

Press Briefing
5 December 1991

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The African National Congress considers the behaviour and statements of the PAC, both in the run-up and during the Preparatory Conference, to be dishonest, destructive and manipulative.

The PAC has vociferously and repeatedly stated that it will not negotiate with the regime. The ANC has long placed on public record our view that the PAC will participate. This has happened through their attendance at the preparatory meeting. The pattern is clear. For whatever reason, at the public level, the PAC continues with the posture of non-negotiations and walkouts, while using the negotiations the ANC has embarked on as its - vehicle into the process.

It is clear that the PAC came to the Preparatory Conference with a decision to walk out. We have no doubt that this was pure Showmanship, and that they will return to participate in Codesa on 20 December. Furthermore, we are convinced that they will continue to operate in the same way that they started, merely using the forum as a public platform. This stage-management of issues to suit such narrow ends is regrettable, especially at a time when it is essential to resolve the grave problems facing our country.

The ANC and the PAC have established consultative mechanisms which include the Patriotic Front liaison committee. We again express our regret that the PAC did not see fit to meaningfully use these channels prior to making infamous allegations against the ANC. It has therefore become necessary for us to place the following on record.

—
The People Shall Govern!

Given the urgent need to address the serious situation facing our country, the ANC, in the run-up to the Preparatory Meeting, held extensive briefings and consultations. In this process discussions were held with religious leaders, civic organisations, Cosatu, homeland leaders and parties, the Democratic Party, Labour Party, NIC and TIC, the diplomatic corps and other representatives of governments, as well as other formations.

Extensive bilateral discussions were held with the PAC itself. The opinions and agreements reached in these consultations guided the ANC in its meetings with the National Party/government, meetings that all those involved, as well as the public at large, knew were taking place.

We believe that these were not only essential, but they made possible the successful conclusion of the preparatory meeting.

In our bilateral discussions, both with regard to the Patriotic Front and outside its framework, the PAC endorsed the positions the ANC was putting to the government. Furthermore, the PAC committed itself to certain positions, including that:

t 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.

t 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.

Once again their posturing is clear. A wide gulf exists between their rhetoric and their actions. We experienced similar posturing and manoeuvres both in the preparations and holding of the Patriotic Front.

Once again, the decisions of the PF are being distorted. For instance, there was no decision at the PF that the venue would be outside South Africa, or that international figures would convene the conference.

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. With this mindset their actions become destructive and self-seeking.

The PAC also requested to accompany the ANC to various meetings with the government. Our response was that it was necessary for them to arrange such meetings for themselves. Therefore, 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. At press conferences and public meetings the PAC has continued to deny such secret meetings have taken place. However, at a private level, some of their leading officials admit that such meetings have been held. 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. The process of consultation and report-backs, both within our own organisation and across the political spectrum, will continue. At our initiative, the preparatory meeting agreed without dissent that all the plenary sessions of Codesa will be open to the media, and we will endeavour to ensure that they are broadcast live, and in full, to the entire nation. As we enter this new and most challenging phase of struggle to achieve a democratic South Africa, we recognise the hopes and fears of all our people lie in our hands. None of us can afford the luxury of clinging to party political interests. It is the national interest that should guide our every action. Anything less is playing with the lives of the people of South Africa. The time has come for all parties and organisations to deal with problems arising in the way forward on the basis of frank discussions and honest positions. Nothing less will take our country into a future where we can talk of the unity of our people. Issued by the Department of Information and Publicity
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mFonMA-non SECTION I PERMANENT MISSION o: ZAMBIA TO THE UNITED Nnmm
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PRESS RELEASE

Aa Chairman of the Frontline States Ambassadors to
the United Nations, my attention was drawn to a press
release issued in South Africa by the P.A.C. which referred
to a meeting of Frontline Ambassadors addressed by Mr. Thabo
Mbeki, Secretary of International Affairs of the A.N.C.
With regard to the statement we would like to make the
following points:-

(i) The meeting took place on 20th November, 1991
in keeping with the established tradition
where representatives of both the A.N.C. and
P.A.C. may request for such a meeting as and
when necessary.

(ii) With regard to the "Minutes" referred to in
the press release, it has never been our
practice to record minutes of such meetings.
Therefore, the so called minutes cannot be of
the Frontline States meeting referred to.

(iii) The Frontline States therefore regret the misrepresentations reflected in the so called minutes since these can only result in bringing about disunity within the ranks of the Liberation Movements. A cardinal principle of the Frontline States is to promote unity among the forces fighting against apartheid in order to realise the objective of a non-racial democratic South Africa.

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Lieutenant General

AMBASSADOR/PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE

CHAIRMAN FRONTLINE STATES

NEW YORK,

NOVEMBER 29, 1991

STATEMENT BY THE JOINT CHAIRMEN OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING
HELD ON 29 NOVEMBER 1991

1.

Judges Schabort and Mahomed were appointed co-chairpersons of the Preparatory Meeting.

All decisions were taken either unanimously or by sufficient consensus, where necessary.

An agenda for the Preparatory Meeting was adopted.

It was decided to name the forthcoming conference the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

In the course of discussing the purpose of CODESA, a list of nine items was compiled for the agenda of CODESA:

- t Creation of a climate for free political participation

- t General constitutional principles

- t Constitution-making body/process

- t Transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority

- t The future of the TBVC states

- t Role of the international community

- t Time frames

e

Implementation of decisions of CODESA

Other items to be identified by a Steering Committee and decided upon by CODESA.

It was decided that the first meeting of CODESA would take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on 20 and 21 December 1991.

The SA government agreed to facilitate the participation of potential delegates who are still in exile.

All the parties present at this meeting are to be invited as participants, together with those parties that were invited but did not attend, i.e. the AWB, HNP, CP, and Azapo.

establishment of a genuine democratic order; Q
 Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives including the Peace Accord, aimed
 at assisting
 all securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community;
 Sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching for their
 lost ones and
 concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage;
 Call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our traditional chiefs :
 Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including
 helping in the creation of self defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the
 victims of
 violence.
 NOW THEREFORE
 In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist
 upon the
 establishment of an Interim Government/Transitional Authority to ensure that the de Klerk
 regime does
 not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control
 over state power
 and resources;
 Commit ourselves to a sovereign Interim Government/Transitional Authority that shall at the very least
 control security forces and related matters the electoral process, state media and define
 the areas of budget
 and finance as well as secure international participation;
 DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a All Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting
 (APC/PCAM) which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary
 mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent
 Assembly
 which shall effect the transfer of power; I
 CONFIRM our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the Constitutional
 Principles...and the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the Constituent Assembly, realise
 the establishment of the, IG/TA. ensure the re incorporation of the bantustans, define the
 the role of the
 international community and agree upon the time frame to bring about a democratic order;
 Resolve further that the joint liaison committee established by the co-convenors of this
 conference shall be
 maintained to facilitate post-Conference follow up as well as look into ways and means, including the
 establishment of a Consultative Forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front
 Conference
 within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation.
 joint action and the drawing of all formations still outside this process.
 Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole
 international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for
 general amnesty
 for all exiles;
 DEMAND that the regime complies with these requirements forthwith;
 AND PLEDGE to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.
 United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities and independence, we
 assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate
 ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate
 future a truly democratic order in which every individual is assured a place and a say as
 an equal and
 in which non sexism, non racialism and democratic majority rule shall be non negotiable
 and be realised
 in practice.
 ' To this end and acknowledging, that all that remain are... " :cze consensus amen; m: still
 needs to be
 reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for united action and widening the arena

eas of common
understanding;

And call upon our people wherever they are to join and engage in this process emanating from our

Conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself.

(Annexed to this declaration are the agreements arrived at between the co-convenors of this conference

with regard to (a) Interimffransitional Authority and (b) The APC/PCAM).

PATRIOTIC/UNITED FRONT
CONFERENCE

STATEMENT 26, 11 October 1991

Joint Approach on Constitutional Process

With regard to Negotiations

The Patriotic/United Front Conference, held in Durban, South Africa, from October 25-27 1991

agrees:

1. TRANSFER OF POWER

The transfer of power from the minority regime to the people is the main objective of our struggle.

In pursuance of this objective an All-Party Conference/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/

PCAM) will have to be convened as soon as possible.

2. PURPOSE OF THE APC/PCAM

The purpose of the APC/PCAM would be to work out modalities of transferring power to the people. The modalities must centre around the establishment of an elected Constitutional Assembly based on one person one vote with all eligible voters voting on a common voters' roll;

constitutional principles within the framework outlined in the UN/OAU Declarations; Interim

Government/Transitional Authority; the role of the international community; re-incorporation of the

Bantustans and a definite timeframe.

3. CONVENORSHIP

3.1 The APC/PCAM must be convened by an independent and neutral convenor, and not the regime.

The PAC and ANC must agree on an acceptable convenor.

3.2 A meeting should be held within the next few weeks with the regime and other interested

parties to discuss the date, venue and an independent convenor for the APC/PCAM.

4. APPROACH TO PROCESS

4.1 On issues where there is agreement at this or future meetings of the Patriotic/United Front

actions and positions will be underlined by the principle of unity in action and unity of purpose as

3 Front. On issues where consensus has not been reached endeavours to find common ground will

continue. Should consensus not be reached organisations can act independently.

4.2 The Patriotic/United Front shall be reconvened after six months for the purposes of reporting

and further consultations and joint planning.