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ARSI G/ N S DI S ME O R CIPRE AT TSR G M OBV R M F S N T

ADM Office

Global Life Centre

Enquiries Mjolo Z.(Miss) PROSIBO X315

BISHO

Tl NG 95299 (0401) 5600

\

Fax No SIS kb71 (L)

Dear Sir

APPLICATION TO JOIN THE M.P.N.P.

We enclose the following documents pertaining to our application  
for admission to the M.P.N.P.

(a) Completed questionnaire

(b) Lists of rallies held.

(c) Newspaper Cuttings.

An early response to our application would be appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Â© 060 0006060600000 00 00

18 May 1993

ADM RALLIES CONDUCTED AT VARIOUS REGIONS AND THE PEOPLE AT  
LARGE

TRIBAL AUTHORITH DATE ATTENDANCE

1.1.Amahlubu L7 /03 /98 20 0B 010

1.2 AbaThembu 17 /03793 200 RS ()10

SEYMOUR

AmaGwelana 19/03/93 300 - 400

AmaJinggi L leeEo3 250- 350

Seymour Town IOVI0BYVA9:S 200 - 300

Lexington : 19/03/93 : 300 - 400

ALICE

AmaHlubu " 22/03/93

Healdtown D03

Gaga ' 23/03/93

AmaBhele â\200\231 23/03/93

AmaGwali 23/ 03/98

MIDDLEDRIFT

Mgwalana AN

MaGqunukhwebe 30/08/93

TRIBAL AUTHORITY

1.1 Mahala

1.2 Tyhefu

1.3 Bhele

1.4 Dabi  
Njokweni  
Msuthu  
Nyaniso  
MaRheledwane

MaRhawule

TRIBAL AUTHORITY

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o3 Uermn

PEDDIE

DATE

26/03/93  
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26/03/93  
27/03/93  
27/03/93  
2004087793  
29/03/93  
29/03/93  
29/03/93

KEISKAMMAHOEK

DATE

30/03/93  
30/03/93  
  
30/03/93

ATTENDANCE

400 500  
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500

ATTENDANCE

600 - 650  
650

500

ZWELITSHA

TRIBAL AUTHORITY DATE ATTENDANCE

Midushane 01/04/93  
Mighayi 01/04/93  
AmaGasela 01/04/93  
AmaHleke 02/04/93  
Amantinde 02/04/93  
AmaHlathi 02/04/93  
ImiDange 05/04/93

TRIBAL AUTHORITY DATE ATTENDANCE

1.8 AmaZibula 05/04/93  
1.9 ImiNggalase 05/04/93

1.10 Zwelitsha 06/04/93

ib o atul acalstisl oy 07/04/93

1.12 Phakamisa 08/04/93

SIGNATURE .. V5 /A  
APPROVED/NOT APPROVED

AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

TO: ADMINISTRATION

AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

1 NereatIl LS

SUBJECT: APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO MULTIPARTY NEGOTIATIONS

Herewith some 43 press Œuttings Rromis Bh e MEAT S Mll 1 alay i  
support of this application. Please attach to the official  
application as already submitted.

Should any further details be required please contact the A.D.M.

Representative Care of the Ciskei Office W.T.C..

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â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

I

(ANC)

-N-gu Bafana Mkefa no-Roosevelt Fani  
EMONTI â\200\224 I-African National

Congress

ibethele ikhwelo oxhuzula intambo

zolawulo kwiphandle laseCiskei, uBrigadiya  
Oupa Gqozo ukuba makehle kweso sihlalo ku-  
phathe umlawuli wexeshana, kuba uGqozo

| & akalawuli ngelizwi- labantu bengamfuni nge-

ntshutshiso yakhe kuluntu ngezibonda no-  
mbutho wakhe i-ADM nangomthetho wemiqa-  
thango engazange ipheliswe.

Oligosa lopapasho  
kwi-ANC, apha,  
uNkosazana ~Marion  
Sparg uthe imeko yo-  
nxunguphalo kwelo

â\200\230phandle isekhona, na-

ngona wathi uGqozo

uyiphelisile ngoNove-  
mba wonyaka ophe-  
lileyo.

Ukwathe izityikityo  
zoxolo  
nguGqozo  
tini

eRhawu-  
wakunye ne-

ezatyikitywa:

Bathl make

ANC neminye imibu-  
tho, zinyhashiwe  
zingasetyenziswa ngo-  
kwemiqathango yazo.

â\200\234Ingcinezelo noku-  
tshutshiswa koluntu  
eCiskei nguRhulume-  
nte kaGqozo iya ghu-

ba kwaye ishushu

ibheka ~ phambili,â\200\235  
utshilo uNkosz.  
Sparg.

Kukho indawo ezi-  
ninzi ezingahanjwayo  
ngenxa yonxungupha-  
lo kutshutshiswa ulu-  
ntu namalungu e-  
ANC ngamapolisa

nembonda namalu-  
ngu e-ADM neNka-  
tha, apho intlangani-  
so = zoluntu zinga-  
vunyelwayo, \*\* kuvu-  
nyelwa ezalo mbutho  
wakhe ungafunwayo  
ngabahlali noluntu, i-

ADM - ekuthiwa yi-  
" Nkatha. i

IMPAZAMO

Uthe ezi zibonda  
zisenza impazamo  
entlalo -nopolitiko

\* loluntu eCiskei.

â\200\234Obu bubonda bu-  
ngafunwayo â\200\234luluntu

44c

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ES:TABUSHED' 1884

jikelele, luya nyanze-  
liswa â\200\230nguGqozo ne-  
njengele namahlakani  
akhe makehle eslkhu-  
ndlenl  
â\200\234Into esisimanga,  
zonke ezo zibonda

â\200\230 liNkosz.

utshilo

Sparg.  
- INKULULEKO  
Uthe okaGqozo

usebenzisa umthetho



politiko emibutho  
elwela inkululeko  
yoMzantsi Afrika om-  
tsha.

Ithe imibutho ne-  
ANC uGqozo make-  
hle ngokukhawuleza

zingamalungu\_ e- wezokhuselo ekuthi- kweso sihlalo sakhe  
ADM, zingcungcu- wa yi-National Secu- Wwasigweqa ngoku-  
thekisa uluntu rity Act nesolotya bhukuga uSebe enye  
kuvalwa nentlanga- lawo elinguSection 43 yenkokeli zamapha-  
niso kwelo phandle,â\200\235 ukuvala umlomo ku- ndle.

Lt bbb bbb

Kutyhilwa i EÃ©&}f@ EEE@;@Mfl

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WHAT is most gall-  
ing about the tragic  
events in Ciskei this  
week is the fact that  
F W de Klerk can ap-  
pear on TV and de-  
clare with a straight  
face that his Gov-  
ernment was only  
an innocent by-  
stander at the mas-  
sacre.

I realise that many rea-  
sonable South Africans  
have come out to holler in  
defence of the State Presi-  
dent, conveniently ignorant  
of the fact that Ciskei is a  
creation of apartheid, an  
ideology which up until two  
years ago De Klerk served  
faithfully.

In my book if a vicious

the person who bred it and .  
provided it with sustenance  
must take ultimate respon- .  
sibility. e

Well, you can always ac-.

cuse the victim of having -  
wittingly come near the  
dog, fully aware of its pro-  
pensity for violence.

That is akin to what some  
South Africans, who hardly  
ever raised a whimper dur-  
ing the tyrannical reigns of  
B J Vorster and P W Botha,  
have now rushed out to do.

They accuse the ANC of  
having used innocent  
people as cannon fodder in  
a â\200\234propaganda warâ\200\235.

â\200\234Why did they go there?â\200\235  
the question rings out from  
some concerned quarter.  
â\200\234They knew the Ciskei  
forces would not hesitate to  
kill.â\200\235 :

Again such people are  
deliberately averting their  
eyes from a number of sa-  
lient facts.

Firstly, 50 000 people  
largely from the area and  
who have first-hand experi-  
ence of the indiscipline and  
brutality of homeland ar-  
mies, can hardly be seen as  
fools who sheepishly al-  
lowed themselves to be led  
to slaughter.

There comes a time in  
the life of any abused com-  
munity when they have to  
decide: submit or resist. Of  
course those who have been  
on the comfortable side of  
apartheid will not under-  
stand.

me, -

'ANC supporters aid a wounded woman at Bisho.

while Gqozo, an unelected  
leader, tries to foist his

(hewly formed political par-  
ty, the African Democratic  
dog mauls somebody, theiiâ\200\231 "Movement, on a reluctant  
populace.

Needless to say, some in -  
the ANC would like to have \*

- Gqozo replaced with a lead- " -  
â\200\234'er who views the transition Â°

from their perspective, but  
that is a secondary issue.

Secondly, those who argue that the march was the brainchild of communist hardliners in the ANC obviously share the same mentality with those who have held that if it were not for communist inspiration Africans over the years would never have risen against white supremacy.

In other words, the communists under our beds had to tell us our shoes were pinching us before we realised it.

Thirdly, well-intentioned South Africans now claim it was foolhardy to challenge the clamp on political activity in Ciskei because of the risk of a violent confrontation.

That is, if a bellicose tinpot dictator threatens harsh measures when people demand their democratic rights, then they are expected to cower in their homes.

That is, of course, tantamount to suggesting there should never have been a popular uprising â\200\230against the P W Botha regime because of the risk he would

-unleash the apartheid

forces against the people.

schoolchildren would be shot in the streets by the police. : 2

African pupils should have been content with Afrikaans being foisted on.

- them as a medium of in-

struction. They should never have challenged racial discrimination in education

- in the only way voteless  
people can, because of the.  
â\200\230risk some would be de-

tained and die in police  
cells. :

When Boris Yeltsin stood  
on a tank in the streets of  
Moscow during an abortive  
coup attempt by the com-  
munists, and marshalled  
people to defy the forces  
that sought to deny them  
their democracy, he was  
hailed here and in the West  
as a hero. i

But when Cyril Rama-  
phosa leads people to Bisho  
to demand the right to free  
political activity, he is  
gambling with innocent  
lives.

The reason our society is  
in transition today is be-  
cause courageous South  
Africans, from Sharpeville  
to Langa, have over the  
years stood up to face the  
guns of apartheid rather  
than submit to repression.

But at Bisho on Monday  
it was a slightly different  
ball game. The forces of  
change were facing apart-  
heidâ\200\231s surrogate guns.

De Klerkâ\200\231s Government  
is taking more than R1bn  
from our tax rands this  
year alone to donate to  
Gqozoâ\200\231s coffers and then  
denies it is propping up an  
unpopular regime.

e e \_neonle in\_the

feels like crushing that  
demonstration, he only has  
to put through a phone call  
to Big Brother in Pretoria  
and the SADF will be there  
to â\200\234provide protectionâ\200\235.

That notwithstanding,  
FW, our Mr Innocent, still  
perpetrates the Big Lie that  
Ciskei is â\200\234another countryâ\200\235  
and that his Government

" has nothing to do with  
events there.

Pretoria can take back

the homelands tomorrow if they should consider that prudent. :

But they are not doing so because some of them have become useful pawns on the negotiations table. -As I pointed out last week the Government wants a de-

cent headcount next time it

hosts a conference on federalism or a new negotiations forum is constituted. - -

These days Gqozo yaps frequently about sovereignty. What sovereignty? . .

\_The Ciskei .administraâ\200\224tion would barely survive a month without our :tax rands and Pretoriaâ\200\231s big arm hoisting Gqozo.

When Pretoria wanted to remove an unfriendly leader in Maseru, they simply closed the borders and before long the resultant disruption of the Lesotho economy took the desired toll.

When again they wanted to rattle Robert Mugabe, the Beit Bridge crossing was clogged up. Road traffic ferrying necessary supplies to Zimbabwe was backed up for kilometres while SA border officials dragged their feet, ostensibly giving the vehicles more thorough checks.

That was dealing with sovereign states, not an apartheid burden like Ciskei. Clearly Gqozo is not about to suffer a similar fate. He is too valuable to Pretoria.

Many of us cannot shake off the suspicion, for instance, that there is behind-the-scenes glee in Government and pro-Nat circles at the way Gqozoâ\200\231s forces behaved on Monday.

You see, Pretoria with its new, post-police state profile in the international community cannot afford to be seen shooting peaceful protesters at random.

But\_if the ANC peeds to

BOTTOM  
LNE:

B  
Mandia  
Tyala

bloodbath everyone else  
who is susceptible to inter-  
national repercussions can  
come out pleading inno-  
cence and blaming the  
ANC. .

It is instructive that Gqo-  
zoâ\200\231s friends in Pretoria and  
elsewhere have not taken  
issue with him over the  
first-time use of live am-  
munition on Monday.

No one from those circles  
is suggesting with any de-  
gree of loudness that less  
lethal crowd control  
measures should have been  
employed, a standard we  
expect even of Pretoria.

But in the end history  
will show that no amount of  
moral and material sup-  
port can keep an unpopular  
rÃ@gime in power for ever.

In Namibia, Pretoria  
donated to the Democratic  
Turnhalle Alliance more  
than R100m in an anti-  
Swapo drive, but Sam Nu-  
joma ended up in power  
nonetheless.

In Zimbabwe our Gov-  
ernment threw its  
resources behind Abel Mu-  
zorewa. Today he is lan-  
guishing in the shadows of  
history.

4 â\200\224 DAILY DISPATCH, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 16, 1992

1% Ciskeian homes  
firebombed â\200\224 police

Daily Dispatch Reporters

EAST LONDON â\200\224 Viol-  
ence continued in the  
Ciskei this week with re-  
ports yesterday of at-  
tacks on the homes of  
Ciskei security forces,  
African Democratic  
l Movement (ADM) sup-  
il porters and government  
|\ properties.

Ciskei Police said 19  
houses were petrol  
bombed in various dis-  
tricts in Ciskei with  
Mdantsane and Keis-  
kammahoek topping this  
weekâ\200\231s attacks statistics.

All 19 targets reported  
had been petrol  
bombed, but nobody had  
been injured. No arrests  
had been made either,  
the police said.

The ANC alleged that

security forces had  
beaten schoolgirls at  
FTSES Majiza High

School near Burnshill  
yesterday.

It also rejected a re-  
port by Ciskei author-  
ities that a soldier had  
been killed near Peddie,  
claiming that the only  
death there, was of an  
ANC member, Mr Malusi

Ngubo, allegedly shot by  
amember ofthe CDF.

â\200\234A false picture is be-  
ing created by these re-  
ports. To an observer it  
would appear that two



sides â\200\224 ANC members  
on one hand and CDF  
members on the other â\200\224  
are equally (respon-  
sible),â\200\235 ANC media offi-  
cer Mr Mcebisi Bata  
said.

The reality was that  
unarmed members and  
supporters of the ANC  
were â\200\230â\200\234faced with an  
army that has clearly  
been ordered to wage  
war against all those  
who dare to say that  
Gqozo must go,â\200\235 he  
added.

Damage estimated at  
R10 000 was caused to a  
civil servantâ\200\231s house at  
Mlakalaka village near  
Zwelitsha yesterday  
while a primary school  
at Mbaxa village at Izeli  
outside King Williamâ\200\231s  
Town was also attacked  
with petrol bombs.

Three policemenâ\200\231s  
houses were torched  
during the early hours  
yesterday morning at  
Burnshill in Keiskam-

â\200\230Damage

mahoek. Administrative  
offices of Ulana High  
School and classrooms  
at Majiza High School at  
Burnshill were also de-  
stroyed by fire on the  
same violent morning.

The attacks took place  
within an hour between  
2.15 am and 3.15 am.

The police report said  
a civil servantâ\200\231s house at  
NU 16 in Mdantsane sus-  
tained R450 damage  
when it was petrol  
bombed last Friday.  
estimated at  
R800 was caused when  
another house at NU 11  
in Mdantsane was at-  
tacked by arsonists last  
Friday while another  
policemanâ\200\231s house sus-  
tained R6 393 damage as  
a result of arson attack  
on the same day.

On Saturday arsonists  
attacked the Ncotsheni

Higher Primary School  
at NU 2 damaging the  
classroom's chairs.

A government planta-  
tion was set on fire at  
Zikhova Plantation in  
Chalumna on Friday.  
Poles and offices were  
damaged, the police

" said. A spokesman could

Applications received  
for graves for victims

Daily Dispatch Reporter

-EAST LONDON 224 The

King William's Town  
municipality has re-  
ceived an application  
for about 15 graves in  
Ginsberg cemetery for  
Friday's mass burial of  
victims of the Bisho kill-  
ings, which claimed al-  
most 30 lives last Mon-  
day.

King William's Town  
mayor, Mr Riaan Eras-  
mus, said last night the  
application would be  
discussed this morning,  
but the application for a  
mass burial at the Gips-  
berg cemetery would in  
all likelihood be ap-  
proved.

He also said an appli-  
cation was made for the  
use of the Victoria Sta-  
dium tomorrow and Fri-  
day.

African National Con-  
gress Border publicity  
secretary, Mr Mcebisi  
Bata, said proceedings  
would start tomorrow  
with a memorial service  
at the stadium at about  
2 pm which will be ad-  
dressed by World Coun-  
cil of Churches sec-  
retary-general, Dr  
Emilio Castro.

The memorial service  
would be followed by an  
all-night candle-light vi-  
gil, outside the South  
African Embassy to Cis-  
kei in King William's  
Town at about 6 pm.

The funeral service would be held at the Victoria Stadium at about 10am and followed by the burial, which should end at

about 2 pm.

Independent memorial services to be held today throughout the Border by sub-regions & the tripartite alliance and the South African National Congress include: o

0 Queenstown at 10%.  
Mlungisi Stadium;

00 Mdantsane at 10

new Assemblies of God W

church in NU 2 at 2 pm; a

not say what amount of damage had been caused.

A policeman was set back by R34 000 when his house was attacked by petrol bombs last Saturday at NU 16 in Mdantsane. Another house belonging to an ADM supporter sustained R8000 damage when it was petrol bombed at NU 5 on the same day.

A motorbike belonging to the Ciskei Agriculture Department was set alight at Dow village in Chalumna last Friday.

Three houses belonging to ADM supporters were reported to have been attacked by arsonists with petrol bombs during the weekend at Whittlesea. One of the houses in Springgrove had R55000 damage caused to it.

hometown of one of the !

victims, Mr Nkosinath  
Molman, 26, at the Catt  
olic Church; and, ,'  
  
O Nkqonkgweni at the ..  
Baptist church hall aâ\200\235  
10 am. g

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to chiefs â\200\224 claim

â\200\234boycottedâ\200\235 by  
people,

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAS' Iâ\200\230 LONDON â\200\224 The  
Ciskei Government has  
given four traditional  
leaders African Demo-  
cratic Movement (ADM)  
membership cards,  
ADM-shirts, and cars,  
the Congress of Tradit-  
ional Leaders of South  
Africa (Contralesa)  
claimed yesterday.

In light of the â\200\234never-  
ending sufferingâ\200\235 of tra-  
ditional leaders in the  
homeland, Contralesa  
gave its support to the  
campaign calling for an  
interim administration  
inthe homeland.

In a statement, Con-  
tralesaâ\200\231's Eastern Cape  
chairman, Chief M. Non-  
konyana, called on the  
chiefs to return the  
ADM items and the cars  
as their alleged accept-  
ance â\200\234undermines the  
bonding functionâ\200\235 of  
Contralesa.

Chief Nonkonyana  
claimed the chiefs who  
had reportedly accepted  
these items had been

their

Further claims in the  
statement were:

Â® Traditional leaders  
in Ciskei had been  
called to Bisho- for a  
briefing by the Ciskei  
Government on the Pre-  
toria meeting with the

African National Congress.

Â® Ciskei's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had appointed his puppets to a delegation of traditional leaders which was to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Â® The Ciskei Government had ordered traditional leaders to attend a meeting where they would be addressed by Transkei's Traditional Leaders Association (NN CTEIITAY) Saâ\224 which is seen as Contralesa's opposition.

.Chief Nonkonyana

said Ciskei's paramount

chief, King - Maxhoba Sandile, had reportedly declined to attend the Bisho meeting. s -

Contralesa condemned the\* reported meeting as an attempt to alienate traditional leaders from their people.

Contralesa rejected

Brig Gqozo's alleged appointment of traditional leaders to a Codesa delegation, and called on him to allow King Sandile and other traditional leaders to nominate their own representatives to Codesa.

The reported order for a meeting between traditional leaders in Ciskei and the TTLA was viewed as an attempt to create a ban-tustan association of traditional leaders, Chief Nonkonyana said.

The Ciskei Government has refused to comment on the issue.

Motor' racing enthusiast, 12-year-old Wayne Maart. n  
lieve his luck when he was offered a sponsored tri |  
Prix at Kyalami two weeks

2Â¢/2/22 pp

FOR SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES â\200\224 TELEPHONE EAST LONDON 430010

O%LCommittee asked  
to monitor Ciskei

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Rz

by MTOBELI MXOTWA

EAST LONDON â\200\224 Theâ\200\231  
Democratic:

African  
Movement yesterday ap-  
pealed to the local Re-  
gional Dispute Resol-  
ution Committee  
(RDRC) to monitor the  
situation in Ciskei and  
to discipline perpetra-  
tors of violence in the  
region.

The Ciskei Govern-  
ment withdrew from the  
RDRC in February this  
year. The Ciskei ruler,  
Brigadier Oupa Gqozo,  
heads the ADM.

The acting secretary-  
general of the ADM, Mr  
Basie Oosthuysen, said  
yesterday the movement  
deplored the wave of vi-  
olence in the region  
which he charged was  
initiated by the ANC.

He claimed the ANC  
was involved wherever

violence erupted and-

since the inception of  
the ADM it had been on  
the receiving end of vi-  
olence.



killed while others had been injured in attacks, he claimed. Others had been targets of fire-bombing, handgrenade and gunfire attacks on their houses.

The ADM welcomed the presence of independent foreign monitoring groups who would see for themselves who the African National Congress is.

He queried the objectives of the Border-Ciskei Independent Monitoring Network which comprised ANC-aligned organisations and individuals, collecting one-sided statements and information,

We appeal to the RDRC to monitor the situation in Ciskei and to discipline the perpetrators of violence in this region, the ADM said.

The ANC's media liaison officer in the Border, Mr Mecebisi Bata, said the ANC welcomed the ADM's stance, which

it said was interpreted as the return of the Ciskei Government to the committee.

Mr Bata said there was no need for the ANC to respond to allegations

of violence since the

whole world recently witnessed the Bisho massacre. 1

He called on the ADM officially to inform the RDRC about its govern-

ment's intentions to re-

join the RDRC since they had chased the committee out of Ciskei.

The chairman of the RDRC, Bishop Trevor De Bruyn, said there

was no proof of the origin of violence in the homeland. The violence in the area was regrettable, he said,

He said the RDRC had been hampered by the Ciskei withdrawal from

the committee, The com-:

mittee had tried unsuccessfully to get Ciskei to return.

Four more die violently,  
76 arrested for crimes

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON 200\224 Four more people had died violently in Ciskei this week and 76 people had been arrested, police said yesterday.

Two members of the Dyani family, Mrs Khotso Dyani and her son Masikhe, were found burnt to death in a house at Hala village near Alice.

Another Hala villager, Mrs Novukile Mashiga, was found dead in her house. The cause of death was unknown.

Police appealed to anyone who could help them to trace relatives of the victims to contact the Alice station commander.

A man was knifed to death during a quarrel in Mabobosini, Potsdam, on Thursday. Police said the suspect was known

but no arrest had been made.

Detailing the arrests, police said 42 people had been arrested in Zwelitsha for offences including arson, house-breaking, murder, robbery and rape.

Thirty were arrested in Mdantsane for arson, stocktheft, murder and

theft. Three were arrested at Peddie for murder and theft, and three were arrested for arson and rape at Whitehead.

A man was robbed of R21000 in his Dimbaza home by several armed men on Thursday.

Damage estimated at R480 was caused to a Dimbaza home on Thursday when it was stoned.

Thieves stole curtains valued at R1400 from Cecilia Makiwane Hospital pre-primary school on Wednesday.

Four cattle valued at R4 000 were stolen at Mbaxa village, Izelj.

Two policemen were injured and a police car was damaged when a handgrenade was flung into the offices of the Zwelitsha police district commandant in zone 2 on Thursday, police said.

Two vehicles were damaged by fire at Gqumashe village, Alice, on Thursday. A furniture delivery vehicle was set alight and an R5 000 grader was damaged in a firebomb attack. No one has been arrested.

A salesman's house in Zone 9, Zwelitsha, was petrol-bombed on Thursday, causing damage estimated at R38 000. Police said the motive for the attack was not known.

Bisho shooting victim, Ntembako M. being airlifted by the Red Cross from the Hospital in

Bis/zo shooti,

airlifted

Daily Dispatch Correspondent  
Twenty-two-year-old

CAPE TOWN 200/224

o (

Ntembako Mafa is one of the unsung  
brave victims of the Bisho shooting or

September 7.

Paralysed from the waist down  
Ntembako managed a smile as he was

airlifted by the

Red Cross from Frere

Hospital in East London to the spinal  
unit at Conradie Hospital in Cape

Town yesterday.

There was no fanfare as the young  
former student from the Cape Teachers' College of Education in Fort  
Beaufort was moved from the jet into

awaiting ambulance,

Ntembako was shot in the left side  
away from the live am-

as he turned

munition that was being fired on mar-

chers in Bisho, he said. :

A bullet that lodged in his spine has

Crowd petrol-

Daily Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN 200/224 A de-  
livery vehicle was pe-

trol-bombed and an-  
other stoned on the  
Alice-Fort Beaufort

road and attempts were  
made to set ga house  
alight in Zwidi near  
Steynsburg, police said  
yesterday.

The media relations  
officer for the Eastern  
Cape, Captain Lisbeth  
Vermeulen, said the

driver of an Albany Bakery truck from Fort Beaufort was forced to

stop the yelling  
Alice-Fort

road by a  
people on the

The truck  
bombed and  
destroyed. Damaged  
estimated at \$1

The drive  
scene and 1  
injured.

While the 1  
extinguishing  
a delivery {  
Bedford was  
short distance  
Police fired  
the crowd dispersed;

GEw

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rOo  
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15:54 DEFT.FOREIGH

I AFFAIRS BISHO.

\) â\200\231{i¬\202(â\200\230 ja/y,-\ /â\200\231S"vâ\200\230I \.C//CL 'Zâ\200\224/i¬\202â  
\200\231\Â«\m 3

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Monday 12 October 1 992

Gqozo to â\200\230flushâ\200\235 ANC

backers from offlce

"EASTLONDON, â\200\224 Cis-  
kei's mmm) leader, Brig  
Qupa Gqozo, has threat-  
Â¢ned to â\200\234fluskâ\200\235 African  
National Congress svn-  
patbisers from his ciyil  
service.

He issued the warning

at the consuitative confer- '

ence. of Ciskei's ruiing  
Aftican Demeeratic

Movement. (ADM) in Bi- Â¢

sho on Saturday, which  
he heads.

There are people with-

in the civil service who  
were engaged in â\200\234doing  
evilâ\200\235 apd were being used  
hy the ANC, he charged.

Brig Ggoza slammed  
the ANC and Commun-  
ism for wanting â\200\234t0 de-  
stroy our beloved coup-  
7

He said be had received  
hundreds of letters of sup-  
port since the Bisho

Sorcesâ\200\235 trymg to overturn

massacre a month ago  
from people urging hist to  
continue his fight against  
Communism.

He blamed the Septem-  
ber 7 killings on â\200\234evil

The Ciskei Govern-  
ment would do everything  
necessary to stop the viol-

â\200\234ence, he added.

The ADM was a peac-  
ful movemenat and would  
not be misused for politi-

cal expediency.

Â®Â» The unew general  
secretary of the ADM.  
Mr Thamsanga Linda,  
entered the: Border re-  
gionâ\200\231s palitcal fray at the  
his governmant.

Buig Ggozo sent a  
message of suppart to  
mĩ-\201%ma  
Bophuthatswana and  
Chief Mungosuthu Buthec-

lezi of RwaZulu.

weekend with | fighting

words.,

At the ADM'5 conference in Bisha  
on - Saturday, Mr Linda  
urged people to Kt  
back if attacked by the  
ANC and if police were  
unavailable to protect  
them,

We are not going to  
retreat and we are..going  
to defeat the monster, the  
former Ibbayi mayor

gnd veteran ughi-ANC  
(campaigner

told .: the -  
meeting, which was at-

tended by several hun-  
dred Bgoeie, TPT

t Linda @ pledged  
ADM support for Brig  
Gqozo.

He also sined a volley  
at the South African Gov-  
ernment, accusing State  
President De Klerk of  
selling out the country to  
Communists,

We are saylog io  
President De Klerk that  
he must take control and  
he must not govern to  
pleague: the mtamanonal  
community. i

Mr: Linda is also Cis-  
kei's new director of com-  
munications. \$spa.



Academic

t Hare

EAST LONDON â\200\224 An  
Australian theology pro-

speaks at |

fessor, Prof Basil Moore,  
addressed Fort Hare  
University theology stu-  
dents on the issue of ra-  
cism yesterday.

. Prof Moore was edu-  
cated in East London  
and at Rhodes Univer-  
sity.

The theme of his ad-  
dress was: Racism â\200\224 the  
prejudice thesis and the  
de-politicising of. ra-  
cism.

According to an ab-

there was a prevalence  
among educators in par-  
ticular of the view that  
racism was the product

fear and stereotyping.  
He said this theory was  
flawed. - '

Â«In the light of this  
critique the study traces  
something of the history  
of racism in order to  
construct a theory of ra-

political and economic |

resources.â\200\235

Fort Hare is to hold this  
yearâ\200\231s graduation cer-  
emony over two days on  
May 8 and May 9, the  
university announced  
yesterday. h

Arts students will  
graduate on May 8 and  
other students on May 9.

.stract of the--speech ;

of prejudice, ignorance, i  
cism which sees it as a |;  
strategy over power and |

@Â® The University of ADMA man -attacked

Negwele house  
pgg'zl-bomhed

EAST LONDON â\200\224 A  
house was petrol-  
pbombed at Ngawele vil-  
lage near Dimbaza.

Ciskei Police said no  
arrests had been made.

The police could not  
say whether the at;ack',  
the third in rural Ciskel  
reported in two days,  
was politically moti-  
vated. â\200\224DDR\_. - â\200\224

i G-  
AST LONDON A2  
Eear-old woman was al-

aped Dby five  
l:1%(1157 r? panmure

n .  
Farm, Mdantsane, while

i the beginning o  
ii}r:eceyear. No arrests  
have been made. â\200\224DDR

ISHO â\200\224 An African Democratic Movement organ-  
?ser for Keiskammahoek was\_attacked on Tuesday,  
the Ciskeian movement saidin a statement yester-  
day. e â\200\230

The ADM said Mr Narmakhomadi Usmankon-  
zayev of Gwili Gwili village was assaulted near 2 - |  
taxi rank at Keiskammahoek, apparently for wear- |,  
ing an ADM T-shirt. â\200\224 Sapa |

PR S oy

Cricket

Daily Dispatch Reporter.  
EAST LONDON â\200\224 The  
Ciskei Government will  
hand over a cricket field  
in Zwelitsha to the Bor-

der Cricket Board (BCB)  
on Friday.

DAILY DISPATCH, THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1992 â\200\224 3

around handover .

10 had been converted  
into a cricket field  
which would be used for  
second, third and fourth  
leagues.

It would also cater for  
school cricket games, he

added.

;i The field will be offic-:  
ially handed over to Mr:  
Van Heerden by the di-

rector-general of the De-:  
partment of Works, Mr

G. S. Kapps.

The secretary of the  
BCB, Mr Dudley van  
Heerden, said the field  
was situated at zone 10  
at Zwelitsha. The hand-  
over ceremony would

take place in the after-  
OO T

Mr Van Heerden said  
old rugby fields in zone

Daily Dispatch Reporter

FAST LONDON The  
African Democratic  
Movement has alleged  
there were irregulari-  
ties in the ANC's poll for  
an interim government  
in Ciskei.

In a statement yester-  
day, the ADM's acting  
general secretary, Mr  
Basie Oosthuysen, said  
ADM members had re-  
ported irregularities in  
connection with polling  
at Sisa Dukashe stadium  
in Mdsantsane at the  
weekend.

He claimed that ANC

LI

DD

ADM criticises

ANCG referendum

marshals forced people  
to vote regardless of  
whether they were ANC  
members, that there was  
no age limit for voters,  
and that a cross had  
already been pre-  
printed in the yes block  
of the ballot papers.

Voters had to sign

their names on the back  
of the ballot papers, he

said. The ADM believed  
no-voters would be in-  
timidated until they  
voted yes, he said.

The ADM questioned  
the ability of the refer-  
endum officials to run  
a proper referendum  
and could not accept the  
outcome of such a poll.

People's lives and  
property are put at risk

Mr

Ciskei  
bans

school  
politics

EAST LONDON   â\200\224 Cis-  
keiâ\200\231s . â\200\230Department of  
Education and Culture  
would take action  
against teachers who  
talk about politics  
during school time,  
:-lelgt departmfntâ\200\231s di-

or-general saj :  
Radio Ciskei. g i

Mr . B.B. Mankabane

said in an interview  
that parent-teacher-  
student . associations  
were not allowed in |  
Ciskei schools and  
only school commit-  
tees would be recog-  
nised.

â\200\234If there is no school  
committee, the school  
principals should  
liaise with inspectors

and the department,â\200\235  
he said. g

Mankabane  
teachers should not  
Join protest marches,  
as this had been pro-  
hibited by the depart-  
ment in a circular is-  
sued last year.,

said |

.

as many people are not  
in favour of this referen-  
dum at all,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Oosthuy-  
sen said.

The ADM called on  
the ANC to stop the  
â\200\234corrupt referendum  
campaignâ\200\235 which was  
clearly aimed at reviv-  
ing the ANC in the Bor-  
der. The poll was not  
conducive to the peace  
process in the region.

The ANCâ\200\231s Border  
press liaison officer,  
Miss Marion Sparg, said  
yesterday comment  
would be given after the  
allegations had been

examined.

â\200\234We expect true profes-  
c-.o--Â»â\200\224w;,\_

~Sionalinm..

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,GQ.Lâ\200\224DHIEIS NNVHO

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10/10/2>

BISHO â\200\224 Ciskeij military ruler Brigadier  
Oupa Gqozo today vowed to flush out  
African National Congress members in  
& %he homelandâ\200\231s civil service:

Addressing a poorly attended consulta-

ve conference of his African Demo-  
cratic Movement, Gqozo also launched  
scathing attacks on the ANC alliance and  
the South African Government,

He also accused his own police force of  
not protecting people from attack in the  
wake of the Bisho stadium massacre.

Brig Gqozo said when evil forces tried  
to overthrow his government and levelled  
accusations at him after the massacre, he  
and the government were â\200\234continually  
blessed by the goodwill and messages of  
Support from that enormous silent major-  
ity out thereâ\200\235.

ity pensioners and children â\200\224 attended  
the conference at the Bisho Agricultural  
Show Grounds Hall.

In attendance were Brigadier Gqozoâ\200\231s  
deputy, Colonel Silence Pita, leaders of  
the ADM, high-ranking policemen and  
soldiers. Â© - i :

- The hall was decorated with hand-writ-

ten placards reading â\200\234away with  
Mandelaâ\200\231s madnessâ\200\235 and â\200\234away with Pre-  
toria double standardsâ\200\235, . . . :  
Wearing a brown leather coat and  
black hat, the brigadier appeared in good  
Spirits when he took the podium and be-  
gan chanting the ADM slogan: â\200\234We should  
unite in our country.â\200\235

Gqozo will  
â\200\230flush outâ\200\235  
ANC staff

No more than 300 people â\200\224 the inajor-  
- in Mdantsane as an example.

â\200\234It is the strategy of the ANC to burn  
people in broad daylight in order for you  
to know that you are the next. Our coun-  
try has often been described as being at  
the crossroads. Never before has that  
more meaning than

statement had  
today,â\200\235 Brigadier Gqozo said.

â\200\234We are faced with the diabolical situa-  
tion that the government of South Africa  
committed to reform in 1990 and pro-

ceeded to implement their decision with  
the most amazing lack of expertise and  
foresight.

â\200\234So excited were they at their apparent  
good deed that the government has com-  
mitted error after error in the pursuit of  
reform.â\200\235

Brigadier Gqozo said when people  
asked him why he had entered into talks  
with AWB leader Eugene Terreâ\200\231blanche  
his response was that he (Mr  
Terreâ\200\231blanche) did not kil people.

Brigadier Gqozo accused Mr De  
Klerkâ\200\231s government of allowing itself to  
be led by ANC president Nelson Mandela,

Talking about the need to flush out

ANC members from the Ciskei civil ser- '

vice, Brigadier Gqozo blamed the home-  
landâ\200\231s police force for not protecting  
people.

'He cited the burning down of property

Brigadier Gqozo praised Inkatha Free-  
dom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi  
and Bophuthatswana president Lucas  
Mangope for their contribution in the  
struggle. â\200\224 Ecna

- |



KING WILLIAM'S TOWN  
A protest march to the  
South African Embassy in  
Ciskei planned for Monday  
is a build-up to a march on  
Bisho, Border African  
National Congress media  
officer Mcebisi Bata said  
this week.

Marchers are to present  
a memorandum containing  
a list of demands to the  
South African Government.  
The embassy is situated  
in King William's Town,  
Mr Bata said the march

would be undertaken to

Another Bisho march

protest against violence in  
Ciskei, the destruction of  
normal life, the education  
crisis and the continued  
occupation of villages and  
townships by troops and  
other vigilante forces.

Mr Bata said the march  
to Bisho, for which no date  
had been set, was a protest  
against the lack of political  
freedom in the homeland.

He did not explain how  
the march organisers  
planned to avert a repeat of  
the Bisho massacre last  
month, when 28 demonstra-

tors died in a hail of Ciskei  
bullets during a march on  
Bisho.

Mr Bata said the march  
on the embassy would com-  
ply with the Goldstone  
guidelines on the conduct of  
mass action.

We believe the De Klerk  
regime should take full re-  
sponsibility for what is hap-  
pening in Ciskei, an ANC  
statement said,

It is the responsibility of that regime to remove (Ciskei military leader Brigadier

planned

dier Oupa) Gqozo, as the majority of people in the region demand.

Earlier this week the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance met business groups from the King William's Town area, :

Mr Bata appealed to the business community to view the march as a little discomfort in order to bring about an atmosphere of stability, freedom and democracy that business so much requires, a

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ARV TO T

â\200\224\$ D

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo recently attacked the South African government before supporters of his African Democratic Movement.

He accused the government of committing â\200\234error after errorâ\200\235 and of the â\200\234most amazing lack of expertise and foresightâ\200\235 in its pursuit of reform.

Some may describe that message as thankless coming from a man whose administration earlier this year received R706 million from Pretoria to keep the little homeland floating. It was also not the tone expected from a man who said of himself and other homeland leaders: â\200\234We are babies â\200\224 whether we like it or not â\200\224 of the South African government.â\200\235

Brigadier Gqozo could fear being abandoned by his parent Pretoria, which has had reservations over recent behaviour. De-

gion have ' caused a souring in the tradit-

between the two. Disatisfaction surfaced earlier this year. : ;

One reason was the squandering of money by Bisho, which led to an emergency budgetary lifebuoy being

inMay. .

South Africa gave Ciskei more than R700 million as a mini-bud-

a â\200\234lack of financial dis-

ciplineâ\200\235. Among the concerns were plans for handouts of up. to R150 000 each to senior government employees to buy cars as well as substantial pay increases for other civil servants.

The mini-budget left

Theâ\200\230\'\_ uneasy ties that bind Ciskei

to South Africa

The once close relations between Ciskei and South Africa have turned uneasy with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, of Ciskei, turning for support to Chief Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope â\200\224 and the AWB. ANDREW

TRENCH reports.

i 5

velopments in.the re- \*

ionally sweet relations .

"international thrown by South Africa -

get amid concern over'

a mere R5 million in the coffers earmarked for aid for the homeland for the rest of this year.

Also â\200\234worrying for

â\200\230Pretoria was the resig-

nation, or firing â\200\224 it has never been established which â\200\224 of several Ciskei cabinet ministers. There was concern that Ciskeiâ\200\231s actions contravened a February: 1991 :treaty between the two which provided for the joint appointment of minis-

~.ters to key portfolios. Â°

The brigadier then issued a decree amending a constitutional provision which bound the homeland to

treaty.

This effectively ab-

.solved Bisho 'from its

obligations to the February 1991 treaty, but, more significantly, closed off a constitutional loophole which allowed for the re-in-

corporation of the homeland.  
Brigadier Gqozoâ\200\231s

change in heart on the issue of re-incorpor-

- ation â\200\224 an eventuality

he had always supported â\200\224 was clearly stated later in the year, but not before the Bi-

sho massacre of September 7 which earned international condemnation.

While South.- Africa, perhaps in a kneejerk reaction, supported Brig Gqozo- following the killings by his security forces in Bisho, and charged the ANC had provoked - the shootings, the briga-

dierâ\200\231s finger was level-.  
. led at Pretoria. o o  
Given.'a heroâ\200\231sâ\200\235 wel- -

come at a â\200\230traditional

Zulu . ceremony near.

â\200\230Durban days after the massacre, Brig Gqozo said : â\200\234The South African government has not stopped them (the ANC) 25 i

He was clearly upset

- that South Africa had

not. prevented the

march from forming up

and starting from King

- Williamâ\200\231s Town., His

fears were probably heightened by two statements. . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned the government would consider â\200\234coercive actionâ\200\235 if Ciskei did not agree to uniform measures to control mass action. And the governmentâ\200\231s chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, hinted that consideration was

- Brigadier

being given to curtailing the powers of the homelands.

Brig Gqozoâ\200\231s reply to Mr Meyerâ\200\231s suggestion was: â\200\234If they think that they can just thrust things down our throats, we will resist until the last of us here is deadâ\200\235 â\200\224 giving an

..insight into Brig Gqo-

zoâ\200\231s attitude towards re-incorporation.

The , State. . Presidentâ\200\231s \* summit with "ANC president Nelson

Â° Mandela, paving a way

to a resumption of ne-

- gotiations, was also a blow. Brigadier Gqozo .. accused the govern-

ment of â\200\234panderingâ\200\235 to

â\200\230the ANC.

As \_relations be-

tween Bisho and Pre-

deteriorated

Gqozo looked for different alliances. His participation with Bophutatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope and Inkatha head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a meeting of â\200\234Concerned South Africansâ\200\235 was expected but a surprise

was a meeting with  
Afrikaner Weer-  
standsbeweging (AWB)  
leader, Eugene Ter-

toria

- tioned by military in- |

- township mayor â\200\224 has

~the ANC and has ac-  
â\200\234â\200\234ing Ciskei out to â\200\234com- Â\$

wEMr . â\200\230Deii  
speech to parliament

reâ\200\231blanche in Pretoria,  
where the AWB  
pledged support.

The talks with AWB  
will not endear him to  
the â\200\234silent majorityâ\200\235 of  
moderates he claims to  
represent through the  
African Democratic  
Movement (ADM). It is  
believed to have con-  
tributed to the resigna-  
tion of the ADM acting  
general secretary, Mr  
Basié Oosthuysen, a  
conciliatory figure who  
has advocated contact  
with the ANC.

Mr Oosthuysen had  
previously been in-  
volved with Dynamic |  
Teaching, the East  
London arm of Adult  
Education Consultants,  
a South African mili-  
tary intelligence front.  
His resignation could  
well have been sanc- |

telligence.

His replacement, Mr  
Thamsanga Linda, is  
an anti-ANC hardliner,  
who has also been out-  
spoken against South  
African government  
policies. ;

Mr Linda â\200\224 a former  
Port Elizabeth Inbhayi

urged ADM supporters  
to â\200\234hit â\200\230backâ\200\235 against

cused Pretoria of sell-

munistsâ\200\235. :  
Klerkâ\200\231s

this week, in which he warned of a crackdown on aggressive mass action, was intended to rally supporters who feel the government has been too conciliatory to the ANC. But it could, in part, have been aimed at wooing Chief Buthelezi back into the fold. The Inkatha leadership can - bring some grassroots support, unlike Brigadier Gqozo.

&lofar

baict Disesers



Â© griswa kwanezoyikiso  
ezenziwa \_ zizibonda,

PWa T sasw

SEâ\200\224 5 =152

~ Akukho n

yaku

EQONCE â\200\224 IDyuni--

vesithi yaseFort Hare  
ithi ~ ayinakwenza  
ngakumbi inyanzele-  
kile ukuba inga-  
bambeli abanye  
abafundi =~ abagalayo  
kulo nyaka ngenxa  
yenani elixhomileyo

~ kulo nyaka. cor  
Isighethi sedyuni-

hlala

\_yethi sithi kulo nyaka  
"pafumene inani \_eli-  
ngaphezulu kakhulu  
kwanyanzeleka ukuba

bazikhabe. izicelo

zabafundi.  
Sikwancome nenxa-  
\_xheba kwindima eye-  
- nziwe ngabahlohli  
bale dyunivesithi  
ekuququzeleleni

dawo

ukwamkela abafundi  
abagqalayo. o  
Kulo nyaka ingxelo  
ithi, le dyunivesithi  
yamkele inani daba-

.- fundi abafikelele  
kuma-3 000 ezicelo.  
Le - dyunivesithi

kunyanzeleke ukuba  
ingabambeli abafundi  
xa bebonke bedibene |  
nesebe lale dyunive- |  
sithi eliseBisho. :  
\_ Itshilo - ingxelo  
ephume kule dyunive-  
sithi.

NGU:  
BAFANA MKEFA

EMONTI â\200\224 Umbu-

tho weBhoba - Civic  
Congress ububambe  
intlanguaniso yengila  
ngengila phaya kuKo-  
mani kwilokishi yase-  
Zibeleni apho kugwa-  
diwe" imicimbi ~emi-

.. ninzi. kwimiba. ;:nge-  
. miba eghubekayo ku-  
,. mmandlaâ\200\231Wâ\200\235asÃ©Ciskei.

Owoma meimbi uhla-  
funwe ~ ngamandla  
ngumcimbi wokugro-

amapolisa .- edibene  
nomantyi -+ bezithili  
ngezithili kwelo pha-  
ndle. 5 - =% = 5

Ingxelo esiyiphake-  
lwe nguMnu. Penrose  
Ntlonti we-BOCCO;

uthe zonke ezi zibo- -

nda azinyulwanga lu-  
luntu ngokwasemthe-  
thweni zinyulwe"  
ngenkani zimantyi  
â\200\234kwakunye nenkosi.

Ukwathe abantu  
abalwela amalungelo  
abo zimantyi apho zi-  
yalela - ukuba uluntu  
lungawafumani ama-  
lungelo abo ngapha-  
ndle kokukhatshwa

Â¥Batyholâ ngokug  
â\200\234zizibonda eCiskel

" zizibonda xa lufuna

amalungelo. \*

. ukuba lusebenzise izi-  
kolo xa lufuna ukuba-  
mba intlanguaniso nge-

zinto ezichaphazela  
~â\200\234intlalo yalo kuba lona

â\200\230lunengqondo - yokuba  
- jzikolo â\200\230zijongene no-

. luntu ngokubanzi..  
. Uthe\_...le.. mibuthoâ\200\235  
â\200\234ikwadize nengxelo yo-  
â\200\234â\200\234kuba - akukho â\200\230nenka-  
-thalo kusenziwa le mi-

Â»:qobo nje apho kunga- Â°  
Â«-khathalelwanga noku-  
gonda -ukuba- amanzi-.  
ayafumaneka na,.-  
sindlelaâ\200\235: . zisemganga- .  
â\200\234thweni,-ikliniki â\200\230kwa- -  
- namadlelo emfuyo.. T  
~ Ttitshala kuthiwa zi- -  
lahlekiswa zizibonda -  
â\200\230kungekho zizathu' zi-  
â\200\230bambekayo.

. Kwenziwe umzeke-  
lo- ngezikolo ezisebu-  
gxwayibeni phaya ku-  
- mmandla waseNtabe-  
themba eWhittlesea.  
Kwaphaya eNtabe-

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~themba kuthiwa ku- =  
kho i-ofisiâ\200\235 ezikhoyo  
ukwenzela abantu ba- -  
\* butho ibambe intla-

kwazi ukufuna um-  
sebenzi, kodwa aye-  
nzeke lo nto nga-  
phandle kokunikwa  
- Loukwalelwa uluptu .  
- aanywa ngendlela zonke

rogriswa

amathuba amalungu  
e-ADM ukuvala ezo  
zithuba. '  
Enye ingxelo echa- l  
zwe kule ntlanganiso  
yengila kukugrogri-  
swa kwemibutho el-  
â\200\230wela untlalo-ntle kwa- |  
neminye imibutho  
- yomzabalazo -, ekuza-

ukuba ingaghubeli |  
+;phambili â\200\234emzabala-  
TWenis T  
++.Kuthiwe. xa iyonke.  
â\200\230le miqobo ibangelwa [  
zi-â\200\234mpumputhelaâ\200\235 zi-

~kaGqozo: = nekuthiwa  
ngamalungu ezopoli--  
tiko. kumbutho: eku- '   
thiwa yi-African De- |  
mocratic . Movement Â\$  
â\200\230ekhokelwa yi-MI pha-  
ntsi kukaBassie Oost-  
huizen: =  
Kwingxelo yawo  
ithe xa iyonke lo nto  
yile ibangela abantu  
abaninzi bahlukane  
nobomi babo kunge-  
kho nto ibachaphaze-

ayo.

Kufikelelwe kwizi-  
gqibo zokuba i-BOC-  
CO kwaneminye imi-

nganiso apho kuza ku-  
shunyayelwa uxolo  
kuzo zonke ingila.

L&

) February 28,1992 - March 5, 1992 PagÃ© 5

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\* mgxobhozo  
BAFANA MKEFA â\200\234tshane nomgaqo ka-  
" loliwe uyokuma\_nga- -  
â\200\234kwigaraaji yakwaYako  
~ kule lokishiâ\200\231  
~\_Ingxelo ihambisa  
â\200\234ithi bona bebelindele

EQONCE "= UMBu-  
tho wabahlali - base-  
Mdantsane, -uMda-  
ASAnCi S Residericeâ\200\235  
Associdtionâ\204¢ (MDA- |  
RA) umele entla uthi-~  
uxolele - ukuphuma

ingca emgqolo awuzi-

miselanga - ukufudu- .-  
-kho â\200\230amanzi- kwano-  
-mbane.- '

swa nakancinci ukusu-  
swa kwamatyotyombe.  
abo: kwa-N.U.:.9 na-  
kwa-N.U. 11.

â\200\230Le ngxelo . idizwe  
nguNobhala wezopa-  
pasho kulo mbutho  
uComrade Mzwandile  
Buzani emva kwentla-  
nganiso ebibanjwe  
kule lokishi ngabahla-  
li ngomhla we-16 ku-  
Februwari. )

Eli tyala belikhe la-  
chotshelwa kwiNku-  
ndla ePhakamileyo  
eBisho inkundla izele  
iphuphumela ngapha-  
ndle ngabahlali base-  
Mdantsane.

Ngexesha besishici-  
lela eli tyala belighuba  
phaya eBisho. Aba- -  
hlali baseMdantsane  
bathi unotshe, abaso-

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okufu-

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abakuyo bakhangele-

lwe indawo efanele

ukuhlala uluntu kube-

. Lo â\200\230mbutho waba-  
hlali ukwathe lo rhu-

.lumente - womkhosi

ulawulayo -kufuneka  
ugonde. kakuhle uku-  
ba bona bengumbu-  
tho wabahlali abasoze  
basonge izandla aba-  
ntakwabo, odade ba-  
bo bedudulwa ngoku-  
ngekho similweni  
kwanovelwano.  
Ukwathe uginiseki-  
le ukususwa kwaba  
bantu akukho nenda-  
wo esemgangathwgni  
abaza kubekwa kuyo  
ngaphandle beza ku-  
thunyelwa kwindawo  
engenawo amanzi  
ngaphandle nje kwe-  
dama elikhulu, nesele

~libulele â\200\230abantu abafi-

kelele esithathwini.

ze bafuduselwe ku-

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February 28, 1992 - March 5, 1992 Page 3

| ADM

| kuNdlunkulu we-

Kumili  
â\200\230isebe

le veki iphelayo,  
apho izithethi  
zifunge = azajika  
ngokughuba idabi  
lomzabalazo, zisi--  
tsho nokuba Ku-  
kho umbutho oyi-  
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ukulahlekisa . :  
abahlali kulo lali

| ngenxa yamadoda  
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nxaxha elahlekisa  
abahlali bakuQo-  
bogobo. '

Tohethi . e

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| seph:Hele-uthe le  
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nkulu: kwaye na-

ahamba  
-xholo - athe wuza  
â\200\234kuxoxwa- ngowo- .  
â\200\230kunyanzeliswa

" kwezibonda kwe-

selwe

ANC kwinginggi  
yeBhoda sele be-  
kuxelile nabathu-

& " nywa bakhona ba-  
|e A NC \_\_bzzhuthazile',  
KUQOBOQO:- - â\200\234â\200\234ingakumbi\_uNko-  
â\200\230BO â\200\224=F RumiilisÃ©=â\200\234â\200\234sazaria Priscilla  
Iwe isebe le- Maxongo omele i-  
African National ANC ~ Womenâ\200\231s  
Congress kwilali League. :  
yakuZingcuka ku- ~ UMnu. SHelc

\_ukwathe baza ku-

bamba enye intla-  
nganiso . -+ kulo  
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kuZingcuka apho  
abahlali - baza  
kuxelelwa - be-

â\200\234cetyiswa ngazo zo-  
.. nke izinto' zoku-

ghuba ~ idabi  
lenkululeko.  
Omnye um-

lo . lakuQobogobo

nokuzama ukuco-  
mbulula=- - umba  
wokuncedwa kwa-

â\200\230bahlali kwamantyi

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Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The African. Democratic Movement has accused President F. W. de Klerk of .allowing King Williamâ\200\231s Town â\200\224 which it called the â\200\234deciding venue for Ciskei atrocitiesâ\200\235 â\200\224 to be used for planning attacks in Ciskei.

A resolution calling on Mr De Klerk to prohibit these alleged activities was adopted by the ADM at its consultative conference yesterday.

The organisationâ\200\231s new general secretary, Mr Thamsanga Linda, said yesterday: â\200\234De Klerk must stop selling our homeland' to our

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enemies.â\200\235

According to a peace agreement no country would attack another or harbour terrorists, he said. 3 :

The ADM also

adopted a resolution

. which maintained Cis-

kei should not be â\200\234pin-

pointedâ\200\235 for its levels of unemployment as this was â\200\234a concern of every governmentâ\200\235.

â\200\230 ThÃ© ofgÃ©nisation â\200\224 which is headed by the Ciskei ruler, Brigadier

â\200\230 Oupa Gqozo â\200\224 called for

an increase in the home-landâ\200\231s security forces and demanded Pretoria

\_increase its . budgetary - contribution to Ciskeiâ\200\231s

security forces.

In an interview yesterday Mr Linda envisaged the - 'ADM taking its .â\200\234place in the sunâ\200\235 during national negotiations. 3

It would be separate from Brig Gqozo, who represented the government,- while the ADM represented the â\200\234silent majorityâ\200\235, oy

While stating a willingness to talk with the ANC, Mr Linda said the difference between the - ADM and the ANC was that the ANC was politi

cally intolerant\_. R

He â\200\234said .the: ADM would explore alliance with other organisations': but he would not name these. TR o

He' #, c"â\200\230o'ncedâ\200\230Ã©dâ\200\230rf tha

since the organisation  
was headed by Brig  
Gqozo it would likely  
follow a similar line

taken by the homeland  
ruler.

Meanwhile, the South  
African Communist  
Party reacted angrily  
yesterday to criticism by  
Mr Linda.

Mr Linda and Brig  
Gqozo, attacked the  
ANC and the SACP dur-  
ing arally on Saturday.

The SACP's regional  
general secretary, Mr  
Skenjane Roji; said the  
ADM-was created by the  
outh " African ~Defence  
Force ' intelli-  
gence to counter the  
massive support of the

-ANC-led alliance."  
t. The statement said Mr

Linda had long been dis-  
carded by the NP as an  
albatross around its  
neck. His ADM. ap-  
pointment was: a meas-

ure of its bankruptcey.

BTN

â\200\230military

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INQUIRIES â\200\224 TELEPHONE EAST LOINDON 430010 i/ 7] G o)

SADF rejects claimsâ\200\231

of interference

in Ciskei affairs

Force has 110 control

by ANDREW TRENCH

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The South African Defence Force (SADF) respected the independence of Ciskei and its military, and was not involved in appointments made in the homelandâ\200\231s administration, an SADF spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman was responding to African National Congress demands that the Ciskei Government rid the Ciskei' - Defence Force (CDF) of former SADF intelligence members allegedly operating in Ciskei.

The charge dâ\200\231affairs at the South African Embassy in King Williamâ\200\231s Town, Mr I. Heath, confirmed yesterday that two former SADF members, Mr O. Swanepoel and Mr H.C. Nel, formed part of the CDF intelligence branch, but added they â\200\234were appointed by the Ciskei Government on contractâ\200\235.

The Alleged presence

of former SADF military intelligence officials

was one of the central grievances behind the ANC's controversial campaign to symbolically replace Ciskei's ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, with an interim administration.

The SADF spokesman confirmed there were six SADF officers seconded to Ciskei.

Mr Heath named them as Colonel C. Meyer (chief of staff); Col M du Toit (chief of staff, logistics); Commandant Ray Williams (chief of staff, finance); Col R. Penhall (officer commanding, CDF Air Wing) and an

Air Wing flying instructor, Major P. Dore.

The most senior seconded officer to the CDF was the military chief, Brig Marius Oelschig,

who had held the position in the homeland since May 20, 1991.

The secondments were normal practice ...on request from the specific government.

As far as former members of the Defence Force are concerned, they are private citizens and as such the Defence

over them, he said, adding they 'were free to seek employment wherever they wish.

Other South African officials appointed in Ciskei according to Mr Heath were: :! }

@ The Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, Mr A. 1/L. Pretorius;

^The Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr (J.W.A. van

der Merwe; s  
The Director-General

eral of the . Department  
of Finance, Mr R.F.  
Smith; ey ;

The Chairman of the  
proposed (the Commission for, Administration, Mr H. L.; Rust;

The Commissioner  
of Police, Major General  
J. J. Viktor; -

The Secretary of the  
Treasury, Mr E.J. van  
Wyk; |

The Commissioner  
for Inland Revenue, Mr  
E. W. van Bleerden; and,

The Director of Or-

ganisation; and  
Workstudy, Mr J.J.  
Lubbe.

L ol

Daily Dispatch Reporter,  
EAST LONDON The  
African 'y Democratic  
Movement - 201 claimed yes-  
terday ANC . Youth  
League ' "members , in  
Keiskammahoek - had  
ransacked the ADM or-  
ganiser's home and de-  
stroyed all APM docu-

mentation, \

-The ADM's acting gen-  
eral secretary, Mr Basie  
Oosthuysen, . said in a  
statement: This is un-  
democratic and clearly  
an indication of the in-  
tolerance, . of certain  
people and organisa-  
tions. ' %

. An ANC - regional  
spokesman said she had  
no knowledge of the al-  
leged incident.

Mr Oosthuysen al-  
lelissa AN Cingthe

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ADM claims Kâ\200\231hoek

home ransacked

future : . constitutional  
dispensation by all: par-  
ties, Mn, Oosthuysen  
said. A k

He said the ANC had  
contravened the â\200\234letter  
and spiritâ\200\235 of the Nat-  
ional Peace Accord and  
demanded that Umk-  
honto we Sizwe be dis-  
banded.

â\200\234The presence of MK  
is also not conducive to  
peace and stability in

the Border region,â\200\235 he  
said.

Â® In a statement, the  
Black Sash here said it  
was ' concerned with  
growing tensions â\200\234which  
once .again threaten to

. disrupt the lives of ordi-  
nary citizens in Ciskeiâ\200\235.

' Brig Gqozo's stated in-

tention to â\200\230â\200\234use all the  
~esâ\200\235 at his disposal  
inst the ANCâ\200\231s cam-  
gn for an interim ad-

ristration con-  
dicted the  
nelandâ\200\231s legislated  
l of rights.

â\200\230he Black Sash urged  
- military government  
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Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The  
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newly-appointed -  
g.eneral â\200\230gecretary ~of & .  
the African Democriat-  
. {Â¢ Movement in Ciskel,  
â\200\230Mr Thamsanqa Linda,.-".  
"was â\200\230â\200\230handledâ\200\235 by 'a.  
South African mmm  
intelligence front. dur-.  
ing 1987 in an opera.  
tion known as ProJec ;  
Tommy. Ly A

An investigation has  
found that Mr Linda  
was used to pinpointâ\200\231  
â\200\230â\200\230moderateâ\200\231â\200\231 black  
leaders to oppouse the  
United Democratic  
Â« Front, %

- Mr Linda was re-  
cruited on April 8, 1987

by Dt Ben Conradie, di-.

military intelligence (a front organisation last

founder of Dynamic Technology which was also a  
part of the AEC front, ::  
AEC and its branches have e

been linked to town-

training of Inkatha vigilantes in Natal,.

Dr Conradie has admitted Eduguide was a mili-  
tary intelligence front and [as provided docu-

former military intelligence where General a Wit-  
kop Badenhorst. .

Mr Linda was identified as a very usable man  
after speaking at a conference in Cape Town in  
April 1987, a former military intelligence operi-  
tive said.

Mr Linda was then vice-president of the United  
Christian Conciliation Party, which opposed the  
8A Council of Churches, -

It seemed the AEC was supporting Linda in

establishing UCCP as a party for non-ANC Chris-  
tians the former operative said.

On April 19, 1987 Mr Linda provided Eduguide a

with a written appraisal of the leader of Ama;

Afrika, the Rev Ebenezer Mqina, whom he  
labelled a Pan Africanist committed to socialism,

A former Port Elizabeth township mayor, :

director of Eduguide; the Port Elizabeth branch of A  
Adult Education Consultants (AEC), exposed. a8 &/

Earlier this month Mr Lindan took over as ADM :  
general secretary from Mri Bagie Oosthuizen, the -

ship violence -in the Eastern.Cape and to the|

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encaluae s dio0 DEBAIEcHiiRel Akan i A+ Cluy â\200\230lneetiln:g Dr Conradie. He said in a telephone

" fnterview: â\200\234I will never take .dirty money to be-  
. tray or belittle my people. -

- Âçillors from township a

W ,mervlcÂ«a tab was paid for by-Edu

; Llnda. â\200\230D September 25 he m dumped by Edu-

'mitted mesating I'r Ben Conradie::

- . Involved in two l"dugunide-sponsored conferences,  
ln 1987.

â\200\230 wthe Cisskei gmrenumenu

Unknown to him, Mr

Magina wag at the tims

-reoeipâ\200\231lng funds from:

s Âç

wag' at the: Mpek-

weni'San in Ciskef for

40 of these â\200\234leaders'.

Another .conference

, held on September

wxst e. Zuurberg Inn,

A o

\_sup ecturersâ\200\235 a

55 i-\202g%b hferences, -

â\200\230Almast all the participants Â@#FÃ© Jormer coun-  
inistrations.

At the first conference & Rsmâ\200\231gar and room

e,

The .handlers were soon"disillusioned by Mr

{ruide,

After repeated denlals: Mr Llndn finauly ad-

He (enjed any knowledge of the Rev Ebenezer  
aninl document, but conflrmed he had been

~Lagt week and earlier. thin week he denied

Y have never been involved in any way with any  
military intelligence. No, I have never met Dr  
Conradie.â\200\235

He admitted later he had met Dr Conradie

throuylh & professor at Vista University, hut when

nsked to explain his carlier denial, he empha-

niged: â\200\234Now I am telling you that I kmow this lzan,  
hut not wmilitarilyâ\200\235

Comunenting on the Magina document, he said:

â\200\234Y donâ\200\231t know about anything of that sort, I am not  
%i-\202}eragud to read anything about that kind of  
thing.

He later alleged that â\200\234peopleâ\200\235 were trying to  
â\200\234incrirainateâ\200\235 him because he was Involved with



UMTATA. â\200\224 The Ciskeiâ\200\231s contro-

democratic following i the Enst-  
ern Cape homeland. \*

' Replying to questions on â\200\230a  
Radio T02 talk show- onâ\200\231â\200\235Wednes-  
day, Brigadier Gqozo said he had

Gqozo says I

versial military ruler, Brigadier,  
Oupa Gqozo, often accused of ille-.  
gitimate rule, maintaing â\200\230he-has a "

beenâ\200\231 elected democmtxcauy by -

Gâ\200\234S d

members of the military council.  
. He said he was not opposed to

. marches in the Ciskei, provided  
people were not bussed in from

a8 far as Cape Town.,

Brigadier Gqozo said there was  
free. polltxcqulg in his territory.  
He cited as an example the SA  
Communist Party office in the  
capital, Btsh?

fallr man

e. fatal Septem-  
Âclaimed he had  
information that Ciskeians had  
been made to walk in front, which  
was why most of the people who  
had died were locals.:  
Responding to a question from  
& caller, he said: â\200\234Thatâ\200\231s a stupid  
question.â\200\235 To which the caller re-

RefÂ«erring to  
ber 7 march, h

plied: â\200\234You are stupid, too.â\200\235

-  
â\200\224â\200\224

-



N

MNo. 6

15 - 30 OCTOBER 1992

TR

Hegisiered ai the Post Office a5 a sewspaper

EBISHO â\200\224 Kwinkoefa  
yawo yokugala uhdboteo  
we-ADM ebibamjelwe  
apha, vilongameli walo  
Mibmtho wBripadys O.J.  
Ggoro ugmdsekise aba-

kale mbutho

Afi¬\201kalknrtwÂ¥ NABIBE AN  
azilawuiayo lo mbutho  
uya kwme hwa wugamela-  
nga Bhulumente wase-

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Imbiza yeSizwe

kufuneka lumelene noku-  
khusela okonganyelwe-  
nt nasekusetyenziswe-  
ol kakubi kolawelo ngu-  
rhulumente weko xesha.

Ekwabethelelele noku-  
ta kufuneka kobekho  
mkululeko yokuzinua-  
nya kwabo bonke ku-  
ngabikho mkhethe nge-  
bala.

â\200\234I-ADM ikholelwa e-  
kubem impemelela vo-

Uthe uya kubamba  
nntlanganiso, nee-  
nkongolo zawo oge-

ndlela eseluxolweni e-  
wimeia wonke uvbani  
ukuba athabathe inxa-  
xheba.

UBngadiva Ggozo  
uxelele abalandeli balo  
mbuthe ukuba kufune-  
ka becinmic npelizwe  
abalifunayo, yiyo le nto  
kufupeka beqwalasele

SenlEpnmmr P atwmiann 0 ol

o~

ekukhuseleni whoz-  
qhubela phambili ko-

lumenteni abatht izibo- koomaatyi

nda maziveke uhubonda

Embandini npubdonpamcli we-Africas Jemocrmtic Move-  
mewt (ADM) nolowan paSililslo weBlmage ol o sl

aflnigadiva Cepa Josbms Ggozo ecabem owaldes ri~\202"dkauhmi  
vakke uNkoskr Momziwabke Ggozo, wSekels Mospameh  
we-ADM nokwangeMphaibisws werelbuselo eCiskes,  
uloloneli Siphiwo Silemce Pitz, shure ekupgibelesi ekhedilo  
ibe apeiobiels Jikefele we- A D, whino Thressomgs Linds

Akukbe kebura mawe oyazibosels ulebea Beluchwaydi

kwinkesois yooehmtis we- AT

abakbupha ba

bangabuy:

abanin nearhandle horele

S

RIS ] w1 6]

y &[0

SiliS

3L

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L

(EIET R

]

â\200\224

wya knmebwn wn

=

nega Rbhublumente wase-  
Cisheed.

Ethetha phambi kwa-  
balandeli bale mbutho  
ebebezalise ihole yo-  
mboniso kukho nee-  
odwendwe ebezisuka  
ngaphandle eCiskei,  
uthe ko mbotho ukhole-  
lwe ekubeni bonke  
abantu boMzantsi Afri-  
ka kuluneka bethabathe  
inxaxheba kurhulume-  
nte npendlela eyamke-  
lekayo.

Uthe eso iva kuba si-  
siscke sendlela yempu-

melelo ekhululekileyo  
ehlabathini  
UBrigidiya Gogozo

uthe lo mbutho wkho-  
leiwa ckubeni nale na-  
luphina uhlobo lwenku-  
luleko enyanisekifeyo

Ukizsankes ek hohls sguPastor N\_B. Mwsa osebe  
Advobeti Domald Bruwette saguhTplstlis.

melikeobeke eCisloei,

i o

..... :

â\200\2341-ADM ikholelwa e-  
kobeni impumelelo yo-  
Mzantsi Afrika oMa-  
ayeneyn rya kuxho-  
mekeka ckuphumelele-  
m kogilimz lokumise-  
Iwa kweengingqgi, loo  
nto iya kuginisekisa  
indlela eyiyo yenku-  
luieko,â\200\235 ughube wa-  
tsho.

Ubethelele into yoku-  
ba lo mbutho uya kaiwa  
ngako konke okusema-  
ndieni awo usilwela  
amalungeio apheleleyo  
ezopolitike ukulungise-  
lela ulumta loMzantsi  
Afrika lowisiseko esili-  
nganayo.

Udize nokuba lo mbu-  
tho ngamaxesha onke  
kufuneka uzighelise  
amatungelo angawo,  
npgokwasemthethweni.

â\200\234abalifunayo. yiyo le nto

kufuneka begwalasele  
imkomia yamagela nga-  
magela ezopolitiko  
eyakuthabatha indawo  
yelCodesa.

Le nkomfa iya ku-  
gwalasela kogala uku-  
miseiwa kompgaqosiseko  
omisha oqulaogwe  
nguBrigadiya Ggozo,  
ulkosi Lucas Mangope  
noMkosi Mangesuthu  
Buthelezi.

UBrigidiva Ggozo

uthe besi sithathu ba-  
zamife ukulwa ingcine-  
zelo yezixholoxholo be-  
lapha ngaphakathi bese-  
nza konke okusemthe-  
thweni wkophikisana  
noka, kodwa kukho  
abantz abababiza ngo-  
kuba ziimpimpi.

Ukhankanye ukuzi-  
misela kwale mbutho

nzela iSosayeth yaMalougeho ol sty kweaseJaman: olundwendwe JeCisker, -  
4 weroBulungisa lowiye nolvisi P.P. Jacobs ongmiviphathiswe wezehdfumdo

ekukhueselen: uku-  
ghobela phambili ko-  
kuoishatyalaliswa kwe-  
sizwe nabaniu baso.  
Ubethelele ukuba ii-  
nkolo zale mbutho zi-  
sckubhenceni imigomo  
vobuThixo yaye uzimi-  
sele ckuwiseni ubuko-  
TAnisi.

Uchapharcle neem-  
bono zentengiso ekhu-  
ivlekileyo, ukusetyenzi-  
swa komthetho ngomgaqo  
osudungekileyo neuio  
mbutho.,

Enyathela kubasebe-  
nzi baseburhulumen-  
tenii uthe wonke ubani  
ofunyaniswe ekhuphela  
mnizalelo karhulumente  
ezinkanti nakumajelo  
eendaba uya kuwutya  
umsebenzi neoko pa-  
agoke. Uthe kukho  
abasehenzi baseburhu-

% i

EBISHO â\200\224 USiklalo Gqozo withe uriva ena-

weBlumga leSizwe e-Ci-  
skei w-Brigadier (0.J. manca kwidabi efikho- African

ey S ey

mandlz kakhwlu, echulu-

nyulwe )2

lawuls amaphandle.

Uthe umbuthe we uzakuthabatha  
Demaocratic xheba ebanzi ckusom-

burhlumenteni. kwaye  
(-

lomenteni abathi izibo-  
nda maziyeke ububonda

baro kuba bejoyine

vmbutho wabahlal

ongamkelekanga kubu-  
rhulomente. ngelixa  
bona baphangeiayo,  
watsho esithi ofunye-  
owe esenza loonto kwi-  
sibonda knfuncka kuziwe  
negama lakhe kwi-ofisi  
vakhe.

Uhambise wathi kukbo  
iilali ezingasifuni nokuy-  
sibona isibonda kodwa  
zijonge ukuba zenzelwe  
izinto ngurhulumente  
czifana nokwakhelwa  
nndlela. Tthe iilali ezin-  
Jalo Infuncka zijengwe  
kungeajale igesa lika-  
rhulnmente elivuselefa  
umsebenzi kwiindawo  
ezinjale liva kutshelwa  
zizicheku.

Unike

sillumkiso

EBISHO â\200\224 UNobhala  
Jikelele wolThwibo we-  
ADM, aMpo T.1. Linda  
wihi kwfumelis wmbuwtho  
wikbe mmisele nkbuse-  
feko bwitadawo ezinafha-  
bamndeli bawo wkuzams  
ukibhn barikhasele Eu-  
mdwtle we-ANC.

Kwinkomfa yokugala  
yato mbutho, uhdno  
Linda wthe phanis  
kwazo paziphi na fime-  
ko wpmbutho wakhe  
awusavi kubuva nea-



abanitu ngaphandie  
Ewebheyile. banu abo  
banguncbangela wezi-  
dubedube kungenjaio  
abangababulali, watsho  
esithi umaniyi ofunya-  
niswe esenza leo nto

akusay: kuba nzima  
ukuba akhutshelwe  
ngaphandle.

Kwicaia lamapolisa  
ukhankanye amonakalo  
owadaleka ngomibila  
kwakubuywe kungcewa-  
tywa amaxhoba entle-  
kele yaseBisho ekwathi  
kwatshiswa iHotele yo-  
dumeo yaseMdantsare.  
Uthe uneapgxelo exi-  
qinisekileyo zokaba  
amapelisa ayexciclwwe  
ngaio monakalo ukuba  
ukubuya ÅYwaba bantu  
kulo mngewabo kukho  
inio eqginisekileyo yoku-

ada uthe amaCiskes  
akasayl kusetyenziswa  
ngamakomanisi

Uthe ubukomanisi  
bawa kwamazwe aself-  
puma Urcphu, naseRa-  
shiya apho bagala kho-  
aa. Uhlasele ilungu Jo-  
dfbutha we-ANC,  
uhinn Gowvan Mbek:  
ngedithi ubhibhidia nje  
amazinyo ukuthi obu-  
komanisi basetyenziswa  
ngendlela enpeyiyo zii-  
rkokel: czazikulo

koonmantyi abakbupha -

ba bangabuya ngale  
hotele. :  
Uthe phamibi kokuba  
bayitshise kwathunyelwa  
wmnhi emapoliseni  
ukuba wnaba abanm  
betoyi-toya yaye baceba  
ukuyiishisa. Uthe ngok-  
wengxelo avifumeneyo  
akukho nalinye ipolisa  
clakhe labeka umcondo  
walo apho de kwaba

kuya tshiswa. Uthe onke  
loo \* mapolisza aban-  
dakanyekayo kufuneka  
cphoswe ngaphandle  
emsebenzini.  
Enyathela kumbutho  
we-ANC akhwele eze-  
hlela kuwo ngokuwu-  
gribha uthe lirjongo zalo  
mbutho kuintbuiala  
abanm ngendlela enge-  
yiyo, ukuowenisa izimvo

kuggiba ithi akukho  
maziko okufundisela.  
Ukwamemelele lo mbu-  
tho ukubs wohlukane ne-  
senzo sokufzna lWCiskei  
ingalawuleii.

Uthe akukho namnye  
umbutho ozabalazela  
inkuluieko ngaphandle  
kwe-ANC owakhe wa-  
funa ehulwa ukumeme-  
lelz imfazwe norhulu-  
mente waseCiskei, wa-  
tsho cbalula iPAC, i-  
Azapo kunve neminve.

Page 2, UMTHOMBO

Cpteher 1992 HD%MM\\OWQ-

Inyumbalniï~\202 ynbnlndoll be ADM wilo o yemibcnlm uBis 0,

Ungumongameli quozo

Zisuka kwikhasi !

mbuthe ungafunwa yi  
ANC kubulawa amalu-  
ngu awo. Ukwathe aba-  
ntit baseCiskei mabama-  
nyane bathethe into  
enye. Ngokunjalo bazi-  
khusele kwilntshaba  
ezikhoyo nezilwa ubu-  
ngariga base Ciskei. Oko  
kothi kwenzeke ngoku-

jayina ubulungu be  
ADM  
Uthe udiniwe nguRhu-

lumente wase Mzantsi  
Afrika ongenanyaniso.  
Nto leyo yena nezinye  
iinkokeli zamanye ama-  
Zwe azimeleyo banezi-  
fqibo nbazithabathileyo  
ngenxa yesisizathu.  
Kwaye abasayl bona nje  
ngeenkokeli zasemapha-  
ndleni bazibandakanye  
nezigqibo ezenziwa ngu

De Klerk kunye ne  
ANC,  
Esehla ezikhwelela

kwi ANC uthe ayisayi  
kuze iye e-Lundi nje  
ngoko iceba kuba ya-

funda ngokwaneleyo  
kwisehlo saseBlsho.

Uhambise wathi i  
ANC ngumbuthe wa-  
makomanisi ohlohla  
esabo, nengafuni kube.  
kho ulawulo oluzinzi-  
leyo. Ixtiaswa ngeemali  
ngamazwe amakomas  
nisi najonge imbuyeke-  
zo kwixesha elizayo,  
ukuba nayo ilawule u-  
Mzantsi Afrika. Sesinye  
sezozizathu ezenza  
ukubsa irhoxe kwi Co-  
desa Il utghilo, Uha-  
mbise wathi imizi mve-  
liso efuna ukuzakutyala  
iimali e-Ciskei yathi  
yarhoxn ngeempembe-  
lelo ezenziwa yi ANC  
ngokuthi ighagamshe-  
lane neeofisi ezinkuiu  
zalemizi kuba isithi  
yena Gqozo uzakwehla  
ekulawuleni abantu  
base Ciskei.

Ugyibele ngelithi u-  
luntu lwase Ciskel malu-  
xhase ngamandla inko-  
keli ezibalawulayo. Into

yokujonga txesha eliza-  
yo yinto leyo engasayi

" kubanceda, Uthe ixesha

liphelile labantu aba-  
ngaqondwayo leala  
abakulo,

Ugqgibezele ngelitsho-  
yo. Yena unobhala ji-  
kelele walombutho  
uMnuT.L, Linda wazise  
kule nkongolo ukuba i  
ofisl yawo yokuqala i-  
vuliwe eRhawutini Uthe  
kuzo zonke iidolophu  
zaseMzantsi Afrika ku-  
za kuvulwa ilofisi zalo  
mbutho (ADM),

IZINDULULO

Kwizindululo ekuthe  
kwafikelelwa kuzo nga-  
w0 onke amagels na-  
kwizithili ezahlukeneyo  
zalapha eCiskei nasezi-  
dolophini.

1. Ukugwalagelws ngu-  
rhulumente uhambiso  
lweenkonzo ezinee-  
disana noluntu : ezinje  
ngezi - ulungiso lween.  
dlela, ukwandiswa ii-  
ngwelo zezigulana.

ULinda noMbeki

Zisuks kwikhasi |  
enguBrigadiyva Gqozo

kunye noRhulumente  
waseCiskei amkhoke-  
laya,

Kwakwelo dlwabevu  
Iwentetho yakhe uhia-  
sele, uMongameli we-  
ANC., uMnu Neison  
Mandela esithi {ikoma-  
nist kuba ngethuba lo-  
kubanjwa kwakhe kwa-  
Jfunvanwa amaxwebhu  
SE.Fatha ukuba uli-

mzamo Winnie  
Mandela.  
Ruye kwaphakama

uMnu W. Matl ongu-  
Sihlalo weSizwe kulo  
mbutho esithi injongo  
zokusekwy kwalo mbu-  
tho we-ADM yaba ku-  
kubona ukuba iinkosi  
nezibonda zihlala ubo-  
mi bentshontsho kunye  
nabanye abantu abangu-  
hambisaniyo s

mhann #ala mhictha

Sk

hlaliswa kakubi kwee-  
nkosi nezibonda zitshi-  
selwa nemizi yazo, baze  
bonyula ngokuphandle  
uBrigadiya OJ. Gqozo  
njengoMuongameli walo  
mbutho.

Ubalule injongo zawo  
ngelithi yayikukwenza  
ukuba urhulumente asg-  
ndelelane nabantu ba-  
khe. Uthe bacacelwa

i:u:TTl:. EIJ\_HJ\_: \_-iL\_J '1I JNĩ~\202L

2. Ukuphuhlizsa nga-

mandlaulimo njengoke  
Â¢ Ciskei ingenzao {zi-  
mbiwa.

3. Imbuyekezo yemi-  
hlaba eyathenjiswa ngu-  
Mzantsi Afrika.

4. Ukubuyiselwa kwa-  
bufundi abangamadoda  
eMthwaku,

5. Uhambiso lwamas-  
yeza ezibhedleie kunye  
nezinye izinto ezinceda  
izigulana.

6. IQonce mayiyeke  
ikuba yidolophu yezi-  
hange nalapho abantu  
baphulukana nobomi  
babo.

7. Ukwandiswa kwa-  
mapolisa okhuselo,

8. Ukwandiswa kween-  
qwelo zomlile.

9. Ukugcina kuka  
Rhulumente woMzantsi  
Afrika izithembiso sza-  
tyikitywayo ukuthatya-  
thwa kwenkutuleko,

10. Ukhuselo olun-  
gqongao lwabantu ezi-  
lalini.

ZWELITSHA â\200\224 UMnu

Maurice Zongamele  
Qalase uchazwe njenge-  
gorha kwezemfundo,  
usasazo kwanokubhala  
ngethuba bekutyhlwa ti-  
tye lakhe apha kutsha  
nje.

Ethetha ngokwazana  
UEE ST INE e

- \nu\ -uhlu-:lvln

Inkom

Zisuka kwikhasi |  
ZHWD TEENJONLO .  
thoba isidima sol  
okanye ubomi bah

Whike Ta ol  
awuhambisani nc  
zenkonzo kwang  
ezinobuThixo.

Ubalute noknd  
kwawo isosayethi u  
nzete abantu buphe  
kukunyamezeta nt  
olungekhoyo ukuze  
ntu bazibandak  
nenkohlakaio yoh  
manisi,

Uwugxibhile  
â\200\230mbutho ngelithi uk  
nembumba yawo us  
nzisa amazwi a  
nenkululeko noku!  
lula abantu njeng  
hobo zokutshabalal

Uchaphazele izig  
ko atyhole ukuba ziz  
bubukomanisi, ezi!  
nokufa kwabantu ki  
nokwenzakala, uku  
geshwa kwabantu  
nxa yesininzi, ukwi  
kwabantu abangena  
khaya, ukwanda ke  
ngakhuseleki kwab  
ukutshatyalaliswa k:  
lokishi. ukughekez.  
kwezizalwang, ukv  
kho kwendlala,

Ubukomanisi but  
abantu abaninzi ng  
pumlo kwelilizwe ny  
wenzy izithembiso  
kwenziwa kwezinto  
ngenakwenzeka.

Ezo zinlo zih  
dakanya uxolo, ubr  
ngisa kunye nenkul  
ko. Uthe ly  
wakubukomanisi  
thethwa ezo zinto  
thethwa enye i

wombutho weetitsh:  
kuQobogobo. Ngethu  
wayengutitshala wazi  
bisa iititshala ukuba

. . W, .  
ngayingeni imibul  
ezakuba nos  
quzulwano phakay

kwazo norhulumenty

UMnu Given Ntk  
T2 ddldibana ngo 19





1990

lale)

DM kwiholo yemibonise eBm;o.

meli uGqozo

1

yokujonga ixesha eliza-  
yo yinto leyo engasayi  
kubanceda, Uthe ixesha  
liphellle labantu aba-  
ngaqondwayo leala  
abukulo.

Ugylbezele ngelitsho-  
yo. Yena unobhala ji-  
kelele walombutho  
uMnu T.L. Linda wazise  
kule nkongolo ukuba i  
ofisi yawo yokuqala i-  
vuliwe eRhawutini Uthe  
kuzn zonke iidolophu  
zaseMzantsi Afrika ku-  
za kuvulwa llofisi zalo

. mbutho (ADM).

" kwizithili czahlukeneyo  
zalapha eClskel nuuzi-f i

dolophini.

1. Ukugwalaselwa ngus

rhulumente uhambiso  
Iweenkonzo gzinga.  
disana noluntu : ezinje  
ngezi ; - ulungiso lween-  
dlela, ukwandiswa i-  
nygwelo zezigulana.

Vibeki

hlaliswa kakubi kwee-  
nkosi nezibonda Zitshi-  
selwa nemizi yazo, baze  
bonyula ngokuphandle  
uBrigadiya O.J. Gqozo  
njengoMongameli walo  
mbuthg.

Ubalule injongozawo  
ngelithi yayikukwenza  
ukuba urhulumente aso-  
ndelelane nabanty ba-  
khe., Uthe bacmelwa  
ngokuml=/E

2. Ukuphuhlisa nga-  
mandla ulimo nje ngoko  
e Ciskei ingenzao izi-  
mbiwa.

3. Imbuyekezo yemi-  
hlabaeyathenjiswa ngu-  
Mzantsi Afrika,

4, Ukubuyiselwa kwa-  
bafundi abangamadoda  
eMthwaku.

5. Uhambiso lwama-  
yeza ezibhedlele kunye  
nezinye izinto ezingeda  
izigulana,

6. IQonce mayiyeke  
ukuba yidolophu yezi-

:~ â\200\230hange nalapho abantu

ba hulukana rmbunu

Inkomfa ye-ADM eBisho

Zisuka kwikhasi 1

zawo ngenjongo zoku-

thoba isidima sobuntu  
okanye ubomi babantu.

Uthe lo mbutho  
awthambisani nezinto  
zenkonzo kwanezinto  
ezinobuThixo.

Ubalule nokudelela  
kwawo isosayethi ukwe-  
nzela abantu baphelelwe  
kukunyamezela noxolo  
ofungekhoyo ukuze aba-  
ntu bazibandakanye  
nenkohlakalo yobuko-  
manisi,

Uwugxibhile la  
mbutho ngelithi ukunye  
nembumba yawo usebe-  
nzisa amazwi afana  
nenkululeko nokukhue  
lula abanty njengezix-  
hobo zokutshabalalisa,

Uchaphazele izigane-  
ko atyhole ukuba ziziswe  
bubukomanist, ezifana  
nokufa kwabantu kunye  
nokwenzakala, ukunga-  
geshwa kwabantu nge-  
nxa yesininzi, ukwanda  
kwabantu abangenama-  
khaya, ukwanda koku-  
ngakhuseleki kwabantu,  
ukutshatyalaliswa kwees

lokishi. ukughekezelwa  
kwezizalwana. ukuba-  
kho kwendlala,

Ubukomanisi butzale

. abantu sbaninzi ngem-

pumlo kwelilizwe ngok-

- â\200\230wenza' izithembiso no-

9. Ukugcina kuka  
Rhulumente woMzantsi  
Afrika izithembiso eza-  
ivlllÂ»utyw.v.' ayo ukuthatya-  
wa kwenkululeko,  
Ukhuselo olun-

gqongqo lwabantu ezi-  
lalini.

ZWELITSHA â\200\224 UMnu  
Maiirice Zongamele  
Qrlsse uchazwe njenge-  
gorha kwezemfundo,  
usasaze kwanokubhala  
ngethuba bekutyhilwa li-  
tye lakhe apha kutsha  
nje.

Ethetha ngokwazana  
kwakhe ekusehenzeni

kwenziwa kwezinto ezi-  
ngenakwenzeka.

Ezo zinto ziban-  
dakanya uxolo, ubulu-  
ngisa kunye nenkulule-  
ko. Uthe ngok-  
wekubukomanisi aku-  
thethwa eze zinto ku-  
thethwa enye into

wombutho weetitshala  
kuGQobogobo, Ngethuba  
wayenguiitshala wazice-  
bisa lititshala ukuba zi-'  
ngayingenl imibutho  
ezakuba nong-  
quzulwano phakathi  
kwazo norhulumente,

UMnu Given Ntlebi

ut GETTE3LHLS 40

ekude kunaleyo.

Uthe abantu bafuna  
ukuxelelwa kakuhle  
ngobukomanisi, injongo  
kunye nemingweno  
yabo.

Engena kumngeelele  
owawukhokelwe yi-  
ANC namahlakani

ayo ngomhla wesix-  
henxe kuSeptemba 1992  
uthe ityala libekwa  
kurhulumente wakhe  
kodwa noxa kunjalo  
ufumene inkungu nela-  
nga . yeencwadi ezimx-  
hasayo zesininzi zaba-  
nit abathe cwaka. Ezo  
newadi, amakhadi, itm-  
fonomfono kunye nezi-  
nye  
zimkhuthaza ukuba  
makazabalaze angayeki  
uquhukula ubukoma-  
nist.

UBrigadiya ~ Gqozo  
uthe esi sininzi sabantu  
sifuna ukwenzelwa  
umzekelo ngokuhlasela  
nangokwaphulwa ko-  
mthetho, ukuvuia um-  
lomo waso, ukwenzela  
ukuba sinikwe ingxolo  
kumazwi aso.

Ukhankanye nokuba  
uninzi lwabantu iunoms-  
buzo wokuba ingaba ezi  
mali zinikwa lo mbutho  
zibheka phl na. Uthe lo  
mbutho unikwa imali  
ngamazwe ehlabathi  
ukuba ziphakamise  
izinga lentlalontle noke  
wakhiwa kwezindlu,

Uchaphazele umse-  
benzi atyhole ukuba  
wenziwa zezi mali, mis-  
ebenzi leyo efana no-  
kukhulisa ubukomanisi  
ngendlela engeyiyo,

amagama amatsha athi  
ethubeni amkeleka ku-  
luntu luphela nak-  
wiSebe leMfundo. Eca-  
phula amanye amagama  
adumileyo uthe la nga-  
wona abalulekileyo â\200\234isi-  
khwakhwalala, umwa-

ngalala, itrayibhali nen-

neharhn ululî¬\202n\_\_ tuichi  
TSNoD TS T

U1"11'î¬\202\1111nî¬\202 NAMAYN

:

iimbaieiwana

ukwamketiswn kwabantu  
ababulala abantu aba-  
chasene nalo. mbutho,  
ukubhatalwa - kween-

dieko zezithuthi ) ezi-  
thutha abantu abaya  
kwiintlanganiso zalo  
mbutho, ukubhatalwa  
kwamabutho enza ize-  
nzo zobukrelemnga,  
ukuthengwa kwezix-  
hobo, ukuphembelela  
imfazwe. ukugaya ulu-  
nty xa kukho iingea-  
mango zokufuna imi-  
bonisg, kunye nokuthe-  
nga izithuthi kulo lonke  
eli limiweyo ukwenzela  
abantu bafumane izinto  
zokuhamba xa besiya  
kwimingeleele.

Uwuchaze lo mbutho  
njengoligwala esithi  
into yobukho be-ADM  
kwelaseCiskei awon-  
wabanga mpela, Ucha-  
phazele nezizathu eza-  
bangela ukuba lo mbu-  
tho ubaleke kwiCodesa  
watsho esithl wabaiekela  
kwi-OAU usithi kukho  
unyawo iwemfene elikho-  
yo ucela amancedo.  
Uthe kwinkomfa aba-  
benayo neBhunga leZi-  
zwe eziMunyeneyo ihla-  
bathi laxelelwa ngama-  
nyundulufu atyhole u-  
kubu enziwa yl-ANC  
kwigonga eliphangale-  
leyo nuangezenzo zato  
mbutho.

Uthe ngenxa yokube-  
thakala kwawo lo mbu-  
tho kwiCodess ucebe  
ukuba umisele imingea-  
lele yesininzi kuma-  
zwe aneenkokeli ezicha-  
sene nawo watsho esithi  
nalo mingeelele fwe  
phantsi.

efuna ukuhlinza impuku  
nomntu wacaphula esi-  
thi â\200\234Mntakwethu makhe  
ndikubambe nding;  
mhlinzo kunjalonje  
utyebileâ\200\235.

Naye uyigxininisisile  
into yokuba ebengumniu  
okhuthelayo emsehenzi

ANC,

Esehla ezikhwelela  
kwi ANC uthe ayisayi  
\_kuze iye e-Lundi nje  
)goko jceba kuba ya-

Zisuka kwikhasi |  
enguBrigadiya Gqozo  
kunys noRhulumente  
wageCiskei amkhoke-  
layo.

Kwakwelo dlwabevu  
lwentetho yakhe uhla-  
sele, uMongemeli we-  
ANC. uMnu Nelson  
Mandela esithi likoma-  
nist kuba ngethuba lo-  
kubanjwa kwakbhe kwa-  
funyanwa amaxwebhu  
ayesolatha ukuba uli-  
komanisi,

Uphethe ngelithi no-  
kuba lo mbutho kunye  
namaphepha bacinga  
njani na ngaye abasayi  
kumsandawo kunye no-  
Brigadiya Gqozo,

Ehlasela uMnu Man-  
dela uthe kufuneka be-  
gokelelene bonke bezi-  
zizalwana zalapho baye  
kuphuthuma iNkosikazi  
vakhe uNkoskz No-

Ukusika ekhohlo nguMmeli Jikelele waseBlom{anteai,  
Nyaksty kunye noMnu M. Makwabe onguMmelt-Jikele

Vialae v labkdd,

Uggibele ngelithl u-  
luntu lwase Ciskei malu-  
xhase ngamandla inko-  
keli ezibalawulayo. Into

ULinda no

. fnzamo Winnie

Mandela.  
Kuye kwaphukama

uMnu W. Mati ongu-  
Sihlalo weSizwe kulo  
mbutho esithl injongo  
zokusekwa kwalo mbu-  
tho we-ADM yaba ku-  
kubona ukuba iinkosi  
nezibonda zihlala ubo-  
mi bentgshontsho kunye  
nabanye abantu abanga-  
hambisaniyo nee-  
mbono zalo mbutho.

Uthe babona kufane-  
lekiie ukuba haseke  
umbutho wabantu, ku-  
ba kungekho kunyame-  
zelana. Ugxibhe inya-  
thelo atyhole ukuba le=  
nziwa yi-ANC ekunga-  
funini ukuba kubekho  
inkululeko yokuzie  
manyd.

Uthe inyathelo loku-  
seka kwabo lo mbutho

Iweenkonzo ezince-  
disana noluntu : ezinje  
ngezi :« ulungiso lween-  
dlela, ukwandiswa ii-  
ngwelo zezigulana.

beki

hlaliswa kakubi kwee-  
nkosi nezibonda zitshi-  
selwa nemizi yazo, baze  
bonyula ngokuphandie  
uBrigadiys OJ. Ggozo  
njengoMongameli walo  
mbutho.

Ubalule injongo zawo  
ngelithi yayikukwenza  
ukuba urhtiltmente aso-  
ndeletlane nabantu ba-  
khe. Uthe bacacelwa  
ngokumhlophe ukuba  
akukho nkokeli elijoni  
eyakhe yanombutho  
kodwa ngenxa yokuba  
kude kukarhulumente,  
kuba kungekho nto ino-  
kumsondeza sbantwini,  
babona kufanelekile  
ukuba baseke lo mbu-  
tho.

Uthe ezinye iinjongo  
zalo mbutho kukuba

kuhlonelwe amasiko  
nezithethe kuhlonitshwe

yaba seso sigqibo soku- linkosi.

==

IwaseCiskel. Owamkelayo nguNkoskz N.C. Ggozo egamenl lala maxhoba,

Lythity Wityw uhulialyid-  
thwa kwenkululeko.

10, Ukhuselo olun-  
gqongqo lwabantu ezi-  
falini.

ZWELITSHA â\200\224 UMnu  
Maurice Zongamele  
Qalase uchazwe njenge-  
gorha kwezemfundo,  
usasazo kwanokubhala  
ngethuba bekutyhilwa Ili-  
tye lakhe aphas kutsha  
nje.

Ethetha ngokwazana  
kwakhe ekusebenzent  
uMnu A Nongauza uthe  
babefundisa kunye  
phambi kokuba babe  
ngabasasazi. Uhambise  
wathi ngethuba ababe-  
fundisa ngalo akuzange  
kubekho nkathazo yaye  
lo kaQalase wayengayi-  
funi â\200\230'into enong-  
quzulwano phakathi.

Uthe uMnu Qalase  
wayengumguguzeleli

uMnu Monde Dambuza, uMmclI Jelle waseThekwinl, uMnu â\200\230  
le eKapa bemi benikezels impahla kumaxhoba atshiselweyo kodushe

btlod AUDYU LiLdie  
ko. Uthe )  
wakubukomanisi  
thethwa ezo zinle  
enye

thethwa

wombutho weetil:

kuQoboqobo. Nge!'

wayengutitshala wi  
bisa iititshala ukut  
ngayingeni imit



ezakubg 1  
quzulwano pha  
kwazo norhulumel

UMnu Given D  
uthe badibana ngo  
eRhini engums  
kwiziko lesiXhosa,  
wafika engumntu Âç  
ni nolinene enguâ\200\231  
ndi kwaphela  
embi.

Uthe wayetshilu  
cala lokutelika isil  
esisa esiXhoseni  
kunjalo nasesiNg

Umncomile ng  
lichule ekufum

El litlye likaMnu M  
|wakha kunye nenkos  
wabo omkhuls uDun

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â\200\231â\200\224i.:\_.\_.-cmw ?

UMTHEMBS Juwe gz

ENTABETHEMBA â\200\224 Tbe ngumhla oyimbali knbemi balapha ebe-  
bengaphezn kwama-10 000 bezokumggina mkuphethulwa kwezoyi  
ngonhis we-9 kuJuni nguSihlale we-Bbunga loMbuso, uBrigadiya  
O.J. Ggozo kwithafakari ekwza kwakhiwa kulo idolophu evi  
â\200\234Waverlyâ\200\235 kuisha nje.

USiblate weBlmmgs bofibuso eCiskei wBrigadive Geozo ephethuln isoyi kwisiza esitsha

sedofiopin yaseNtabetheaba, Ubnntm bwalapha hemothmicle wongwazi s Blunente waeeCis-

kei ngefithi wbe wemilsi kwle wginpgi. Batbe knlo wysks wodwa besrebwe exome rinte kuba

iNtalbethemba imiseiwe sjeopromeandls enimeleye sngelio phauisi kwellcwn, Ngasemva

iMemelazi efvelifeyo npuNkesks C.MN. Ggozo opilNkoskz kabrig. Ggozo mpelixa wviem J.N.  
imebrimi.

b= /M]

HE,

e,

T

Ledolophu eneziza  
ezingama-780 ingu-  
mgama ongama-o km  
ukusuka eHewu  
ikwindawo esisitywa-  
kadi, trhanggwe zi-  
intabe kufutshane.

Kungoka nje kule  
ndawg sele kukho  
izakhfwo zamascebe  
agamasebe aseburhu-  
lumenfeni esingaba-  
lula phakathi kwazo  
ezithathu esele zigqgi-  
tyiwe: Eseposi, esi-  
kamantyi kunye ne-  
Sekethe: kweleze-  
Mfunde. Kukwabeke-  
fwe bucala imalf  
engange-R 1,7 vesigidi  
ckuzakwakhiwa isi-  
kalo sobugeisa (tech-  
nikon) ethe yachulu-  
mancisa eso sihiwele  
ngethuba ibibhenge-

Zwa nguBrigadiva  
Ggozo.

UKUMEANI  
SANDILE

Imim le thizinyaswe  
bubukho babapha-  
thiswa bamasebe nga-

masecbe obuRhulu-  
mente baseCiskei  
bekhokelwe nguSihla-  
lo weBhunga loMbu-  
so, uBngadiya O.L  
Gagozae, iNcam yama-  
Rharhabe, uKumkani  
Maxhoba Sandile  
ekhokele ucwambu  
Iweenkosi zaseCiskel  
athe okaGgozo zizi-  
nyanya zeli Jlizwe.  
Bekukwakho nama-  
gosa aphezulu kwi-  
nkonzo karbulumente  
kunye noNMNozakuzak-  
ke woMzantsi Afrika

eCisket, uMpu P.  
Goosen.

Enika udlwabevu  
Iwentetho vakhe  
uBngadiva Ggozo  
kulo msitho ubunesi-  
thozela nesidima  
uhonjiswe ngama-  
qela emixhentso ne-  
mingqunagqo atyhu-  
lube " abila esoma  
yimincili uthe, wothu-  
ka wabamba ongeza-  
nisi npethuba waye-  
tyelele abani balapha  
esanda kungena esi-  
hlalweni akubona  
ubugxwayiba nemba-  
ndezelo abaphila  
phantsi kwayo.

Ughube esithi emva  
kobunzima obufunye-  
nwe nigabantu balapha  
kwisithuba esinga-

il

phezu kweminvaka  
eli-15, batikelele  
encechoyini ngokuthi  
babeke isiseko sale

yabaniu chebengap

GENEVA â\200\224 Brigadier O J Ggozo, Chairman of the Ciskei Council of State and his

A ol e -

~m T ~leades ol d an hale fact Bodine micciag Sn O

i Fr e Py ryall

dolophu intsha.

Ezityanda iwila  
ngentlung: yaba banu  
okaGozo uthe, lo  
ngumhla apho kuno-  
kuthi kuboniswe izi-  
zancko, nnkxwaleko  
kuanye nobunzima  
obathi bafunvanwa  
ngaba bantu kwintialo  
yaho yale ndawo ba-  
chotshiswa kuyo ngu-  
Mzantsi Afrika.  
Utyatyadule wathi  
ie dolophu izalisekisa  
izithembise ezibhe-  
kiselele kmimbuyekezo

) - m  
Brigadiya ().J. Gozo ngenjongo eziyolise knphuhliso hwedolophu yabo entsha. Thhaniaie engap  
hambili  
yeyoMbutho weSebe le-ADM elikuie nginggi ethi Masimanyase kwi-Zwelethu.

Sizakwenza konke  
ckusemandleni ethu  
ekuncedeni. Bonke  
abo abathe basazisa  
ngeengxaki zabo ezi-  
phathelete kumhlala-  
pbantsi babulelwe  
ngokungazenzisiyo  
yvaye ke mabangadi-  
nwa kukusingatha  
umsebenzi wabao  
omhle.â\200\235

Elanda imbali yokuza  
kwaba banu apha  
besuka eHeshele oka-  
{rqozo uthe kweso si-

&  
beckwayitile, befana ukava sbakaphatbehve ngu-

Mmandla waseHe-  
shele oseCiskei ekwa-  
knfuneka unikezelwe  
eTranskei, apho wenza  
isicele sokuba iCiskei  
iya kubavekezwa ngo-  
kulahiekelwa kwayo  
ngubo mmandla. Uthe  
yathethwa elubabaia  
eyoknba wkuba ngaba  
kuekho umntu ofuna  
ukuza kuhlala eCis-  
kei kwisithili sase-  
Hewn. uya kunikwa  
umhlaba wokzhiala.

Ethetha esophela  
okaGaozo uthe ubdza-

SHEHE)

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House attacked:â\200\235  
man not hurt-e

Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 A 36-year-old man narrowl{ es-  
caped death when his house in Themben| vil age,  
Izell, was hit by gunfire early yesterday morning,

Ciske{ Police would not disclose the name of the  
man,

@ man wa  
speeding off after the attack,

No one was injured and no arrests have been  
made.

The spokesman sajd it was not known whether  
the attack had &ny political motive, :

zell was the acene of attacks on headm'en and

mbers of the Bisho-based Afriean Democratic  
Movement last vear,

@ Police reported that 740 metrag of telephone  
cable was stolen at Qonggothe village near  
Zwelitsha on Monday. No arrests have been mada,

Two people were arrested in NU 1, Mdantsane

after & house was broken into and a watch an  
R3 000 cach stolen, i

=R S1 â\200\234EF dSHdly CISAsT EOUNEHL CF SiEi=. SiieE

defence for -  
considered

: U- 2. ?2 Daily Dispathe Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The Bisho-baseq African Dema-  
cratic Movement {s considering introducing gelf.  
defence training for its members following 4 week-  
end incident in which an ADM organiser's Masele  
homa reportedly came ynder gunfire,

The organiser, Mr 2. Puty, has survived at least  
two other attacks there,

Late last year a headman and two others were

acked to death there in what was described sg 2  
revenge attack by residents following the stabbing  
of avillager by an ADM supporter.

The ADM's actin general secretary, Mr Basie  
Oosthuyzen, yesterds called on all ;arties to fol.  
low the CodeÃ© of Conduct in terms o the Nationai  
Peace Accord and ta stop all apts of violence,

He eaid acts of violenee against members would  
not be tolerated, adding the ADM wotld be forced  
ta look at â\200\234self.defence training for protection of

fe and pro ertyâ\200\235. He stressed the A '8 commit-  
ment towards peace and lowards a future violence.

ee society,

The ANC media officer, Miss Mariop Sparg,  
could not be reached for tomment yesterday.

it was confirmed that & pilot  
dispute rag-

The Ciskei Commissioner of Police, General J, J,  
Viktor, wag unavailable for commant yesterday,

: AL MOURCIIL, Bff SR SiLile  
FiAR Sl â\200\234SE ilsedls CHSKHET EolH

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,

Shooting victimâ\200\231s  
funeral today

Daily Dispatch Reporter

QUEENSTOWN - One of two yictimg of & shooting  
incident at Tentergate, Ciskel, last week is to be  
buried today,

The funeral of My Thembisile Dywashu will take  
place at Spring Grove inthe Ntabethamba district,  
The bodies of My Dywazh  
phant, b wers found  
by Ciske! police on Wed Â¥ ek, Two mer  
were arrested in conne hootings but'  
were later releaged. '

In a statement dyesterday the Queenstown tripar:  
tite-alllance ggf Ntabethemba PÃ@ople believed  
he men were victims of politiea] violence, :

Without openly blaming members of Clgkei's

lean Democratio Movement, the Bstatement in-

ferred members wera not afraid of the law ang ap-  
Peared above the lay,

The last wag in reference to the two men ar-  
rested for the Tentergate shootings, who were ra-  
leased before abpearing in court, ;

Family clajms ;  
home attacked

Daily Dispatch Reportar

EAST LONDON â\200\224 A famlly at Eelnyoka villaga in  
Izell outaide King William's Town alleged yester-  
day that their home had been ynder gunflre gttack  
om unknown gunmen Who later stoned the hounge  
and injured a member ofthe family, â\200\230

The famlily said the Incident occurred &t about  
10 pmon Thursday,

The gunmen fired a volley of shots through the  
door and windows before stoning the house, 3 fam.  
ly member said, )



He said a woman of 20 years was injured when the gunmen stoned the house, The attackers sped away in two cars, the family said,

extensive damage was caused to the building, The Ciskei police were not available for comment yesterday.

66 arrested for crimes in Ciskei

were arrested in the homes,

In their weekly Progress report the police said 28 people were apprehended in Zwelltsha for crimes ranging from theft, robbery, Burglary and theft of cars,

In Mdantsane 34 suspects were arrested for murder, robbery, arson and housebreaking.

Three people were arrested for dealing in dagga at Alice while four others were apprehended for housebreaking and theft of Whittles,

â\200\224etE

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EVIDENCE is mosating of I ; AC :

- Pon Africaeis O limbcs between he sk nfonnation

- Theis buas sowaciiod e walers aconod Last yrarâ\200\231s iemAMuuduus,at:hgc mw Residerrts  
of Belc, wi 2 tme

altack an the King Willmm's Town golf club, Assembiy. - :

fimm&m's'd:hni¬\201m that . - Given the ANCâ\200\231s coaflict  
Fohe PAC is'plofing with the Afiican Netional \* this

..â\200\234. -"â\200\231&i  
Ieainbamed

M {of iBegal weapons â\200\224

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= members o dap theer PAC membeship~ Soopion amckise prioly

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PR Smaan o

cuending as PAC e

aad Brigadier Oupa, itvite: ADM macanbess 10 attond. As part of fhe ANCY. Bosdes pecsident  
Thensba Kinsna

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wising for mouths, told the IMN many Incal

;E:\_mcmmwÃ©mea;mcnmmmwymm

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they had provioasiy belongod o the ADM, <

caavespence of membership may mean fhe W(Eu'ahlnî¬\202hml dpssmcm-  
?ACsbungdmwmuem :

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e PAC when be first over, he Later adogd~

i â\200\234anewtral atfindeâ\200\235. ;  
Feeding dicectly o e covrest pasanoL

2o e PAC and Apla, Gaoan's ANC-PAC-

Transke) pkot claimes

Tros the PAC, sud

= bo The South Africaa Polioe for beflistic kests to -  
- ' - deferminе any nk with the King William's  
- o S5 8C0CS 0 weBpons, and may serve 25 aco0- Towns attack. The SAPâ\200\231s Captain Nin  
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Daily Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 Vioi-  
ence agalnst people ang  
their property had  
heiped " the Afrieian  
Demoeratje Movement  
galn "masgjve" support  
in Mdanteane, the Orga-  
nisation's secrelary.gan-  
eral, My Thamsanqa  
Ltnda. said yesterday,

Mr Linda will be the  
main speaker on Sunday  
at the first ADM rally in

danteane since the or.  
fanlsatlmn wag founded

nJuly 1991,

In an Interview he  
sald tha rally would ex.  
plora the socio-acon-  
omie position of Cigkei  
and how to cope with tha  
future,

The (igkef military  
ruler, Brifiadlar Oupa  
Ggozo, would atlend but  
would noet address the  
rally. Mr Linds gald the  
ADM liad brancheg |p  
all ten Clskel reglons  
and wag popular |n  
Mdantsane,

He sald more people  
had jolned the move.  
nent after the recent  
!up}:â\200\230eavals in the home.  
and,

â\200\234Whoever Came yp  
with the tyre (necklag.  
i) â\200\230and betrol-bomb.  
ings of hoizeg helped  
the ADM g2 4 we are  
thankful to him because

sxeop!e have

the movement  
since then,â\200\235 Mr Linda  
said.

He disputad allega-  
tions made tq the Dajly  
Dispatch that the ADM  
Was recruiting achool  
children g undergo  
military training, say(n  
L M only â\200\234srme  
peopla with ideologyâ\200\235,

Mr Linda Accuged the

frican Nallonal Con.  
gress of disinformatipy  
and distortiong in an ef  
fort to destroy the ADM  
and the Clskej Govery.  
maent,

Reacting 19 Mr Lin-  
da's eriticiem, the pub-  
!lclg Becretary of tha  
ANC in the region, My  
M ta, dismlssed  
the ADM ang Ciskel as  
"lnconsequenllal".

The Clakei  
ment should aligw free  
olitlcal activity in the  
omeland tg rove jig

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fï¬\202Ã@â\200\230,â\200\230 arity, r BataJ



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falR Sl YEE d585E CLIEMER

forming peace committee

Daily Dispatel Correspondent December last i-\'201:ar submitted propo.

o : . 8als for'a â\200\234Cigkei-baseq peace comn-  
gâ\200\230gï-\'202r ll;oclive[tâ\200\231g?ninezh:ocg:â\200\230:;agg};:raâ\200\230:i mitteeâ  
\200\235 and these recelveq â\200\234Symipa-

thy" from thoge Present,

i L :

tâ\200\234lâ\200\231ae",h SO g fommit The chalrman of tha Natlonal Peace

In an interview at his Bigho ofï-\'201ce, :)aï-\'201%retariat. Dr Antonle Glidenhuys,

the dlrector of commtintcations, Mr tion

Thamsanaa Lindn, salq Ciskel falt jlg been accepted by Cig

orders were Important ang should

be recognised in founding s peace ke'fhe"n;"ggâ\200\231r'ggii"m?:ot â\200\230gfi-\'201dogâ  
\200\231;tcg::\_

Â°Â°m"â\200\234â\200\234â\200\234; ket Miltees with a regional djs

"We dol:l t have problems In Clske, titlon commitlee cu-ord!xvntï-\'201

he snid. â\200\234They are imporied meross them and Halsing with the nationaj

oUr borders. We think before ths beace commiitge,

of Jarmâ\200\231gry our proposal will ba fa. â\200\234I have agked .for an appolmtment  
voured, ] the near fulure (o per-

Mr Linda sald (he Ciskel defegation de {} or . to negouate with

to a peace suminit in Bisho in early ehhuys gaid, ! i

i Â\$





MER S â\200\234EE A5sEE Cugder COUNCIL @F SUEi=.SiileE

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ADM

ba!iy Dispathe Reporter

AST LONDON â\200\224 The  
Isbandment of Um.  
khonto we Slzwe and the  
Surrender of its arms  
caches should be a pre-  
â\200\230tcondition for the hold-  
ng of multi-party nego-

- Uations, the Bisho-based

African Democralie  
Movemengt sald yester-

â\200\234day,

' The ADM statement  
was dlsmlssed by the  
Border African National  
Congress which accused  
the ADM of being  
dgalnst democracy,

Bl statement, gn  
ADM. representative on  
Coegy, MrJ, R. Lambson,

~baldy his organlsation

felt that MK should be  
disbanded and its armg  
gaches surrendered fol.  
lowing the detention of

o UD ol Fehq  
Insists

MK disbandment

the flve ANC membars

. for allegedly smuggling

Weapons into Natgl,  
He said it wns nopt

eitough for the govarn..

ment to ask the ANC nat-

lonal executive commit- ,

tee and its Natal  
reglonal executlve com.  
miites to atale that they

were not I(nvolved in

arms smuggling,

"The government has .

8 duty and responsibility to insist that MK be shut down forthwith,

â\200\234In view of recent events, It should also make It clear that at this

stage, no attempt will be

made to incorporate MK into the security forces," Mr Lambson said

The ANC president in the Border region, Mr

â\200\234on

Smuts Ngonyama, said the ADM was trying to raise obstacles to the resumption of multi-party negotiations,

He said it was not surprising that the ADM had issued such a statement because the organisation did not want democracy, '

The MK issue was a subject of discussion between the government and the ANC. e

MK was no different from the. South African Defence Force and the Ciskei Defence Forces, he said. '

The ANC was committed to negotiations and would attend multi-party talks, Mr Ngonyamasaid. :

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Ciskei, ADM give  
warning for

civil war.

in two separate, but identical ststefnants they  
warned against any attempt by the two parties to  
{irlllte the negotiation process in their bliateral  
alks. : i

The statements sald the ADM and Ciske! would  
Ignore any agreements reached In any negotiation  
forum to whieh they had not been invited to attend.

Ciskel's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Tama-  
sanga Linda, reiterated the homeland govern-  
ment's willingness to take part in & multi-party  
plannlxmg conflerence which would "structure the  
form and substance of entirely new deltbervationaâ\200\235.

Mr Linda said Cosag (Concerned South Africans  
Group), of whleh Cigke{ js a member, had already  
reached consensus with the government on a  
multi-party planning conference. â\200\224 DDR

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/Â»â\200\231v' "W -

Ciskei w

by MTIIOBELI  
MXOTWA .Fâ\200\230b  
EAST LONDON â\200\224 Cls-  
kel would not be re-

incorporated Into South  
Africa,

This was the message  
from the homeland's  
new Minister of Foreign  
Affairs and general sec-  
retary of the

. Democratic Movement,  
Mr Tamasanga Linda, at  
g public meeting in  
Mdanstane yesterday,

African |

â\200\230We will never go for .

reineorporation,â\200\235 he

sald,

He told the estimated  
300 people at the meet-  
ing that the ADM would  
represent Clskel In fu-  
ture negotiations buf it  
would not join any nego.

ition forum similar to  
vodess,

Mr Linda zatd the Cis-  
kei Government was un-  
perturbed over last  
week's court scrap&ing  
of section 43 of Â«ts Naf-  
lonal Security Act which  
regulated the holding of  
publlc mesatings,

â\200\234We will come up with  
gsofmething slse tomor-  
row becaitse we ara your  
government, Clskel {s  
not baing run by the  
courts,â\200\235 he said.

Ciskel earliar wal-  
comed the decision say-  
ing it showed that the  
cpurts were Indepen-

Clskelâ\200\231s new Minieter of Forelgn Affalrs and general  
Democratic Movement, Mr Thaniasanga Linda:{

dent of government,

Mr Linda said "the nation will revoltâ\200\235 If the Ciskel ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqgozo, was made to appear before the Sebe-Guzana inguest.

A decree which prohibits him from being called before a court is currently being tested in the homeland's Supreme Court.

Mr Linda hit out at the United Nations whose observers were at yesterdayâ\200\231s meeting.

â\200\234"We have no respect for the UN. The UN sold

Mdantsane yesterday. our countries to the communists, Their presence will aggravate an already bad situation in our country. We can govern ourselves without outside interference.â\200\235 The UN observers at the meeting were repeatedly welcomed by various speakers,

Mr Linda accused the ANC-led alliance of collaborating with the South African Government which had earlier â\200\234killed many of its followers",

He said President F.W.de Klerk was a loath

secretary of the Afrikan

addresses a public meeting in

sheep who did not know what he was controlling and Mr Nefzon Mandela was a â\200\230stoogeâ\200\235 of the South African Communist Party.

Mr Linda called on children to attend school to avoid being â\200\234victims of the communistsâ\200\235 of Mr Chris Hanl.

The Transkei military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, had no initiative but imitated

others, Mr Linda sald,

He alleged the ANC  
had been inught by the

T R  
bris

ment and had sold out  
its people, adding it  
would take more than 60  
yearzs before people  
could attain their free.  
dom.

He claimed the ANC  
leadership was living in  
luxury while its fol-  
lowers were unem-  
ployed and living in  
ghacks.

In response to Mr Lin-  
da's allegations, the  
ANC's Border publicity  
gecretary, Mr Mecebisi  
Bata, said statements  
made by the ADM weare  
not worth commenting  
on hecause ADM people  
had proved to be work-  
Ing for mlilitary Intelll-  
genca,

Clskel was wasting its  
time resisting reincor-  
poration because South  
Africa was going to be a  
unitary state which  
would inelude Cizkel,  
Mr Bata sald.

The ublicity sec-  
ratary of the Mdantsane  
Residentsâ\200\231 Association  
branch in NU 16, Mr Ray  
Qunta, zald the poor at-  
tendance at the ADM  
rally proved that the or-  
ganization had no sup-  
port,

Poople interviewed by  
the Dally Dispatheh at  
esterdayâ\200\231's meeting said  
%â\200\231hey were frinmâ\200\234Ke!s-  
e

kammahoek, and

Whittleses.

- â\200\234;an\_interim â\200\230administrat: -â\200\231

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Daily Dtlpnmh Roporter

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â\200\234Klerk.to: â\200\234remova Clskel Clakel, o0

;â\200\230ruler,.; Brigadlier ~Qupa . 'The. Peace Force se-

â\200\234Â¥iGgozo. from. power. and . curity .company, Wwhich

- said it would occupy â\200\230Bi- "ANC "alleged was

.-zsho from Monday == for %raining and srming vig-

-urges

that South Afyican mili-:

5 â\200\230tarly intouifenoe arson-

laged â\200\230 the

â\200\234manemindu" of viol.

~â\200\234"idays if necessary â\200\224 un- lantes . â\200\230and African

. til"a responss. was e Democratic . Movement

', "caivad.â\200\230,,;. AT members, should ba ras

. 'The ANC and its allies Â«mÂ°"Â°d

,plan to march from King .-, â\200\234We wlll wait in Bisho

Wllliamâ\200\231l Town {0 Bisho until a reparamentative of

Wi E "the Souttitl ?.ï-â\202'lcnn (%gv;

" emmen nforme us tha

dum wit Â°tl;Â\$1: Sâ\200\231;â\200\230S:{â\200\230,"Arm, jthesa "demands - have

â\200\230can National Civies Con- Â« 'been ' adequately ad-

ass .faxed to..Mr De 'dressed,â\200\231 â\200\230and gives us a

i natisfactory @sgurance

mÃ©â\200\230ï-â\202â\200\230Â»â\200\231?c"ï-â\201lf; gosterday: Â«that there will be an end

: .to violence {n Ciskei and

.Â»should be.replaced with - .'the creation of a climate

FIna:

+ilonâ\200\231 "acceptable to nll  
pmlu" i

i fThe, lnterlm adminla~

. â\200\230tration's Â¢prtmary goal .

â\200\234would be the impartial  
â\200\234adminlstration of Ciskai,

a?g Ã&di~\201gi~\202do;â\200\230;%?i~\201{::; "itical spaceâ\200\235 for me 7 to

"'poration . lntu South oparate i~\201'eely in the Te-  
Afxiea.:'. i EEEIOT e

" Ending violence 'and  
â\200\230tntimidation by the state  
'and political organisa-  
" tlong was also one of the  
key objectives, it said.

; ANC\_,:i,natlional CaMm.

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The ANC streased it  
was not interested in  
â\200\230â\200\234gelzing . powerâ\200\231' but  
wighad to â\200\230create a Â°

-memorandum  
08 that section 43 .  
!Ciskel National .

; Security â\200\230Act, which pro- .  
bl hibits !â\200\230ree political ac-  
- tivity, be crapped &nd

of free political aectiv- -  
il tyis the memcrandum --

" rlously, it appeale

\_power,

: 7 ol  
pmgm omcar Mr E.on-  
nis Kasrils said jep-  
. resentatlves of othar  
"ANC reglons, - inclucling  
national exscutive mem-

\_.bers, would partini;aata

in Monday's march.

On the same day, the  
alliance would alsoitar-  
get Ciskel consulates in  
various centres aroiind  
â\200\230the country in daenions  
atratlona ~highlighting  
the ' demanda buing  
madeinBlshe, Â© U

South African Com-  
munist Party gensral-  
ucreta Mr Chris Hani



said: "I hope the

— South African Govern-

ment will restrain Nri-  
gâ\200\230Gqgozo from baharlng  
violently," i\

He said there were?! re-  
Eonâ\200\231a that Brig Gozo  
ad promised to atop the  
march, and whileâ\200\231litha  
ANC took the threat'?' se-

the security forces tif al-

.low the march to uro-

ceed. |

Mr Kasrils - ag}'eed  
thera wag an â\200\234immiltent  
threat of violence in the

- airâ\200\235,

The march will pro-  
ceed from the Victoria  
Grounds in King Wil-

Yiamâ\200\231's Town to Bisho's |

central business â\200\230dls-

Sometimes,

â\200\224 In a development  
that ranks in sporting  
importance with the  
cricket ground transg-  
formation at Buffalo  
Park.

The man standing  
with the big smile is  
co-president of the  
Border Amateur Ath-  
letics Union, Trevor  
Gee, whose name has  
been synonymous with  
Border athletics for  
nearly half a century.

Trevor, superb track  
and distance athlete

yes, .  
dreams can come true -

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for sale  
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1 VAR 21 7937 18:56 " CISKET  
A% HEEEX

RIG OUPA GQOZO, military leader  
of Clakel, hates the toyl-toyl. It is his  
least urite dange,

Ingnin wyesterday after a bregks  
fagt speeciÂ¥y the Institute for & Demo-  
eratic Alternative for Bouth Africa  
(Idaga), the brigadier suld he had  
phanged bis mind about the African  
Mational Congress aftar certain events  
had happened in hig country,

Children had been forced out of school

and compelled to toyl-toyl. Thix was tan-  
tamount to destroying thely future,

â\200\230There had been nltempts to weize the  
proparties and fanms of Clekel oitizens,

The homes of those who did not chioose  
to go along with thege actions had besn  
â\200\234torched", he alleged,

Bï¬\202? a Gaozo sald that, under the han-  
â\200\230ner of freedom, cattle were being killed.,

â\200\234The actiona of these people have  
macle me what I am. I will atop evil,â\200\235 he  
declared, . :

"â\200\234The ANC has openly and pubilcly de-  
slared that its intention ia to destroy me  
and my military governmentt.

''This type of thuggery and Â¢rime  
should not be allowed,â\200\235 g

Aszkd by a membei of the audience  
why he had gone baok to working with  
the Nutlunal Party Government â\200\224 â\200\230the  
father who fatherad your predesessorâ\200\231 -  
Bl 'gogo sgid he expected loyalty and  
prow etivity from hig civil gervige.

â\200\234If anyone does not glve b to me, they  
must go," he zald, )

â\200\234I am not 8 charily.â\200\235

The question was algo put to him that  
he had besty agsisted by the ANC when  
â\200\234things went out of his hahda,â\200\235

The paople had originally besn on his  
slde, the questioner Â©laimed,

The brigadier conceded that relations  
between him and Maj-Gen Bantu

Holomisa, military legder of Transke!,  
had â\200\234thawed" of lute,

He admitted thers had been enmity  
and differences of opinton in tarms of po-  
litieal ideology,

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AL VY EKEOUTRERRIOULO LMT vy ww-a

poSâ\200\224â\200\224

â\200\234T don't blame him for working with  
the ANC," the bhrigadier gaid,

"But the ANC hag treated us different-  
;ly {rom the way they have treated

rangkei,

â\200\2301 decided to go it alone. He joined  
them from the beglnningâ\200\235

Bri Gqâ\200\230:ozo devoted the bulk of hig  
speech t0 the question of federalism and  
emphasised the necessity of eo-operation  
on a rÃ©gional basis,

. He mude a plea for â\200\234mass gction to-  
wards sanityâ\200\235 in this â\200\234Ialr land of ours,"

The Clakel Government, he declared,  
believed that the prosperity of a futura  
Bouth Africa would depend on the suc-  
ceasful formation of regional stiictures,

Declslon-makmï¬\201 and selfrdetermining.  
tion on a regional level would be nrucial  
to the creation of a lesting and stable

RS

congltltutlional dispensation.

(Celdntries such A8 Belgium and Swit  
zerland, the military leader polnted oul,  
werd good examples to look to,

They had gvolvet systems peculiar to  
thehr needs,

â\200\234Tie best example cun be found in the  
Bwiss eanton system whers total power  
was orlginally in the hands of the region,  
However, the reglons themselves have al-  
loweil the tasks of forÃ©ign affairs, cc-  
fentu, roglal gectirity, sommunications  
landli'ransport t0 be managed al hational  
eve

â\200\234â\200\234Thhe heopic ab the bottom delegate  
coinpetende and powers up Lo the  
naticnel perliament.â\200\235

Eripadier Ggoze said that, while he  
had highlighted the experience of cortain  
European countries, which wers cevel-

oped nations. he did not believe South  
Africa should ignore what it could learn  
from developing nations such as India  
and Nigeria,

Whatever studies we make, whatever

respects we attempt, it will be by pa-

tently clear that, without economic re-  
vival, any form of government is doomed  
to failure.

Democracy simply could not flourish  
in a society scarred by disparities and  
deprivation,

"Political, social and economic justice  
are inseparable."

The brigadier's married with three  
sons. He was educated in Johannesburg in  
the free State and then did his military  
training in Baviaanspoort,

he took over when the previous ruler,  
Dr Leunox Sebe, was toppled in a coup  
while on a business visit to the Far East.

Tan military leader enjoys 'fast cars  
and power, "

He enjoys nature, too, and is particu-  
larly proud of Cape's coastline.

Classical music for him is soothing and  
relaxing and. as for dancing, well, we all  
know what he does not enjoy.

Patrick Leeman

S DAILY NEWS

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FER S â\200\234EE il

W B T W  
Dally Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON â\200\224 The  
African Democratic  
Movement has claimed  
that Ciskei's former  
police ' commissioner,  
General Johan Viktor,  
. was fired because of â\200\234{n.  
sensitivity to major is-  
. Bues of national cop-  
cernâ\200\235,

" \_In an attack on Gen  
. Viktor, the ADM's gen-  
eral gecretary, Mr Tam-  
82nga Linda, aceuged  
the veteran policeman  
of "sour grapes"â\200\235,

â\200\234It is not Brigadier  
Gqgozo who fired you out  
of your most lamentable  
seat, it is the paople whe  
complained against your  
insensitivity to meajor {s-  
Â@ues of national oon.  
cernâ\200\235 Â° My Linds  
chargaq.

However, it has been  
reliably learnt that on  
October 15 Gen Viktor  
requested termination  
of hiz secondment to  
Ciskei. Four days later

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b A s Ã©, G  
the. Clgkel Governmen  
sent a note to the South  
African Government  
agreeelng with the re-  
quest,

Mr Linda's comments  
follow dizclosures of a  
report commissioned by  
and issued in Gen Vik.  
tor's name in which Cis-  
kel's police, military  
and administration wera  
criticised.

While Gen Viktor's ra.  
ort charged that the  
eadman system in Cig.  
ket was in & shambles  
and inoperative, Mr  
Linda sald the system

was â\200\234galning momentum  
}r:n(a daily basis in Clg-  
efâ\200\235,

Gen Viktor may have  
deliberately chosen to  
Join forces with our de-  
tractors, he alleged.

Mr Linda conceded  
there were problems in  
Ciskei's Education De-  
partment and in the De-

partment of Posts and  
telecommunications,

but would 'thaw' the w: ' - :

bal issues and ques-  
tioned why Gen Viktor  
had selected to particy-  
larise Ciskei,

The South African  
Ambassador to Ciskei

Mr Piet Goosen, said.

yesterday he had re-  
ceived a copy of the con-  
troversial report and  
had forwarded it to Pre-  
torla. The government  
would comment later,

Gen Viktor is on  
special leave and  
could not be reached for  
comment,

The Ciskei Govern-  
ment did not answer fiyr.  
The Daily Dispatch  
questions surrounding  
the report yesterday,

There has been no  
comment on which  
shortcomings within the  
Ciskei Police have been  
addressed by the Gov-  
ernment and no clarifi-  
cation of what the Ciskei  
Government alleged to  
be certain mig-gate-

auditor-general's report

: i L] :  
ments within the re-  
port.

There are also un-  
answered questions  
surrounding the Ciskei

which revealed that  
over 700 cars went mig-  
ging in the homeland  
from 1886 to late 1980,

The Ciskei Government claimed at the weekend that all the vehicles had been accounted for and said some had been stolen by common thieves, :

However, Bisho did not respond yesterday to questions asking how many cars had been stolen, if there had been any prosecutions and if any of the stolen vehicles were recovered,

Also not explained by the Ciskei Government is why it said the audi-

tor-general's report was

tabled a few weeks ago when the report was completed in May.



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2EE) CHEMEN COUNCHL @F Simeil. Sl

EVENING POST, MONDAY, JULY 27, 1992

't said the Cizkel woul

[ POST FOCUS

Gqozo returns  
homeland crisis

By CHRIS MABUYA

EAST LONDON â\200\224  
Clskeiâ\200\231s military lead-  
Âçr Brigadier QOupa  
Ggozo returned from  
addressing the United  
Nations to 8 worsen-  
ing erisis In the home-  
land.

I had been 2 â\200\234proud  
momentâ\200\235 when the UN  
gave him 8 hearing In Its  
special sesszion on Bouth  
Alrica last week, he gaid.

"l was invited to come  
back ta address them on the  
realities of Bouth Afrieaâ\200\235  
he zald.

But the â\200\234realitiesâ\200\235 in the  
Ciskel ware becoming in-  
creas!nglg uncomfortable  
for the diminutive briga-  
dier,

The beginning of the  
ANC's maszs actlon cam-  
paten lazt week was  
marked by clashes with  
Ciskel police in many  
areas, and residents aaid  
the Clskel had declared an  
unicificial state of amergen-

cy.

Violence was worst in  
Dimbaza, near King Wil-  
liam's Town,

In one incident there, a  
policeman was stoned o  
death by an angry mob and  
then thrown into a burning  
bus.

The ANC spokesman in  
the area said el secur-  
ity forces sealed all the en-  
trances (o tha township and  
started arresting and as-  
saulting residents.

In other araas, the liouses  
of pollcetnen, chiafz and  
others were aitacked with  
petrol bombs and hand gre-  
nades, Ciskef gald.

Reglidents in torn com-  
BÃ@alned of indiscriminate

atings and teargas at-  
tacks.

Bishop Trevour du  
Bruyn, the chairman of the  
regional peace committee,  
gsaid the violence was the  
worst since the 1900 coup  
srhich brought Brig Gqozo  
to power.

He said things could get  
worse, but the peace com-  
mittee was unable to inter-  
vene aince the Cizkel had  
withdrawn from the siruc.  
ture. N

Long-running attemppls  
to get the Clskel back on  
board have 8o far proved  
frultiess.

Brig Gqozo said In a  
statement the â\200\234ANC had  
rovoked security forces in  
Iskal beyond reazon,â\200\235 and

fd not  
tolerate mass auction,

â\200\234My government is to ex-  
Flmâ\200\231e all avenues to ensure  
he safety of the law-abid-  
ing citizens of Cigkel,â\200\235 he

said. â\200\234The police of Cigkei

The criziz has also affect-

ed the schools, where there has been no teaching since the start of the third term.

There has been a long-running dispute between the homeland's education authorities and the South African Democratic Teachers Union (Sadtu),

At the heart of the dispute is the refusal of the

Iskel to recognise Sadtu. Teachers have been transferred and suspended, and claim the reasons for this were their support for Sadtu,

In Mdantsane alone, 29 teachers have been suspended, according to Sadtu,

The dispute has led to fears the whole year may be lost for school pupils.

A parent said: 'I have given up any hope of my child passing this year because she has been staying at home since schools reopened this month.'

Brig Gqozo also faces

{

ETOB!ems among his own cabinet, which has been shocked by four sudden resignations,

The four are Minister of Justice Nkululeko Nkomo, Minister of Police and Prisons Vito Notshe, Minister of State Affairs Bantubonke Tlokoena and Minister of Transport and Aviation M. Kashe.

Mr Notshe and Mr Tokota were regarded as key advisers to Brig Gqozo. No reasons have been given for the resignations, all of which took place in the last two weeks,

However, sources said there had been a row over a proposal by Brig Gqozo that contributions to his African Democratic Movement (ADM) be deducted from civil servants' salaries.

ries.

Brig Gqozo was also rumored to be unhnnp{ay with some of these minlstarsâ\200\231 alleged close relations with the SA Government.

Clskel Millitary leader Brigadier OUPA GQOZO returned recently from adressing the United Nations on the realities of South Africa.

FER B1 â\200\234EE 152% CISKET

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&billy Dispatch Re:orter COmlnent A boV[

Cenaeale M ow s Sk Attorney Dty ik weporir | S11E11E  
pected to conclude his investigation EAST LONDON â\200\224 The \*:  
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\231 ,.13 Dally Dispatch Reporter  
e e fecretary deneral or (n '+ | EAST LONDON â\200\224 The  
opened in October in connection with african Democratie e  
the September 7 massaere Giloe: Movement, Mr Tama. S nee declinedgte  
the Goldstone Commission's findin g pon Lln&a. smacked of Â° Rete puaT whetne:  
[lito t46 shontings 8 tribalign against which detention without tria}  
bl iri Ty o the African Nationa] clauzes in its security i  
process of col- -| Congress had fought for . legislation conflict  
lecting and evaluating information 80years B wiâ\200\230zh certain funda-  
and [ am walting for forensic and bal- â\200\231 mental human rights,

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He confirmed his Rt oy o, edia officer for 12| This follows s Ciskel Ap:  
vestigating therole of the ANC stal. L%';'MBâ\200\230EE;;â\200\230 -â\200\230mïr\201â\200  
\231 Mel' %\2010- ! Pïr\201i hcoulx:d 1(%"%1%9!â\200\23115  
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\200\230t'dmt'â\200\234â\200\230)h\* 1â\200\230ights ?nd declared  
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af ei suowe iMr Kaerils had been Gqozo administration 1â\200\230;;;?- { i vrsuat  
ïr\201r m m}dybnezlhgant on Seplember 7, Â¢an sink in their desper. o 19: . ïr\201on Z%U :  
he ould be charged with culpable 2te bid to get support for e  
| s&,gdctriilin possibly extradited to t}imlr discredited pol- Aâ\200\230cet andafavnas lnh  
gt?ltegl|  
: : ciesâ\200\235,  
|, But, ha stressed, â\200\234there {5 no possi- â\200\230. Riggâ\200\231kfâ\200\231i from  
South  
billyty Â«of this case zeroing in on Mr Mr Linda told a waek. i :  
Kasrils", end ADM workeho that A laW{er Involved with

the Xhosa nat f , challenges to the sec-

Mr Jurgens sald he ::%ected to con. i diozx\jd : ïr\201:ïr\201d \_ â\200\230| tion, MF Mike  
Smith,

e would deeids fieia Was mot it chosen bl g oS

Whetherâ\200\234to prese ahead with prosecu- ig:dqagÃ@fmdahad ttlgnerher :!%xxlzuiïr\201ge?g'u  
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tions or â\200\234go for an inguest . perience to lead s 3133. to scrutiny under a

ern, democratic state, bill of rights.  
- By Asked to comment on

e this yesterday, South

A â\200\2301-C??.\_ Africa's Minlstry of

Justice said it did no%

comment on cour

bhâ\200\231f Hay| bâ\200\230s PHTCH judgments and further

did not have time to

rlve & considered

egal opinlon on the  
lssue.

A Law and Order Minla-  
try - spokesman said  
the ruling of a Clckel  
court had no influence  
on the laws of South  
Africa and therefore  
did not â\200\234affect our ju-  
dicial system or the  
laws of the countryâ\200\235,

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Lty \_lras \_2/n/23

Nelson Mandela

UNLESS a date for an elected interim government is set, bilateraf talks with the AfO-vernmeni will be stopped, ANC president Nelson Mandela warned on Friday. ing a rally in Foza townshzp in Grahamstown, Mandela said the ANC and the government would have a bilateral mee- He did not give a dale, but said it would takcplacebcforetheendoftbcymr. The central issueatï-\202aemeeï-\201ngwnuidbe the announcement .of 2 date for the instal-

iationofanelnÃ@indint:nnggovemmcnr. 2=

Heakarelmrediï-\201sappmllolulj nang Goodwill Zwetithini â\200\234who does not seem to realise the role to play s a traditional [ea-derâ\200\235 to help bring peace lo Natal.

He appealed to the king to â\200\234come forward and wentify with us in the search for peaceâ\200\235, ,

which could lessep the respect due o him as a traditional leader,â\200\235 Mandela added.

In a concifiatory speech, he appealed to

Fresident Lucas Mangope of Bophutha-

Iswana, Inkatha Â¥eader Chief Mangm:thn\_ :

i and Ciskei mifitary leader Brig

Onpanommâ\200\234workwithnstowardsthe

creation ofapeaoduliï-\201&whmmganlsanâ\200\224' = oms will be able to operate democraticallyâ\204ç. . -

Healsorefmadm;hcappoiannt of | â\200\230?ADFchict'ofstaïï-\201;GenPimSmy n,toâ\200\224.i

- Investigate revelations by the Goldstone Commission of an alieged mititary intelli-

gence plan to discredit the ANC. , : Hcsaidhewnuldnolmnmmtuuïï-\201lïï-\201en - Steyn made his findings.

â\200\234If he makes findings which protect or -

cover their'tzimiïï-\201,itwoul dbclinwfnrme

He said changes to tthADF, police for- c\_:eandmjïï-\202service"wouldhavetohemadc

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f;:â\200\234wathom therr pensions and what s due

= He raid after the Sy o e o

sign into the â\200\234mlanon of Human Righisâ\204¢

Mandela is in Grahamstown to attend 2

- Mandela said senjor civil servants, police-  
oi¬\202imsandmzmbcrsnfthearmywou]d

e â\200\224

lays it on the line

â\200\234The king should not make slatementsâ\200\235

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o comment,â\200\235 Mandela said. gramme.

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Gqozo seats his loyalists



THE sudden departure of iop South

Adrican officials from the Ciskei repre-

sents a successful purge by Brig Gupa  
Ggoze, who has rolled back Pretoria's  
influence in the homeland. =~

The most prominent officials to lea-  
ve included secretary general of the  
ADM, Basie Ouosthaysen, CDF head  
Brig Marius Oelschig and Police com-  
missioner. } ohaqV's\200\230i-\202tor.: o

Oelschig's\200\231s scat was filled wilkin

bedasapmsoafarl&i-\201kclyloppposc  
\_ Ggozo. - - - ;

Tainsanqa Linda, an anti-ANC ve-  
teran, filed Oosthuysen's shoes last  
month and is now seen as Ggozo's\200\231s

-mam mouthpiece,

The new police commissioner, Brg  
Fikile Zibi, is deeply indebted to Ggo-

- 20, who pardoned him for an intima-  
tion conviction.

Significantly, Oelschig's\200\231s departure  
followed his call for Further cuts in the  
financially boosted CDF and a probe

E - into the discipline of Ciskei soldiers.  
hours by CDF second-in-command "

: Yo - As for Viktor, he drew up a scathin &  
Col Dirk van der Bank who is descri- e 3

17-page indictment of the Ciskei admi- |  
nistraticn jost days before he left, 's\200\224  
Ecnaii :

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31 93 16:00 CISKEI COUNCIL OF STATE.91189

. BAGE 4 CITY PRESS, NOVEMBER 8, 1992

â\200\230One more 0|ske|

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Jheavy qults jOb

AW

THEB Ciskei has announ-  
ad the rcsignationm of the  
fÃ&ad 'of its defence force  
22\HE third senior BA offi.  
Â¿iflo leave since the Bis-  
'hd massacrc.

K statement this week  
conf" rmed that the chief  
of the Ciskei Defence  
Ebfce (CDF), Brig Ma-  
flug Qelschig, is resigning  
wiph effect Iâ\200\230rmn the end  
offhe year. -  
aLhe Ciskei also an-  
nmmed its new Coimne  
+missioner of Police is  
Brig Fikile Zibi, scnlen-  
tod o u year in jail lust  
yearJor intimidation,

! Hg was later pardoned  
pnd Rever served the sen-  
jence '

i The flurry of departu-  
tes of previously trusted  
pificials is being widely  
deen as an indication of  
govere tensions in the ho-  
meland sinee the-massac-  
re, whigh brought the  
Ciskei administration in-  
ternational . condemnatx-  
m)â\200\230 o

| The lawst rcmgnanous  
Â¿ome, just months after  
Andrics Pretorius resig-

ned from his post as Mi-

rrs\_ter of Finance,

AL the time Pretorius =  
dlkaA SA-scconded offis  
dials% indicated he was

leuying due to unhappi-

Â¿s5..AL the homelandâ\200\231s  
BT 1 il

handling of its finances, -

Brig Zibi replaces Gen

Johan Viktor, another

SA-seconded official  
whose resignation was  
announced last week.  
The third official to  
leave since the massacre

early last month, in

which Ciskei troops killed  
29 people, was Basie

Qosthuizen, who served

as the general secretary of

Brig Oupa Gqozo's Afri-

can Democratic Move-  
ment (ADM).

The statement said  
that Col DA van der  
Bank, currently second-  
in-command would take

over as acting CDF chief :

from this week.,

The statement gave no  
reasons for Oelschig's re-  
signation.

It said, however, that  
both Viktor and Oelschig  
would stay on as advisers

to the Ciskei, by

Little is known about  
Van der Bank. He

There has been wide-  
spread speculation of a rift  
between Gqozo and his  
close advisers, -

Viktor reportedly re-  
buked Gqozo for his cri-  
ticism of the Ciskei police  
force at the recent ADM  
conference in Bisho,  
Zibi joined the home-  
land police force in 1987

after serving in various  
divisions in the SAP.

A former head of Ciskei's  
murder and robbery  
squad, he has a checkered  
past, drawing both  
praise and condemnation.

He was responsible for bringing to book six security policemen who were convicted of the 1986 murder of the Border director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for SA, Eric Mntonga.

He was also the commanding officer of a police unit which was involved in the killing of at least seven people at Egerton station during the 1984 Mdantsane bus

boycott.

Days after quzo geizad power in early 1990, Zibt was arrested on suspicion of complicity in a plot against the new government,

He was later released.

" At the beginning of the

year, Zibi was widely seen as a possible new mis

nister of police, replacing

Gen Zebulon Makuzeni.

It was speculated that his pardon on the intimidation conviction was aimed at clearing the way for his appointment, Ecna

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fupa  
. â\202\SKET Defence Force chief Brig Marius Oelschig â\200\224  
seconded to the CDF from SA â\200\224is on the verge of re-  
â\200\234â\200\234This foliowed last Wednesday's shock announce-  
{figit that another top-tanking seconded officer, Cis-  
momm!i\202sl' iissioner of Potice l.t-Gen Johan Viktoe, is  
gï\202y\_i\201ngal\_tkednï\202ofthz}w.â\200\231 :  
S onfirmation of Viktorâ\200\231s resignation came hot on  
thedeels of that of Basic Oosthuizen, Brig Oupa Ggo-  
#2\*Tiight-hand man and secretary-general of Ciskeis  
Affian Democratic Movement (ADM).  
mï\201pï\201lthisyeristeisthmMinistcrofFâ\200\231mance  
Wmdus-mthcrmi\201ed%ofi\201da!~.  
mbvihe wake of the Bisho mussacee there has been

Gï\201@zq will soon be left to fight the battle aloï\201e )

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hind,movcsbyitsseo:mdedoï\201icialsloâ\200\231pujloutofthc

troubled homeland, Jeaving military ruler Ggozo lo  
Almptsmnaceodsdï\201gformmtprowd  
He was said to be â\200\234out of tow.

Thamsanga Linda, newly app. ed semetary-ge-' .

neral of the ADM, was also not available for com-

meni. .  
Viktor, a veteran of 48 yearsâ\200\231 service with the police,  
confirmed his resipnation, saying â\200\234it 15 not & secretâ\200\231.  
But he refused to give reasons for his decision.

\*â\200\230Iamaprnfessiona!poiiecnlau,lidonottcuthc -

press about my moves,â\200\235 he said, and slammed down

the phone.. = 3  
> A police source said the Viktor intends settling on  
a farm in Hobhouse in the Free State. S  
. His resignation came amd talk of a rift between him

â\200\234and Ggozo over the â\200\234negativeâ\200\235 attitude towards the:

homeiand police force.

successor would be. o

Asked about Oeischig, Heath said: â\200\234The only thing  
l am sure of is that he hasnâ\200\231t resigned.â\200\235

Oosthuizenâ\200\231s resignation this month was widely in-  
terpreted as a major sethack for Ggozo.

o proor to his Ciskei appeintment. â\200\224 Elnews

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The first counsellors at the SAembassy to tthnskca,  
Jzak Heath, said it was too early to say who Viktor's.

He reportedly had links with SA Military Intefligen- |

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Tentergate strife: two  
killed, houses attacked

paily Dispatch Reporters: The ANC alleged at Friends and neigh-  
EAST LONDON â\200\224 Two least 50 men had been . bOUIS of Mr Oliphant  
people have been killed, arrested following Cis- said they had heard 2o  
Fetae houses fire: kai Police and military ghots and nolses coming  
bombed and a reported door-to-door raids on . -from his house, but had  
50 people arrested in Thursday night, during been too afraid to inves-  
Ten{â\200\231ersate Ciskel, in {Vhlcgal peopltft sgere al- gig;e-ag'h:{& mh;fgdtfï-\201i?,  
i) 1 ad, e  
the last two days. e . his house Mr Bata said.

Gen, Viktor could not

The ANC said WO pgyeached for comment Grieving friends and

rominent members of . on the slleged arrests neighbours of Mr Oll-  
he organisation had onabeatings . phant had been fired at  
been shot dead on Wed- ~ : y two men in the com-  
nesday. Ciskel's Pollce The vpullet-riddledâ\200\235 - munity, who were both  
Commissioner, General podies of the two ANC supporters of the Clskel  
{.J. l\,!ilÃ©or, ï-\201ugï-\201!gned members -u-dlwlâ\200\230l&\* {Isâ\200\230gâ\200\230red  
Government.  
wo bodies had been Oliphant and Mr em-  
found by the police and bisile Dywashu ~â\200\224 were 3&â\200\2302 wâ\200\230fâ\200\230:f  
ï-\201;:jâ\200\234{:gâ\200\231;  
that police were investi- found on wednesday, - geleafâ\200\231ed allegedly on  
gating the incident. the ANC Bï-\201rd?â\200\231xi ;n;gt : orders from Bishe, Mr

i ;

He reported that ';;â\200\230;â\200\230gf" s L Bata cleimed. Gen â\200\230QkÃ©  
three houses belonging o tor could not be reache  
to Afrlcan Democratic #Mr Oliphant's body to comment on this.  
Movement members had was foun next to hi8 The ANC called on the  
peen petrol-bombed on gate hy neighbours dur- gouth African Covarn-  
Thursday. The extent of ing the morning, and Mt ment to take responsi-  
the dsmage had not Dywashu's body was pic. bilty for the violence  
bean determined. No ar- ked up â\200\234on the streetsâ\200\235 and sald; â\200\234When we  
do  
rests had been made. by police. take action to put an end

Gy /S @'

i Pretoria

ADM spokesmen The ANC charged the to this violenceï¬\201 B

oo ot be reschad for killings were politicatly will i RnotbeiE LS  
comment. motivated. unscathed '



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Pronounce  
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ing to power in March

The Matioral Securily

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" rule in favour of Mr Jus-

The decree marel it Tice Heath's min sl

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's Supreme Couzt.

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Section 26 allows for

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Daily Dispatch Reporter ary this year.

EAST LONDON â\200\224 {Cis-  
the detention of four- ard and:

appeal against a judg landâ\200\231s  
brought by Miss Thom-  
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The deadly road -  
to lasting peace

@ This is the beginning of a process where we  
will be in a position to build long-term peace  
and stability in our region.â\200\235 ~â\200\224 African

National Congress Border president Smuts:  
Ngonyama,

@ We believe the ANC is sincere and commit-  
ted to peaceâ\200\235 â\200\224 Ciskei Minister of Defence  
Colonel 8Â\$ S Pita. :

THIS was how the warring parties in Ciskei  
announced a truce this week.

But the happy occasion still raises the ques- .  
tion; did it have to take so much pain before  
the politiclans came to their senses. ;

For the past two months Ciskei has been ina  
gate of near-anarchy. '

Since the ANC's digastrous march on Bisho  
on September 7 â\200\224 which alone claimed more  
than 30 lives â\200\224 many others have died, been  
maimed or lost property in an intercine con-  
flict between Clskeian security forces and  
people associated with the Gyozo regime on  
the one hand and ANC alliance operatives and,  
supporters on the other,

From village to village scores of homes  
were razed. Innocent people had to flee o  
safety as the fighting rose to a level reminis-  
cent of Natal, Many lives were ruined, possibly  
for good. e :

The Ciskelan Government calied in the SA  
Defence Force amid allegations that the ANC  
had brought in Umkhonto We Sizwe comba-  
fants.

Organised business voiced gerious concern

at the effect the strife was having on the  
region's economy. : s

And now sanity has finally prevailed.

The Ciskeian Government has decided free  
political activity will be allowed in the terti-  
tory. Both the Bisho administration and the  
ANC have agreed to end the war talk and  
cease hostilities. ; s

Taking the peace process further, the two  
parties have agreed to meet again next week  
following report-back meetings to their mem-  
bers to help cement lasting peace in the region.

We don't just want to see words. Action is  
needed, says Colonel Pita. ;

Clearly, many lives would have been saved  
and great hardship averted had the Ciskeian  
authorities not decided that all other political  
players were going to be locked out and Ciskei  
would be the exclusive domain of Brigadier  
Oupa Gqozo's newly-formed political 'party,  
the African Democratic Movement. | = -

What a pity that resolution of our political  
problems has to be achieved over dead Bodies.

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MITFORD - Hup-  
dreds of the members

Movement (ADM)

enemies would use the  
idea of democracy to

them in order to

ish political, economic  
and status objectives at

in the state.  
This came out from

by a veteran teacher  
in Transvaal region,  
Professor Colin Vals,  
now & Senior lecturer

Witwatersrand at s  
political educational  
workshop held here,  
Flags of the Move.  
ment fluttered out-

the workshop was,  
international  
psychological warfare  
with special relevance  
to Lesotho and South  
Africa. ordinary people have  
the politicians that  
democracy was the

the world and that it

government which is  
not immoral and that  
it is the only kind of  
government under  
which people could  
be happy

appointed

cally they tyr-  
ants and they should  
be overthrown.

1 would like to  
persuade you that  
though democracy is  
an idea, for which all

never cease to strive  
achieved simply or

quickly., Democracy  
is a reward for social,

not a drug for achieving-

Sunday of%

heard recently how the '

confuse and deceive

achieve their own self-  
the expense of others

the papers presented :

in the University of

aide, The theme of

Prof. Vale said the  
been led to believe by

normal situation in:  
is the only kind of,

human beings must

for, it cannot be

political and individual  
dual restraint by the.  
people who live within-  
communities, but it is

ing instantaneous \*

UMY Ha:â\200\230dao

23 an excuse for murder-

. der, bloodshed, ruth-  
and supporters of the | y

African Democraticâ\200\235

Ass oppression,  
intimidation and violence-

â\200\230misation. -  
In order to develop-

op a democracy what  
is needed is a civil  
society, in which people  
develop mutually  
acceptable patterns of  
behaviour, customs  
and values. In such  
societies there is order,  
â\200\231 he said.

Prof. Vale asked  
the audience whether  
those who do not  
govern democratically  
were tyrants? He replied  
that the tyrants  
were those who frustrate  
the will of the people  
to live in harmony  
with each other

wnd with their neigh-

bours, who force them  
to surrender the free-  
dom which they  
choose to exercise  
over their own for-  
tunes and who thrust  
them into situations in  
which they cannot  
prosper, 3 5  
- 'The Secretary-Gen-

eral of the African

Democratic Move-

â\200\230ment, Mr T. Linda  
â\200\230spoke at length on  
brigadier Gqozo's .

startling proposal for

â\200\230a much enlarged Kei  
State incorporating

Eust London, Port  
Elizabeth and extend-

ing into historical

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gions, .

In view of the ra-  
pidly mounting de-  
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restructuring of the

South African tert-  
" torial map and the

widespread orpoai-  
tions to & military

state, the African De-

mocratic Movement  
urged that all citizens  
familiarise themselves  
with the proposals  
which Brigadier Gqo-

' zo and Chief Mango-  
â\200\230tuhu Buthelezi â\200\230of

Kwazulu had put on

the table, He said they  
- should recognise the

profound conse-

- quences that these

" arrangements would have

Â¥ Idea of Democrac

B30 Decq12,

stressed that these proposals represented the most revolutionary stgs for change since the Act of Union in 19! proposals will be given into operations In South Africa! would be given opportunity of \_ing the freedom which was summarily taken away from them by the British without consultation or compensation after the South African war, a freedom which was not denied Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, i

In view of these critical developments,

it had become urgent

that the people of South Africa and par-

ticularly of the Whites

educate themselves about new realities which would impact on all,

Citizens should begin by taking careful note of the tragic economic and social degradation that has overwhelmed almost all of Africa by the

- Marxist military one .

party. State system as advocated by ANC/

. SACP

Mr Linda told the audience that the ANC/SACP represented a failed foreign ideology which they themselves admit cannot solve the country's problems. They refused, however, to accept the concept of a looser, confederal structure for the country because they know

that this will destroy  
the basis on which  
they have long sought  
to seize power, by  
taking control and

making the country

subject to the will of  
the internationalist  
and their proposed  
New World Order,

It is now an absolute  
priority that South  
African people make it clear

that Mr Mandela is

â\200\224â\200\224a AL \_ 8. .

political -

. movement saying:

unprecedented socialâ\200\231  
disintegration and in-  
ternational rejection.  
The failure of the  
National Party gov-

ernment was for a -

lection on the im-

portance of the role

which whites have in .  
Southern Africa, Mr  
Linda urged his audi-  
ence to respect and  
value the indispensi-  
ble contribution  
which Whites had  
made and would con-  
tinue to make. He  
concluded by urging

Movement into a

The Chairman of  
the National Execu-  
tive of the Move-  
ment, Mr W, Mati in  
his introductory re-  
marks started by re-  
lating how the

movement was : ;  
" Chairman of Univer-

sity formed, He said it  
was surprising that  
those people who re-

â\200\230ject the system of  
leadership. wanted @

their duties,

Mg reminded the  
members about Â

objectives of the  
~ The Movement

macy of God in the

fortunes of countries

and nations.

~ The Movement,  
shall foster the spirit  
of unity and solidarity  
among people,

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out the .  
principles, aims and

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â\200\224. The Movemen

.â\200\230shall ensure obser-  
Â« vance of the funda-

mental freedoms and  
human rights.

â\200\224 The Movement

. alms to encourage

among the people,  
the spirit of tolerance  
and self-reli-  
ance. The Movement  
will also promote a

- closer acquaintance

people, a feel-

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- co-operation between

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his audience to work /. il s o  
hard at building the " /7  
African Democratic - 8trives towards eco-  
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good in the Cizskel T  
â\200\230and South Africa.

â\200\230= The Movement



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derlying areas can be

â\200\234uplifted, and shall

promote the educa-  
tional and gocial ad-  
vancement of the  
People of Ciskei and

underlying areas. :  
- Mr John Lambson,

sity Freedom Speech  
Association praised  
Brigadier O.J. Gg

' 20's proposal for a

much enlarged Kei  
Republic, He told the  
athering that it was  
utifiable for the Cis-  
kei Government to

. defend ita soversigaty  
. against the ANC on  
recognises the Supre- \*

September 7. Yet fow  
of our media acknowl-

edged this, instead the

ANC was treated as  
the agrieved party and  
was protrayed as an-  
gels by much of the

media, he commented,

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woRbulomente wase-  
Ciskel bafikelele kwi-  
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Oku kubhengezwe

nguSihlalo weBhunga

TAaRAbian s Dedi man Alurn

mantyl ngokwayo, â\200\235  
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(Tribal Courts) mazi-  
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though democracy Is  
an idea, for which all  
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for, it cannot be  
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2 Â» reward for social,  
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ing instant happiness,â\200\235  
he said. Mt

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. Â¢ from left, Prof. C. Vale, Mr ZH, Puty,  
W: Matl, Nstional] Chalmrman of African Democratic

d Mr J.R. Lembeon.

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Brigadier Ggozo's  
startling proposal for  
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In view of the @  
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â\200\230 pread opposi-  
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mocratic Movement  
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familiarise themselves  
with the proposals  
which Brigadier Ggo-  
zo and Chief Mango-  
tubu Butbelezi of  
Kwazulu had put on  
the table. He said they  
should recognise the  
profound conse-  
quences that theze  
proposals would have  
on the South African  
debate. '

Ths Aftican Demo-  
craticâ\200\231 Movement

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party 3i. = system 8s  
advocated by ANC/  
BACP,

Mr Linda told the  
audience that the

ANC/SACP repre-

sented a failed for-  
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to wclze power, by  
taking control and  
making the country  
subject to the mill of

th. internationalist  
and their proposed  
New World Order.

It is now an abso-  
lute privrity that SA's  
peOPLE make it clear

that Mr Mandela is.

not the sole represen-  
tative of the black

peoples of South Afr.

Âçy, and that the Com-  
munists do not reflect

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and prosperity. The  
Xhoss people should  
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dele is not their  
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and experience neces-  
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leadership of the mod-  
ern, democratic state  
which they desire.  
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movement saying:  
-~ The Movement

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- The Movement  
shall .o he spirit  
of unity anu solidarity  
among peopls. .

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ADM (POLITICAL MOVEMENT)

Date Formed: 22/06/91

Office Bearers: a) President : Brig. O.J. Ggozo  
b) \Vilce' Bressss Coll iSSP ta  
c) Sec.Genl: Acting Mr. S.M. Faku  
d) Publicity: Mrs. N. Ngxizela  
e) Treasurer: Mr. T. McCoyana

Constitution: Available

Membership: 17 000

Activities: a) Conducted rallies at various districts successfully on specified dates namely :- 13/2/93, 20/2/93 and 27/2/93. The movement took a leading role in the 3rd anniversary celebrations on the 3 and 4 March 1993. On the 5 - 7 March 1993 we had a Women'â\200\231s Conference.

b) Pamphlets. have been distributed throughout Ciskei.

c) Information Seminars are conducted throughout Ciskei.

Participation in other organisationms.

a) ADM is strongly represented in Parliament.

b) ADM represented in Local Government e.g. Township Councillors etc.

ADM OFFICE: Global Life Centre - Bisho Fax No : 0401(91189)

7 Members employed by organisation.

Yes

Based upon Ciskei but membership available to the whole of R.S.A.

Rules of membership are incorporated in the constitution.

18/03/93



# AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

## CONSTITUTION OF THE AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

### PREAMBLE

We, the freedom loving people of Ciskei and South Africae, are daedicated to a future independent, HoOW=rEachials non~discriminatory, sovereign and democratic nation which will ensure equal respect for the dignity and freedom of all cultural communities and the maintenance of spcial and distributive justice, :

The movament stands for:

1. A new conastitution resulting from dialogue and negotiation by the people of South Africa, the TBVL States and self-governing areas in order to build a new South Africa.

The establishment of a recanceled, non-racial and equal Opportunity society based on democratic safeguards for all the people of Southern Africa,

The establishment of political and econaomic structures that will motivate activity for the realization of the principles, aims and objectives of the Movement. Â¥

We the signatories of thisg constitution have founded a Cultural Movement which will represent the needs of the peple of South Africa and will " strivae unceasingly for their fundamental rights and a type ef unity which upholds a democratic society with cammon citizenship and layalty to one nation.

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(:) ' â\200\230 STi  
ARTICLE 1 :  
aME O Moy  
The name of the Movement shall be : AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

HMerein atter referred to as the Movement or ADM.

EAELEL &  
PRINCIPLES, AIMB AND OBJECTIVES  
=1 The Movement recognizes the Supremacy of God in the fortunes  
of countries and nations.

ahe The Movement is founded on Christian principles taking into  
account liberty of conscience and freedom of religion.

= -1 The Movement shall foster the spirit of unity and solidarity  
among people.

2.4 The Movement rejects any discrimination on the grounds of  
race, colour or creed.

2.3 The Movement shall ensure acceptance of an adherence to the  
principle of equal opportunity and treatment for all people  
in all walks of life.

ol The Movement shall ensure observance of the fundamental  
freedeoms and human rights.

2.7 The Movement aims to encourage among the people the spirit  
of tolerance, self-help and self-reliance. The Movement  
will also prompt a closer acquaintance among people, a  
feeling of solidarity and co-operation between the different  
cultural groups. :

2.8 The Movement shall work for the establishment and  
entrenchment of a Bill of Rights.

=y The Movement shall promote and support worthy indigenous  
customs and traditions among all the various communities in  
Southern Africa.

= 3

2,10 The Movement strives towards economic development whereby the living standards of the People of Ciskei and underlying areas can be uplifted.

The Movement shall promote, protect and encourage trade, commerce, industry, agriculture and the conservation and exploitation of natural resources in the interests of the people and encourage all citizens to participate in all sectors of a free economy.

2,12 The Movement shall seek constructive ways of co-operation with the private sector.

The Movement shall promote the educational and social advancements of the People of Ciskei and underlying areas.

2,14 The Movement shall encourage the People of Ciskei to become involved in the political, economical and social development of the country. :

2.15 The Movement advocates the upholding of the rule of law and believes that the problems of this country should be solved in a peaceful manner through genuine negotiation.

2.14 The Movement strives to become 'a platform for expression of opinion in Ciskei and REA and represent these internationally.

2,17 The Movement is prepared to accept co-operation with any other movement, organization, society or institution, anywhere internationally irrespective of race, colour, or creed with the same objectives in view provided that such co-operation does not prejudice the autonomy of the Movement.

2.18 The Movement shall supply, discuss and distribute information on ' problems of the day, which include matters of a social, economic, social and religious nature, hereby promoting and preparing the spiritual strength of its members and supporters for the new democratic S.A,

#### ARTICLE 3 LANGUAGE

The Movement shall conduct its activities through English or the language understood by the majority of its members, :

#### ARTICLE 4

#### MEMBERSHIP

4.1 Membership shall be voluntary and open to all people of all races who accept and subscribe to :

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C . the principles, aims, objectives and policy of the Movement as embodied in this Constitution.

4.2 Membership shall be by individual application.

3. Individual members shall consist of persons @Y fErs (@88 than eighteen (18) years of age.

b. Youth or junior members shall consist of persons between twelve (12) and thirty (30) years.

4.3 Every member of the Movement shall pay an annual subscription fee, which shall be decided from time to time by the National Federal Council.

b HonorÃ©ry members will be named by the National Federal Council from time to time. :

& 5= Duties and obligations of members

om0 A member shall be expected to comply with, implement and maintain the provisions of this Constitution faithfully, honestly and sincerely and to oppose any attempts at forming antagonistic groups within the Movement .

4,3.2 Every member shall be obliged o participate in the activities wÃ©f the Movement in order to. achieve its objective.,

4.6 Rights and Privileges:

A member shall enjoy the {following rights and privileges @

4,.6.1 To elect and to be elected to any committee of the Movement at all levels,

4,4,.2 To attend in person meetings of the Movement that discuss and pass decisions on his activities and work.

h.6.3 To request a committee of the Movement at all levels to consider any issue or petition; and

G.6.% To freely take part in discussions on work Eymlal (S e S of the Movement.

E 5

MOVEMENT STRUCTURE

= Â¢! THE NATICONAL FEDERAL COUNCIL

There shall be a National Federal Council of the Movement consisting af the following :

The President

Secretary The Vice-President

Regional Council Leaders

Secretary-General

Women's Organization National Chairperson

The Youth Movement's National Chairperson

All ADM members of the Council of State and Council of Ministers

One representative of each region

Public Relations officer

5.1.10 Additional members nominated by the President of the ADM to balance representation in the Council and to make available all talents and abilities the Movement will need in the process of running the Movement and promoting peaceful politics.

6) Election of members of the National Federal Executive Council

5.2.14 The President : Shall be elected by a majority vote at the National Congress of the Movement and shall hold office for five years.

5.1 The Vice-President shall be elected by the National Federal Council from amongst its members and shall be submitted to the National Congress for ratification, and shall hold office for three years.

5.2 The Secretary-General will be appointed and employed by the National Federal Council for a period of three years or as determined by the policy of the Movement's Executive Office.

3.3 Resignation of the President, Vice-President /2. Secretary-General of the Movement

5.1 The President of the ADM may in his/her own handwriting addressed to the National Federal Council, indicate his/her intention to resign from office giving reasons, and the Vice-President shall cause forthwith a meeting to be convened of the National Federal Council to consider the intended resignation, which will fill the vacancy by nomination an acting leader. Until the nomination is ratified or approved at the meeting following such a nomination,

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S A In the event of a member of the National Federal Council ceasing to be a member due to resignations as in o E L e h s y e e R U et incapacity, or death, the National Federal Council shall cause the vacancy to be filled.

Functioning of the National Federal Council

B.4.1 The National Federal Council shall hold ordinary meetings once every half year or as often as the President may determine or at the request of not less than ten of its members.

Fohol2 The quorum of ordinary meetings of the National Federal Council shall be threeâ\200\224fifths (3/35) of its membership o e L S S o y e R T i & membership at any other meetings other than the ordinary meetings, provided in both cases one of the members present is the President or the Vice-President oOr & person properly acting on

\* their behalf. :

Powers & functions of the National Federal Council

Shioel The implementation of the entire policy of the Movement .

) ot 2] Programming policy of the Movement as formulated by the annual congress.

9.8.3 Exercising control over all Movement officials at all levels,

5.9.4 Proper maintenance of financial records and exercising control over the finances of the Movement at all levels. '

SaElolE Selection of members of the Movement to undertake visits to other countries abroad on behalf of the Movement .

HokloÂ® Inspection of branch offices, minutes, bank records, receipts and membership registers before establishing and renewing branches.

o Taking from time to time any action designed to promote the efficient organization of the constituencies and districts of the Movement for the PEEM R A R G il objectives, ideals and interests of the Movement or to help the attainment thereof.

The National Federal Council shall be the Headquarters of the Movement and all activities and organizations of the Movement shall be vested in the Headquarters.



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n.7 â\200\230OLE-Q\â\200\230 the President 3 President shall =

be the principal officer of the Movement and when  
presant, shall preside over all meetings B wRE  
National Federal Councily ;  
be the principal spakesman of the Movement on natignal  
and international affairs;

have the .pawer ta convene meetings of the National  
Federal Councily 2

exercize discretion in regard to items for discussion  
by the National Federal Councilj

empower in writing any member of the Movement to  
exercise any powers or functions for and an benhalf of  
Rhimsel f or the National Federal Councils

have power to appoint ad hoc committees to advise the  
Movement on any matter whatsoceveri

have power to take any disciplinary action against any  
member of the Movement on the grounds of the memberâ\200\231's  
misbehavior, andl lshalll @ reporti clicl s actaoih s tolt e  
Disciplinary Committee, which in turn shall e O C R  
the Natimnal Federal Council for ratification.

Duties of the Vige-President : The Vice~-President

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5.8.2

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ehall act as leader of the Movement in the absence of  
the President}

may convene and preside over meetings for the National



Federal (ofuE Tk i} to distuss rputine administrative matters of the Movement;

shall oversee the implementation of the policy of the Movement

shall . communicatsÂ® inter alia with other structures and officials in conngetion with the affairs of the Mavement 3

in the absence; of the Vice-President, the National Federal Council, shall nominate someone to ac AN positien until swelh â\200\230time that he/she will be available.

tine

A ne Officer

The Public Relations Officer shall be responsible for SIS R e e A e REES a T e e Cit Rt Sredncoliesy aims, obhjectives and policy of the Movement,

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09.2 \* . The Public Relations Officer shall visit the regions, areas, Branches, Wards, Women's and Youth organizations on a regular basis to promote the principles, aims, objectives and policy of the Movement.

5.0 E The Public Relations Officer shall keep close contact with any movement, organization, society or institution which shares the views of the Movement, in order to promote the principles, aims, objectives and policy of the Movement. :

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WOMEN'S AND YOUTH MOVEMENTS:

- Women's Movement / Organization @

6.1 The Women's Movement or Organization of the ADM shall fall under the jurisdiction of the President of the Movement at all levels.

(=) (= The Women's Organization shall play a mobilization role on the work and upbringing of the children towards the national ideas and objectives of the ADM.

b.3 There shall be a National Executive Committee of the Women's Organization whose composition shall be as follows:

CEYSEP The National Chairperson appointed by the President of the Movement in consultation with the National Federal Council

ee The Secretary, the Treasurer, Publicity Secretary and four other officers of the Women's Organization who shall be elected annually at the General Conference of the Organization., :

.4 The Women's Organization Chairperson

baotr,d shall supervise the activities of the Women's Organization of the Movement;

b.4,8 shall formulate and execute the plans and activities of the Women's Organization; and ,

6.4.3 shall act at all times in accordance with the directions of the President of the Movement or the National Federal Council and in accordance with approved ADM policy.

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here ,shall be &a National Women's Council whose compasition  
all be as follows :

SRR Membersz of the National Executive Committeeey  
6.5.82 Members of the District/Regional Executive Committees;  
G 3 o &) Membhersh of the Area Executive Committees;

4.5.4 Such other membars as nominated by the National Federal  
Council in consultation with the national leader of the  
Movement faor purposes of co-ordination and use of  
available talent and abilities foundg among the  
womenfaolk within the Movement.

b.5.1 The Youth Movemant cfâ\200\230 the ADM ahall fall under the  
jurisdiction of the President of the Movemant and zhall  
SlefitiEtshs @R -

Do Those members who are 18 years and clder and considered  
as Youth by the Youth population but who pay  
subscription fees paid by ordinary mambers ;

&:,6.3 Young people between it and 18 vyears who pay  
subscription fees less than ordinary members shall be  
determined from time to time.

The Youth Movemant shall be the reserve of the Movement playing  
a vanguard role of upholding and consolidating the gains of the  
Movement.

There shall be a Natioï-\201al Executive Committes of the Youth  
Movemant compoused as follows 3

4.8.1 The Chairperson appocinted by the President of the ADM  
in consultation with the National Federal Council :

SRR The Secretary, Treassurer, Publicity Secretary and four  
other afficers of the Mpvement shall be elected  
annually at the General Conference of the Movemant.

The Youth Movememnt Chairperson

6.9.1 shall supervise the activitiss af the Youth Movement of  
the ADM:

ER shall farmulateÂ® and pexecute the plans for the  
activities of the Youth of the Movement; and

@00 & shall act at all times in accordance with the  
directives of the President of the Movement or of the  
National Federal Council and in accordance with the  
approved ADM policy.



SESToE HonalsEYolth BN Eotnc iy There shall be a National Youth Council composed of St

6.10.1 Members of the National Youth Executive Committee of the Youth Movement

20 All members of the Regional and Area Executive Committees of the Movement ;

6.10.3 Ten other members nominated by the President or the National Federal Council of the Movement from the Youth members of Movements for the purposes of exploiting the existing talent and abilities of the Movement's Youth.

## 7. Regional Organization

7.1 There shall be a Regional Council for any region which the National Federal Council shall identify as a Region, provided that each existing political Regional Authority Area in the rural areas can be specified as a Region, and the existing Towns can be used as either Branches or Regions.

7.2 There shall be a Regional Council composed as follows :

7.2.1 The Regional Chairperson and Regional Vice-Chairman  
7.2.2 The Regional Secretary and Recording Secretary

7.2.3 The Regional Women's Chairperson

7.2.4 The Regional Youth Chairman

7.2.5 Two representatives of each area committee, provided that one of the representatives shall be the publicity secretary.

7.3 All Regional Office bearers shall be elected at the Annual Regional Conference and shall hold office for three years.

7.4 Duties and Functions of a Regional Council :

7.4.1 To promote the objectives, ideals and interests of the Movement .

7.4.2 To organize the people and recruit new members for the Movement and to supervise annual renewals of membership.

7.4.3 To raise funds for the Movement.

==

0:7.4.4. To give active support to the programmes of the Movement 's development plans.

7:Â¢4.3 To enlighten members of the ADM about the activ1+195 and pelicy of the Movement by @

74,301 organizing public meetings from time to time;

78,9, forming economic, political and educational

commitises to arrange discussions and seminars on current national or international importancey

7,4.5.3 ta held rallies and other come-togethers with the view to keeping the image of the Movement alive in the whole region; and

LTSI (=T A= A- B Yy Annual Conference at least once a

Year.

7 i) The Regzmnal Chalgggzggn : shall have overall responsibility

over the units of the Movement in the Region and ahall preside over meetings Â¢of the Raegional Annual Conference; and shall forward a report every month aon the activxtxes of the Region to the National Federal Council

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7.4 The ional Secretary a rding Secretarv:

Hol=o i may tonveneg and preside over administrative meetings of the Regional Committee;

7.4.2 shall perform the functions of the Reg;onal Chairperson in the abmence of the latter;

7.6,3 shall have responsibility, subject to the direction of the Regional Chairperson and the Regional Committee, in his/her Region and keep a Regional membership Register;

7.6 shall keep a record of all the Regiocnal meetings and procesdings, and compile and send monthly repcorts to the Regional Chairperson fpr transmissieon to the National Council on the activities of the Region;

7.6.5 shall have, in consultation with the Regional Chairperson, the power to call any mesting of the Region to discuss any urgent problem or issue concerning the welfare of the Movement;

T ool shall receive ar collect monies from the constituencies and issue receipts for them, and forward through the Regional Chairperson to the National Federal Counciljs





200\230r, 201.7 , shall, in consultation with the Regional Executive Committee, draw up an annual budget reflecting the estimated income and expenditure for the Region Tfor approval by the National Federal Councilj

Tyt E] shall help a set of books of accounts for use by the Region and, when required together with the Regional officials, to explain any financial problem in a formal statement.

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7o The Regional Women's Secretary : shall :

W 7ol in consultation with the Regional Secretary, be in charge of organizing the Women's Organization in the Regiong

e 1 red with the eapproval of the Regiaonal Committee, call Regional Women's Conferences, Executive Committee ar rallies to strengthen the dimage of the Women's Organization ; '

76T e in consultation with the Regional Secretary, deal with correspoandence regarding the Women's Organization matters and perform all duties which will enhance the prestige of the Movement in the area and improve the structure of the Movement. :

7.8 The Remgional Youth and ngzg;gx Secretary: shall @

77 {3 ) pe in charge or organizing the youth in the Regiong

HalE with the approval of the Regional Committee, call Regional Youth Confersnces and Rallies tp strengthen the Youth Movement;

e S perform all duties aszsigned to him/her by the Regional Secretary;

7.8.4 publicize news items that may he necessary in the intereat of the Movement.

7 0% Resional Annual Conference

7o The Region shall hold an Annual Conference at least once a vyear, and shall be attended by all members of the Regional Executive Committee, three representatives of each Branch one of whom shall be elected by and from ordinary members but not from the Youth or Women's Organization, one by and From the Youth Movement and ane by and from the Women's Organization.

e delegation fems to the Annual Conference of the Region shall be determined by the Regional Committee.

7.10 Area Committees



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.There shall be established in each Raqiwh a number of  
area committees approved by the Regional Council and  
registered with the National Federal Council /  
Headquarters., >

Each area a5 established shall be run by an area  
committee which shall consist of the cÂçhairman and  
secretaries of all branches in the specific area. The  
following office bearers are to be elected from the  
above members :

7.10.2.1 Chairperson and Vice-Chairperson;  
7.10.2.2 Secretary and Assistant Secretary;

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Yo ooy Rl llae Secretary, Assistant B e  
Secretary.  
Functipons gf an Area Committee shall be to :

7.10.3.1 mobilize ADM members and branches and recruit  
new members;

7.10,3,2 raize funds for the Movement by collecting  
membership subscriptionsg â\200\230

7.10.3.3 co-operate with the Regional Council in the  
promotion of . the objectives, ideals and  
interests of the Movement in accordance with  
the Consti- tution and rules of the ADM;

7.10.3.4 encourage Movement members () work  
collectively in order to advance the  
political and geonomic interests of the  
country

Zaloisi o carevEla it thelacti i tiesBdeliegat e d it ol Ty,  
the Regional Council from time to time.

The Regieonal Council shall bhavve direct control and  
supervision over area committees within its Regien.

Every arpa committee duly formed, shall be reported to  
the Regicnal chairperson of the Movement who shall  
inform the Secretary-General, who in turn shall, after  
approval by the National Federal Council, cause a

Registration Certificate to be issued in the name of  
the area committee,

An area committee or committees may be established in a  
big settlement, town, an electoral unit, ward or  
district in the interest of the Movement, provided that  
the area shall consist of less than 100 paid-up members.

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Na person shall hold office in any area committee unless he/she is and has been a paid-up member of the Movement during the year preceding the election except in the case of a new area committee

Each area committee shall hold a mass meeting at least Once every quarter gxcepting that the Chairperson, in consultation with the Secretary of the area committee, have the power to convene special meetings.

All persons who are beona fide members of the Movement in the area shall be entitled to attend area meetings and tao vote on any matter under discussion and for the eglectipn of its office bearers.

The Regional Council may recommend +to the National Federal Council +the dissolution of any area committee which it desires to join to another area committees.

The Regional Council may iIn consultation with the National Federal Council, suspend an area committee of the Movement and all the area office bearers shall cease te hold office and all the funds shall immediately be vested in the Regional Council until a new area committee has been elected, provided however that the Naticnal Federal Council shall be informed.

Regular meetings of the area committee shall be held from time to time provided in any case a meeting is held at least once a month. The gquerum at any such meeting shall be half of the entire membership of ithe Committee.

Area Offici .

The Area Chairperson shall :

7.11.1,1 Preside at all meetings of the Area Committee 2% well as mass meetings, and conduct such meeting, with propriety, order and decorum and shall tour the Branch area from time to time to be in close touch with developments within {he area and shall sign all minutes of all meetings held in the area.

7.11,1.2 Perform, together with other area officials, such other duties as holding discussions with local authorities and other organizations or bodies on matters affecting the welfare of the Movement and/pr area.

7.11.1.3 The area Vice-Chairperson shall assgist the

: area Chairperson in conducting the business

of area, and in his absence act on the Chairperson's behalf.

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.The area Secretary and in Hhis/her absence, the

Assistant area Secretary shall :

7.11.28.1 keep all books, documents and other effectd  
pertaining fÂlo his/her oeffice, perferm all-  
duties connected with this constitution,  
conduct corrsgpondence of the branch, attend  
meetings of the branch committee and write  
and keep minutes of such meetings and forward  
copies thereof to the Regional Secretary  
"within ten days after each meeting;

7.11.2.2 forward by the first week @f May sach year to

- the Regional Secretary a brief but detailed  
report of the activities of the area during  
the year and any matter for discussion at the  
Annual Congress, as well as the names of area  
office bearers and representatives to the  
Annual Regional Conference;

7. 4oen compila and forward a monthiy"return of  
membership to the Regiocnal Secretary.

The Arma Treasurer shall

7.11.3.1 be resgponaible for collecting funds, izsuing  
receipts and remitting all the moneys so  
collected tno the Regiegnal Treasurer, and  
shall keep a detailed account of the money  
which shall be received an/or sent through by  
Bims

Z.1 3.8 Keep and issuer membership cards and be  
responsible for all the area property:

Tohd 58aE St money financial returns to the  
National Headquarters.

The area Publicity Secretary and in his/her absence,  
the Assistant Publicity Secretary, shall be responsible  
for propaganda and AT A of the Maovement's  
activities in Hhis/her area and shall communicate with  
the Headgquartere on a regular basis about the  
programme .,

There shall be branch and ward committees in urban areas, and village committees in rural areas structured in the same way as area committees, and which shall be supervised by the area officials and perform such duties as described for area committees. The Wards and Village Committees shall be the smallest units of the Movement. :



Â© ' ARTICLE &

MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

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8.10

The Management Committee shall form the executive committee of the ADM. It shall be composed of gainfully employed officials and personnel.

All appointments to the Management Committee shall be made by the National Federal Council.,.

However, the Management Committee shall have the right to appoint administrative and other required personnel as deemed necessary which must be approved at the National Federal Council's next meeting.

The Management Committee shall consist of Â¢

8.4.1 Secretary-General

8.4.2 Chief Organiser

8.4.3 Consultant(s) appointed by the President of the ADM.

8.4.4 Administrative personnel as deemed necessary.

All appointments shall meet the requirements for membership and shall be members of the ADM.

No member of the Management Committee shall serve as President of the ADM.

The Management Committee will be represented by the Secretary-General on the National Federal Council.

Any person appointed to the Management Committee or personnel of the ADM shall be prepared to endorse and execute the objectives as taken up in the Constitution of the ADM.

The Management Committee shall have the power to dismiss any employee which should be endorsed by the National Federal Council.,

All personnel and members of the Management Committee shall be strictly subject to the service regulations and policy of the ADM.,

The Management Committee shall have the following powers and duties:

It shall execute instructions of the National Federal Council Â¢



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L 11,2 .to actively execute fhe objectives of this Comstitution  
to the hest of their ability; :

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to convens and perganize meetings of the National  
Federal Councilj

to da the following on behalf of the National Federal

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purchase, sell, rent, lat, jexchange,  
transfer, acgquire as a gift .or otherwise,  
donate or alieniate in any way movable and  
immovable property;

to raise -a capital fund and teo handle all  
financial aspects, immovabhle and movable  
property:

to borrow money against security in the name  
of the ADM and to register bonds on intended  
property or otherwise to mortgage the credit  
nf the Movement;

to op e bank accounts at any Tavourable  
commercial bank and to manage such accounts  
as deemed fitj '

to trade in general with the asseta and funds  
af the Movement to the best benefit of the  
ADM 4

to appoint such affcials {including  
companies, associations and other  
institutions) G(EY such duties and such  
periods of time and at such remuneration as  
it sees fit;

ta pgive instructions and studies to campaigns  
and ad hoe committees and to receive,  
process, circulats or to announce as deemed

el the reports of such campaigns or  
committees;

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Federal Council an annual report as well as a  
financial report :  
to appoint the editor of an own newspaper of  
the ADM;

to determine rules and regulations with  
regard to the use of the ADM's emblem.

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settings of the Management Committee shall be convened from time to time by the Management Committee itself and members shall be notified in writing no less than 48 hours before the meeting is due. â\200\230 g

Minutes of all Management Committee meetings are to be kept and when requested, submitted to the National Federal Council.

Urgent matters shall be handled and settled by the committees and all decisions and actions shall thereafter be submitted to the National Federal Council for notification and confirmation.

A meeting of the Management Committee shall consist of the members mentioned in sec. 8.4 plus any co-opted personnel and/or advisors. A quorum shall consist of the Secretary-General, official advisor and one other member of the Management Committee,

#### ARTICLE 9

A National Congress of the Movement shall be held once every year, provided however that the President or the National Federal Council may summon an extra-ordinary congress of the Movement at any time when necessary.

The National Congress shall be held in accordance with regulations and stipulations issued by the President or National Federal Council with regard to venue, time and procedure of such Congress,

Unless otherwise indicated by the President or the National Council, delegation to the Annual Congress shall consist of @

Items i) All members of the National Federal Council

2.3.2 Six delegates representing each branch;

9.3.3 All members of the Regional Councils;

9.3.4 All office bearers of the National Committee of the Youth Movement :

SRS All office bearers of the National Executive Committee of the Womenâ\200\231's Organization.

9:3.6 All members of the Management Committee.

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## ARTICLE 10

10.1 Bank accounts shall be opened in the name of the Movement.

10.2 The National Federal Council is responsible for ensuring that the Movement shall have sufficient funds at its disposal to effectively pursue its aims and objectives and shall exercise proper control over the administration and spending of the Movement's funds. : 4

10.3 The National Federal Council shall frame and prescribe regulations and procedures to be adopted and followed by all transformations of the Movement in regard to finance.

10.4 The Secretary-General shall submit an audited Financial statement to the National Congress once a year.

10.3 Auditors shall be appointed by the National Federal Council.

10.6 Funds may be raised by any means which the National Federal Council deem fit.

10.7 The President, Vice-President and the Secretary-General shall be the only signatories for all the Parties financial transactions. The signature of the Secretary-General and the President or Vice-President shall appear on each cheque.

10.8 The President may, under certain circumstances, appoint another person to sign in his absence and/or capacity.

Article 5 -

Article 10

This constitution can only be amended by

11.1 Provided the Secretary-General notifies the members of the Movement of such a proposed amendment at least one month before a National Congress,

11.2 Provided the amendment is approved by the National Congress by means of a two thirds majority vote.

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## ARTICLE 12

Article 12

12.1 There shall be a Disciplinary Committee composed of three members which shall be annually appointed by the National Federal Council



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All members and affiliated members of the Movement shall :

12.2.1 Conduct themselves at all times in a manner that will not infringe on the principles, aims, objectives and policy of the Movement as set in this Constitution. ;

12.2.2 Refrain from publishing and or propagating or causing to be published or propagated statements which are contrary to the principles, aims, objectives, and policy of the Movement .

12.2.3 Not have contacts of whatever nature with any person, persons, movements, organizations, A societies or institutions in, the name of the Movement without written approval of the National Federal Council

12.2.4 Develop and demonstrate honesty and courtesy towards one another. 12.3

12.8.5 Not cause or incite public unrest or violence. Contravention of one, or all, or some of the clauses of this Constitution shall warrant one or both of the following sanctions: e

12,3.1 Suspension.

12.3.2 Expulsion,

In the event of any member or affiliated member of the Movement

found guilty, the Disciplinary Committee may suspend such a member from the Movement for a period not exceeding one month or may expel such member or affiliated member from the Movement.

If any person having been expelled from the Movement wishes to be re-admitted to the ADM, he shall make a written application to the National Federal Council which shall consider the said application. : k

Any member or affiliated member who is not satisfied with the decision of the Disciplinary Committee may appeal against such a decision to the National Federal Council whose decision thereof shall be final.

ARTICLE 13

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

13.1



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13.3

The Movement may sue or be sued in its own name, and shall appoint own legal advisors.

The Movement may enter inter-contracts on behalf of itself.

The Movement may acquire property.

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## ARTICLE 14

### DISSOLUTION

N O e President shall, should the need arise, conveng in  
: consultation with the National Federal Council an emergency  
National Congress which shall vote on the matter.

In the event aof any assets left after the dissolution the  
National Federal Council shall be empowered to distribute such

assets ) any other movement, organization, socciety or  
Jinstitution with principles, aims and objectives, of the same  
~ kind as set out in this Constitution. :

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The Movement's Motto is IZNELETHU,~'MA81MANYANE

## 4 ARTICLE 16

### THE CONSTITUTION i

-~ After the eppfoval and adopiinn,'this document may be cited as the  
African Democratic Movement Constitution, 1991.

SIGNED 1

O

PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENT

SECRETARY-GENERAL

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o AFRIKANER  
VRYHEIDSTIGTING  
W6: VEELP: 5/6 March 1993 o5 (AVS"G)

Pasbus 7748, Pretoria, 0001 Tel (012) 86-8979 Fax: 8041144  
MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE: PARTICIPATION OF AVSTIG

The Afrikaner Freedom Foundation (Afrikanervryheidstigting/ AVSTIG) wants to participate as full member to the Multi-party Planning Conference as a political party with proven support.

This necessitates some (I) analitical evaluation of the concept "political party" as used within this context as well as (II) proving significant support.

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In a broad (political) sense a party could be described as a group of people organised for political involvement. Although established democracies tend to regulate the activities of participating parties by means of registration, legal control and partaking in certain legislative structures, this narrow meaning should not be dominant in our context.

In the first place we have consensus on the point that South Africa is not yet an established democracy and in the second place, some of the major role players today will not qaulify if the broader meaning of "party" was not applied

On this basis it would be impossible to exclude AVSTIG from being a party.

The question seemingly less clear cut but more important, would be the difference between political and non- political parties; between a political party and other sorts of interest or pressure groups.

- A difference could clearly be made between groups aspiring to be actively involved in government (legislative and executive), and willing to take part under its own name in elections to that effect on the one hand, and groups trying to influence government policy without formally participating in the election and composition process on the other hand. This would for example be the difference between a political party and a trade union.

Arguing within the framework of a national negotiation forum, a political party's aspiration should at least have a definite regional intent for being of national significance. Not every local political party - even within the broader definition - would thus qualify for participation.

\* As AVSTIG has a definite goal to bring about a sovereign state for . Afrikaner people within Southern African context; and

% As AVSTIG foresee the establishment of fully democratic government within such a state; and

\* As AVSTIG's proposal for such a state has implications on the demarcation of regions within the RSA; and

.~ As AVSTIG's proposal has a bearing on some problems central to South Africa's national politics; and

\* As AVSTIG is eager to negotiate its ideas in order to form part of a peaceful transitional process in the RSA; and

\* 'As AVSTIG has submitted its proposals to Codesa; and

\* As AVSTIG participates in the VOLKSTAATRAAD, a group of Volkstaat organizations with the objective to be the state founding body, and

\* As AVSTIG claims sympathy on a broad national base;

There could be no doubt that AVSTIG qualifies for being a "political party" of the sort that should be considered for admission for this meeting.

11

As far as proving AVSTIG's support is concerned, it is again in the same position as some other major and minor participants today: it is part of a new South African political scene and could not be tested by any election or referendum to date.

Nonetheless:

\* AVSTIG's proposals are based on more than four decades of research done by SABRA, while adding a constant flow of publications on different themes to what is yet available. (For example the "Vryheidsreeks" of which two parts were submitted to the South African Law Commission.)

b AVSTIG found general recognition within the South African political scene, for example in bilateral talks with the South African government, the ANC, members of COSAG, business leaders and political observers. Its proposals are received all the more positive when it is understood not as an alternative to the negotiated settlement we all hope for, but as part of it.

\* AVSTIG found international recognition and has firm relations with the Embassies of Germany, Great Britain, the USA, France, Belgium and Israel amongst others and representatives meet guests as well as journalists from these states on a regular basis. Representatives also visited Europe at multiple occasions and was well received by political leaders on cabinet and parliamentary level, political and scientific foundations and groups and business leaders.

5 AVSTIG initiated the first full fledged volkstaat town of ORANIA, which attracts attention of national and international radio and television, papers and magazines, and is visited by thousands of Afrikaners every year. It also brings about lots of other unorchestrated settlement within the designated area.

In the light of the preceding information and arguments, AVSTIG has the confidence to assert itself as a political party with proven support which should be taking part in this Multi-party Planning Conference.

O AFRIKANER  
MPNP5/01 VRYHDSâ\200\230â\200\234G"NG  
(AVSTIG)

Posbus 7748, Pretoria, 0001 Tel (012) 86-8979 Fax: 8041144

25 May 1993

Multi-Party Negotiating Process  
World Trade Centre  
Kempton Park

PARTICIPATION OF THE AFRIKANER FREEDOM FOUNDATION (AVSTIG) IN  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS FOR A NEW CONSTITUTIONAL DISPENSATION

INTRODUCTION

We are glad to confirm that AVSTIG is still prepared to take part in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process (MPNC) and hereby submit our formal application to that effect.

As a matter of principle the MPNP's legitimacy depends on its inclusivity, and its success on its ability to deliver an all-embracing constitutional structure, accomodating the real needs and aspirations of those supposed to adhere to it. People not represented in the negotiating structures could simply not be expected to identify with its results, not even to accept it - and ending up with constitutional oppression would be no better than ending up with unconstitutional oppression.

Our application should therefore not be seen as subjecting ourselves to the authority of the present MPNP to decide who may or may not take part in shaping South Africa's future. It should rather be seen as an expression of our preference for a peaceful reconciliation of diverse interests and an approach to other parties of the same view.

As we were uniquely able to translate our cultural political ideas into realistic regional political terms, and as representatives of AVSTIG is monitoring the proceedings of the MPNP in detail both on the spot and from outside, we are adequately equiped to take a constructive part in the process.

Nevertheless we are sensitive for the fact that we are in an unprecedented position: if it was so obvious that we should be part of the process, why have we not been invited from the outset? But then: if it was so obvious that we should not be part of the process, why would we persist? Point is that this application should be considered very carefully.

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1. To show that we are indeed a political organisation intending to participate as such (i.e. under our own name) in the first election under a transitional/new constitution:

It is taken that this criterion is not meant to preempt our possible input into negotiations by binding us beforehand to any specific outcome or constitutional structure. If otherwise, it would be meaningless for us to take part.

As illustrated in our literature, AVSTIG is working for a free state for Afrikaners within a regional dispensation in Southern Africa, based on democratic principles and practice and on maximum community empowerment.

Ideally we would thus most certainly take part in elections at the first possible occasion: as a state founding body it would be on state level and in facilitating capacity. But whenever it seems possible to attain or substantially promote these objectives, we would consider positively to take part in elections in another capacity and on other levels.

This means that there could be no doubt about AVSTIG being a political organisation of the kind that should be negotiating, whatever criteria are used - unmanipulatively.

2. To show that we have proven substantial support in a national context:

"Substantial support" is often measured simply in terms of mass mobilization alone, but such an one-dimensional approach cannot satisfy a more fundamental analysis of the concept. At least the following areas of support should be taken into account to evaluate how substantial it is:

\* @Grassroot support

Leadership support

Academic and intellectual support  
Financial support

Substantive support

Passive support

Potential or growing support  
Recognition

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Each of these concepts will be explained and illustrated in what we see as AVSTIG's proven substantial support.

Another dimension should however be added to our whole argument. It could be described as an integral approach and will be explained in terms of historical contextualisation. The following four phenomena are at issue: SABRA, the Afrikanervolkswag, Groot Trek 150 and AVSTIG. No one of them could be sufficiently understood in isolation and they claim at least two decisive common denominators, viz. common leadership and an essentially post-colonial and consequently post-apartheid understanding of themselves.

The South African Bureau for Racial Affairs was formed in 1948 to

advise the new NP government on issues relating to the "racial question". In time it became the think tank for Verwoerdian "seperate developement", the self-governing territories and independant states. In the late 1970's a radical proposition for the consolidation of the "homelands", with meaningful economical and political viability in mind, but it was rejected by the Vorster government. From there on it concentrated on ways of securing Afrikaner independence.

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The Vorster government was replaced by the Botha regime and the cycles of suppression-and-reform as well as his ideology of total-strategy-against-the-total-onslaught created a political climate which brought him in conflict with Afrikaner leaders like Prof Carel Boshoff, then chairman of the Afrikaner Broederbond and SABRA. Being ousted as Broeder he formed the new Afrikanervolkswag in 1984, which was committed to conserve traditional Afrikaner values, culture and political self-determination.

The biggest and most widely recognized project undertaken by the Volkswag was the 1986-1988 commemoration of the Great Trek. The motto was "Op Trek Na Ons Eie" (On Trek To Our Own) and simbolical treks followed 13 routes countrywide, with local celebrations at nearly 360 different venues.

It ended up in Pretoria where some 6 000 people stayed for a week at a temporary camping site at Donkerhoek and some 60 000 attended the mass meeting on the Day of the Vow (16 December).

The success of this mass mobilisation had everything to do with the Volkswag as unifying force in conservative Afrikaner ranks, bringing together leaders like AP Treurnicht, Jaap Marais and Eugene Terreblanche. But in spite of this popular success AVSTIG was founded in 1989 - and became a member-organisation in 1992 - with the radical political objective of a volkstaat in the North Western Cape in mind. At the cost of some popular support - from which SABRA and the Volkswag also suffered - AVSTIG has been working for its goal against such impossible odds as persuading people of the realities still to come when they try to negate realities that had already come.

In whichever other ways these developments could be interpreted, the self-understanding of developement towards post-apartheid Afrikaner thought cannot be negated. In the political context of our day AVSTIG transcended the easy gain of mobilizing the dissatisfied to fight for what they are losing, and took up the challenge of creating sustainable alternatives for disillusionment and conflict.

The mere fact that this might seem less spectacular does not mean that AVSTIG's support is less substantial or proven than those capitalizing on discontent and conflict. To the contrary: it is the one option for growing support on the long run, for it takes Afrikaners' essential needs into account while it is also in phase with local and international trends towards decentralization and democratization.

Against this background the following information on the different areas of our support should make sense:

In terms of grass-root support the three organisations have a aggregate countrywide mailing list of some 11 000 people, with some 6 000 families (for the greater part) and individuals contributing financially. A community of some 400 people, two schools, medical services and more than

50 licences for different enterprises, was established at Orania - where one of the main concerns is a shortage of industrial buildings. Hundreds, maybe even some thousands of people are also moving into or investing in the broader designated area unorchestrated, with the result that in specific parts (like Olifantshoek) the value of real estate showed a marked increase.

In terms of leadership support, Prof Boshoff has the highest profile; nevertheless the Burgerraad (Citizen's Council) consist of 40 members from all over South Africa, all respected members of their communities, their professional fields or fields of expertise, like Mrs Kobie Gouws,

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PIIi~\201i~\201ppolis; Mnr PW Grobbelaar, Stellenbosch; Prof Jozef Henning, Pretoria; Dr CJ Jooste, Vredendal; Prof AWG Raath, Bloemfontein; Mnr RF van Heerden, Hopetown; Dr Chris Verwoerd, Bloemfontein; etc.

In terms of academic and intellectual support, there are active and passive support on every Afrikaans campus in South Africa, while protagonists of the AVSTIG-idea are kept in high esteem in quite a number of academic disciplines. Actually AVSTIG is so rich in intellectual support that it is even used against us!

In terms of financial support we are self-sustaining - though under pressure - in spite of a total lack of state- or external funding whatsoever. The whole Orania-development demonstrated a unique mobilization of capital at a stage when the only mobile money in the country seem to be heading away.

Substantive support represents the sort of ideological intensity that motivate people to do extraordinary things - like moving home or mobilizing their capital. It could not be compared for instance with the number of people voting for a party or taking part in a march, rather with people entering into a liberation struggle. AVSTIG already has hundreds of supporters of this kind.

Passive support is not easy to measure, but it seems from evidence like a definite decrease in acid criticism in the media and elsewhere, and the increase of visitors to Orania that it is growing rapidly.

Potential or growing support is also not easily evaluated, but it could be deduced that people believing on the one hand that the process of liberation and democratization could be stopped in the old South Africa manner, or on the other hand that nothing is really going to change, are in for a major surprise and will have to compare alternatives sometime. At that stage some Afrikaners may opt for violence, some more may leave the country and others may choose to live under the new circumstances that they are confronted with, but it is not unrealistic to expect a lot of people would look at the volkstaat with totally new eyes.

In terms of recognition we would most probably have nothing to add to your own newspaper survey, except perhaps for some international references, Prof Boshoff's nomination in 1992 for the Nobel Peace Prize, the recognition we enjoy from significant parties in South Africa and from the embassys amongst others of the United States, Great Brittain, Germany, France, the Russian Republic, etc.

(Could it be suggested at this point that any reasonable newspaper survey should be done under the headings: AVSTIG/Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, Orania and Carel Boshoff.)

That our support is of national importance becomes clear not only in terms of its amount, but also in terms of its implications on regionalism in South Africa. Seen from any side though, AVSTIG's proven substantive support in a national context could not be doubted.

3. To show that we will enhance the peaceful negotiating\_ process:

This is the most self-evident of the criteria mentioned, but at the risk of repeating some points may well be stressed.

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Afrikaner interests should be taken into account for a peaceful settlement in South Africa. Although some of these could be secured by a Bill of Rights, there are communal needs expressed in terms of self-determination that could not be wished away or be hidden behind "fears and insecurities". Afrikaners' claim for freedom should be taken seriously - and the sooner the peaceful and realistic sort of option that we represent is recognised and implemented as part of a broad package deal, the more frustration and senseless conflict can be prevented.

The AVSTIG leadership has a history of loyalty to traditional Afrikanerdom, as well as an irreproachable moral record and sensitivity. This combination makes AVSTIG an ideal negotiating partner if a lasting solution is to be reached.

Although our proposed region and our realistic evolutionary approach would not satisfy all Afrikaners immediately, it will open possibilities that may seem more attractive than actually entering into violence.

Our role is played by nobody else, for no other party is working for a free Afrikaner state in the Western part of the country. It may well be that we do not only enhance peaceful negotiations, but in fact become a prerequisite for it.

If even our radically sacrificial model is rejected beforehand, Afrikaners may feel they are running out of peaceful options.





## CAPE DELEGATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

### MULTI-PARTY PLANNING COMMITTEE

#### PARTICIPATION OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN MULTI-PARTY

##### INTRODUCTION:

We wrote a Memorandum to Codesa Management Committee wherein we strongly recommended that Traditional leaders should be invited to attend Codesa and be

accorded full participation in constitutional talks.

The Management Committee referred the issue of participation of traditional leaders to a Committee

. which was chaired by Rev. Mohapi.

The sub-committee having received evidence from traditional leaders and other interested persons submitted its recommendations to the Management

Committee.

On the Basis of a recommendation from the sub-committee, Codesa Management Committee unanimously resolved that traditional leaders be represented to participate in constitutional talks according to the Provinces. However, Codesa could not agree on the form

in which participation would take.



2 INVITATION TO ATTEND MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING  
CONFERENCE 5 & 6 MARCH 1993  
=S ORLNLE o & 6 MARCH 1993

2.1 We received a Memorandum which was S@ne e  
Administrations to EachEiEa el Meeting of traditional  
leaders to attend the Planning Conference.

We accordingly constituted one delegation from the Cape  
Province in accordance with the invitation letter.

We have reason to believe that some administrations did  
not advise traditional leaders to form their own  
delegations instead some appointed traditional leaders  
were sent to represent the traditional leaders.

We are confident that had administration facilitated  
the meeting of traditional leaders to elect amongst  
themselves the problem being experienced in other areas  
about participation of traditional leaders would not  
exist.

We are firmly of the view that the traditional leaders  
of South Africa should be represented by at least the  
four (4) delegation from the four provinces that formed  
the Union of S.A. in 1910. We are accordingly of the  
view that the Natal delegation of traditional leaders  
should be allowed to participate.

We may add that the proposal of four (4) delegation was  
taken after considering all other alternatives such as

separate delegation from all the homelands, a single delegation of all traditional of South Africa elected proportionally, representation of Traditional leaders by the then only National Body of Traditional Leaders

of South Africa. (Contralesa)

We accordingly reject the recommendation recorded in a document submitted to the then Facilitating Committee

marked addendum DI namely that :-

"7.1.7 Delegations of traditional leaders from Transvaal, the OFS and the Cape Province are presently participating. We have been told that representation on this basis creates a number of problems. It was suggested that this form of representation be substituted by one delegation each from the two main national organisations of traditional leaders. TELIS recommended that consideration be given to this

proposal."

el have ceased to see that Transvaal is experiencing some problems because unlike all other provinces it is having six (6) homelands and the traditional leaders there experience problems inter alia in reporting back to traditional leaders. We accordingly recommend that Transvaal should be

divided into two provinces for the purpose of

participation of Traditional leaders i.e. Southern and

Northern Transvaal. Should this proposal not be accepted we recommend that Transvaal should be given more members as delegates.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

We strongly recommend that :-

3.1 Subject to the division of Transvaal into two (2) provinces, traditional leaders should be represented at Multi-Party Constitutional Negotiations according to provinces.

Natal delegation of Traditional Leaders should be invited to participate in constitutional talks and that the Planning Committee should facilitate a Meeting of ~all traditional leaders there to elect delegates.

The other applications should be rejected as the traditional leaders would be fully represented by Provincial structurers.

DATED AT UMTATA THIS 20 APRIL 1990.

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iL TATION TO MULTI-P JIATIONS

CONFERENCE 5 & 6 MARCH 1993

We received a Memorandum which was sent to Administrations to facilitate a Meeting of traditional leaders to attend the Planning Conference.

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We are confident that had administration facilitated the meeting of traditional leaders to elect amongst themselves the problem being experienced in other areas about participation of traditional leaders would not exist.

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We may add that the proposal of four (4) delegation was taken after considering all other alternatives such as

separate delegation from all the homelands, a single delegation of all traditional of South Africa elected proportionally, representation of Traditional leaders by the then only National Body of Traditional Leaders

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We accordingly reject the recommendation recorded in the document submitted to the then Facilitating Committee

marked addendum DI namely that :-

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Transvaal, the OFS and the Cape Province are presently participating. We have been told that representation on this basis creates a number of problems. It was suggested that a third representation be substituted by one delegation each from the two main . national organisations of traditional leaders. TS recommended that consideration be given to the

proposal."

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experiencing some problems because unlike all other

provinces. it is having six (6) homelands and the traditional leaders there experience problems inter alia in reporting back to traditional leaders. We accordingly recommend that Transvaal should be divided into two provinces for the purpose of

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SIS 1151 â\202¬ C IR oMt MR d ISl SHEO TSRO Transvaal into two (2) provinces, traditional leaders should be represented at Multi-Party Constitutional Negotiations according to provinces.

Natal delegation of Traditional Leaders should be invited to participate in constitutional talks and that the Planning Committee should facilitate a Meeting of all traditional leaders there to elect delegates.

The other applications should be rejected as the traditional leaders would be fully represented Dby

Provincial structurers.

DATED AT UMTATA THIS 20 APRIL 1990.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

P.O. Box 3010  
Mmabatho 8681  
Tel: 841862/3

Oliure) =S o01 @Al  
24 May 1993 :

The Head

Administration

Multi-Party Negotiation Process  
P O Box 307

ISANDO 1600

Sir

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY - APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS

Please receive herewith the formal application of the Christian Democratic Party to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiation Process. The application contains, in its first part, the general information and documentation as requested in the questionnaire attached to your letter dated 14 May 1993, while the second part of the application pertains to the stated criteria referred to in your letter under consideration.

Part I : General Information

1. The Party, under the name Bophuthatswana Democratic Party, was formed in 1974.

The names and designations of the present office bearers are contained in a separate document, attached hereto as Annexure "A".

5 A copy of the Party's Constitution is attached hereto as Annexure "B".

4, The Christian Democratic Party ( CDP ) participated in the general elections held in - 1977, 1982, 1987 and 1992 respectively and obtained the following results for the 72 seats in Parliament:-

18777 'Outright majority

41 Party members elected in contested electoral divisions and 31 Party members elected unopposed

IG5 2 66 Party members elected, with all electoral divisions contested

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10.

11887 72 party members uncontestedly elected.

It is not deemed prudent to disclose particulars of Party membership, but it is clear from the above results that the CDP enjoys overwhelming support from all over Bophuthatswana.

Regular meetings take place at Branch and Regional levels, with annual Congresses held regularly in all Regions.

The National Congress is held every second year.

The Party's Head Committee meets once every month.

Regarding publications by the Party, Election Manifestos are inter alia published during election campaigns and copies of the 1987 and 1992 Election Manifestos are attached, marked Annexures "C" and "D" respectively.

The Party presently holds 72 elected and 24 appointed seats in Parliament. Local Government elections are not held on a party political base and representation at that level is therefore not material for the purpose of this document.

Particulars of the CDP's Head Office and Regional Offices are contained in a separate document, attached hereto as Annexure "E".

Eighteen people are presently employed by the Party.

This question is answered in the affirmative.

As can be seen from the location of Regional Offices in Annexure "E", the Party is active throughout Bophuthatswana, although its support base goes even wider than

that as to include supporters outside the borders of the country.

Membership rules are contained in Clause 5 of the Party's Constitution, Annexure "B" attached hereto.

## Part II : Compliance with Criteria

The Christian Democratic Party, being a political party duly registered according to the laws of the Republic of Bophuthatswana, is indeed a political party in its own right and name. The CDP applies for participation in the Constitutional Negotiations as a party for independent Bophuthatswana with no intention to participate in the elections of the RSA for as long as our country's present status obtains.

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The Party, since its inception in 1974, has established an excellent track record in government, in particular regarding true democracy, stability, prosperity and the inclusion of a comprehensive charter of fundamental rights in the country's Constitution.

During the 1987 General Elections, 660 340 votes were cast for all the candidates, the vast majority of it being for CDP candidates. These numbers should prove that the Party enjoys substantial support in a vast geographical area - not only in Bophuthatswana, but also outside her borders. It should further be emphasized that the Party's Constitution contains no discriminatory provisions regarding membership.

There is no doubt that the Democratic Party's participation in the Multi-Party Negotiation Process will be extremely valuable, if not vital. The obvious benefits of such participation will be found in the expertise of Party delegates, schooled in leading Bophuthatswana to independence.

Any additional information will be made available upon your request.

Your favourable consideration of this application will be appreciated and I look forward to receiving your further communication.

Yours faithfully

K C A'V SEHUME  
NATIONAL SECRETARY

Annexure "A"

Names of office bearers and designations:

National Leader H E Kgosi Dr L M Mangope  
National Chairman Hon T M Molatlhwa  
Deputy National Chairman Hon Rev S C Kgobokoe  
National Secretary Hon K C A V Sehume  
Deputy National Secretaries Hon H F Tlou  
National Treasurer Hon B E Keikelame  
Head Committee members The First Lady, Mrs L T Mangope  
Mrs F M Tlhabane  
Hon Rev S M Seodi  
Hon T M Tlhabane  
Hon P H Moeketsi  
Hon M Z Masilo  
Hon Dr N C O B Khaole  
Hon Chief S V Suping  
Hon T M Setiloane  
Hon Adv S G Mothibe  
Hon Rev S S Seane  
Hon Chief K E Jantjie  
Hon S P J Jood  
Hon Chief T V Makapan  
Hon Chief E M Mokgoko  
Hon Chief W G Motsatsi  
Hon M S Marobe  
Hon D C Mokale  
Hon Rev O J Kgaladi  
Hon Kgosi M G J Moilola  
Hon A T Molekwa  
Hon O J Lekalake  
Hon O S Monchusi

Hon T J Lerakong â\200\230  
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CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

P.O. Box 3010  
Mmabatho 8681  
Tel: 841862/3

CEO NS PP e P s O N OF T HE

CiH R TÂçS T TaATN DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(OPERATING WITH EFFECT FROM 13 JULY 1992)

The name of the Party shall be "Christian Democratic Party" (hereinafter referred to as "the Party").

OBJECTIVES: The object of the Party is to promote the interests and welfare of the people of Bophuthatswana.

PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY:

Yol The Party recognises and accepts the sovereignty of Almighty God in the destiny of countries and people and, is the Christian community;

The Party wishes humbly to serve Him and the people of Bophuthatswana; and accepts as cornerstones of such service -

provisions of the Republic of Bophuthatswana Constitution Act, 1977 (Act 18 of 1977), as the basis of our Government and administration,

that the dignity of man entitles him to certain inalienable rights and imposes upon him certain onerous duties, and

that Bophuthatswana has an important role to play in the future of Southern Africa; and

We affirm the following principles -

3.3.1 a stable society can only be built on respect for the fundamental rights detailed in the Republic of Bophuthatswana Constitution Act 1977 (Act 18 of 1977), equality of opportunity for all, and equitable distribution of wealth and a recognition of dignity of every man,

friendly relations with neighbouring states and prosperity in Bophuthatswana require equitable distribution of land as between peoples, acceleration of economic and social development of our country, the establishment and maintenance of equitable labour relations by means of appropriate treaties between states,

the welfare of the people and prosperity of Bophuthatswana demands that every man, woman and youth shall do his duty and that every teacher and other public servant shall work with perseverance and dedication,

the welfare of the people and respect of our country demands the elimination of all forms of discrimination based on race, colour, culture, creed or sex, and

-

3.3.5 the promotion of peace and friendly relations with all states and the furtherance of the welfare and prosperity of all people.

4. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: The official languages of the Party shall be Setswana, English and Afrikaans.

5. MEMBERSHIP:

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SEY2

Any person of the age of (18) eighteen years or over who -

5.1.1 is a citizen of Bophuthatswana,

5.1.2 is resident in Bophuthatswana, or

5.1.3 is a citizen of the Republic of South Africa, shall be eligible for membership of the Party if he subscribes to the objects and principles of the Party as set out in clauses 2 and 3 above;

A person shall not be admitted to membership unless and until -

5.2.1 he shall have paid the prescribed admission fee,

5.2.2 his application for membership has been accepted by the branch committee, and

5.2.3 a membership card has been issued to him by the branch committee;

Individuals may apply for membership to regional committees but all such applications shall be forwarded to the appropriate branch committees;

Membership of the Party shall cease -  
upon resignation by the member,

upon his expulsion from the Party by the Head Committee, or

upon withdrawal of membership of the individual by the Head Committee in terms of 10.2.11;

A member who has failed to pay the prescribed subscription for the year for a period of six months from the commencement of the year shall lose his right to vote or be elected to any official position of the Party until such arrears shall have been paid; and

Every branch committee shall keep an up-to-date list of its members and copies of each such list shall at the end of the year, or other period as may be determined by the Head Committee, be forwarded to the relevant Regional Committee and the Head Committee.

6.

#### BRANCHES:

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The Regional Committee shall, in its absolute discretion, constitute or reconstitute branches of the Party for geographical areas or otherwise as the Regional Committee deems fit and shall assign or re-assign members of the Party to such branches: provided that the minimum membership of any such branch shall be 60;

As soon as a branch has been constituted, the members assigned thereto shall meet in a general meeting presided over by a member of the Regional Committee, appointed for that purpose, at a time and place determined by the Regional Committee, in order to elect a Branch Committee and shall thereafter meet at least once per annum not later than 1st April in order to elect a Branch Committee for the ensuing year and, prior to conducting election the said member shall first dissolve the existing Branch Committee, which he is hereby authorised to do: provided that the Regional Executive Committee may approve of the holding of this meeting on a date after 11st April;

The Branch Committee shall consist of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, a deputy secretary, a treasurer, an organiser and three further members: provided that three representatives of the Branch Committee of each of the movements of the Party, which movements the Party is hereby authorised to establish or constitute, shall be voting ex-officio members of the Branch Committee;

It shall be the duty of the Branch Committee to meet as often as may be necessary and acting through such of its members as it may delegate to do so, to -

ensure that all directives from higher bodies in the Party are carried out expeditiously,

promote the expansion of the Party by canvassing new members,

transmit all lists of members to the regional committee and the Head Committee as stipulated,

report forthwith all breaches of Party discipline to the Regional Committee, provided that the decision of the Regional Committee, shall, together with all relevant information, be forwarded to the Head Committee for ratification,

arrange and hold the annual general meeting of the branch by not later than 1st April of each year,

keep proper minutes of all general meetings of the branch and of the branch committee meetings,



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keep a proper record of all stipulated moneys collected on behalf of the Party: provided that branches and/or regions can raise funds for themselves by any lawful means at their disposal with the approval of the Regional Committee,

formulate and transmit to the Regional Committee all resolutions which the branch wishes to be considered by the Party Congress,

ensure that the branch in general meeting appoints its delegates to the National Congress and that written notification of such appointment be received by the Regional Committee prior to the relevant meeting of the National Congress, and

6.4.10 promote generally the interests of the Party.  
7 REGION:

2.1 The Head Committee shall in its absolute discretion constitute regions of the Party for geographical areas or otherwise and consisting of such branch or branches as the Head Committee deems fit and shall assign or re-assign branches of the Party to such regions;

As soon as a region has been so constituted or reconstituted it shall form a Regional Council comprising -

the members of all Branch Executive Committees,

the members of the Regional Executive of the Womenâ\200\231s League,

the members of the Regional Executive of the Youth League, and

the members of the National Assembly,

which shall meet at the time and place to be determined by the Head Committee to form a Regional Electoral College for election of the Regional Executive Committee;

At a meeting referred to in 7.2 a Regional Executive Committee consisting of a chairman, a vice-chairman, a secretary, a deputy secretary, a treasurer, and

three further members shall be elected from amongst the members of the Regional Electoral College present, except those who are members of the Youth League: provided that the members of the National Assembly for the Region shall serve as voting ex-officio members of the Regional Executive Committee and further that not more than three members of the National Assembly shall be elected to the Executive position on the Regional Executive Committee:

provided further that not more than three representatives of each of the movements of the Party shall be voting ex-officio members of the Regional Executive Committee;

The Regional Executive Committee shall -

at its first meeting after its constitution or reconstitution designate two of its members as members of the Federal Council referred to in 8.1.3,

ensure that its branches properly carry out their functions and duties,

act as liaison between the Head Committee and its branches,

transmit to the Head Committee all motions for consideration by the Party Congress emanating from its branches,

meet at least once per annum, subject to the last proviso to 7.4.6, not later than 11st August to transact all business placed before it and to prepare an agenda for the meeting of the Regional Council referred to in 7.2 to be held in terms of paragraph 7.4.6,

convene a meeting of the Regional Council referred to in 7.2 annually not later than 1st August at the time and place determined in consultation with the Head Committee, and presided over by a Member of the Head Committee, in order to elect a Regional Executive Committee referred to in 7.3 for the ensuing year and to transact all such business as may be placed before it by its members: provided that if the Regional Executive Committee is being reconstituted the said member shall prior to conducting election first dissolve the existing Regional Executive Committee, which he is hereby authorised to do: provided further that the Head Committee may approve of the convening of this meeting on a date after 11st August,

kKeep proper minutes of all its meetings,

carry out all directives from higher organs of the Party, and

generally promote the interests of the Party:

7.5 Beginning at Branch level, Parliamentary candidates shall be nominated as follows:

Each Branch at a meeting, presided over by a member of the Regional Executive accompanied by one other member of the Regional Executive and provided both such members are not members of that Branch, shall elect six delegates to represent the Branch at the Party Regional Nomination Court which will be chaired by a member of the Head Committee where these delegates shall recommend for nomination by the Head Committee candidates for membership (by election or nomination) of the National Assembly,

The Regional Executive shall ensure that its members share the function referred to in 7.5.1 and chairmanship alternates as practicable. The Branch shall be notified of this meeting at least thirty days before the meeting and at least sixty days before

the Party Regional Nomination Court: Provided that the Chairman of the Branch Nomination Court shall ensure that the list of names of the Branch delegates signed by him and the Branch Chairman or a member of the Branch Executive is delivered by hand to the Regional Secretary at least thirty days before the Party Regional Nomination Court and shall deliver by hand copies thereof to the Party National Secretary, and these to reach him at least fourteen days before the Party Regional Nomination Court,

The Chairman or the Secretary of Branch shall sign

for Notices convening both the Branch Nomination Court and the Party Regional Nomination Court, which notices shall be issued by the Regional Secretary in the case of the Branch Nomination Court and the National Secretary in the case of the Party Regional Nomination Court,

The recommended people must be members of the Party.

The Regional Executive shall have a register of each Branch and send a copy thereof to the Party National Secretary before the election of six delegates at Branch level.

Annexures A and B shall form part of the Constitution and shall be adhered to whenever a Branch or Party Regional Nomination Court is held for purposes of a general election, and

The Head Committee reserves the right of the veto and to reduce the periods prescribed in 7.5.2.

#### FEDERAL COUNCIL:

8.1 The federal Council shall meet to attend to urgent matters

as would otherwise be attended to by the National Congress and shall comprise -

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members of the Head Committee,

chairman or chairlady of each Regional Executive of the Party and of every Regional Executive of every movement of the Party: Provided that if any such chairman or chairlady is a member of the Head Committee, his deputy or failing him, other Regional Executive Member designated by the chairman or chairlady as the case may be, and

two members of each Regional Executive of the Party, designated in terms of 7.4.1, and of every Regional Executive of every movement of the Party;

The Federal Council shall meet as often as may be necessary, practicable or expedient but at intervals of not less than six months, during the two year interval of the sessions of the National Congress, at the time and place as may be determined by the Head Committee; and

Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary the Federal Council shall, when in session -

be the supreme governing body of the Party, and

exercise and perform all such powers, functions and

duties as are imposed on the National Congress by this Constitution.

#### NATIONAL CONGRESS:

9.1 The supreme governing body of the Party shall be the National Congress which shall meet at intervals of not more than two years at a time and place to be determined by the Head Committee: provided that -

9.1.1 the National Leader, in consultation with the Head Committee, may convene a special session of the National Congress or instead thereof a Federal Council whenever he thinks it desirable to do so, and

the Head Committee shall convene a special session of the National Congress or instead thereof a Federal Council if it is requested to do so by not less than half of the Regional Committees;

The following shall be entitled to attend, speak and vote at the National Congress of the Party -

9.2.1 the National Leader,

9.2.2 the members of the Head Committee,

9.2.3 members of the Party who are members of the National Assenbly,

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the members of the Regional Committees of the Party,

three delegates from each branch in respect of whose nomination the Head Committee shall have received due notification,

members of the Head Committee of all movements of the Party, and

such other members of the Party as may be specially invited by the Leader in consultation with the Head Committee: provided however, that such other members shall have no right to vote;

The National Congress -

9.3.1 shall elect the National Leader of the Party who shall hold office until his resignation or death, or until the office of the National Leader is declared vacant by resolution passed by majority vote by Federal Council or a special or an ordinary meeting of the National Congress: provided that the person serving as the State President of the Republic of Bophuthatswana when this amended constitution comes into force shall be deemed to have been duly elected as the National Leader in terms of clause 11.3,

presided over by the National Chairman or his Deputy shall elect five persons from amongst whom the Head Committee shall appoint a National Secretary and two deputy secretaries: provided that not more than three of these five persons shall be members of the Executive Council, and further elect a National treasurer and five other Head Committee members who shall not be members of the Executive Council, all of whom shall remain in office until the dissolution of the Head Committee by the National Leader so authorised hereby prior to election of five persons referred to hereinbefore,

have the power to take decisions by majority vote, save for amendments to the constitution, on all aspects of Party policy, organisation, finance and discipline, which decision shall be binding on the Party, its bodies and members, and

determine from time to time the admission fees and annual subscriptions to be paid by members: provided that complete exemption from the payment of annual subscription may be given by Head Committee, and

shall ratify the resolutions and/or actions of the Federal Council;

The validity of any resolution passed by the National Congress, save constitutional amendments,

shall in no way be affected by the fact that notice thereof may not have been given;

9.5 The election of the National Leader and all other members of the Head Committee shall be by majority vote; and

9.6 All voting by the National Congress shall be by show of hands.

#### HEAD COMMITTEE:

Within seven days of the election referred to in clause 9.3.2 the National Leader shall reconstitute the Head Committee and pending reconstitution the supreme governing body of the Party shall be the National Leader, the National Chairman, Deputy National Chairman and members referred to in 10.1.2.

10.1 Save when the National Congress or the Federal Council is in session and during the period between the dissolution and the reconstitution of the Head Committee, respectively referred to in clauses 9.3.2 and 10, the supreme governing body of the Party shall be the Head Committee, comprising -

10.1.1 the National Leader who shall serve as the Chairman: provided that he may delegate the chairmanship to the National Chairman and his Deputy, who shall also be Members of the Head Committee,

10.1.2 all the members of the Executive Council who are members of the Party and all the Deputy Ministers who are members of the Party,

10.1.3 The National Secretary,

10.1.4 The National Treasurer,

10.1.5 The two deputy secretaries and

10.1.6 the seven additional committee members elected by the National Congress in terms of paragraph 9.3.2,

10.1.7 Three representatives of each of the Head Committees of all movements of the Party,

10.1.8 The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Parliamentary Caucus, and

10.1.9 Former Ministers may, at the discretion of the Head Committee, and bearing in mind the circumstances surrounding their retirement remain members of the Head Committee and enjoy privileges attaching thereto;

The Head Committee shall in the exercise of its powers -

10.2.1 have the power to co-opt such members of the Party as it deems desirable: provided that such co-opted members shall not exceed six in number,

10.2.2 consider applications for membership and keep an up-to-date list of all office bearers of the Party,

10.2.3 administer the assets and funds of the Party,

10.2.4 approve, on recommendation, the establishment of branches and regions as may be established: provided that the Head Committee shall have the power to dissolve any branch or region,

10.2.5 constitute or reconstitute regions and assign branches to such regions,

10.2.6 convene meetings of the National Congress, Special Congress and Federal Council and prepare the agenda and give notice of such meetings,

10.2.7 administer the affairs of the Party, and in particular supervise the activities of the National Secretary and the National Treasurer and ensure that proper books of account and other records of the Party are held, further that the Head Committee shall to this end, be empowered to appoint, and dismiss staff upon such conditions as it may determine,

10.2.8 render to the National Congress a report on the finances and administration of the Party,

10.2.9 appoint an Executive Committee and such other sub-committees to exercise such of its powers as it deems fit and desirable,

10.2.10 establish, promote and control the formation of youth movements and Women's Leagues to propagate and promote the ideals of the Party subject to such regulations and control as the Head Committee may determine,

10.2.11 at its discretion withdraw membership of any person, and

10.2.12 generally ensure that the directives of the National Congress, Special Congress and Federal Council are carried out by all bodies and members of the Party and take such steps as it deems it and desirable in the interests of the Party ; and

Meetings of the Head Committee shall be held at such times and places and upon such notice thereof as the National Leader may determine:

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provided however that accidental failure to give notice to or non-receipt by one or more members shall not invalidate any decision or proceedings of any such meetings.

#### 11. LEADER OF THE PARTY:

##### 11.1 The National Leader shall -

11.1.1 at the National Congress appoint National Chairman and Deputy National Chairman who shall hold office at his pleasure, and/or until dissolution of the Head Committee,

11.1.2 ensure the execution of Party policy,

11.1.3 ensure or promote the execution of all decisions of the National Congress, Special Congress, Federal Council and the Head Committee,

11.1.4 interpret the policies of the Party,

11.1.5 act as the Partyâ\200\231s spokesman, and

11.1.6 generally lead and guide the Party;

The National Leader shall have power to nominate an acting National Leader to perform the duties and functions of the National Leader; and

On the death of the National Leader or in the event of

his being in the opinion of the Head Committee, on advice of three medical practitioners, incapacitated and unable to act, the Head Committee shall elect an acting National Leader to perform the duties and functions of the National leader: provided that the National Congress or the Federal Council shall, as soon as possible after the vacation of the position of the National Leader but not later than

one month, meet at the place and time determined by the Head Committee, to elect a new National Leader: provided further that the method followed at nomination and the qualifications applicable shall be the same as are provided for in chapter 21 of the Republic of Bophuthatswana Constitution Act (Act 18 of 1977) as amended; and

11.4 The Leader of the Party shall be ex officio Party candidate for Presidential election.

#### 12. PROCEDURE

12.1 At all meetings of any body of the Party the following rules shall apply -

12.1.1 if the Chairman of a properly constituted meeting is absent, the meeting shall elect from its members a person to preside at that meeting,



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provided that in the case of the National Congress and the Head Committee meetings the National Leader of the Party shall nominate an acting chairman when he deems it necessary,

the chairman presiding at such a meeting shall have both a deliberative and a casting vote and every other person present and entitled to vote shall have one vote only notwithstanding the fact that he may be entitled to be present in more capacities than one,

on all matters of meeting procedure, including the manner of voting and the maintenance of good order there at, the decision of the chairman shall be final,

the quorum of any meeting shall be one-half of the members entitled to attend and vote at such meeting,

the minutes of any meeting, unless the contrary be proved, shall be taken as a true and correct record of the proceedings at such meeting if signed or purporting to have been signed by the chairman of the meeting in question or of the next meeting of such body, and

notice of any meeting shall be deemed to have been properly given if -

2N S DR helicase of fan Vb od v o it n e P a T sy, entitled to notice or any delegate appointed by such body, oral notice has been given to the secretary of such body at least seven days prior to the day on which the meeting shall take place or written notice has been addressed and posted or delivered, at least ten days prior to the day on which such meeting shall take place, to the secretary of such body at his address recorded in the records of the Head Committee, and

12.1.6.2 in case of any other person entitled to notice, oral notice has been given to him or written notice has been addressed and posted or delivered to him at his address as prescribed in paragraph 12.1.6.1: provided that accidental failure to give notice or non-receipt thereof shall in no way invalidate the proceedings of any meeting; and

12.2 It is the responsibility of every member to ensure that his branch secretary is informed of his address in writing and

the duty of every branch secretary to keep the Regional committee informed of the addresses of all members and of the names and addresses of all office-bearers of the branch;

The term of office of every office-bearer of the Party shall -

12.3.1 commence as soon as written notification of his election to such office has been received by the Head Committee,

terminate upon -

12.3.2.1 the cessation of his membership of the Party,

12.3.2.2 the date of the election of his successor;  
and

In the event of any office becoming vacant for any reason whatsoever the body of which such office is vacant shall be empowered to co-opt from its rank, or from other members of the Party, a replacement to act until the next meeting at which such vacancy can in the ordinary course be filled.

### 13. DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS:

13.1 The Head Committee may in its discretion for any reason whatsoever and in the interest of the Party -

13.1.1 expel any member from the Party, whereupon his membership shall automatically cease,

13.1.2 suspend the rights and powers of any member for such period and subject to such conditions as it deems fit, and

dissolve or suspend any branch, branch committee, region or regional committee for such period or upon such terms as it deems fit;

The Head Committee may, but shall not be obliged to

give notice to any person or body of its intention to consider his or its expulsion, dissolution or suspension, hear any person or body or receive any evidence in connection therewith and/or give any reason for its decision, which shall be final and binding and not subject to appeal;

Every member of the Party who is a member of the

National Assembly shall respect and give effect to every resolution of the Head Committee, the National Congress, Special Congress, Federal Council and Parliamentary Caucus of the Party;;

and the National Leader may immediately give

a member who deviates from such resolution written notice to the effect that his membership of the Caucus and of the Party has been terminated; and

Every member of the Party who deviates from a resolution of the National Congress, Special Congress, Federal Council, Parliamentary Caucus or the Head Committee shall render himself liable to expulsion from the Party by the Head Committee. '

#### FINANCE:

##### 14.1

Every Branch Committee, Regional Committee and the Head Committee shall open a bank account with a commercial bank, building society or the post office;

For all funds collected by or donated to the Party the treasurer of the Branch, Regional or Head Committee shall immediately issue a written receipt;

All funds received shall without delay be banked in the relevant bank account;

Withdrawals from a bank account shall be made only on the signature of the treasurer and at least one other member of the branch, Regional or Head Committee as the case may be;

The treasurer of the Branch, Regional or Head Committee shall keep proper accounts of all receipts and payments of the Party funds;

The Head Committee shall arrange for the accounts kept by the treasurers to be properly audited;

The Head Committee shall for each financial year inform each Regional Committee of the amount it must contribute to the Head committee to finance the activities of the Party and each Regional Committee shall then inform each Branch Committee of the amount it shall contribute to the Regional Committee to cover the expenses of the Regional Committee as well as the contributions to be made to the Head Committee; and

The Head Committee shall submit a report on the finances of the Party and shall recommend to each ordinary session of the National Congress as to the amount at which admission fees and annual subscriptions should be fixed and the National Congress shall determine such amount.

#### PROPERTY :

15.1 The Party shall be capable of owning assets in its own name and all assets acquired by the Party shall be held in its name and shall be administered by the Head Committee:

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d Branch Committees shall

provided that the Regional an  
and Branch assets;

respectively administer the Regional

The Head Committee or any one Or more of its members  
authorised thereto by the Head Committee shall be  
empowered to acquire, to dispose of , to encumber OT in

any way to alienate or deal with the Partyâ\200\231s movable Or  
immovable assets: provided that for every such transaction

the signatures of at least two members of the Head  
committee shall be required; and \_

The capacity to possess and in whatever way to dispose  
assets of the Party is enextricably

of the property and

connected with membership and should a person for whatever  
reason cease to be a member of the Party, his  
authorisation as regards possession, control or disposal  
of the said property and assets is lps @

terminated.

#### LEGAL PROCEEDINGS:

The Party may sue or be sued in its own name and shall have  
corporate personality.

#### AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION:

The National Congress shall have the power +o amend the  
constitution by the vote of not less than two EhilEd e asEhe  
members present and entitled to vote: provided that e O, ETEEN]  
notice of the proposed amendment shall '  
manner set out in paragraph 12.1.6 not less than 14 days  
prior to the meeting at which such amendment is to be moved.

#### TRANSITIONAL PERIOD:

Except for the National Chairman and pDeputy National Chairman  
both of whom shall be appointed by the National Leader upon  
adoption of this Constitution, upon coming into operation of  
this constitution all office-bearers who held different Clsices  
in the Party immediately prior to the coming into operation of  
this Constitution shall be deemed to be holding such offices 515g)

terms of this constitution.

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#### ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION :

This amended constitution shall come into effect on this

24th day of November 1991 .  
d day of December 1991 subscribed:

\_ IN WITNESS whereof I have Tals 3w

L MogeLe

NATIONAL LEADER



BRANCH NOMINATION COURT

(N.B. AT LEAST HALF THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS MUST BE PRESENT)

REGION

BRANCH

VENUE

DATE

TOTAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS IN THE BRNACH:

NUMBER OF BRANCH MEMBERS PRESENT :

REGIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS PRESIDING :

(N.B. NINE PEOPLE SHALI, BE NOMINATED FROM WHOM SIX SHALL BE ELECTED)

DELEGATES ELECTED BY BRANCH:

NAME NUMBER OF VOTES

SIGNATURE OF THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBER PRESIDING:.....cccccea.

PDESTGNA TN 2 e e a s e s creie s

DATE RS S S

SIGNATURE OF THE BRANCH CHAIRMAN OR BRANCH EXECUTIVE

mm :.....

DESIGNATION ...cccccocacee

DATE R ecsesssvsscavnsce

REGIONAL NOMINATION COURT

(N.B. AT LEAST HALF OF THE NUMBER OF THE QUALIFYING DELEGATES SHOULD BE PRESENT)

REGION

VENUE

DATE

TOTAL NUMBER OF BRANCHES IN THE REGION

NUMBER OF BRANCHES REPRESENTED

NUMBER OF BRANCH DELEGATES PRESENT :

HEAD COMMITTEE MEMBERS PRESIDING :

(N.B. TWELVE PEOPLE SHALL. BE NOMINATED FROM WHOM EIGHT SHALL BE ELECTED. THE HEAD COMMITTEE SHALL DECIDE WHO OF THE EIGHT SHALL STAND FOR GENERAL ELECTION AND IT SHALL RECOMMEND THE REMAINING TWO TO THE REGIONAL AUTHORITY FOR DESIGNATION TO PARLIAMENT)

PEOPLE ELECTED FOR RECOMMENDATION TO THE HEAD COMMITTEE:

NAME NUMBER OF VOTES

SIGNATURE OF THE PRESIDING HEAD COMMITTEE MEMBER :.....ccc.....

DATE :.....-â\200\230...â\200\230-...â\200\230

SIGNATURE OF THE REGIONAIL, CHAIRMAN OR MEMBER OF

THE REGIONAL EXECUTIVE s et

DESIGNATION QA G OG oD 0 000000

DATE i o e RO e

N.B. The presiding Chairman must obtain a list of all the Branches in the Region and against each Branch indicate the number of delegates present.

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BOPHUTHATSWANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1987 Election Manifesto



Bophuthatswana Democratic Party Leader,  
His Excellency, Dr L.M. Mangope

## CHARACTER OF THE PARTY

The Party: â\200\224 â\200\230

1.1 Dbelieves and recognises the sovereignty of God the Almighty;

1% bases its policies on Christian values, ensuring thereby that the individual can take full advantage of the great new opportunities for freedom and personal fulfilment resulting from the Partyâ\200\231s commitment to serve, with humility and dedication, the country and people of Bophuthatswana;

1.8 acknowledges the need to create an atmosphere in which citizens from all walks of life can work together in equality, where every citizen is conscious of his responsibilities to his fellow-man, to society as a whole, and to the upholding of democracy; and

1.4 is a peopleâ\200\231s Party striving to be the political force and home in and for Bophuthatswana

citizens. It strives for peace, and prosperity for all.

## RACE RELATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

â\200\231AQ Party believes in the creation of a non-racial society, with equality of opportunities for all and the recognition of the dignity and worth of every man.

The Party therefore deplores, and regards as unchristian and indeed immoral, any form of discrimination based on race, colour or creed and pledges itself to fight, by example and by open condemnation, any form of such discrimination.

The Party expects that Bophuthatswana citizens, and all human beings living outside Bophuthatswana, whether permanently or in the course of their employment, shall be treated with dignity and shall be free from discrimination.

The Party reaffirms its belief in: â\200\224

2,1 freedom of movement of its citizens;

2.2. freedom of thought and of speech, and the right to expression of views;

2.3 protection of the underprivileged and minority groups, and freedom of religion and of association;

2.4 the right of citizens of Bophuthatswana to find employment and to live on the rich metropolitan areas of South Africa to the creation of which they have with sweat and blood contributed; and

2.5 the right of any Motswana, to remain a citizen of Bophuthatswana by his own choice.

## ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

It is the function of the economy to serve man. To this end the Party shall strive to ensure that the quality of life of all citizens is enhanced, and that respectable living standards are maintained. The Party shall give full attention to:

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the exploitation of all mineral resources with which the country is so richly endowed;

place as much as possible in the hands of the nationals the wealth that is their right and to this end will establish a national mining corporation;

creation of work opportunities for all citizens and shall without prejudice to production phase out our dependence on expatriate labour;

vigorous exploitation of our rich agricultural potential and strive for the creation of a cash economy;

organisation of co-operatives with a view to pooling together available resources and expertise, and placing them within reach of all farmers; and

promotion of the activities of the agricultural bank and further enlarge on its involvement in the growth and improvement of agriculture in general;

establishment of adequate and satisfactory marketing facilities within and outside the borders of our country to ensure maximum returns for farmers; and

the development of infrastructure for the facilitation and stimulation of tourism and the promotion of this industry into an earner of foreign revenue in its own right.

## COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

l\nine with its commitment to the improvement of the lot of all citizens, the Party is convinced that real development will come only when the people themselves are involved and participate

in industry.

The Party however recognises the value of the role played by foreign investors and will continue as a matter of policy to welcome investors and people of goodwill, and assure them that nationalisation of property is against the spirit of the constitution, which document, the Party upholds with reverence.

The Party continues to strive for: â\200\224

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encouragement of the people to make the most of their technical training and assist them in the creation of small and medium-sized operations with the ultimate goal being participation in big industry;

encouragement to those who are already in partnership with foreign investors to work hard and lead the way;

the creation of an atmosphere of peace and stability within the competitive system of a free enterprise in order to ensure continued growth and prosperity for all;

equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, and rejects domination by monopolies; and

the development and working of a comprehensive economic plan with a view to the realisation of a diversification in the economy and growth in the creation of new jobs.

## HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE

The Party recognises health as the fundamental right of any progressive society. Health services should be extended to all throughout life, starting with the nursing of the unborn baby through hospital and clinic services to the accommodation of the elderly and the disabled in welfare programmes.

To this end the Party has adopted as its policy, to have a healthy nation by the year 2000, and has embarked on a vigorous programme of erecting clinics and the training of personnel in order to implement a comprehensive health care system, with a high premium on preventive and promotive measures.

In its awareness of its responsibility towards the aged, mentally ill, socially disadvantaged and the disabled, it is policy of top priority to embark on an extensive programme for the provision of appropriate facilities for the care of these, giving priority to prevention rather than cure.

## EDUCATION, CULTURE AND SPORT

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sees education, training, culture and sport as essential areas of its freedom orientated policies. Education advancement is one of the top priorities, and the Lekhela Commission and its comprehensive recommendations are regarded as a basic document in the reconstruction process;

sees education as a necessary prerequisite to the intellectual and material existence and progress of the nation;

recognises people as the countryâ\200\231s greatest asset, and concedes that without them the rich natural resources of the country could not be exploited;

believes that education concerns the individual, and that the human being as an individual should be fully developed so that he could find happiness and his rightful place in the community;

recognises the importance of technical education and to that end advocates the establishment of technical schools in the country;

realises the backlog in training that has resulted from negative policies of previous political dispensations towards technical education, and will continue to encourage development and growth in this area.

recognises the strategic importance of the teaching profession and to this end shall continue to strive towards the improvement of the quality of the profession and the number of teachers and shall strive for the creation of a well contented profession; and

recognises sport as an indispensable part of education and training. Sport helps, in all brackets, to enrich manâ\200\231s life, makes a valuable contribution to health and performs important social functions. It cuts across political barriers and has brought hostile nations together, and to this end the Party shall strive for the continued improvement of sporting facilities and the promotion of sporting ties with all friendly states.

## LABOUR

The Party recognises the importance of the worker as an indispensable partner in the development of the economy of the country, and shall strive for:

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the continued improvement of working conditions of all workers;

the continued monitoring of working conditions in all industries, and the assurance that the levels of pay take into account the demands of the cost of living;

the encouragement for participation and involvement of the workers and employers in the development of benefit funds for the worker, and guarantee the judicious investment and care for the funds;

the study with a view to the regulation and ordering of conditions of service of the farm and domestic workers;

the promotion of the open policy for the mobilisation of workers into responsible organisations to cater for all the interests of the workers and the complete rejection of interference from extra-territorially based organisations;

the achievement of peace and fairplay in the work-place through appropriate strategies and the constant addressing of the subject of industrial relations; and

the establishment of training centres throughout the country to compensate the years of deprivation and lack of technical training suffered by our people before independence.



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#### CHIEFTAINSHIP

The Party recognises chieftainship as an integral part of the social order and discipline of our country and believes in:

8.1 the maintenance of chieftainship as an institution of special status in our society;  
8.2 the importance of the role that chieftainship plays in our socio-cultural life; and

8.8 the continued appraisal and upgrading of the office of the chief with a view to facilitating adaptation to the demands of changes in our social and cultural environment.

#### LAW AND ORDER

The Party believes that an environment of law and order, peace and stability is a prerequisite for development of any kind, and therefore pledges itself to:

9.1 enforce and maintain law and order with firmness and fairness and without fear;  
9.2 uproot terrorism and vandalism;  
9.3 assure all people protection of life, property and indeed, freedom; and

9.4 cultivate and improve the image of law enforcement institutions and make their role as instruments for the maintenance of peace more meaningful to the society.

#### INFRASTRUCTURE

The Party recognises the provision of infrastructure such as the erection of roads, the provision of electricity, water, housing and the establishment of a sound telecommunication network as essential for development and a good social life, and is committed to the provision of such infrastructure throughout the country.

## 11. RELIGION AND CHURCHES

The Party based on christian principles: â\200\224 â\200\230

11.1 believes in the freedom of religion and of worship; and

11.2 recognises the churches as having an important role to play in the spiritual growth and development of the country.

## 12. RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

The forward thrust of our foreign policy is friendly relations with our neighbours and the inter-national community in general. We espouse the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and expect them also to respect our sovereignty.

### 13. LAND CONSOLIDATION

The Party is fully aware of the lack of geographical continuity of the country, and took in dependence in spite of that situation, making fragmentation a challenge rather than an element of frustration. The battle for ultimate success wages on, and the final goal is the achievement of total geographical consolidation. In our strife for complete consolidation progress is being made, both in obtaining additional land and in the actual joining of the separate areas.

### 14. THE FUTURE . . . FORWARD

The Bophuthatswana Democratic Party is the obvious Party for the Nation. Those who mean to achieve goals join it. In its self-reliance and courage to move forward, it sees the future as a challenge that beckons all of us to achieve.

The Party's security consists in its faith in the development of all that is truly indigenous. The country, its resources and its people are confident, courageous and challenging!

Re na le rona a firm and dependable base for planning and action.

Re ka kgona a capability, determination, hard work and results.

Faith in God, in our fellow-men, and in ourselves.

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BOPHUTHATSWANA

CHRISTIAN  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

1992  
ELECTION MANIFESTO

RE KA KGONA : WE CAN

His Excellency, the State President  
Kgosi Dr. L.M. Mangope,  
Leader of the Party

WE AS NATIONAL AND REGIONAL LEADERS OF  
THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY,  
COMMIT OURSELVES  
ON'BEHALE OE THE CAUGUS OF THE PARTY,  
TO THE PRINCIPLES, UNDERTAKINGS AND VIEWPOINTS  
CONTAINED IN THIS MANIFESTO  
ANIREAICIREO N @I CRVOIFERE Ok  
THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY  
IN THE 1992 GENERAL ELECTIONS.

In this manifesto, The Christian Democratic Party  
spells out its policy directions and confidently  
subjects it to the test of the ballot on 27 October 1992.

## A. REASON FOR BEING

The Christian Democratic Party is a party for the people and by the people. The party believes that it embodies the highest aspirations and ideals of the people of Bophuthatswana and Batswana in general and is convinced that it is best equipped of all political parties to achieve its objectives and aspirations.

As such, the Party:-

â\200\224 acknowledges the sovereignty and the guidance of God in the destinies of nations and peoples;

â\200\224 seeks the development of our national life along Christian principles and values;

â\200\224 ensures, thereby, that each individual can take full advantage of all opportunities for freedom, personal fulfilment, religion and conscience that is basic to a Christian lifestyle;

â\200\224 stands firm on democratic principles, the upholding of a non-racial society with equal opportunities to all and the recognition of the dignity and work performance of every person;

â\200\224 acknowledges the basic right of every citizen to be free from discrimination, to work together in equality and to be treated justly and with dignity;

â\200\224 strives for peace and prosperity in all walks of life; and

â\200\224 commits itself to increase the ability of all people to satisfy their existing and future needs and expectations.



## B. LOOKING BACK,....

The Party is deeply conscious of, and grateful for the guidance and blessings experienced from God the Almighty in registering remarkable growth and development as a Nation and People since independence. While other nations in southern Africa experienced economic suffering, violence and intimidation, the people of Bophuthatswana regained their pride and integrity and enjoyed relative prosperity, freedom and safety. This was only possible through faith in God, the calibre, dignity and work ethics of the people and the wisdom and vision with which the country was guided and administered during these difficult

periods.

The Party is very proud of these achievements and intends not to deviate from the sound foundation and the proven prin-

ciples and values of the past.

It should be known that the Party stands firm on its principles, yet is ready to

negotiate and take decisions regarding

new challenges, events and circum-

stances on the way forward.

## C. LOOKING FORWARD,...

The Party stands humbly, but with great faith in the ability and calibre of its supporters and leaders, before He who determines our future destiny. The Party is therefore not afraid of what the future holds and is confident that it will continue to serve the best interests of its people at all times.

Basic realities for the future concern:-

â\200\224 constitutional reform in southern Africa that will gather further momentum;

â\200\224 increased violence and intimidation spilling over into the Country, because of uncertainty and turmoil across our borders;

â\200\224 severe limitations on available funding to meet basic development requirements and needs; and

â\200\224 increased pressure on economic growth and development to provide employment and revenue on a fair and just basis to all people.

The Party:-

â\200\224 refuses to accept these events as inevitable and without solution;

â\200\224is willing to accept the challenge ahead with vision and commitment;  
and

â\200\224 commits itself to the reduction of backlogs that exist in all communities.  
This will be done in co-operation with the private sector.

The Party, therefore, has confidence in asking your support and mandate for the next moves forward...

#### D. POLICY PRINCIPLES : :

The Game rules that the Party will apply and promote during negotiations, decisions and implementation of policy are the following:-

##### D-1. CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES

The Party is committed to serve the best interests of the people of Bophuthatswana at all times. The Party will therefore continue to investigate and assess constitutional proposals as they develop and as circumstances and events dictate. Our dynamic future dictates that flexibility is continuously applied in meeting new challenges and circumstances. Any proposal that offers a future as good as, or better than the present position and its likely future outlook, will be considered on merit. The will of the people regarding the preferred choice will repeatedly be tested, whenever changes are required.

As point of departure the Party is convinced that the present Constitution of The Republic of Bophuthatswana and its Declaration of Human Rights provide the minimum set of principles and values to be met in any future dispensation.

The Party stands for an autonomous and independent country, preferably with extended borders, continued friendly and cordial relations with our neighbours and international recognition. It sincerely believes that this is a possible and realistic option that provides the people with the best possible combination of managing their own affairs and continued participation in the integrated economic growth and development of the whole sub-continent. Every opportunity will therefore be utilised to strengthen bilateral and multilateral arrangements and to promote and foster further confederalism in future.

To the extent that these basic conditions are not met, the Party is committed to participate in all negotiations on a future dispensation that may affect the future of the country.

In these negotiations the Party strives towards a government structure in South Africa:-

â\200\224 with a constitution and Declaration of Human Rights very similar to the basic principles and values contained in the Bophuthatswana constitution;

â\200\224 with maximum devolution of powers, functions and duties to Federal/Regional governments, and only limited and selected guidance, functions and responsibilities with the Central Government;

â\200\224 Federal/Regional governments with full legislative powers to regulate and operate fully the functions and responsibilities belonging to them;

â\200\224 with adequate fiscal autonomy at Federal/Regional government level to develop avail-

able revenue sources for improvement of living conditions in the region;

â\200\224 that clearly defines and determines the extent of financial transfers from the Central Government to the lower order government structures in the constitution;

â\200\224 that provides for proportional representation of political parties and adequate protection of minorities in government and the Cabinet;

â\200\224 that provides for one house of parliament, representing political parties on a proportional basis, and a second house representing the Federal/Regional Governments, all on an equal basis;

â\200\224 that provides for equal powers to both these houses of Parliament;

â\200\224 that entrenches and guarantees all the basic principles and values agreed to in the constitution;

â\200\224 that provides for local government structures with their own entrenched functions and responsibilities in the constitution and that operate under jurisdiction of the Federal/Regional governments;

â\200\224 that acknowledges the supremacy of the court and the rule of law to protect the constitution, irrespective of any law or regulation formulated by the legislature;

â\200\224 with a truly democratic character and structure;

â\200\224 that allows Federal/Regional governments to

develop and maintain their own civil service within general guidelines agreed upon in the constitution; and

â\200\224 that provides for the demarcation of Federal/Regional governments with jurisdiction over economically viable and functional regions that could serve the people living in the region best.

A prerequisite for any constitutional arrangement is that all violence and intimidation should stop. Sustainable and feasible democratic structures can only develop once a democratic culture and philosophy has developed and been firmly embedded in the minds and thoughts of people.

As always, the Party will guide and assist the citizens in campaigning for the best solution, given the circumstances and future outlooks that prevail.

## D-2. ECONOMIC POLICY

As point of departure, the party reconfirms its commitment to the market mechanism and principles of free enterprise, private ownership and equal opportunities for all, as the best mechanism available to ensure the production and allocation of resources on a fair and just basis.

It is acknowledged however, that the market mechanism, as a result of various shortcomings, does not always function perfectly. The Party, therefore, favours indirect measures and a facilitating role by government to improve the functioning of the market mechanism and the private sector, where it fails to serve mankind fairly.

To this end, the Party strives to ensure that the quality of life of all its citizens is enhanced and that equal opportunities are created for everybody to maintain a respectable living standard. This entails a comprehensive and coherent programme for:-

â\200\224 full exploitation of all mineral resources for the benefit of the people;

â\200\224 commercial agricultural production and

marketing in establishing a progressive farming community;

soil conservation and reclamation and environmental protection for future generations;

identification and exploitation of the tourism and wildlife potential in the country;

enhancing the value added to every product produced, before it finally leaves the sphere

of influence in the country;

increasing foreign earnings from exports of goods and services;

fostering of entrepreneurship and creation of employment opportunities;

promotion of subsistence and emerging farmers and entrepreneurs and protection against unfair competition and during initial stages of establishment;

appropriate training and development to enable all people to identify and satisfy their own needs and demands, once they are given the opportunity;

provision of temporary relief and provision of infrastructure by the state to satisfy basic needs where the private sector is not willing or prepared to provide;

government involvement in economic activity as a catalyst and facilitator for further private sector involvement on an equal basis;

regular analysis and evaluation of public sector activity to ensure that the powers of government are not misused for purposes of over regulation and that administrative red tape is avoided;

providing freedom to be innovative, take risks and be rewarded accordingly; and

promotion of foreign investments and expertise and encouragement of partnership arrangements with local skills and resource owners.

### D-3. PHILOSOPHY ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS

In addition to the economic principles of a fair reward for actual performances achieved, the Party also stands for the promotion of basic values of Christianity, humanity and justice for the net benefit of the total community and the whole nation.

Social justice cannot be provided by the market on its own. It is a fact that life's opportunities are not shared out equally. There are strong and weak, healthy and fragile, happy and unhappy individuals. Even when opportunities are equal, the success with which opportunities are utilised will vary.

A social policy without regard to economic capacity and growth, however, robs itself of its sources of revenue. The Party recognises that economic growth and social justice are inseparably linked to, and limited by, the ability of the nation as a whole to afford them. Any government can only provide goods and services to sections in a community for which contributions in the form of taxes and tariffs from the same community are received.

Alternatively an economic policy without social justice fails to provide social peace and must eventually lead to overall economic loss.

The Party is acutely aware that any political misjudgement at this level could lead to unemployment, inflation and stagnation. A step by step social adjustment programme that is affordable on a sustainable basis is therefore called for.

To this end the Party is aiming at temporary relief measures that will encourage self-help, promote active solidarity between all people, and enable people to enjoy and justify freedoms.

This entails the design and implementation of affordable programmes that:-

- meet basic needs for shelter, water, food, energy and safety;

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- provide for emergency relief schemes whenever national disaster strikes;

- provide further assistance toward self-help initiatives and promotion of private sector initiatives in providing services and housing;

- protect minorities and the less privileged and very poor sectors of the community;

- mobilise the support and assistance of a caring society that can provide for those who cannot adequately do so themselves, whether by reason of sickness, disability, advanced age or any other handicap;

â\200\224 apply just and fair taxation of the people who can afford it, for purposes of providing equal basic living conditions to the very poor and disabled;

â\200\224 provide basic health care to combat malnutrition and prevent starvation;

â\200\224 promote realistic and feasible population development programmes;

â\200\224 ensure the existence of a comprehensive network of community health care services throughout the country;

â\200\224 encourage appropriate schooling, basic literacy training and adult education;

â\200\224 promote equal rights between men and women;

â\200\224 provide special efforts to assist the youth and strengthen marriage and family life; and

â\200\224 promote the dignity and self esteem of people as one nation and one culture in Bophuthatswana.

#### D-4. MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY, LAW AND ORDER

A free state which does not defend itself against its enemies and is not applying basic law and order, is gambling away the freedom of its citizens. Individual freedom and the authority of the state are therefore not viewed as contradictory, but are in fact complementary to each other.



The Party wishes to expand the freedom of the citizens and prevent the state from infringing upon his freedom. The Party therefore endorses the basic rights, the separation of powers, the independence of the courts and the legality of the administration and jurisdiction. It rejects any form of totalitarian rule, because this undermines personal dignity and freedom of choice.

The Party further supports comprehensive legal protection by independent courts, but also stands for the swift and consistent punishment of all those who break the law.

The undermining of constitutional, economic, social and security systems of the state, forms part of an international and undemocratic ac-

tion, and should be combated with the full might of all resources of the constitutional state.

All these principles entail:-

- a well trained, loyal and equipped Police Force to protect law and order and combat crime;

- an effective, committed and well trained Defence Force;

- the creation of an atmosphere of mutual respect between people that will allow differences of opinion and interests to be argued openly;

- the total rejection of violence and intimidation;

- the acceptance of responsibility;

- the protection of minorities;

- the fostering of people that learned to live in society with others and develop freely and without intimidation in the community of their choice; and

- a free choice of citizenship.

#### D-5. PHILOSOPHY ON PUBLIC SECTOR SERVICES

In a democracy, all state powers derive from a mandate given to it by the people. The state is under obligation to promote the good of the individual and the community at all times.

To this end, the Party regards government as a very important player in Bophuthatswana that must above all:-

- protect the rights of the people and prevent the abuse of power;

- maintain and further develop law and order that is so essential to communal life:

â\200\224 promote individual responsibility for personal development and intensify readiness for joint responsibility for the common good;

â\200\224 protect the weak and take part in shaping society to meet future demands;

â\200\224 protect individuals from external threats and safeguard their justified interests viz a viz other states;

â\200\224 regulate future direction but not the details of development;

â\200\224 ensure fair-play;

â\200\224 foster a climate and culture conducive for democracy;

â\200\224 redress imbalances in development and growth;

â\200\224 facilitate an active private sector according to sound market principles;

â\200\224 provide infrastructure where the private sector cannot do so; and

â\200\224 provide for those incapacitated in one or other form.

## E. DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES FOR THE NINETIES

It is a fact that no community can ultimately expect more from the economy than has been contributed towards it. The state is also not set up, nor in a position, to satisfy all requirements and demands experienced by the people.

The Party therefore supports a process whereby the justified wishes of all citizens are carefully weighed against one another and in terms of sound policy directives for which a mandate has been obtained from the electorate. From this, the capabilities and resource base of the whole country should be taken into consideration before a final action programme is embarked upon.

The Party is confident that this mandate being sought, is meeting these basic requirements and will prove to be in the best interest of all people, now and for future generations.

From the policy principles stated above, and considering the tremendous needs in the country, yet limited available means to satisfy these needs, programmes must be identified that will contribute most towards sustainable development and growth in the future.

The Party strongly supports the following priorities for the nineties:-

### E-1. CREATION OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

In the promotion of economic growth and development, priority will be given to employment creation. It is firmly believed that a person with a job is in a position to look after himself, and is not likely to be an increasing liability on a community or the state. In fact, every person employed could assist and contribute towards solving the challenges and backlogs facing the less privileged sectors of the community.

The Party recognises the right of every individual to work and will take all steps possible to ensure and facilitate as many jobs as possible in terms of the policy principles stated. Both the state and the private sector have joint responsibilities that should be developed complementary to each other. The private sector should provide the jobs and the state should create the right climate and facilitate the process of employment creation in all walks of life.

### E-2. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

People are regarded as the greatest asset in the country. Without them, the national resource and revenue base of the country cannot be developed and utilised. Education and training is, therefore, widely regarded as a prerequisite for

an individual to fulfill his potential and find full happiness and his rightful place in the community.

The labour market in Southern Africa is limited and an oversupply of unskilled and semi-skilled labour exists.

Enabling people to compete for available higher skilled jobs and the development and enhancement of development skills, is regarded as the biggest contribution the Party can make towards improving the quality of life of all citizens.

The Party supports appropriate education as well as literacy training and adult training as basic points of departure in preparing the individual for his task. This education should, however, be followed by a national drive towards market oriented skills training and entrepreneurial training that will encourage a strong informal sector to develop, as well as more formal employment creation programmes.

### E-3. INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT

If rural development does not receive specific and high priority attention, urbanisation, with its serious social cost implications for govern-

ment and people not prepared for the challenges of an urban environment, will increase. The Party wishes to warn against uncontrollable urbanisation without employment opportunities and provision of the minimum of basic services, and is strongly in favour of promoting a firm rural base and culture for the people.

It is believed that an integrated and co-ordinated approach towards rural development could go a long way towards meeting the rural development challenge without necessarily requiring substantial increased funding. This more efficient use of available resources and expertise deserves urgent attention and should be supported.

#### E-4. STRUCTURED URBANISATION

Although the emphasis is on rural development, it should be accepted that urbanisation will continue to require increased attention and funding. A programme of careful selection of urban areas that promises the greatest potential in terms of employment opportunities and economic growth should therefore be developed. Thereafter the provision of basic shelter and basic services should receive urgent attention while the creation of employment opportunities in these areas remain an important prerequisite.

#### E-5. RECRUITMENT OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

It is obvious that no country has the capacity and funding base at present to meet all its development and growth challenges from within.

The Party firmly believes that a concerted effort is required to create a climate conducive for foreign investment. Such a climate will encourage entrepreneurs of calibre and with required skills to invest in the country. The promotion of local skills and partnerships are

regarded as important guiding principles in this process.

The Industrial development policy for Southern Africa is not considered appropriate to the specific challenges facing Bophuthatswana, nor does it capitalise on the comparative advantage the country has to offer. The Party therefore supports the launching of a thorough investigation into the promotion of industrial development in the country and thereafter to embark on an imaginative programme of recruiting foreign investments on a sustainable basis to its industrial growth areas.

The Party will also give specific attention to increased project funding and foreign aid from the Development Bank of Southern Africa, the African Development Bank, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

#### E-6. SECURING ITS CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE

The Party considers the finalisation of a constitutional future for the country based on the principles and approach proposed, as of utmost importance.

To the extent that viable alternative options are developed and successfully negotiated, the Party favours a testing of the will of the people based on a complete exposition of all facts and implications.

Regardless of the outcome of this investigation, the continued strengthening of relations with our neighbours and the joint identification and development of co-operation projects that saves costs and increases the potential impact of the project is supported.

Economic effectiveness and efficiency should be the basic criteria whenever projects that cross political boundaries are identified and developed for implementation.

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The party is proud of achievements to date, but pledge that it will never be fully satisfied, as

long as further improvements can be implemented. Although considerable progress was made,

the economy should now be restructured to meet the challenge of the nineties as best as possible. The following action programme to be reviewed regularly to accommodate new needs and challenges, is therefore proposed.

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Formulation of a revised and updated  
National Development Policy and Plan for  
Bophuthatswana.

. Design of a planning and development

process that will more fully accommodate  
the planning needs and aspirations of the  
people in the different Regions and Dis-  
tricts of the country.

. Continued operation of a multi-year de-  
velopment programme that fully integrates  
national priority needs with basic grass  
root needs and aspirations of the people.

Design and implementation of an integrat-  
ed rural development programme for  
Bophuthatswana.

. Formulation and implementation of an ur-  
banisation strategy for Bophuthatswana.

. Revision of the Industrial Development poli-  
cy and programme for Bophuthatswana.

. Administrative adjustment in the public  
Sector.

. The monitoring of public sector activity  
and prevention of all forms of bureaucratic  
red tape and public inefficiency where it  
is encountered.

. Formulation and implementation of a poli-  
cy and programme for the promotion of  
small entrepreneurs, small businesses,  
small contractors and emerging farmers in  
Bophuthatswana.

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Formulation and implementation of a manpower plan and programme for Bophuthatswana.

Continuous Training and Education to meet the challenges of the market and the country in the nations interest.

Formulation and implementation of a policy and plan for the provision of affordable basic services to communities in rural areas.

Formulation and implementation of a programme of basic shelter and services and provision of affordable housing in Bophuthatswana.

Formulation and implementation of a plan and programme to add value to mineral and agricultural products in the country and promote exports.

Formulation and implementation of a plan and programme to fully develop and utilize the energy of the youth and the skills and drive of women in growth and development in the country.

Strengthening of the police force to be readily available and present when the people need law and order in the community.

. Mobilisation of the active support of all moderate people who support the principles and values of the CDP, inside and outside the country.





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Manshaltown 2107 Tai: (011) 834-1002

cOd TTICCLEETTLE

NTRALES

The Dawn of AFreedom~

~ PO.Box 61500  
Marshaltown 2107

CONTRALESA MEMORANDUM \_PREPARED\_FOR \_

SUBMISSION TO\_THE MULTI-PARTY  
PLANNING CONFERENCE FACILITATINO  
COMMITTEE\_ON\_THE QUESTION OF -  
FULL PARTICIPATION

#### INTRODUCTION:

Contralesa as an organisation submits that it has a right  
to be granted full participatory status in this Multi-Party  
Planning Conference, sand any other structure, where the  
role of Traditlcnal Leaders ia to be discussed. !

Contralesa had noted with regret that traditional leaders  
nave been allowed to partake in this process through a  
system that hae, unfortunately not given traditional leaders  
in their respective province the opportunity to elect from  
among -themselves delegates in a democratic manner.

The delegations of traditional leaders now allowed inside  
conference, were hurriedly put together by some Homeland  
Administrations, without proper consultation with all  
traditional leaders in the provinces. As a result, these  
traditional leaders who were supposed to be representing  
other traditional leaders, have no constituency to report  
vack to, as they were not properly elected.

We therefore as Contralesa submit that our request for  
participating fully in this process, be endorsed.

And further refer you to the attached letter dated the

Lth March 1993, addressed to the Chair of the Multi Paprty

Planning Conference, regarding the composition of Provincial  
Delegates.

We hope you are not going to be labour this request unduly,  
as the role of traditional leaders and their participation  
in this process cannot be overemphaaized by all.

SUBMISSION DATE : 6th MARCH 1993

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| Congress of Traditional ;

Ã© Leaders of South Africa 4  
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' The Dawn of Freedom

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| 24 Ferreira St. P.O. Box 61500 ;  
| Ferreira House Marshalltown 2107  
. Marshalltown 2107 Tel: (011) 834-1002

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â\200\231 1993 March Ok

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The Honourable Cï¬\202ï¬\201w/rï¬\202v@ug :

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Contralesa is aware of a memorandum that has been sent to all 5

Homeland Administrations. We are aware that you have been asked to co-ordinate delegates of traditional leaders from various provinces to attend the planning conference.

Clomit Eallie siaitsiiclomicle el boi BRI c s o EasntolphtcleMwih it cihMstIelsie administrations have been given. No person can be able to co-ordinate a meeting of all traditional leaders in any prevILaeE dn gueh & ghory Space offEimne. Ly boilg downs we e situation where homeland administrations will have to appoint tradittiomall lleadersi tol aiteit end it heWpillanntiinecon fierenice

B without the mandate of traditional leaders in all four (4)  
| provinces.

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Contralesa suggests the following mechanism in order to have  
a2 proper representation of traditional leaders in the SMuithi=Elntly

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g Conference or Codesa.

in 2011 elections that are to be held provincially will elect

? delegates of traditional leaders should be co-ordinated by  
1 Contralesa and ( Contralesa ) be assisted by homeland

| administration as per suggestion by Multi-party SRl annie

Conference.

| 2. We suggest these meetings should be chaired by multi-party/  
} Codema. officially, if this is not acceptable, We suggest the  
meeting to be chaired by U.N/OAU/COMMON WEALTH Observer Mission

B emuae

Combtralesa iis suggesting the abowvieproposials torensures that  
delegates that attend negotiations are democratically  
elected by all traditionnal leaders themselvesi.

OricMipoiaittw e siciolelsitas nonid e niciticld SISt h e shiZie Mo iR bhie  
TRANSVAAL. TVL consist of six (6) different homelands and  
therefore cannot be equated to other provinces who have one  
or two homelands. '

Young wealplar sy

It o S.@NDOU (MR )

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



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ULUNDI

3838

23 MARCH 1993

Dr Theuns Eloff - CBM  
Multi - Party Conference  
World Trade Centre  
KEMPTON PARK  
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir

re: LETTER SUBMITTED TO YOUR OFFICE ON THE ACCEPTANCE  
OF FECOIRUSA IN THE MULTI - PARTY CONFERENCE.

As Presedent of the above - mentioned forum, I have decided to resubmit a retyped copy of my organisation's submission, because according to some members of the Facilitating Committee, the copies distributed to various members were not clear or visible enough.

I also have a feeling that this submission was sabotaged because some delegates in the Facilitating Committee were not provided with the second page of our letter to you for the consideration of the Multi - Party Conference, but only received the first page.

It is my belief that the way this submission was handled could llead to prejudicial and jaundistic approach to the whole matter of unfair judgement, by the Facilitating Committee. I want to emphasize and to highlight the point that whether one likes it or not, the only best and suitable way to accomodate the aspirations of various indigenous rulers of this country, is to have them represented at a Multi - Party

Conference through their National mother bodies or organizations.

It is public knowlege that indigenous rulers are not necessarily monolithic in their approach to things. At

some instances their cultures may not even be the same, that is why in the main, most of them are members of two big national organizations namely: Federated Council of Indigenous, Rulers of Southern Africa (FECOIRUSA ) of which I am the President, and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa ( Contralesa ) of which Comrade Phathekile Holomisa is the President.

I would therefore llike to argue that any form of representation of Indigenous Rulers in the Multi - Party Conference which does not go along and through these two organizations could not be taken as genuine

or full representative.

The letter of complaint from the indigenous Rulers of Gazankulu, Contralesa, Venda, non representation of Chiefs from Bop, Ciskei, and also the guarrel over the leadership of the Indigenous Rulers from O.F.S. bear testimony to the point I am making here.

There is no way that Indigenous Rulers from 6 regional governments in Transvaal could be satisfactorily represented in the Multi - Party Conference axcept through their mother organizations. The gituation where people who are not Rulers could simply dictate as to how best Rulers should be represented at a Multi - Party Conference is not acceptable.

Such an imposition and dictatorship will definitely sow seeds of discord among the rulers, which may later impact heavily on their followers.

PAGE 3

Two main delegations which will have been selected by two National organizations will be far better than 4 delegations selected or facilitated by the Chief Ministers as the letter of invitation sent to the Chief Ministers would indicate. I also venture to say that such a form of selection does not point to any form of

democracy, but chaos and destruction.

In terms of cost-effectiveness and manpower, our proposal is viable, economical, and fully representative. My organization pleads with all the structures in Multi - Party Conference to approve of

this reasonable and honest application.

President FECOIRUSA : i~\202lw~\202i~\201Ã©i~\202)

Treasurer e 1j{Ã©â\202~:g~\202x;wâ\200\23521i;â\200\224â\200\224~â\200\234

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ULUNDI

3838

15 MARCH 1993

Dr Theuns Eloff - CBM  
Multi - Party Conference  
World Trade Centre  
KEMPTON PARK  
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir

re: APPLICATION FOR ACCEPTANCE TO THE MULTI - PARTY  
CONFERENCE BY THE FEDERATED COUNCIL OF INDIGENEOUS  
RULERS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA (FECOIRUSA)

I hereby, on behalf of the Federated Council of  
Indigeneous Rulers of Southern Africa ( FECOIRUSA ),  
apply for acceptance as a member at a Multi - Party  
Negotiation Forum.

This Council has members in the four provinces of South  
Africa and beyond, who would like to be fully  
represented at the Multi - Party Conference.

The Council noted with regret, the manner in which

Indigeneous Rulers were represented at the Multi -  
Party Planning Conference, which took place on 5 - 6  
March 1993, where there was no democratic and  
proportional election of representatives of Indigeneous  
Rulers from various Provinces to represent members of  
the Council. It is common knowledge that the  
Indigeneous Rulers are the custodians of vast land in  
Southern Africa, and they also administer the affairs  
of millions of people who reside in rural areas, whose  
aspirations need to be represented fully and  
unreservedly.

The Council therefore maintains that it is its  
democratic right to be part of the deliberations in the  
Constitutional Negotiation Forum.

Signed on behalf of FECOIRUSA by:-

Vice President & 8 & & 8 8 58 &8 & 8 5 8 8 8 a8 0

Secretary 5000008800000 080

Treasurer TR S AR e e L

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3838

15 MARCH 1993

Dr Theuns Eloff - CBM  
Multi - Party Conference  
World Trade Centre  
KEMPTON PARK  
JOHANNESBURG

Dear Sir

re: APPLICATION FOR ACCEPTANCE TO THE MULTI - PARTY CONFERENCE BY  
THE FEDERATED COUNCIL OF INDIGENEOUS RULERS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA  
{ (FECOIRUSA)

I hereby, on behalf of the Federated Council  
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of  
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This Council has members in the four provinces of South Africa and  
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which took place on 5 - 6 March 1993, where "there was

democratic and proportional election of representatives of  
Indigenous Rulers from various Provinces to represent members of  
the Council. It is common knowledge that the Indigenous Rulers  
are the custodians of vast land in Southern Africa, and they also  
administer the affairs of millions of people who reside in rural  
areas, whose aspirations need to be represented fully and

unreservedly.

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The Council therefore maintains that i i i e Taht B

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be part of the deliberationzs in t : i i Megcoctiation  
Forum.

Signed on behalf of FECOIRUSA by: -

Vice President:

Saecretary

Treasursr

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' FREE CAPE MOVEMENT

T!â\200\230 (02231) 900118/9 ! P.O. Box 461  
FAX: (02231) 900228 ! STELLENBOSCH

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FAX MESSAGE

EAANYERT O D ol FR R  
EIAXSEN (I MER CH RIS Oh7En 22N  
FAX FM r Rolle Raul  
RE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS  
DATE 2 i ey 1988

Dear Dr Eloff,

We, the members of the Free Cape Movement, would like to  
apply for participation in the multi-party negotiating  
process. ; |

We currently have a membership of over 9,000 eligible voters  
in the Western Cape, and are still growing.

|  
Yours sincerely, E  
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& DR ROBERT M. HALL





MFUMO WA GAZANKULU  
GAZANKULU GOVERNMENT  
GAZANKULU-REGERING

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OFFICE OF

THE MINISTER OF WORKS  
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Multi-Party Conference  
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KEMPTON PARK.

Dagie Sie/s,

COMPLAINT : GAZANKULU COUNCIL OF TIHOSI EXCLUSION IN THE  
MULTI-PARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE.

The Gazankulu Council of Tihosi comprising 30 tihosi (chiefs),  
and over 100 indunas hereby wish to place in record their  
complaint to CBM for completely ignoring to invite the chiefs  
in this area who are also concerned of Political development  
Intthistcountrye el sayasisindilgenotsieuiliersiitie

1. No one can claim to represent us without our mandate.
2. We have a big following whose interests are in our hands.
3. OWrights in this new dispensation should not be slighted.
4. Even though we are not politicians and our organisation  
is a-political we want observer status so that our rights  
are safe-guarded.

We hope and believe that in the future you Wll @eus@

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| SECRETARY

SN0  
CAZECOUNCRINO BN CHIBEERS CACOUNCGNEEC RN C MRS

CHAIRMAN GE/  
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Â° GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

28 February 1993. . g .â\200\230.\N\STE%?;-:â\200\231%V ' e

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Constitutional Development Services. ; 0% 04  
Private Bag X9123, . : 1993~ 2 e  
Cape Town, b Wikt 5000}  
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A R R Y ey  
Dear Bir,

We refer to our previous correspondence to the State President  
and new enquire as to whether you could furnish ourselves with  
detalls, i.e. venue, dates, times etc, pertaining to the  
. forthcoming Multi-Party Planning Conference with regard to our  
: participation thersin.

Qur delagate to the Conference will be Mr, I. W, Brownlie.

Please note our new telephone number in Cape Town viz Q21-  
7881550, We look forward to receiving your timeous return.

Yours faithfully

A oA

M. TUCHTAN,  
GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA,

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA Â¢ P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-  
8142  
GROEN PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA Â¢ POSBUS 18234, VLAEBERG 8018 o TELEFOON/TELEFAKS: 2021; 23-81  
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GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

9 March 1993.

Multi-Party Conferance Facilitation Committee.  
PO Beox 304 .

Isando.

1600.

Dear Sirs,

Further to our recent correspondence and discussions with inter alia; Mr.R.Meyer and Mr.T.Eloff, hereby formally submit our request to be included in the forthcoming Multi-Party Conferance.

The Green Party of South Africa was, after two years of groundwork, established on 31 July 1992 and has a rapidly growing membership. In this regard we attaching our Constitution for your perusal.

As we were in the formative period during Codesa, we were unable to participate, however now that our structures are in place feel that we should be represented following the State Presidents remarks that the Multi-Party Conferance should include as broad a spectrum of political parties as possible.

We feel that it would not be expedient to send a delegation and consequently the undersigned has been nominated as the Green Party representative.

We trust you will accede to our request and should you require additional information please note our new telephone number viz, 021-7891550.

Yours faithfully

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IAN BROWNLIE.  
GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA e P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 Â¢ TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-8142  
GROEN PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA Â® POSBUS 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEFOON/TELEFAKS: (021) 23-8142

# GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

## CONSTITUTION

### PREAMBLE

As the world's population soars, increased pressures are being brought to bear on our natural resources. This factor, coupled to rapid urbanisation and the lack of an holistic environmental management plan, is leading to the degradation of the standard of living of peoples from all walks of life throughout South Africa.

In order to combat the myriad of problems facing us, the Green Party, subscribing to the common ideals of Democracy, Peace, Justice, Prosperity and Freedom for all peoples of South Africa, believes that a process must be set in motion that will establish the principal of sustainable utilisation of our natural resources, coupled to the conservation of our natural heritage for the benefit of future generations of South Africans to come.

### NAME

The name of the Party shall be the Green Party of South Africa. hereinafter referred to as the Party.

### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The Party commits itself to the establishment of a true South African democracy and subscribes to :

The protection of fundamental human rights and liberties including freedom of speech, association, religion, movement, expression, franchise, culture, private ownership and free elections,

The creation of a united non-racial, non-sexist South Africa,

The participation by all peoples of South Africa at all levels of Government on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The adoption of an holistic integrated environmental management plan,

The promotion of a free market system,  
The rejection of violence as a political tool,

The adoption of a Bill of Rights, defined on a non-racial, non-sexist basis entrenched in the Constitution,

The maintenance of an independent judiciary,

The effective maintenance of law, order and security,  
The creation of an integrated Defence Force responsible to Parliament.

In order to achieve its aims and objectives the Party is committed to :

The development of strong power bases in Parliament,

The development and growth of the Party,

Interaction with individuals or groups to promote the Party's policies.

POLICY.

The National Executive Committee shall be the supreme policy-making body of the Party.

EEGALESTATUS

The Party shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and shall be capable of suing and of being sued in its own name, the Chairman of the National Executive Committee being the Party representative in each case.

The Party may own, purchase, sell, hire, lease, mortgage, pledge or in any way alienate or deal with both movable or immovable property and furthermore perform all such legal activities authorised by this Constitution.

## MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Party is open to any individual who :

Is a citizen of South Africa above the age of 18 years  
irrespective of race, sex or creed,

Accepts its aims, principles and programmes,

Agrees to abide by the Constitution,

Is not an active member of another political party,  
Submits a written application.

The Regional Council has the right to grant or refuse  
membership to any applicant and is not obliged to give  
reasons for so doing.

Any applicant whose membership application is rejected by  
the Regional Council may appeal to the National Executive  
whose decision shall be final and binding.

Membership of the Party shall cease when :

The member acts in contradiction to the Constitution,

The member officially submits their written resignation,

The member becomes a member of another political party  
or stands against any Party official in an election.

No member shall be a member of more than one  
constituency.

## FINANCE

The finances of the Party shall be the responsibility of the  
Finance Committee which will comprise of :

The National Chairman of Finance who will be Chairman,

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The National Chairman,  
The Regional Executive or Regional Secretary,

A minimum of 3 but maximum of 5 co-opted members.

The Finance Committee shall be empowered to :  
Manage and control the financial affairs of the Party,  
Open and operate an account at a bank or any other  
similar financial institution and to similarly close such

account,

Collect and receive monies for the purpose of attaining the  
objectives of the Party,

To designate two signatories who have signing powers for  
the operation of bank accounts,

To raise loans and overdrafts,

To appoint auditors to prepare annual financial statements,  
To provide annual balance sheets,

To keep proper books of account,

To provide annual financial reports to the National

Executive Committee.

All monies received and collected in the name of the Party  
shall vest in the Party itself.

#### ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

The Party shall consist of the following organs :

Constituencies which shall be defined with geographical  
boundaries and shall be represented by one Candidate.

Constituency Committees which shall be the basic  
organisational units of the Party.

Regional Conference which elects the Regional Council.  
Regional Councils.

s

National Congress which elects the National Executive Committee.

National Executive Committee.

Constituencies shall be established and maintained throughout South Africa and shall :

At their Annual General Meeting elect a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and other office bearers as

are deemed necessary,

Supervise and direct the activities of the Party in the Constituency,

Participate in the Regional Conference,

Assist In campaign work,

Co-opt additional members to assist in campaign work,

Carry out the directions and requests of higher formations of the Party,

Prepare and submit reports to the Regional Conference.

The Regional Conference shall be the highest organ of the Party in each region and shall :

Convene twice a year,

Be a delegates conference attended by delegates chosen on a democratic basis by all constituencies of the region with proportional representation in relation to membership.

Elect a Regional Council which shall comprise of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and a minimum of 4 but maximum of 10 additional members,

Be attended by members of the National Executive Committee who shall have full voting rights,

Be attended by the Chairman of each Constituency Committee within the region, who shall be accorded automatic delegate status,

Receive and consider reports from the Regional Council,

Implement the decisions of the National Conference and the National Executive Committee.

The Regional Council shall be the highest decision making body in the region between Regional Conferences and shall :

Comprise of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and a minimum of 4 but maximum of 10

additional members,

Include members of the National Executive Committee residing in that region,

Include Members of Parliament residing in that region,

Implement within its region the directives of higher formations of the Party,

Convene quarterly,

Supervise and direct the activities of the Party within that region,

Promote the interest of the Party within its region,

Be empowered to delegate powers and functions to sub-committees, which itself may be competent to perform,

Arrange and organise the Regional Conference.

The Regional Council Chairman in his capacity as Regional Executive shall have automatic status to the National Congress.

The supreme policy-making and governing body of the Party shall be the National Congress in session and shall :

Comprise of a Chairman, Members of the National Executive Committee, Members of the Regional Council and Chairmen of Constituency Committees,

Convene annually,

Be attended by representatives from each constituency in which there is a duly constituted constituency committee chosen on a democratic basis with proportional representation in relation to membership,

Be attended by such other persons as approved by a majority of the National Executive Committee,

Take decisions on all aspects of policy, organisation, finance and discipline and all decisions shall be binding on the Party, provided that it may not repeal or alter the aims, principles and programmes of the Party as set out in the Constitution unless such repeal or alteration is agreed to by not less than two-thirds of members attending that session,

Receive and discuss reports of the National Executive Committee,

Elect via ballot the National Executive Committee which shall comprise of Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary General, Treasurer, Chairmen of Regional Councils, Members of Parliament, and a minimum of 8 but maximum of 20 additional members.

The National Executive Committee is the highest organ of the Party between congresses and shall have the authority and power to lead the Party, subject to the provisions of the Constitution and shall :

Comprise of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary General, Treasurer, Chairmen of Regional councils, Members of Parliament and a minimum of 8 but maximum of 20 additional members,

Convene twice a year,

Prescribe rules within which a Regional Council shall function,

Be empowered to delegate powers and functions to sub-committees which itself may be competent to perform,

Decide on selection criteria for members as candidates for RublicsElections

Decide, after consultation with the Regional council, as to whether the Party should contest an election or by-election in any given constituency,

Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Congress,

Issue and send directives to and receive reports from the Regional Councils,

Supervise and direct the work of the Party,

Manage and control all assets of the Party,

Issue policy directives,

Co-opt members to the National Executive Committee.

A majority of the members of the National Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

#### VOTING

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, voting at meetings of all bodies of the Party shall be by way of a show of hands, unless a secret ballot is required by the person presiding or by one-fifth of the members present.

Unless otherwise provided, decisions at all meetings shall be taken by a majority of members present and voting, the person presiding at such a meeting shall have a casting as well as a deliberative vote.

#### AMENDMENT, MERGER AND DISSOLUTION

The National Congress may amend this Constitution or merge or dissolve the Party and consequently dispose of its assets by vote of not fewer than two-thirds of the members present and voting at that particular meeting, provided that notice of such proposal shall have been given to each Constituency not less than six weeks before that session of Congress.

GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

22 April 1993

Multi-Party Conferance Facilitation Committee.  
PO Box 3070

Isando.

1600.

Dear Sirs,

With referance to our previous correspondence R TIGl  
discussions with inter alia; Mr.R.Meyer and 1Dk 5 I I o s  
pertaining to the participation of the Green Party of South  
Africa in the Multi-Party Conferance, reiterate our previous  
request to be included in this process.

Whilst we accept there should be certain criteria regarding  
participation, this should not be construed as an obstacle for  
anvaip e iitiic st o oD whe, wishes ' to 'be involved â\200\230in the  
negotiating process irrespective of their direction, policies  
or size.

In support of this we refer to the State Presidents comments  
whereby he indicated that the negotiating process should be  
broad enough so as not to exclude any political group.

At this current Jjuncture the Green Party of South Africa is  
not, nor does it expect to be, the representative body of all  
Environmental NGOâ\200\231s and has formulated its own policy  
direction in repect of environmental matters. It is in this  
regard we express our concern that Environmental Rights have  
not been included on the Agenda to date and trust that this  
issue will receive the attention it deserves.

We trust you will accede to our request and should you require  
any additional information the undersigned can be contacted on  
021-7891550.

Yours faithfully

A

IAN BROWNLIE.  
GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ce Hii.R.Meyer - Min. Constitiitiiiiiil Develoiment.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA Â¢ P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-8142

GROEN PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA e POSBUS 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEFOON/TELEFAKS: (021) 23-8142

GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

22 April 1999

Multi-Party Conference Facilitation Committee.  
PO Box 15234:

Isando.

1600.

Dear Sirs,

With reference to our previous correspondence, and discussions with inter alia; Mr. R. Meyer and IDhe s I oxtE pertaining to the participation of the Green Party of South Africa in the Multi-Party Conference, reiterate our previous request to be included in this process.

Whilst we accept there should be certain criteria regarding participation, this should not be construed as an obstacle for anyone who wishes to be involved in the negotiating process irrespective of their direction, policies or size.

In support of this we refer to the State President's comments whereby he indicated that the negotiating process should be broad enough so as not to exclude any political group.

At this current juncture the Green Party of South Africa is not, nor does it expect to be, the representative body of all Environmental NGOs and has formulated its own policy direction in respect of environmental matters. It is in this regard we express our concern that Environmental Rights have not been included on the Agenda to date and trust that this issue will receive the attention it deserves.

We trust you will accede to our request and should you require any additional information the undersigned can be contacted on 021-7891550.

Yours faithfully

S, N

IAN BROWNLIE.  
GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

cc Min. R. Meyer - Min. Constitutional Development.  
Dr. T. Eloff - Consultative Business Movement.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-8142  
GREEN PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA e POSBUS 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEFOON/TELEFAX: (021) 23-8142  
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GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

17 May 1993.

Multi-Party Conferance Facilitation Committee.  
PRORBosxa 30

Isando.

1600.

Dear Sirs,

We refer to our previous correspondence wisth S regard Â\$ to participation in, the Multi-Party Conferancejssandiifnote with concern that we have not been afforded the courtesy of a reply to date.

In light of the foregoing we hereby withdraw our application with immediate effect.

Yours faithfully

/wÃ@â\200\230

> R

TAN BROWNLIE.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ce HH iir - Min. Constitutional Development.

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GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA e P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-81

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GREEN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

17 May 1993.

Multi-Party Conferance Facilitation Committee.  
PO Beox 80

Isando.

1600.

Dear Sirs,

We refer to our previous correspondence Wiibh regand et o  
participation in the Multi-Party Conferance and note with  
concern that we have not been afforded the courtesy of a reply

to date.

In light of +the foregoing we hereby withdraw our application  
with immediate effect.

Yours faithfully

A

TAN BROWNLIE.  
GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

cc Min.R.Meyer. - Min. Constitutional Development.  
Dr.T.Eloff. - Consultative Business Movement.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA e P.O. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 e TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23-8  
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Po. Box So 7,  
T samddo |,  
lboo -

GREEN PARTY  
P.O. BOX 15234  
VLAEBERG. 8018

CIRLLIN

PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

27 Mew 19895,

Muiti-Party Negotiating Process,  
Rempton FPark.

abl s, 8 EsEe el fiee

Dear Madam,

Forbiney uw oour reeent wsleaeow Fogarding Lig Oreoy Parey  
participation in fthe Multl-Party Conferance autacn hersats  
salient intormation a reguesbed.

G e e seoriikkdan 1 Ji e TR9E .  
Â¥ Office Bearers; 1.Browniie â\200\224 Chairman.

E.smith - Tredsiiirer.

R Winterton - Secretary.

4 Constitution attached herelo.

\* Membershlp currently taliies 13500

\* We have held a nunmter of wpeelings bub have nolb  
been involived in rallles or publicaticons to dabe.

\* We have participated in local and civie structures

To date,

) Tt ele o ah o B G iy A G | NG o 1 S [ 1 5 S = )

address listed on letterhear.

X We are vialble with regard to funding.

# Membership is as per the Constitutlion.

Bnould you require any additional informacion piease do

hesitate to contact me immediately.

Nowrs ars el i

A(E

LAN BROWNLIE.

GREEN PARTY O SOUTH AFERICA.

GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA Â¢ P,0. BOX 15234, VLAEBERG 8018 # TELEPHONE/TELEFAX: (021) 23  
O, b ! -B142

GROEN PARTY VAN SUID-AFRIKA Â¢ POSBUS 15284, VLAEBERG 8018 = TELEFOON/TELEFAKS: }021)) 23-8  
142

# GREEN PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

## CONSTITUTION

### PREAMBLE

As the world's population soars, increased pressures are being brought to bear on our natural resources. This factor, coupled to rapid urbanisation and the lack of an holistic environmental management plan, is leading to the degradation of the standard of living of peoples from all walks of life throughout South Africa.

In order to combat the myriad of problems facing us, the Green Party, subscribing to the common ideals of Democracy, Peace, Justice, Prosperity and Freedom for all peoples of South Africa, believes that a process must be set in motion that will establish the principle of sustainable utilisation of our natural resources, coupled to the conservation of our natural heritage for the benefit of future generations of South Africans to come.

### NAME

The name of the Party shall be the Green Party of South Africa, hereinafter referred to as the Party.

### AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

The Party commits itself to the establishment of a true South African democracy and subscribes to :

The protection of fundamental human rights and liberties including freedom of speech, association, religion, movement, expression, franchise, culture, private ownership and free elections,

The creation of a united non-racial, non-sexist South Africa,

The participation by all peoples of South Africa at all levels of Government on the basis of universal adult franchise.

The adoption of an holistic integrated environmental  
munagement plan,

The promotion of a free market system,

The rejection of violence as a political 1001

The adoption of a Bill of Rights, defined on a non-racial,  
non-sexist basis entrenched in the Constitution,

The maintenance of an independent judiciary,

The effective maintenance of law, order and security,  
The creation of an integrated Defence Force responsible  
to Parliament.

In order to achieve its aims and objectives the Party is  
committed to :

The development of strong power bases in Parliament,

The development and growth of the Party,

Interraction with individuals or groups to promote the  
Partyâ\200\231s policics.

#### POLICY

The National Lxecutive Committee shall be the supreme  
policy-making body of the Party.

#### LEGAL STATUS

The Party shall be a body corporate with perpetual  
succession and shall be capable of suing and of being sued  
in its own name, the Chairman of the National Exceutive  
Committee being the Party representative in each case.

â\200\230Lhe Party may own, purchase, sell, hire, lease, mortgage,  
pledge or in any way alienate or deal with both movable or  
immovable property and furthermore perform all such legal  
activities authorised by this Constitution.

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## MEMBERSHIP

Membership of the Party is open to any individual who :

Is a citizen of South Africa above the age of 18 years  
irrespective of race, sex or creed,

Accepts its aims, principles and programmes,  
Agrees to abide by the Constitution,

Is not an active member of another political party,

Submits a written application.

The Regional Council has the right to grant or refuse  
membership to any applicant and is not obliged to give  
reasons for so doing.

Any applicant whose membership application is rejected by  
the Regional Council may appeal to the National Executive  
whose decision shall be final and binding.

Membership of the Party shall cease when :

The member acts in contradiction to the Constitution,  
The member officially submits their written resignation,  
The member becomes a member of another political party

or stands against any Party official in an election.

No member shall be a member of more than one  
constituency.

## FINANCE

The finances of the Party shall be the responsibility of the  
Finance Committee which will comprise of :

The National Chairman of Finance who will be Chairman,

The Treasurer,



The National Chairman,  
The Regional FExecutive or Regional Secretary,

A minimum of 3 but maximum of 5 co-opted members.

The Finance Committee shall be empowered to :  
Manage and control the financial affairs of the Party,  
Open and operate an account at a bank or any other  
similar financial institution and to similarly close such  
account,

Colleet and receive monies for the purpose of attaining the  
objectives of the Party,

'To designate two signatories who have signing powers for  
the operation of bank accounts,

To raise loans and overdrafts,

To appoint auditors to prepare annual financial stutements,

To provide annual balance sheets,

To keep proper books of account,

To provide annual linancial reports to the National

Executive Committee.

All monies received and collected in the name ol the Party  
shall vest in the Party itself.

#### ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES

The Party shall consist of the following organs :  
Constituencies which shall be defined with geographical  
boundaries and shall be represented by one Candidate.

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Constitucncy Committees which shall be the basic  
organisational units of the Party.

Regional Confercnee which elects the Regional Council,  
Regional Councils.

Iy

National Congress which elects the National Executive Committee.

National Executive Committee.

Constituencies shall be established and maintained throughout South Africa and shall :

At their Annual General Meeting elect a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and other office bearers as

are deemed necessary,

Supervise and direct the activities of the Party in the Constituency,

Participate in the Regional Conference,

Assist in campaign work,

Co-opt additional members to assist in campaign work,

Carry out the directions and requests of higher formations of the Party,

Prepare and submit reports to the Regional Conference.

The Regional Conference shall be the highest organ of the Party in each region and shall :

Convene twice a year,

Be a delegates conference attended by delegates chosen on

a democratic basis by all constituencies of the region with proportional representation in relation to membership,

Elect a Regional Council which shall comprise of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and a minimum of 4 but maximum of 10 additional members,

Be attended by members of the National Executive Committee who shall have full voting rights,

Be attended by the Chairman of each Constituency Committee within the region, who shall be accorded automatic delegate status,

Receive and consider reports from the Regional Council,

Implement the decisions of the National Conference and the National Executive Committee.

s

The Regional Council shall be the highest decision making body in the region between Regional Conferences and shall :

Comprise of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and a minimum of 4 but maximum of 10 additional members,

Include members of the National Executive Committee residing in that region,

Include Members of Parliament residing in that region,

Implement within its region the directives of higher formations of the Party,

Convene quarterly,

Supervise and direct the activities of the Party within that region,

Promote the interest of the Party within its region,

Be empowered to delegate powers and functions to sub-

regions.  
The Regional Council shall be the highest decision making body in the region between Regional Conferences and shall :

Arrange and organise the Regional Conference.

The Regional Council Chairman in his capacity as Regional Executive shall have automatic status to the National Congress.

The supreme policy-making and governing body of the Party shall be the National Congress in session and shall :

Comprise of a Chairman, Members of the National Executive Committee, Members of the Regional Council and Chairmen of Constituency Committees,

Convene annually,

Be attended by representatives from each constituency in which there is a duly constituted constituency committee chosen on a democratic basis with proportional representation in relation to membership,

Be attended by such other persons as approved by a majority of the National Executive Committee,

Extended Page

Take decisions on all aspects of policy, organisation, finance and discipline and all decisions shall be binding on the Party, provided that it may not repeal or alter the aims, principles and programmes of the Party as set out in the Constitution unless such repeal or alteration is agreed to by not less than two-thirds of members attending that session,

Receive and discuss reports of the National Executive Committee,

Elect via ballot the National Executive Committee which shall comprise of Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary General, Treasurer, Chairmen of Regional Councils, Members of Parliament, and a minimum of 8 but maximum of 20 additional members.

The National Executive Committee is the highest organ of the Party between congresses and shall have the authority and power to lead the Party, subject to the provisions of the Constitution and shall :

Comprise of Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Secretary General, Treasurer, Chairmen of Regional councils, Members of Parliament and a minimum of 8 but maximum of 20 additional members,

Convene twice a year,

Prescribe rules within which a Regional Council shall function,

Be empowered to delegate powers and functions to sub-committees which itself may be competent to perform,

Decide on selection criteria for members as candidates for Public Election,

Decide, after consultation with the Regional council, as to whether the Party should contest an election or by-election in any given constituency,

Carry out the decisions and instructions of the National Congress,

Issue and send directives to and receive reports from the Regional Councils,

Supervise and direct the work of the Party,

Extended Page

8710 Manage and control all assets of the Party,

Issue policy directives,

Co-opt members to the National Executive Committee.

A majority of the members of the National Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

#### VOTING

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution, voting at meetings of all bodies of the Party shall be by way of a show of hands, unless a secret ballot is required by the person presiding or by one-fifth of the members present.

Unless otherwise provided, decisions at all meetings shall be taken by a majority of members present and voting, the person presiding at such a meeting shall have a casting as well as a deliberative vote.

#### AMENDMENT, MERGER AND DISSOLUTION

The National Congress may amend this Constitution or merge or dissolve the Party and consequently dispose of its assets by vote of not fewer than two-thirds of the members present and voting at that particular meeting, provided that notice of such proposal shall have been given to each Constituency not less than six weeks before that session of Congress.

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MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

10 : MULTI PARTY COMMITTEE

REFERENCE ~ : THE SECRETARY

FAX NO

FROM MR P. PAOYACHEE  
REFERENCE

FAX NO

DATE

THIS TELEFAX COMPRISES OF ..2. .. PAGES INCLUDING  
THIS COVER SHEET.IF ALL THE PAGES ARE NOT RECEIVED  
KINDLY CONTACT 00UR OFFICES 852 : 3300 OR 852 :3372.

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

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MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

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fo . RS52-6790 '

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THE SECRETARY  
MULTI-PARTY COMMITTEE  
P.O. BOX 307

ISANDO

1600

DEAR STR/MADAM,

'he Merit Peoples Party had previously applied to CODESA for the participation  
in the talks. We were advised that the Management Committee of CODESA will  
consider the applications of different Parties as well as the King of the Zulu  
Committee,

â\200\234y Party have not applied for the Multi-Party Talks, but had the impression that  
â\200\234rom the name CODESA STEERING COMMITTEE have moved just as the Multi-Party Com-  
mittee. Therefore, there was no representations made from me towards the Multi-  
Party Talks.

. would like to inform your'll that the Merit Peoples Party had fielded three  
candidates for the General Elections of 1989, and have won a 100% poll in the  
jurisdiction of Lenasia. It has warned candidates of the Solidarity Party,  
the National Peoples Party and the Independence. Therefore, [ feel that the  
Merit Peoples Party, will at least make some contribution towards the Multi-  
Party Talks.

THANKING YOU,

YOURS FAITHFULLY

/q'/\_/câ\200\2311â\200\231f. @ Ã©('/(Ã©-â\200\235

MR P. PADAYACHEE :  
LEADER OF THE MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

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MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

- MERIT PF OPLES PART)

THL. 852-3380/3372/5338 PO. BOX %% 32  
854-3921/3300 : LENASIA 1820

FAX RS2.6790  
DATE: 24 MAY 1993

TEL: BUS: 852â\200\2243300/3372/?357  
FAX: 8526790 '

TEL: HOME: 888-6220  
FAX: 888-1848

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROFFSS  
P.O. BOX 307

ISANDO

1600

ATTENTION: SANDY

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

I am in receipt of your tÃ©TÃ©hx dated 24 May 1993, but the letter was addressed on the 14 May 1993 to the Merit Peoples Party.

T would like to place on rdq&rd that the telefax received from your good offices at 16H47 on the 24 May 1993, was the only indication that T received from your'll Therefore, | appeal that T would like to have at least T one week, because T have other committments for thfs week, I hope and pray that my Party's request will b favourable considered. :

I await your telefax to infb?m me if I will have the extension of time., God Bles  
THANKING YOU,  
YOURS FATITHFULLY

P. PADAYACHEE,  
LEADER - MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY



25=A5-95 14:15 SHENKA DEVELOPMENTS st (FEL

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

' MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

TT. RS52-33(0/3372/533% PO. BOX 578  
854-1921/3889 - LENASIA 1820

FAN: 852 6790

~ FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

REFERENCE  
FAX NO.

FROM : MR PREGGY PADAYACHE

R SRS Y S VI PSP SRS Py

REFERENCE

CRCN L R I I A R RS CO0000000OOGAN0

FAX NO. . 011 838-1848/852-6790

26 MAY 1993

'THIS TELEFAX COMPRISES OF ./Q... PAGES  
INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET. IF ALL THE  
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â\200\234OUR OFFICES AT 011 852-3300/3372/2357.

MERIT OR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

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MERIT PEOPLES PART

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851 3921/3889

AN 852 6700

PO BOX 32

LENASIA 1820

DATE: 26 MAY 1993

FAX NUMBER: 011 397211

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. BOX 307

[SANDO

1600

RE :

DEAR SIR/MADAM,

WE REFER TO ANNEXURE A OF YOUR FACSIMILE DATED 24TH MAY 1993, ATTACHED TO YOUR FACSIMILE HEADED MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

1. DATE OF FORMATION OF PARTY -

THE PARTY WAS REGISTERED ON - THE 16 JUNE 1989,

NAME\_OF THE OFFICE\_BEARERS AND DESIGNATION

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN - L.T.C. NALIDOO (COUNCILLOR)

LEADER OF THE PARTY - P, PADAYACHEE (MP)

DEPUTY LEADER - MRS R. EBRAHIM (MP)

SECRETARY - M. EBRAHIM

TREASURER - M.G. REDDY

STATEMENT OF POLITICAL INTENT/CONSTITUTION

COPY OF CONST!TUTION ATTACHED HICRETO.

INDICATORS OF DEMONSTRABLE SUPPORT (SIGNED UP MEMBERSHIP, ATTENDANCE AT RALLIES, ELECTION RESULTS)

MERIT I1â\200\234(â\200\23451~â\200\230ï~\202 S PREE AND JUST SOCIETY



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DEMONSTRABLE SUPPORT

THE SUPPORT OF THE PARTY is As FOLLOWS. 1IN THE 1989 ELECTIONS, (THE GENERAL ELECTTON), SOON AFTER THE PARTY WAS FORMED, THE PARTY CONTESTED 3 SEATS IN LENASIA AND WON ALL THREE.

SINCE THEN, SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY GROMN IN LENASIA, DURBAN, BENONI, PRETORIA (LAUDIUM) AND OTHER TOWNS WHERE THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT INDIAN COMMUNITIES. AT

THE LAST CONGRESS, THE ATTENDANCE VARIED BETWEEN 600 AND 900 PERSONS. ESTIMATED MEMBERSHIP THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA (AS NO EFFORTS ARE MADE TO SIGN UP MEMBERS) IS AT LEAST 10 000 PERSONS.

ACTIVITIES

MEETINGS - FREQUENT HOUSE MEETINGS THROUGHOUT AREAS MENTIONED ABOVE,

PUBLICATIONS - THE LENASIA TIMES PUBLISHES ALL DEVELOPMENTS CONCERNING

THE MERIT PEOPLES PARTY\_ANE ITS ACTIVITIES IN HOUSE OF DELEGATES. THIS OCCURS APPROXIMATELY TWICE A MONTH.

OTHER - EACH OF THE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SUBMIT REPRESENTATIONS TO THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS ON BEHALF OF SUPPORTERS THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA.

PARTICIPATION IN OTHER ORGANISATIONS

PARL [AMENT

THERE ARE PRESENTLY TWO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.  
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THERE ARE TWO MEMBERS ACTTVF IN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT NAMELY THEY ARE MEMBERS OF THE LENASTA MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE.

OTHER -

P. PADAYACHEE SERVED ONTTi~\201h JUSTICE COMMITTEE AND NOW SERVES ON THE

HEALTH AND AMENITIES COMMI%TEE, CORRECTIONAL SERVICES AND ON THE PENSIONS

COMMITTEE.

/??5? PG.3

EEHSSEIS I ] SHENKA DEVELOPMENTS 431 P@4

MRS R. EBRAHIM SERVES ON JUSTICE COMMITTEE.

ADDRESS

HEADQUARTERS - 9 SLUEBOLL AVENUE, LENASTA, EXTENSION 2  
TELEPHONE NUMBER - 011 852-3300/3372/2357

FAX - 011 852-6790

NUMBER OF PERSONNEL EMPLdvsn - 2 FULLTIME AND 1 PARTTIME.

1ES

SUPPORT THROUGHOUT NATAL AND TRANSVAAL.

RULES OF MEMBERSHIP

SEE CONSTITUTION ATTACHED,-

YOURS FAITHFULLY

MR P. PADAYACHEE, MP  
LEADER OF MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

c6-P5-93 14:18 SHENKA DEVELOPMENTS 431 PBS

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

: B82-3300/3372/5338 S PO. BOX 5A78

A54-3921/3889 L LENASIA 1820

VAX: 852-6790 #

TEYATT =

PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES OF  
' MERIT PEOPLES PARTY

The MERIT PEOPLES PARTY has been formed to fill the  
policy gap caused by other political parties which  
are now exposing our people to a catastrophic political  
and financial sellout.

The MERIT PEOPLES PARTY is confident it will gain substantial  
new support from voters and taxpayers and from Candidates for  
Total and Parliament who will join it, as it is only PARTY  
which offers a positive future for our people.  
The MERIT PEOPLES PARTY view as top priorities

a) A return to the rule of Law.

b) A new Constitution for our Country incorporating MERIT  
standards for all our people "LET US WAKE UP AND BUILD  
A COUNTRY ON OUR OWN MERIT".

To awaken to the MERITOCRACY which allows every one to aspire  
to highest honours in freely chosen fields of activity,

Free people and cultures to meet on MERIT in a free society

The MERIT PEOPLES PARTY - WILL RE-INTRODUCE the free Immigration  
of Indians from all parts of the world as they are the only  
group that is being restricted.

P. PADAYACHEE- AFTIR |.EADER

MERIT FOR A FREE AND JUST SOCIETY

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'MERIT PEOPLE'S\_PARTY 3 GhiksRl

852-6790

CONSTITUTION OF THE MERIT PEOPLES PARTY.

The name of the Party shall be MERIT PEOPLES PARTY  
THE \_OBJECT:

The object of the Party is;to promote the interest & welfare of all the people  
of R.S.A. in accordance with the principles & policy of the Party,  
POLICY :

The policy of the Party shall be as laid down by a decision of a National Executive  
and the Executive CommittÃ©b'

The Head office of the Party shall be situated in T.V.L.

MEMBERSHIP

Any person who has attained age of 18 years,

o) 18 0 eVslEEen of Bole

Â¢) Subscribes to the Prinqjï¬\201les and policies of the party,

d) Agrees to abide by theâ\200\230thstitution of the Party may on written application be  
admitted as a member..

(ii) The National Executives or any committee appointed by it has a right to  
grant, refuse or suspēhd membership to any applicant or member and is not  
obliged for giving fÃ©asbns for doing so.

{ila) Any decision taken'byfthe National Executive or any Committee in terms of  
paragraph 5{(ii) shall be final.

(lii) A member ceases to be a member when-

a) He has handed inï¬\202his written resignation or publicly declared his  
resignation, or f-'\_

b) his membership has been suspended or terminated in term of 5(ii) above

NATIONAL CONGRESS: y

The supreme policy m@kfiï¬\201g and governing bady shall be the National Congress  
in session referred tbihere and after as the Congress,

The Congress shall meet ANNUALLY at a place and time to be determined by  
the National Execulive Ccï¬\201ï¬\201ï¬\201ttee provided that the leader/s may in consultat  
ion with the

=5EEFEE a8 ile) SHENKA DEVELOPMENTS 431 PBN  
-2.\_

' National Executive Committee con&ifzne a special session of the Congress if this is requis  
itioyed  
by not less than one third of the total nunter of Constituancy Executive Committees,

THE CONGRESS SALL COMPRISE:

i) The Leader/s o  
the National Chairman and Vice Chairman  
The merbers of the Natioma! and Provincial Executive committees.  
Merbers of any National or :Pl::â\200\230:()v'i ncial legislative body who are merbers  
thereof as representatives'f)'f â\200\230the Party.  
(ne representative from each regional Council  
Such matber on members fron aich constituency, as is proportional to the total number  
of members in that constit(aei-\201c.,y, the ratio to be fixed from time to time by the  
National Executive Connn'tt:gg\_' which ratio shall apply to all constituencies, provided  
that. the said Comiittee may permiit a representative from a constituency in which there  
are ot sufficient nmbers-f,Ã@\_ entitle it to a representative, and provided further that  
the nuber of representiti,:ve}; fran any one constitutency, notwithstanding the merber  
of members therein shall not cxceed any maximum figure laid down for all constuencies  
fran time 10 time by the Ã@aâ\200\231lid committee, and  
Such cther members as may be invited specially by the leader/s, with the approval of the  
National Executive Cmrâ\200\230"r.f;Ã@e'.,' provided that such persons not vote.  
The congress shall elect a 'l'fÃ@ader/s a National Chariman and a National Vice Chairman,  
The congress may take deci%;jÃ@:â\200\230:s on al! aspects of policy, organisation, Finance  
&  
Discipline, and all such det\_i(i-\201ons shall be binding on the Party provided that it may  
not Repeal or alter its ownâ\200\234rÃ@salutions on Constitutional and franchise policy unl  
ess  
such appeal or alteration is agreed to by not less than two-thirds of members attending  
that particular sittings.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

9) a) Save when the National Copg'ri?r;rs is in session, the policy-making and governing bo  
dy of  
the party shall be the National [xecutive Committee, veferred to in this clause as the  
"Committee. " N

THE COMMITTEE SWALL COMPRISE:

- 1) The Leader â\200\230
- 21 ite Notdoral Chadimar, wil Ui Habionul Viea-Chadvmen
- 3) The Chairman of the Provinces
- 4) The Chairman of Regioria}â\200\230. Councils
- 5) The National Chairman of the Youth Movement
- 6) Ten members elected by batlot at a ordinary session of the Congress, and
- 7) Ay additional members u to ten-co-opted by the persons referred to in (i) to (b)  
hereof bk



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il

The Committee shall appoint.â\200\230 from its members

a) Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and â\200\230a Chairman of Finance

A majority of the Committee shall constitute a quorum

The committee may establish sub-committees and, subject to Sub-clause

(f) May delegate any of its powers.

The Committee shall prescribe 'regulations governing the selection of members as candidates for public elections and may not delegate this function.

The leaders shall, if they are members of Parliament, elect from within themselves, a leader

of the Party in Parliament and may, save when the Congress as the National Executive Committee

is in session interpret and make 'Policy of the Party,

b) The National Chairman shall convene and preside at sittings of the Congress, and

shall preside at National functions held by the Party in public.

â) The Chairman of the National Executive Committee may, save when the Congress or the said

Committee is in session, make decisions on organisation.

d) Each of the above senior officers may in the event of temporary absence or disability nominate a deputy to act on his behalf, unless a deputy has been elected by the formation

concerned. â\200\230 ,

CONSTITUENCY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES.

a) A Regional Council may establish a Constituency Executive Committee comprising such numbers of members from each branch within that constituency as it may direct.

b) A Constituency Executive Committee shall supervise all aspects of party activity in its constituency, and shall follow the directive of higher formations of the party.

PERMANENT DISABILITY OF OFFICERS

In the event of the permanent disability of any officer during his term of office, a

successor shall be elected, provided that if this is impracticable the executive body concerned

may appoint an officer in an interim capacity until such time as a successor can be duly elected.

VOTING

a) Voting at meetings of formations of the party shall be by way of a show of hands, unless the person presiding or majority of members present requires a secret ballot.

b) Decisions at such meetings shall be taken, save where the contrary is provided that the person presiding shall have a casting as well as a deliberative vote,

a) All funds received by an individual or individual on behalf of the Party shall vest in and be subject to the control of the National Executive Committee, which may prescribe the procedure to be adopted by any formation in regard to finance.

The National Executive Committee shall:-

i) Keep proper books of account

1) Annually appoint auditors, who shall be registered public accountants.

ii) Cause a balance sheet, and income and expenditure account to be prepared and certified by the auditors annually, and

iv) Have such balance sheet and accounts available for inspection by members of the national Congress, and may,

aa) Open and close any bank, building society or similar account provided that it shall designate at least two persons who shall have signing powers.

bb) Invest and re-invest any funds held by it, and

cc) Delegate to any other formation in the party the powers set out in sub-paragraph aa and bb hereof, or any part of such powers,

There shall be a finance committee which shall comprise:-

The Chairman, the leader, the National Chairman, the National vice-chairman, the Chairman

of the National Executive Committee, and up to three persons co-opted by the said persons,

and which shall exercise such powers as may be delegated to it by the said National

Executive Committee.

A Provincial Executive Council and a regional Council shall appoint a Chairman of Finance

and a Constituency Divisional Committee and a Branch shall appoint an Honorary treasurer.

PROPERTY : is

e b e

The Party may sell, purchase, hire, lease, mortgage, pledge or in any other way alienate or deal

with both movable and immovable property, and any immovable property, property acquired by the

Party shall be registered in its own name or, in the event of any law requiring it to be

registered in the name of the trustee on behalf of the party, in the name of one or more trustees

appointed for that purpose by the National Executive Committee, which may re-appoint such trustees

or fill an vacancy.

#### LEGAL PERSONALITY AND PROCEEDINGS

A

The Party shall be a corporate body under the common law, with universal succession, shall sue and be sued in its own name, and service shall, subject to legal rules, be issued and received by the Chairman of the National Executive Committee at the Head office of the Party. :

17) MENDMINT, MERGER, DISSOLUTION

The National Congress may amend this Constitution, or merge or dissolve the Party and consequentially dispose of assets, by vote of not less than two-thirds of the members attending that particular sittings, ;?Â»rtyvided that notice of such proposal shall have

been given to each branch not less than six weeks before that session of the Congress.

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HEAD OFFICE

zmuxmnwman&nz100!@nket Street

OPERATION OFFICE

650 KININ| STREET  
MOFOLQ VILLAGE

P.O. Bex 5975  
JOHANNESBURG 2000

Hagoeir Tel

SOWETOQ

834-8456

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PRESIDENT MA. E.B. TSHABALALA

Â« FROM @ M.E. SURTY & PARTNERS PHONE MNO. : Se@985

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\\:\_'\_ Kopena s uthwang â\200\234\_J)  
e 310 Mmutle Street  
Attention; Secretary/Directar..... : TLHABANE  
{ Dr Theuns Eloff Yol 03056  
..... : nn-nlvHlâ\200\234"â\200\234"â\200\234"." % Tel,â\200\231, (01466) 54402  
il L G Fax. (0142) 960g85  
FUAXT 049592004 25~05-1993

Bir/s,

#### Application for Participation

{a.Negotiating Btructures  
lour fax dated 24.05,'9, refers. Not been possible to meet your  
deadline ( noon, 25.05.'9s) with documents under 4 ~ 4,5 of your  
fax and especially particulars stated in your Questionsire to support  
our application, These are being processed and will be submitted in  
due course hopefully by courier at post of your choices, Their bmilk  
alone forbids Taxing,  
We draw cold comfort from thie fact that material referred to was  
earlier submitted to Four predaecessor =~ the Management Committee at  
Codesa, Our cower letter dated 2nd Msrch herewith attached ag well  
our reminder to fulti=-Party Forum Administration at Fax 011=590=24103,  
We did not receive the original letter before the Fax, We however  
&re able to reply as follows to the Questionnaire:

1Â« Date of formation of Paxty: July 1972

2+ Names of Office bearers etc: ( see 3heet attached)

5Â« Statement of political Intent/ ( Party Constitution under sepsarate  
cover, )

4elndicators of demonstrable support:See earlier correspondence attach  
ed;

S5eÂ¢ Activities+ wunder separate cover. Note alsgo correspondence.

6. Perticipation in other organisations: ( under separate cover )



7Â« Offices: As above,

84 Viability: but for irregular donations from sympathisers, dependent on members' subscriptions and Pledges

9Â« Area of operations: the Teyateyan, Maseru, Odi, Bafokeng, Mankwe, Madikwe, Ditsobotla, Molepolole, and the Orange Free State and the Rand in RSA. Elections contested in these regions 1972/1987

10. Rules of Membership: Chapter 4 & 4 of Constitution /2

Â« FROM : M.E. SURTY & PARTNERS PHONE NO. : S6@98S P&2 â\200\231

/2

NATIONAL

(â\200\231-\_aTOuuawe PARTY )

| SEOPOSENGWE PARTY

Dr Theuns Eloff 310 Mmutle Street

e )

Attention; ... S L S L ;  
Multi-Party Negotiating Process TLHABANE  
et s O BGTEp DA e e Tl es 524332  
390900000006 6000 X BONBEEH CEACALABEAIAT0NUGEEHINGHHOOOOG : Fax: (0142) 660985  
\* THE QUESTIONALRE 25.05. 493  
â\200\234a Office Bearers: elected at tiennial Convention = Dec 1992  
Name/a in Full Portfolio Neme/s8 in Full Portfolio  
V.T Bitora National liesder S.M IMatshego Dep Leader  
Bolly Koikei 2nd Deputy Leader Kenneth Lefifi Chairman  
M.J Dikole Deputy Chairman M.5 Moatishe Sec General  
Daswell Mabine Dep Secrebtary = George P Thabe Trasurer  
Steve Seitiso Director(Youth) Francis Molete Director(Women )

ddditional members: N.C Lefifi (Mrs), L.D Masike, B. Moulisi, J Moshupye (Chapl'  
5., Btatement of political Intent/ Party Manifemto: Principles/Objectives

A4, Support: Card Mambership ( mee par 4 of letter dated 24 Febr 1992 )  
Â¢ ActivitiessParliamentary Opposition 1972/19832. Read Motion of No Confidene  
ce - National Assembly (1982)  
5Â¢4 Legal battles with government of Bop culminating in SBupreme Court Judgment  
delivered 23/04/1987 on Internal Security Act, Act 32/1979 (separate Cover)  
542 Battle of Huhudi (Vryburg) against removal to Pudumoe (N.Cape)s A victory  
for remidents led by an NSP=local council ( 1973/78 )  
>e3 Armed confrontation with Bop police at Hubudi 20 June 1990@separate cover)  
& Participat;on/bther organisations: affiliete of Patriotic Fron and in fore-  
front of Campaign for Voter Education Â«Correspondence with Bop polics( S. C)

\* Extracts from files which we hoepe meet most of your requirements,

Your Compatriot, \*/' - il

( Leader )

s 4  
Å¥

: FSDM : M.E. SURTY & PARTNERS

0

. peer sir/s,

PHONE NO. : 96@585 .

N.5.P )

: )?AI 0142 wsE0ms 8

Attentiou: S.3 ven der MeTwe Ã@ï-\\201\_!gnzï-\\202ï-\\201ï-\\202ï-\\201g\_  
& Mac Maharaj

Codesut I.C box 307  
fsando

ret N.3.P Application for rapreseantation

ï-\\201erewitn further perticulars as per your correapondance dated  
0%/02/1992.

4. Date of formation of Party - 1972

2. Namea of office bearers i ( see below )

3, gtatement of political intent: Party's statement of Admm and  
Principles enclosed, â\\200\\230

4, Gard Membership: fluctuates Â¢rom 27 thousand in 1977, %o 17Â\$00/  
1987, to 15000 in 1960( tha lowest) Bising with tide of expec=  
vions and banning of FFP in Bopli4\$%)

4.4 Availsble figure ( 1990 ) 19320 and rising ateadily

4.2 Rellies ( national ) where and when pernitted between 1000 &

2000 ettendance :

5 Meetings: Branch and regional attendance + - 200 and 2000 ,  
latest at Atarelang %o more than nall capacity of 1000 even by  
police reports. This must exclude meetings with foreign emissa=  
ries: English, German, Newtealanders, Japanese on foreign policy  
i{ssues whilpebett apartheid.

5,1 Publications: random gelection of latest: Annexures (A) Electic

Manifesto ()3 (B) Press Relesases (2)

6.Participation: Base of NGP a bomeland., Strategy in the circumstar  
ces is: " infiltrations Â»

6.1 Parliament:(Bop) 19724 1982 inspite of harassment and intimidas  
tion. 1982/1987, the dark years of repression; Sixtyfive arrests  
and detentiona (including leader of Party) in onme region alone  
and within three days August 27a30/1986, discharged and sued gOV  
eÂ« out of Oourt settlemsnt. Abuse of electoral aystem leadsto lit  
gations, favouring Party in 3 .instances. Internsl security laws  
succesfully cheallenged in " supreme Courtâ\\200\\235 but lost on appeal %%  
govnt in Oourt of appeal of enclave.

6.2 Local Govnt and Oivics: NSP involved in voth(see Memorsndum te  
F.W de Xlerk snd supporting affidsvita.



+ FROM @ M.E. SURTY & PARTNERS PHONE NO. : Se@985

/2

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Offices: As above

Funding: By members subgeription and donation. Iittle external funding and no " employed personnel \*

Geogrephical Area: Bophuthatswana ( exclud{hg Thaba~Nchulp the Rend snd Western Tvl '

fules: See paragraphe | guapt 4 & 13 of the Gonabitution,

Names of office beares ( 1988/1992 )

1. National Leader Y.T Sifore 1.1 Dep Leader M.S5 Dikole  
2. National Cheirmen J D Motsepe 2.1 " OQhairmen K Dikobe  
" 3.National Sec S.M Matshego3.1 Ass Sec B.M Moatshe (6)  
National Council & Gommittee Members  
8. Metlhoko = Ditsobotla J Modisapodi - Ganyesa  
WeJ Seremane- Molopo : Be. Segale - Mankwe S (8)  
Lehobe M =Â« Odi P. Bunma = Odi â\200\230  
Chief F Baisitse = Taung O. Mabina - Mudikwe Tot (14)

Countersigned: f Â¢ Signed: =( Gen Secretary )  
Y. L/Sifcra B M Matshego 0

TO THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE CONFERENCE

Delegates of Traditional leaders from NATAL are demanding full participatory rights in this planning conference as is the case with other provinces.

The province of NATAL is due the most important province as it represents traditional leaders from various tribal groupings e.g. Zulu, Bhaca, Pondo, Sotho and Tongas.

Chief M.Z. Mlaba

b

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(T eeorSENGWE PARTY )

NATIONAL

{SEOPOSENGWE PARTY/

.. Knp.-mblm J

S \_  
- ggxetm/Dlrector i | 310 Mmutle Street  
e ntion Tl e e LA el s : \_  
b Multzparty Forum Admln = iy TLHA%&E  
HX 0â\200\230â\200\235-59â\200\231?â\200\231-2â\200\231105 ! Tel.: (01466) 54402-  
. ' P e | Fax: (0142) 960985  
- . Ll 2nd March 1993  
re-spplication for representation 3%  
â\200\230 â\200\230gt \_Multiparty Forum,

,\_B?r/Ã©â\200\231â\200\235 \_ L : 3 = :Background

Reference is made to:

(a) Qur Bubml8310n8 to the Hanagemant

Gommittee ( Codzsa I&II) dated 24 February 1992 in response %o thelr'

lnqulry ( Guide PIC 8G. i) of 3rd February;

e (b) Earlier correspondence dated 17/%2/91

'â\200\234fand reoponse thereto dated 30 April 1992 and we quote:

4, .... As BOOm as the â\200\230Msnagement Committee arrives at a decision, you

- will receive formal notlflcatlon thereof....". The laat communication

~ from Yeen . ' ' I

~ To'sey we are still waiting would be an understatement taking into

{ account parties of every shapa and hue especiuilly from the " homelandsâ\204ç

. appnrontly admitted to National Porums ( the Hnltlparty'Rlanning Con-

'Â»fenenee is recent example ). :

4 We renew our appplzcaxlon to the Hultlparty â\200\230Porum Admlnlstratzon even

- as late as now and for the following reasonsa:

; 1.~we ere the oldest of so-called homeland parties ( 1972 ) in opposi-

\_tion %o apartheid and all it has represented including " homeland "

..atruetures; , ; Âç :

2. As on eve of electlons in Bop 1977 our membership stood at over

...27000 ( twenty-seven thousand ) dropping to 15 695 in 1991 follow-

-, wing the coup mounted by the FPPP in 1988 when every political

â\200\230= person/orgnsisation was. thereafter labelled FFP and repressed. by

... the regime in Bop. The number has steadily picked up since especia-

U with the unbanning of politicel organisations in South Africe;

. 3..We are the only registered political party in Bop in opposition

4o the regime represented at Codesa and todsy in the Multipary

Porum Administration as indeed it was the only party through its

government reepesented at the Multiparty Planning Conference amd.z2 1

C R 25 â\200\234ERE ddles col F2FR : S

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to the exelusion of all political oppesitiea in the enclave.

We are asware that the Ohristian Democratis Party - the ruling Party in  
; Boâ\200\230lhaa aubm;ttad application for renrepresentation. We shall not oppose.

Lodtiie thalr democratic right to do so. We can only bope \*hat even

- they and. their government will concede our equal right to. representa-

~ tion at an all-party moQt. Our continued eleuaion in the cireumstances

mast , in ounr vlew, damean the representatlvenesa â\200\230of. the Multiparty

Forummxtsalf and thls will be untanable eerecxally with regard to

Bophuthatswana. : . - . :

- We are:a. l;ttle more than a woek trom Apr11 lat and waltmng

Iour compatr1gpgi~\201

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:

O PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC CHRISTIAN DARTY

Dr Theuns Elotf  
Multiparty Ncgotiations  
Kempton Park

Mcadowlands, 5th Fcbruary, {993

Decar Dr Eloff

We had intcended rcgistering for the ncgotiations which begun  
today; wmost unfortunatcly wc werc unable to get the nccessary  
information from thc other organizations, as we arc a relatively  
ncw organization.

Noevertheless we would appreciate it if you could include us in  
the ncxt session of thesc multiparty talks. Also, wo would  
apprceiate it very much if you could scnd us minutes of the  
present proccedings.

Thanking you for your kind attention and considering on this  
matter.

Yours Sincercly

K â\200\224

Dr. T.E. Bam  
President

Tostal Addrcss:  
185 Zonc 8  
Mcadowlands 1852  
Tel: 936-5384

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Eagle Nest Suite  
8th Floor Joribic House  
Jorissen & Biccard Streets

Braamfontein 2017 X ROXBAX XSUS  
Tel. (011)403-3466 2%  
FREEDOM OUR RIGHT Fax. 339-5860 REE LB REEE

26 March 1993.

PLANNING COMMITTEE

MULTIPARTY PLANNING CONFERENCE  
WORLD TRADE CENTRE

KEMPTON PARK

Dear Sirs,

RE:APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS.

The National Executive Committee of the People's Progressive Party hereby wish to inform the Planning Committee of the Multiparty Planning Conference of its intention to participate fully in the negotiation process. It had applied to CODESA but due to some persuasion from principal participants had to withdraw its application.

The People's Progressive Party was founded on the 9th February 1985 and was represented in Bophuthatswana Parliament by one MP, this number was increased to eight members of Parliament in 1987, just two years after its formation.

The Party has demonstratable support and membership across South Africa with its intensity based within Bophuthatswana. The Party convenes its National Congress yearly and continuously consult its membership within its structures (branches & regions), on national issues such as negotiations.

The Party subscribes to the Declaration of Intend as adopted by CODESA, and remains committed to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord. It agrees in principle with all decisions and agreements of CODESA subject to their rectification by all political organisations within the negotiations forum.

Our Party more than qualifies for admission in terms of minimum standards laid down and criteria set out for the acceptance of political organisations into the process.

Your favourable response in this regard will assist greatly in healing wounds inflicted by apartheid, enemies of democracy and fair play.

Yours in struggle

00 Wokdnimne

Jake Maseka.  
Secretary General.

CoC AN PolticalOrganisations!:

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Eagle Nest Suite

8th Floor, Jorbic House

Cnr Jorissen & Biccard Streets  
Braamfontein 2001 R.S.A.

= 32680 Braamfontein 2017

= R011 403-3468

Fax: (011) 339-5880

FREEDOM OUR RIGHT  
KGOLOLOSEGO TSHWANELOYA RONA

25th May 1993.

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
WORLD TRADE CENTRE  
KEMPTON PARK

DEAR SIR

RE: APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

Your letter dated 14th May 1993 refers:

1.1. The People's Progressive Party is indeed a Political Party prepared to participate as such in the first election under a Transitional/New Constitution. The Party was founded on the 9th February 1985 and was represented in Bophuthatswana Parliament by one M.P. in the same year this number increased to eight members in 1987.

1.2. The People's Progressive Party has a demonstrable support and membership in South Africa, Bophuthatswana included. The Party has supporters, members and branches in almost all regions of South Africa. The increase of members of Parliament from one in 1985 to eight in 1987 is an

indication that its membership is growing very fast.

D e S N e 7 77 LT V2 R SR PR A e,  
FREEDOM OUR RIGHT





### 1.3. The Party's admission in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process

will enhance the peaceful negotiating process as it subscribes to the Declaration of Intent as adopted by the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), and remains so committed to the letter and spirit of the National Peace Accord. It further recognises the importance of the presence of International Observer Missions in our country; therefore commit itself to giving them every possible assistance necessary to bring violence to an end

and to ensure peaceful transition to democracy.

Yours Sincerely

1A

J MASEKA  
SECRETARY GENERAL.

## ANNEXURE A

Answers to questions for Political Parties/Organisations applying to join the Multi-Party Negotiating Process.

1. The Party was founded on the 9th February 1985.

2. Names of office bearers and designation:

- (1) President Mr. P.I.R. Malebana-Metsing
- (ii) Deputy President 1st Mr. S. Motsoatsoa
- (iii) Deputy President 2nd Mr. R. Molefe
- (iv) Secretary General Mr. Jacob Maseka
- (v) Deputy Secretary General Dr. Martin Maphisa
- (vi) Organiser General Mr. Mika Moeti

3. Statement of Political Intend/Constitution  
See attached copy of the Party's Constitution.

4. The Party has a demonstrable support and signed up membership as indicated in 1.2 supra, the attendance at rallies is good as rallies are attended by signed up members and supporters. Bophuthatswana 1987 election results are indicative of performance although not conclusive.

## 5. ACTIVITIES

### Meetings

The Party convenes its National Congress yearly and continuously conduct meetings with its membership at branch and regional levels. The Party has problems of calling public meetings in Bophuthatswana due to lack of free political activity, but defiance meetings are being held.

### PUBLICATIONS

The Party makes use of television and radio for its publications.

### OTHER

None

## 6. PARTICIPATION IN OTHER ORGANISATIONS

### (i) PARLIAMENT

The Party was represented before its banning by eight members in Bophuthatswana Parliament during 1987.

### (ii) LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Party does not take part in any Local Government Elections.

### (iii) CIVIL

The Party supports the formation of Civic Associations throughout the country.

### (iv) OTHER

The Party participates in meetings of the Patriotic Front and the Mass Democratic Movement.

7. Office Address: Eagle Nest Suite

8th Floor Jorbic House

Jorissen & Biccard Streets

BRAAMFONTEIN 2017

Tel: (011) 403-3466

Fax: (011) 339-5860

The number of personnel employed by the Party is 10 (ten)

8. The Party is viable in regards to sustained funding

9. Geographical area of operations/support office is PWV, Western Transvaal and Northern Cape.

10. Rules of membership:

See attached Constitution.

RS S

C%3ONSâ\200\231Iâ\200\231Iâ\200\231Iâ\200\231UTION OF THE PEOPLEâ\200\231S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

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td

The name of the party shall be the PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY: herein referred to as the Party.

## 2. OBJECT

The object of the Party is to resolutely develop, sustain and represent the interests, welfare and security of all the people of South Africa, Bophuthatswana included.

## 3. LANGUAGES

The official languages of the Party shall be Setswana, English and Afrikaans.

## 4. PRINCTPIES

4.1 God is acknowledged as the ultimate authority in the destiny of nations, and to this end the Party shall strive to serve Him and the people of South Africa.

4.2 Full and equal rights for all South African citizens, wherever they may be, without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, religion or sex.

4.3 The right of all our people to maintain and develop their religious, language and cultural heritages.

4.4 The right of every individual to the protection of his life, liberty and property and access to the Juditcaiar=yiiin defence of these rights.

4.5 Equality of opportunity for a 1 citizens in the economy and development of a South African economy in which all people shall share. , :

4.6 the Party regards homelands independence as a denial and illegal deprivation of South African citizenship which is a birthright; the Party shall vigorously strive for an acceptable, negotiated, unitary, non-racial and democratic South Africa of which Bophuthatswana shall be an integral part.

4.7 The Party shall strive for the creation of economically and geographically viable and acceptable regional governments; elected democratically on non-racial basis.

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5.1 The policy of the Party shall be laid down by the decisions of the National Congress, the National Executive Committee

and the president who is the chief executive officer of the Party.

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## MEMBERSHIP

Any person who:

has attained the age of 18 years;

is a citizen of South Africa;

has subscribed to the principles of the Party;

has agreed to abide by the constitution of the Party;

has paid the prescribed affiliation fees;

may be admitted as a member.

The National Executive Committee may admit to membership to a person or category of persons who do possess the qualifications mentioned in par.6.1(a) and 6.1 (b).

The National Executive Committee has the right to grant or

refuse membership to any applicant and is not obliged to give reasons for doing so.

(a)

(b)

(c)

The National Executive Committee may at any time

grant, refuse, suspend or terminate the membership of any person.

A person whose membership has been refused in terms of subclause 6.3 of this constitution has the right to appeal to the National Executive Committee which shall

consider such appeal at its meeting after such appeal has been received.

Any decision taken by the National Executive Committee in terms of subclause 6.4(a) or subclause 6.4 (b) shall be final. ' '

A member ceases to be a member when:

(a)

(b)

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(d)

he has handed in his written resignation or openly declared his resignation; or

his membership has been suspended or terminated in terms of par.6.4 above; or

he is deemed no longer desirous of retaining his membership in terms of the procedures laid down by the National Executive Committee; or

he can no longer be traced, provided that he shall be  
automatically reinstated if he is traced and his  
membership has not been terminated or suspended in  
terms of subclauses 6.5(a), 6.5(b), or 6RISI((C) N o Rt NS

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when he has failed to pay his annual subscription fee

A member becomes a member of a branch in the area in which he lives, or if there is no branch in such an area.

The National Executive Committee may, upon application of a member, allow such a member to become a member of any branch of his choice, provided such a branch accepts him as a member.

The National Executive Committee may under exceptional circumstances, permit a member not to be attached to a specific branch. Such members may fall under the direct jurisdiction of the National Executive Committee.

Members of any national, regional authority or local or urban authority who are members of the Party are entitled to become ex officio members of a branch committee or the branch to which they belong.

No member shall be a member of more than one branch.

#### BRANCHES

In any district one or more branches may be established.

The

District Committee is empowered to established new

branches; if there is no District Committee the National Executive Committee will exercise such functions.



- (a)
- (b)
- (c)
- (d)

Each branch shall be under the direction of a Branch Committee, consisting of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, vice-secretary, organiser and three (39) other members.

The Branch Committee shall appoint one of its members as treasurer.

The Branch Committee shall be elected annually at the annual general meeting of the branch which shall be held on or before the 30th March of each year, failing which the District Committee shall be empowered, after consultation with the National Executive Committee, to convene a meeting at any other time with a view to the election of a Branch Committee.

LNt e e Ve I =ElNC Sl B A c a T ci OccuEEIngER I NN a N Branch Committee, the committee may elect or co-opt another member of the branch to act on his place.

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(a) The chairman of a Branch Committee is obliged to call a general meeting of the branch if one-fifth of the members of such branch requests to do so.

(b) the District Committee shall, upon failure of the chairman to convene a meeting, be empowered to take the necessary steps to convene such a meeting.

the Branch Committee shall promote the interests of the Party in its area, implement the directive of the National Executive Committee and of higher formations of the Party, and co-operate with the District Committee in the promotion of the interests of the Party in the district.

Hachibranchiain il a S a i serilctE S c hia B B el o -5 klT o R SR S represented in the National Congress and on such other bodies of the Party as is set out in this constitution.

#### DISTRICT COMMITTEES

There shall be a District Committee in respect of a given number of parliamentary constituencies in which the Party has one or more branches, provided that the National Executive Committee may, under exceptional circumstances, be responsible for more than one District Committee.

The District Committee shall consist of:

(a) a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, vice-secretary, treasurer, organiser and three (3) other members who are members of the Party in the district;

(b) members of Parliament and members of Regional Tribal Authorities in that District who are members of the Party.

Where there is only one Branch Committee it shall also exercise the functions of a District Committee.

The District Committee shall;

(a) In general supervise and direct the activities of the branches in the district.

(b) Carry out the directives and requests of higher formations of the Party.

(c) Serve as a liaison between branches in the district and between branches and the national formations as

the case may be.

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(d) Shall meet at least once (1) a month.

NATTIONAL CONGRESS

The supreme policy-making and governing body of the Party shall be the National Congress in session

(a) The National Congress shall meet at intervals of not less than once every year provided that the National Executive Committee shall be empowered to condone a

postponement of up to one year of a National Congress that is due.

(b) the National Executive Committee shall be empowered to take all decisions relevant to such National Congress including the date, venue and agenda; provided that the National Executive Committee shall convene a National Congress if this is required by not less than half of the total number of District Committees.

The president shall act as chairman of the National Executive Committee and as chairman of the National Congress.

The National Congress shall comprise of:

(a) The president and deputy president

(b) Members of the National Executive Committee of the Party

(c) All members of District Committees of the Party.

(d) Members of Parliament who are members of the Party

(e) Four (4) delegates from each branch who must be members of the Party

(f) Such other persons as may be invited especially by the president, provided such persons may not vote

The National Congress shall elect the president from candidates submitted by the National Executive Committee unless otherwise herein contained. The president shall be the chairman of the National Congress of the Party. The president will continue in office unless he resigns or dies or has been removed from office by a special resolution passed by three-quarters of a Special Congress called for that purpose:

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The National Congress may take decisions on aspects of policy, organisation and discipline, and all such decisions shall be binding on the Party, provided that it may not repeal or alter its own resolutions on constitutional and franchise policy unless such repeal or alteration is agreed to by not less than two-thirds of members attending that P anEitc Uilla St Ca e

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Save when the National Congress is in session, the policy-making and governing body of the Parcyalishiaii e the National Executive Committee.

The National Executive Committee shall comprise of:

(2a) The President and Chief executive officer

(b) Deputy-president

(c) General-secretary

(d) The Treasurer-general

(e) The Organiser-general

(E)ERChiile o PR Etn ol

(g) Deputy Chief of Protocol

(e PHbIMICHE VS e creE Aty

(i) recording Secretary

(J) Campaigning Director

(k) Chaplain General

(1) Chief Steward

(m) Thirteen additional members elected by congress

(n) Any additional members up to six (6) co-opted by the president who may serve as such for such period as the president may deem fit.

The National Executive Committee shall at its first meeting held after the National Congress elect a deputy-president who shall, if not already a member, automatically become a member of the National Executive Committee upon his election.

The National Executive Committee may establish sub-committees and unless otherwise provided for in this

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The National Executive Committee shall prescribe:

(1) "Regulations" for the selection of members as candidates for public election.

(ii) A set of "Practice and Rules" which will apply to every auxiliary movement including women's organisations and youth associations.

(iii) A set of "Practice and Rules" within which District Committees shall function.

(iv) A set of "Practice and Rules" within which Branch Committees shall function.

The National Executive Committee may not delegate these functions, but is empowered to vary these sets of "Regulations" and "Practice and Rules" for a U eirilichy. chictazlEhe,

11.6 The National Executive Committee shall decide whether or RO

| election in any electoral area.

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The National Executive Committee may convene additional meetings of the National Executive Committee at such time and place as it shall decide, or as the president may decide.

The National Executive Committee shall meet at least once every three months.

The majority of the members of the National Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum.

Office bearers shall execute any other business of the National Executive Committee in between meetings of the National Executive Committee.

Each year in which no National Executive Congress is to be held, the National Executive Committee shall invite District Committees to the National Executive Committee to submit resolutions coneceEnNn P ClaICIE organisation, finance and discipline.

The National Executive Committee may take decisions on the resolutions submitted and such decisions shall be binding on the Party provided that the National Executive Committee may not repeal or alter the Party's constitution and franchise pollitcyiamEand provided further that such policy decisions relate to new matters and not the changing of existing policy



formulated by a national congress.

11.9 The President shall allocate positions and responsibilities to each N.E.C member; and shall have the power to reshuffle such positions whenever necessary

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#### OFFICE BEARERS

The president shall:

(2) be the chief executive officer and leader of the Party in parliament; and represent the Party nationally and internationally;

(b) may, save when the National Congress, the National Executive Committee or the National Council shall be the framework of the Party, interpret and make policy of the Party provided that in respect of policy-making he shall be limited to decisions which are urgently required in respect of new matters;

(c) frame programmes of action to implement the principles, objectives and policies of the Party;

(d) in general act as spokesman for the LPN 2

12.1 Convene, organise and preside at sittings of the National

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Executive Committee and National Congress, and shall preside at national functions held by the Party in public

(a) be primarily entrusted with and be responsible for the organisation and administration of the Party, and for the development and maintenance of a high degree of efficiency in the organisation and administration of the Party.

(b) implement the directives in this regard of the National Executive Committee and of the National Congress.

(c) perform such other functions and duties and exercise such powers as may be assigned to him within the provisions of the constitution;

Ipso facto, be a member of any council, committee or sub-committee established in terms of this constitution and shall be entitled to attend meetings of such councils, committees and sub-committees as a full member thereof.

#### DEPUTY PRESIDENT

the deputy president shall:

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be nominated or appointed by the president in consultation with the National Executive Committee and shall serve for such time or period as it shall be so determined by the National Executive Committee;

liaise, communicate and correspond with the government and its formations on behalf of the PaEEySon i nStElc tilonsEand directives of the president; and

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13.3 perform with excellence such other duties and functions as may be necessary or as directed by the National Executive Committee.

13.4 The national secretary shall cause the name and address of the deputy president to be registered with the electoral officer as soon as he is so nominated or appointed.

#### 14. SECRETARY-GENERAL

The secretary-general shall:

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be the chief administrative officer of the Party, overseeing all the other secretariat of the Party.

in consultation with the president control full-time staff and take into account Party assets of the Party.

in supervision and consultation with the first deputy secretary, who for the purpose of this clause shall be termed recording secretary, keep and cause to be kept minutes of the National Executive Committee, the National Congress and any special congress of the Party.

in consultation with the president and/or the second deputy secretary, who for the purpose of this clause shall be termed the publicity secretary, be responsible for issuing statements on the stand of the Party's principles, policy and objectives of the Party; this clause shall not affect any constitutional provisions that may pertain to the right or rights of the president to make or issue such statements.

be entrusted with the control of Party publications and other material pertaining to accurate information and good relations among Party branches and other formations of the Party; and -

in consultation with the president issue notices of meetings, prepare and see to the distribution of the agenda and all relevant documents for such meetings, prepare venues and/or accommodation of such meetings or congresses.

#### 15. ORGANISER-GENERAL

The organiser-general shall:

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be the chief organising officer of the Party, assisted  
by two (2) deputy organisers, who for the purposes of  
this clause shall be termed the campaigns director and  
the chief steward, being responsible for the growth of  
the Party membership and/or political growth by  
organising, educating, supervising all political

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activities of the Party and further creating functions which will serve as incentives within all Party formations.

be directly answerable to the president in all matters pertaining to the Party's quantitative development;

enlist and supervise district and branch organisers; maintain and enforce all strategies of the Party as directed by the president with excellence and

dedication;

supervise, delegate powers and duties of fund raising to other Party organisers;

carry out any other duty as may be delegated from time to time by the National Executive Committee.

TREASURER-GENERAL

The treasurer-general shall:

be the senior accountant of the Party iswiththisthelchjie & responsibility for the progressive financial administration and use by all the formations of the Party;

(a)

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(b)

constantly research and recommend suitable methods of

financial management to any formation of the Party;

convene and chair the meetings of the National Finance Committee in the absence of the president:

have balance sheets and accounts available for inspection and information for the National Finance Committee after every three (3) months;

present an audited balance sheet to every final meeting of the National Executive Committee pralon to the sitting of the National Congress or any time when required by the National Executive Committee;

supervise the implementation of all financial decisions taken by the National Executive Committee and /or the National Finance Committee;

ensure discipline and legality in all the financial handlings and dealings by all the formations of the Party;

keep proper and up-to-date account of all the financial documents of the Party, and cause all such documents to be kept in safe custody;

determine in co-operation with the president the remuneration of full-time employees of the national office of the Party;

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(c) in consultation with the president appoint auditors, who shall be registered public accountants and whose appointment is subject to conformation by the National Executive Committee of the Party.

The Treasurer-general shall be assisted by a deputy treasurer-general

#### PROTOCOL

There shall be a chief of protocol in the Party appointed by the president to serve in the observance and maintenance of official formalities and etiquette with the Party and public gatherings.

The chief of protocol shall be assisted by a deputy who shall also be appointed by the president.

Members of the protocol shall serve as such at the pleasure of the president for such period or periods as the president may determine.

Members of the protocol shall be answerable to the president only, unless otherwise provided for in this constitution.

Members of the protocol shall be on par with senior members of the National Executive Committee so as to make it possible for them to execute their duties efficiently.

#### CHAPLAIN-GENERAL

The chaplain-general shall:  
be the spiritual guardian of the People's Progressive Party

be appointed by the President in consultation with the National Executive Committee, and shall serve for such



period and time as it may please the National Executive Committee.

be responsible for all religious ceremonies and activities of the Party and shall further liaise with all religious and spiritual workers both within South Africa and Abroad.

be entrusted with moral upliftment and spiritual growth of all Party members.

#### NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

There shall be a National finance Committee comprising the:

(a) president as chairman

(b) deputy president

- (c) treasurer-general who shall be deputy chairman
- (d) secretary-general and
- (e) organiser-general.

19.2 The National Finance Committee shall:

(a) manage and control the finance affairs of the Party,  
subject to the National Executive Committee,

(b) (i) be empowered to open and close any banking,

building society or similar account and to  
designate at least two (2) persons who shall have  
signing powers in the operation of such accounts  
provided that the two signatories shall be  
required for any withdrawals or debts made  
against these accounts.

(ii) invest and re-invest any funds held by it;

(iii) be empowered to raise loans and overdrafts.

19.3 All funds received or collected by any formation or  
individual on behalf of the Party shall vest in the  
National Executive committee according to procedures laid  
down by the National Executive Committee.

20. DISCIPLINARY COURT

20.1 (a) The disciplinary court shall consist of the deputy  
president as chairperson and the first deputy  
secretary, two (2) other members of the National  
Executive Committee and the chairperson of the Party  
caucus appointed by the president.

(b) The president may dissolve the said court at any other  
time and cause its powers to vest with the National  
Executive Committee for such period as he may deem fit  
or such time as a new one has been so constituted

20.2 The court shall be convened by the chairperson upon notice  
of at least seven (7) days in writing or otherwise.

(2) the court shall submit all findings, judgement,  
resolutions and recommendations to the National  
Executive Committee within fourteen (14) days of  
conclusion.

(b) the decision of the disciplinary court shall be binding  
provided that its decision is not in contravention of  
the Party constitution, policy and franchise.

(c) decisions of the disciplinary court can be appealed in  
writing to the National Executive Committee provided  
that the National Executive Committee shall hear such  
an appeal in its first sitting thereafter;

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(d) appeal must be lodged within fourteen (14) days after judgement.

#### VACANCIES IN THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE

In the event of the permanent disability of any such office bearer during his term of office, a successor shall be elected forthwith by the body by whom he was elected, provided that whenever this proves impracticable, the National Executive Committee may appoint somebody else in

an acting capacity until such time as a successor can be duly elected.

In the temporary absence or resignation of one of the above senior officers, the president may nominate a member to act on behalf of the senior officer concerned, unless a deputy has been elected by the formation concerned.

#### NOMINATION COURT

For the purpose of the parliamentary general elections or by-elections, the Nomination Court of the Party shall consist of Branch Committee -, District Committee members, NEC members and members of Parliament for that district elected by the Party (10 recording secretaries so delegated by the National Executive Committee).

(a) the Nomination Court shall seat at a time, date and place arranged by the District Committee upon notice of not less than seven (7) days to all parties.

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(c) The decision of the Nomination Court is binding.

(d) the National Executive Committee may repeal any decision of the nomination on appediSEbyaaais peEithion signed by not less than half the sitting members.

(e) The National Executive Committee may or can recede ; nomination Â©f a candidate found not meeting requirements of the Electoral Act and /or other requirements and shall not be obliged to give reasons.

Candidates shall be elected by branches provided that each branch in its general meeting can elect one member of the Party for candidacy, who may be a member of nay other

branchiio CEEEIC I A= &y il it e e et or constituency.

(a) The District Committee shall eliminate not more than

twenty (20) of the candidates elected by branches within its own jurisdiction.

(b) The National Executive Committee shall recommend not more than three (3) candidates on merit who are not subject to elimination by the District Committee (e

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election subject to clause 22.1 (e)

The Party nomination court shall eliminate candidates recommended by District Committee to not more than

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The National Executive Committee can or may in the best interest of the Party exercise such powers, functions and duties assigned to nomination courts.

PROCEDURES

At all meetings of the Party the following rules shall apply:

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If the chairperson of a properly constituted meeting is absent, the meeting shall elect from its members a peEsSon s toMpresildeliat i tha tilme e Eitne IPECVAIG N Rt e

caselof N the NGt ilonai N Congresssaandiche s Natilonal Executive Committee meetings, the president shall

nominate an acting chairperson when he deems it necessary.

the chairperson of the meeting other than the

Nomination Court shall have both a deliberative and  
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have one (1) vote.

The decision of the chairperson shall be final on all  
matters of procedures.

The quorum of any meeting shall be one-half of the  
members entitled to attend and vote, notwithstanding

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clause 24.

Minutes of any meeting, unless the contrary be proven,  
shall be regarded as a true and correct record of the  
proceedings if signed by the chairman of the meeting  
in question or of the next meeting of such body.

Notice of meetings shall be deemed to have been properly  
given if:

(a)

(b)

Oral or written notice is given not less than at least  
seven (7) days prior to the day at which the meeting  
shall take place unless otherwise provided for in this  
constitution, a written notice posted or  
delivered at this recorded address;

Failure to give notice by the secretary or the non-  
receipt thereof shall in no way invalidate the  
proceedings of any meeting.

It is the responsibility of every member to ensure  
that his branch is informed of his address and the

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of every branch secretary to keep the District Committee  
informed of names and addresses of its members; and twice every  
year  
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all District Committees will be required to file returns  
the National Executive Committee of name and addresses as

as office bearers of various branches.

There shall be branch elections held every syearsnotlater  
than the 30th March, of Branch Committee members.

District elections of the District Committees shall be held  
every year not later than 30th September;

All elections shall be chaired by a designated member of a

higher formation - in the case of the branch elections the

District Committee designation and the District of the  
National Executive Committee designation.

Every member of the Party elected or nominated for an  
occupation or office with the National Executive Committee  
of the Party shall before taking office with the National  
Executive Committee or attending any meetings of the said  
Executive and/or any sub-committee thereof, make and/or  
subscribe to an oath of loyalty and commitment

Any senior member of the National Executive Committee will  
in the execution of his duties by delegation at any place  
and at any time serve as proxy of the delegated authority  
and powers vested on the National Executive Committee and  
the president.

A person shall cease to be a committee member of any  
formation when he/she absents himself/herself from three  
(3) normal consecutive meetings without a valid reason:

in case of such a person being a member of the National  
Executive Committee the president, through the secretary-  
general shall inform him/her in writing of his/her  
membership cessation of the National Executive Committee.

#### VOTING

Subject to the provisions of this Constitution and the Rules of the

meetings of all formations of the Party shall be by  
way of show of hands, unless the person presiding or  
one-tenth of members require a secret ballot.

Decisions at such meetings shall be taken by a majority of  
members present, subject to the provisions of this  
constitution, the person presiding at such meeting  
shall have a casting vote as well as an ordinary vote.



## 25. INDEMNIFICATION

25.1 (a) No president or National Executive Committee member shall be answerable for, or liable to make good any loss occasioned or sustained by any cause, howsoever arising, save and except such loss as shall arise from or be occasioned by his own personal or wilful dishonesty. No president or National Executive Committee member shall be

| liable for any act of dishonesty committed by  
| another president or National Executive Committee

i member unless he or she was privy thereto. The

; president and National executive Committee

i members shall be indemnified out of and by the

| Party against all claims and demands . of

whatsoever nature, that may be made upon them  
| arising out of the exercise or purported exercise  
of any of the powers, conferred upon them by

; the National Executive Committee should

| Committee should bonafide make any payment to any

i - person or persons assumed by them to be

: thereto entitled hereunder, and shall be

consequently found that some other person, or

i persons be entitled thereto, under the

| constitution, the National Executive Committee or

? The trustees shall nevertheless not be

|

responsible for the monies so paid.

(b) In the professional execution of any investments and powers vested on members of the National Executive Committee and individuals thereof, no member shall be liable for any loss or damage resulting from any improper investment, made in good faith, shall be sought, as long as such a member shall have sought professional advice before making such investment; or for the negligence; or fraud of any kind, either committed by himself or any of his agents employed by him or by any other member of the National Executive Committee; provided reasonable supervision shall have been exercised; except in the case of wilful and individual wrong doing, wrongful omission and

intentional fraudulent activity, in which case liability shall be sought.

## 26. SYMBOLS OF THE PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

26.1 The emblem, uniform and symbols of the People's Progressive Party shall be protected against abuse by members and non-members of the Party; by the president and the National

x Executive Committee.

26.2 Nobody shall be allowed to trade or market ' /lorawatEh symbols and/or items containing and/or depicting the emblem of the Party without prior authority of the president and/or National Executive Committee of the said poditiicail party, and such authorization shall be given in writing.

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All symbols or items containing the emblem of the Party shall be sold by the National Executive Committee in order [EoM A Sl fund SEREEo I El el P SEEvalan d o BE DU b IsIC lS e AR d

popularise the Party.

Anyone found marketing or dealing illegally in or with symbols, emblems or items of the Party shall be liable for prosecution in any court of law.

The emblem of the Party shall be a black/gold broadside-up triangle with a blue inside background, a black/gold and white eagle in flight; five golden stars on the sides of ichelie agilefiandiibe Fow, S butinotiabov e = Wi thisthesdmo o/ Y EREFNHOMESOUR SR GHT "KGOLOLOSEGO TSHWANELO YARONA" inscribed in white letters on a straight base at the bottom narrow angle of the triangle.

LEGAL PERSONALITY AND POWERS

e NP At s hai IS H Sl BN C o Ep o LA e b o c AW ltla SR l) e ==/ ) succession, shall sue and be sued in its own name, and shall issue and receive service from and by the president of the National executive Committee at the national office Q Rt P ARGt Vil

The Party may own, purchase, sell, hire, lease, mortgage, piliedgeforainise nviothermiwayaaaisien a t oMo ralld e a ittt b ot h

movable or immovable property and shall be registered in its own name or, in the event of any law requiring it to be registered in the name of a trustee on behalf of the Party, in the name of one or more trustees. The National Executive Committee may dismiss or reappoint such trustees and fill any vacancy at any time.

#### AMENDMENT, MERGER AND DISSOLUTION

The National Congress may amend this constitution, or merge or dissolve the Party and consequently dispose of assets by vote of not less than 75% of the members attending that particular sitting, provided that notice of such proposal shall have been given to each branch not less than two (2) months before that session of the congress.

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N.E.C MEMBERS (OFFICE BEARERS)  
et MIBVIDERS

PRESIDENT: P.I.R. MALEBANA-METSING  
DEEBULNVSPRESHD KNS . S. MOTSOATSOA  
'SECRETARY GENERAL: | ) J. LAMOLA  
TREASURER GENERAL: E. NYAMAKAZI  
ORGANISOR GENERAL: MM O E TR  
CAMPATIGNS DIRECTOR: MBS PRSI B RIEN (ORBHIE  
CHIBHENC SRR OROCEIH: MISS. R. KASIENYANE  
RECORDING SECRETARY: MRS. Z. TUMAGOLE  
PUBLICITY SECRETARY: MISS. G. MAHLANGU  
CHAPLAIN GENERAL: REV. W. MOLEFE  
CHIEF STEWARD: MR. R. MAKGALE  
DERPUTYSCHTERNOREPROTOCOL: ! S. BOPALAMO  
YDEPUTY CHIEF STEWARD: L. MODISE

DEPUTY TREASURER GENERAL: L. MONGOAKETSE

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REFORM PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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s founded in 1974. boinz the first multi-racial party in  
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MAR 29 14:34 ROMALALL CARTAGE

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4 ROMALALL (LEADER)



NAME OF PARTY: SINDAWONYE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1. Date of Formation of Party/Organisation: 9th September 1989

2. Names of Office Bearers and Designation

a) President: MR M G MAHLANGU

b) Vice President: MR B J SKOSANA

c) National Chairman: MR K;S MAHLANGU

d) Treasurer: MR A N MSIZA

ADDITIONAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS:

S M SKOSANA

K S MABENA

S [ NKCANE

G MASEMOLA

F J MTSWENI

J LEDWABA

J NOKO

STATEMENT OF POLITICAL IDENTITY / CONSTITUTION: Regionalism

1

INDICATOR OF DEMONSTRATED SUPPORT: +- 60 % Kwandebele and other

areas mentioned in paragraph "9" below.

i

ACTIVITIES: Political {

PARTICIPATION IN OTHER ORGANISATIONS:

a) Fecoirusa

b) Insika Cultural Movement

c) Zenzeleni Women's Organisation

OFFICES:

P.O. Box 82

Kwa-Mhlanga

1022

Physical:- Bultfontein

Mkobola

KWANDEBELE

ARE YOU VIABLE IN REGARD TO SUSTAINABLE FUNDING? Yes

GEOGRAPHICAL AREA OF OPERATION: SUPPORT, OFFICES, ETC,

Kwandebele, Moletlane, Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Highveld and Eastern Transvaal.

Extended Page

10. RULES OF MEMBERSHIP:

â\200\230 Constitution available 1f required

THE THIRD FORCE NATIONALIST PARTY:

is engaged in a dramatic negotiations to fully participate in negotiation process in "SOUTH AFRICA"-2nd a fully blown election campaign is underway now. '

The THIRD FORCE is now seeking a Constitutional agreement in compromise to establish a "Confederal republican state form of Government in South : CSocially :

We as "THIRD FORCE" view the system of the Confederation as preferably the best form suitable for this country, due to diverse ethnic and Tribal diversities for reconciliation and a spirit of accommodation.

We as the "THIRD FORCE NATIONALIST PARTY", having been a part of the Liberation Front for many years just like other Political parties, by Confederation, we should not be viewed as either allied or allied. We WSS BT CHPIST Sor ST NKATH AOS A grouping, as against a "Unitary State-ANC-Tripartite Alliance".

The THIRD FORCE... may in time negotiate with the "Tripartite Alliance" to reach agreement-compromise for a "Confederal form of a Constitutional system, for the present and future stability of our land: as the Constitution sought by the majority of our People now-not because it causing Ethnic polarization of Nationalities versus "UNITED Country. LHEResiiancela ga insbMin ity eiryas ot e Nt gaining momentum-may even become more explosive probably violent civil war-the horror syndrom.

IF we talk of the Confederation as not a new form of separate development "APARTHEID in new form-we propose a Confederation with a "CENTRAL GOVERNMENT of NATIONALITIES OF equal representatives-as because even a "FEDERAL Constitution without a Central Government will be virtually dangerous for this land.

The election and Constitutional reconstruction. The high-tension of the election date, the Confederation/Federation Unitary State-a FORM OF compromise should be reached sooner than later, considering setting an election date-this should be taken into total consideration: the forced landing may be incalculably with grievous consequences of the extreme order at this stage.

however, at the same time, the speeding up of the Process should not be taken a "HOSTAGE" forward now,

Election campaigns should begin in earnest now... be in pace with negotiations: thus, commit in the "THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE", in order to Oil the wheel of History set rolling as speedily as possible, the

I TECHNICAL committee, should serve as a bridging committee that begins to, or with the disbursement of election-Budget funds directly to the political Parties at once, and the election campaign to continue unhindered now.

gives the wisdom of the society by BONGLE T Seom Banks, Raise Monies from ABROAD, to speed up Democracy now.

3) The Technical Committee as a Steerline for the National Transitional Executives in the interim

The "TBVC states, and the, Independent Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland should be brought under Confederation/Confederal Constitution, as a wayward to a "SUPER WELFARE STATE-and SUPER INDUSTRIAL HEGEMONY".

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TF.CENTRALIST COMMITTEE  
COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP,

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Multiparty Negotiations Forum  
World Trade Centre  
JOHANNESBURG

REPRESENTATION OF NATAL AND OTHER TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN THE  
NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS, STATUS OF THE KWAZULU GOVERNMENT  
DELEGATION AND TIME-FRAMES FOR NEGOTIATION

This minute addresses the following issues:

The representation of Natal traditional! leaders in the negotiations  
process;

The overseeing by a Judge-President of the selection, under certain  
circumstances, of each delegation representing traditional leaders  
from the four provinces: and

The status of the KwaZulu Government in the negotiations process.

O z

2, The Issue relating to Natal traditional leaders has to be resolved before the meeting of the Multi-party Negotiations Forum scheduled for 1 and 2 April. in the interest of fairness and justice, I implore the sub-committee of the Facilitating Committee to give this matter priority attention. Failure to do so may bring the Integrity and impartiality of all concerned into doubt. The regional problems in Natal must not be allowed to permeate the structures created at the national level, and in view of the participation of traditional leaders from the other provinces at the Multi-party Planning Conference a

decision on the position of those from Natal cannot be delayed any longer.

3. On the 5th of March comments made from the chair by Mr M.C Ramaphosa and a response to Mr Ramaphosa's remark by Dr Ben Ngubane left those at the M.P.P.C. in no doubt that the KwaZulu Government had attended the Conference in its own right despite earlier indications that it may have been representing the Natal traditional leaders. The sub-committee should also look into this issue. If KwaZulu is going to be represented by both the KwaZulu Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party then other homelands ought to be placed on the same plane. In other words this principle, if it is acceptable to all those involved in negotiations, should also be extended to other homelands such as Kangwane, Gazankulu, etc. This matter, too, should be resolved before the 1st and 2nd of April 1983.

Q 3

4, it has come to my attention that some chiefs in certain provinces are not happy about the system adopted regarding the selection of those who will represent them at negotiations. I recommend that in those provinces in respect of which there are complaints, the Judges-President of those provinces should be asked to oversee the selection process so as to ensure that it is fair to all concerned. Transkei is of the view that the provincial system of representation should not be reviewed as some chiefs are not aligned to any representative

body of chiefs.

5. The negotiations process cannot continue ad infinitum. Codesa cost the poor taxpayers a fortune. We must therefore have clearly stipulated time-frames. These time-frames must be linked to the holding of an election for a constitution-making body. In our view as Transkei the discussions of the 1st and 2nd of April should not only deal with the transition process but should also culminate in the setting of a date for the election of those who are to constitute a constitution-making body. South Africans need to know now where they are being led to. Are they being led to another deadlock similar to that we had at Codesa? Are they being used by others to foster and promote goals and aims presently unknown to them? What Transkei is saying, therefore, is that agreement on the whole objective of the present negotiations will have to be reached right at the outset. Our people cannot afford another expensive round of negotiations without prior agreement on their primary objective. The schedule of all meetings will then be worked out with the date of the elections

in mind.

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I request that these recommendations be forwarded to the sub-committee

6.

of the Facilitating Committee for consgicaration.

Yours faithfuily

MAR 25 '93 18:28 DEPT CHIEF MINISTER

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- REQUEST FOR ADDITIONAL SEATS TO  
TRANSCAAL TRADITIONAL LEADERS.

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|  
We are writing you this letter to express our dissatisfaction concerning  
the five seats allocated to us. In view of the fact that the Transvaal as  
a province has got more than five self-governing states with several  
traditional leaders, we humbly request the powers that be to increase  
the present number of seats in order to provide our traditional  
leadership with sufficient representation it deserves.

,  
We should not be seen as intruders upon your challenging and difficult  
job of allocating seats to various political groupings, but believe us,  
although we are not encouraging the representation of traditional  
leaders along ethnic or tribal lines, when we expose our dissatisfaction  
concerning the number of seats given to us. |

We shall be most grateful to you for the additional seats, and take the  
opportunity once again to thank you for the past kindnesses.

Yours faithfully

REPRESENTATIVES OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS.

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J. GOVENDER

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With regards fo our absence at Codesa and in view of the facts  
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aforementioned it is our conclusion that parties within tae White  
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a Party within the Indian Community that wishes to make  
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2 PiPeDlLEn BiE BEem A Codese ., Thus our PreJeeilion.  
el letter dated 30-04-1992 from the tlanagement Committee  
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a eoaelusicn we 2pe Neeprsll pae The Preseont Â°F Buules geeEionpain s  
the planning Committee who decide and make tne final decisions

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with regards to the as Proposed New and Democratie Soutitl ffrica

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Asian Front, as as been with the HManagement committee of Codesa.

May it be wisely acknowledged and remembered that with regards  
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oirTereEl Oy peynielpanion, Jey 16 alse 98 wilskly eeknolosizes -  
and remembered that without a representationâ\200\231 from the United  
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e Lo Demeeravie Soutan MPries, &t least Lo this peeple O B  
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Wil aon 0 ket our wash Peal NegeBlARlons PRILAS o

Your humble co-operation and kind assistanece in this matter of  
great importance will be greatly appreciated and may ourxind

and sincere efiflorts in the hope of Creating a Trie New.Democratic  
Seuta Africe be met ia VWals.

Wit manyasenanlds

Yours ginecrely

J o â\200\230 FOR UNITED ASIAN FRONT

LEADER

Please find attached previous correspondence.

We humbly and peacefully request to enter into negotiations.

M.try of Constitutional Development A : Ministerie van Staatskundige OntwikKeling  
and of Communication ; o en van Kommunikasie

REFERENCE: 3-A5/5/1 Private Bag X9123  
TELEPHONE: (021) 462 1441/2/3 CAPE TOWN  
8000

Mr ] Govender  
30 Dip Day Close 1933 03~ 22  
Clayfield '  
PHOENIX

4051  
Dear Mr Govender  
PARTICIPATION AT MULTI-PARTY TALKS

With reference to your letter dated 24 February 1993, I would like to make  
the following comments.

It is still the Government's policy that negotiations should be as inclusive as  
possible. However, it is not for the Government to decide on your  
participation in the Multiparty Forum. Therefore, application for admission  
should be made to:

DB 6 fiff

Multiparty Forum Administration  
P O Box 307

ISANDO

1600

Yours sincerely

B!

MINISTER OF ~ CONSTITUTIONAL  
COMMUNICATION

-

J. GOVENDER  
SLORUIS P CIPAY R GROSIE  
CLAYFIELD

PHOENTIX

4051

NATAL

12 FEBRUARY 1992  
THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA  
Poll, BOXZOF  
ISANDO  
1600

SIR

RE: RIGHT WING PARTICIPATION

With neference to Lettern of 07-02-972 from theHONOURABLE the MINISTER OF  
CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, and with negarnds to the absence of RIGHT  
WING PARTICIPATION and the uniteasonable hegusal of the CONSERVATIVE  
PARTY %o panticipate at CODESA. We the founden Leadens. and members 04  
the UNITED ASIAN FRONT anre hopeful zhatin this nespect and in the Light  
0 the belicf that the negotiation process should be as inclusive as  
possible; that the MANAGEMENT COMMLTTEE OF CODESA will not be

hesitant in securing-a nepresentation Â\$rrrom the UNITED ASIAN FRONT.

We at Zhe UNITED ASIAN FRONT, as you will notice from our past  
cornespondence to the Goverment and variouws othen Leadens, anre a  
willing participant with negands o self deteamination and had sought  
participation in the creating Of a new SOUTH AFRICA as early as 1990.

We refern Letten of 02 Augusit 1990 to the Honourable the STATE PRESIDENT.

In this negand and in the absence 0Â\$ Right Wing Representation grom  
Parties within the Indian Community at CODESA, we do hereby most humbly -  
apply for admission to CODESA with the sincerest hope of assisting in

the negotiation process .in the cheating of a\new blessed democratic South  
Afrnica.

In conclusion we wish the MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA to be furtherenr  
Lngormed that we at the UNITED ASIAN FRONT are even more deteaminid mone  
sendous and more conceaned than the CONSERVATIVE PARTY ox any othexr

Right Wing Oganisation in the country with hegands to self deteamination;  
this is why our participation is Of the utmost imponrtan L4108 onty  
because it will Â\$ilf a vaccum but WALL also project the Views and plans

to self deteamination. ; Â¢

Thanking you and most humkg we antcidpate an'aaaty and favounrable nÃ©Ã©ponbe;

YOURS SINCERELY

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wm25Â¢1KUIQCJQJY{.. FOUNDER: LEADER FOR UNITED ASIAN FRONT.

Please find attached various correspondence with regands to our concern  
and serniousness in participating with nregands to sely deteamination.



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E/;nnce

Mr ] Govender

30 Dip Clay Close  
- Clayfield  
PHOENIX

4015

Dear Mr Govender

Your letter of 15 December 1991 to the State President has been referred to me for attention.

The Government appreciates your concern for a new and democratic South Africa and has taken note of your concern for rightwing participation in CODESA. In this regard agreement was reached by CODESA 1 that the Management Committee of CODESA should consider the question of other participants, i.e. other political parties, political organisations and administrations not represented at CODESA 1. It was agreed that the Management Committee should attend to applications by other organisations to join CODESA, as well as other means of expanding participation in CODESA. It is therefore not the Government who decides on participation in CODESA. However, the Government believes that the negotiation process should be as inclusive as possible and suggests that you apply for admission to. the Management Committee of CODESA at P O Box 307, Isando, 1600.

Yours sincerely

G VAN N VILJOEN  
MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
E/185



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Mr J Govender , 30 el 1999  
UNITED ASIAN!FRONT

30 DIP Clay Close

Clayfield Â¥

PHOENIX '

4051

Dear Sir g

We refer toglhe application by your organlsatlon to be admitted  
as partlcipant INECODESAE

The matter :came e EeEE con5ldnratl0n at the meeting of the  
Management Committee held on 27th AprERSRIIS 0PI nRC o nsild C rstn e  
matter note was also taken of the fact that we have not received :  
a reply from your organisation to the questionnaire that was sent 27  
@UE 18 WEUlq 5

We regret to inform you that after careful consideration the  
Management Committee has decided not to admit your organlsatlon  
AISEGESRININ S TR I A S Â© O DFL ST

May we draw to your attention Eoely Ehulg ceeslishilen dees nee  
preclude your making written submissions to any of the five  
Working Groups with regard to matters relevant to thelr Terms of  
Reference.

With kind regards.

ad

Secretariat

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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA  
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PO Box 307, Isando, 1600, South Africa.  
Telephone (011) 397-1198/99. Fax (011) 397-2211  
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f 711NN

21 May 1992

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Dear Sir/Madam

YOUR LETTER/SUBMISSION TO CODESA

We acknowledge receipt of your letter/submission dated 12 May 1992 and advise that it has been passed on to 37\200\230/

the relevant Code's: a body for consideration/action.  
]

Thank you for your interest in Codesa.

Yours faithfully

CODESA SECRETARIAL SERVICES

\200\230e Sl HugiF @SPOA/S\200\231C\

° s  
CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

PO Box 307, Isando, 1600, South Africa.  
Telephone (011) 397-1198/99. Fax (011) 397-901 {

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THE DEPUTY CHIEF: CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICE

APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN MULTI-PARTY PLANNING  
CONFERENCE

By direction | attach the above-mentioned latter for your Information, please,

Ntk

H VAN DER WESTHUIZEN  
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY AR WVC WÃ©  
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Ministry of Constitutional Development A 46â\200\231) Ministerie van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling

and of Communication i e en van Kommunikasie

Privaatsak

Verwysing: Private Bag X9123

Reference: 3-A5/5/1 CAPE TOWN  
8000

Tel: 021-462-1441

1993 01= > 7

Mr B A Nilsson  
United Federal Party  
P O Box 4300  
HONEYDEW

2040

Dear Mr Nilsson

YOUR REPRESENTATIONS

By direction of Mr Roelf Meyer, Minister of Constitutional Development and of Communication, | acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 9 December 1992.

Minister Meyer has taken note of the contents thereof and of the fact that you have formed a new party. He has also directed me to express his appreciation for you and your party's concern in South Africa's future.

Best regards.

e

H VAN DER WESTHUIZEN  
ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

en/5

D

VIEWS AND DEMANDS IN RELATION TO  
THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESS  
IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

1. The Volkseenheidskomitee was born out of the urgent need to create unity amongst the Boer-Afrikaner nation with the object of obtaining our freedom as a ethno-cultural group, in their own fath: land under their own government. Several conferences - are held which were attcided by a large number of representatives from differe... Afrikaner organisations. :he followin~ fask was given to the Volkseenheidskomitee by those present at one of tiicse conferences, held on 1 May 1992 :

"To encourage and to mobilise the Boer Afrikaner nation with a clearly defined strategy in all applicable walks of life, to establish themselves as a free nation with own territory, with the already defined area as a starting point, so that they may come into their own to the glory of Godâ\200\235

OUR AIM

2. In terms of this task, we claim the right to put our position to whoever might be affected by it and who might be interested in it. Our task also includes the instruction to focus attention on the results of the ignoring of our nationâ\200\231s demand of an independent and sovereign fatherland.

3. While we claim an own fatherland for the Boer-Afrikaners, a ethno-cultural group, we acknowledge the right of other nations to choose a constitutional form of their own. At the same time we strive towards interstatal co-operation in Southern Africa and in the international sphere.

NEGOTIATIONS

4. As a result of the unpleasant and unsafe conditions in which all population groups find themselves at present, it is vitally necessary that a political solution is found as soon as possible, and this, preferably by means of negotiations. Negotiations must take place in such a manner that it is also acceptable for the Boer-Afrikaner to take part. Negotiations for the transition to a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa must make provision for the acknowledgement of a sovereign state for the Boer-Afrikaner nation and any other nation that might so choose as one of the non-negotiable principles.

THE VOLKS UNITY COMMITTEE (VOLKSEENHEIDSKOMITEE)'S VEKM

5. If the proposed constitutional development process does not take our reasonable claim into account, then we are obliged to call on our people to :

#### ALTERNATIVE ACTIONS

5.1 Not to take part in the renewed process of disenfranchisement of the Boer-Afrikaners in a so-called democratic election process, in terms of which other nations will destroy the voting power of Boer-Afrikaners in their own territory.

5.2 To expose the hypocrisy of the so-called democratisation process in South Africa which is aimed at the replacement of our present electoral system with one whereby the reality of ethnicity, cultural diversity and the democratic right of nations, as spelt out in the prologue to the constitution of the RSA, is not recognised.

5.3 Refuse to take part in the planned electoral process and thereby not to legitimise it.

5.4 Take timely and applicable steps to ensure the freedom of the Boer-Afrikaners in their own state.

Complete details of the Volkseenheidkomitee's position will be expounded at later suitable occasions.

Issued by the executive of the Volkseenheidkomitee :

Dr W L Grant (Chairman); Prof A D Pont (Vice Chairman);

Dr W J G Lubbe (Vice Chairman); Maj Gen P H Groenewald (ret); Dr P J Kotze; Prof C J J Basson; Mr A J de Beer; Mr J J Groenewald; Mr A Stoltz;

Mr P F Bruwer; Mr C Wagner; Prof W A Pretorius; Mr J G M Richter;

Mr B H A van den Berg; Mr J P Reynecke; Mr D F B de Beer; Prof J J Pienaar.

L]

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

People's Democratic Christian Party  
185 Zone 8

Meadowlands

1852

Dear Dr Bam

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

When the Negotiating Forum has taken a decision on this recommendation, we will advise you accordingly.

Yours sincerely

Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993

~ Via Telefax: 012-545-0957

The Sofasonke Party  
P.O. Box 665  
Pyramid

0120

Dear Mr Galela

JER: SUBMISSION TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

The following Technical Committees are still functioning :

Constitutional Issues

Violence

Independent Electoral Commission

Transitional Executive Council

Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

Eloff  
D : ADMINISTRATION

MUULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, isardo, 1600  
Telephone: DII-397-1798 Fax: 011-397-227117

29 July 1993

Via Telefax: 012-545-0957

The Sofasonke Party  
P.O. Box 665  
Pyramid

0120

Dear Mr Galela

== g SUBMISSION TO TECHNICAL. COMMITTEE ONCONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application tor participation was denied by the Negotiat  
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The following Technical Clommittees are still functioning -

Constitutional Issues

Violence

Independent Electoral Commission

Transitional IExective Council

Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications

Authority  
We hope you find this in order.  
Yours sincereily

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D : ADMINISTRATION

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993  
Via Telefax: 012-323-4433

Sindawonye Progressive Party  
P.O. Box 82

Kwa-Mhlanga

1022

Dear Mr Mahlangu

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome to send submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

The following Technical Committees are still functioning :

Constitutional Issues

Violence

Independent Electoral Commission

Transitional Executive Council

Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority &

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

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D : ADMINISTRATION

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, isando, 1600  
Telephone: DII-397-1198 Fax: OI11-397-221 7

29 July 1993  
Via Telefax: 012-323-44373

Sindawonye Progressive Party  
P.O. Box 82

Kwa-Mhlanga

1022

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Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

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We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993

Via Telefax: 031-500-2186

Reform Party of South Africa  
P.O. Box 40018

Redhill

4051

Dear Mr Romalall

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
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Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome to send submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

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Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

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Yours sincerely

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.. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
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29 July 1993

Via Telefax: 00031-500-2186

Reform Party of South Africa  
P.O. Box 40018

Redhill

4051

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Dear Mr Romalall !

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ISSUES AND/JOR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

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Yours sincerely

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993

Via Telefax:

People's Democratic Christian Party  
185 Zone 8

Meadowlands

1852

Dear Dr Bam

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome to send submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

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Violence

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Fundamental Human Rights

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Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

AD : ADMINISTRATION



MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993  
Via Telefax:  
United Asian Front  
30 Dip Clay Close

Clayfield, Phoenix  
4051

Dear Mr Govender

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

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Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely  
nsEloff  
: ADMINISTRATION

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

29 July 1993

Via Telefax: 0577-33023

The Third Force Nationalist Party  
P.O. Box 208

â\200\230Matatiele

4730

Dear Mr Raage

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome to send submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

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Violence

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Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

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. ADMINISTRATION

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS { \

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Â® MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P O Box 307, Isando, 1600

~ Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

Tel (011) 397-1198 Fax (011) 397-2211

1 June 1993

Insika National Party  
PO Box 71  
Elukwatini

1192

Dear Mr Dlamini

Re : Application for Participation in the Negotiating Structures

With regard to your recent application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Processes,  
we can now supply you with the following information:

At the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 7 May 1993, it was agreed that:  
"]. Political Parties or Organisations to qualify, must show:

1.1 That it is indeed a political party or organisation intending to participate as such (i.e. in the political party or organisations own name) in the first election under a transitional/new constitution;

1.2 That it has proven substantial support in a national context;

1.3 That its admission will enhance the peaceful negotiating process.

Traditional Leaders

The principle of provincial representation should be maintained, but the problems around the representivity of existing delegations should be addressed in consultation with and a manner acceptable to all concerned.

Other Applicants

That applications of organisations who are not political parties or organisations, be refused. "

The following process for dealing with applications of political parties or organisations was agreed to:

Applicants should be informed of the criteria and requested to submit whatever facts and arguments they wish to, but they should be required to at least respond to the questionnaire annexed to this report (Annexure A);

Administration should cause a newspaper survey over the preceding year to be conducted to establish the type of press coverage every applicant has received;

As soon as all the information is at hand in respect of a particular application, it is put before the Negotiating Council for a decision."

Against this background, you are kindly requested to:

& Respond in writing to the three general criteria mentioned above;  
Complete the annexed questionnaire;

Supply us with whatever information you think necessary and important.

To expedite the process, you are requested to send your input before 12h00 on Tuesday 25 May 1993.

As soon as the newspaper survey has been completed, and your response received, the Negotiating Council will take a decision on your organisation's participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process.

We trust that you find this process to be beneficial and hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD ADMINISTRATION

Annexure A

QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS  
APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS:  
FOR THE PURPOSES OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION

Note : Wherever necessary, please supply information on an attached sheet of paper.

Date of formation of party/organisation

Names of office bearers and designation

Statement of Political Intent/Constitution

Indicators of demonstrable support (signed up membership, attendance at rallies,  
elections results)

Activities: Meetings

Publications

Other

Participation in other organisations: Parliament/Legislative Assembly

Local Government

Civics

Other

Offices: Address HQ and other offices

Telephone, Fax

Number of personnel employed by your party/organisation

Are you viable in regards to sustained funding?

Geographical area of operations: support, offices, etc?

Rules of membership

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/CRITERIA.LTR

1 June 1993



EXPRESS Mest, aslos:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

Tel (011) 397-1198 Fax (011) 397-2211

25 May 1993

United Asian Front

30 Dip Clay Close

Clayfield

Phoenix

4051

Dear Mr Govender

Re : Application for Participation in the Negotiating Structures

With regard to your recent application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Processes,  
we can now supply you with the following information:

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Against this background, you are kindly requested to:

i Respond in writing to the three general criteria mentioned above;  
Complete the annexed questionnaire;

= Supply us with whatever information you think necessary and important.

To expedite the process, you are requested to send your input before 12h00 on Thursday 27 May 1993.

As soon as the newspaper survey has been completed, and your response received, the Negotiating Council will take a decision on your organisation's participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process.

We trust that you find this process to be beneficial and hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

euns Eloff  
D ADMINISTRATION

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

Tel (011) 397-1198 Fax (011) 397-2211

14 May 1993

United Federal Party  
PO Box 4300  
Honeydew

2040

Dear Mr Nilsson

Re : Application for Participation in the Negotiating Structures

With regard to your recent application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Processes,  
we can now supply you with the following information:

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Against this background, you are kindly requested to:

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Complete the annexed questionnaire;

5 Supply us with whatever information you think necessary and important.

To expedite the process, you are requested to send your input before 12h00 on Tuesday 25 May 1993.

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We trust that you find this process to be beneficial and hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

s Eloff  
ADMINISTRATION

OMULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Mr M.A. Dlamini  
INSIKA NATIONAL PARTY  
R OISE G X/  
Elukwatini

1192

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Dear Mr Dlamini

Re: Application for participation in the Multi-Party Negotiations

Kindly submit your written application to support your  
telephonic/verbal request for participation in the Multi-Party  
Negotiations, should you so wish, as soon as possible.

Regards

heuns Eloff  
Multi-Party Negotiations  
Process Administration

Multi-Party Negotiating Forum

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

MR M.G. MAHLANGU  
SINDAWONYE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

012-323-4433  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM ADMINISTRATION

22 March 1993

Application for participation in the Multi-Party Negotiations

Kindly submit your written application to support your telephonic/verbal request for participation in the Multi-Party Negotiations should you so wish, as soon as possible.

O MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PLANNING CONFERENCE  
S AND 6 MARCH 1993

Telephone (011) 397-1198/99 - Fax (011) 397-2211

LETTER TO: Â¥ SINDAWONYE (KWANDEBELE OPPOSITION PARTY)  
INSIKA NATIONAL MOVEMENT (KANGWANE OPPOSITION  
PARTY)  
AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (CISKEI)

Dear Sir

Consultations have taken place with regard to your request to attend the Multi-Party Negotiations Planning Conference which will be held on 5 and 6 March at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

We regret to inform you that, unfortunately, it was not found possible to accommodate you as an observer in this Conference. :

There is general agreement, however, that parties with proven substantial support would be considered for joining any Multi-Party Negotiations Forum that might emerge from this Conference.

Accordingly, we wish to invite you to make your application to such a forum, with supporting documentation, for it to be processed timeously.

We hope that this will meet with your approval.

Kind regards  
PR

THEUNS ELOFF  
CONSULTATIVE BUSINESS MOVEMENT  
(Conference Administration)

Planning Committee

Council  
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#### PROPOSED MEETINGS SCHEDULE

26 March 1993  
30 March 1993  
31 March 1993

01 April 1993  
02 April 1993

15 April 1993

15 April 1993  
16 April 1993

19 April 1993

19 April 1993  
20 April 1993

22 April 1993  
23 April 1993

26 April 1993

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29 April 1993



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13 May 1993

14 May 1993

17 May 1993

08h30 - 13h00

08h30 - 17h00

16h00 - 20h00

09h00 - 17h00 \*

09h00 - 17h00

Council

Planning Committee

Council

FORUM

17 May 1993

18 May 1993

29 May 1993

24 May 1993

25 May 1993

27 May 1993

28 May 1993

Via Telefax;

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0471) 22874/(0471) 23548

Dear Chief Nonkonyana

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

el

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(01438) 30318

Dear Rev Mohapi

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

il

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

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Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(021) 461-0092

Dear Mr Eglin

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

sl

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

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Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0401) 92651

Dear Mr Webb

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

il

On Participation:

â\200\234The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

â\200\234"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

Via Telefax:(0140) 842733

Dear Mr Cronje

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1L1

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

Via Telefax: (012) 322-3602/ (021) 461-0232

Dear Mr de Jager

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1.1 On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

% Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR



Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(011) 29-0097

Dear Mr Ramaphosa

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

ol

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the

negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(01524) 85442

Dear Mr Ngobeni

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

Iet

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

Â£ 3

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0156) 37149

Dear Mr Mahlangu

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

s]

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0471) 23876

Dear Mr Titus

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

5]

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0156) 35153

Dear Mr Mothiba

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

il 11

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(011) 29-3719

Dear Mr Slovo

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

L1

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

. undermine the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord.

For effective distribution and preparation, you are requested to submit these proposals not later than Monday 12 April 1993 at 16h00 by fax to (011) 397-2211.

At its meeting yesterday after the Negotiating Forum, the Planning Committee discussed (as mandated) the schedule of meetings. The following dates and times have been established:

Â¥ ~ Planning Committee: Thursday 15 April 1993, from 10:00 to 15:00; R -

\* Negotiating Council: Monday 19 April 1993, from 10:00 to 17:00; ot

Planning Committee: Provisionally keeping Tuesday 20 April 1993 available; .77 e

Planning Committee: Thursday 22 April 1993, from 14:00 to 18:00; and 35S itee

Negotiating Council: Friday 23 April 1993, from 09:15 to 17:00. BV el

Included is a Fact Sheet for your information for your attention.

Please submit the names of your 2 Delegates (one of whom must be a woman) and 2 Advisers for the meetings of the Negotiating Council, by fax (011) 397-2211 to the Administration not later than Wednesday 14 April 1993 at 16:00.

Thank you for your kind attention. The Administration will be on "skeleton staff" for the week of 5 - 9 April 1993. On behalf of the Administration, may we wish those of you who will have a few days holiday, a well earned rest.

Kind regards,

ns Eloff

AD : ADMINISTRATION

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax;

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0358) 202 470

Dear Dr Mdlalose

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1ol

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

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Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0159) 23971

Dear Mr Makhuvha

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

it

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(031) 301-3003

Dear Dr Reddy

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

il

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(01438) 31595

Dear Mr Mota

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1]

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

Â£ 3

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(013140) 606

Dear Professor Ripinga

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

ol

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(021) 45-1953/ (031) 703-2230

Dear Mr Landers

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

isit

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(01215) 2391

Dear Mr Mahlangu

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1688]

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(0358) 202439

- Dear Dr Ngubane

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

11

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(021) 45-3216

Dear Dr De Villiers

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

181

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR



Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(031) 43-2897/ (021) 403-2767

Dear Mr Rajbansi

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1581

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(031) 301-4341

Dear Mr Gordhan

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

181

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

\*

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(011) 837-4153

Dear Mr Saloojee

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

Il

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

%

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(01438) 31569/(01438) 31560

Dear Mr Mopeli

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

18]

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

Â£ 3

Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600  
Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax - (011) 397-2211

Via Telefax: (011) 838-3705

Dear Mr Alexander

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

1.1 On Participation:

â\200\234The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of

national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

i Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

NEGCOUN.COR

Via Telefax:

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

PO Box 307, Isando 1600

Telephone : (011) 397-1198 Fax : (011) 397-2211

(021) 461-0851

Dear Mr Meyer

At the Negotiating Forum of 1 April 1993 after discussion, the following decisions were taken:

151

On Participation:

"The Negotiating Council and Planning Committee are grappling with the difficult issue of what objective criteria can be used to measure participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process. These include the participation of Traditional Leaders. Both the Planning Committee and the Negotiating Council are conscious of the extreme urgency and sensitivity of the matter. Present participants are hereby again invited to submit proposals in this regard to the Planning Committee, through Administration."

On Violence:

The Negotiating Council was mandated to attend to the following:

1.2.1 "Identify those issues that cause violence and which threaten the negotiating process and the undermining of the effective implementation of the National Peace Accord."

"Mandate the Negotiating Council to establish what urgent steps and mechanisms are required to resolve the above issues as a matter of national priority. The Negotiating Council shall report to the next meeting of the Negotiating Forum."

Against this background, you are requested to submit proposals on:

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Criteria for Participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process; and

Issues that, in your view, cause violence, threaten the negotiating process and

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./L Ltry of Constitutional Development A 3 â\200\2305â\200\231) Ministerie van Staatkundige  
OntwikKeling

and of Communication ; en van Kommunikasie

REFERENCE: 3-A5/5/1 Private Bag X9123

TELEPHONE: (021) 462 1441/2/3 CAPE TOWN  
8000

Mr J Govender 19938 (7=800

Clayfield  
PHOENIX  
4051

Dear Mr Govender  
PARTICIPATION AT MULTI-PARTY TALKS

With reference to your letter dated 24 February 1993, I would like to make  
the following comments.

It is still the Government's policy that negotiations should be as inclusive as  
possible. However, it is not for the Government to decide on your  
participation in the Multiparty Forum. Therefore, application for admission  
should be made to:

DRI ot

Multiparty Forum Administration  
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1600

Yours sincerely

R P MEYER â\200\230  
MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND  
COMMUNICATION



J. GOVENDER

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4051  
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THE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA  
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1600

SHER

RE: RIGHT WING PARTICIPATION

With neference to Letten Of 07-02-92 from theHONOURABLE the MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT, and with negards to the absence 04 RIGHT WING PARTICIPATION and the unreasonable refusal of the CONSERVATIVE PRI e pafiiepete o COMESA. lie Tthe founden Leadens. and membens 0Â\$ the UNITED ASIAN FRONT ane hopeful thatin this nespect and in the Light Of the belicf that the negotfiation process should be as Anclusive as possible; that the MANAGEMENT COMMLTTEE OF CODESA wifl not be

hesitant in decuning- a hepresentation Â\$rom the UNITED ASIAN FRONT.

We at the UNITED ASTAN FRONT, as you will notice from ourn past cornespondence to the Goverment and various othen Leadens, are a

welling participant with regands o self deteamination and nad sought participation in the creating of a new SOUTH AFRICA as early as 1990.

We nefern Letten of 02 August 1990 to the Honourable the STATE PRESIDENT.

In this negand and in the absence of Right Wing Representation gÂ\$rom Pekicies wehin dhe Tndian Community az CODESA, we e hereby most humbly - apply forn admission to CODESA with the sdincerest hope Of assisting in

Lthe negotiation process .in the creating of a\new blessed democratic South Afrdica.

In conclusion we wish the MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE OF CODESA to be furnthen Lngormed that we at the UNITED ASIAN FRONT ane even monre .deteamined mone dendous and more ) han the CONSERVATIVE PARTY

Thanking you and most humky we anticipate an'eani~\202g and favourable nesponse:

YOURS SINCERELY

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LmZiGlKYXfCZÃ@fY{.. FOUNDER: LEADER FOR UNITED ASTAN FRONT.

PLease (ind attached various cornespondence with regands to our concern and seriousness in participating with negards zo sely deteamination.

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Mr ] Govender 8000

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Clayfield  
PHOENIX  
4015

Dear Mr Govender

Your letter of 15 December 1991 to the State President has been referred to me for attention.

The Government appreciates your concern for a new and democratic South Africa and has taken note of your concern for rightwing participation in CODESA. In this regard agreement was reached by CODESA 1 that the Management Committee of CODESA should consider the question of other participants, i.e. other political parties, political organisations and administrations not represented at CODESA 1. It was agreed that the Management Committee should attend to applications by other organisations to join CODESA, as well as other means of expanding participation in CODESA. It is therefore not the Government who decides on participation in CODESA. However, the Government believes that the negotiation process should be as inclusive as possible and suggests that you apply for admission to the Management Committee of CODESA at P O Box 307, Isando, 1600.

Yours sincerely

G VAN N VILJOEN  
MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT  
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Mr J Govender ' BORNprEicio?  
UNITED ASIANÂ®FRONT

Clayfield 7  
PHOENIX

4051

Dear Sir

We refer to%the application by your organisation to be admitted  
as participant in CODESA. - 5

The matter icame up for consideration at the meeting of the  
Management Committee held on 27th Al 19892, Iin consicewing Ehe  
matter note was also taken of the fact that we have not received  
a reply from your organisation to the questionnaire that was sent  
OUIE â\202¬@ WO,

We regret to inform you that after careful consideration thÃ©;  
Management Committee has decided not to admit your organisation  
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May we draw to your attention that this decision does not  
preclude your making written submissions to anyS ot h R Sitve  
Working Groups with regard to matters relevant to their Terms of  
Reference. =

With kind regards.

2

Secretariat

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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA  
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PO Box 307, [sando, 1600, South Africa.  
Telephone (011) 397-1198/99. Fax (011) 397-2211  
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21 May 1992

Dear Sir/Madam ??â\200\230:  
YOUR LETTER/SUBMISSION TO CODESA

We acknowledge recelpt of your letter/submission dated 12 May 1992 and advise that it has b  
een passed on to 7  
the relevant Codesa body for consideration/action..

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Thank you for your interest in Codesa.

Yours faithfully

CODESA SECRETARIAL SERVICES

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CONVENTION FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA  
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PO Box 307, [sando, 1800, South Africa.  
Telephone (011) 397-1198/99. Fax (011) 397.2921 1

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## APPLICATIONS

1/2/1

1/2/1/1 Applications/ Responses to partake in the process:

#African Democratic Movement

AVSTIG '

Cape Traditional Leaders

\$# Christian Democratic Party

CONTRALESA

FECOIRUSA

Free Cape Movement

Gazankulu Council of Tihosi

-Green Party of SA

Merit Peoples Party X

Q;[ighty Sofasonke Party X

atal Traditional Leaders

<National Forum

National Seoposengwe Party

Peoples Democratic Christian Movement

A Peoples Progressive Paâ\200\230.r/t,y

Reform Party Of SA

Sindawonye Progressive Party

Third Force Delegation

Transkei Government on Natal and other Traditional Leaders

Transvaal Traditional Leaders

Unemployed South Africans: PM Zombi

United Asian Front â\200\224 X

United Federal Party

Volkseenheidskomitee

1/2/1/2 | Letters on participation: Women

People's Democratic Christian Party

Tel: GII) 9822010

i Fune, 3997

Dear Dy Elofl,  
Thank you for your letter date 14th May 1992

I am currently in Europe, and due to return to South Africa at the end of June. Your letter was, inadvertently, sent to Holland for my consideration, hence the delay. I am quite aware that the date is overdue, but would request that even though the questionnaire is late, our party be considered for participation.

We are aware of the provisional date set for elections. We are currently busy preparing for this big event, and hope that registration for participation in the multi-party negotiations will be processed unhindered. It would also help to avoid directing some of the issues, which we disagree on, to the nation, because we would be actively involved in the negotiations. In this case I am thinking about the constitutional changes which will determine how the country is run, and whether the future government will be able to contain the escalating violence, unemployment, and the economic deterioration of living standards. Last but not least, will the future government be able to stop the prospects of a civil war which is threatening our country? These questions and many others must be dealt with at the multi-party negotiations, and upon the weight and evidence of the numerous problems facing our country, that we know that our contribution is vital to these negotiations.

Thank you once more for your kind attention and consideration on this matter.

Yours sincerely,

i Themisanys Enoch Bam  
President PRCP



Extended Page

L e e

Annexurs A

QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS APPLYING TO JOIN  
THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS: FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
PROCESSING THE APPLICATION.

Note: Wherever necessary, please supply Information on attached sheet of paper,  
1. Date of formation of party/organisation

The People Democratic Christian Party was formed on the 1st of December, 1992

2. Names of office bearer and designation

Name Designation

T Themba Enoch Bam President

Prof. A.S. Venter

Mr. Philip Nkabinde Secretary General

Ms. Themba Radebe Resources

Mr. Themba Nrosi Organisational

Mr. Muz: Shongwe External Affairs

M. Themba Magetbuka Finance

Ms Sylvia Phala Education

Ms Monica Mphahlele Public Relations

Prof, B. Browne

Prof. A.S. Venter

Prof, A.S. Venter, Thom

Mr. Kagiso. Moloto

Ms A.S. Venter. Senkge

Ms R. Ngwane

Ms J Motloai :

NH: Some members are without designations as yet, and in our forthcoming general meeting in July & full executive committee will be chosen comprising of 27 executive committee members.

3. Statement of Politics? Intent/Constitution

a) The name of the party shall be known as the People's Democratic Christian Party, hereinafter referred to as PDUP, or the Party. The PDUP will acknowledge God in all spheres of life.

b) The main objective is to establish a democratic socialist government, that is, a government of the people by the people, the enfranchised peoples of South Africa choosing their representatives who will make the necessary

inws,

4, Indicators of demonstrable support Gained up membership, staidance with rallies, elections results

The Party has been open meetings as yet, but has been organizing from houses meetings, churches, schools and organisations. The rough estimate so far our support lies between fifty and hundred thousand

5. Activities Meetings: Our biggest achievement so far is attributed to the meetings held in churches, schools and houses.  
Publications: No publications as yet  
Other

6. Participation in other organisations: Parliament/Tagislative Assembly ~ none  
Local Government: none  
Civics: We have members who are participating in civic matters

Rhcrs; none

4, Difices: Address of HQ and other offices: PO, Box 234, Witsey, 1717

Tetephove: \$B2-1012

Miunbier of persomiel employed by your

partyiorganisation: All volunteers ot the meoment

%, Are you viable in vegards to sustained funding? Not enough, that Â¥ why T am in uope at the moment to zalse funds for ow Pany.

9, Geographical arca of opersiions: support, office, elc. We are hased in Sowets, housed b y the Senpture

Limisn. However, when { retum we hope te move {o

Johamesburg Where we hope o seoure affices, We shall

also be establishing offices in Poct Blizabeth, Cape Town

Poran wd Bluemfootein, ;

10, Rules for membershlp: Mewbership is open 10 all Sowth Afvicans who Bave sftained the a ge of cightoen

regardiess of thelr colow, ravce, sex or creed, It shall b parsons wha subscribe to the cunstinion and bye-laws of the Pany, Each mettber will be required lo poy a joining fee of R0, and thereafter R10 anpually. All members shall be tequired o sobseribe w the magazine o be publishid on menthly baxis by the Paxty

GHOENENDLJIC SLHUENEN B35488 3ip93

Pavple's Democratic Christian Party

Dol il 952 T

2nky e, 193

Dear Dy Elofl,  
Thunk you for you leRer date 14th May (OU3

I am canendy in Burope, aud dug o miem w South Alnics af the  
end of une Your ietter was, iadvertently, seni o Hotland for iy  
consideration, hence the delay, I am quite awsue it the date Â¢  
overdas, bwt would request that even though the gquestionnaice s  
late, ow party be eonsidered for participation.

We are aware of the gmovisivpal dite get for elotions, We are  
currently busy prepaniog for this big event, and hope that  
egistvation for pariicipation in the muld-party negotiations will be  
processed unhiodered. [t would also hmp lo aveidd diteeting some of  
the ssucs, which we disagree on, to the nation, Because we would  
he actively mvolved in the negotiations. In thie cave I an thinking  
ghout the constivtonal chappes which will detwmine bow e  
country is rup, and whethes ihe fowre government wil be abls to  
confain the escalating vielend, uncioployment, and the ever  
deteriprating fiving stands. Last byt not least, will the fumue  
government bu able to siop e mensce of a civil war whick is  
stweatening our countyy? These questions and toany others must be  
dealt with al the multi-party negotiations, I (s upom the weight wud  
evidsnwe of the numerous peeblems faciog our country, that we  
koow that our contibution is viral o shese segaiabions.

Thark you cuee yame for your kind attentivn dnd considecation on  
this roaitel.

Yours sinceiely,

{7 Themsanys Enoch Ban  
Premiden PRCP

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## Annexura A

### QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS: FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION.

Note: Wherever necessary, please supply Information on attached sheet of paper,

#### 1. Date of formation of party/organisation

The People Democratic Christian Party was formed on the 5th of December, 1992

#### 2. Names of office bearer and designation

Name Designation

Yo Thamsenga Enoch Bam President

Prof. 1. Venter

My, Philip Wkahlindce Secretary General

Ms, Themba Radebe Resources

M. Themba Nkosi Communication

Mr. Muzi Shongwe Internal affairs

M. Themba Magethuka Finance

Ms Sylvia Phaia Education

Ms Monica Mphahlele Public Relations

Prof. B. Brogwer

Prof. 33, Venter

Prof. (S. Thom

Mr. Kagiso. Moloto

Ms C. Senkgo

Ms R. Ngweni

Ms J. Moko

NE: Some members are without designations #8 yet. and in our forthcoming general meeting in July & full executive committee will be chosen comprising of 27 executive committee members.

#### 3. Statement of Political Intent/Constitution

a) The name of the party shall be known as the People's Democratic Christian Party, hereinafter referred to as PDUP, or the Party. The PDUP will acknowledge God in all spheres of life.

b) The main objective is to establish a democratic social government, that is, & government of the people by the people, the enfranchised peoples of South Africa choosing their representatives who will make the necessary laws.

4. Indicators of demonstrable support Giggled up membership, attendance at rallies, election results

The Party has held no open rallies yet, but has been organizing from houses meetings, churches, schools and organisations. The rough estimate so far our support has been between fifty and putred thousand

5. Achievements: Meetings: Our biggest achievement so far is attributed with the meetings held in churches, schools and homes.

Publications: No publications as yet

Other

6 Participation in other organisations: Parliamentary/Tagislative Assembly - none

Local Government: none

Civics: We have members who are participating in civic matters

Lxiendedy

DRhers: none

4, Difices: Address of HQ and other offices: P.O. Bus 234, Wiksey, 1717

Telephope: BR2-1042

Number of persommel empiayed by yowr

partyiorganisation: All voluntsers ot the mement

% Are you viable in vegards to sustained funding? Not enough, that is why T am in Euzope at the moment to raise funds for ou Pany.

9. Geographical arca of epersiions: suppors, office, etc. We are hased ip Sowein, howsed b y the Senpture

Ulnisn. However, when [ refumt we hope to move in

Johumesbury where we hope to secure affices. Wo shali

wlso be establishing offices in Poct Elizabeth, Cape Town,

Durpan wnd BluemIontein, :

10. Yatles for membership: Membership is opes lo all Sowth Afiivans who heve sttained the age of cighteen

regardicss of their colowr, race, sex or creed, It shall be parsons who siibseiibe to the constituton amd bye-laws of the Panty. Each member will be required 0 puy a joining fee of RiD, and thereafier K10 annually. Al membess shall be wequired w sobseribe lo the mugazine lo be publishid on monthly baxis by the Party,

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

. APPLICATION FOR REGISTRATION AS A POLITICAL PARTY IN TERMS OF  
SECTION 36 OF THE  
ELECTORAL ACT, 1979 (ACT 45 OF 1979) :

Name of political party:

Abbreviated name of political party (to be printed on ballot paper):

W s N  
T deu W l  
oM s

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3. Indicate political party's representation in Parliament and in the case of the House of  
Assembly also its representation  
the provincial councils:

House of Assembly/House of Representatives/House of Delegates: '  
None/number of members . 000 Â£

Electoral Division o e

N.B.â\200\224If a political party has no representation in Parliament the date of foundation of the  
political party shall  
accompany this application! : given in section 36, b i

4. Party: } so! Ofï-\201ce-beaters of political party: .  
{8) Chief or traditional leader;

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" Designation, CHIEF S,

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{Âç) Provincial leaders (if any):

The Cape of Good Hope: :

Full name. .. ï¬\202% A e %Ã© :

Signature ... .eâ\200\230%o ;

Natal:

Fuli name.... -/

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Sugnamre.,%,..... R D

Orange Free State:

SEhoka MPpPULLE

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Provincial secretarias of othe proviacial chief exscutive officers (if any):

The Cape of Good Hope iy

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3. Address of political party's head office:

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v  
AtÃ@drevrunavensnca L R R R R S S BÃ@ldtvrsctibomanrvrrrrraarrray

(b) Postal address NP:ï¬\201QNi¬\201â\200\230.:!.:â\200\230eI....Ri¬\201.RTf. = . REPRESENT  
IVE ...

| ARSI LOCATON T A31b. . THEUMSSEN. . OH10 o

6. Addresses of political party's provincial head office (if any):

The Cape of Good Hope:

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THIBS SophE | Nalenaust Park,

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(3) Business address ..o irvenrensnes A A ot e e e s el L PO

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B AR o i St s :

(b) Postal address.....LHE ... [ S R E =S

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Orange Free State:

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7. Regiswation feseâ\200\224section 37 (1),  
The amount of R3() is ingludad,

o

OBJECT

8. I confirm that it is the object of the political party in respect of which application f  
or registration is hereby made to  
promote the election of candidates representing the said political party as members of the  
\*House of Assembly/House  
of Representatives/House of Delegates. ;

CERTIFICATE

9. 1 hereby certify that the above particulars are to the best of my knowledge correct znd  
that I have been instructed by the  
political party 10 take charge of the registration thersof.

FAx posp e os> 233027

Dare â\200\234/â\200\2311/â\200\2314?} A Dmignation..ï¬\201ggf?f.?ï¬\201'.â\200\230i.. SPol  
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\* Delere words which are ner applicable.

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THE THIRD FORCE NATIONALIST PARTY,  
"TR.NATIONALIST EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

4 JOINT MEMOREIDUNM.

To whom my concern.

Dear"THIRD FORCE-Memhersh,

The"THIRD PORCE NATIONALIST PARTY-is a"POLITICAL PARTRE N

any other organisation. .

The"THIRD PFORCE"-want to establish the"SUPER WELPARE STATE OF

ECONONY IN SOUTH AFRICAâ\204ç,

Ve take "CONFEDERATION AS a Political Rule"to establish the

"CONPEDERAL REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA OR SOVWETONIAâ\204ç

The THIRD FORCE has now began with a"GREAT ELECTION CAMPAIGN"and  
Membership recruitment drive,whilst at the same time,engaged in  
seeking PARTY funds,

Thus therefore-the THIRD PORCE HAS resolved that YOU asua registered

Member,and a Patriot who sought to be active in the party,you can  
become a:"FULLY Menmber of the"THIRD FORCE-NATIONALIST EXECUTIVE

COUNCIIâ\204ç .,

IT is therefore your"GREAT OPPORTUNITY,your llife opporitunity

when you have accepted this position high ranking within the PARTY.  
Tou can now make your signature and comment in this letter below,

. ) S

151 gn AT .

Comment if ANY.....e% & ; T <.

L R R 2 T O T 2 I I TR P o e S . aialins' a ina

MORE information will be presented to you on how are going %o  
fully particionate later on.

Â¥ THANK YOU,

Issued by,

"TPCENTRALIST GOMMITTREE"

â\200\234"COLLECTIVE LEzADARIHIPâ\204ç,

S8 d Â£CERE SAT@ dNIW d702 X1d1633 v1 E66T-NIL-+Z

THE THIRD PORCH NATIONALIST Party:  
CENTRALIST COMMITTEE  
1376 JOEL PARK  
THEUNNISSEN-9410.  
Date

WORLD TRADE CENTRE  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS.  
Tel (011) 2397-1198 Pax (011) 397-2211, .

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Application for the "THIRD FORCE" to participate fully in "MULI-PARTY negotiating structures (reply to question papers "21 MAY 1953, Pertaining to required criteria for participation; the "THIRD MRCs, is truly a political PARTY now to total participate in coming "General elections.

AS far as the date in which the "THIRD FORCE" was formed in "reality, dates back from "1978, formed as (SAYRCO-South African Youth Revolutionary Council), as the "THIRD FORCE" formed in Exile by the 1976 JUNE 16 SOWETO STUDENT UPRISING RING-LEADERS.

UNTIL in 1984 when "SAYRCO was transformed into the "THIRD AORCA NATIONALIST PARTY with the aim of "creating a Nationalist Party, than merely a Student organisation in outlook.

There has always been so much argument about the question concerning what we call "Proven substantial support, according to our views,

no one in present South Africa can symbolize mass action as Guy accurate assessment for a substantial proven support for a particular organisation. is like judging someone before judged by the court of law:

We in the THIRD FORCE, we believe that the "Electorate" has to be given most chance to judge the worthiness of the quality of the Political Parties-for instance, no one can say the "NATIONAL PARTY, won last year's 1994 Referendum due to a "Proven substantial support it has without taking into account-fear and coercion used to master Votes; the fear of pending economic sanctions;

The THIRD FORCE, has a tremendous substantial mass support, we have no doubt at all as well-though no mass actions we organise, despite the unparalleled propaganda machine waged vigorously against the THIRD FORCE.

The "THIRD FORCE Press coverage has never been friendly for many years, the Press and other media, have hesitated portraying us as murderous Organisation employed by the Government and so on; a Disinformation campaign propaganda of this Century ever waged against the "THIRD FORCE.

We believe that the civil war in South Africa today is very simple always as a result of disregarding other "Political Parties: worthiness-and "Democratic rights to be fully recognised and treated accordingly; as the country moves towards elections, inclination to frustrate Parties perceived as "Minority ones becomes obvious; we regret us for bringing about total disfigurement of any honours. deal to "negotiate in now "ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, CAMBODIA (KAMPUCHEA) and 1975 That a country can be: torn apart by intense civil war.

We believe that "Technicalities should be formulated by the committees and councils concerned to ensure that as far as elections is concerned, POLITICAL PARTIES would be given total chance to lobby/campaign freely directly to the Nation without mechanisms serve as constraints to

others; 4 and 1975

The mass media-Press should be "real-free from quotations-for this may

only fuel violent upheavals-which may altogether varalyse and destroy

SN SCERE SATE SNTW J7089 X1d11639 ST:PT EesT-NAL-FE

Annexure A

QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS  
APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS:  
FOR THE PURPOSES OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION

Note ;: Wherever necessary, please supply information on an attached sheet of paper.

Date of formation of party/organisation

Names of office bearers and designation

Statement of Political Intent/Constitution

Indicators of demonstrable support (signed up membership, attendance at rallies,  
elections results)

. Activities: - Meetings

Publications

Other

Participation in other organisations; Parliament/Legislative Assembly

Total Government

Civics

Other

Offices: Address HQ and other offices

Telephone, Fax

Number of personnel employed by your party/organisation

Are you viable in regards to sustained funding?

Geographical area of operations: support, offices, etc?

Rules of membership

FPLANCOMM/DOCUMENTORITERIA LTR

5 May 1993

LA d ECEHE SATH NI 708 KIYiE3g 91:PT E66T-NIL-PE

42 ANNEXURE "A"  
/ Answers,

1. The THIRD FORCE Was formally formed in 1978 as "SAYRSO, the inlni #ORCE, it was again transformed into "THIRD #ORCE NATIONALIST PaAnTyw end avoroved by the general memberehin from 1904 in Lesotno and in nther couniries with members.

2. Names of office bearers are contained in (VE I/I-Avoliecation foru. as some of the office bvearers,

3. statement of wolitical intent is contained 'in "PAPER I" of the state- ment of Political intent.

4. The THIRD PORCE HAS so far attended membershiv meetings, workshows, has attended and addressed some joint rallies in most cases, in exile ang in the country as well.

5. The THIRD PORCE-Nationalist Council-BExecutive Council and its Centrali -3t Committes, meet regularly during week days and weskends.

6. Participation with Politieal and other "Civie organisations has been always favourably viable.  
OO (3]

7. 43 far as Offices are concerned, due to exile delays, the "THIRD POHDE -has offices amongst, or located amongst the regions of the Gensral Members, but, orovisional "QUARTERS are now ivr â\200\234O.P.Sv.

As far as number of Personnel employed-more than 40 OF the Nationalist Committes-apart from those of the Centralist COMMITTYaEi-that is Nationalist Council, and other supportive members. =

.48 regards.-to viable funds, the THIRD FORCE is viable as far as the contribution by the General membership-but it should be stressed as well as the Blection budget to Political Parties. the "THIRD #ORCE still has financial claim to last yesrâ\200\231s international fund which raised for Political Parties, of which was given to all Political Parties-â\200\224excluding the THIRD PORCE-though in the beginning of this year we raised this question to mr "ROELF MEYER, Assistant Minieter of CONSTIZUIIONAL Affairs, in an addresssd letter-so far not yet tangible response-but we =till hove such matter to be resolved soon,

. The "THIRD PORCE" , has Members and supporters throushout the Land-we provisionally taking "O.P.S AS the Centre of owveration.

10. In regards to rules of membership-we hone soon, we will forward to you, such rules.

Yours sincerely,  
TP. Centralist Committee.

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TEX THIRD 20RCzZ KATIONALTSD PARTY:

I3 hereby a request frem the PARTY?S CENYRALISYH SOERI T eie, to submit Names and Sienatures.aS we know thai as registered kembers of the"ZHIRD PORCE,our PARTY,is in & dramatic nezotiation with the "WORLI: TRADE CBENTRE",

I).To fully wartiecinatate in the negotiation vwrocess,tinnt is, fully Members of the Negotiatine Committees, svecifically in bringing about the Universally accentable CORSTITUTIONAL SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH aAFRICA.

2)To fully take our position in .the"Transitional National Councils,BLECTORAL Committees anÃ© so on.

3)And in Committees that deals with finance as well. We therefore hovne that Members will hishly appreciate our stand.

SENANMES SIGNATURES.

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democracy for good;"Some deadly quotations are such of those in 1885  
were introduced by the"LEABUL Government in Lesotho~whers Politicsl  
Parties were forced to pay election registration fees-knowing very well  
that as restraining mechanism-s recipe...tantamount to pushing some  
Political Partiesâ\200\231campaign abilities out of the mainstream For vigorous  
election campaigning.

The"THIRD FORCE",for instance,though it gets funds generally from the  
Membership in general-has to stress the fact,even the"National Party,  
does not live on Membership/supporter contributions-neither Than"ANCY

TRife) eI R

The"National Party has raised "Taxes, strategic taxes to fund its  
campaigns, whilst the I?P"been receiving millions from the"State Budgets,  
on the other hand-the"â\200\235ANC''been receiving fundings from the"Scandinavian  
countries.Today these "Political Parties are called"BIG PARTIES".

The"THIRD FORCE DOES not complain as such,that even the "PAC"as well

has been funded by the"O,A.U"Liberation Funds.The"THIRD FORCE",now  
believes that the "Transitional Executive Authority,=-the COMMISSION or  
Committees preparing for free elections in"South Africa-should at the  
foremost look into the budget question for the"Rlections-at least,

RIT70 million of the election Budget supposed to be budgeted as an  
election boosting funding for Political Parties-"Quotas to be negotiated.

According to an"International Law it is the duty of the"United Nations  
to bear the funds for the "boxes for the elections and security as far  
"South Africa is concerned as well-that is thus our own fault as a  
Nation.

The case of"AZAPO FOR & lack of election funds should not be undermined,  
or taken too simple;therefore,we hope that "Democracy shall be upheld  
and prevail-least the"LBST The"27th provisional election date becomes  
meaningless,that is great fault.in order that Peace and prosperity,  
democracy and"Rule of the Law to prevail in our Land, justice must be  
accorded to all Political Parties-more time campaigning for voters

to get the clearly messages from various Parties.

atd Â¿CERE SATHE ANTW @00 KID1EEd AT1 E66T-NA-FE

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NO. DATE ISSUED PAGE  
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W 7/5/92 | 156

BUSINESS DAY 30/4/92  
BATTLE FOR  
HOMELAND VOTERS

ABOUT 5-million voters â\200\224 most of them likely ANC supporters â\200\224 were the subject of an intense battle in Codesa on the future of the TBVC states, Codesa sources said yesterday. 2

Reincorporation, and especially the date on which it takes place, could crucially affect the final tally of voters in elections for an interim government and an elected constitution-making body. - â\200\231

About 17-million voters â\200\224 excluding TBVC citizens â\200\224 would be eligible to vote, according to population studies. &

If the four nominally independent states decided to reincorporate, their citizens would be eligible to vote in any national election in SA. However, should they not be reincorporated, their citizens would be given no say in SAâ\200\231s constitutional affairs.

This would decrease the ANCâ\200\231s chances of obtaining the two-thirds majority Codesa participants agree will be necessary to dominate constitutional negotiations.

The ANC, whose Border region is the organisationâ\200\231s biggest but whose members

o PATRICK BULGER 1

there are mostly citizens of the Ciskei stands to lose the most by the exclusion of TBV(; citizens. It wants an immediate res-

toration of SA citizenship followed by reincorporation.

ANC chief negotiator on the TBVC issue  
Matjale said yesterday the ANC  
would not agree to an election  
TBVC citizens. REls iz

The SA government is on record as demanding at Codesa that reincorporation take place before TBVC citizens can vote in SA.

TBVC leaders had been given the option of reincorporating now and giving up their status and perks but they were refusing to  
;:lá\200\230(de up the option, a government source

id.

The ANC has proposed to Codesa that the SA citizenship of TBVC citizens be restored en bloc. However, the ANC is understood to want the present TBVC ad-

ministrations to remain in place and has found common cause with Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa on the issue.

Both favour an eastern Cape region that would in effect be a greater Xhosa state incorporating Transkei, Ciskei, Border and East Griqualand.

SA government sources believe the ANCâ\200\231s and Holomisaâ\200\231s about-face on testing the will of the people on reincorporation may be an attempt to secure the region as a de facto geographical entity, ensure Transkeians a vote in SA and retain an ANC-friendly administration in Um-tata.

Venda has indicated it is prepared to reincorporate without a referendum. Ciskei wants to hold a referendum and Bophuthatswana wants to be involved in negotiations but not in an interim government. Once a new constitution has been negotiated, Bophuthatswana will ask its people to decide on reincorporation.

BUSINESS DAY 30/4/92  
INTERIM GOVT PLAN IS  
' "PUT ON ICE' FOR CODESA

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Government was set to put its interim government plans on ice in favour of the Codesa working group steering committee proposals for drafting an interim constitution for an elected assembly.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport, speaking at a briefing on Codesa yesterday, said: "This is a very important document," in response to a question of whether it broke the deadlock.

He said government would temporarily shelve its plans to introduce draft legislation because it had been intended to put momentum into the process and this seemed to have been achieved by the steering committee proposals.

In terms of the steering committee's proposal that Codesa drafts an interim constitution, government believes that, even if agreement cannot be reached on the more sensitive details, Codesa would at least have made progress towards a more representative constitution. :

Government's plan is to try and flesh out the interim constitution proposals to such an extent that the elected interim government, responsible for drafting the final constitution, would have to put only the finishing touches to the interim constitution.

The ANC, on the other hand, would like to see the interim constitution as general as possible to give the elected body greater leeway to determine the constitution.

This is likely to provide the major negotiating stumbling block as the interim constitution will not be able to be overturned

[ BILLY PADDOCK

easily. Part of the steering committee proposals states that the elected interim government would draft a new constitution "which shall not be in conflict with the general constitutional principles".

The document was clearly a compromise solution where government has had to forgo its insistence on equal weighting for regional representatives within regions and to a second house of parliament.

The steering committee proposals state that regional and national elections would be conducted on a proportional representation basis, and there is absolutely no mention of a second house.

It states there will be elections for a national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, "half the seats being allocated through national lists and half through regional lists".

However, Delport pointed out that this

did not reject the possibility of a second house, but neither did it accept it.

â\200\234We have not softened our position on the protection of minorities or meaningful participation of minority political parties,â\200\235 he said, adding that â\200\234the extent of . protection and participation still has to be resolvedâ\200\235.

Government has also been manoeuvred into a position where the final constitution-making process cannot last indefinitely.

The proposals say Codesa will agree on mechanisms to ensure that the national assembly completes the work of drafting a final constitution â\200\234within a specified period of timeâ\200\235.

BUSINESS DAY 30/4/92  
CODESA TURNS DOWN  
FLOOD OF APPLICANTS

I TIM COHEN

FIFTEEN political organisations that applied to join Codesa have been turned down, while a decision has been postponed on another two.

Codesa said in a statement yesterday it had received a late application from the Joint Executive Authority of KwaZulu-Natal which had been referred to the daily management committee.

The unsuccessful applicants include Boervolk, Boerentia Party, Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, Mighty Sifiso Party, Pan African Congress of SA, Reform Party of SA and Venda National Party.

A decision on the People's Progressive Party and the National Seoposengwe Party was postponed. Codesa had carefully considered each party before coming to its conclusions, the statement said.

A spokesman said the case of Cosatu was still pending, and further applications would still be considered.

All the parties invited to Codesa I had also been invited to Codesa II, including the CP and the HNP, the spokesman said.

â\200\234We look forward to their responses.â\200\235

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CODESA

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CITIZEN 30/4/92  
CABINET TO BE  
RESHUFFLED?

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The~  
delay in appointing a new  
Minister of Finance in  
place of Mr Barend du  
Plessis. who steps down  
today, has led to specula-  
tion that State President  
De Klerk may bring  
about a major Cabinet re-  
shuffle.

NP sources suggest that  
Mr De Klerk may be  
looking to create a young-  
er team, with a view to  
expanding the partyâ\200\231s ap-  
peal to people of all popu-  
lation groups.

There was no an-  
nouncement after yester-

day's Cabinet meeting of  
a new Minister of Fi-  
nance, with indications  
that Mr De Klerk will  
now wait until after Satur-  
â\200\234dayâ\200\231s election of a new  
Transvaal NP leader be-

fore making a final deci-  
sion.

Many of the prenouq  
appointments bv. Ml De  
Klerk to fill Cabinet vac-  
ancies were accompanied  
by fairly far-reaching  
changes to other Cabinet  
portfolios, so as to share  
the administrative work  
load.

NP sources suggested yesterday that Mr De Klerk might now wait on a final decision on Satur-

day as to the new Transvaal leader, who would then automatically assume party duties that were additional to his Cabinet and Codesa duties.

The new Transvaal leader could be given a more senior portfolio immediately as part of a Cabinet reshuffle.

Once this has been finalised, Mr De Klerk would take fresh look at the Cabinet, and decide how best to apportion portfolios among the various Ministers to even the work load.

For example, it was only recently that State Expenditure was removed

from the Finance portfolio of Mr Barend du Plessis and made into an independent Department of State under Mr Amic Venter.

The Cabinet as now constituted looks very different from that Mr De Klerk inherited three weeks ago,

In effect, a new Minister of Finance may not be announced before the weekend at the earliest. It is not yet clear whether the country is waiting on a single appointment as new Minister of Finance, or a major reshuffle aimed at promoting the new South Africa.

CITIZEN 30/4/92  
CODESA REJECTS 15

APPLICATIONS TO JOIN

FIFTEEN of 17 applications by organisations and political parties to join

Codesa have been re-  
jected, Codesa's manage-  
ment committee an-  
nounced in a statement  
yesterday.

The management com-  
mittee (MC) postponed  
taking a decision in the  
case of two applications  
from Rocky Malebane  
Metsing's People's Pro-  
gressive Party, banned in  
Bophuthatswana, and the

National Seoposengwe  
Party.

These would be further  
discussed at the next MC.  
meeting.

A late application re-  
ceived from the joint ex-  
ecutive authority of Kwa-  
Zulu was referred to the  
daily management com-  
mittee for its recommen-  
dation.

As part of processing  
the applications, the MC  
and daily . management  
committee sent a ques-  
tionnaire to applicants in  
February this year, the  
statement said.

CITIZEN 30/4/92  
' ARROGANT' ANC  
CLAIMS TO GO  
BEFORE CODESA

CAPE TOWN. Sub-  
missions on inflammatory  
statements by ANC  
leaders, blaming the  
security forces and the  
government for the cur-  
rent violence are to be  
made to Codesa on  
Monday, the Minister of  
Law and Order, Mr  
Hernus Kriel, said last  
night.

- In a statement issued  
from Cape Town, Mr  
Kriel said the state-  
ments by ANC leaders  
in the past few days  
have shown a remark-  
able aggression and ar-

rogance- in laying the blame for the current violence at the door of the

In addition, a report based on an exhaustive search of Press coverage

between January 1, 1991

to January 31, 1992 in South African newspapers, including weekly publications, was commissioned.

â\200\234By the time the MC considered the applications, it had received responses to the questionnaire from nine of the 17 applicants.

â\200\234The MC considered each application and agreed by general consensus to reject the appli-

security forces, the government as such, and even the State President in person, without any evidence or substantiation".

â\200\234This is in our view a clear contravention of the National Peace Accord and the spirit of Codesa.

â\200\234These statements are all the more surprising in view of the recent blatant admission by (Natal Midlands leader) Mr Harry Gwala that the ANC killed so-called warlords of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the naked threats by (Western Transvaal

cation of 15 applicants.â\200\235  
The unsuccessful applicants are: Afrikaner Party, Boervolk. Boerentia Party, Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, Insika National Party, Freedom Party of SA, Merit Peopleâ\200\231s Party, Mighty Sofasonke Party, Pan African Congress of South Africa (NOT the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)), Re-

ca,

Party, Venda National  
Party, Mnyamana Action  
Party and United Asian  
Front. â\200\224 Sapa.

leader) Mr George Ma-  
thusa to disrupt Bophu-  
thatswana through  
necklacing etc. and the  
masquerading of ANC  
officials in police uni-  
form.

â\200\234These events have  
now created a situation  
which cannot be alle w-  
ed to continue.

â\200\234The government has  
accordingly decided to  
pursue the matter  
through the channels of  
the National Peace  
Accord and Codesa.

â\200\234A comprehensive  
submission will be made  
to Codesa on Monday,â\204¢  
Mr Kriel concluded. â\200\224  
Sapa.

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CODESA

DATE ISSUED  
7/5/92

SOWETAN 30/4/92  
PAC TURNS DOWN  
CODESA INVITATION

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday reiterated his organisation's view that it would not have any dealings with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The organisation received an invitation to attend Codesa 2 yesterday afternoon, shortly after Makwetu's arrival from an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Arusha, Tanzania.

The PAC leader said Codesa could not deliver genuine freedom, adding that they would turn down the invitation in writing.

He said: "We will afford Codesa the courtesy of a reply, but we will definitely not be attending Codesa I on May 15.

MAKWETU

"Instead of agreeing to freedom, it agreed on reaction and repression," he said in response to news reports that Codesa had agreed to a state of emergency and detention-without-trial regulations during the transitional phase.

"Instead of agreeing on

the demand for an elected constituent assembly as the only forum to draft a con-

stitution, Codesa yesterday agreed that an interim parliament should draft a constitution.â\200\235

He said Tuesday was â\200\234the worst day in the life of Codesaâ\204¢,

Referring to violence, Makwetu said his organisation's interpretation of the political violence was giving - ine â\200\234unsurpassed momentum with the decision of the OAU ad hoc committee (to call for international involvement to put an end to the violenceâ\204¢â\200\231.

He had put forward the view that a commission of African leaders be formed to investigate the violence.

The PAC has constantly insisted on international involvement to solve the countryâ\200\231s political problems.

Asked whether the organisation was being pres-

sured by various African governments, the PAC president conceded that OAU members had said they would prefer all political parties to engage in the Codesa process,

Position

â\200\234But we explained our position excellently. And fortunately, we are not obliged to anyone - we are an - independent political Koiite, â\204¢

Makwetu said he had various discussions with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela while they were abroad - most matters centring on the reconvening of the Patriotic Front.

â\200\234The PAC called for the direct participation of the OAU secretary-general in the reconvening and monitoring of the Patriotic/United Front,â\200\235â\200\235 he added.

BEELD 30/4/92  
GEEN BYKOMENDE PARTYE  
TOT KODESA TOEGELAAT

Deur Tim du Plessis,  
Grondwetlike Beriggewer

GEEN bykomende partye gaan in  
diÃ© stadium tot die Konvensie vir 'n  
Demokratiese Suid-Afrika (Kodesa)  
toegelaat word nie.

Die bestuurskomitee van Kodesa  
het gister bekend gemaak dat die  
aansoek van vyftien partye wat se-  
dert Kodesa se eerste voltallige sit-  
ting in Desember verlede jaar aan-  
soek gedoen het om toelating, van die  
hand gewys is.

Die aansoek van die People's Pro-  
gressive Party en die National Seo-

posengwe Party is oorgehou en die  
bestuurskomitee sal nd verdere on-  
dersoek en beraadslaging â\200\231n besluit  
oor diÃ© twee se aansoek neem.  
Luidens die verklaring is 'n laat  
aansoek ook ontvang van die Gesa-  
mentlike Uitvoerende Gesag van

KwaZulu/Natal. DiÃ© aansoek is na  
die dagbestuur verwys vir 'n aanbe-  
veling.

Enkele groter politieke partye  
soos die Pan-Africanist Congress  
(PAC), die Azanian People's Organi-  
sation (Azapo) en die Konserwatie-  
we Party is pas weer genooi om Ko-  
desa se volgende voltallige sitting  
middel aanstaande maand by te  
woon. :

Mnr. Clarence Makwetu, presi-  
dent van die PAC, het gister in Jo-  
hannesburg gesÃ© die PAC bly daar-  
van oortuig dat Kodesa nie die ware  
vryheid kan bring wat die meerder-  
heid van Afrikane in Suid-Afrika wil  
hÃ© nie.

Die PAC sal yok die jongste uitno-  
diging om hom by Kodesa aan te  
sluit, van die hand wys, het mnr.  
Makwetu gesÃ©.



Kodesa se bestuurskomitee het  
gister ook die vraelys uitgereik wat

hy aan die aansoekers gestuur het  
om te bepaal of hulle kwalifiseer vir  
deelname.

Elke party is onder meer gevra om  
te sê hoeveel ampsdraers en perso-  
neel hy het, wat sy grondwet is, of hy  
sy steun kan aandui deur middel van  
vergaderings, publikasies en fonds-  
insameling en of hy al deelgeneem  
het aan verkiesings vir die Parle-  
ment, plaaslike bestuursliggame of  
ander politieke instellings.

Die partye wie se aansoek afge-  
keur is, is die Afrikaner-party, Boer  
volk, Boerentia-party, Federal Inde-  
pendant Alliance, Insika National  
Party, Freedom Party of SA, Merit  
People's Party, Mighty Sotho Party,  
Party, Pan-African Congress of SA,  
People's Party of SA, Reform Party  
of SA, United Conciliation Party,  
Venda National Party, Mnyamana  
Action Party en die United Asian  
Front.

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CODESA

R T TR e

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1 7/5/92

BEELD 30/4/92  
DIE ANC-UITSPRAKE  
MAANDAG NA KODESA

KAAPSTAD. - Voorleggings oor â\200\234opruiende uitsprake deur ANC-leiersâ\200\235 gaan Maandag aan Kodesa gedoen word, het die Minister van Wet en Orde, mnr. Hernus Kriel, gesÃ©. Mnr. Kriel het gister in 'n verklaring gesa uitsprake wat die ANC die afgelope paar dae gemaak het, â\200\234toon merkwaardige aggressie en arrogansie deur die geweld voor die deur van die Veiligheidsmagte en die Regering,

selfs pres. F.W. de Klerk, te l&, sonder enige bewyse.

â\200\234DiÃ© uitsprake is veral verrassend nd mnr. Harry Gwala, 'n Natalse ANC-leier, se erkenning onlangs dat die ANC sogenaamde Inka-tha-krygshere vermoor het, en die Wes-Transvaalse leier, mnr. George Mathusa, se dreigement om Bophuthatswana onregeerbaar te maak met onder meer halsnoermoorde

"â\200\230Dit het 'n situasie laat ontstaan wat nie langer toegelaat kan word nie. 'n Omvatten-de voorlegging sal Maandag aan Kodesa ge-

doen word.â\200\235 - (Sapa).

VERREGSES

TRANSVALER 30/4/92  
KODESA SE NEE VIR

%

LizÃ©t Louw

DRIE vÃrregse organi-  
sasies is deelname aan  
Kodesa geweier. Hulle  
is die Boervolk,  
die Boerentia-party en  
die â\200\234Afrikaner-Partyâ\200\235.

Kodesa se bestuurs-  
komitee het ook twaalf  
ander politieke partye  
en â\200\230organisasies deel-  
name geweier. Hy oor-  
weeg nog 'n paar aan-  
soeke.

Op die lys van orga-  
nisasies wat weggewys  
is, is name waarvan  
die meeste mense  
waarskynlik nog nooit  
gehoor het nie, soos die

ighty Sofasonke Par-

y, Mnyamana Action  
arty en Merit

Peopleâ\200\231s Party.

Dit is nie die ecrste  
Jeer dat die Boer-  
volk probeer om sy  
standpunt by Kodesa  
te 'gtel nie. DiÃ bewe-

ging is op die vooraand .

van Kodesa 1 in De-  
sember y kverlede - jaar  
meegeÃÃel dat sy aan-  
soek om die sitting by  
te woon, van die hand

gewys is.

Een van sy lede, mnr  
Piet Bester, het groot  
konsternasie veroor-  
saak toe hy op die eer-  
ste dag van Kodesa 1  
se sitting daarin ge-

slaag het om in die"

kenmerkende bruin  
klere van regse groepe  
die vergadersaal

waar pres F W de  
Klerk sy toespraak ge-  
lewer het â\200\224 binne te  
dring., %

Dic organisasie het  
na Kodesa 1 onder-  
fneem om wÃÃr te pro-  
beer om tocgelaat te  
word. : :

'n Boervolk-segs-  
man, die akteur Schalk  
Jacobsz, sÃ© oor die  
tweede weiering dat  
die beweging in elk ge-  
val nie van plan was  
om te onderhandel nie.

-Hulle wou net hÃ©  
partye by Kodesa moet

. â\200\234vir hul eie heilâ\200\235 hoor

wat â\200\230die Boervolk wil â\200\230

hÃ©.

Â® Die leier van die  
Boerentia-party, mnr  
Barry Nilson, was nie

baie bekommerd toe hy  
hoor dat sy party deel-  
name geweier is nie:

â\200\234Daar is iets groots  
aan die gang wat die  
Boerentia-party sal  
insluk, maar meer kan  
ek nie nou sÃ© nie,â\200\235 het  
hy gesÃ©.

Â® Diec Pun African-  
ist Congress of Azaniu  
se president, mnr Clar-  
ence Makwetu, het  
herhaal dat sy organi-  
sasie niÃ© aan Kodesa  
sal deelneem nie.

Die PAC het gister  
â\200\230n uitnodiging ontvang  
om Kodesa 2 by te  
woon. Mnr Makwetu sÃ©  
Kodesa kan nie tot  
ware vryheid lei nie.

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682

VOLKSBLAD 30/4/92  
KODESA-DOCUMENT GEE  
REGERING MOED

Arrie Rosgbuw,  
Politieke Beriggewer

KAAPSTAD. - Die Regering is be-  
moedig deur die vordering wat ge-  
maak is in Werkgroep 2 van Kodesa,  
en hy sal â\200\234versigtige en positieweâ\200\235  
oorweging skenk aan die gidskomi-  
tee se voorstelle gor grondwetgewen-  
de meganismes en â\200\230n tussentydse  
grondwet, sÃ© dr. Tertius Delpont,  
Adjunk-minister van Staatskundige  
Ontwikkeling.

Hy het op 'n inligtingsessie oor  
die werksaamhede van Kodesa  
Maandag en Dinsdag gereageer op  
vrae oor die Regering se standpunt  
oor die gidskomitee van Werkgroep  
2 se konsepdokument wat onder  
meer voorsiening maak vir â\200\231n pro-  
porsioneel verkose tussentydse par-  
lement en sterk regionalisme.,

Dr. Delpont het gesÃ© in die lig van  
die konsepdokument mag die Rege-  
ring, in afwagting op die uitslag van  
Sy ondersoek, moontlik oorweeg om

in dié stadium geen inisiatief, soos  
die publikasie van 'n konsepwetsont-

die vordering wat hulle in (lif" ver-  
band gemaak het,â\200\235 het hy gese.  
Die

konsepdokument skep 'n  
â\200\234bruikbare grondslag vir verdere  
onderhandelingâ\200\235 en is ' â\200\234baie be-  
langrike dokumentâ\200\235, Dr. Delport

het egter beklemtoon dat die doku-  
ment die produk is van beraadsla-  
ginge deur 'n tegniese komitee wat  
uit â\200\234persoonlikhedeâ\200\235 en nie verteen-  
woordigers van politieke partye be-  
staan nie.

Dit is nog nie die produk van  
onderhandeling deur politieke par-  
tye nie. Die partye sal dit Maandag  
in die werkgroep bespreek.

Dr. Delport het gese die konsepdok-  
ument handel onder meer oor die  
verkiesing van 'n tussentydse parle-  
ment en nie oor die besonderhede

e

en 3 sal in staat wees om positiewe  
verslae aan Kodesa II voor te lê oor

van die struktuur van so 'n parle-  
: ; ment nije.

DR. DELPORT ' :Dieâ\200\230 bestaan van een of twee  
huise (in die tussentydse parlement)

Werp oor â\200\231'n oorgangsgrondwet, te word nie in die dokument aanvaar  
neem nie.

of uitgesluit nie, Die verkose parle-  
ment kan een of twee huise he. Dit  
is die soort besonderhede waaroor  
nog onderhandel moet word."â\200\235

â\200\234Die Regering hoop Werkgroepe 2

Kodesa se volgende voltallige sitting middel aanstaande maand by te woon D

rence Makwetu, presilie PAC, het gister inrg gesê die PAC salook die jongste uitnodiging omhom by Kodesa aan te sluit van

Bêre's sal 200 231 t'uur 200 231 x fêre kmmêre hetie vraelys titgereikg wat hy aan

het om te bepaal of hulle kwalifiseer vir deglname, \_

5 | onder meer gevrampsdraers en per:

5 om sê hoeveel ampsdra :  
1 soneel hy wat sy grondwet is,  
\_of hy s kan aandui dmv.  
vergaderings, publikasies en fondsin sameling, of hy al aan verkiesings deelgeneem het, ens. :  
\_Die partye wie se aansoek afgekeur .is, is: die Afrikaner-party, Boervolk, Boerentia-party, Federal \_ Independant Alliance, Insika National Party, Freedom Party of SA, Merit People's Party, Mighty Sofasonke Party, Pan African Congress of SA, People's Party of SA, Reform Party of SA, United Oorloerliation Party, Venda National Party, Mnyamana Action Party en die United Asian Front.

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CODESA

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CRITICISING FW  
UNCALLED FOR

CIENSPRESSEL0)/(5//192

I AM writing in reaction to the charges levelled against the State President's transitional government proposals by the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Azoop's Strini Moodley in City Press of April 26. '

One would expect them to criticise the government constructively with a view to enlightening the public.

FW de Klerk's new proposals are guidelines for discussion in Codesa, not

for unqualified fault-finding by the so-called political critics.

Constructive criticism is called for when it is reinforced by alternatives which shed more light on issues at stake.

The NP representatives' leadership in Codesa discussions is undeniably justified because they are well-informed about the politics of a democratic state. Maxwell Mokone, Bakone, Pietersburg.

CITY PRESS 10/5/9  
GOVERNMENT PLAYS  
FOR TIME

2

RECENTLY we heard  
that the SA government's  
desa.

If these negotiations  
fail, who will be blamed?

Since the talks are con-

ducted in SA without a neutral chairman, the SA government has all the power to delay or reverse initiatives. That is why they were the first to object when the international-

to chair the talks.

Now they want the legislative and executive powers to remain in the tricameral parliament

ment takes over.

al community was asked

when the interim govern-

According to the NP this so-called interim gov-

excuses are delaying Co<sup>ndition</sup> ernment. must serve as a

uppet advisory body.

â\200\231 'Il)â\200\230i-\201s indicates that the NP wants to be in power

forever. The parties inside

.. Codesa have two options:

to accept being co-opted

\_ as puppets, or to let it fail.

If negotiations were

held outside SA and

chaired by the OAU, UN

~or Commonwealth, the

regime would be scared to

present meaningless accu-

sations as delays. â\200\230

. The US interfered in

- Angolan affairs by de-

manding elections, why

- canâ\200\231t they do the same for

SA? - Albert Mfana, East

London.

CITY PRESS 10/5/92

NO MORE CORDESA

FOR ROCKY

THE leader of the banned Pcopleâ\200\231s Progressive Party in Bophuthatswana, Rocky Malebane-Mets-

ing, this week announced that his party decided to

withdraw an application to participate in Codesa.

Malebane-Metsing said one objective of the

PPP was to oppose the participation of the Bop

delegation. The move did not mean his party

recognised the legitimacy of that delegation.

14/5/92

'CITY PRESS 10/5/92  
â\200\234TRADITIONALS BACKED  
- FOR CODESA

ANC president Nelson Mandela supported the qualified participation of traditional leaders at Codesa at a meeting with chiefs in Umtata on Friday.

Mandela has reportedly suggested that traditional leaders participate in all Codesa working groups, but refrain from voting.

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4/6/92 2=

CITY PRESS 31/5/92  
ANC SHIFTS POLICY

ON NATIONALISATION

IN a slight but significant shift.  
of gear, the ANC national po-  
licy conference yesterday remo- -  
ved nationalisation ag ome of its ..  
key objectives on coming to po-  
wer. % f ,v'}.,,;"â\200\230 LNk  
Political observers believe  
that although the movement has 7+  
not . removed nationalisation

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa "0 Â°  
â\200\230 TLIERSY 7 â\200\234ment Path for a Democr: tic  
â\200\230South Africaâ\200\235, the ANC'â\200\231s eco-  
â\200\234 =+ nomic policy is based on that of

foster a new and constructive  
\_relationship between the people,  
the state, the trade union move-

â\200\234ment, the

CITY PRESS 31/5/92  
PEOPLE'S DIARY

"

"Titled â\200\234Growth and Develop-

â\200\230mixed economy.

â\200\234Such a mixed economy will

All  
urged to attend.

THE Berea branches of the

ANC and the SACP will hold a  
Codesa report back meeting at  
the Sached basement, Allied  
Building, corner Rissik and  
Bree streets, in Johannesburg  
on June 4 at 7 pm.

branch members are

privat\_p sector and the

oy

completely from its vocabulary,  
the latest decision, {taken at  
Nasrec. showgrounds: nearâ\200\231

; (YRR 35PN 0 a unitary South Africa â\200\224 a

m:t%â\200\231rwâ\200\230u- siglg:ar:%mp?iv ; ition which could cause pro-  
ganisation s relauons w : mâ\200\231n:illin'câ\200\234&' where there  
Â¢ AR 1+ jmmgs are still yoices calling for fede-  
' econommic heavet. .Â« ralism. It also restated its prefe-  
wlghs, M St oMb 161080 (e ired fom of

weni and Trevor Manuel, were gvernment.oohwy Â¢  
8 in tryingâ\200\231 Unveiling its constitutional

refute questions from the Press

-policy the organisation adopted  
â\200\234a bicameral system with an  
elected national assembly and a  
â\200\234senate. The functions of the na-  
-tional assembly will be among  
â\200\230other things to elect a president  
ho will have both executive  
nd ceremonial powers. The se-

that the new policy amounted to

partly abandoning nationalisati=  
on as a policy. Sk

According to the:new: policy,  
nationalisation is just one of the  
many policy instrurgents the  
ganisation will employ-  
ring economic gro  
ment and addressi  
ons of poverty..'

â\200\234tives directly elected from the

â\200\230regions. |

ate will be made of representa- -

cise van nugterheid, eerlikheid en rede-  
likheid, is dit jou pligom dit met vriend en  
vyand te bespreek.â\204¢

In die verlede was Avstig ook huiwerig  
om aan Kodesa deel te neem. Die organi-  
sasie het egter onlangs 'n memorandum  
aan Kodesa voorgelÃ©. Avstig voel nou dat  
â\200\230n teenwoordigheid by Kodesa nodig is

om sy voorstelle te motiveer en te verdui-  
delik.

â\200\2340ns stel net belang in beperkte maar  
gerigte verteenwoordiging,â\200\235 sÃ© prof.  
Boshoff.

Hy verduidelik dat sy organisasic nic  
belang stel in die opstel van "n nuwe  
grondwet vir die RSA nie. â\200\234Dit moet u it-  
gemaak word deur die mense wat daar wil  
bly woon.â\200\235

Hy glo dat 'n â\200\234\*volksbewegingâ\204¢ ook ge-

regtig is op declname, net soos politieke  
partye.\*As hulle dic ANC toegelaat het,

RAPPORT 31/5/92  
BOSHOF WIL NA  
KODESA

'DIE volkstaters wil Kodesa toe. Prof. Ca

rel Boshoff, voorsitter van die Afrikaner  
vryheidstigting (Avstig), sÃ© dat sy organi  
sasie reeds met Kodesa se reÃ©lingskomi  
â\200\230tee onderhandel oor die manier waarop  
â\200\231 an deelneem. Daar word nou ge-  
e komitee se reaksie.

Diti in kontras met ander regse orga-  
:nisasies wat steeds weier om enigiets met  
Ã«Kodesate doente hÃ©. â\200\230â\200\230Wanneer jy nie 'n  
ï-\202lanâ\200\231het nie, vermy 'n mens vanselfspre-

moet hulle ons ook toelaat.â\200\235

Die afgelope maande het Avstig ook  
verskeie samesprekings gehad met lede  
van dic ANC. Daar sal in die toekoms  
waarskynlik nog sulke gesprekke plaas-  
vind.

Gevra of die ANC nie beginselbesware  
het teen 'n volkstaat net vir blankes nie,  
het prof. Boshof gesÃ©: â\200\234Die volkstaat is  
vir Afrikaners. Dit diskrimineer nie teen  
mense nie, en is oop vir almal wat hulle  
met die Afrikaner se strewe kan vereen-

Ã«kend. die konfronterende gesprek,â\200\235 sÃ© selwig.â\200\235 Hy verduidelik dat sulke  
mense

P ?B'oshoffâ\200\230.' â\200\234Maar as jou planne dui- ook anderskleuriges kan wees.

delik uitgewerk is, en voldoen aan alle

SIRARRI R S U

RAPPORT 31/5/92  
KLEIN PARTYE WORLD |  
AL HOE GROTER FAKTOR

Deur ANNE-MARIE | :

OP die oog af lyk dit of daar diÃ© week niks by Kodes aangegaan het nie. Maar d44r waar die Oog nie sien nie, in die binnekamers, tussen vennote en teenstanders, word â\200\231'n ander Kodesa-politiek skuif vir skuif verder gevoer.. .Ã«

Eers, wat die oog wel kon sien: Die bestuurskomitee het nie juis Maandag, soos beplan, gevorder met nuwe vaartbelynde strukture nie, behalwe om te besluit dathy in die toekoms 38 pleks van 19 lede gaan hÃ© omdat hy die werk van die eertydse vyf logge werkgroepe van 80 lede elk moet oorneem. Die res van die dag s getwis oor beweerde meeluistering van die ANC se telefone.

Mobre sal daar verder oor nuwe strukture gepraat word â\200\224 straks klein werkkomitees wat die I%"Stuurskdmitee kan â\200\230inspan waar nodig. Maar reeds is ar?â\200\231 vangie kleiner Kodesa-partye knorrig: Hulle is ergerlik omdat die werkkomitees sÃ© klein gaan wees dat

Tot so ver dit wat op.die.oog af KadeSa. â\200\231n Mens kon

nie alle partye daarin gaan dien nie. . ;  
ek

. 00g af aanga O {n Mens  
dit alles afgemaak het as:'n itriterende gekibbel terwyl die land

brand. Maar juis omdat die kleiner Kodesa-partye toenemend n groot rol speel in die binne-politiek, is daar onder die oppervlak meer as net 'n gekibbel aan die gang.

En dit kan 'n belangrike rol speel in die verdere verloop van Kodesa.

Die kleiner Kodesa-partye is in sommige gevalle bitter klein en vir baie Suid-Afrikaners totaal onbekend (wie het al gehoor van die Intando Yesizwe-party, die Inyandza National Movement, die Dikwankwetla-party, die'Ximoko Progressive Party?) Maar juis omdat alle partye ewe veel sÃ© het by Kodesa en omdat daar 'n hoÃ© mate van konsensus by Kodesa moet wees om besluite te neem, het hulle buitengewoon belangrik geword.

Om dit te verstaan, moet 'n mens eers teruggaan na die begin van Kodesa. Toe reeds het die ANC 'n stewige â\200\234\*blokâ\204¢ aan sy kant gehad deurdat hy voor die tyd die Patriotic Front gevorm het. (Onder sy vennote: Die SA Kommunistiese Party, die Arbeiders-party, die Transvaal en Natal Indian Congress, en Trar.skei.) 'n ANC-blok van sowat agt partye het die Regering en di= NP bra geïsoleerd in Kodesa laat lyk.

Nietemin het die Regering/NP klaarblyklik nie op sy hande gesit terwyl die PF-partye en die ANC in die dae voor Kodesa 2 gekoukus het nie.

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21y

From previous page

manne - hiervoor %ewerf is. Hierdie eenheia  
word deur middel van beÃdigde verklarings  
minstens verbind met die moord op adv. Anton  
Lubowski van Windhoek. ; :

Die afgelope aantal jare 1& die Weermag en

diÃ@ Â°Â°â\200\234h"siÃ\$ii wat. intussen onggi{nd- is, ook, met

WET IN EIE HANDE '

Praat 'n mens met senior polisie-offisiere,  
word ruitelik erken dat daar binne die. SAP  
ook lede kan wees wat soms die wet in eie hande  
neem, en wat dalk met politieke motiewe op-  
tree. Maar net so pertinent word daarop ge

dat die polisie se vervolfingsrequeud 'n bewys is  
van hoe hy daaroor voel. ~ Â \* -

ekaar Sorhoops, 'n Reeks hofsake sal stellig .  
nâ\200\230gf}g{Ãï-\201{: 82}};;}}; e \_hi;xs'i:;'v?i"n'fbugzi-' of

AR LT 2 R P

: Â\$

Binne die mag heers daar klaarblyklik bitter- -

stafhoof van Umkhonto opdrag gegee het vir  
die pleeg van talle moorde. Eertydse terroriste  
is vandag eerbiedwaardige lede van Kodesa.

Die Regering en die ANC onderhandel ook  
nogoer die vrylating van veroordeelde moorde-  
naars en ander gevangenes wat weens die erns  
van hul misdade nog nie kwytskelding ontvang  
het nie.

Indien 'n polisieman egter 'n onwettige daad

begaan het, kan hy alleen amnestie kry as hy 'n  
voï-201e bekentenis aan die Staatspresident maak  
en om begenadiging vra. Begnadiging wat in  
die lig van die Kodesa-onderhandeling moeilik  
toegestaan sal kan word. En ook omdat daar in  
die ANC-gesinde pers lankal â200\231n klimaat geskep  
word vir 'n reeks â200\234Neurenberg-verhore'â200\235.  
Verskeie waarnemers het reeds daarop ge-  
wys dat polisiemanne wat vir hul toekoms onder  
'n nuwe regering vrees, verlei kan word tot  
politieke geweld, in die hoop dat die oorgangs-  
proses op so 'n manier vertraag kan word.

heid omdat feitlik alle lede van Umkhonto in-  
tussen vrywaring van very

Â¥

olging ontvang het. .  
Onder hulle is daar mense wat bomme geplant  
het en iemand soos mnr, Chris Hani, wat as -

Dit het waarskynlik tyd geword dat die hele

kwessie van amnestiÂ¢ in sy geheel bekyk word,  
ook vir lede en oud-lede van dic veiligheids-  
magte.

CITIZEN 1/6/92  
TREURNICHT: NEW  
NATIONAL FORUM  
IS IN OFFING

THE Conservative Partyâ200\231  
would only participate in  
a convention â200\224 other

last say on the future of  
the nations of South Afri-  
â200\234I am convinced there  
will be another conven-  
tion. To tell the truth, it is  
already coming about.â204¢ 't

Once this forum: had'  
materialised, : - theâ204¢ 'CP  
would participate in talks;

provided that the self-de-'  
termination - of : Whites:

â200\230Treumight said. |  
7 The Â£whole ~9f South

iolie s ploenod

o thuer Whisfteus] wishes of the African Nat-  
nised the right to self-de= G Co  
termination, - CP.: leader bmalThe C;sr& 'a:menta  
Dr Andries Treurnicht : s\_garhm e?i'  
e the policy of partition and  
le atga Volksk had a claim to their own  
s S land, Dr Treurnicht said.  
(Peopl.es Show). outside â\200\234From oA  
ll:' :dt:: :,'.egâ\200\231fm !thx;t Â¢ encies, we can already tell  
L government that, with the  
other forum -of leaders; f e  
gt o | they arc part of the fand  
::;ialiÃ©c a5 R et of our nation and we are  
ing to use thÃ©m as a  
â\200\234I refuse to accept that going t i 3  
â\200\230Condemsaâ\200\231 will have the power base for, our na

ĩ¬\2010ĩ¬\202.â\200\235'\_ Â\$ I

â\200\230. But Whitesâ\200\231 claim to  
land spanned a greater  
area than the CPâ\200\231s con-  
stituencies alone.

\* â\200\234We are convinced  
there are people in other  
regions â\200\230'who have the  
same : right to express  
themselves against Black  
domination and inclusion  
in a so-called non-racial  
state,â\200\235. Dr Treurnicht

CITIZEN 1/6/92

ACTION

'BATTLELINES DRAWN' AS  
ANC BRACES FOR MASS

THE African National  
Congress was bracing  
itself for confrontation  
with the government,  
with a campaign of  
mass action to break  
the current deadlock in  
negotiations.

The ANC emerged  
from its four-day policy  
conference yesterday with  
a commitment to a cam-  
paign of mass action  
which could include gen-  
eral strikes, sit-ins, staya-  
ways and demonstrations.

ANC secretary general  
Cyril Ramaphosa - said  
Codesa II had clearly  
drawn the battlelines.

â\200\234At Codesa II, the gov-  
ernment plunged the ne-  
gotiations process into a  
crisis and set itself on a

confrontation course with  
our people.â\200\235

Responding to a ques-  
tion at a news conference  
yesterday, ANC presi-  
dent Mr Nelson Mandela  
said if the government  
â\200\234remained deafâ\200\235 to ANC  
concerns, then the limits  
of negotiations had to be

coupled with mass action.

Mr Ramaphosa said the  
failure of Codesa II to de-  
liver the promised pack-  
age, which would usher in  
the transition to democ-  
racy had afforded the  
ANC with an opportunity  
to use its power on the  
ground and to force the  
government out of power.

â\200\234The conference has  
given us our battle rders  
in the form of a campaign  
aimed at:

Â® Ensuring the release  
of all political prisoners;

Â®. Realising a sover-  
iegn and elected consti-  
tution making body;

Â® Establishing an in-  
terim government of nat-  
ional unity;

Â® Creating the condit-  
ions for a free and fair  
election.

Acknowledging public-  
ly that constitutional ne-  
gotiations had reached  
their lowest ebb, Mr  
Ramaphosa said although  
the ANC was committed  
to negotiations, the orga-  
nisation could not say  
there was no alternative

)

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Rag ot

BUSINESS DAY 5/6/92 GovernME

( NT and the ANC are continu-

ANC AND GOVT STILL ingtomeet in bilateral talks to resf;l):']el?l;]e [

PATRICK BULGER ]

TALKING

constitutional dispute left by Codesa II even as the ANC and its allies prepare for mass action aimed at the same goal.

Negotiators from both sides met earlier this week, an ANC source confirmed. A -government spokesman said government . would neither confirm nor deny such talks. . The ANC source said the talks were aimed at resolving the dispute that arose at Co-desa II on a constitution-making body.

Despite optimism' from both sides that the dispute could be resolved, a campaign for mass action was proceeding.

The ANC, insisting that negotiations and mass action were not inconsistent, was still making preparations for mass action to.strengthen its call for an interim government and an agreement on elections for

a constitution-making body, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday.

The ANC had not set specific deadlines for the onset of its campaign.

However, mass action in the form of rallies, marches, demonstrations, sit-ins and pickets would begin on June 16 under the auspices of the ANC Youth League (Ancyl) â\200\224 two weeks before the expiry of the deadline imposed by Cosatu.

Ancyl said yesterday that â\200\234June 16 1992" would also be taking place within the context of the overall ANC-led campaign

which should effectively begin early in July.

Ancyl spokesman Parks Mankahlana said that nothing short of an interim government could halt the campaign.

CITIZEN 5/6/92  
MILITARY SERVICE: GP  
COULD 'RECONSIDER'

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 The Conservative Party yesterday threatened to â\200\234â\200\230reconsiderâ\204¢ its attitude to national service should the SA Defence Force be placed under the control of an interim government.

Dr Willie Snyman, CP spokesman on defence, quoted the former Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, as suggesting that all forces, including the SADF, should be disbanded and that a totally

new force should be created.

This would include not only the SADF but other military or para-military organisations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and the TBVC forces.

â\200\234The Minister also foresaw the possibility that some individuals who were disadvantaged historically could be promoted in such a defence force by way of affirmative action,â\200\235 said Dr Snyman.

â\200\234This

defence force,

which the Minister suggested, would be placed under the control of an interim or transitional government in terms of an agreement which has already been reached in Codesaâ\200\231s Working Group One.

â\200\234The CP has warned



the government that if  
this situation materialises,  
it will reconsider its atti-  
tude to compulsory nat-  
ional service and volun-  
tary participation of our  
people in the part-time  
forces of the SADE.â\204¢

CITIZEN 5/6/92  
CP LIKELY TO EMPHASISE  
'VOLKSTAAT'

means of achieving self-  
determination for the  
Afrikaner volk is ex-

vative Party at a meet-  
ing of its General Coun-

row.

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 A  
stronger emphasis on

the â\200\230volkstaatâ\200\231 ideal as a forthcoming

cil in Pretoria tomor- .

The General Council,  
a -body broadly,, rep-. .. .aj  
representative of the Con-' ' nd  
servative Party at all:le-: < to the General Council

\_vels, will meet to discuss .

strategy and policy pro-  
posals for the partyâ\200\231s  
national  
congress.

The CP leader Dr

. Andries Treurnicht said  
pected from the Conser-

yesterday the. seven  
committees set up by

.the partyâ\200\231s parliamen-

tary caucus to examine  
strategy . options had  
completed their work,

.ptesent . proposals:

caucus. would

for discussion.

Proposals from the  
General Council would

go to the party's national congress.

It would therefore be improper for these proposals to be disclosed to the media after Saturday's meeting, but he expected that a general policy statement would make a

media conference- after. .

the meeting, Dr Treurnicht said.

I've seven committees were appointed by the caucus after the March referendum to examine various aspects of CP policy relating to a volkstaat, as well as broader social and economic issues.

Party insiders do not expect any dramatic change in the party's direction, nor in its oppo-

sition. to taking part in ..

" the  
tions.

Codesa negotia-

One of the major issues is whether the CP will maintain its position that all existing White-owned land should form the nucleus of a proposed White state, or whether a smaller White state should be sought.

The concept of smaller state, as proposed by Professor Carel Boshoff and other volkstaters, is unlikely to be endorsed by the CP General Council.

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U 2%,

DAILY NEWS 5/5/92  
AND SO IT GOES...  
ARNIE BENJAMIN

MY CODESA QUIZ IS  
OPEN TO THE PUBLIC

fused as all hell about Codesa: Like the weather or the Reserve Bank, we know itâ\200\231s out there, and doing things that may affect us vitally. But precisely what these things are remains, like the weather and the Reserve Bank, somewhat enigmatic and conjectural. T  
Letâ\200\231s start with the easier stuff. Something we can all be clear about is what the Codesa acronym stands for: Convention for a Democratic South Africa. - :  
Disregard the usage of Dr Andries Treurnicht who, with the light humour for which heâ\200\231s 'known, persists in calling it â\200\234Condemnsâ\200\235. Take no notice of the version used by one of his henchmen in Par-

about talks with a few differences.

birth just before last Christmas, a coincidence that: may or may not have been deliberately planned.

\_ The birth took place not in a stable but in a setting almost as lowly: a shabby and nearly broke ;rade centre in Kempton Park, decorated with logos in neo-impressionist style. 5 -

they issued a ringing credo for the future. No Kings

of the East showed up at this stage: that was yet to become an issue. - '

That's enough about Christmas, and-so far no fine. Nearly all the rest of the Codesa story is shrouded in mystery, so the truly democratic way to fill in the gaps is through a quiz open to the public. Sufficient consensus will carry the day. Here goes.

IKE ME, readers are probably con-

liament: Kom Ons Deel En"Steel Alles. It's just | your conventional constitutional convention, talks

Now: Codesa, as we all know, had a sort of virgin

Wise men arrived, plus many not so wise, and-

Over recent months the parties represented at Codesa have reached a point of:

- (A) Breakthrough;
- (B) Nervous breakdown;
- (C) Breaking wind,
- (D) Breaking the bank;
- (E) Breaking into abandoned break-dancing because they don't know what to do next.

[0 The grand total of delegations, delegates (use an average of 17,4 per group), officials, negotiators, advisers, hangers-on, working groups, committees, sub-committees and security men at Codesa is, to the nearest hundred: (A) 4 500, (b) 2 000, (c) indeterminate, (d) none of the above.

(Include homelands, military juntas, satellite states and the opposition parties of each, in or out of exile. Calculators may be used for this question.)

[J Consensus has been reached that transitional government will be conducted by:

- (A) A constituent assembly;
- (B) Consensus, or loser takes all;
- (C) A rapidly revolving presidency;
- (D) Zach de Beer and/or Danie Craven;
- (E) The Government.

O The contentious question of representation for the Zulu King has now become:

- (A) Partly resolved;
- (B) More involved;
- (C) Further devolved,
- (D) Trumped by the four other kings produced by the ANC, not to mention the five aces which the Government has been holding under the table.

O The constitution for the new South Africa will actually be drawn up by:

- (A) A new Parliament; .
- (B) The old Parliament, with some extra frills;
- (C) A secret agenda known only to the Almighty and/or Dr Gerrit Viljoen;
- (D) An internationally distinguished graphic artist.

All clear then? Phone through your answers to 087-0000-000, at our laughably low premium rate of R5,87 a minute, and you may win a week's holiday in exciting downtown Kempton Park. Second prize is the same, but attendance at Codesa is compulsory.

DAILY NEWS 5/5/92  
CODESA SAYS NO TO  
15 POLITICAL  
ORGANISATIONS

)

{FIFTEEN political parties and organisations, including the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance and

the Pan African Congress of South Africa, have been refused participation at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The PAC of South Africa has no links with the

black consciousness leaning Pan Africanist Congress -and is largely overtive of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

- The Codesa ' management committee met on April 27 and considered 17 applications from a wide range

of political organisations.

those parties and organisations that were refused

are: Afrikaner Party, Boervolk, Boerentia Party, Fida, Insika National Party (two applications), Merit People's Party, Mighty Sothasonke Party, PAC of

South Africa, People's Party of South Africa, Reform

Party of South Africa, United Conciliation Party,

Venda National Party, Mnyama Action Party and the United Asian Front.

The management committee has postponed taking a decision on the People's Progressive Party and the National 8eoposengwe Party.

i+ A late application received from the Joint Executive Authority of KwaZulu-Natal was referred to the Daily Management Commiittee for consideration. â\200\224 Political Reporter.

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SOCTO-POLITICAL COMMENT  
HOH=PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL PARTIES

SECTOR

FILE  
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SA LCONOMY

1004/27 2/00//492

FINANCIAL MAIL 28/8/92  
NEGOTIATIONS

Softly softly

Aside from the moves from the fringes â\200\224 the PAC, Azapo and elements of the white Right â\200\224 to get on board the negotiations train, there are signs that the deadlock between the key players, government and the ANC, is close to being broken. According to a government spokesman: â\200\234we're closer than we've been in the past two weeks, though it's too carly to predict exactly when.â\200\235

According to ANC sources, much would depend on what emerged from the second meeting, this week, between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer. This would be a continuation of their incomplete, though constructive, indaba last Friday, after which Meyer suggested they had â\200\234found the keyâ\200\235 to resolving the deadlock.

ANC negotiators were,

however, maintaining the

more cautious approach

they've adopted in recent

months, saying it would be

premature to suggest that the

key had been found. â\200\234We

can't yet say that the deadlock



has been broken until there  
have been adequate,  
substantial moves by  
government to meet  
our demands and  
that they are pre-

pared to submit  
themselves to demo-  
cratic principles."

The latter refers to

accepting a â\200\234sovercignâ\200\235 elected constitution-  
making body to write a new constitution.

Whether the steps government seemed to  
be contemplating would go far enough, was  
expected to be known after the second ses-  
sion on Tuesday night. It seems fair to as-  
sume that Meyer put something on the table  
last Friday, which Ramaphosa had to take  
back to his colleagues.

The ANC, incidentally, describes these  
one-on-one meetings as â\200\234a channel of com-  
municationâ\200\235 rather than negotiations. This  
hair-splitting is designed to accommodate the  
ANC's recent announcement that it was  
suspending all contact with government.

Of the ANC's 14 preconditional demands,  
it would seem that the key issues around  
which compromises could be struck are:

O The release of political prisoners. The  
ANC says it is more and more convinced  
that government is using these prisoners as  
â\200\234political hostagesâ\200\235 and seeking a â\200\234trade-  
offâ\204ç\* for their release with agreement on an  
amnesty for security force personnel en-  
gaged in violence. The ANC is refusing to  
entertain this idea;

O Hostels â\200\224 those hostels which have been  
flashpoints in the violence â\200\224 have to be  
fenced and permanently monitored by a  
multi-lateral peace commission, says the  
ANC;

O The suspension and investigation of se-  
curity force members implicated in the vio-  
lence. The ANC also wants the suspension of  
military intelligence chief General Joffel van

der Westhuizen pending a proper investiga-  
tion;

DO Amend to covert security operations; and  
O Agreement on a constitution-making  
body.

â\200\234We all know that compromises will have  
to be made,â\200\235 says the government source,  
but adds that this cannot be a one-way street.  
If the ANC stayed in â\200\234demand modeâ\200\235 then  
there wouldn't be any negotiations, he says.  
â\200\234The important thing is to get everybody off  
the hook and create room for manoeuvre,â\200\235  
says the source, warning against overblowing  
the â\200\234hopeful signsâ\204ç of the past week. The  
government knew there was a difference of  
opinion in the ANC alliance and further  
movement would also depend on whether  
Ramaphosa could sell any compromises  
reached with Meyer to his side.

For its part, the ANC says talk of a face-  
saving formula for resuming talks only ap-  
plies to government, which, it believes, is  
under domestic and international pressure to  
meet the ANC's \*â\200\234â\200\230reasonableâ\200\235 demands.

While the ANC naturally denies that  
there are any real differences within the  
organisation, spokesmen do point out that  
any decision over re-entering constitutional  
talks can only be made once the National  
Executive Committee has decided whether  
satisfactory steps have been taken by govern-  
ment over its demands.

According to our government source, the  
ANC demand for a â\200\234sovereignâ\204ç constitu-  
tion-making body is new and amounts to  
semantics. The principle of such an â\200\234elect-  
edâ\200\235 body was accepted and agreed long ago  
at Codesa. To government, it would seem,  
the issue here really concerns \*â\200\234â\200\230deadlock-  
breaking procedures during the constitution-  
al phase.â\200\235 ]

CITIZEN 28/8/92  
ANC BREACHED ACCORD  
BOP

25/8/92

FINANCIAL TIMES

father, Professor Wilhelm  
Verwoerd, Hendrik Verwoerd's

MMABATHO. â\200\224 Bo-  
phuthatswana has asked  
the National Peace Com-  
mittee to investigate an  
alleged breach of the  
Peace Accord by the Affri-  
can National Congress â\200\224  
for the second time in a  
month.

The homeland's Foreign Affairs Minister, Tom Setiloane, has asked NPC chairman John Hall

to investigate the latest alleged breach of the accord.

The request followed a march by ANC, SACP and Cosatu supporters on the homeland's Consulate in Bloemfontein on August 5 when representatives of the marchers wanted the Bophuthatswana Consul, Mr G H T Sebitloane, to sign

a peace accord which they had drafted.

Five representatives, who were allowed into the Consulate, told the Consul to vacate the Consulate premises, and that they would return in a different mood if he did not respond to their grievances within a week, the Bophuthatswana Government said.

WILHELM JOINS THE  
ANC VOLK

BEELD 29/8/92  
NELSON PRAAT WEER

/â\200\231/Ã©;/lfz/

=7  
Qi 7//  
All

DIE harde, ingewikkelde werklikhede van Suid-Afrika het 'n manier om politieke dagdromers dikwels in hul voetspore tot stilstand te ruk.

Dit was die koue feite wat die apartheidsbeleid in 'n doodloopstraat laat beland het. Dieselfde werklikhede laat hulle nou na links se regs geld.

Enkele weke gelede nog het die atafhoof van Umkhonto we Sizwe, mnr. Siphe Nyanda, vol bravade verklaar: â\200\234Die golf van massa-aksie sal De Klerk na die see rol.â\200\235

Sedertdien het die massa-aksie van die ANC en sy Kommunistiese hondgenote gerol - na nÃ©rens,

Ondanks beloftes van mnr. Nelson Mandela dat hy nie weer met die Staatspresident sal praat nie, het hulle reeds weer 'n gesprek gehad.

Met geslote deure word die gesprek ook tussen min. Roelf Meyer en mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa van die ANC voortgesit oor hoe om onderhandelings weer aan die gang te sit.

Die politieke klimaat het sedert die spanninge van Kodesa 2 inderdaad dramatics ten conde verander.

Daar is annfuidings dat dit ten minste â\200\230ol - o feiersl:orns van die ANUC 'eeveodeinge het dat ny homself mit die bosindiging van onderhandelings en die naarovolgende massa-aksie in die voet geskiet het.

Die sogenaamde Leipzig-opsie waarvan veral die Kommuniste in die ANC-alliansie gedroom het, het geblyk 'n lugspietling te wees.

Pleks daarvan dat die massa, soos in Oos-Europa, in 'n opwelling van emosie deel geword het van 'n volksverzet wat die Regering uit die saal laat tuimel het, bevind die ANC en sy bondgenote hulle in â\200\230n hoek.

DiÃ© ANC-alliansie moet maniere probeer vind om onderhandelings te hervat sonder dat hy verder aan aansien verloor.

Daarteenoor is die Regering se posisie nog basies dieselfde as voor die

Ã© Most white South Africans are deeply disillusioned with the African National Congress these days. Hence it is rare

to find a white man signing up as an ANC member, and doubly so if his name is Verwoerd.

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, must be squirming in his grave to learn that grandson Wilhelm,

30, has joined the ANC.  
Wilhelm, who has a theology  
degree, had a political  
awakening when attending  
Oxford as a Rhodes scholar,  
according to his wife, Melanie,  
who is also an ANC member.

Within the Verwoerd family,

. his behaviour appears even

eldest son, is a member of the  
ultra-right Conservative Party.  
His aunt and his grandmother,  
have moved to Orani,

a whites-only village in the

remote northern Cape where  
blacks are excluded, even as  
labourers. It was established

by Verwoerd's son-in-law, I'rof

family is not just  
split between left and right:  
Hendrik Verwoerd. Jr, another  
Verwoerd son, has set up a  
rival white homeland at  
Morgenzon in the Transvaal.  
He and son-in-law Boshoff  
agree that they want to live  
without blacks, but Verwoerd,  
Jr claims the entire industrial  
heartland of South Africa as  
his territory, while Boshoff

is content to live in dusty  
isolation in the Cape.

l more out of character: his  
1

massa-aksie. Dit is nie hy wat onder-  
handelings gestaak het nie.

Al het mnr. Mandela gesê dat mas-  
sa-aksie 'n alternatief vir onderhan-  
deling is, moet hy - en andere in die  
ANC - diep in hul hart geweet het  
dat dit nooit die geval kan wees nie.

Op die duur, en eerder vroeër as  
later, is onderhandeling die enigste  
vreedsame uitweg vir Suid-Afrika se  
dilemma. Dié boodskap kom ook van  
die internasionale gemeenskap.

\* Selfs die Pan-Africanist Congress  
wat tot onlangs nog die slagkreet  
"One settler, one bullet" gebulder  
het, het reeds begin om met die Re-  
gering te praat.

Die gesprekke gaan weliswaar nog  
oor voorwaardes vir werklike onder-

handeling, maar die besef het posge-  
vat dat Suid-Afrika se toekoms nie

deur die loop van 'n AK 47 besleg  
kan word nie.

Azapo steek ook voelers uit, terwyl  
die sogenaamde â\200\234nuweâ\200\235 regs-  
ter hul eerste amptelike gesprek met  
die Regering gehad het.

Dit is wins vir die land in die ge-  
heel, net soos die vordering wat in  
belangrike opsigte in Kodesa ge-  
maak is.

Daar is onder die hoofpartye reeds  
konsensus oor sulke fundamentele  
sake soos 'n veelpartystelsel, ge-

reelde verkiesings, 'n onafhanklike  
regbank en 'n akte van menseregte.  
Daarbenewens staan die ANC ook  
'n vorm van streekregering voor.  
Dit alles vorm 'n stewige fonda-  
i >

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From previous page

20 The Issue of  
Violence

I have often questioned the realistic prospect of the regime embarking on serious negotiations, in the full realisation that their inevitable result must be the loss of power, I have consequently insisted that the alliance must take seriously De Klerk's words that he seeks to reach an accommodation about sharing power, and not to surrender power.

In other words, the regime would like to arrive at a formula that would make possible the co-existence of CST and democracy. I am, consistent with ANC strategic thinking up till now, convinced that such co-existence is impossible, that democracy requires the uprooting of CST.

De Klerk's strategy - a mix of reformism, coupled with the systematic destabilisation of the ANC alliance -

has as its immediate objective rendering the

ANC too weak to resist  
such a compromise.

Contrary to what  
some, Including the  
authors of â\200\234Strategic  
Perspectiveâ\200\235 appear to  
think, there is no con-  
tradiction between  
reformism and the  
â\200\234informal repressionâ\200\235  
that the De Klerk  
regime Is employing.

It is clear that its  
broad parameters are  
the outcome of collec-  
tive decision. De Klerkâ\200\231s  
demonstrated unwill-  
â\200\234Ingness to do anything  
to stop the violence can  
have no other explan- |  
ation. :

The authors inexplic- ;  
ably treat the SADF |  
and the SAP as if these  
are autonomous play-  
ers and pot parts of the  
state maqchinery De  
Klerk uses against us.

The De Klerk regime  
obviously not come  
to ter with the  
inevitable outcome of  
serious negotiations. It  
\_has not arrived at the

seminal political dec|-  
sion that it must glve  
up pcwer. The violence  
betrays that; its neqo-  
tiations position  
betrays that; its cling-  
Ing to its alliance with  
the IFP betrays that.  
3.0. Happy Trails to  
: You or Riding into the  
â\200\230Sunset Together?

The ANC alllance and  
the regime both decid-  
ed to explore negotia-  
tions, but with  
diametrically opposed  
immediate and long-  
term objectives. This  
opposition Is rooted in  
the fundamental con.  
tradiction of our soci-  
ety.

The national libera-  
tion project includes  
not only the creation of  
a democratic state, but  
crucially, the dismem-  
berment of the racist



; state, its coercive arms -  
the army, police, the  
law courts, the prisons  
and its persuasive arm  
- the civil administra-  
tion, civil service, the  
state ideological appa-  
ratus (like SABC,

WEEKLY MAIL 13/11/92

schools, etc). These  
organs of White minor-  
ity state power, we are  
now being told, should  
not be tampered with,  
Such an option, I  
submit, will perma-  
nently block the path  
to any meaningful  
change in this country.  
We would by choosing  
such a course to do two  
things. We would keep  
in place a civil service  
that has no interest in  
serving the mass of the  
oppressed who are the  
ANC's constituency;  
keeping in place a civil  
service that will do  
everything to under-  
mine the democratic  
government; and at the  
same time keeping  
under arms the agency  
that can ensure that  
the democratic state  
"dare not touch that civ-  
il service when its dis-  
loyalty is uncovered. A  
national liberation  
movement that did  
that would not be rid-  
ing into the sunset, it  
would be building its  
own funeral pyre! Not

only does that option  
lead to a dead-end, it is  
suicidal!

Negotiations is a key  
aspect of ANC strategy  
at this time. No one in  
the ANC wants to see  
them fail. While we will  
not get at the table  
what we have not won  
on other fronts, we  
should be equally care-  
ful not to give away  
what we have won on  
those fronts at the nego-  
tiating table. I fear  
. Strategic Perspective Is  
;@ prescription to do  
that. This attempt to

revise the ANC's strategic perspective from a composite whole, linked by a radically misguided conception of what is possible in the present. It must resolve itself in a "perspective that projects for accommodation the piecemeal eradication of the substantive elements of CST - a reformist perspective!

Unfortunately, it does not work! Look at the history of social democ-

racy!

EDITORIAL COMMENT  
IT'S TIME FOR THE  
ANC TO BE BOLD

THE vigorous and healthy debate within the African National Congress over the extent to which the organisation should compromise in negotiations, sparked by Joe Slovo's "sunset clauses" proposal, demonstrates stark and important differences between the ANC and the National Party.

NP congresses are boring, pre-determined affairs, designed to gloss over differences and reflecting the habits of autocracy rather than the lessons of democracy; the ANC's strategic arguments are public, heated and treated as important and valuable - a sign of self-confidence and trust in democratic process.

The substance of the debate, however, is

more difficult than the form. Concessions will be essential in negotiations are to succeed. The debate is over whether the ANC needs to give away as much as Slovo recommends and whether they can do so without compromising the basic aims of a liberation movement. The danger is the "lame duck option", as outlined in the Mont Fleur scenarios published with this edition of The Weekly Mail: a government incapacitated by sunset clauses, indecision and uncertainty and unable to take off because it was born with a broken wing.

The ANC should not be scared to make bold tactical compromises. These need not stop the tide of democratisation, ensuring that in the end the will of the majority will win out.

But they may not need to go as far as Slovo suggests. His proposal assumes a strong government able to force major concessions from

the ANC.

This is fundamentally true, though the government is being weakened all the time by the resignations of senior ministers and the barrage of allegations of corruption and ongoing Military Intelligence "dirty tricks".

The ANC should also bear in mind the debates within the government. The cabinet can probably be divided into three groups: those who believe they have to, and can, work with the ANC as good-faith partners; those who want to co-opt the ANC as junior partners; and those who still believe they can defeat the ANC through dirty tricks.

The ANC needs to give oxygen to the first group. A refusal to compromise will only give succour to the NP hard-liners at a time when they have already been strengthened by the resignation of Stoffel van der Merwe.

STAR 14/11/92

NEW CENTRIST PARTY A  
BLEND OF UNCONVENTIONAL  
AND PRAGMATIC

FRANS PIENAAR

vere discontent with "the pandemic and insecurity prevailing in the country, the UFP is a multiracial centrist multipurpose-type organisation", its executive council spokesman, Barry Nilsson, told a news conference yesterday.

Chaired by former SABC television presenter Justice Tsungu "who failed to attend the press conference" the nine-member executive council includes several businessmen, a veterinary surgeon, a manpower consultant and a retired couple.

"Our backbone is made up of members of the business sector who will join forces with innovative political architects to promote pragmatic ideologies. Some

A NEW addition to the South African

political arena, the\*  
\*as been la

in Johannesburg. Born out of se-  
verge on the unconventional but  
are highly workable,â\200\235 Nilsson  
said.

Texas billionaire Ross Perot "

â\200\230had been approached for financial  
assistance, he said.

The party would give priority  
to pragmatic ideas, including:  
@ The restoration of business con-  
fidence and a favourable climate  
for international trade through in-  
centives, concessions and tax re-  
bates.

Â® The establishment of a disin-  
formation or propaganda neutra-  
lising centre to â\200\234ensure the anni-  
hilation of the evil communist  
fables and doctrinesâ\200\235. . - ~\_ .

Â® Mobilising security forces to  
â\200\230â\200\234clean up the country'; catch  
criminals; apply strict influx-con-  
trol to prevent foreigners from  
entering and to set up work colon-  
fes for criminal elements.

The forces would also mount  
extensive searches for weapons  
and ammunition. Anyone found in

possession of illegal weapons  
would face 10 years imprisonment  
with hard labour and people found  
guilty of killing or wounding peo-  
ple with guns would be summarily  
executed, as would drug peddlers.

â\200\234Roman military pattern con-  
trol would also be applied to  
townships and in fact to all voting  
wards throughout the country.â\200\235

Â® Revising labour practices and  
conduct codes with guarantees for  
employers and investors.

Â® The legalising of a non-profit  
State lottery to help charity or-  
ganisations.

Nilsson said his party would  
strive to act as "a catalyst in get-  
ting certain parties to gang up  
against the National Party and  
the African National Congressâ\200\235.

â\200\234We are small at present but  
we are here to stay. Through pas-  
sive pressure we are going to  
wear them (the NP) down and res-  
cue the country from radicals. We  
are the new voice in the land,â\200\235 he  
concluded. â\200\224 Sapa.

BUSINESS DAY 16/11/92  
ANC CALLS SUMMIT  
ON DEFENCE UNITS

| L AAY/HARTEEY, B R

THE ANC has called a summit of all ANC-aligned community, trade union and political organisations in the Vaal area to discuss ways of controlling renegade self-defence unit members.

The announcement of the summit, scheduled for Friday and Saturday, came after a weekend report said ANC officials believed renegades had killed six members of an ANC-supporting Sebokeng family this month. The report said an ANC investigation had found that defence units had been involved in several similar incidents in the Vaal and Natal.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the report was not accurate as the ANC had not yet established the truth of rumours that the family had been gunned down by defence unit members

Defence unit members found to have committed criminal offences would be handed to police for prosecution, while those who had committed political offences would be disciplined by the organisation, he said.

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BUSINESS DAY 9/6/92  
VOLKSTATERS APPROACH  
CODESA ON HOMELAND

AFRIKANER secessionists have applied to Codesa for limited participation to present a plan for an Afrikaner Volkstaat in the north-western Cape.

Afrikaner Volkswag chairman informed yesterday Volkstaters headed Codesa's management committee to open negotiations on the principle of an Afrikaner homeland.

"We believe in negotiations and wish to further our ideas at Codesa. We want limited participation because we do not believe we have anything to say about a future constitution. We stand for secession and we believe we have a viable proposal," Boshoff said.

He said a transition stage would be necessary as there was no part of SA where Afrikaners were in the majority at present. A new dispensation must make allowance for secession as well as drawing up borders

[ TPATRICK BULGER B

and making arrangements for the voluntary settlement of Afrikaners. Once a majority had been established, the region would have a right to secede in terms of agreements negotiated at Codesa.

Boshoff said an Afrikaner Volkstaat would be built around the Orange River basin, which would be the principal

resource.

He said he was unimpressed with new CP proposals for a Volkstaat comprising existing CP-held constituencies. He said the CP had accepted the terminology of a Volkstaat but he did not think the content of CP policy had changed or that its proposals were practical.

Meanwhile, a high-ranking CP team will meet government negotiators on Thursday to discuss ways in which the CP can present its ideas for negotiation.

BUSINESS DAY 9/6/92  
CODESA SLOWS TO A

CRAWL,

PATRICK BULGER

CODESA committees looking into levelling the political playing field and the reincorporation of the TBVC states met yesterday as negotiations slowed to a crawl.

Both committees spent much of their time drawing up agendas in preparation for further meetings.

But the management committee which is due to discuss the constitutional dispute between the ANC and government did not meet yesterday.

BUSINESS DAY 9/6/92  
MASS ACTION PUTS OUR  
FUTURE OUT ON THE  
STREET

JOHN KANE-BERMAN

AFTER Codesa II, the ANC withdrew its consent from key agreements already reached because of the deadlock over the constitution-making body, and said it would use mass action to break the deadlock.

If government is to accept that

agreements reached after nearly six months of negotiation involving 19 delegations can simply be overturned by one of those delegations, Codesa becomes irrelevant for three reasons.

Firstly, if the threat of mass action prevails, then SA's future is already in effect being decided in the streets and the NP may as well hand over power at once instead of pretending that it can ensure that the process is orderly and constitutional.

Secondly, other Codesa delegations would be exposed as nothing more than decorations to give an appearance of wider legitimacy whatever concessions government makes in response to threats of mass action.

Thirdly, Codesa itself would be exposed as neither a consensus-seeking

body nor a nation-building forum, but simply as an expensive rubber stamp.

In a sense, government has itself partly to blame for the position in which it now finds itself. At the end of March it abandoned its plans to introduce VAT on certain foodstuffs after Cosatu threatened a government strike and Nelson Mandela threatened to destroy the economy if VAT was imposed on food. No doubt mindful of the fact that the anti-VAT

campaign last November killed 100 people, government capitulated. The

| ANC and Cosatu drew the obvious

conclusion, and they are now doing the obvious thing.

Mass action may not stop even if an interim government were to be installed. It would probably be used against that interim government until that government, too, handed over power. The pattern was established in St Petersburg in 1917, in the October half of the Russian Revolution, because the target of mass action on that occasion was not the Czar, who had already been forced to abdicate,

but the inept reformist provisional government under Kerensky. The threat of rolling mass action

prompts various questions:  
O Is Cosatu becoming the dominant



partner in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP/  
Bmkhonto we Sizwe/SACP alliance?  
Despite the difficulties at Codesa II,  
Mandela struck a bullish note immediately afterwards, only later talking about mass action to break the deadlock;  
O Although 3,5-million workers supported (or were coerced into supporting) the anti-VAT campaign last

ear, can a stayaway be sustained beyond a week when retrenchments are a daily occurrence and absolute unemployment â\200\224 no work in the informal or formal sector â\200\224 is running at 2,5-million to 3-million?  
[O Will Cosatu seek to avoid this risk by staging a series of shorter stayaways instead?

O Can De Klerk dig in his heels without reversing the extraordinary breakthroughs he has made on the international front, where, at a guess, he is probably the most popular leader in the world today?

Since the processes of Codesa are necessarily slow, SA faces the prospect of a second decade of mass action, boycotts, stayaways and the .like. The price in terms of economic damage and loss of life is apparently regarded as acceptable. Mandela recently said: â\200\234Our economy has been so mismanaged it can hardly be further hurt by mass action.â\200\235

Some supporters of mass action dismiss violence as endemic anyway, and last year, after the first 24 deaths (in two days) in the anti-VAT stayaway, a Cosatu official said, complacently and inaccurately: â\200\234There have been fewer deaths in the last two days of peaceful protest than there are during the normal running of the country.â\200\235

The risk to the ANC in mass action is that it awakens unrealistic political expectations at the same time as

the organisation is beginning (o lower economic expectations.

It was, indeed, in the very speech that he talked of using mass action that Mandela pointed out that â\200\234a much greater percentage of our membership now understands the resource constraints that an ANC government will face and that there will, therefore, be no quick-fix to decades of apartheid destructionâ\200\235. This argument was echoed by Cyril Ramaphosa a day or two later. when

he too warned against â\200\234quick-fix so-  
Intionsâ\200\235 to â\200\234centuries of deprivation,  
(and) decades of corruption and mis-  
management of our economyâ\200\235.

Occasionally, when ANC effcials  
speak on economic issues they seem  
a bit more realistic than some sec-  
tions of the business community with  
their predilections for â\200\234kick-startsâ\200\235  
which are, after all, the economic  
equivalent of the political quick-fix.  
[]Kane-Berman is executive direc-  
tor of the SA institute of Race Rela-  
tions. This is an extract from an ad-  
dress to the Rotary Club,  
Maritzburg, last Friday.

E&OE

1ST FLOOR, 5 CONRAD DRIVE, BLAIRGOWRIE 2194  
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GERMANS TOLD

OF CODESA

MUNICH. â\200\224 South Afâ\200\2241

ricaâ\200\231s diplomats in Ger-

many are trying to

counter pessimism in

the Press about the

course of Codesa:â\204ç \*

In letters to the Ger:

man Press, government

offices and official bod-

ies, South Africaâ\200\231s Am-

bassador in Bonn and

the Consul General in

Munich point out that

while the latest Codesa

round ended inconclu-

sively there was no rea-

son to abandon hope.

DIE

van prof. Carel Boshoff het hom

bereid verklaar om aan die volgen-.

de sitting van: g deel te neem.

In â\200\231'n hoogs betekenisvolle ont-.

wikkeling het prof. Boshoff ook er-

kenning gegee aan streekselbfe-,

stuur en federalisme â\200\234in:die mate'

waarin dit die weg tot selfbeskik-  
king en afskeiding van die Afrika-  
nervolk tot voordeel sal strekâ\200\235.

Prof. Boshoff het gister in 'n  
verklaring te kenne gegee dat dit  
vir hom om maerderheidsbeset-

ting in 'n bepaalde gebied gaan, en  
nie noodwendig om 'n suiwer Afri-  
kaner-volkstaat nie.

â\200\234Die Vryheidstigting is oortuig  
daarvan dat die behoud van die  
Afrikanerdom alleen verseker kan  
word as die ingrypende voorwaar-  
des van selfwerkzaamheid en  
meerderheidsbesetting in â\200\231'n eie  
grondgebied aanvaar word, en dit  
hom in die Suid-Afrikaanse opset  
sowel as/ internasionaal die aan-  
spraak gee op daardie grondgebied  
en die vryheid wat daarmee ge-  
paard gaan.â\200\235

Prof. Boshoff het gesê 'n â\200\234red-  
dingsplanâ\200\235 vir die Afrikaner moet  
ten minste so groot as die bedrei-  
ging wees, en die bedreiging is om  
â\200\234verswelg en ingelyf te word in â\200\231'n  
menigte waarin daar van sy beson-  
deiare eiesoortigheid niks sal oorbly  
nieâ\200\235.

â\200\234Met diê plan in sy volle omvang  
uitgewerk, moet die Afrikaner nie  
huiwer om met elke belanghebben-  
de gesprek te voer nie.

â\200\230Alleen as dit verduidelik, gemo-  
tiveer en verdedig word, kan daar-  
voor begrip gewen word.

â\200\234Wanneer Kodesa weer op dreef  
kom, moet die Afrikaner gereed  
wees om sy standpunte en eise  
daar te stel. Dit beteken nie deel-

name aan Kodesa se bedrywighede  
om die RSA in 'n eenheidstaat of  
federasie om te vorm nie, maar  
deelname aan daardie besprekings  
wat aan die Afrikanervolk die reg  
tot afskeiding gee, en die toekoms-  
tige verhouding tot die RSA en an-  
der selfstandige state reêl.â\200\235

Prof. Boshoff het gesê die Vryheidstigting hou rekening daarmee dat daar nie nou 'n gebied is waar Afrikaner-meerderheidsbesetting bestaan nie.

Daarom laat hy in sy onderhandelinge ruimte vir 'n oorgangstyd en 'n afskeidingsklousule in die nuwe bedeling.

'n Ooreenkoms oor 'n gebiedsdaanduiding vir besetting en aanvaarbare reëlings met die oog op vrywillige hervestiging moet luidens die verklaring egter so spoedig moontlik bereik word.

Voorts moet aanvaar word dat daar geen skeidingsmaatregte is in die volkstaat sal wees nie. Gelyke burgerskap sal aan alle burgers gegee moet word.

Om te verhinder dat die probleem herhaal word waaraan die Afrikaner hom vandag moet ontworstel, is die grootste moontlike homogene besetting 'n voorwaarde, lui die verklaring.

"CAPE TIMES 2/6/92  
CODESA HOPE AT YEAR-END?

Own Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. The government's chief negotiator at Codesa, Mr Roelf Meyer, last night held out the hope of Parliament reconven-

esa deci-

who is  
Constitutional Development, said that the way negotiations were going now it was unlikely Parliament would ratify any Codesa decisions during this parliamentary session. . -

However, reconvening Parliament towards the end of the year

was an option, he said.

His remarks came "after the ANC's warning of a mass action over the lack of progress at Co-desa. :

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that the National Party and the Conservative Party warned last night that the mass action campaign would cause major damage to the economy. 248

And NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the

ing towai'd,s;j\_theâ\200\231Â»i-â\201edndi-â\201 of the i Code

ANC threats smacked of a â\200\234political inferiority complexâ\200\235 because of the ANC'â\200\231s â\200\234lack of confidence in their ability to negotiateâ\200\235.

As the war of words between the government and the ANC heated up yesterday, Dr Van der â\200\230Merwe accused ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of resorting to â\200\234provocative, violent and often racist rhetoricâ\200\235. The kind of action contemplated by the ANC would be â\200\234very damagingâ\200\235 to the economy.

â\200\231Donâ\200\231t buckleâ\200\231

Dr Van der Merwe said: â\200\234Economists were looking for a revival of the economy in the â\200\234second half of this year but the ANC'â\200\231s threats will have an immediate

diate detrimental effect on theâ\200\231

economy with the resultant negative prospects for black workers, the very constituency the ANC claims to represent.â\200\235

He said the NP called on black workers â\200\234to take note of the effects of the ANC'â\200\231s intended strategy of mass action in terms of job loss, unemployment, lower pay,

slower economic growth and a higher cost of livingâ\200\235.

The Conservative Party yesterday called on the government not to buckle to the mass action threats and instead initiate urgent legislation which would:

Â® Serve as an incentive for

married women to work.

@ Make overtime work non-tax-able during times of emergency.

CP MP for Pretoria West Mr Joseph Chiole also called on the government to fire all strikers who participated in illegal industrial action and to restructure the economy from that basis.

Boycotts and stayaways are so entrenched they may well extend into a post-apartheid society as may the practice of using coercion to ensure their success, a new SA Institute of Race Relations publication notes.

Sapa reports that the publication noted that the head of the ANC's department of political education, Mr Raymond Suttner, had stated mass mobilisation should not end when a democratically-elected government came to power.

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TELEPHONE (011) 787-1092/3 FAX (011) 789-5273

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PRESS

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES WITH REGARD TO  
THE ISSUE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS' REPRESENTATION  
IN THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE NEGOTIATING COUNCIL HELD AT  
11H40 ON FRIDAY 7 MAY 1993 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

6.1 Criteria and Process - New Participants

6.1.1 A report was presented by the Planning Committee and adopted by the meeting.

Extract from the Report of the Planning Committee:

1.1.2 Traditional Leaders

The principle of provincial representation should be maintained for the time being, but the problems around the representivity of existing delegations should be addressed in consultation with and a manner acceptable to all concerned. This issue should be discussed in the meeting of the Negotiating Council and, if necessary, be referred back to the Planning Commuittee.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD ON  
10 MAY 1993 AT 10H30 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

6.1 New Participants:

6.1.1 It was noted that letters to all applicants are to be sent out by the Administration informing them of the decision of the Negotiating Council of 7 May 1993.

Furthermore, the Administration is to send letters to the Traditional Leaders (excluding the Orange Free State Traditional Leaders) requesting them to solve problems of representivity within their delegations amongst themselves and to inform them of the decision of the Negotiating Council (the principle of provincial representation remains). The Administration was mandated to assist the Traditional Leaders if so requested.

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/TLEXT  
21 June 1993



MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD ON  
MONDAY 24 MAY 1993 AT 11H40 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

6.3.2 With regard to the Traditional Leaders the following was noted:

GRS That the Orange Free State Traditional Leaders had resolved  
the internal problems they were experiencing;

) That the Cape Traditional Leaders were still holding a series of  
meetings to resolve their internal problems;

(5 3)ol0) That the Transvaal Traditional Leaders had discussed  
informally with various participants a compromise solution to  
their internal problems. It would be suggested informally to  
these Traditional Leaders that they submit their proposal  
formally to the Negotiating Council.

With regard to the issue of the Natal Traditional Leaders, a  
progress report could possibly be made to the next meeting of  
the Planning Committee on Tuesday 1 June 1993.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE HELD ON  
FRIDAY 28 MAY 1993 AT 08H45 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE  
6.2.2 Natal Traditional Leaders:

It was noted that this issue is still under discussion by the relevant  
participants.

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/TLEXT  
21 June 1993

Applicants should be informed of the criteria and requested to submit whatever facts and arguments they wish to, but they should be required to at least respond to the questionnaire annexed to this report (Annexure A);

Administration should cause a newspaper survey over the preceding year to be conducted to establish the type of press coverage every applicant has received;

As soon as all the information is at hand in respect of a particular application, it is put before the Negotiating Council for a decision."

Against this background, you are kindly requested to:

- x Respond in writing to the three general criteria mentioned above;  
Complete the annexed questionnaire;

- o Supply us with whatever information you think necessary and important.

To expedite the process, you are requested to send your input before 12h00 on Tuesday 25 May 1993.

As soon as the newspaper survey has been completed, and your response received, the Negotiating Council will take a decision on your organisation's participation in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process.

We trust that you find this process to be beneficial and hope to hear from you soon.

Yours sincerely,

Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD ADMINISTRATION

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/CRITERIA.LTR  
11 June 1993

Annexure A

QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS  
APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS:  
FOR THE PURPOSES OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION

Note : Wherever necessary, please supply information on an attached sheet of paper.

Date of formation of party/organisation

Names of office bearers and designation

Statement of Political Intent/Constitution

Indicators of demonstrable support (signed up membership, attendance at rallies,  
elections results)

Activities: Meetings

Publications

Other

Participation in other organisations: Parliament/Legislative Assembly

Local Government

Civics

Other

Offices: Address HQ and other offices

Telephone, Fax

Number of personnel employed by your party/organisation

Are you viable in regards to sustained funding?

Geographical area of operations: support, offices, etc?

Rules of membership

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/CRITERIA.LTR

11 June 1993

AFRIKANER

VRYHEIDSTIGIING  
(AVSTIG

Posbus 7748, Preforia, 0001 Tel (012) 86-8979 Fax: 8041144  
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MPNP6-01

PARTICIPATION OF THE AFRIKANER FREEDOM FOUNDATION  
IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATION PROCESS

AVSTIG submitted its application for participation in the MPNP to Administration on 25 May 1993. To be sure that the submission is treated with the attention it deserves, our response to the three criteria laid down by the Negotiation Council is included. More detail is available.:

As it came to our ears that a subcommittee of the Planning Committee who has looked into the matter, had some reservations on our participation in terms of the first criterion, certain points have to be made:

1. A responsible decision on this matter demands reading our application- as a whole. Selective quoting or stressing without the whole argument in mind can only lead to a biased reading and should be refrained of. Everybody taking part in such a decision are called upon to do it responsibly.
2. Criterion 1 could not be preemptive of our possible input into or effect on the result of negotiations without rendering our participation meaningless. It can therefore not prescribe to us a specific outcome or constitutional structure and expect us to be a mere rubber stamp. This should be taken into account when reading our motivation.
3. If it is unclear to anybody whether we intend taking part under our own name in the first election under a transitional/new constitution, our standpoint is: Taken into account point 2, yes, we do intend to take part.
4. Attention is drawn to the specific wording of the criterion: "...political party or organisation...". It is obvious that everything we do has political intent or bearing and the fact that we called ourselves "unpolitical" under certain circumstances and in terms of the 1983 constitution and minority parliament cannot alter that. We are more than a mere interest group.

Rejecting AVSTIG's application is a serious matter because nobody else at this Negotiating Process is forwarding our proposal - which was surely indicated by the newspaper survey as an important one.

It would be a pity, for if even our radically sacrificial model is rejected beforehand, Afrikaners may feel that they are running out of peaceful options.

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FPROCESS

Â£ O Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephonrne: QII-397-7798 Fax: OQIZI-397-Z228F

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P O Box 307, Isando, 1600

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

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18 June 1993

Via Telefax: C\O L Cilliers 01311 27079

Insika National Party  
P O Box 71  
Elukwatini

1192

Dear Prince Dhlamini

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

When the Negotiating Forum has taken a decision on this recommendation, we will advise you accordingly.

Yours sincerely

heuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
21 June 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOT. TATING PROCESS

Â£ O Box 307, Isando. 1600  
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P O Box 307, Isando, 1600

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

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P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Per Telefax : 02231 900228  
18 June 1993

Free Cape Movement

P O Box 461

Stellenbosch

7599

Dear Dr Hall

re APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

Your application for participation is hereby acknowledged, and you are advised as follows :

1% Despite the fact that the cut-off date for applications has expired, nevertheless your application will be put on the Agenda of the Planning Committee meeting to be held on Monday 21 June, 1993 for consideration.

You will be advised of the decision of the meeting in due course.

Kind Regards

-

s Eloff  
ADMINISTRATION

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18 June 1993

Free Cape Movement  
P O Box 461  
Stellenbosch

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Dear Dr Hall  
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Telephone: OF1-3P7-Y 198 Fax: Q1I-397-22F7

WVia Telcfax : 0146G1-33454  
11 August 1993

Pcecoplê\200\231s Progressive Parcy  
Eagle Nest Suite

&ix Floor Jorbic House  
Braamfontein

Dear Mir Masekn

YOUR APPILICATION T  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to pariticipate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process,  
we  
regret to inform you that the Negotiating Council has not been able to accept this.

O PARTICIFATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING

The Multk-Party Negotiating Process, however imperfectiy formulated, is bound by an  
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We hope you will find this acceptable.

Yours sinceriy

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Via Telefax : 01461-33454  
11 August 1993

People's Progressive Party  
Eagle Nest Suite

8th Floor Jorbic House  
Braamfontein

Dear Mr Maseka

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we regret to inform you that the Negotiating Council has not been able to accept this.

The Multi-Party Negotiating Process, however imperfectly formulated, is bound by an agreement that in the case of the TBVC States, political groupings are represented by the Administrations of those states.

Your organisation's credentials are not in question, but in view of prior undertakings it is not possible to admit your organisation into the negotiating process.

We hope you will find this acceptable.

Yours sincerely

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
12 August 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephonenumber: 011-397-11198 Fax: 011-397-22717F

Via Telfax : 0140-292744  
11 August 1993

Christian Democratic Party  
P O Box 3010

Mmabatho

Dear Mr Schemer

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we  
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We hope you will find this acceptable.

Yours sincerely

: ADMINISTRATION

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Via Telefax : 0140-292744  
11 August 1993

Christian Democratic Party  
P O Box 3010

Mmabatho

Dear Mr Sehume

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we regret to inform you that the Negotiating Council has not been able to accept this.

The Multi-Party Negotiating Process, however imperfectly formulated, is bound by an agreement that in the case of the TBVC States, political groupings are represented by the Administrations of those states.

Your organisation's credentials are not in question, but in view of prior undertakings it is not possible to admit your organisation into the negotiating process.

We hope you will find this acceptable.

Yours sincerely

EAD : ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
12 August 1993

MUITI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

Âf O Box 307, Isarndo, 1600

Fax: QII-397-22717

Telephone: 011-397-y798

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FAX NO: â\202¬= ) SO - Tan g,

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P O Box 307, Isando, 1600

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Via Telefax: 031 500-2186

Reform Party of South Africa  
PO Box 40018

Redhill

4051

Dear Mr Romalall

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

When the Negotiating Forum has taken a decision on this recommendation, we will advise you accordingly.

Yours sincerely

euns Eloff  
AD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
21 June 1993

MUITI-PARTY NEGOZIATING PROCESS

P O Box 307, Isardo,1600  
Telephlorne: OGIF-397-3F198 Fax: OQi-397-2271F

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P O Box 307, Isando, 1600

Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Via Telefax: 011 852-6790

Merit People's Party  
P O Box 32

Lenasia

1820

Dear Mr Padayachee

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

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Yours sincerely

euns Eloff  
AD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
21 June 1993

MULTIPARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

28 July 1993  
Via Telefax: 011-852-6790

Merit People's Party  
B ORBoxes?  
Lenasia

1820

Dear Mr Padayachee

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

Notwithstanding the fact that your application for participation was denied by the Negotiating Council, your party/organisation is welcome to send submissions to the various Technical Committees for consideration.

The following Technical Committees are still functioning :

Constitutional Issues

Violence

Independent Electoral Commission

Transitional Executive Council

Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

loff  
: ADMINISTRATION

MUETIPARTY NEGOTIATING PROCKESS

., Box 307, Isando, 600  
Telephone: OII-3IP7-1298 Fac: OIF-397-22771

28 July 1993  
Via Telefax: G1L1-852-G790C

Merit Peopleâ\200\231s Party  
P.O. Box 32  
Tenasia

1820

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o= 8 SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONATL  
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Yours sincerely

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: ADMINISTRATION

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

28 July 1993

Via Telefax: 795 200 224 1928

United Federal Party  
P.O. Box 4300  
Honeydew

2040

Dear Mr Nilsson

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

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Yours sincerely

loff  
: ADMINISTRATION

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

28 July 1993

Via Telefax: 01801-31174

National Forum  
P.O. Box 402  
Schweizer Reneke  
2780

Dear Mr Marumo

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

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Violence

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Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

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Yours sincerely

D : ADMINISTRATION

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

28 July 1993

Via Telefax: C/O L Cilliers 01311-27079  
Insika National Party

BrORBoxa/1

Elukwatini  
1192

Dear Prince Dhlamini

SUBMISSIONS TO TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL  
ISSUES AND/OR ANY OTHER TECHNICAL COMMITTEES

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Repeal of Discrimination

Fundamental Human Rights

Independent Media Commission and Independent Telecommunications  
Authority

We hope you find this in order.

Yours sincerely

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Per Telefax : 012 545-0957  
18 June 1993

The Sofasonke Party

P O Box 665

Pyramid

0120

Dear Mr Galela

i APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION IN MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

Your application for participation is hereby acknowledged, and you are advised as follows :

1 Despite the fact that the cut-off date for applications has expired, nevertheless your application will be put on the Agenda of the Planning Committee meeting to be held on Monday 21 June, 1993 for consideration.

You will be advised of the decision of the meeting in due course.

Kind Regards

-

euns Eloff  
D ADMINISTRATION

iy

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Third Force Nationalist Party  
1316 Joel Park

Theunissen

9410

Dear Mr Maputle

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

When the Negotiating Forum has taken a decision on this recommendation, we will advise you accordingly.

Yours sincerely

Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

National Forum

P O Box 402  
Schweizer Reneke  
2780

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HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Sindawonye Progressive Party  
P O Box 82

Kwa-Nhlanga

1022

Dear Mr Mahlangu

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

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Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

United Federal Party  
P O Box 4300

Honeydew  
2040

Dear Mr Nilsson

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PROCESS

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HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993



MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Via Telefax: 021 789-1550

Green Party of South Africa  
P O Box 15234

Vlaeberg

8018

Dear Mr Brownlie

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

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HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

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29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Via Telefax: c/o 0140 29-2744

Christian Democratic Party  
P O Box 3010

Mmabatho

8681

Dear Mr Sehume

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
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Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-1198 Fax: 011-397-2211

18 June 1993

Via Telefax: 011 339-5860

People's Progressive Party  
Eagle Nest Suite

8th Floor Joribic House  
Braamfontein

2017

Dear Mr Maseko

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS

With reference to your application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, we would like to inform you that the Negotiating Council at its meeting on Friday 18 June 1993, has decided to recommend to the Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled to take place on Friday 25 June, that your application should not be accepted.

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Yours sincerely

Dr Theuns Eloff  
HEAD: ADMINISTRATION

ADMINISTRATION\CORRESPONDENCE\APPLICATIONS  
29 July 1993

MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS  
P.O. Box 307, Isando, 1600  
Telephone: 011-397-2198 Fax: 011-397-2211

Via Telefax : 0142-960985  
11 August 1993

National Students Party  
310 Mmutle Street  
Tlhabane

0305

Dear Mr Matshego

YOUR APPLICATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING  
PROCESS ;

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We hope you will find this acceptable.

Yours sincerely

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HEAD : ADMINISTRATION

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MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS

Tel (011) 397-1198 Fax (011) 397-2211

11 May 1993

XYZ

PO Box XYZ

N

11111

Dear

Re : Application for Participation in the Negotiating Structures

With regard to your recent application to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process,  
we can now supply you with the following information:

At the meeting of the Negotiating Council on 7 May 1993, it was agreed that:  
Political Parties or Organisations to qualify, must show:

1.1 That it is indeed a political party or organisation intending to participate as such (i.e. in the political party or organisations own name) in the first election under a transitional/new constitution;

1.2 That it has proven substantial support in a national context;

1.3 That its admission will enhance the peaceful negotiating process.

Traditional Leaders

The principle of provincial representation should be maintained, but the problems around the representivity of existing delegations should be addressed in consultation with and a manner acceptable to all concerned.

Other Applicants

That applications of organisations who are not political parties or organisations, be refused

The following process for dealing with applications of political parties or organisations was agreed to:

PLANCOMM/DOCUMENT/CRITERIA.LTR  
11 June 1993

Congress of Traditional  
Leaders of South Africa

â\200\230CONTRALESA

The Dawn of Freedom

24 Fereira 5t. ; P.O, Box 61500  
Ferreira House Marsshalltown 2107  
Marshalltown 2107 Tel: (011) 834-1002

FaX COVER SHEET

Pleases deliver this document to addressee AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

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To: T\ THRUNS FLOFRE

If you do not receive the correct number of pages, please  
contact the sender at the above Tel. and Fax numbers,

NOTES/COMMENTS: Greetings \_;E:Vna---\_i;}sâ\200\230%:&i-\201i-\201.&"i-\201,i-\201a{ijm-d- i  
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Thanks E Regards  
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24 Ferraira St. â\200\234 P.O. Box 61500  
Fermreira House Marshalltown 2107  
Marshalltown 2107 Tel: (0011) 834-1002

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MR THEUNE ELOFF

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR  
MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING FORUM  
WORLD TRADE CENTRE

JETPARK

REMPTON PARK

Sir/z

- Reference is made to our correspondence in reaction to briefing

conducted 4th March 1993. There has to date been no  
acknowledgement, let alone reply to our position on the nature  
of our application for representation at the Forum. We quote:  
â\200\234 The delegations of Traditional Leaders now allowed inside  
Conference were hurriedly put together by homeland  
administrations without proper consultation with all Traditional  
Leaders in the Provinces.... "

It were amusing if not so tragic that your FACILITATING COMMITTEE  
should, like the government of South Africa, seem to prefer to  
deal with individual traditional leaders who would, as our  
unhappy history so amply demonstrates, be amenable to all forms  
of pressure ranging from intimidation to bribery rather than  
dealing with an organised body of traditional leaders as  
Contralesa claims to represent.

This claim has been contested by the government of South Africa  
and evidently by your committee that Contralesa does not  
represent all traditional leaders. Contralesa has a simple answer  
there to namely, point out a single organisation, political and  
otherwise including the government of South Africa, enjoying the  
support of the majority of citizens in this country.

e

It has further been claimed that Contralesa is a special group, expressing a special interest. The charge would be more relevant to parties currently represented at the Multiparty Negotiating Forum. If traditional leaders are guardians of the interests (Land) and concerns (culture) of the traditional, rural communities, representing as they do more than 53% of the black, African population, their claim to national interest, shall have been sustained and their application for representation in the interests of their communities in vital areas of social life,

should be given the attention it deserves and be reviewed.

7. M~

SIGNED V. T, SIFORA  
SECRETARY GENERAL ( CONTRALESA )

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PROGRESS REPORT ON NEW APPLICATIONS FOR PARTICIPATION  
TO THE SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE PLANNING COMMITTEE

As decided by the Negotiating Council, letters have been mailed to those organisations who have applied to participate in the Multi-Party Negotiating Process, informing them of the decision of the Council in this regard (see example of annexured letter). Due to the fact that in many cases no fax numbers could be obtained, letters were mailed (but where possible also faxed).

To date, the following organisations have replied:

- 71 African Democratic Movement - application herewith
- 92 Christian Democratic Party - application herewith
- 2.3 People's Progressive Party - application herewith
- 2.4 Merit People's Party - application herewith
- 25 National Seoposengwe Party - application herewith
- 26 Afrikaner Freedom Foundation - application herewith
- 2.7 Volks Unity Committee (Telephonic response application withdrawn)
- 2.8 Third Force Nationalist Party (Responded personally - criteria documents not yet received)
- 2.9 Green Party of South Africa - application herewith

The following organisations have not yet replied:

- 3.1 People's Democratic Christian Party
- 3.2 United Federal Party
- 3.3 Sindawonye Progressive Party
- 3.4 Reform Party
- 3.5 Insika National Party
- 3.6 National Forum

Telephonic and fax follow-ups have been instituted, but in certain cases no telephone or fax numbers are available.

The newspaper survey has also been completed. This is annexured.

ADMIN/CORRES/REPORT OF APPLICATIONS/  
June 11, 1993

Update as at 28 May 1993 of Applications

Annexure A - Copy of Letter with criteria sent to organisations.

To date, the following organisations have replied:

2.1 African Democratic Movement

2.1.1 Application received

Christian Democratic Party

2.2.1 Application received - 25 May 1993

People's Progressive Party

2.3.1 Application received - 25 May 1993

Merit People's Party

2.4.1 Application received - 24 May 1993

National Seoposengwe Party

2.5.1 Application received by fax - 25 May 1993

Afrikaner Freedom Foundation

2.6.1 Application received by fax - 25 May 1993

2.6.2 Original application received by hand - 25 May 1993

Green Party

2.7.1 Application received by fax on 27 May 1993

Volks Unity Committee

2.8.1 Telephonic response

2.8.2 Application withdraw

Third Force Nationalist Party

2.9.1 Responded in person on 24 May 1993

2.9.2 Response by mail received on 26 May 1993

2.9.2 Criteria documents not yet received

ADMIN/CORRES/REPORT OF APPLICATIONS/

June 11, 1993

The following organisations have not yet responded:

3.1 People's Democratic Party

3.1.1 Criteria letter mailed on the 14 May 1993.

3.1.2 In a telephonic follow-up, Administration was advised that Dr Bam is abroad.

United Federal Party

3.2.1 First criteria letter was mailed on the 14 May 1993.

3.2.1 A follow-up letter was sent by Express Mail - 25 May 1993. The second letter being an amended one with the extended deadline on 27 May 1993 at 12h00.

Sindawonye Progressive Party

3.3.1 Criteria letter mailed on 14 May 1993

3.3.2 No contact details supplied for follow-up purposes.

Reform Party

3.4.1 Criteria letter mailed on 14 May 1993

3.4.2 Indicated receipt of letter but no response followed.

Insika National Party

3.5.1 Criteria letter mailed on the 14 May 1993.

3.5.2 No contact details supplied for follow-up purposes.

National Forum

3.6.1 Criteria letter mailed on the 14 May 1993.

3.6.2 Fax sent on 24 May 1993.

3.6.3 No response received to date

An extended deadline, of 12h00 on 27 May, 1993 was granted on request from certain applicants.

Telephonic and fax follow-ups have been instituted, but in certain cases no telephone or fax numbers are available.

ADMIN/CORRES/REPORT OF APPLICATIONS/  
June 11, 1993

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FREE CAPE MOVEMENT

TEL: (02231) 900118/9 P.O. Box 461

FAX: (02231} 900228 STELLES;OSCH

7599

FAX MESSAGE

EAXSRTIO R R ) S ER o

FAX NUM: (17-397-2211

FAXSEEM S DS RV H a 18 E

RE Âç MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS E

DATE g 4@ oy 1 l

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We, the members of the Free Cape Movement, would like to  
apply for participation in the multi-party negotiating  
process.

We currently have a membership of over 9,000 eligable voters  
in the Western Cape, and are still growing.

Yours sincerely,

Uï¬\201bwï¬\202it\*ri¬\202ggggi¬\201~  
& DR ROBERT M. HALL

# THE SOFASONKE PARTY

## - CONSTITUTION

The Sofosonke Party  
649 Kinini Street  
Mofolo Central  
Soweto

r

MR. E.B. TSHABALALA  
PRESIDENT AND SUCCESSOR  
OF THE  
SOFASONKE PARTY

After the 1976 June Riots, all communications between the people of Soweto and the Government had broken down. Because of this situation, nobody showed any interest in the people of Soweto. '

In 1978, when the Community Council Act was passed, Mr. E.B. Tshabalala took the initiative and the risk to re-organise The Sofosonke Party to represent the people of Soweto. The people needed a platform;; and Mr. E.B. Tshabalala then used this platform to talk about the rights of

his businesses and the rights of the people of Soweto, so that they could uphold their rights and their rightful place in the community.

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THE SOFASONKE

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HAME

The name of the party

PARTYÂ® .

SPHERE OF ACTIVITY

shall be:

PARTY is

SOFASONKE

established to

&G

represent, at a local, regional and national level, all those persons who wish to join the party and to associate with it in pursuit of the aims and principles of the party set out

below.

Subject only to the provisions of this constitution, membership of the party shall be open Lo all persons who associate with the ains and principles of the party and without

discrimination as tc race, religioh, Eex or

craed.

THE SOFASONKE PARTY shall operate throughout

EVERRE DU IICRG SO thNATIICal

VNG IO b SEE W AR

The party believes that -

Giles " people lof i Souths Africa have certain  
fundamental rights which should be binding on  
the legislature, the executive and the  
judiciary, and should be directly enforceable

by law.

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security of person:

every person shall be equal before the law and  
no-one may, because of his sex, his descent,  
hsSEREaTe s Slidnduag e, ihils Yorigin for Hhis

religious beliefs, be favoured or prejudiced.

no person shall be'subjected to torture or to  
cruelSnitans oS tcgadine treatnents or

punishment;

all persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the

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equal: protection of the law:

every person is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal in the determination of his

rights and obligations and of any criminal

charge against him;

no-one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest,

detention or exile;

every person has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence

Correspondence;

every person has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion: this right shall include freedom to change his religion or belief, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance;

every person has the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom

to hold opinions and to receive and impart

information and ideas without interference by  
public authorities;

every person shall have the right to freedom of  
peaceful assembly and to freedom of association

with others;

every person shall have the right to own and  
possess private and communal property;

every person shall have the right to freedom of  
movement and residence within the borders of

the Republic of South Africa;

every person shall have the right to take part  
in the Government of the Republic of South  
Africa either directly, or through freely-chosen

representatives;

subject only to the resources of the State,  
every person shall be entitled to a reasonable  
standard of education, to reasonable standards  
of housing, health and welfare and to  
reasonable opportunities for gainful

employment;

in the exercise of his rights and freedoms,  
every person shall be subject only to such

limitations as are determined by the law solely

for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others, and the dignity of the individual & morality, public order and the general welfare

in a democratic society.

#### ECONOMIC PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY

The "party" is committed by the principle of private enterprise and a minimum of State interference in the economic life of South Africa.

#### ATMOSPHERE OF THE PARTY

(In the spirit of the 1954 Riveaetio Report, the Party is committed to the principles of the 1954 Riveaetio Report and all people who associate with the party, and in negotiations aimed at the achievement of a better, just and

democratic South Africa.

Local Soaia/ ANchiciil stravelto! work , that & local Heclional Senin o tilen s 1 eil iee) dhmeidenE it SiEandalidis e G VI o R ol the less-advantaged PEcpile s e Sellittl BAYE rilic ahili=Tid Bt o [ehaoN LB iRene them -

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Page 6

a safe, healthy and peaceful environment;

ACEESs lto eoucsiclional feaellilcies anel &  
oetEeE Stanckicel Â©Ff ecucaticn e all

levels;

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business in a system of free enterprise.

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and private enterprise to establish, at a local  
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welfare, adequate public works and amenities

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strive for the development of a broad front for  
peaceful co-operation, relations, el nie  
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which and persons who are pursuing the sane

objectives.

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e pResent tGiRvERNdONVerNIMment S omE ihie jasc  
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citizens where different cultural and minority  
groups, can i live, in: harmeny; where law,. order  
and security can be maintained under the rule

of law and with an independent judiciary.

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The party rejects the use of violence as a political instrument.

#### LEGAL PERSONALITY AND POWERS

el st VB SN body corporate with perpetual succession and shall be capable of suing and being sued in its own name.

The party may own, purchase, sell, hire, lease, mortgage, pledge or in any other way alienate or deal with both movable and immovable property and, furthermore, perform all such legal .activities authorised by this

#### CONSIERRS RO

All moneys received and collected in the name of the party shall vest in the pEEtyS S

#### ORGANISATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE PARTY

ol slehy

The supreme policy-making body of the party shall be the members of the party in the Annual General Conference.

Pages s

## Party Organization

The party shall be organised as follows:

Local committees comprising not less than

three persons elected annually by members

in a district

Regional committees consisting of not less

than three persons elected at a meeting,  
held annually, of all the local committees

in the region

The Party Central Committee comprising not

less than 18 members elected

annually at the Annual General Conference.

The Party Executive comprising eleven

members who shall be responsible for the  
maintenance of the policy and principles  
of the party and the fulfilment of the

aims of the party.

## Membership

Any person who is a South  
African, subscribes to the principles and

aims in this constitution and who agrees



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tol abideffloy mtheldr politc ilc st Ul es Bia nE  
decisions of the party made in accordance  
with this constitution, may be admitted as

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Application for " membershipÂ® 'shall the  
submitted in writing to the secretary of  
the region in which the applicant resides.  
AppliicaEiconsEo N mye E SIuio S N =  
considered by the Regional Committee at  
the HNESE meeting thereof after  
application shall have been received by  
the secretary. If membership is refused  
by the Regional Committee, the applicant  
SRS B 10 @it =i Bt o M1 lo W7 Taki i ) I - 1 G R o il  
have no right of appeal. No reasons need  
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applicant as a member.

The joining fee and annual subscription

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"Executive, and may be amended by it from

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membership card by the Regional Secretary.  
Payment of the joining fee and the annual  
subscriptilont shallÂ® beÂ® recorded Pon' â\200\230the

card.

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Every member shall be eligible for  
secretaryship until he or she has  
addressed.

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Organisations shall be eligible for

associate membership of the party subject  
to the general conditions for membership  
I at down in the constitution and  
Subject to the payment of

special joining fee and special annual  
subscription, the amount of which shall be

determined by the Party Executive, and

which amount may be amended by it from

time to time -

Party Organisation at a Local Level

Members shall be bound to hold regular public meetings  
where the party's principles and policies shall  
be explained and members of the public  
encouraged to join the party, and where  
the general business of the Party shall be

local level shall be conducted.

Members shall elect, on an

annual basis, a Local Committee which

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shall be responsible for the  
implementation of the policies and  
principles of the party and for the  
conduct of party affairs at a local level.

The Local Committee shall, on an annual  
basis, elect from amongst its number a  
local chairman, secretary, treasurer and,  
in its discretion, may elect other persons  
who shall constitute a Local Executive

Committee.

Party Organisation at a Regional Level

All Local Committees within a specified  
region shall meet on a regional level at  
least twice a year.

Local Committees shall, in regional  
meeting, elect, on an annual basis, a  
Regional Committee which shall be  
responsible for the implementation of the  
policies and principles of the party and  
for the conduct of party affairs on a

regional basis.

The Regional Committee shall, on an annual  
basis, elect from amongst its number a

regional chairman, secretary and treasurer  
and in its discretion, may elect other  
members who shall comprise the Regional

Executive Committee.

The Party Central Committee

The Party Central Committee shall comprise  
not less than fifty members elected at the

Annual General Conference of the party.

The Party Central Committee shall meet on  
a regular basis and at the Annual General

Conference of the party.

The Party Central Committee shall be the  
PEYNC Plan and Responsibility

implementation of party policy

The Party's Central Committee may make  
policy decisions from time to time, which  
decisions shall be subject to ratification  
by the members of the party in the Annual

General Conference.

The Party Central Committee shall have the  
power to review any resolutions,

recommendations and decisions of the party

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Executive < or any Regional .or Local

Committee of the party.

The Party Central Committee shall have the power to order the production of any report, document, materials or moneys from any smembep@or@ciiticiaditof sthe party, or from any committee of the party, provided such an order shall be in writing and endorsed by either the Party Chairman or

the President.

The Party Central Committee shall have the power to refer any matter (EÂ® a subcommittee for detailed examination, which subcommittee shall be especially dppointed Â¥t or Sthat purpose, and provided

with specific terms of reference.

A quorum at meetings of the Party Central

Committee shall be thirty members.

The Party Executive

The Annual General Conference of the party shall, on an annual basis, elect from

amongst members of the party the following

officials, who shall comprise the Party

Executive:

The Party President

The Deputy President

The Party Chairman

The Deputy Chairman

The General Secretary

The Assistant General Secretary

The General Treasurer

The Party Whip

The Public Relations Officer

The Party Organizer

One Committee Member without  
Portfolio

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regular basis as specified below to deal  
withs smatters @ concerning the policies,  
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national level.

The Party Executive shall determine the  
dreas of Jurisdiction of the local and

Legieonallckrliictures of the party.

The Party Executive shall ordinarily meet  
atleast once a nonth on a date to be  
fixed by the Chairman. Special Meetings  
of the Party Executive shall be called by

the Chairman whenever he deems et

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desirable or upon requisition signed by  
not less than six members of the Party  
Executive or when so requested by the

Par ty SN

Members of the Party Executive shall be  
notified in writing of the time and place  
of the meetings of the Party Executive by  
the General Secretary at least three days  
before (including meetings)  
provided, however, that short notice may,  
in the discretion of the Chairman or Party  
Whisperer be given in special  
Meetings if the circumstances require and  
agenda shall be attached. All matters for  
consideration by the Party Executive shall  
be decided upon motion duly proposed,  
seconded and voted upon by show of hands  
or by secret ballot in the discretion of

the Chairman.

The proceedings of any meeting shall not  
be invalidated by reason of any member not  
having received the notice calling such

meeting.

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responsibilities amongst its members in

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Page 16

OiRlceNs of Constitutional and

Political Affairs

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Industrial Development

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Pensions

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Amenities

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The Party Executive shall have the power to co-opt members where vacancies occur from time to time. A member appointed to NS e cancy s hal i holdeof flce FaE he unexpifedifpertiicn OMeched olf filcc ol his

predecessor.



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following circumstances:

on resignation, suspension or  
expulsion from the party

On absenting himself without the  
permission of the Party Executive  
from three consecutive Annual General  
Conferences of the partyier meetings

of the Party Executive

On ceasing to be a member in good  
standing of the party

The Party Executive shall, subject to the  
provisions of this constitution, have the  
power -

to engage and dismiss employees of  
the party, to fix their remuneration

and to define their duties;

to appoint from time to time such

subcommittees as it may deem fit;:

Wia 7010 5 to institute or defend legal proceedings by or against the party, as the case may be;

76U ol@sd to open and operate a banking account in the name of the party;

7 L0 58 to approve the establishment of local and regional branches of the party;

7a?ol@cE to delegate any other duties to any jSSicisEg (ehe Â@fisefelnl (@iF (i@ jekbusey ln1 e interests of the party.

#### 8 DUTIES OF OFFICE BEARERS

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#### The President

The President shall enforce observance of the constitution of the party, generally Supervise all affairs of the party and perform such other duties as are deemed by him to be in the

partyâ\200\231s interests from time to time.

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The Deputy President

In the event of the President being temporarily or permanently unable to perform his duties for whatever reason the same shall devolve upon the Deputy President until the President is able to resume his duties or until the next election,

as the case may be.

The Chairman

The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the party in general conference at which he is present; shall sign minutes of meetings after confirmation thereof; keep discipline at meetings; ensure that meetings are conducted in accordance with an agenda drawn U Euniel circulated before each meeting. He shall endorse and/or sign all cheques on the banking SKlebiglic @I WoE jeebaeys i Seeulil b (Ehie evenie

of an equality of votes, have a casting vote.

The Deputy Chairman

The Deputy Chairman shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the Chairman in the absence of the latter.

## The General Secretary

The General Secretary shall receive requisitions for meetings, issue notices of meetings, record minutes of proceedings at all meetings, conduct all correspondence of the party, read the correspondence which has taken place since the previous meeting, keep up-to-date records of members and all data pertaining thereto, eg date of enrolment, joining fees and subscriptions paid and all other levies paid by members. He shall attend all meetings of the Party Executive Committee and all General Conferences of the party in conjunction with the Chairman he shall compile agendas for all party meetings.

Conference Levels.

## Assistant General Secretary

He shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the General Secretary in the absence of the latter.

## The General Treasurer

The General Treasurer shall keep proper books of account pertaining to all moneys received and all payments made by him on behalf of the party. He shall issue proper receipts for all moneys received, bank all moneys within three days of receipt, submit reports to the Party Executive or General Conference in regard to the party once every three months, prepare income and expenditure statements and balance sheets, and see to the execution of such financial projects as may be assigned to

him by the Party Executive from time to time.

## Party Whip

The Party Whip shall ensure that wherever the party is represented on a public body that the party representatives conform to the resolutions and caucus rulings and vote accordingly. He shall ensure that the activities of the Party Executive remain within the mandate given by the members in General Conference and also conform to the party constitution. He shall be responsible to and report to the Annual General Conference or the Party Executive all

infringements of and deviations from the party constitution.

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Disciplinary Committee.  
Public Relations Officer

He shall strive to promote a favourable climate of opinion for the party among the community. To this end he shall, from time to time, make a careful selection of news for public release through the media and shall arrange special events and programmes designed to achieve favourable publicity and enhance the party's image. He shall conduct occasional tours of the party's branches where he may make such recommendations as he deems necessary to bring about improvements to the party's public image.  
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The Party Organizer shall, in collaboration with Local and Regional Committees, be responsible for the recruitment of new members into the party. He shall keep a detailed account of and issue receipts in respect of all moneys collected or received by him from members of the public joining the party in

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constitution. He shall maintain close liaison with all branches of the party and shall monitor progress being made or problems being experienced and shall cause these to be tabled for resolution by the Party Central Committee or the Party Executive. He shall in conjunction with the General Treasurer, devise ways and means of raising funds for the party as distinct from such funds as accruing to the party from members through subscriptions, joining fees and other levies. He shall carry out any such duties as may be assigned to him by the Party Executive from time to time and shall report it to the Party Executive on a regular basis or as required in the exercise of

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Members of the Party Executive shall hold office for a period of one year. They shall be eligible for re-election on termination of

their periods of office.

THE ANNUAL GENERAL CONFERENCE OF THE PARTY

Notice of the Annual General Conference of the party showing the date, time and venue, and the

business to be transacted thereat, shall be

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Page 24

given to 'membersâ\200\231 /in writing by ' the Party  
General Secretary not less than fourteen days

before the date of the meeting.

The quorum for the Annual General Conference

shall be fifty members.

PROCEDURE AT PARTY GENERAL, CONFERENCES

Notices of General Conferences of the party  
(excluding the Annual General Conference)  
showing the date, time and venue and the  
business to be transacted thereat shall be  
given to members in writing by the Party  
Generaii st e Caryvanow Sl eSSl tlianÂ@se venWda s

before the date of Conference.

The quorum for any General Conference of thÃ©  
party (including the 2nnual General Conference)  
shall be fifty members, one of whom shall be  
the Party Chairman or Party General Secretary,  
subject to the proviso that in the event of the  
Party Chairman and Party General Secretary not  
being present for any Conference within forty-  
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Conference, and the Party President being

present, the Party President shall act as



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Chairman or Secretary, as the case may be, for the purpose of that Conference or the Party President may appoint one of the members in good standing present to act as Chairman or Secretary, as the case may be, for the purpose of that Conference, and in either of the latter two events, it shall be deemed that the Party: Chairman or Party Secretary was present at that Conference for the purpose of complying with the quorum requirement that the Party Chairman Or W Party i Secretary be present; B Wit hidn forty-five minutes of the time fixed for any

Conference a quorum is not present, the

- Conference shall stand adjourned to the same

day in the week following, at the same time and place. At such adjourned Conference, of which written notice shall be given to members, those members present and in good standing shall form a quorum, and, in the absence of the Party Chairman or President, they shall appoint one of their number to act as Chairman for the

purpose of that Conference.

At Local and Regional meetings, five members in good standing, one of whom shall be the relevant Chairman or Secretary, shall form a quorum. If within forty-five minutes of the time fixed for any meeting the branch Chairman

or Secretary is not present, those members

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Page 26

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present and in good standing shall appoint from one of their number a chairman for the purpose of that meeting, in which latter event it shall be deemed that the Chairman was present at the meeting for the purpose of complying with the quorum requirement that the Chairman or

Secretary be present; if within forty-five

minutes of the time fixed for any meeting a-

quorum is not present, the meeting shall stand adjourned to the same day in the week following, at the same time and place. At such adjourned meeting of which written notice shall

be given to members, those members present and

in good standing shall form a quorum, and, in the

absence of the Chairman, they shall appoint

one of their number to act as Chairman for the

purpose of that meeting.

ALLS resol ikl ons Siputito tia meeting shall be delivered to the Chairman and shall be BedditEe the meeting by him. No resolution shall be

considered unless proposed and seconded. All

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matters forming subjects of resolutions shall =@

unless otherwise provided, be decided by a

majority of those present.

All elections to positions within the party

shall be by secret ballot.

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Page 27

All matters on which this constitution is silent shall be decided on motion by a majority vote of the members present at an Annual

General Conference.

At every Annual General Conference the minutes of the last preceding Annual General Conference shall be read by the Party General Secretary and signed by the presiding officer after

confirmation

SPECIAL GENERAL CONFERENCES OF THE PARTY

Special General Conferences of the party shall be called whenever desired by a majority vote of the Party Executive or upon a requisition signed by not less than fifty members of the party in good standing, addressed to the Party General Secretary, who shall forward same to the President or Chairman of the

party.<

PARTY DISCIPLINE

Five members appointed by the Party Central Committee from amongst its number shall

constitute the Disciplinary Committee.

12.2 A member may be suspended, fined or expelled by the majority vote of members of the

Disciplinary Committee.

## L2 Grounds for Disciplinary Action

Grounds for disciplinary action shall be -

12.3 oL failure to conform to party policy laid down by members in General Conference or contravention of any provision of the constitution, the rules made under it or a decision competently taken at any properly constituted meeting of the party,

at national, regional or local level;

it e i ) making of public statements in conflict with party policy:

i 3 conduct deemed to bring the party into disrepute;

12.3v4 any other unlawful conduct relating to the affairs of the party.

12.4 There shall be an Appeals Committee of the party which shall be elected by the Party

Executive from amongst its number and chaired

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by the President. The Appeals Committee shall be charged with the responsibility of reviewing all decisions of the Disciplinary Committee. The Appeals Committee shall comprise five

members including the President.

The member to be disciplined shall be informed in writing of the charges against him and shall

be entitled to be heard in his own defence.

#### PARTY FINANCE

All moneys due to or collected on behalf of the party shall be paid to the General Treasurer who shall immediately deposit them in an account in the name of the Party in a registered bank appointed by the Party

Executive.

Members shall have no claim upon the funds of the party.

The funds of the party shall be applied to the payment of expenses, the acquisition of property and any other purpose as directed by the Party Executive in accordance with party

policy.

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No expenditure shall be met from the funds of the party other than by resolution taken at a properly constituted meeting.

Payments shall be made only by cheque drawn on the party banking account and signed by two of the following four parties: Party President, Party Chairman, the General Treasurer, The General Secretary; except when the amount is less than R10,00, when payment shall be made

from petty cash with verification.

Funds required by petty cash shall be kept in such form as the General Treasurer may determine and shall be provided by drawing cheques signed as set out above in paragraph

PIBEISI

An audited balance sheet and income and expenditure statement in respect of each year shall be prepared and true and correct copies thereof shall be made available at the party's head office for inspection by members. The auditors shall not be members of any party

committee.

No cheques shall be drawn payable "TO CASH" and all cheques shall include a full description of

the payee (save in the case of cheques for

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petty cash which shall be drawn payable to

"petty cash") and the reason for payment.

Moneys standing to the credit of the party in the said cheque account and not immediately required by the party may on the decision of a majority vote of the Party Executive, be placed in an interest-bearing account at a registered financial institution. Any transfer of party moneys to or from such interest-bearing account shall be subject to the signature requirements

as set out in paragraph 13.5 above.

PARTY ' PUBLICITY.

All party statements and reports for:  
publication shall be approved by the President

before release.

All verbal statements to the media by members of the party shall conform to party policy as laid down by members in Annual General Conference, members in Party Central Committee and: the: ' members in the Party Executive. Members duly authorised to make such statements on behalf of ' the party shall be the Public

Relations Officer or the Party President and

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any such member as may on occasion be specially  
permitted by authority of the Party Executive.

#### RAISING OF FUNDS

The Party Executive cCommittee, in its discretion,  
shall be empowered from time to time to conduct fund  
raising campaigns on such terms and for such purposes  
as the Party Executive Committee may in its discretion  
decide.

#### N NESOFRSTHISSCONSTREITION

This constitution shall not be amended other than by  
a two-thirds majority of members present at and voting  
as delegates to the Annual General Conference. No  
amendment to this constitution shall be debated upon  
unless four weekâ\200\231s prior written notice is given to  
the partyâ\200\231s secretary in writing. Notwithstanding the  
provisions of this section, a four-fifths majority of  
all those present and voting at the Annual General  
Cbnference may agree to debate and decide ï-\201pon  
proposals to amend this constitution.



650 ICENIND STREET  
SOWETO: P B BOX 665, PYRAMID 0120  
TEL. & FACSIMILLEE : (012) 545-0937  
Date 07/06/93

APPLICATION

I, the undersigned,

ISAAC MBUTI GALELA

The General Secretary of the Mighty Sofasonke Party, duly Authorised and Mandated thereto by the President and Executive of said Party, herewith respectfully renew our previous Application, on behalf of the SOFASONKE PARTY :â\200\224

1. To join the the present Multi-Party Negotiation Process.
2. To condone this "Late Application" partly brought about because of the President being in Swaziland - the main reason for the delay.
3. We are of the opinion that we should have been allowed automatically to participate from the outset as a Political Party without having had to apply as our first Application contained almost all the criteria necessary except those now required in Paragraphs 2 and 3 in Annexure "A" hereto -which we now comply with - yet Dr van der Merwe and another rejected same at the time. Please therefore accept this as a renewal of that Application rather than a Late Application.

Tour â\200\230s faithfully,

Dated at Johannesburg this 7th day of June, 1993

I M GALELA:GENERAL SECRETARY :MI&HFÂ¥ SOFASONKE PARTY

PLEASE NOTE :

Faxed papers to you of 04/05/93 at 17h00 refer.  
(Enclosed also Annexure "B'" -Previous Application

THIS APPLICATION AND ANNEXURES ARE BEING FAXED NOW AND THE CONSTITUTION AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS WILL BE DELIVERED BY TWO OFFICE BEARERS DUELY SIGNED HOPEFULLY DV BEFORE 13H00 TODAY 07/05/93 AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE, KEMPTON PARK. â\200\224 GOD BLESS.

Annexure "A"

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS  
APPLYING TO JOIN THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATING PROCESS:  
FOR THE PURPOSE OF PROCESSING THE APPLICATION  
y 12727

1. Date of formation of the .Mdighty Sofasonke Party : 1944  
(The oldest extra Parliamentary Party in South Afrika)

2. Names of Office Beares and designation:-â\200\224

<G> MR E B TSHABALALA PRESIDENT

STeT> e e MRS M NS B LK ) BERLFRYEPRESITDENI

<SIPTETE> MR W MAFUBEDU CHAIRMAN

RV MR M J MAHWAYI DEPUTY CHAIRNMAN

<V > MR I M GALELA GENERAL SECRETARY

SVAsEa s ITEE B G RENEESMING N ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY

SV MR J MLALAZI TREASURER

QVAIISI>E M R M ST R NSO N YA E PARTY WHIP

<IX> MR F G VAN SCHALKWYK PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

<X> MI HAZEL N NKOSI ORGANISER :

<XI> MI ESTHER MKHABELA EEMM TN EESMEMBER

3. Statement of Political Intent/Constitution:- ENCLOSED

4, Indicators of demonstrable support:â\200\224

a> Approximately 750 000 (signed up membership)

<b> Up to 85 000 people at each of many rallies at

Jabulani Amphitheatre and (Attendgnc t rallies)

SED Wellknown track record that TheÂ«i-\201&Ã@aggf%%fasonke

was the ruling Party and won ALL the Local Uathority

Elections for Councillers IN THE GREATER SOWETO.

5. Activities: The President and many office bearers were Mayors and held Executive Posts as Councillars and scores of Thousands of Rands were spent in publications and organisation to achieve the aforementioned Elections successes.

6. Participation in other organisations: Yes, civil, cultural, housing and health etc.

7. Address: HQ@: 650 Kinini street, MOFOLO VILLAGE SOWETO.In East and West Rand Townships TEL & FAX:& 012 x 545 09537;3;0ther: Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Pretoria (P O Box 663, Pyramid.0120.) Etc.For security reasons not wise to advertise addresses at this stage. Please see Para 9 hereunder.

8. Viability as to funding: Yes we are very much viable as to funding; Please see Para.3 above.

9. Geographical area of operation: support, offices, etc. :â\200\224 In all Provinces, Self-Governing and Independant States ourselves in the first instance and lately via certain organisations and political groups joining Sofasonke since 1991.

10 Rules of Membership :â\200\224 As per Constitution enclosed herewith.

MIGHTY

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HEAD OF 650 KININI STREET  
ZERLOVE MOFOLO VILLAGE

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V> MR I M GALELA GENERAL SECRETARY  
<VI> MI FLORENCE MNGUNI ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY  
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<VIII> MR MILTON KANYILE PARTY WHIP  
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Date 07/06/93

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e UE S e g UL s

Dated at Johannesburg this 7th day of June, 1993

M GALELA GENERAL SECRETARY SMEEHLY- SOFASONKE PARTY

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Faxed papers to you of 04/05/93 at 17h00 refer.

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