before the meeting began. The PAC was out of Codesa.

Then came Tuesday's drama. Wednesday was hardly better. A steering committee meeting had been called to finalise arrangements for the historic first meeting of Codesa on Friday and Saturday. Initially all went well — the representatives rapidly agreeing to a check list of items involving security, media and protocol.

But there were some sharp disagreements over when consensus is really consensus. The Labour Party wanted an 80 percent majority for consensus. It was overruled by the ANC and the government which made it clear that, in the final analysis, sufficient consensus is when parties agree.

Battle

The ANC proposed a compromise. The king could observe the proceedings and address Codesa. But other paramount chiefs should then also be allowed.

This was unacceptable to Mr Felgate and the other participants at Codesa would not budge. Shortly after 7pm, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on receiving news of the decision, announced he

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would not be attending. However, despite the previous night's meeting — was still the subject of much heated debate and was only finally agreed to after several drafts.

Then came another sticky issue — the status of the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, at the convention. Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate delivered an impassioned plea for the king to be given a full delegation of equal status to the other parties.

On Thursday, more problems arose. The ANC's national working committee met at 9am to discuss the steering committee's decisions.

The majority wanted Codesa decisions to have a "legal" effect — fearing that without this stipulation the decisions could be nullified by either the government or the ceremonial Parliament.

Set to last just over three hours, the meeting ran over time as secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa battled to convince members that the compromise worked out with the government gave Codesa *de facto* if not *de jure* power. ANC president Nelson Mandela was instructed by the working committee to telephone President De Klerk to effect some amendments.

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At 8.20 on Thursday night, Mr Mandela put down the telephone, convinced by Mr De Klerk's arguments that had gone through the necessary committees, it would be wrong to change it now.

That night and the following morning, within hours of Codesa starting, he told members of his working committee that he had backed down. By his own admission he was nearly lynched — but survived to tell the tale.

Warning

Thursday night also saw a turnaround by the IFP. While Mr Felgate had raised no objections to the agreement reached on the declaration of intent at the Wednesday steering committee meeting, Inkatha's lawyers had a different view when they were given the final draft on Thursday — they felt they were committing themselves to a unitary form of government. Inkatha refused to sign the declaration.

On Thursday a last attempt, involving a flurry of telephone calls between the government and ANC officials, was made to resolve the matter. But, the parties were deadlocked. While the various working groups continued to plod away at reaching agreements on Codesa details, the top leadership on both sides was embroiled on Wednesday and Thursday with the problem of MK.

Picture: DAVID SANDISON

On Thursday a last attempt, involving a flurry of telephone calls between the government and ANC officials, was made to resolve the matter. But, the parties were deadlocked. While the various working groups continued to plod away at reaching agreements on Codesa details, the top leadership on both sides was embroiled on Wednesday and Thursday with the problem of MK.

In the event, Mr De Klerk carried out his threat and castigated the ANC at the Codesa meeting for not honouring its agreements to surrender arms caches and other matters connected with the suspension of armed action. It drew an angry and personal attack from Mr Mandela. And then a response from a Mr De Klerk, gasping with indignation.

It was a fierce exchange which sharply brought home to all delegates how fragile the process of settlement was — and yet how durable. At a delegates' cocktail party on Friday night, Mr Mandela said he bore no grudges and wished to shake Mr De Klerk's hand. At the start of yesterday's talks he did.

But now an even more ominous issue was threatening Codesa: the perennial problem of the failure of the wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela had agreed at a meeting in September that, at an attempt should be made to resolve the issue. But as the Codesa meeting drew near, no solution was in sight, and Mr De Klerk warned he would raise the matter when he spoke at the

Co-chairman Ismail Mahomed, speaking after the Mandela/De Klerk spat, summed up the situation when he said: "Let the exchange not take away our perspective of what the declaration has said and that to which people have committed themselves... a non-negotiable commitment to an apartheid-free society." He added "However hilly the road and dark the night — the dawn must still break."

Gatsha to tell LP 'all'

ITB
S/Times (cm) 22/12/91
C

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

INKATHA leader Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi is expected to use the Labour Party congress in Durban on Saturday to explain his withdrawal from Codesa.

Dr Buthelezi will be a guest speaker at Labour's 26th national congress, to be opened on Friday by LP leader Rev Allan Hendrickse in Durban's Exhibition Centre

Dr Buthelezi rocked Codesa on Thursday when he announced his personal withdrawal, claiming that the inability of the Codesa steering committee to resolve the question of separate representation for the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), KwaZulu Government and the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, was "an insult" to his monarch's dignity

Ironically Eshowe in Natal was the venue for the LP's watershed congress in January 1983, where its relationship with Dr Buthelezi ended when it decided to participate in the Tricameral Parliament despite the exclusion of blacks

Before that the LP and Inkatha, then a Zulu-based cultural body, had formed the main components of the South African Black Alliance (Saba)

The LP decision, taken the day after Dr Buthelezi had officially opened the congress, was seen by Saba as a "teacherous act" and by Inkatha itself as "betrayal" Saba immediately warned the LP to reverse its decision, resign from Saba or face expulsion The LP chose to resign But after Mr Hendrickse resigned from the P W Botha cabinet in 1987, the LP and Inkatha again gradually moved closer

Saturday's congress will also serve as a barometer of Mr Hendrickse's support after the past year, during which more than 25 of his MPs joined the NP to form the official Opposition in the House of Representatives

There is deep dissatisfaction in the LP over Mr Hendrickse's "unilateral" decision to align the LP with the Patriotic Front and particularly, the ANC-SACP alliance

The LP has also invited representatives from the ANC and PAC to address its congress The PAC has not responded but the ANC has indicated that either its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, or a top executive member, would attend

Although Mr Hendrickse came within a hair's breadth of being dethroned during the last session of Parliament, he is unlikely to lose the party's leadership

Squabble over founding charter

S (Times) 22/12/91
CODESA'S Declaration of Intent, the founding document of the convention, started out as a diverse set of political statements, writes *Brian Pottinger*

In hours of negotiations it was honed into a charter of basic values which were broad enough to satisfy most parties but precise enough to have real meaning.

Yet three parties initially failed to sign and the ANC expressed reservations.

What, then, were the sticking points?

The main one, which also exercised the National Convention of 1908, was about how much power should be held by the central government and how much given to the regions under the new constitu-

tion. It was the old debate between a unitary state versus a federal one.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, essentially a regionally based party, believes in as much decentralisation of power as possible.

It objected to the words "an undivided South Africa" in the declaration and suggested they be replaced by "a new South Africa". It also suggested scrapping a statement that a new constitution would exercise "sovereign authority... over the whole of its territory".

These words, Inkatha claimed, implied a commitment to a unitary state and ruled out the possibility of federalism.

The government and ANC

publicly said they respected Inkatha's right to differ.

The second major problem arising from the Declaration of Intent can be summed up in the word "sovereignty" — the exact powers of Codesa and the status of its decisions vis-a-vis already established bodies such as parliament and homeland administrations.

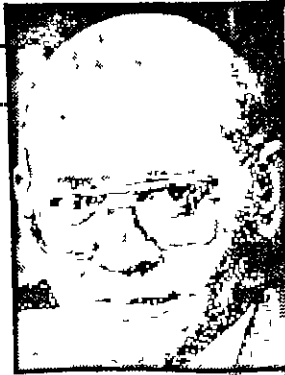
At the one pole stood the ANC. It originally wanted decisions of Codesa to have legal force and suggested implementing mechanisms to achieve this. The South African government and Inkatha opposed the idea — both because they saw it as abrogating their sovereign powers.

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana also had

reservations. The sovereignty of his homeland would be abolished. The government and the ANC eventually compromised. Codesa and the government would jointly draft legislation to implement Codesa decisions.

But Inkatha remained intransigent and in the end it, together with Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, were not among the delegations trooping up to the dias at Codesa to sign the declaration on Friday.

The Ciskei later capitulated and signed yesterday. The final version of the Declaration of Intent, agreed all delegations to the Convention, was a very fine thing. But for two parties apparently not quite fine enough.



RURAL approval will play a key role in who will rule the roost in a "post-Codesa" South Africa — and the political parties and organisations which neglect the rural voters will pay the price when the country finally holds free and fair elections.

Cold statistics show that the largest majority lives in South Africa's rural areas — and that any party which can organise sufficiently to win over this largely politically illiterate constituency can be virtually assured of ascendancy to power in the new South Africa.

It is this reality that has sparked renewed interest in this otherwise unseen and often neglected cinderella segment of society, which has suddenly acquired a new political importance.

Statistics provided by the Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA) show that whoever aspires to rule will need rural approval.

DBSA figures show that South Africa has 17 319 120 potential voters, 9 374 870 of whom — 54,12 percent — live outside the homelands.

A further 3 191 094 live in the TBVC countries and 4 753 156 in the other six homelands.

Based on these figures it is clear that the party or alliance that can capture the confidence (and votes) of the majority of blacks will have the majority proportionate representation in a future government.

If the far-rightist organisations now refusing to participate in Codesa have their way and elections take place on the present ethnic basis — assuming blacks will also have the vote — then "white", "coloured" and "Asian" representation will be of little significance in future.

Statistics show there are a mere 1,5 million white voters — constituting 8,8 percent of the total population of South Africa — 1,3 million coloured voters (7,3 percent) and 642 220 Asian voters (3,7 percent).

Significantly, the millions of potential black voters are not in the cities but in the rural backwaters — and canvassers will have to travel "deep into the bush" in search of votes.

Both mainline political adversaries, the NP and the ANC, appear to be responding to the DBSA figures for rural voters, as evidenced by last weekend's historic ANC Rural Conference at Worcester.

Dr Allan Boesak, chairman of the ANC's Western Cape Region, had a blunt message for the conference if the ANC did not succeed in the plat-

Any free election will be won in the rural areas

S Times (CM)
22/12/91

In fact two out of every five voters will come from Natal and the Eastern Cape — and the 3,8 million voters in the PWV area will be smaller than the 4,3 million in the Natal region.

The 10 homelands will also have a decisive influence over the elections, with a massive 45,9 percent of potential voters living in these areas.

The largest number of potential voters over the age of 18 — 4 277 617 — live in the densely populated Transkei, Natal and KwaZulu rural district.

In the Western Cape — where ANC president Nelson Mandela recently said that the NP "was making inroads in our constituency" — it appears that the Nats would emerge victorious, according to the statistics.

Of the total of 1,4 million voters over the age of 18, based on the 1990 figures in the Western Cape, the 811 667 coloured voters (nearly 60 percent of the electorate) could play a decisive role.

Slightly more than half of the coloured voters, together with most of the 245 231 white voters (17,8 percent of the total in the region) can help make this region Nat.

At the Western Cape Regional Congress of the ANC, where Dr Boesak was elected chairman after some gentle coercion of the delegates by Mr Mandela, the ANC President acknowledged the popularity of State President FW De Klerk among coloureds and Indians.

He warned that "the NP has organisation and they are forming alliances very quietly among our black people".

At the moment the Labour Party lays claim to the majority of rural coloured voters in the Western Cape, which might explain why the strategists of the ANC were not prepared to shun Labour approaches to become an informal ally of the ANC.

The ANC needs to capture the coloured rural constituency now controlled by Labour to try to ward off an almost certain NP victory in the Western Cape region — and seems forced to offer Labour political sanctuary in exchange.

But political parties involved who capture the rural vote will also have to take on the responsibility of redressing the imbalances that have so long existed in these areas — or face the consequences when next the country goes to the polls.

teland, he warned, the ANC would not succeed at all.

The conference, attended by 356 delegates from 84 rural areas, expressed concern over the development problems facing rural areas "after the havoc caused by the massive social engineering of the NP" — as the ANC put it.

Of particular concern was the position of farm workers often under total control of farmers who refused them permission to attend meetings or even to join political parties.

Issues such as these, the conference resolved, needed to be addressed by Codesa .. otherwise "there will be little chance of free and fair elections in the rural areas".

DBSA statistics prove it would be fatal for political organisations to believe (as the NP did previously) that the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging (PWV) region would dominate a common voters' roll elections

Outlining visions for a democratic SA

THEY came from all over the country, bringing shared concerns and private hopes

The 320 delegates and advisers at Codesa, the largest representative gathering of political leaders in the country's history, reflected the full breadth and complexity of the nation

All, to some extent, focused on the details of constitutional principle, the methods of change and the objectives of Codesa.

Mr Nelson Mandela predictably demanded that the government make way for an interim government to supervise the transition, and made a call for Codesa's decisions to be translated into full legal force

"It is inconceivable that a democratic constitution be reached except by a constituent assembly. We see no reason why an election for a constituent assembly should not be possible during 1992," he said.

Mr Chris Hani of the SA Communist Party, equally predictably, endorsed his ally

"We demand the immediate installation of an interim government. Parties should commit themselves to ensuring the establishment of an interim government, and elections for a constitu-

ent assembly should be completed within 18 months"

President FW de Klerk, less predictably, offered an elected interim government, but was coy on the details. He also took time out to hector the ANC for its failure to disband its military wing, and accused it of dragging its feet. That led to a bitter riposte by Mr Mandela

But that was not really what Codesa was about. There were many other agendas hidden away in the rhetoric

Exclusion

Like the homeland leaders' concerns about their sovereignty and, more often than not, traditional roots and values

Inkatha was strong on this. Referring to the exclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini and the subsequent decision by Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi not to attend, the IFP delegation leader, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said "The exclusion of the Zulu people is tragic and we should all support the president of the IFP, who, in his other role as

for economic redistribution. The Inlando Yesizwe Party's Prince James Mahlangu "We call for a system that will aggressively address the economic imbalances"

Venda President Brigadier M Ramushwana concurred: "Land is a burning issue because of the imbalances and the cruel removals. It stands to reason that any future government should reconsider redistribution"

Pensions

But in case anybody thought he was calling for *too much* redistribution, he hastened to call for a declaration from Codesa protecting the interests (and pensions) of civil servants in a new South Africa

There were those who spoke, instead, of enterprise. Solidarity Party leader Dr JN Reddy: "There is a need to inculcate the work ethic."

There were bitter reminders of the past the Labour Party's Reverend Allan Hendrickse: "It must not be possible to do what was immoral done by the NP when they removed the so-called Coloured people from the common voters roll"

And apologies for the past National Party delegation leader Dr Dawie de Villiers "It was not the intention to deprive other people of their rights and to contribute to their misery, but eventually the policy of separation led to just that. Insofar as that occurred, we deeply regret it."

Then there were warnings for the future. Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa: "The failure of Codesa will spell economic disaster. South Africa can no longer afford an economic siege"

And challenges for the future. The Democratic Party's Dr Zach de Beer "The new government of South Africa will have, above all, two tasks - to restore law and order and to establish sustained rapid economic growth"

"One of the great tasks Codesa must fulfil is to produce a constitution which prevents the abuse of power by government."

Finally, there was even a word for those who were not there. The National People's Party's Amichand Rajbans: "Our regret is the empty chairs."

"It is our task to mediate so that the empty chairs can be filled with people from the PAC, Azapo, AWB, the CP and others."

**By SEKOLA SELLO
and THEMBA KHUMALO**

THE government was prepared to institute an interim government soon, provided it took place constitutionally and without circumventing or suspending the present constitution, President FW de Klerk told the Convention for a Democratic South Africa on Friday.

He said one of the biggest problems which would have to be resolved, was mutual mistrust and suspicion. Nobody could deny it prevailed on a broad front.

A specific aspect of this was the insistence from various sources on a transitional government, an interim government or a government of national unity. People were suspicious that the government intended to misuse its powers during negotiations.

De Klerk said it was not the government's intention to cling to power or to misuse its powers during negotiations.

The perception that the government was opposed to any form of interim government was incorrect. The government's views were

■ "We are prepared to start negotiating immediately about amending the constitution to make possible an interim power-sharing model, on a democratic basis."

■ "We are convinced it would be in the best interests of South Africa and all its people that, as a first phase, we institute a government which will be broadly

representative of the whole population. Such a generally representative government will not only take care of the administration of the country, but it can also initiate further constitutional changes."

■ "We are equally convinced that the compilation of Parliament should be amended during the first phase to include the whole population in a reasonable manner."

■ "We are nearly ready to table specific proposals in this regard which will naturally have to be negotiated - together with the proposals from other people."

De Klerk said the government was not prepared to allow the

circumvention or suspension of the constitution. Any meaningful constitutional amendments even those aimed at transitional measures only, must be passed by Parliament after a mandate had been obtained in a referendum.

If the proposals on interim measures were fair to all people, the answer from all sections of the population would be "yes". "All South Africans must participate in such a referendum," he said.

De Klerk said he wanted to make it clearer than ever before that the government was prepared to accept a negotiated form of transitional government which could be introduced quickly in a

democratic and constitutional manner. ANC President Nelson Mandela told Codesa the present government must make way for an interim government of national unity to supervise the transition to democracy.

"The incumbent government is unsuited to the task of overseeing the transition to democracy. Its oft-stated commitment to democracy must now compel it to make way for an interim government of national unity."

Codesa would set the country on the road to democracy, said Mandela, and the strength of its initiative lay in the range of political parties and persuasions re-

presented

However, Mandela warned that Codesa would not deliver democracy singlehanded. Even absolute consensus at the convention would still leave an apartheid constitution in place.

He called for an immediate amnesty "in the spirit of our convention" to be proclaimed for all remaining political prisoners.

While several representatives of political organisations and parties participating in the Codesa endorsed its Declaration of Intent, Bophuthatswana and the IFP were the only ones which struck a discordant note.

Bob President Lucas Mangope refused to sign the Declara-

Interim government possible - Deak

CITY PRESS 22-11-91

try

In a surprise move, Ciskei strongman Brig Oupa Gqozo indicated willingness to have the homeland reincorporated into South Africa. However, he believed this should be done in a federal arrangement.

Gqozo said "Regional government is a factor for future stability. Throughout the world this type of government is increasing and is recognised as an effective mechanism for keeping in touch with the electorate."

By late Friday afternoon the government and the ANC, the major players in the Codesa, were reportedly making frantic efforts to persuade Chief Lucas Mangope and the IFP delegation to sign the declaration of intent.

The IFP's objection to the declaration of intent is the making of South Africa a unitary state. Inkatha is known to be in favour of a federal structure.

tion in its present form, while the IFP had not signed before going to press.

Although IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend, in protest against the exclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini, Inkatha spokesman Dr Frank Mdlalose said the IFP "has come to Codesa deeply committed to turn South Africa into a showpiece of racial cooperation leading to a united people with a national will to make democracy work."

Mdlalose, who is the IFP chairman, was highly critical of the exclusion of King Zwelithini. He said: "His Majesty is no bystander to the great events that must now be shaped in this coun-

By ZB MOLEFE and Sapa

12/12/91

YOU could have sung those old and familiar words "When an irresistible force meets an immovable object, something's gotta give" at the opening of South Africa's political show to beat all shows - the Convention for a Democratic South Africa

Depending on your politics, it was quite clear that the immovable was President FW de Klerk and the irresistible was ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Mandela and De Klerk loomed large, long before Friday's opening of this indaba to lay the foundation for a democratic South Africa. On the shoulders of these men rested the hopes, fears, doubts and expectations of millions of South Africans

That is what the placard-waving Christians for Truth seemed to have in mind. Obviously this fellowship, which claims a membership of 20 000 worldwide, and which met delegates at the gates leading to the grounds of the World Trade Centre, made sure that the 19 organisations and political groups attending Codesa never forgot The Lord

"Swine! Traitor!" a white woman screamed as State President FW de Klerk whisked past in a white Mercedes

"Don't kowtow to Geoffrey Howe", "Whites will not surrender" and "De Klerk has no mandate" stated various rightwing posters. At the helm of the protesters was the head of the English-speaking Republican Unity Movement, Clive Derby-Lewis. The Five Freedoms Forum, by contrast, sent a message of peace to all leaders from the children of South Africa. Inside the centre's reception

The big event we've all been waiting for



DEMOCRACY KICKS OFF ... Government heavyweights Gerrit Viljoen, FW de Klerk and Pik Botha look on as ANC president Nelson Mandela addresses those gathered at Codesa.

CLIPPER 22-11-91

area Umkhonto weSizwe commander Joe Modise was a worried man. To him Friday's opening had something missing

"The thing that breaks my heart is the absence of the PAC. They have isolated themselves," said Modise as he surveyed arrivals from the mezzanine floor of the World Trade Centre. Within seconds Modise's spirits lifted. He declared "This is the crowning glory of our efforts

CLIPPER 1/14

We will allow no tricks during the convention. We will not allow certain things which are not in the interests of our people to happen at this convention.

A deadpan Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike made his arrival. Just then Foreign Minister Pik Botha made a grand entrance and was mobbed by TV and press photographers. There was a glimpse of the "new" South

CLIPPER 1/14

Africa when Botha was escorted past the security checkpoint by two black security officers. Meanwhile United States ambassador William Swing was shaking hands with members of the ANC delegation. The reception area was filling fast. Most of the predominantly male arrivals were as sombre as their dark suits.

There was a dash of African colour when Nigerian High Com-

ANC president ■ PIC EVANS MBOWENI

missioner Alaba Ogunsanwo, in flowing colourful robes and wearing a whisk, made his grand entrance. In tow was equally colourful Nigerian ambassador Chief HE Segun Olusola, carrying himself with the dignity born of diplomatic training.

Nobody was excited when yet another sleek black BMW slid to a quiet stop near the entrance. It was the jostling and noisy TV and press photographers that gave the

game away. A smiling Nelson Mandela emerged from the car. His entourage followed as if on cue. There was Cyril Ramaphosa, Jacob Zuma, Patrick "Terror" Lekota and a dainty Barbara Masekela. "We have arrived. There is no turning back now," said Lekota, sounding like a prizefighter who had prepared long and hard for a fight he had to win. What a contrast when Ciskei strongman Oupa Gqozo, in dark glasses, cut a lonely figure just behind the Mandela-led procession.

Two women well-known in South African politics made their entrance. There was the tireless human rights champion Helen Suzman in a smart blue suit, white handbag and two-tone black and white shoes.

Unsmiling Health Minister Rina Venter entered dressed in a smart green suit, fawn shoes and carrying a fawn briefcase.

It was after 9 am that another star of the show made his attention-grabbing arrival. Who could blame President de Klerk? South Africa's history in the nineties had made the man. The photographers who mobbed him seemed to confirm that.

The moment of truth had arrived. The hall with its chandeliers, red upholstered silver chairs and white cloth-draped tables resembled a mini version of the United Nations. But this time it was South Africa. The issues were different and the people were different.

Most delegates' eyes were fixed on the raised stage with its huge Codesa banner with black and white silhouettes, which obviously symbolised a new South Africa. Then delegates got down to the talks to make that a reality.

GLANTS THE

51/1903 2.2/12/91

Mandela and De Klerk make peace on day SA is reborn

By SEKOLA SELLO, THEMBA KHUMALO and Sapa
CODESA had made a giant leap forward from the days of an apartheid South Africa, co-chairman Justice Ismail Mahomed said in his closing address to the convention yesterday.

Future South Africans would identify "this day and this moment" as the time when South Africa was reborn, he said.

The two-day Codessa meeting ended yesterday amid high hopes that the interim government preceding a Constituent Assembly could be established within the next 12 months.

State President FW-de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela publicly shook hands and made peace at Codessa's closing yesterday after their bitter clash on the first day of the convention.

De Klerk had attacked the ANC for refusing to disarm its armed wing, and Mandela later launched a scathing attack on the State President, saying he was not fit to be a head of state and was guilty of double-dealing - talking peace but waging war against the ANC at the same time.

After the two leaders publicly made peace, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told delegates that NP had been badly hurt by Mandela's remarks, but had not hit back in the interests of conciliation.

Although Botha and De Klerk and Mandela were not prepared to bind themselves to specific time frames, both said an interim government should be implemented soon.

Mandela went as far as saying that given the circumstances of the

negotiating table, he said at a press conference at the close of Codessa. However, he reiterated the government's well known stand that in any new dispensation no majority must be in a position to abuse its position in dominating minorities.

On his stand that Umkhonto weSizwe disbanded, De Klerk said this applied equally to rightwing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

He said he had not mentioned them by name in his speech to Codessa on Friday because they were not present at the convention.

At separate press conferences, Mandela and SACP national chairman Joe Slovo had expressed



Merry Xmas
THE Editor and staff wish all City Press readers a merry Christmas and a peaceful New Year.
May the spirit of peace prevail in our hearts, minds and in communities throughout our beloved land this festive season.
May we also enter 1992 with a spirit of dedication to a better South Africa.
City Press will like a break this festive season. Next Sunday, December 29, there will be an issue of your favourite Sunday newspaper. But we will be back on January 5.

Soccer boss on car theft charge

By DESMOND BLOW
SAMUEL Coloured Mdululi, better known as Coloured Passmore - a defence witness in Abdui Bhamjee's R7.4-million theft trial - has been charged with car theft.

Passmore, one of the most flamboyant characters in football appeared with co-accused Moroka Swallows coach Sandile Bah in the Benoni Regional Court on Thursday. Bah managed Passmore's business in Dobsonville, Soweto - called Passmore Panel Beaters - at the time of the alleged theft of a Toyota Hi-Ace.

No evidence was led. The case was postponed until next month.

Passmore, who lives in a luxury home in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, is the managing director of Highlands Park Soccer Club and an executive member of the NSL.

The charge sheet alleges that the theft occurred in Benoni between July 30 and November 30 1987. It lists the stolen vehicle's owner but states that the registra-



Giant

Mandela and De Klerk make peace on day SA is reborn

De Klerk make peace on day SA is reborn

SA is reborn

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De Klerk had attacked the ANC for refusing to dismantle its armed wing, launched a scathing assembly, the two were, the negotiating table, he said at a press conference at the close of Codesa.

Yesterday the State President went a step further in allaying the fears of both the ANC and SACP by saying he had no intention of perpetuating white domination in a disguised form.

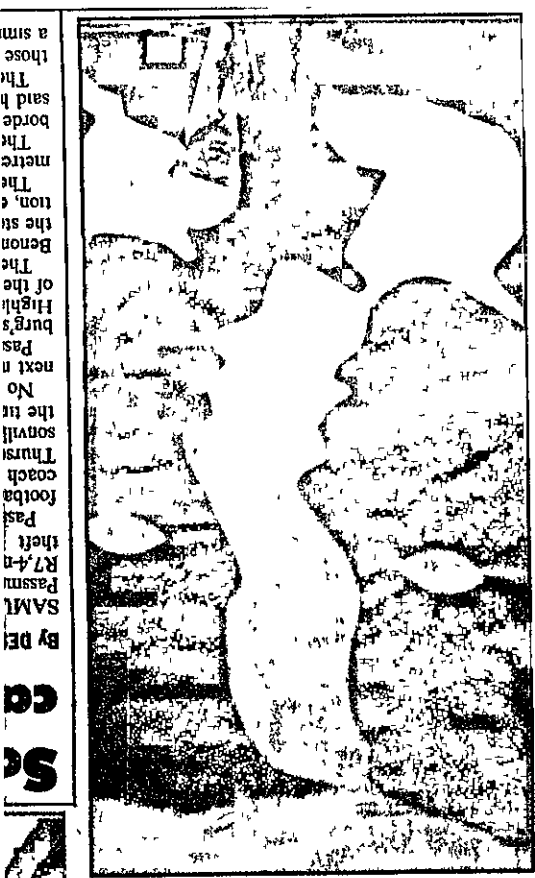
Addressing a local and foreign media conference De Klerk said this applied equally to rightwing groups such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

He said he had not mentioned them by name in his speech to Codesa on Friday because they were not present at the convention.

At separate press conferences Mandela and SACP national chairman Joe Slovo had expressed doubts about De Klerk's true intentions concerning his new proposals.

The ANC leader warned against any form of constitution that would co-opt blacks into a tripartite parliament.

See pages 2, 8, 12.



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A YEAR OF HOPE AND

By SEKOLA SELLO ^{CIPRES} 22/12/91

POLITICALLY speaking 1991 was a year of great expectations but few realised goals

Great hopes for an end to the violence tearing the country apart were fueled early in the year following a meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi But, the Royal Hotel meeting in Durban has failed to stop the orgy of blood-letting

Another event which raised high hopes among our people was the launch of the much sought after Patriotic Front between the ANC and PAC and several other smaller organisations

Today, as the year teeters to an end, the PF which was also launched in Durban, exists in name only

It was also a year when the government showed it could act tough against rightwing extremists

In the past two days the government, the ANC and a host of other interested parties made another attempt to introduce a new constitutional dispensation during a Convention for a Democratic South Africa

This is a brief glimpse of political events since January

January

Lucas Mangope's government places itself on a confrontation course with the ANC following the expulsion of several ANC activists in the homeland

The ANC proposes an All Party Conference on constitutional negotiations to break the political logjam Two days later Mandela proposes the idea of an interim government saying "we are not setting out any time frames now, but we emphasise the urgency"

The ANC declares 1991 a "year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people" Asians continue to track MK members George Nene, ANC representative in Nigeria, is among the prominent members attacked

Renewed fighting between the ANC and PAC in Komga near East London and Munsieville near KwaZulu-Natal

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, resurfaces in the country It launches attacks against policemen in Port Elizabeth

Rumblings in the PAC surface This follows the expulsion of four high-ranking members of the Azanian National Youth Unity, the PAC's militant youth wing

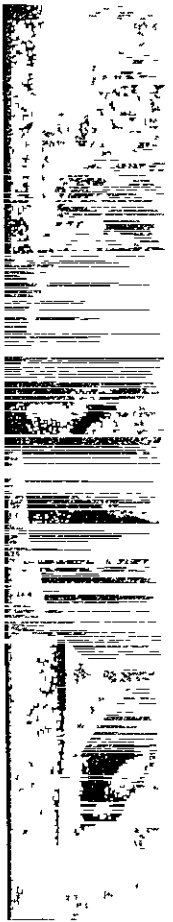
Mandela and Buthelezi meet in a historic meeting at the Royal Hotel and vow to end hostilities and vilification of each other Within hours of this accord eight people die in interparty



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI ... His meeting with Mandela in January failed to stop the political killings.



FW DE KLERK ... Scored diplomatic coups abroad, but received flak from the left and the right at home.



NELSON MANDELA ... mass action for

Great expectations, but the bloodshed

clashes on the Natal South Coast

February

The State President opens Parliament and declares that all existing apartheid laws will be scrapped in coming months The ANC condemns this, saying FW de Klerk's speech makes no reference to security legislation

The ANC and PAC leaders join hands in protest marches in Cape Town to demand a constituent assembly and an end to the tricameral system Later, Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu meet to work on a "common national agenda and to foster co-operation"

An ANC member and human rights lawyer, Bheki Mlangeni, is killed by a booby-trapped walkman which was allegedly meant for former hit squad member Captain Dirk Coetzee

The ANC buys an imposing building in central Johannesburg, Shell House, as the or-

ganisation's headquarters

Denmark, a strong critic of Pretoria, lifts a ban on sports, cultural and some business contacts

Czechoslovakia is the first former Soviet satellite state to lift trade sanctions against the republic The United States also announces that sanctions will go once all prisoners are released

Hot on the heels of the US statement, the European Community announces it will do likewise once the Group Areas Act and Land Acts have been scrapped in Parliament

One of South Africa's major critics and Australia's Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, agrees along with British Premier John Major to lift Commonwealth sanctions They indicate that sports sanctions will be the first to go

March

The Dutch Parliament delivers another body blow to those still conducting the sanctions campaign by urging the EC to

lift sanctions In a surprise but guarded interview Archbishop Desmond Tutu calls for the removal of sanctions

Several ANC prisoners on Robben Island refuse to sign indemnity forms and demand total pardon

Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo faces a major crisis as the ANC-aligned National Education and Health Allied Workers Union call for his government's resignation This is backed by a crippling strike by civil servants

April

Buthelezi moots the idea of a troika leadership ostensibly to deal with violence, but in reality a power-sharing mechanism between Inkatha, the ANC and the National Party

The ANC and PAC meet in Harare to pave the way for a Patriotic Front An ANC document proposes township defence units

The ANC gives the government an ultimatum in an open

letter demanding the sacking of Police Minister Adnaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan

The ANC also makes six other harsh demands on the government saying if these are not met by May 9, the organisation will break off constitutional negotiations

De Klerk announces a peace summit scheduled for May The worsening condition of hunger strikers places relations between the government and ANC on a knife edge

A confident De Klerk makes a diplomatic coup when he leaves for a six-day visit of the UK Denmark and Ireland Mandela also visits London at almost the same time

Winnie Mandela fails in her bid to win the leadership of the ANC Women's League She is defeated by Gertrude Shope

May

Reports of the government's intention to have a mixed Cabinet, possibly with members of

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Former SADF Basson reveals the secret training

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HOPE AND TURMOIL



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May

Reports of the government's intention to have a mixed Cabinet, possibly with members of

extra-parliamentary organisations, gathers momentum

A burglar, Carel Nicolaas Roodt, is killed at ANC offices while resisting arrest ANC suspends talks with government

In a surprise about-turn, the ANC proposes partial lifting of sanctions during an OAU meeting in Abuja, Nigeria This angers the PAC and Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe,

June

The ANC proposes a tax on wealth - a proposal which draws strong criticism from big businesses New but unproven allegations of MK bases in Transkei resurface

De Klerk meets Kenyan president Daniel Arap Moi in an official visit to Nairobi

Former SADF member Nico Basson reveals the existence of secret training camps for youths engaged in hit squad killings and accuses the government of creating violence and trying to destabilise the ANC

July

The US lifts sanctions against South Africa On the same day the country is readmitted to world cricket thanks largely to the efforts of ANC sports chief Steve Tshwete Japan announces that it is also lifting sanctions

The much awaited ANC conference, the first inside the country in three decades, takes place in Durban Several members of the UDF and the MDM are elected to senior positions including Cyril Ramaphosa, the new secretary-general

The Inkathagate scandal erupts with revelations of police funding for Inkatha

August

Umkhonto weSizwe holds its first congress on South African soil in three decades in Thohoyandou, Venda The conference is opened by Venda military leader Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana

Former members of MK

whom the ANC accused of being spies are released from detention camps and return home

De Klerk's proposed meeting in AWB heartland, Venters dorp, is disrupted by hundreds of rightwingers Three die in clashes between rightwingers and police

The United Democratic Front closes shop

September

The government announces plans to spend R1-billion from the sale of oil reserves for socio-economic upliftment The National Peace Accord is convened to try and stop political violence that has claimed 10 000 lives in the previous six years This is the first meeting to bring together the major political players

October

Cosatu and Nactu spearhead a crippling two-day strike in protest against the imposition of Value Added Tax

Azapo is expelled as co-convenor of the Patriotic Front which is launched in Durban between the ANC and PAC and several organisations

The Commonwealth meeting in Harare, decides to lift people-to-people sanctions Soon after this, India, a leading member of the Commonwealth is among the first to do so by ending travel restrictions between the two countries, also lifting a ban on scientific and cultural contacts

November

Mudslinging between Mandela and De Klerk continues At the National Party congress De Klerk accuses the ANC of being in the clutches of radicals and says it would lead South Africa to ruin

New York mayor David Dinkins, who had earlier postponed a visit, finally arrives with a large delegation as a guest of the ANC

Serious divisions surface in the PAC as its student wing, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation, threatens to pull out its 195 000 members if the PAC attends the constitutional talks with government

The PAC reveals a secret document which claims that the ANC and government have a secret deal on power-sharing

The government, Inkatha, PAC, ANC and several other organisations attend the first preparatory talks on a new constitutional dispensation Later the PAC walks out of the talks

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa is launched at the preparatory talks

December

De Klerk becomes the first South African head of State to be invited to Moscow The trip is later cancelled owing to problems in the Soviet Union

Codesa One kicks off



WITH THE BEST

IT BEGAN with a few tentative messages by Prisoner Nelson Mandela, via his warders, to the government in 1986. This led to a conversation with President PW Botha in Tuynhuys on May 6 1989 and on Friday this dialogue culminated in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

That first encounter between President Botha and Prisoner Mandela, secretive and elliptical as the record now suggests, was not exactly a meeting of minds. But it did set the context for what was to follow.

Both men agreed that they wanted, at the minimum, a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems. It is now known that Mr Botha was already signalling Western governments that he accepted the inevitability of sharing power with black South Africans.

Mr Mandela was for his part doubtful that the ANC could ever prevail in an armed struggle against the white government.

But Mr Botha was not around long enough to pursue the matter. On August 14 he quit as president and just over a month later Mr FW De Klerk was sworn in. It was from this point that the countdown to Codesa, and this week's historic gathering at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, really began.

Step
by
step
on

Direct

In December 1989 Mr De Klerk first met Mr Mandela — then still a prisoner. Since then there have been at least 29 such face-to-face meetings and numerous telephone conversations about matters large and small, most of them concerned with immediate problems — violence, VAT protests, threatened breakdowns in talks. In fact, whenever the ANC has felt an indaba to be necessary.

This fire-brigade manner of doing business has sometimes exasperated officials but it had one advantage — constant, direct communication between the two most senior men in the two most important organisations.

The immediate foundations of Codesa were, however, laid elsewhere — in the crop of bodies and forums which sprung up after Mr De Klerk's February 2 1991 speech. The most important, as far as Codesa is concerned, was a steering committee set up by the government and the ANC to organise the preliminary talks between the two major parties at Groote Schuur in May 1990.

From Groote Schuur, the thread, came the Orwellian-sounding Paragraph Nine Working Committee, latterly referred to as the negotiating committee, which was asked to plan for a possible multi-party conference (all-party conference in the ANC lexicon). Mr Roelf Meyer for the government and Mr Thabo Mbeki for the ANC sat on this committee

the rocky road to Kempton Park

S/Times 22/12/91

BRIAN POTTINGER traces the events and encounters of the past 31 months



*There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and miseries
On such a full sea are we now afloat
And we must take the current when it serves
Or lose our ventures — Shakespeare*

The committee's work was suspended on May 9 this year when the ANC protested against what it regarded as government complicity in the continuing township violence. Retrospectively, it may have been a blessing in disguise.

Church, business and political leaders banded together to launch a national peace initiative. This National Peace Accord, signed by 23 organisations on September 14, for the first time entrenched the principle of full accountability on the part of both the state and political parties for the actions of their servants or supporters. More to the point, it provided an example of what could be done with sufficient compromise and goodwill and gave valuable negotiating experience to all sides.

Chiding

By the end of October the government and ANC were back talking to each other through the negotiations committee. Both sides were now predicting an imminent start to preliminary talks about a constitutional forum.

A week later the Patriotic Front — an alliance of generic "anti-apartheid" groups — met in Durban. The National Party was excluded, despite a chiding demand by Mr De Klerk to one

Johannesburg on November 29 disclosed remarkable agreement between the National Party and the ANC, prompting Democratic Party Leader Zach De Beer to remark later that he felt like a "gooseberry" at a love affair.

Among issues agreed after varying degrees of arm-wrestling at the preparatory meeting were the name of the convention, the venue, the status of international observers, the role of the Chief Justice in opening the convention, the election of co-chairmen of Codesa, the referring of controversial issues such as a Declaration of Intent to a steering committee, and agreement that debate on the timing and role of constituent assembly elections be held over for Codesa to debate in the coming months.

The PAC can at least draw some comfort from history. When the white representatives of the four South African colonies met in Durban in 1908 in their national convention, the smaller parties also complained that they had been sidelined by wheeler-dealing between the Transvaal's Jan Smuts and the Cape's John X Merriman over crucial constitutional issues.

The PAC's truculence does not seem, however, overly to concern the ANC. The minutes of the preliminary meeting of Codesa in

preparatory meeting on November 29 one can also guess who will be the pillars that will carry Codesa into the future now that this weekend's speech-making and hoopla has ended.

There is Mr Justice Mahomed, incisive and stern senior partner; in the co-chairmanship with Mr Justice Schabert, Roelf Meyer, in real life Defence Minister but for Codesa's purposes representing the National Party delegation, Cyril Ramaphosa, ANC secretary-general and former trade unionist who, tempered by numerous industrial disputes, has a diplomat's flair for negotiations and the DP's Zach de Beer who with an Anglo chairman-of-the-board style could become the institutionalised honest broker, on hand for the impasses.

Nations are driven to conventions such as these by different routes. In 1908 it was Lord Selbourne's dire warning about economic collapse of the region unless agreement was reached on customs and railways that precipitated the National Convention.

Similar fears over the economy may have ironically helped bring Codesa to life — together with a range of other social, political and international pressures building up since the early 70s and leading, perhaps inexorably, to this week's convention in the vast and sometimes anomalous glitz of the World Trade Centre.

Incisive

From the minutes of Codesa s

One man's scorn and another's blind spot

SJ Times 22/12/91

By KEN OWEN

CODESA came to earth at a few minutes before seven o'clock on Friday evening when Mr Nelson Mandela set out, coldly and deliberately, to assassinate the character of President De Klerk.

He began by accusing the president of moral turpitude and duplicity, and went on to pile insult on insult, scornfully, abusively, venomously, and when it was over nobody could doubt that the relationship of trust which once existed between the two men was utterly, irrevocably destroyed.

That was not necessarily a bad thing in a country riven by ancient hatreds and poisoned by continuing distrust, sentimentality is an obstacle to constitution-making. To achieve a good constitution it is necessary to put the hatreds and the distrust on the table, and deal with them, not bury them under a well-meaning chumminess.

Mr Mandela certainly put his distrust on the table. Speaking with cold fury, he said "even a discredited, illegitimate, minority government must observe certain moral standards", and went on from there. He offered condescendingly to make allowances for the fact that Mr De Klerk was "a product of apartheid" but accused him of being "less than frank", of abusing his position, of trickery.

He dismissed with scorn Mr De Klerk's excuse that he hadn't known of the police funding of Inkatha, saying that, if so, he wasn't fit to be head of government. He said he could understand why the Nationalists were losing ground to the Conservatives because nobody would want to deal with such a man as Mr De Klerk.

Paralysis

The effect on the Codesa delegates who had, only minutes earlier, warmly applauded Mr De Klerk as "co-architect of this day", was a kind of paralysis. They sat motionless in shock. DP leader Zach de Beer, who played no small part in bringing Codesa to life, stared stonily downwards, Mrs Helen Suzman covered her eyes with her hand.

Not even her old adversary, John Vorster, the most devastating of parliamentary hatchet men, descended to quite this level of calculated vituperation. In South African politics, it was unprecedented.

President De Klerk flushed, started taking notes, then dropped his pen. Foreign Minister Pik Botha, an old campaigner hardened by his days as resident polecat at the United Nations, whispered urgently in the president's ear, trying to steady him, perhaps. But when Mr De Klerk followed Mr Mandela to the podium he was still hyperventilating, so that he snatched for breath and struggled for control of his voice. Far less articulate in English than Mr Mandela, he rambled through an explanation, searched vainly for a reference in his notes. To his credit, he avoided responding by personal abuse.

To those who

□ To Page 2

Now let us



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DE KLERK
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The scorn and the blindness

□ From Page 1

watched, from the floor of the convention and from the balconies above, it was plain that the outburst had been simmering for some time. It was sparked by President De Klerk's criticism, valid but ill-timed, of the ANC's insistence on retaining its dual personality as political organisation and army of liberation. *SJ Times 22/12/91*

What infuriated Mr Mandela, however, was not the substance of the criticism. It was the fact that the government had asked to be allowed to speak last, out of turn, and the ANC magnanimously agreed. When Mr De Klerk used his last word on attacking the ANC, Mr Mandela felt he had been led into a trap.

As he pointed out, the two men had been working together all week long to defuse their dispute over violence — Mr Mandela claiming that the government has the forces, but not the will, to end the killing in the townships, and

Mr De Klerk demanding the ANC's abandonment of armed struggle — but the president had given him no hint, even as late as the previous evening, that he intended to raise it.

Mr Mandela perceived duplicity, I suspect something else. Mr De Klerk has a curious blind spot, an Afrikaner's isolation from other people and other cultures, which makes him incapable of understanding the damage done to his own credibility by his failure to control the security forces.

Destroy

If he is telling the truth, they deceive him, and he is too feeble to dismiss them, they defy his commands, as the CCB did, with impunity, they hide files which they use to blackmail him, and he does nothing, they murder and destroy the evidence, and are not prosecuted, they interfere in politics, they lie, they subvert the democratic process, they are corrupt and depraved, and he protects

them. The filth rubs off.

To say this is to predict more high drama as Codesa proceeds but there is no need to be alarmed. As this uproar demonstrated, Codesa is now stronger than its co-architects. Reform no longer depends on trust between two demonstrably fallible men, it has been institutionalised.

Both Mr De Klerk, in refraining from invective, and Mr Mandela, in saying later that the fuss was over, have recognised that Codesa has the power to shape the behaviour of the men and women who participate in it. And that is a great step forward.

For if this episode has demonstrated anything at all, it is that we would be mad to sign a constitution that failed to put strict limits on the power of men like Mr Mandela or Mr De Klerk, neither of whom will ever trust the other to hold the fate of the nation in his hands.

As all liberals will know, that is the beginning of constitutional wisdom.

ANC probe nears end

By AYESHA ISMAIL
S. Times (Cm) 22/12/81

THE African National Congress has confirmed that its own investigation into the arrests of ANC members in connection with the murder of ANC member, Mr Pro Jack, and the attempted murder of Mr Rose Sonto, is nearing completion.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr said "good progress" had been made.

Mr Hofmeyr said the ANC expected "certain standards" of behaviour of its members and violent attacks against anybody were "totally unacceptable".

Police liaison officer, Captain Attie Laubscher, said that although suspects have appeared in court, police were still investigating.



MIKE ROBERTSON, EDYTH BULBRING and CHARLES LEONARD

What's being debated and where the different parties' loyalties lie

AN ambivalent relationship between the ANC and NP will dominate the proceedings of Codesa as the convention moves beyond procedural discussions to the real work of hammering out a new constitution.

On many of the issues to be negotiated, the ANC and the NP hold clearly differing views and it is here that the role of the smaller parties will become crucial.

Five working groups were appointed yesterday by Codesa to deal with a range of issues. They have been described as the "heart" of Codesa and it is in these forums that political alliances will be formed around issues and tactics.

Here is a checklist of the main groups, the issues and the possible alliances

● The first working group will look at creating a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community.

Two key issues to be explored by the first working group will be the termination of military means to promote the objectives of political organisations and the political neutrality of the state media.

On the first issue the ANC can only really count on the support of the SA Communist Party, the Transkei and the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses for the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On control of the SABC, the ANC will have virtually unanimous support for its proposal that it be placed in the hands of a neutral body.

● The second working group, perhaps the most important, has been asked to explore a myriad of constitutional principles.

On many, such as a Bill of Rights, equality before the law and proportional representation in elections, there is already broad agreement although, on the first, much of the fine print has still to be settled.

But two conflicting constitutional proposals have emerged. One is that South Africa should be a unitary state, the other that it should be a geographical federation or confederation.

The SA government can expect support for the federal option from the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, the National People's Party and Inkatha. The ANC, which favours a unitary state with region-

at authorities that derive their power from the central government, will get the backing of the SACP, NIC/TIC, Transkei and perhaps Inyandza.

This working group will also decide on the crucial issue of a constitution-making body.

Mr de Klerk proposed on Friday that Codesa negotiate an interim constitution which, after approval by a referendum in which votes would be counted on a racial basis, would be put to parliament for approval. Thereafter an interim government would be elected which would both govern and serve as a negotiating forum for a final constitution.

The ANC proposes that Codesa work out only broad constitutional principles and that a constituent

assembly be elected to fill in the details.

The Democratic Party has a proposal that fits somewhere between the two. It proposes that a constitutional conference be elected on the basis of one man, one vote with a one-percent cut off. Both the majority party in the conference and the majority party in parliament would have veto rights.

On this issue the ANC can expect the support of the SACP, TIC/NIC, Transkei, Inyandza, the Intando Yeswe Party, the Ximoko Progressive Party, the Venda Military Council and the Labour Party.

Inkatha, the Ciskei government, the National People's Party, Solidarity and the Dikwankwella Party oppose or appear to oppose the idea of an elected constituent assembly,

agrees with the NP that Codesa should be the negotiating mechanism.

● The third working group will deal with transitional arrangements/interim government. Here the ANC and the NP are far apart.

The ANC proposes that Codesa set up a sovereign interim government of national unity to oversee the holding of constituent assembly elections.

In terms of Mr De Klerk's proposal, an interim government would be elected after Codesa has worked out an interim constitution. According to Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, the interim constitution and government could be in place for 10 years or more.

On this issue the DP has pro-

posed a Transitional Government of National Reconciliation headed by a council of leaders appointed by Codesa. The state president would exercise executive functions on the advice of the council.

The breakdown of support of the other parties on this question is much the same as that on the constitution-making forum.

● The fourth working group will debate the future of the homelands Here all parties, with the exception of the Bophuthatswana government, agree on reincorporation. But Codesa has decided that if a party is materially affected by a decision with which it does not agree, it shall be deemed that there is not sufficient consensus. Heated debate on this can be expected.

● The fifth working group will

talk about time frames

The National Party wants the negotiating process to proceed swiftly until an interim government is in place, followed by a long period before a final constitution is decided. The ANC wants Codesa to finish its work by the middle of this year and constituent assembly elections to be held within 18 months.

The other parties have not clearly spelt out their views on this issue but most would favour a shorter rather than an extended negotiating period.

With such differing viewpoints on so many issues, it is difficult to see how any resolution can be speedily achieved. It becomes doubly difficult to envisage when one considers that both the NP and ANC have effective veto rights.

at the World Trade Centre

★ SUNDAY TIMES, December 22 1991

parties' loyalties lie

Rocky road

ahead

Sowetan 23/12/91

11A

THE birth process of the new South Africa started at Codesa on Saturday, but when it will end is blurred by growing conflict between the Government and the African National Congress.

According to National Party sources, the Government wants an interim (transition) phase for as long as 10 years while the ANC wants a transition period of no longer than 18 months.

What the determination of the actual time frame for the transformation has been delegated to one of five working groups of Codesa, the issue is threatening to drive a wedge between the ANC and the Government.

Interim government

At the end of the weekend's convention, State President FW de Klerk refused to be drawn into discussing the National Party's proposals - which contain a blueprint for a 10-year interim government.

In his reaction to the NP's plan, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, without committing himself in any way said "We are ready to consider the proposals which the Government says it is almost ready to present concerning these matters."

But other senior ANC leaders have repeatedly stated that a drawn out interim period was "totally unacceptable," some going as far as calling

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

the NP plan a "trap"

De Klerk did, however, touch base with the ANC on the issue of Codesa reaching a swift end to its business when he suggested that an interim government of national unity should replace the present parliament.

"We are convinced that it is in the interest of South Africa and all its people for us to institute expeditiously, as a first phase, a government that is broadly representative of the whole population," De Klerk said.

Reconciliation

He spoke at the end of the first day's deliberations of Codesa where South Africa's immediate political horizon was re-arranged to make way for national reconciliation.

Codesa established confidences and its participants adopted a declaration of intent which propelled the country into a transition period and which finally brought truth to the notion that the process of change in South Africa was irreversible.

Five working groups were established to deal with the stated aims and objectives of Codesa.

The working groups will deal with the creation of a climate for free political activity, constitu-

Continued on page 2



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Reconciliation in South Africa has now begun

11A

From page 1

constitutional principles in a new dispensation including a Bill of Rights, a transitional authority or interim government, the future of the homelands, and the time frames for the implementation and execution of the decisions of Codesa.

Codesa will not automatically be granted legal force, but its decisions will go to a committee that will draft legislation that will be placed before Parliament.

Sowetan 23/12/91
Legislation

If the legislation is accepted at (Codesa) committee level - where all the parliamentary parties will be represented except the Conservative Party - it is unlikely that it will become law.

The five working groups that were established at Codesa will meet again soon after the opening of Parliament, when De Klerk is expected to announce his party's proposals for an interim government.

DECLARATION OF INTENT

We, the duly authorised representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations and the South African Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome responsibility that rests on us at this moment in the history of our country, declare our solemn commitment

1) To bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amidst our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, accountability free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination,

2) To work to heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all and to establish a free and open society based on democratic values where dignity, worth of rights of every South African are protected by the law,

3) To strive to improve the quality of life of our people through the policies that will promote economic growth and human development and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans,

4) To create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional change by eliminating violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation, discussion

The majority of parties and organisations who attended the Convention for a Democratic South Africa summit at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park near Johannesburg at the weekend endorsed a "Declaration of Intent" document which aims for a "democratic South Africa with justice for all". The declaration was signed by most of the participants except for the Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana. The declaration says it seeks to transform South Africa "from an apartheid state to a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist country with justice for all". 23/12/91

Sowetan 23/12/91
It will be guarded over by an independent, non-racial and impartial judiciary. C that there shall be a multi-party democracy with the right to form an joint political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters role, in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation,

D that there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with the appropriate checks and balances,

E that the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged,

F that all shall enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom of religion, speech and assembly protected by an entrenched and justiciable Bill of Rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all before the law

We, the representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations, further commit ourselves to be bound by agreements of Codesa and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation

As special clause bound the South African Government separately from the other signatories, this clause reads as follows
We, the South African government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with the other participants in Codesa in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority

Groups to map out new SA

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN Political Correspondent

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the weekend established five working groups to work towards creating a new political order for South Africa

The five working groups have been assigned to

- * Investigate, report on and make recommendations for creating a climate for free political participation and define the role of the international community.
- * Formulate general constitutional principles and define or reach agreement on a constitution-making body (constitutional assembly or conference) and what such a process should actually entail.
- * Investigate the composition and structure of an interim government or

transitional authority, * Investigate and give detailed clarity on the role of the homelands - Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and

* Determine time-frames and completion target dates for the processes and assignments being undertaken by Codesa

The working groups will start their work on February 6 and prepare reports for Codesa 2 - which could take place during March

It is also here in the working groups where the serious tensions over constitutional details and the shape, size and lifespan of an interim government will be felt

The first working group will be faced with the daunting task of creating a condition conducive to free political participation

The immediate issue could be the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe and its military strength, the South African Defence Force and South African Police and their perceived role in the violence in the country as well as their historical involvement in internal and regional conflict

The second working group's brief of searching

for and defining constitutional principles is a political minefield. It is here where the greatest differences between the political parties lie

The third working group, which will deal with the transitional arrangements or interim governments, has a similarly arduous task

State President FW de Klerk on Friday proposed

that Codesa negotiate an interim constitution which, after approval by a referendum in which votes will be counted on a racial basis, would be put to Parliament

The fourth working group's task, that of determining the role of the homelands, face the wrath of Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope

White all the other homeland leaders have either implicitly or explicitly accepted re-incorporation, Mangope is obdurately clinging to his position

Codesa spells end to revolutionary struggle

WITH the advent of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa political reform appears to have replaced the revolutionary struggle in the country.

The decisions taken at the World Trade Centre at the weekend will now put a question mark against the continued relevance of the revolutionary liberation movement, as represented by the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian Peoples Organisation

Where does each of the three stand at this juncture?

The ANC was the first to engage the South African Government in negotiations

Its president Mr Nelson Mandela said on Friday the black majority had forced the "regime" to go to the table

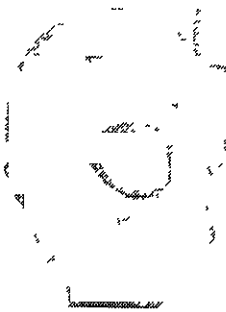
He hinted that Codesa was a culmination of a negotiation process dating back to 1986 when he was still in prison. The first government representative he spoke to was Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee

Broederbond

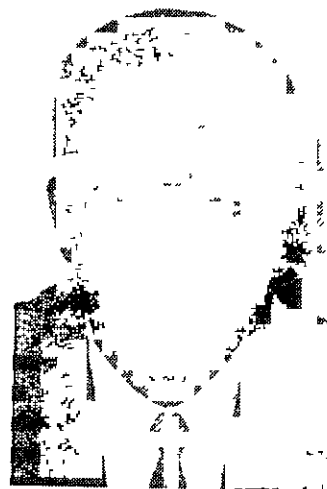
However, authority has it that Codesa is actually a climax of a process initiated by the regime itself. The Broederbond, the secret power behind the Afrikaner throne, proposed in 1986 that there should be a black president and that liberation movements, ostensibly the ANC, should be engaged in negotiations

However, to the ANC the "struggle" has taken a new dimension, that of setting up the mechanisms for a new government and

The time for the revolutionary struggle and all that goes with it is over following historic decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the weekend THEMBA MOLEFE of our Political Staff reports.



KOBIE COETSEE



DIKGANG MOSENEKE

constitution. According to the ANC, Codesa is a victory for the "people"

The movement also views President FW de Klerk's acceptance of the notion of an interim government as a capitulation

The PAC, on the other hand, has pulled out of the process and begun a campaign it calls "Death to Codesa"

Also, the Africanists are advocating another Patriotic Front of

organisations opposed to Codesa, which the PAC sees as a conspiracy between the Government and the ANC

On Saturday Mandela said the Patriotic Front - convened jointly by the ANC and the PAC - was not dead and the organisation was still committed to it

He refused to speculate about the forthcoming meeting of the ANC and PAC over the PF in January

The PAC leadership has stated that its decision to pull out of the talks was not irreversible

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke told journalists last week, after meeting Commonwealth observers, that negotiations were still paramount to the PAC

But the organisation needs assurances that it will not be co-opted into a conspiracy, allegedly between the ANC and the Government to jointly run the country

Political commentators think the PAC's stance is temporary and that it will eventually join the convention (Codesa Two is being planned for March next year)

The mood at the convention was that the PAC should not be left out of any decision-making mechanism on South Africa's future. The ANC, the Government and the international community - UN and the OAU - say so

It is thus a matter of time before the PAC joins Codesa

This leaves Azapo alone, steadfastly maintaining a revolutionary posture

Kicked out

Azapo was "kicked out" of the PF convening committee when it objected to the participation of organisations and parties "created by the Government"

The organisation has also ruled out negotiations with the Government and also advocates what it calls a "front of patriots and of organisations of the oppressed"

Whether Azapo will succeed in going it alone or harnessing support on its side will determine the future of revolutionary struggle in South Africa

Sowetan 23/12/91

(11A) (30A) CODESA

Black businessmen laud Codesa moves

Soweto 23/12/91
BLACK business has welcomed the launch of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa as an important milestone that might bring socio-political and economic development in the country

They expressed hope that the parties which either pulled out or refused to participate in Codesa will

change their minds and join in the political transformation taking place in South Africa

The National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industries, the Foundation of African Business and Consumer Services and the Soweto Independent Shopkeepers Association, also condemned the violence

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

11A
Nafcoc vice-president Mr Joe Hlongwane said Codesa was a good move towards liberation from the shackles of oppression provided black leaders avoided being co-opted by the Government

It was unfortunate that some of the black organisations were not present at the signing of the historic agreement

He said black business should be invited to make a contribution because "political power without eco-

nomie muscle will be useless in the post-apartheid South Africa"

He did not believe that sanctions against South Africa would be lifted immediately but said he expected they would slowly go away in the aftermath of Codesa

Nafcoc was concerned about the majority of black people who were poor and disadvantaged as a result of apartheid and wanted to see them economically empowered



Political Editor Shaun Johnson on the psychology of the Mandela/De Klerk battle

Long overdue, but what a fight

S 1792 23 | 12 | 11

(11A)



NO ONE who sat in the Chamber of the World Trade Centre on Friday evening, transfixed by the sight of a black leader speaking to a white leader as a South African head of state has never been spoken to before, will ever forget that half-hour.

When the confrontation between Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk was over, delegates, dignitaries and journalists sat in silent stupefaction, unable to believe what they had just witnessed.

It is little wonder that they did so. Now that the shock has passed, the realisation is dawning that what we were watching was the first baring of South Africa's — our own — tortured psyche.

For every South African present, of every political stripe, the exchange was excruciatingly painful. We listeners were like children witnessing the first deadly, vicious argument between our parents. We had known for a long time that there were terrible tensions beneath the surface, of course, but we had never expected them to burst out in this way.

And now that the nausea of our first reaction has lifted, and we discover that our home is going to

survive the trauma after all, we are beginning to feel the benefits of catharsis.

Septuagenarian Nelson Mandela's verbal savaging of the younger F W de Klerk was a product of something much deeper than a disagreement over the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Pretoria Minute. It was a warning from black South Africa to white South Africa. It was a warning that will live with white South Africa, and influence its actions from here on.

Friday, December 20 1991 — as opposed to February 2 1990 — marks the moment at which black South Africa came of political age. It did so on its own terms.

President de Klerk made a fundamental error on December 20. He insulted Mr Mandela's dignity. Mr Mandela is in many ways an old-fashioned, traditional man. One treats Mr Mandela's dignity cavalierly at one's peril.

Mr de Klerk used the crucial final speaking opportunity, granted to him magnanimously by the ANC leader, to hector and threaten the ANC in the tones of a headmaster admonishing an errant child.

He did so in spite of the fact

that other leaders — including the NPs Dawie de Villiers — had purposely adopted conciliatory stances in their Codesa speeches. He did so in the knowledge that Mr Mandela had, the very night before, overruled his own angry executive and agreed to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent — because Mr de Klerk had convinced him that this was the honourable thing to do.

He did so despite Mr Mandela's earlier assurance of flexibility on the question of MK. He did so in front of the entire world — and paid the price.

The issue on which he chose to "discipline" Mr Mandela — and the fact that he expected to get away with it — showed just how shallow the understanding by white South Africa of black South Africa still is. The existence of MK is not primarily a military or security issue. It is a matter of pride — indeed dignity — above all else.

Aside from isolated acts by ill-disciplined individuals (and these occur in the SAP and SADF as well), MK has not launched any attacks since the armed struggle was suspended. It can be argued

that it was, in any case, ineffective before that. MK's recent anniversary celebrations were a sign of how weak, rather than strong, the organisation really is. No one seriously believes that MK is capable of launching an armed insurrection, even if it wanted to.

But MK is, for black South Africa, the symbol of its own resistance to apartheid. No one should underestimate the shame that still exists in the townships, a shame at having impossibly succumbed to discrimination for so long. MK's existence, irrespective of its efficacy, makes many black people feel better about themselves. Mr de Klerk underestimated the power of this symbolism.

He also underestimated the anger the ANC feels when Government spokesmen proclaim about the political process from a position of assumed superiority — as referee in a game in which they are merely players. This is why Mr Mandela startled "De Klerk must forget (the idea) that he can impose conditions on the ANC. He doesn't represent us. He can't talk to us in that language."

When Mr Mandela spoke the words "I am gravely concerned about the behaviour of Mr de

Klerk today", he was delivering a message about dignity. Bluntly put, he was saying: You are treating us like pincunns, and I am going to have to hurt you in order to make you stop.

He did hurt Mr de Klerk, badly. There were many present who found it distasteful, felt Mr Mandela had overstepped the bounds of political debate, that he became too personal in his attack, that it was too long, that it strayed into improper areas — like that of the NP's loss of support to the Conservatives.

There is truth in each of these allegations, but they are not enough to overshadow the fundamental issue. Mr Mandela's anger was genuine, and his opponents will not forget it in a hurry. They will think twice before again trying to pull a similar procedural trick. This was a growing pain of the new South Africa, it had to be gone through.

But once the error of judgment had been made — none of this would have happened had Mr de Klerk simply noted his concern about the MK issue at Codesa and left it for another forum — how did the president fare? Under the circumstances, very well, and for

this the whole nation should be grateful.

He took the harangue on the chin. He did not walk out. Although visibly upset, he had the strength to take the podium and defend himself. He cleverly avoided a personalised counter-attack. He ended off with a ringing appeal for goodwill and solidarity in Codesa. He ensured that what could have been a humiliation — and that would only serve the right wing — ended up as a sharp disagreement between two strong-willed men. One shudders to think how P W Botha would have reacted under the circumstances.

And so in the end the painful, discomforting experience might actually help South Africans in their search for a fair compromise that will stick. The bottled-up grievances have to come out, decades of apartheid could not be wiped from memory in the course of an historic Parliamentary speech.

And the exchange has had another, somewhat perverse spin-off. It has made nonsense of the PAC's claims about a secret love affair between the NP and ANC. □

Weighty issues on

cards for Codesa 2

SAR 23/12/71

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Fundamental political questions such as the nature of an interim government and a constituent assembly and the future of the TBVC states are to be debated when Codesa holds its second plenary meeting in March

In the meantime, five important Codesa working groups will be holding an intense series of meetings in an attempt to reach agreement on these issues behind closed doors

Codesa sources see the March meeting as an interim one where progress in the working groups, rather than final agreements, will be presented

The timetable for change was agreed upon on Saturday at the end of Codesa's first meeting at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport

Seventeen of the governments and parties at "Codesa 1" signed a Declaration of Intent, committing themselves to basic principles of multiparty democracy and to abide by the decisions of Codesa

Only the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government refused to sign, fearing that they would be committing themselves to decisions that could jeopardise their autonomy or existence. But they have remained in Codesa.

The tasks of the five working groups, which will meet for the first time on January 20 are to create a climate for free political participation, to agree on the role of the international community in the transition, to agree on basic constitutional principles and a constitutional-making body or process, to agree on a transitional or interim government, to agree on whether the TBVC states should be incorporated into South Africa and to agree on the timing for implementing Codesa's decisions

The trickiest problems will be whether or not the ANC finally abandons the armed struggle, the future of the TBVC states and the nature of a constituent assembly and interim government

Improved

President de Klerk presented an ultimatum to the ANC at Codesa 1 when he said that the Government would not enter into any binding agreements on fundamental questions unless the ANC fully gave up the armed struggle

However, he also dramatically improved the chances of agreement by disclosing that the Government now accepted the idea of a sovereign, non-racial interim government — including an elected one person, one vote Parliament — which would also draft a final new constitution

The agenda for the working group meetings includes other difficult questions

As part of the process of creating a climate for free politics, Working Group 1 will consider the political neutrality of, and equal access to State-controlled media — especially the SABC

The timetable for future Codesa business was announced on Saturday. The Codesa Steering Committee is now to be known as a Management Committee. It will meet for the first time on January 13

It will choose a chairman, establish a day-to-day executive of five people and a secretariat and set up the working groups

Each working group will comprise two representatives and two support staff from each of the 19 Codesa delegations

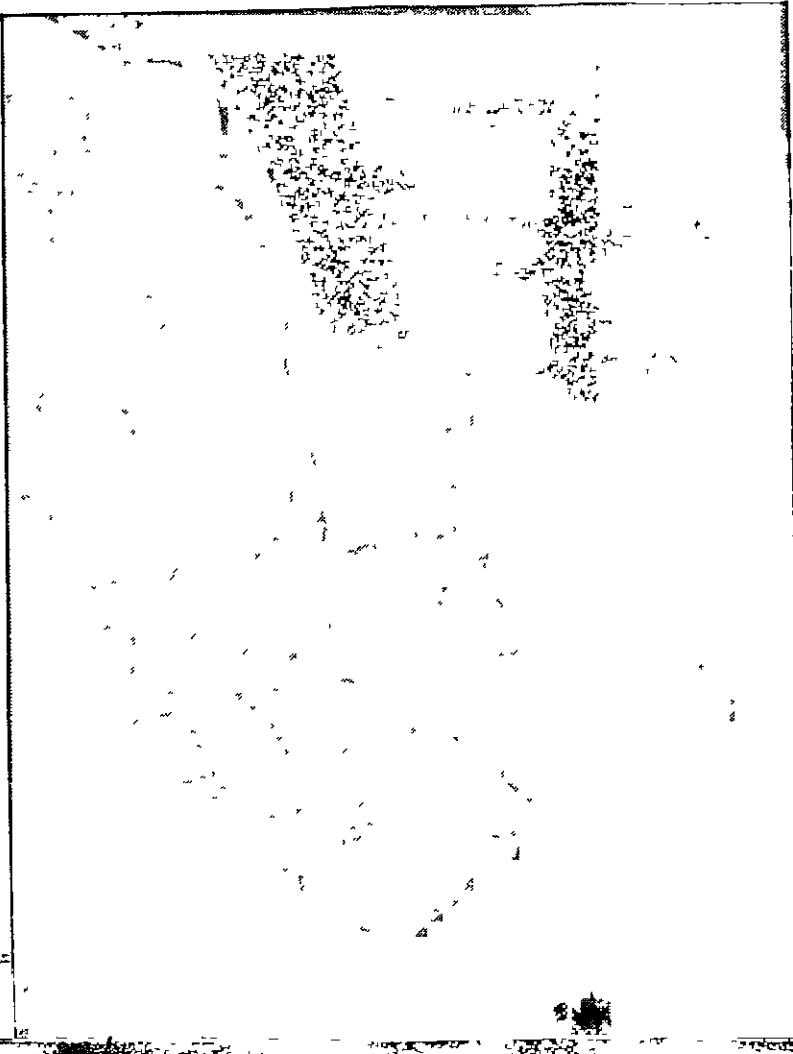
ANC official Murphy Morobe will continue to head Codesa administration and Constitutional Development official Deon du Plooy, Codesa finance

The Management Committee will have to decide whether or not to allow other parties and organisations to join Codesa

Several have applied. The most difficult application is that from the Zulu king

Failed negotiations about his status at Codesa caused Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to attend Codesa

It is now being proposed that all traditional leaders should attend future Codesa meetings



Helen Suzman issued a call at Codesa for a greater role to be given to women prevent accusations of sex discrimination

30/9/19	4	Depreciation	(13 600 × 20%)	
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SUGGESTED SOLUTION

The Star Monday December 23 1991 3

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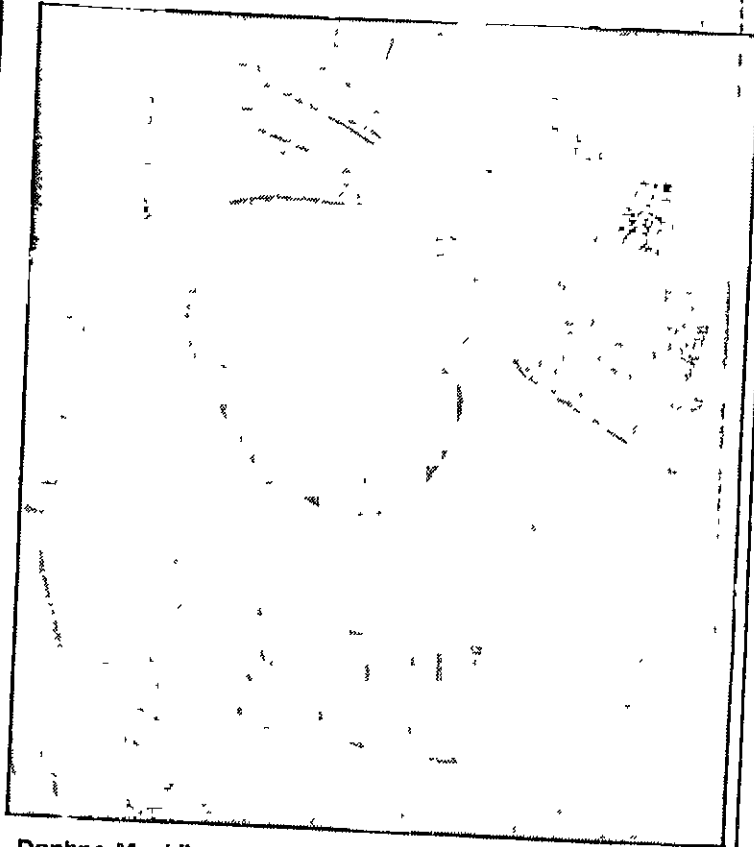
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Daphne Mashile . . . of 19 political organisations at Code-
sa, not one gave their women a significant role to play

Part (c)

DISPOSAL ACCOUNT

1/10/19.3	Motor vehicle	13 600	1/10/19.3	Accum. Dep	6 800
				Creditor (Trade-in)	5 600
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				Insurance Co.	8 000
				Loss on disposal	1 360
		<u>14 400</u>			<u>14 400</u>

New govt 'by 1993'

STAR 23/12/91 11A
 By Peter Fabricius
 Political Correspondent

South Africa could get its first, fully representative, non-racial government by 1993 or even sooner — with F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and other black leaders as co-presidents

This may be the effect of President de Klerk's far-reaching announcements on the Government's new policy on an interim government

He disclosed at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the weekend that the Government was ready and eager to install an interim (or "transitional") government and a new, elected Parliament, representative of the whole population

Apart from running the country, the new government would draft a final constitution — in effect making it a constituent assembly

Mr de Klerk's proposal takes the Government's position a giant stride closer to that of the ANC

Government sources say that Mr de Klerk will present a detailed plan for an interim constitution at the opening of Parliament on January 24

**More reports
 - Pages 3, 12 and 13**

It will then go to one of Codesa's working groups on February 6. This group will report to Codesa's second plenary meeting, scheduled to take place before the end of March

Theoretically agreement on an interim government could be reached then, but sources close to Codesa say this is more likely to be an interim meeting to report progress.

But these sources believe that agreement should be reached later next year

In the Government view, a referendum would then have to be held to win approval for the constitution from the different population groups (whose votes will be counted separately)

If approved, the interim constitution could be submitted and passed during the 1993 parliamentary session — although a special session of Parliament could be held during the second half of 1992 if agreement were reached soon enough

Elections for South Africa's first non-racial fully representative Parliament would then be held — and a government installed

Although Mr de Klerk has declined to divulge much detail, he told a Codesa press conference that he did not intend merely adding a fourth black chamber to the tricameral Parliament, as some ANC officials suspected. Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told The Star at the weekend that the NP's envisaged interim constitution would be based on the NP's proposals for a permanent constitution

Its main features are a joint executive presidency of three to five leaders of the biggest parties, and two legislative houses with equal power and strong protection for minorities

Mr de Klerk's major concessions to the opposition

● To Page 3



Light entertainment Johannesburg's Christmas lights have been an attraction for out-of-towners Picture Debbie Yazbek

New govt could be in place by 1993

STAR 23/12/91 11A
 ● From Page 1

demands for a sovereign interim government and an elected constitution-drafting body have dramatically improved the prospects for successful negotiations at Codesa

Until now the NP's official policy has been that the constitution should be drafted by an unelected multiparty conference — such as Codesa

The catch in the Government plan — at least from the ANC view — is that it would like the interim government to rule for much longer than the 18 months or so envisaged by the ANC

Another point of difference with the ANC is that the Government sees the interim government as an unelected body

And the strong minority protection in the legislature, which is sure to be a feature of the NP plan, is certain to cause problems to the ANC.

Yet another problem is that the Government has made it clear that apart from other groups, the new constitution will have to be approved by the white electorate.

Nonetheless, the ANC's initial reaction to Mr de Klerk's proposal has been promising

Mr Mandela said in a statement on Saturday that the ANC welcomed the fact that the Government had acknowledged the legitimacy of various aspects of ANC policy.

These included the demand that the NP should not be referee and player, that an interim government of national unity should be established expeditiously, and that the present constitution and the tricameral Parliament had no legitimacy

Another looming obstacle is the Government's growing insistence that the ANC abandon its armed struggle

Light

Celebrate Christmas with dignity - Azapo

St. Jan 24/12/91

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation has called on black people to celebrate Christmas with dignity by focusing on the liberatory role of Christ

In his Christmas message, Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe reminded black people that Christ was born to liberate the oppressed and exploited "and not to enrich the capitalists"

"As we enter the Christmas period, we should remember that the regime and the capitalists have turned the birth of Christ into a profit-making ceremony

"Azapo's 'black' Christmas call is meant to restore the dignity of Christ's birth to its original purpose, and it is not

By MOKGADI PELA

meant to debar the oppressed from celebrations of the birth of the Son of Man," Nefolovhodwe said

He added that 1991 had ushered in "talks about talks that have not brought anything substantive for the poor. Some exiles have returned only to find the oppressive regime still intact. Political prisoners have been released only to be subjected to violent killings and harassment"

Nefolovhodwe further called on black people to remain vigilant in the wake of President FW de Klerk's "so-called reform process"

Mandela was right - callers

Sowetan 24/12/91

This is the last Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show this year. Keep watching Sowetan for details about next year's arrangements.

CALLERS to the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show yesterday expressed optimism about the first round of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

In addition, they said Mr Nelson Mandela's attack



on President FW de Klerk was correct because "he had asked for it"

However, two callers attacked the ANC for participating in the convention and described its move as "capitulation of a liberation movement".

118

The guest speaker on the show, Mr Moeletsu Mbeki, Cosatu's head of communications, said Codesa 1 was a "step forward in that it brought all major players into discussing the creation of a peaceful democratic South Africa"

He regretted that other political players such as the PAC, Azapo and the Conservative Party were absent. He added "There is still room for them to rejoin Codesa and it will be in their interest to do so"

On the heated exchange of words between Mandela and De Klerk, Mbeki said Mandela's speech did definitely unsettle the National Party and the Government.

"Mandela's performance was commendable De Klerk was wrong to bring some of the issues which pertain to the ANC and the Government to the convention He tried to pressurise the ANC and he got what he deserved"

But Joseph of Sebokeng said the whole exercise was a blow to the oppressed majority He said De Klerk had succeeded 80 percent into co-opting Mandela What now remained for him to obtain 100 percent was to get the Umkhonto We Sizwe and the PAC.

Joint rule may

be next

ANC, NP policy

moving closer

Source for 24/12/91

1167

Until now the NP's official policy has been that the constitution should be drafted by an unelected multi-party conference - like Codesa - comprising all political parties with proven support.

And until De Klerk's Friday announcements, the Government had not departed publicly from its position that it would not surrender sovereignty to an interim government.

The catch in the Government plan - at least from the ANC view - is that it would like the interim government to rule for much longer than the 18 months or so envisaged by the ANC.

Viljoen said the interim government should remain in power for some time, and he said later that this could be 10 years or more.

ANC sources suspect that the NP side is to bring in its constitution by back door.

Another point of difference with the ANC is that it sees the interim government as an unelected body.

And the strong minority protection in the legislature which is sure to be a feature of the NP plan, is certain to cause problems to the ANC.

Yet another problem is that the Government has made it clear that apart from initial groups, the new constitution will have to be approved by the white electorate.

Nonetheless the ANC's initial reaction to De Klerk's proposal has been promising.

Political Staff

In the Government view, a referendum would then have to be held to win approval for the constitution of the different population groups (whose votes will be counted separately).

If approved, the interim constitution could be submitted and passed during the 1993 parliamentary session - although a special session of Parliament could be held during the second half of 1992 if agreement is reached soon enough.

Elections for South Africa's first non-racial fully-representative Parliament would then be held - and a government installed.

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Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said at the weekend the NP's envisaged interim constitution would be based on the NP's proposals for a permanent constitution.

Its main features are a joint executive presidency of three to five leaders of the biggest parties and two equally-powerful legislative houses with strong protection for minorities.

De Klerk's major concessions to the opposition demands for a sovereign interim government and an elected constitution-drafting body, have dramatically improved the prospects for successful negotiations at Codesa.

SOUTH Africa could get its first fully-representative, non-racial government by 1993 or even sooner - with Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr FW de Klerk and other black leaders as co-presidents.

This may be the effect of President de Klerk's far-reaching announcements on the Government's new interim government policy at the weekend Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

He disclosed that the Government was ready and eager to install an interim (or transitional) government and a new, elected Parliament, representative of the whole population.

Apart from running the country, the new government would draft a final constitution - in effect making it a constituent assembly.

De Klerk's proposal takes the Government's position a giant stride closer to that of the ANC.

Government sources say that De Klerk will present a detailed plan for an interim constitution at the opening of Parliament on January 24.

It will then go to one of Codesa's working groups on February 6. This group will report to Codesa's second plenary meeting, scheduled to take place before the end of March.

Theoretically, agreement on an interim government could be reached then, but sources close to Codesa say this is more likely to be an interim meeting to report progress.



GERRIT VILJOEN

CODESA

Negotiations have begun

Sowetan Correspondent

Sowetan
24
11/4
12

THE era of real negotiations has begun with the successful completion at the weekend of Codesa 1.

After 17 of the 19 groups in the convention signed a Declaration of Intent enjoining basic constitutional principles for a post-apartheid South Africa, Codesa set itself a timetable for dealing with critical issues of the transitional period.

Nominations for the five working groups are to be finalised by January 10 and they will meet for the first time on January 20 to elect chairmen and to work out a programme as required.

The first working sessions of these groups will be on February 6. Codesa's management committee meets on January 13 to elect a chairman.

Codesa 2 is to take place not later than the end of March where it is expected that the working groups will report back on progress rather than on final agreements.

The working groups are to thrash out consensus on transitional arrangements, on a constitution-making body or process, the creation of a climate for free political activity, constitutional principles, the future of the TBVC states and the time scales for implementing decisions.

At the first meeting of Codesa this weekend all organisations and governments except Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana signed the declaration

All parties reached consensus on agenda for the working groups.

Participants hailed the first meeting as a success. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said "We firmly believe that from what we have achieved to date we can have a new constitution in place by Christmas 1992".

President FW de Klerk said Codesa 1 had attained "wonders" in two days. SACP general secretary and Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Mr Chris Hani said Codesa's success was "beyond our expectations" and had ushered the country into a new era of politics.

De Klerk said the Government was ready to negotiate an elected interim government and a fully representative Parliament.

The Government would be ready to table its proposals at the working groups' first meeting.

But the proposal would have to be supported by a majority in each group.

If accepted, Parliament would have to approve the new constitution and then an election would be held among the whole population for a new Parliament.

An interim government would be formed which would draft a new constitution.

FW DE KLERK

NELSON MANDELA

Keep out Mangope - Metsing

Sowetan 24/12/91 (116)
PRESSURE continues to mount on Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope's bona fides at the Convention For a Democratic South Africa.

Yesterday leader of the territory's banned People's Progressive Party and ANC executive member Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, said his party and others in the homeland were pressing for Codesa to exclude Mangope from future talks.

"We demand that the people in that part of South Africa be represented at Codesa by their rightful leaders," Malebane-Metsing said.

He said he would use his influence in the ANC to pressure Codesa to replace Mangope's administration with the PPP, which he said would sign the "Declaration of Intent" which the homeland delegation refused to sign.

Declaration

"Mangope rather refused to sign the declaration solely on his behalf," Malebane-Metsing said.

He said the latter was the reason why Mangope kept on referring to "I" when answering questions at a news briefing at the weekend.

Asked why he refused to hold a referendum Mangope reportedly replied "Because I don't have to."

Malebane-Metsing also

called on the Bophuthatswana government to release certain people detained in Mmabatho at the weekend - SA Press Association.

Time now to buckle down for real negotiations

(1/11)  24/12/91

CODESA I is over. Now that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have papered over the cracks after their angry exchange on Friday night, the parties can get down to the real hard work of negotiating their proposals for an interim government, a constitutional making body and a final constitution.

De Klerk, whose presidency has been characterised by playing his cards close to his chest, pulled an ace from his sleeve at the week-end. Determined to regain the initiative, he pre-empted two central ANC demands — a sovereign interim government and a constituent assembly.

He announced that government would propose a sovereign elected interim government based on universal adult suffrage. This government would be charged with drafting a new constitution. The two-in-one proposal, to be tabled at a Codesa working group in January, means De Klerk has in some way bridged an important chasm between his government and the ANC. He might also have taken a gamble that could lose

him the whole game.

Government has consistently rejected the notion of a sovereign interim government and an elected constituent assembly, claiming this was unnecessary, costly and made negotiation more intractable.

The major argument of De Klerk and the NP has been that holding elections during the negotiating process would result in political parties and organisations hardening their positions, making compromises even more difficult to achieve during negotiations.

He has now firmly placed both items on the agenda and will be bound, in accordance with the commitment signed in the declaration of intent, to negotiate in good faith and abide by Codesa decisions.

De Klerk did not give many details of his proposal, but from the outline he disclosed it is possible to piece together a six-stage plan.

□ The proposal for an interim constitution, based closely on NP constitutional proposals unveiled earlier this

year, is put before working group 3 of Codesa for negotiation.

□ The proposal, with or without amendments, must be agreed by Codesa itself, which then drafts the question to be put to the electorate. The question could also be drafted in such a way that it mandates the interim government to finalise and accept the final constitution. The process to get to this stage could be wound up within the first six months of next year.

□ A referendum, taking another three months, polls all races but is conducted in such a way that the participants in the tricameral Parliament can be assessed separately.

□ Should a majority of whites reject the plan, De Klerk and the NP go back to Codesa to renegotiate and steps 1 to 3 are repeated. If whites approve the constitutional proposal, the tricameral Parliament is asked

to pass it into law as a new interim constitution. This is in keeping with the undertaking that Codesa decisions will be given the force of law, and could be completed by early 1993.

□ After this, an election based on one man one vote in terms of the new interim constitution is conducted to set up an interim Parliament and government, and

□ The new interim government is convened as soon as possible to elect a new president (or collective presidency of the leaders of the three biggest parties represented in Parliament) and Cabinet. The new Parliament starts governing the country and drafting a final constitution for the new SA.

The interim government proposed by De Klerk could be in place by the second half of 1993.

De Klerk does not want any time limit placed on the lifespan of the interim government, preferring to leave it open-ended so that a new constitution can be drafted at lei-

sure Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen says that to justify the radical changes the interim government should remain in place for at least five years, but possibly 10.

The ANC opposes such a long lifespan of the interim government, wanting a final constitution by Christmas 1992.

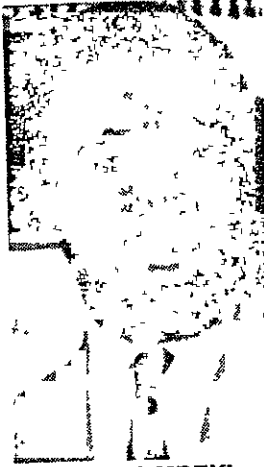
If the ANC wins the day at Codesa, it will seek to have a limit placed on the duration of an interim government. But it could also manage to change De Klerk's plan so drastically that government is forced to comply with what the ANC wants.

The ANC will also not allow a minority white veto right, if De Klerk loses the white referendum, the ANC believes this is his problem, not its.

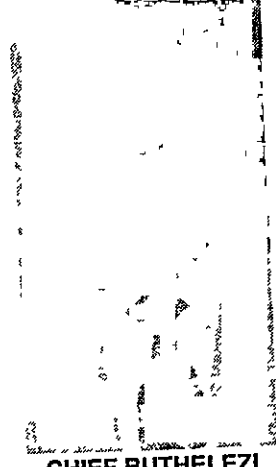
It also objects to the idea of a white veto overriding Codesa decisions.

The risks to De Klerk are enormous, but if he wins, he gives the NP a much longer hold on power than would be the case under the ANC proposals.





THABO MBEKI



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Labour Party to report back on Codesa

Sowetan 27/12/91.

11A

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Thabo Mbeki, the African National Congress secretary of foreign affairs, will speak at the 26th congress of the Labour Party in Durban

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse will deliver the keynote speech at the opening of the congress this evening Buthelezi and Mbeki will speak tomorrow

The Labour Party also invited the Pan Africanist Congress to address them but the PAC has not yet replied

Proceedings at the congress will be dominated by last week's Convention for a Democratic South Africa. The Labour Party's representatives at Codesa will report back on the event

Delegates will discuss their proposals for an interim government and a constitutional assembly and the Labour Party's role in the Patriotic Front

In keeping with the recent defections from the Labour Party to the National Party, Hendrickse has to look for a new national chairman following the resignation of Dr Willie Hoods

Party sources said the vice-national chairman Mr Chris April was likely to be elected to the post

Mr Tommy Abrahams, the Wentworth Member of the House of Representatives and Minister of Education and Culture in the HoR, was among the possible candidates to become vice-chairman, party sources said

The party will hold a national executive meeting tomorrow before the congress begins - *Sowetan Correspondent*

Female fury

Sowetan 27/12/91

(11A) (Dillo)

SOWETAN
Correspondent

Woman rally to call by Helen Suzman

WOMEN have strongly backed the call by former MP Helen Suzman at Codesa at the weekend for a greater role to be given to members of their sex to prevent accusations of gender discrimination.

Sheena Duncan, Black Sash national executive member and vice-president of the National Council of Churches, labelled as "disgraceful" the fact that only five percent of the 228 delegates to Codesa at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park were females.

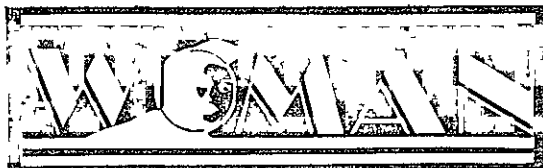
"This is particularly bizarre in view of resolutions about a future non-racist, non-sexist democracy in South Africa," said Duncan.

"Women are the backbone of most political parties, doing most of the constituency work as well, and can expect to be seen up-



HELEN SUZMAN

SHEENA DUNCAN



front when it comes to decision-making

"The truth is that women are simply not taken seriously when it comes to power in our patriarchal society which has been fashioned by men"

She warned all political

groups seeking support from the electorate that females comprised more than 50 percent of the electorate who would take a long, hard look at the status of their sex when it came to casting a vote

Suzman's appeal on Saturday was backed at Codesa by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Party, the ANC Womens' League and the South African Communist Party

The biggest high-level female representation was from the Natal Indian Congress which had seven female representatives

Said Daphne

Mashile, a member of the ANC Soweto Crisis Committee "Out of the 19 political organisations represented in Codesa not even a single one gave their women a significant role to play

Sidelined

"All the speeches were read by men while the few women who were there were awarded observer status. Women work hard at grassroots levels and are being sidelined for leadership positions," she said

Mashile warned that if women did not get involved in the political decisions being made now, other people would decide their fate in future

The Government should set the trend by getting more women into leadership positions and all extra-parliamentary organisa-

tions should follow suit, she said

However, publisher of *Who's Who* in Southern Africa Lise Essberger believed the reason why women got involved in middle-management positions, but never go on to leadership positions, was that they were not assertive enough

Culture

She said only 20 percent of the 7 000 biographers in *Who's Who* were women and the publisher had had to push hard to get some of them into the book

"There is still a problem for women to assert themselves - perhaps it has something to do with our culture. If we compare ourselves to European and American counterparts, we are far behind

"But I agree that women have an important role to play and they should be given an opportunity to get involved in any future discussions on the constitution of the country," Ms Essberger said

Morra Winslow, actress and chief executive of Drive-Alive claimed "We are three generations behind the world when it comes to women's equality. South Africans tend to display third world symptoms where women are not considered as important people

"If South Africans want to continue as a first world country with a new dispensation, everybody must realise that women must have an equal say - if they qualify to do this," she said

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Home care call for people with AIDS

DAVE LOURENS

SPOUSES, children and other immediate relatives of AIDS victims will need to be trained to take care of the sufferers in their own homes, because hospitals will be unable to cope, says AIDS expert Prof Ruben Sher. *Blox 27/12/91*

Sher estimated that more than 200 000 South Africans were already HIV positive "There is no way we will be able to hospitalise all these people, and the number of cases doubles every 10 or 11 months. Some form of (home) care is the only answer"

The latest independently published AIDS Bulletin and Information Update reports that in the US the average life-

time cost of treating an AIDS patient is about R250 000. The annual cost of treating HIV positive people prior to their developing full-blown AIDS is about R14 500

Sher said in SA treatment costs tended to be lower, depending on the amount of prophylactic medicines used to suppress symptoms

The most widely used drug, AZT, sells for about R4 a tablet in SA. Dosage varies between three and five tablets a day, driving costs beyond the reach of all but the most affluent

Sanctions on the agenda of Labour Party's congress

TIM COHEN

THE annual Labour Party congress, which starts in Durban today, would renew its calls for the lifting of sanctions and the dismantling of the tricameral system, party leader the Rev Alan Hendrickse said yesterday

About 100 delegates would attend the congress, which Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki were expected to address tomorrow

Hendrickse said the congress theme, "forward together", emphasised Labour's need to establish an independent identity in changing political circumstances and its policy of co-operation with other parties

Resign

Congress delegates would elect a new chairman, secretary and treasurer, as these portfolio holders had defected to the NP

Hendrickse said all the MPs who had defected to the NP had been sent letters demanding that they resign their seats and fight elections. However, no response had been received

Labour almost lost control of the House of Representatives in June this year

It survived a no-confidence motion by three votes after a mass exodus of MPs to the NP

There are currently 43 Labour MPs and 35 NP MPs in the House

The party suffered another blow when

its national chairman, Willie Hoods, resigned last month in protest against Labour's association with the Patriotic Front

"We have always said that it was immoral for the NP to accept these people who were elected on a Labour ticket, but so far none of them have resigned"

Despite having lost many of its leading figures, Labour's support had remained intact, Hendrickse said "The ho! polloi are still with us," he said

Delegates would be briefed on the recent Codesa convention and would be called on to ratify decisions taken at it

Hendrickse said Labour would reaffirm its call for the lifting of sanctions

It was the right time to call for the lifting of sanctions as SA was on the road to democracy, he said

Although Labour felt Parliament should continue, it wanted the separate administrations, including the tri-cameral Parliament, dismantled now "There is no sense in waiting"

Hendrickse, who is unlikely to be opposed as party leader, said current party chairman Mylie Richards and acting treasurer Duggie Josephs were likely to be returned unopposed

There was doubt about whether Chris April would stand for the post of deputy chairman, but if he did he was also likely to be unopposed, Hendrickse said

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PAC 'linked' to killings

THE PAC refuses to distance itself from the killing of policemen allegedly carried out by its military wing, according to PAC general secretary Benny Alexander.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the official military wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush earlier this week.

Apla has also claimed responsibility for the murders of five other policemen during the past three months.

Alexander said "I do not seek to distance myself from the killings, nor can I at this stage confirm that those involved are involved with the PAC that is the job of Apla"

Asked whether he condoned the killing of policemen, Alexander said he needed to know the exact circumstances before com-

B/Decy 27/12/91

DARIUS SANAI

menting "At the moment, I can neither condemn nor condone it (the killing) I can confirm that Apla is the official military wing of the PAC, and we are affiliated in that way"

He likened the relationship between the PAC and Apla to that between the outlawed IRA and its legal political wing Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland "We have separate command structures; Apla's is in Dar es Salaam and ours is in Johannesburg But we have official links."

He said he was not consulted by Apla about the attacks, "but that is not their job, and it is not mine to comment on them"

Asked why it was not his job to comment if Apla and the PAC constituted the same

□ To Page 2

PAC

B/Decy 27/12/91

organisation, Alexander said "All I can confirm is that we do have official links"

On whether he agreed with statements from government that Apla — and by implication the PAC — were terrorist organisations, he said the "real terrorists" were the SAP and SA Defence Force "who train hit squads to massacre innocent people on trains" Government had always called the PAC a terrorist organisation, he added

The policeman shot dead in Monday night's attack was identified as Const M Z Machate, 28, of Kagiso

He and 38-year-old Const M D Gadebe, both stationed at Jabulani, were on patrol when a car pulled into a service station and the occupants fired several shots at them Gadebe is in a satisfactory condition in Baragwanath Hospital

In a call to Sapa, Karl Zimbiri, claiming to represent Apla, said his unit was responsible for the attack.

(11A)

□ From Page 1

Sapa reports that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced on Tuesday that police had detained three alleged members of an Apla hit squad

They were being held in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act in connection with hand grenade attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal policemen in Mangaung, Bloemfontein, on October 14

Kriel said police also seized a cache of two AK-47 rifles, four AK-47 magazines, one Scorpion machine pistol, three Scorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M-26 grenades and one M-75 grenade

"The arrests were made after an Apla member was arrested by police in Zastron, Free State, on December 18 1991," the Minister said

● Comment: Page 4

STAR 27/12/91

Police grab three PAC army men, arms cache

Staff Reporters

Police have arrested three Tanzanian-trained members of an alleged hit squad of the Pan Africanist Congress's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), Minister of Law and Order Hermus Krieb announced yesterday.

The men are being held in connection with attacks on the Batho police station and on municipal police in Mangaung outside Bloemfontein on October 14.

Mr Krieb said the arrests followed the detention of an APLA member in Zastron on December 18.

The other two APLA members were arrested in Phahameng, near Bloemfontein, the next day. Police also seized an arms cache comprising two AK-47 assault rifles, four full AK-47 magazines, a Skorpion machine pistol, three full Skorpion magazines, four Chinese stick grenades, two M26 grenades and an M75 grenade.

Telephoned

● A man claiming to represent the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday said the organisation was responsible for the murder of Constable Mafatse Z Machate (26) and the wounding of Constable M D Hadebe (38) in Zola, Soweto, on Monday night. Constable Hadebe is in serious condition in Baragwanath Hospital.

A man calling himself Karl Zimburi telephoned the SA Press Association, saying the Azanian People's Liberation Army had attacked a police vehicle in Zola.

APLA has claimed responsibility for the killing of Constable Machate, whose home is in Elandfontein (Mafabidi), near Bushbuckridge, was the last of five children, his uncle, Antonio Machate, said yesterday. Mr Machate had gone to Bushbuckridge to inform the dead policeman's mother, Christina Machate (56) of her son's death.

A senior policeman had informed him of the death late on Monday night, he said. Constable Machate, who was described as soft-spoken person, was unmarried and lived alone in Kagiso.

PAC won't slam killings

118 CT 27/12/91

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC refuses to distance itself from the killing of policemen carried out by its military wing, says PAC general-secretary Mr Benny Alexander.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the official military wing of the PAC, claimed responsibility for the killing of a Soweto policeman in an ambush earlier this week.

Apla has also claimed responsibility for the murders of five other policemen during the past three months.

Reacting to this week's killing, Mr Alexander said: "I do not seek to distance myself from the killings, nor can

I at this stage confirm that those involved are involved with the PAC: that is the job of Apla"

Asked if he condoned the killing of policemen, Mr Alexander said he needed to know the exact circumstances before commenting. "At the moment, I can neither condemn nor condone it (the killing) I can confirm that Apla is the official military wing of the PAC, and we are affiliated in that way."

He likened the relationship between the PAC and Apla to that between the outlawed paramilitary Irish Republican Army and its legal political wing, Sinn Fein, in Ireland

PAC will 'continue

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress has threatened to continue "all forms of struggle" until a constituent assembly has been elected and charged with the duty of creating a new constitution for "a free Azania".

The warning, by PAC president Clarence Makwetu, came just days after the murder in an ambush of a young policeman in Soweto and a subsequent claim that the killing was carried out by the armed wing of the organisation.

Yesterday, the government launched a strong attack on the PAC and its general secretary Mr Benny Alexander for failing to condemn the murder

Constable M Z Machete, 28, was shot dead by an occupant of a car at a service station in Soweto on Monday night, and his colleague wounded.

After the attack, a man claiming to represent the military wing — the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) — phoned a news agency to claim responsibility for the killing.

The PAC's refusal to distance itself from the killing would be viewed "with disgust" by all law-abiding South Africans, said a statement issued by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday.

The Minister, Mr Hernus Kriel, was reacting to a report which quoted Mr Alexander as saying he would neither condemn nor condone killings claimed by the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Mr Kriel said "Murder remains murder, and the PAC's view illustrates clearly that the politics of armed struggle are morally bankrupt and offer no solution to South Africa's problems."

"The only path to lasting peace and prosperity

was through negotiations."

So far this year, 144 South African policemen have been killed.

Mr Alexander would only confirm that Apla was the military wing of the PAC and that the two bodies were affiliated. He said Apla was based in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, while PAC headquarters were in Johannesburg.

He likened the relationship between the PAC and Apla to that of the IRA and its political wing Sinn Féin in Northern Ireland.

Apla have claimed responsibility for the murders of five other policemen during the past three months.

In his "festive season message" Mr Makwetu said Africans should strive for a "genuine process directed at a true democracy capable of advancing the quest for liberation."

He said the PAC was not prepared to be locked in a process such as Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) which could not deliver a democratically-elected constituent assembly

fight'

ARG 28/2/91

11A

STAFF REPORTER and SAPA

THE PAC would maintain "all forms of struggle" until a constituent assembly had been elected and charged with creating a new constitution for "a free Azania", Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu said last night.

His warning came just days after the murder in an ambush of a young policeman in Soweto and a subsequent claim that the killing was carried out by the armed wing of the organisation.

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Bankrupt

He added: "Murder remains murder, and the PAC's view illustrates clearly that the politics of armed struggle are morally bankrupt and offer no solution to South Africa's problems."

The only path to lasting peace and prosperity was through negotiations.

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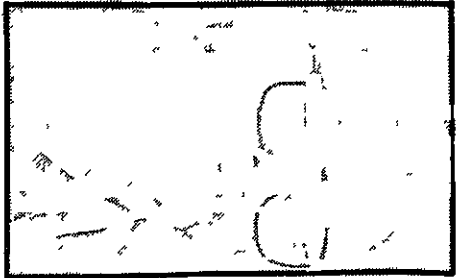
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● TO PAGE 2

BENNY ALEXANDER
like IRA and Sinn Fein.



HERNUS KRIEL: Murder
remains murder.



All methods will be used until free Azania achieved, warns Makwetu

PAC unbending over 'struggle'

STAR 28/12/91

(11A)

Mandela's hopes for new year

SI Times 29/12/1991
A DEMOCRATIC constitution was one of the goals that should be set for 1992, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in a new year message released exclusively to the Sunday Times.

"No one in South Africa can be truly free as long as the racist constitutional order remains in place — a democratic constitution is one of the goals we must set for this year," he said.

"The new year could be one when our country takes this giant step ne-

By SHARON CHETTY

cessary to win international acceptance — for the sake of our country and ourselves, we dare not fail.

"Let us begin this new year not as separate and distinct racial and ethnic language groups but as South Africans, ready and willing to work jointly.

"Let us seize this opportunity to make a new beginning by creatively

harnessing what is best in our past to build for the future," he said.

Mr Mandela appealed to all South Africans to put every effort into making the National Peace Accord work

He said: "We should mark this new year not in a spirit of self-congratulation but rather as an occasion for sober and calm reflection on the path our country has traversed, and to take stock of the tasks that lie ahead.

"We can all justly take pride in the success of the first meeting of Co-

desa, which brought together the overwhelming majority of political parties, organisations, and formations in our country.

"The tragedy of South Africa is that Codesa comes after 80 years of costly struggles by the majority of South Africans.

"After the numerous missed opportunities in the past eight decades it represents a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to collectively map out the future of our country," he said.

Prisoners

Referring to the violence of the past few years, Mr Mandela said: "There is little merit today in attempting to determine who fired the first shot.

"But it is abundantly clear that no one — other than those who wish to preserve the apartheid order — benefits from the continuation of this bloodletting."

Mr Mandela welcomed home political prisoners, for many of whom this year would be the first spent outside prison.

But he added that the remaining political prisoners were a "blight that must continuously spur us to ever greater efforts to secure their unconditional release".

Hani to visit Umkhonto bases

UMKHONTO we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani will visit the ANC's military training camps in Uganda and Tanzania next week to discuss Umkhonto's future in those states *Body 31/12/91*

The visit will be the first step in the process of eventually disbanding the camps when an interim government comes into being in SA

However, Hani has warned that the ANC is not prepared to consider joint ANC-government control of Umkhonto weapons caches

Hani said yesterday he would meet government officials in Uganda and Tanzania to investigate upgrading the camps from guerrilla to conventional training bases

(11A) ~~SECRET~~
PATRICK BULGER

He was also in the process of arranging the return of military personnel — among them air force pilots and officers — from the former Soviet Union

He said the Ugandan and Tanzanian camps might be disbanded when an interim government — the ANC's priority political demand — was installed in SA

"I will be looking at the situation of training and morale in the camps and will be discussing with those governments the upgrading of the camps," he said.

"They will be disbanded one day and we will have to start looking at arrangements

To Page 2

Body 31/12/91
Hani

to return men and military material to SA," Hani said. Although Hani would not say how many Umkhonto cadres remained in other African states, the number has been estimated at 10 000

In terms of an agreement the ANC has reached with government, the ANC has suspended its armed struggle and undertaken not to set up additional underground structures in the country. Existing underground structures remain in place as the ANC has not agreed to disband these. It has also agreed not to conduct military training in SA, although training outside the country is continuing

(11A) SECRET From Page 1

Hani yet again dismissed government's long-standing proposal to allow joint government-ANC-Umkhonto control of Umkhonto weapons caches. He said Umkhonto had to be incorporated into a new defence force when an interim government was installed

Referring to the Codesa clash between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, Hani said De Klerk's insistence on the ANC permanently abandoning the armed struggle was premature. He said Umkhonto retained its military capacity but hoped not to have to use it again

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday appealed to all South Africans to put peace and democracy first.

In his New Year message, Mandela said for 1992 to be a truly happy and prosperous year, all the people of South Africa had to "spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and to bring peace into our lives"

Azapo president Mr Pendelani Nefolovhodwe, in a grim message to *Sapa* yesterday, said the West was bent on destroying the mind of black South Africans, and added that the present process of political redevelopment in the country was lamentable

The PAC also used the New Year to attack political developments in the country, repeating its belief that Codesa was a tragic plot to "frustrate the legitimate goals of the liberation struggle"

"In 1992 we shall maintain all forms of struggle until a democratically elected constituent assembly has been elected

Put peace first urges Mandela

sowetan 31/12/91

111A

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

chairman said

Lebowa's Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike told *Sapa* that the National Party sought to secure power for itself through creating a regional dispensation

In his New Year message, Ramodike said "It is rather interesting that now that the National Party sees chances of losing power it now suddenly tries to demonstrate the need to devolve it to regional governments in a federal type of dispensation"

While Mandela's New Year Message was more hopeful than that of other political leaders, the ANC president encouraged guarded optimism only

He said that after the

achievements of the past year there was certainly enough reason to rejoice, but that people should not pat themselves on the back yet

"We need to take stock of the tasks and challenges that still lie ahead. Yet it is an index of the advances we have made that the opportunity to set South Africa firmly on the road to democracy is with us..

Bloodshed

"As 1991 draws to a close, there remains the painful, fruitless and tragic bloodshed that has been the source of so much grief in Natal and other parts of the country

"There is little merit today in attempting to determine who fired the first shot But it is

abundantly clear that no-one other than those who wish to preserve the apartheid order - benefits from the continuation of this bloodletting

"I appeal to all the leaders of our people. to spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and bring peace to our lives

"For the sake of our children, for the future of our country, and to ensure that the democratic order so many have sacrificed so much to achieve is not stillborn, the killing must stop now Not another life should be lost in this futile violence," Mandela said

He also paid tribute to the more than 400 political prisoners who were still in jail across the country

and charged with the duty to create a new constitution for a free Azania," the PAC said in its presidential New Year message

Slavery

From Harare, the self-exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in its New Year message that it would launch a new "struggle" to liberate the people of South Africa from what he called economic slavery

"As 1992 dawns, let us sharpen our wits and resolve to engage the racist regime in active struggle," Mr Mosibudi Mangena, the BCMA

Mandela optimistic and confident in New Year address

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was confident SA could have both an interim government and a new constitution in the coming year.

Delivering his New Year address at ANC headquarters, Mandela said differences between the ANC and government did not appear insurmountable.

"The principle of one person, one vote on a common voters' roll is accepted by everybody. A new constitution in 1992 is a realistic expectation. By the end of 1992 we should have been able to overcome all our differences. An interim government is possible in less than 12 months," he said.

3/12/91
PATRICK BULGER

Mandela went out of his way to address white fears in a future SA, saying it was his personal view the ANC should make a gesture to whites to assure them they had nothing to fear from a democratic SA.

"In order to build nonracialism we have to address their fears and ensure that in any new dispensation they are properly represented," Mandela said.

Looking back over the past year, he said South Africans could feel pride at the first Codesa meeting. Codesa, he said, "represents a promising window of opportunity

for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together."

He appealed to all sectors of society to make the peace accord work and said not one more life should be lost in political violence.

He said the process of fundamental change had enabled the ANC to embark on the phased lifting of sanctions, starting with people-to-people sanctions.

"The establishment of a democratic constitution would allow for all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, to be lifted and enable us to take our place with pride in the international community

Investors are keenly interested in progress we make. If we accomplish these goals, the world is open to us," he said.

"The year 1992 can be the year in which our country takes this giant step which is necessary to realise our goal of democracy and win international acceptance.

"Let us begin this new year by resolving not to perpetuate distinct racial, ethnic and language groups, which are the legacy of apartheid, but to act as fellow South Africans, ready and willing to work together. Let us seize this opportunity to make a new beginning by creatively harnessing what is best in our past to build for the future."

Mandela pleads for peace and reconciliation in 1992

STAR 31/12/91

111A

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday made a strong plea for reconciliation and peace in South Africa in 1992, and called on all leaders to "spare no effort to make the Peace Accord work and bring peace into our lives"

Delivering his New Year message at a press conference in Johannesburg, Mr Mandela said 1992 could usher in a new era of hope for all South Africans

He said he was confident 1992 would see the establishment of an interim government of national unity, which had been made possible by the foundations laid at



Era of hope . . . Mandela speaks to the press yesterday.

the recent Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The attainment of a democratic constitution, he said,

was an ANC priority in 1992. Mr Mandela called on all political, church, business and trade union leaders to ensure that the violence which racked South Africa this year was a thing of the past

He said there was "little merit" in trying to determine who had fired the first shot in the bloodshed which afflicted Natal and other parts of the country, and that nobody could benefit "from the continuation of this bloodletting"

"For the sake of our children, for the future of our country, and to ensure that the democratic order so many have sacrificed so

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Mandela pleads for peace and reconciliation in 1992

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much to achieve is not still-born, the killing must stop now "Not another life should be lost in this futile violence," Mr Mandela said

He said that as 1991 drew to a close, many South Africans faced homelessness, hunger and poverty, and millions were denied fundamental human rights. The future, he said, would be "seriously flawed" if these issues were not addressed.

Mr Mandela said the establishment of a democratic constitution would allow for the lifting of all remaining sanctions, including financial sanctions, and enable South Africa to take its place "with pride in the international community"

The ANC leader said that while much had been achieved in 1991, including the release of

some political prisoners, well over 400 political prisoners — including Robert McBride, Mthetheli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula — were yet to be freed.

He said Codesa, which came after 80 years "of costly struggles" by the majority of South Africans who had been excluded from the National Convention of 1909, represented "a promising window of opportunity for all South Africans to map out the future of our country together"

Mr Mandela also denied that the Patriotic Front was in trouble as a result of strained relations between the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, and rejected a racial referendum to test whites' opinions of the constitution, saying the ANC would prefer a nonracial referendum.



Azapo warns of threat from West

As 1992 dawns, several political organisations yesterday spoke about their hopes and fears.

Azanian People's Organisation president Pandelani Nefolohodwe said in his New Year message that Western powers were bent on manipulating world events with programmes such as South Africa's black economic empowerment.

He warned that South Africa had been targeted by Western powers — particularly the US — and that this followed the demise and/or weakening of the economic and political power of certain Frontline states

"Millions and millions of rands are being pumped into our country through various organisations in the name of development and black economic empowerment," he said

He warned black people never to make the mistake of thinking that these were meant to facilitate their self-reliance and self-determination

Citing the recent "destruction of the economies and weakening of governments" in Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, the Azapo leader warned that Western powers would add "Azania to the list of their victories"

On the concept of black economic empowerment, Mr Nefolohodwe said this was a conspiracy to reflect that "the system" was delivering the goods

He lamented the present process in South Africa whereby "former" friends of the oppressed and exploited were openly urging the "Azanian people to accept to be co-opted into the system".

Year of action

The Transkei government hoped 1992 would be the year of action to implement the "lofty ideas" from the National Peace Accord and Codesa, the homeland's military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said in his New Year message

He also hoped the SA Government would impose a blanket ban on cultural weapons.

The only course open for the Government was to see to it that Codesa was a success.

"Should it fail, there might be a problem for the entire southern Africa region.

"We should count ourselves fortunate that the ANC and PAC are on talking terms and want to negotiate."

All leaders from various dimensions needed to swallow their pride and address the issue of power-sharing.

General Holomisa criticised the Government following weekend media disclosures that the AWB was training army units at secret camps

The Government was promoting the AWB while at the same time pressuring the ANC and PAC, he added

Dismal prospects

Never before had a new year held such dismal prospects for the Boer nation, and 1992 would be the year in which all white political parties became irrelevant, said Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder in his New Year message

He said the total right-wing group in the country would be able to gain no more than 3 percent of the parliamentary seats in the new South Africa.

"It is therefore madness to continue participating in an electoral struggle in a unitary South Africa," he said.

The only positive outcome of the new South Africa was that racist politics of white political parties would cease

In 1992 the Boers' struggle would be for political freedom similar to that of many nations today such as the Irish, Basques and Jews, Mr van Tonder said.

The Boer struggle was entirely about factors such as land ownership, language, traditions, political freedom, flags and the culture of the Boers, he said.

Military struggle

The South African people's only hope for liberation lay in militant struggle, said Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) chairman Mosibudi Mangena in his message.

He said the BCMA and the Azanian National Liberation Army would be on the side of the oppressed black people until "a full-blooded democratic order, characterised by universal adult suffrage without minority political rights, is attained in Azania".

"As 1992 dawns, let us sharpen our wits and resolve to engage the racist regime in active struggle."

He said the BCMA would launch a struggle to liberate the people from economic slavery, "which should see land redistributed and the economic life of the country democratised"

"Without this aspect, our struggle will be hollow and meaningless"

Mr Mangena said, however, that both Azapo and the BCMA preferred a peaceful solution to the country's problems. Accordingly they had offered to negotiate the mechanisms of setting up a constituent assembly at a neutral venue outside the country under a neutral mediator.

Mr Mangena pointed out that the actions by the international community over the past year reflected the changed international order, which was dominated by one superpower

Nat about-turn

Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said the National Party suddenly wanted a regional dispensation because it feared losing absolute power.

In a New Year message, he said "It is rather interesting that now that the NP sees itself losing power, it suddenly tries to demonstrate the need for regional governments and a federal type of dispensation"

He said his government was opposed to proposals which gave equal say to political parties in the running of the country, as such proposals would serve to deny the majority party the power to govern

They were a covert attempt to protect the privileged few against the underprivileged and powerless majority, and would impede any attempt to redress current socio-economic imbalances — Sapa

LP seeks interim govt within year

DURBAN — The Labour Party has called for an interim government of national unity within the next 12 months

In resolutions adopted at its congress in Durban yesterday, the party also accepted the principle of a constituent assembly but emphasised that its parameters and powers should be determined by Codesa and that the duration of such an assembly should not exceed 12 months

The LP also skirted the potentially divisive issue of entering into a formal alliance with the ANC by supporting "in-depth talks" with all organisations on common aims and strategies

While acknowledging that "alliances will be a determining factor in the future of SA", delegates were adamant that the LP should retain its identity and autonomy.

The LP's involvement in the Patriotic Front was also endorsed "with the clear understanding that the party's identity and autonomy is not compromised"

In another resolution, the LP called on the Government to transform the tricameral Parliament into a single chamber in preparation for an interim government of national unity

The Government's proposed referendum among whites to seek en-

dorsement for a new constitution was rejected in favour of a national referendum among all South Africans.

The Rev Allan Hendrickse was yesterday elected unopposed to a 14th term as leader of the Labour Party.

And, in a surprise move, a woman was elected as deputy to new party chairman Chris April. Yvonne Bassier, secretary of the LP's Natal region, beat MPs Desmond Lockey and Luwellyn Landers to become vice-chairman.

Mr April, who is also Minister of Health and Welfare in the House of Representatives, fills the vacancy left by Dr Wilhe Hoods who recently joined the NP.

LP stalwart Miley Richards retained the deputy leadership.

Eddie Samuels, a Cape MEC, was elected secretary-general, beating LP heavyweights Mr Lockey, Abe Delpport and Pat Wagenaar. President's councillor Mr Delpport became deputy secretary-general.

The MP for Riversdale, Doug Josephs, who has acted as treasurer since the defection of Paul Kleinsmidt to the NP, was elected unopposed to that post. Ken Lategan retained the job of national organiser. — Sapa.

STAC 20/12/91

Labour calls for a single parliament

DURBAN — The Labour Party called yesterday for the abolition of the tricameral parliament and the establishment of a single chamber in preparation for a "government of national unity"

At the close of the party's annual congress delegates rejected government's recommendation for a racially based referendum to be held before the establishment of an interim government

The conference also decided to hold discussions with the ANC, Inkatha and other organisations and parties

Natal-based delegates appear to be strongly in favour of entering into an alliance with Inkatha, while other regions lean towards the ANC

"Any alliance with the NP is out," a

Own Correspondent

leading Labour Party member said

The congress called for the establishment of an interim government within 12 months to preside over the security forces, state-controlled media and aspects of the budget.

There is a strong feeling in the party that Codesa should operate from parliament

It was resolved that Codesa should draw up constitutional principles but its powers should be limited

The Labour Party called on the international community to lift sanctions without delay

Party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse moved that the party should call for basic foodstuffs, medical care and electricity and water to be

exempted from VAT.

There was a traitor in the ranks of the national executive committee who had fed false information on the financial status of the party to a Sunday newspaper, said party treasurer Dougie Josephs, presenting the financial report yesterday. A newspaper report stated that auditors acting for the party had failed to trace more than R500 000 in party funds

Josephs said all amounts had been accounted for and the bulk of monies reported as "missing" had in fact been invested

"The Labour Party of SA is far from bankrupt," he said

□ The Labour Party said at the weekend it was expecting 800 delegates to attend its congress and not 100 as reported in Business Day last week