

AP 1991-13-12-20

THE CITIZEN 20 DECEMBER 1994

5 IFP and child shot dead: Claim

DURBAN. — The Inkatha Freedom Party claimed yesterday five of its supporters and a child were shot and killed in weekend violence in KwaZulu/Natal.

It said Mr Johannes Duma, 33, and Mr Mpompo Kubheka, 26, were shot dead in an attack on a bus on its way to an IFP rally at Loskop, near Estcourt, on Sunday.

Three of five people

killed in an early Sunday morning attack at Bhambayi, north of Durban, were also claimed to be IFP supporters.

Identified

They were identified as Mr Computer Hlongwa, Ms Zanele Dlamini and Ms Nelisiwe Nzimande. Doli Ngcwane, 5, also died.

A fifth person reported by the police to have been

killed in the Bhambayi attack in which 11 houses were also gutted, was not identified.

The IFP expressed concern that peace initiatives in the region were in jeopardy and called on the provincial leadership of both the African National Congress and the IFP to save the peace effort, which was being derailed by what it called "undisciplined elements".

— Sapa.

Star: 20. Dec 1991

National chairman's post to be contested

Bloemfontein — Nelson Mandela and his ANC colleagues began deliberations on the party's six key leadership posts and choices for members of the 55-member national executive committee, senior party officials said yesterday.

They said the outcome of elections to the positions would serve as a guide to the line of succession to Mandela.

One official said nominations from the party's 14 regions suggested that Deputy President Thabo Mbeki would become deputy president in the party. Cyril Ramaphosa was expected to be re-elected secretary-general and Cheryl Carolus as his deputy. Henry Makgothi was expected to become treasurer-general.

Another official said there would be stiff com-



Mbeki . . . to assume mantle of Mandela?

petition for the post of national chairman — the position currently occupied by Mbeki. ANC Kwa-Zulu/Natal leader Jacob Zuma and Minister of Public Works Jeff Radebe are the main contenders for the position.

The results of the elections are expected tomorrow. — Reuter.

Zulu king 'above politics'

Bloemfontein — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has agreed to an ANC request for him to remain above party politics and become "the king of all Zulus and not king of the ANC Zulus or IFP Zulus", Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said on Sunday.

Mbeki was responding to a question at a press conference.

Mbeki denied that his organisation was actively trying to woo Zwelithini into its camp, just as the IFP had been accused of doing before the April election.

But the deputy president conceded that discussions had been held with the monarch "for quite some time". — Political Correspondent.

16/1/20

to facilitate the September 14 National Peace Accord were able to do this as a result of the RCC.

The Natal-based priest however said the Inkathagate scandal had caused a great deal of alarm. The scandal also threatened to derail the peace process.

Rev Nuttall said the scandal necessitated a meeting between church leaders and State President FW de Klerk as a result of its effect on the negotiations process.

He said 1991 had been a tough year in the province with over a



Rev Michael Nuttall

Bishop Wilfrid Napier

Objectives of Catholic Church

PROGRESS had been made in community-building which had been one of the objectives of the Catholic Church this year, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC) president Bishop Wilfrid Napier said this week.

The implementation of the Pastoral Plan through the Renew method and the programmes of Rerum Novarum brought social teachings to people.

Communities

"In July, the National Catholic Schools Congress focussed on the role of the church in the future of communities. We also focussed on the question of the repatriation of South African exiles.

DEC 20 - JAN 16

An important year 1991

Professor Johan Heyns saw 1991 as an important year in the history of the Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) following the confession by Prof Willie Jonker in 1990 that apartheid was a sin.

He said that the DRC Synod also adopted important decisions which precipitated many discussions and follow ups to the 1990 confession within the church.

He cited the visit by the DRC delegation to a meeting of Churches in Canberra, Australia, as one of the significant events in the church.

He added that meetings with the World Council of Churches general secretary Dr Emilio Castro and Milan Opocenski of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches

Dr Emilio Castro NEW NATION

was with the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treunicht, who challenged the DRC to discipline him because he would not agree that apartheid was a sin.

"I am personally very optimistic about the tremendous role the church has to play to prepare the people.

"We need the church to change the hearts and attitudes and we must learn to accept one another, black and white with goodwill," Prof Heyns said.

FOR the Apostolic Faith Mission of South Africa (AFM), dialogue with other churches was a significant achievement in 1991.

The Ecumenical Affairs general secretary Pastor Justus du Plessis said this week that the church's president, Dr Izak Burger, visited a number of churches abroad to establish closer contact between South African and overseas churches.

King's adviser quits NEC

Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu — the senior spokesman for King Zwelithini — will not stand for re-election to the ANC's national executive committee.

Zulu made the announcement to the party's national conference yesterday evening.

He explained to the almost 3 000 delegates that his move is in response to the call by the king that traditional leaders should rise above party politics and not allow themselves to be used by any party.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, translating Zulu's speech, which was delivered in Zulu, said Mcwayizeni thought it was his duty to take the lead in responding to the king's call.

"We must congratulate Prince Mcwayizeni for having obeyed His Maj-

esty," Mandela said, adding that Zulu should also be thanked for influencing other traditional leaders.

Mandela described the king's call as very important because it will allow people to move freely without harassment from any traditional leader — "which is what is happening now".

He took a swipe at Inkatha, saying that Zulu's decision will show chiefs and traditional leaders that any political organisation that maintains itself through violence and intimidation can be challenged.

The delegates shouted the traditional Zulu royal greeting of "bayete" to the prince after his speech.

— Political Editor.

More on congress: page 2

NATAL

WITNESS: 20. Dec 1914

Bop

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20 DEC 1991



Bophuthatswana: a country worth defending

From Mr Michael Colvin, MP,
and others

Sir: We confess to being mystified by the mocking tone of the article on Bophuthatswana (10 December) from your correspondent John Carlin in Johannesburg. We always thought *The Independent* was more fair-minded than that. There are unfortunately many factual errors and errors of interpretation. As we know Bophuthatswana fairly well ourselves, perhaps we could comment.

At the risk of sounding obvious, it is absurd to compare South Africa and its recent "reforms" to a small, multi-racial nation like Bophuthatswana. South Africa had great need of putting its house in order; the same cannot be said about Bop. Its constitution, its laws, its independent judiciary, its Ombudsman's office (the first in black Africa) and the reality of everyday life there have been remarkably forward-looking and fair. In South Africa they have been repressive. Mr Carlin's comparison is both inappropriate and factually wrong.

Mr Carlin is apparently neither a frequent visitor to Bop, nor a person who has studied the facts very carefully. One simple illustration is his assertion that it "could not ... survive without South African economic assistance". This is, once again, untrue. The sums are simple. Just over 20 per cent of the country's annual government revenue comes from a vari-

ety of South African grant aid (capital grants help to build roads that were never built in the apartheid era; revenue grants co-sponsor shared bus routes). But Bophuthatswana could and would survive without such aid, unlike most other developing countries.

Your correspondent makes the great mistake of judging Bophuthatswana by the standards of the other homelands, which scarcely even attempted democracy, justice, economic reforms (improvements on South Africa) and certainly not innovation.

Bophuthatswana originated from the former British Bechuanaland: it was for centuries an independent nation in its present ancestral lands. True, the whites took much of their lands away; but how does this theft make Bophuthatswana a creation of apartheid? This is a grossly unfair distortion of the facts. It has more in common with Lesotho than with the other, more artificial, "homelands". If you want to see what South Africa could be like after apartheid has gone, visit Bophuthatswana today.

Yours faithfully,

MICHAEL COLVIN, MP (Chairman,
British Bophuthatswana Parliamentary
Group); Lord GIBBOROUGH; Lord
LINDSEY and ABINGDON; GEORGE
GARDINER, MP; IVAN LAWRENCE,
MP; ANDREW HUNTER, MP; MARTIN
SMYTH, MP

House of Commons
London, SW1
17 December

Cosatu House damaged by powerful explosion

PRETORIA — Workers at several businesses around Cosatu House in Pretoria were still clearing the debris yesterday afternoon following a powerful early morning explosion which left buildings as far as 500 metres away without window panes.

The blast caused damage amounting to thousands of rands.

Police Warrant-Officer Evan Johnson confirmed a 41-year-old man was slightly injured.

The explosion took place about 1.15 am after a bomb was placed at the door of the offices of the Northern Transvaal

region of the South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union in Brown Street.

The place is known as Cosatu House.

Collapsing ceilings competed with smashed desks, cabinets, glass, books, pamphlets, typewriters and a photostat machine to complete the chaos.

Regional officials said they could not yet estimate the costs of the damage and were not aware of anything which could have been removed from the offices.

A motorbike dealer and mechanic opposite the Sarhwa offices, Lawrence van der Merwe,

said he was still assessing the damage to his shop, customers' motor bikes and new ones which were on the display window for sale.

He said the new bikes would have to be repainted and dents on others would have to be repaired, which would cost a considerable amount of money.

A representative of a nearby stationary shop, Joe Frylinck, said about 70 window panes from the shop were destroyed.

Attorney Elias Pyekga, whose offices are about 500 m from where the explosion took place, said he could not do any work in his office as it was in a chaotic

state with broken window panes strewn all over the place.

The explosive device ripped a 0,5 m hole into the pavement outside Cosatu House.

• Meanwhile, a man calling himself a member of the Boer-Republikeinse Leer (the Boer Republican Army) telephoned Sapa on Wednesday to claim responsibility for the bombing of a multi-racial school in Klerksdorp on December 16.

He also said that the explosion at Cosatu House was the work of the BRL.

The mysterious caller's voice was muffled and he refused to identify himself. — Sapa.

First Codesa clash looms over whether the State should be unitary or federal

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Political leaders negotiating a new order run into their first major political battle today over whether the future South Africa should be a federal or a unitary state.

Since February 2 last year, when President de Klerk launched his reform drive, the country's political leaders were able to work together on issues such as how to get negotiations on track and the need to combat political violence.

But now they run straight into the fundamental political differences between them at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

After the opening speeches by the political leaders, the first item on the agenda is the adoption and signing of a declaration of intent. It contains a reference to a unitary state that would have sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

This has been interpreted by



the Inkatha Freedom Party as effectively ruling out a possible federation of states that enjoyed a devolution of powers. The IFP was yesterday huddled with its constitutional advisers studying the wording and the IFP's options.

The IFP and other parties such as the Democratic Party do not want a concentration of power in a unitary state, although the African National Con-

gress does.

If the wording is not changed during today's debate, it is possible that some participants could refuse to sign the declaration.

Up to now the National Party has always rejected a unitary state for the new South Africa.

IFP members suspect that the whole process of negotiations is about to be hijacked by the NP and ANC.

Representatives from all 19 participating delegations hammered out the wording of the declaration after an exhaustive debate on Wednesday. All participating bodies were invited to submit draft declarations.

The Bophuthatswana representative was the first to challenge the wording at Wednesday's meeting.

NP members last night dismissed the significance of the wording of the declaration, saying it was just a scene-setting phrase, and that the nitty gritty of the principles of the new constitution would be thrashed out

at a working committee set up by Codesa.

However, other Codesa participants said today that it was unlikely they could find agreement on whether the new South Africa would be a unitary or a federal state, and they would probably have to leave this issue to be part of competing party political policies that the parties put before voters at the first all-in elections.

The central government will apparently table its own declaration of intent at the convention.

Meanwhile, ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk spoke on the telephone yesterday to try to resolve the disagreement on the status of decisions taken at Codesa. The ANC wants the decisions to be binding on all parties while the Government feels it cannot give this undertaking.

**Banana backs
process:
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Delegates to be seated in U-shaped formation in specific order

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Delegations attending the Convention for a Democratic South Africa will sit in a U-shaped formation in the same order they sat in at the preparatory talks last month.

The two chairmen, Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed and Mr Justice Petrus Schabert will sit at the open end of the U.

Delegates to the preparatory talks were allowed to sit where they liked.

In the repeated arrangement today, the South African Government will sit on the right of the chairman's table at the top of the U. Next in line, and leading to the left of the chairman's table, will be the Venda Govern-

ment, Labour Party, Ximoko Progressive Party, African National Congress, Inyandza National Movement, some religious leaders who will offer prayers, ambassadors and foreign guests, the joint Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress delegation, Democratic Party, National Party, South African Communist Party, Intando Yesizwe Party, United Peoples Front, Transkei Government, more ambassadors and foreign guests, more religious leaders, the National People's Party, Dikwankwetla Party, Bophuthatswana Government, Ciskei Government, Solidarity and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Prayers will be offered by Rabbi Cyril Harris, Professor Johan Heyns, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, Sheikh Nazim Mohamed, Bishop Wilfred Napier and Pandit Nardev Vedalanker.

The Chief Justice, Mr Justice Michael Corbett, will open proceedings. Prayers will then be said. The Chief Justice will then hand over to the two chairmen. Each of the 19 leaders will then be allowed 15 minutes to deliver opening remarks.

About 4.15pm, after tea, delegates will get down to the nitty gritty political debate when they will be confronted by the declaration of intent.

Banana DAILY NEWS backs 20 DEC 1991 Codesa process

MARTIN CHALLENGOR
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The Reverend Canaan Banana, the former president of Zimbabwe and a member of the Commonwealth delegation to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, delivered a message to the country's political leaders yesterday: put the larger good of South Africa first.

Mr Banana said the Commonwealth group was here to express its solidarity with the process embodied in Codesa — "the search by all South Africans for a new democratic, non-racial South Africa".

They were not here to impose their will on anybody. "We are not here to put any pressure on anyone, but to encourage them," Mr Banana said.

The Commonwealth and international community attached immense importance to the success of the process. So far the Commonwealth group was encouraged by the progress made and "we have a measure of optimism about the prospects ahead".

Mr Banana said the purpose of the Commonwealth delegation was to encourage all the parties to work together and "to look to the larger good of the new South Africa".

"On behalf of the Commonwealth, my best wishes to Codesa and all the people of South Africa."

Members of the Commonwealth team met the Pan Africanist Congress. Believing that the process of change had to involve all people in South Africa, Mr Banana said the Commonwealth was disappointed that the PAC was not taking part in Codesa.

The Commonwealth appealed to the PAC to return to negotiations, he said.

However, instead of persuading the PAC to join negotiations, the PAC left the meeting with the Commonwealth saying they would mount a campaign to discredit Codesa.

Church leaders also met the PAC yesterday to ask them to reconsider.

Mr Banana said the Commonwealth delegation would meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss his withdrawal from Codesa.

Dr Buthelezi, meanwhile, last night met the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, to discuss developments at Codesa.

Mr Banana said the people of South Africa had suffered far too long. "Every day we see the tragedy of human losses. There is a heavy loss of material resources. The sooner that is brought to an end the better."

Backroom workers are 'Codesa staff'

DAILY NEWS
20-12-1990
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The backroom staff of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa that opens today — drawn from the ranks of the participating 19 governments, political parties and organisations — have been given a new identity.

Yesterday a directive went out to them from the steering committee: You are not allowed to say which party you are from, you have to say that you are "Codesa staff".

This has further forged the bonds that are emerging among the back-up people.

As the bureaucratic work-load of the convention grew, so more members of the participating bodies were brought in to work.

Also, each participant is represented on every task group and sub-committee set up.

Co-operation between the party faithful started with arrangements for the National Peace Convention in September, and continued with the planning of the preparatory talks last month.

Some of the people have already started working together on regional and local dispute resolution committees.

One of the interesting side-shows at Codesa has been billed the "Piet and Saki show". Mr Piet Coetzer, chief information officer of the National Party, and Mr Saki Macozoma, a spokesman for the African National Congress, have been appointed joint spokesmen for Codesa.

They appear regularly before the media contingent, calling each other "my colleague" in public.

One of the bureaucratic tasks facing the Codesa staff was to meet the needs of the more than 400 journalists from around South Africa and the world who had by last night registered to report on the convention.

Inker Mars surprise member of IFP team

DAILY NEWS
20-12-91
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: One of the surprise delegates included in the Inkatha Freedom Party team for today's Convention for a Democratic South Africa is Mrs Inker Mars, of Durban.

Mrs Mars has for a long time being closely linked with the KwaZulu Government and the IFP.

She kept out of the political limelight, however, because wearing another hat she was closely linked with the South African Red Cross.

Today, though, Mrs Mars is listed as delegate number six in the IFP team.

The IFP delegation will be led by Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman. All the representatives are members of the IFP central committee.

The other members of the delegation are Mr Walter Felgate, Mr Prakash Satyadeva, Dr Dennis Madide, Dr Ben Ngubane, IFP women's brigade leader Mrs Elizabeth Bhengu, Mr S.E. Mzimela, Mr Musa Myeni, Ms Sue Vos, Mrs Faith Gasa and Chief Simon Gumede, the deputy secretary-general.

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*From Mr Michael Colvin, MP,
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Yours faithfully,

MICHAEL COLVIN, MP (Chairman,
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GARDINER, MP; IVAN LAWRENCE,
MP; ANDREW HUNTER, MP; MARTIN
SMYTH, MP

House of Commons
London, SW1
17 December



Opinion

Friday, December 20, 1991

Out of the game

In politics timing is crucial. If he had waited, and not hurriedly resigned from Parliament and his party, Frederik van Zyl Slabbert would certainly now be playing a more central role in national politics. If Dennis Worrall had not relinquished his ambassadorship to challenge the estimable Chris Heunis, he would probably now have a senior post in President de Klerk's cabinet. Similarly, Mangosuthu Buthelezi may come to rue his decision not to attend this weekend's Codesa talks. It's not the first time he has used this tactic: he was a reluctant participant in the National Peace Convention earlier this year, after initially indicating he would not attend. But now the stakes are higher, and negotiations are more advanced. Buthelezi is undoubtedly a significant player in SA politics but the peace process, which is bigger than any individual, will continue. And it will do so without him if necessary.

Given his apparent predilection for visceral responses at crucial moments, it is becoming increasingly doubtful whether either of the major parties, the NP and the ANC, would want him in their cabinet. By his own actions, Buthelezi may be dealing himself out of the national game.

South Africa

Confidence in the future

by Conrad Black

Conrad Black, chairman and owner of the London Daily Telegraph, gives a personal and optimistic view of South Africa's future.

I AM optimistic about South Africa, and my optimism is based on three things.

First is the quality of leadership. It is a mistake to impute questionable motives to President de Klerk as the reason that he is dismantling apartheid. No one should underestimate the great courage that is required of him to do this.

It is not only the repulsive system of apartheid that he is tearing down. It is the entire history of race relations in the country. In the 350 years of white presence, there has not been any institutionalised system of racial fairness. And we should not lay all of this on the Boers. Even otherwise distinguished English governors like Milner, and Rhodes were, in this respect, not distinguished at all.

Nelson Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, is equally clearly a very widely and justly respected leader. He has borne up with a great stoicism under his unjust imprisonment of 27 years. But, like anyone who has been out of the play for so long, he sometimes seems like a gramophone record stuck at the point where he was removed.

Some of those dreary platitudes of his about nationalisation of business and his protestations of friendship for Castro and Gaddafi and the IRA, and Arafat really sound like the utterances of the Flat Earth Society. He is a sincere moderate, and De Klerk wants to help him prevail on behalf of the forces of moderation within the ANC, who are being sorely challenged.



Nelson Mandela

Chief Buthelezi of Inkatha has been reviled by the international left for opposing sanctions and the so-called arms struggle. He is a distinguished leader of a very strong group.

The second reason for optimism is the decline of the international left.

There surely is a good deal of suffering and misery in the black townships and squatters' camps. But there are still large numbers of people pressing against the borders of South Africa, seeking entry. They are fugitives from the shambles of some of the front-line states, most until recently, self-proclaimed Marxist.

The third and most important reason for optimism about South Africa is that the principal political and socio-logical fact about the country is that it cannot be governed without the two strongest groups in its demographic patchwork: the Afri-



President de Klerk

kaners and the Zulus. And the Afrikaners finally have renounced their attempt to impose a system based on racial arrogance.

Neither the Afrikaners nor the Zulus will accept a system of the extreme left. In those circumstances, the pathway towards a regime of reconciliation and moderation is not clear and certainly will not be easy. But the extremes, for those reasons, will be avoided.

The Inkatha party of Buthelezi, and Buthelezi himself, had to be recognised. It was all very well for the ANC to invite him to a patriotic front meeting and give ultimatums about the disarming of Zulus, because they happened not to be in their homeland of KwaNatal.

But Buthelezi had been systematically denied his rightful status as the third player on the political stage — not by Mandela, who appears to be well disposed towards him, but by



Chief Buthelezi

the more extreme elements in this fissiparous monolith of the ANC.

A good deal of the violence in the townships ceased when the ANC ceased its pretence that all tribal and political movements had been subsumed into it.

The ANC conference in the summer seemed to indicate that it is not moving to the left but staying somewhat in the centre. De Klerk would certainly like to help Mandela and the moderates within the ANC, but it is absurd for the ANC leaders to advocate retention of sanctions, while advocating increased investment and job creation; and particularly absurd while they can be seen every night on television being conveyed around in elongated late model Mercedes-Benzes.

Sanctions do not punish the racially offensive people. They punish those of every political and ethnic group, who have courageously

torn down apartheid. And that surely is not the purpose of sanctions.

De Klerk has said that he plans a huge devolution of power to the states. So it will be, to the maximum degree possible, not the ethnic groups being governed by other ethnic groups, but self government at a local level. The central legislature will probably have two houses: one man/one vote, and the other supposedly modelled on the U.S. Senate, having equal weighting for each so-called culture.

Now that will have to be very delicately defined not to replicate some of the evils of the previous system. But it is not just for the protection of whites. The East Indians are frightened of the Zulus, the Xhosas are frightened of the Zulus, the whites are frightened of the Xhosas. The Zulus appear not to be frightened of anybody, but do not much want to be told what to do.

The system is not one man, one vote. It is, in De Klerk's phrase, a vote of equal value for everyone.

And on such a system as that, it would be one of the most exemplary democracies in the world.

For Mandela to be there at all after what he has been through and for Buthelezi to be so close to holding the balance of power, considering how he has been reviled by the foreign and domestic left; and for De Klerk to be even with Mandela as the most respected politician in the country is certainly more progress than one would have dared to hope for prior to De Klerk's elevation in 1989.

• With acknowledgements to the Daily Telegraph.

Dear Sir,

IN THE last election, which was anyway through an illegitimate constitution, the NP polled just over a million votes. That is about 3% of the total population of the country. This is the support based on which the NP has the de facto power to rule this country and the Press is happy to term them "main players". The DP polled far less than 3%. The ANC has not yet taken part in any open election and therefore had not been mandated democratically to decide the future of this country.

It is with amazement that one observes the general population of this country being manipulated by the Press to believe that the small clique comprising the NP/DP/ANC have a right to decide our destinies.

The NP further uses its self-created lackeys in the Bantustans and the tricameral parliament to

give an impression of multiplicity of parties.

If you add the number of people who voted for each one in Codesa who has ever taken part in an election, the total is no more than 6% of the total population of this country, yet this is portrayed as democracy.

So distorted is the picture we are being given that groups such as Azapo and the PAC, which advocate the right of everyone in this country to elect people to a body to draw up the constitution, are said to be extremists. Those that advocate the immediate participation of all people in the formulation of a new constitution are equated with people who want their own land with no

Africans (in Africa!) such as the CP, AWB, BBB and so on. Azapo and the PAC, who fought apartheid, are categorised with the CP/AWB who want to retain and consolidate apartheid.

Codesa should remove the word "democracy" from its title. Attempting to rule by decree or decide the constitution of the country behind people's backs is dictatorial, undemocratic and downright arrogant. It undermines the intelligence of 94% of the population.

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000
Fax: (011) 836-0805

Convention is anything but democratic

KGOSITSILE MOKGOSI
Orlando East

□□□□

Dear Sir,

I WOULD like to remind Dr Zach de Beer, Codesa chairman, facilitator and mediator, that there is a real world out there — a world of living human beings. People who are being inconvenienced, maimed and murdered in the name of democracy, freedom and justice, along with all the idealistic claptrap.

De Beer is quoted (Business Day, December 19) as saying, "I think it is a pity that Dr Buthelezi will not attend. He is a leading figure and it would have been nice to have him,

but Codesa is much bigger than all of us and it must continue."

Indeed! What in heaven's name is Codesa anyway — God? Or is it yet another dream of some idealists with another of those Marxist-Leninist 70-year visions, idealists who cannot see the trees for the forest.

Sir Laurens van der Post in one of his recent interviews urged all South Africans to heed Dr Buthelezi's call to forgive one another: "God, we need it (forgiveness) — it's not justice we want; because we'd all be in jail, everyone of us in this country — it's forgiveness."

You do not leave anybody out — at all.

H ANDERSON
Kensington

□ While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

NO NEW constitution is going to emerge today, nor will there be agreement tomorrow on interim rule. But the two-day opening meeting of SA's second national convention starts the final process towards achieving both.

Nor, for all the publicity focused on the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa), is it going to be a public negotiating forum. Most of the decisions are likely to be taken privately in committees and endorsed in open session; some crucial conflict-breaking debates may, however, take place in public.

Codesa is the beginning of a process, so much so that this weekend's session is already being called Codesa I. More are to come next year.

The 18 organisations meeting in a blaze of international publicity at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park will be gathering for what is largely, but not entirely, a ceremonial occasion.

Those parties accept there is no way forward except through the guidelines to be adopted over the next two days. They stand charged with the task of completing the job made possible by the reforms President F W de Klerk started last year.

The most important decision to be taken today and tomorrow will be the public acceptance of a declaration of intent. For the rest, most of today will be taken up with the delegation leaders making opening speeches.

Codesa will also consider its standing rules and the formation and terms of reference for the five proposed working groups.

The task groups set up at the preparatory meeting at the end of last month have moved with what one negotiator described as "breakneck speed", achieving agreement on almost all substantive matters.

Much of the real negotiation work has already been done quietly behind the scenes. Significant agreements charting the course of the constitutional process have already been

agreed in drafting the declaration of intent. This is how things are likely to proceed, with all critical negotiations happening behind closed doors in the working groups with occasional public flourishes where decisions will be confirmed.

The most significant decisions taken by the task groups leading up to Codesa involved the declaration of intent and a set of standing rules for decision-making and negotiating.



□ MR JUSTICE MAHOMED

The proposed declaration includes some broad constitutional principles to set SA on course towards a fully fledged multiparty democracy.

The draft declaration also includes a commitment from all parties to do everything in their power to ensure Codesa decisions are im-

plemented. This means government is morally and politically bound to enact decisions where required.

It also includes a more specific mechanism to give force to this commitment, by ensuring that a Codesa working group draws up draft legislation with government to give legal effect to decisions.

This was one of the ANC's principal demands; its negotiators felt that after agreements were reached in

the past, government officials had interpreted them differently from the spirit in which they were agreed.

The standing rules include a codification of the method by which decisions have been arrived at so far, providing a unique and somewhat vague definition of consensus.

The key to decision-making is "sufficient consensus" which the rules define as any agreement that allows the process to move forward effectively. Although negotiators are reluctant to be specific, effectively there will be deadlock if the ANC, government/NP and a significant number of others do not agree.

Should this happen, the standing rules make provision for the chairmen, Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr

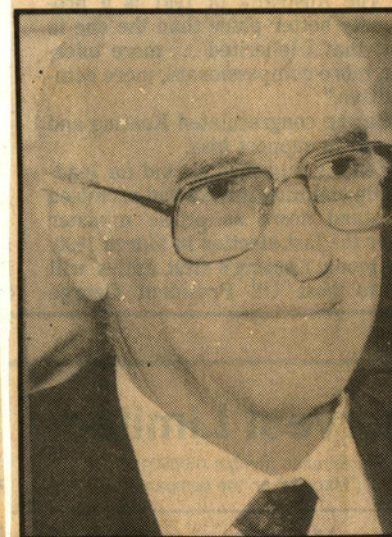
Justice Schabert, to withdraw so that the parties can engage in bilateral or multilateral negotiations which may include mediation and arbitration.

Failing agreement in the working groups, the matter will be referred to the plenary session of Codesa; the parties will have to negotiate their proposals in the full glare of the media and, more pertinently, the international community.

Parties hope this prospect will be sufficient to encourage compromise before they have to argue possibly untenable positions in public.

As significant as these decisions are, vast gulfs between parties still need to be bridged. But even here, the task groups have made progress, outlining terms of reference for working groups to continue the negotiations.

The major differences still to be resolved at this and future Codesa meetings include the type of consti-



□ MR JUSTICE SCHABERT

tution-making body that will be set up and what form of interim government should be established. There also has to be agreement on how long these bodies should take to complete their work.

It is at this point that the parties part ways, over what sometimes ap-

Codesa sets SA on an arduous course towards democracy

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BUSINESS DAY

BILLY PADDOCK and TIM COHEN

pear to be intractable differences.

An elected constituent assembly has been one of the ANC's key demands and rallying points. It is gradually winning over a broad body of support for this demand, and government will be hard pressed to avoid it. Government members argue that a constituent assembly would harden political positions, forcing parties to define constitutional proposals prior to negotiations

The ANC is now present at a convention designed to forge a wider reconciliation and produce a constitution with wider legitimacy. Codesa's meeting today marks the end of one process and the beginning of another.

and so reduce the possibilities for creative give and take.

According to the ANC, Codesa should have a markedly shorter life than government members apparently prefer. The ANC wants Codesa to complete its work by mid-1992, after playing a similar role to the one the UN played in drawing up parameters for a new constitution for Namibia.

This would result in a package deal, including an interim government and an elected constituent assembly. The ANC contends that Codesa would cease to operate at this point; an interim government would take over with the objective of conducting elections for the constituent assembly and governing the country until a new government is elected.

Government wants the new constitution to be hammered out by the parties at Codesa sessions, with the convention to last as long as is needed to achieve this objective.

ANC negotiators emerged jubilant from the first round of secret negotiations this week having won their major demands. This does not mean the rest of the process will go the same way.

While government and the NP have made some significant compromises at this early stage, they will have less room to compromise on their position later, resulting in much tougher bargaining. In addition, government has won an important concession through the decision-making mechanism of sufficient consensus: it gives them a virtual veto.

Parties like the CP and PAC are gambling on Codesa failing, or on their being able to shoot down its decisions on the basis that there is a grand conspiracy between the participants.

Codesa has left room for their participation but this appears to be a window rather than a door as, by the end of its opening session, Codesa will have made decisions which contradict the demands of those who are boycotting its decisions.

The Union of SA was formed in 1910 after a national convention designed to forge reconciliation between Boer and Brit; it excluded black representatives. One of the results of that was the formation of the ANC in 1912.

COMMENT

Codesa's task

THERE are formidable elements ranged against the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, beginning at the World Trade Centre today, but there are even stronger forces with the power to make it succeed. Those attending represent many millions of people, and though the political views of some of them may be poles apart, their presence signifies a willingness to compromise in the interests of the country.

The two-day meeting marks the formal beginning of a process that must lead to a new constitution and a democratic South Africa. There is no other way to reach these goals.

Observers have come from the Commonwealth, the United Nations and other organisations, indicating the international community's support for a momentous event. The sideshows are over — negotiations are under way.

It is going to be a long process, perhaps lasting several years, and the first talks this weekend are unlikely to do more than set the scene for the hard bargaining to come. If Codesa is able to produce a clear declaration of intent tomorrow night, it will achieve its initial task. If it is able to convince doubters and some of its absent detractors it is worth joining, so much the better.

Inevitably the proceedings will be dominated by the two major participants, the government/National Party and the ANC. For all the antagonism between them, they have come to carry the hopes of the ma-

jority of South Africans for a peaceful transition to a shared and just society. Both have become targets of abuse from their rivals; both are accused of selling out by consorting with the enemy. Both have an enormous responsibility to resist these taunts, and to accept the task of finding a basis for negotiation, no matter how long it takes. Preliminary decisions in the working committees, especially government's agreement to a role for Codesa in formulating legislation, indicate that substantial progress has already been made.

The withdrawal of Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the Zulu king is a setback, but he will probably be back. In any event, the Inkatha Freedom Party will be out to make its presence felt. There are bound to be snags and upsets, and Codesa's unwieldy nature could be a problem. It will require tact and wisdom from the learned chairmen to guide the founding convention to some sort of conclusion.

Codesa's first aim must be to convince the public it is a vehicle capable of maintaining the momentum of change. Whether it will become the forerunner of an interim government, or of a constitutional assembly, or even a transitory organisation to be replaced by an elected assembly, is not important at this stage. Codesa's vital function is to get people talking, and to create a climate for negotiation which will eventually have irresistible appeal.

Crucial Declaration of Intent

Codesa: SA

20 DECEMBER 1991

on point of

STAR

no return

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

"We, the South African Government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in Codesa ... and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof ..."

With these historic words, South Africa will today be catapulted into an entirely new political era. For the first time, the Government will concede a measure of joint control over the political process.

When President de Klerk signs this commitment — contained in the Codesa draft declaration of intent — constitutional negotiations will be effectively under way.

Last night, final preparations were being made for the two-day Convention for a Democratic South Africa, to be held at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

Codesa's administrative head, Murphy Morobe, said last night that "preparations are on schedule despite the nightmarish task of co-ordinating officials gathered from 19 different organisations, and welding them into a coherent force".

About 300 delegates from 19 groups, including the Government, ANC, IFP and the TBVC states, are attending. Their deliberations will be observed by five international organisations, as well as by a host of foreign and local dignitaries and a large media contingent.

A centrepiece of Codesa is the declaration of intent, ex-

Codesa's Declaration of Intent — Page 13

pected to be signed by all participants this afternoon.

The declaration will commit all parties to the basic tenets of multiparty democracy, including the holding of regular elections, the independence of the judiciary, the supremacy of the constitution, and the division of power between the executive, legislative and judicial arms.

The declaration also charges signatories with striving to "improve the quality of life of our people through policies that will promote economic growth and human development, and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans".

Crucially, the declaration commits all parties, including the Government, to es-

tablishing a mechanism whereby Codesa, in co-operation with administrations and the Government, will "draft the text of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in Codesa".

The far-reaching consensus achieved in preparatory meetings for Codesa this week has been marred by IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to boycott the convention — but the high-powered IFP delegation will attend. The Pan Africanist Congress withdrew from the Codesa process at the end of last month.

Observers from the Commonwealth, the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the European Community and the Non-Aligned Movement began to arrive in Johannesburg yesterday. They constitute the largest and most senior group of foreign politicians to have gathered in South Africa for decades.

Former Zimbabwean president Canaan Banana, who heads the Commonwealth delegation, said at a press conference yesterday that his delegation had "come to express its solidarity with the process embodied in Codesa — the search

Codesa takes SA to the point of no return

● From Page 1

by all South Africans for a new democratic and non-racial South Africa".

Mr Banana and his colleagues were involved in 11th-hour attempts to persuade both the PAC and Chief Buthelezi to attend Codesa, but it was thought unlikely that they would meet with any success.

A spokesman for the UN secretary-general said yesterday the UN delegation "hoped that the goal of achieving a peaceful transition would be reached as soon as possible".

Codesa will be opened today by Chief Justice Mr Michael Corbett. His address will be followed by prayers, at which point co-chairmen Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed

and Mr Justice Piet Schabert will take responsibility.

The leader of each delegation will then make opening remarks, and the day's business will be concluded with the adoption and signing of the crucial declaration of intent.

Tomorrow, the standing rules for Codesa will be considered, as well as the formation and terms of reference of working groups. It is through these groups, in coming months, that the detailed business of negotiations will be carried out.

Before closing, Codesa will discuss a starting date for these working groups, a date for the next plenary session (Codesa 2) — expected in mid-March — and the issue of potential further participants in Codesa.

Planning a new nation

STAR 20 DECEMBER 1991

THE STAR today reveals a draft of the declaration of intent which will be considered today by delegates of the South African Government, the TBVC administrations and most major political parties at the historic first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The text is the departure point for negotiations on a new constitution, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

It can be altered or amended during debate on the floor of the convention in the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, but the basic prin-

ciples are understood to be acceptable to the major parties.

Since it is already the product of weeks of hard bargaining behind closed doors by all the Codesa participants, it is expected to be passed — and signed — with little or no change.

It is an extremely important document. Firstly because it commits the participants — who constitute the bulk of South African political actors — to the basic principles of genuine multiparty democracy where the constitution is supreme and regular elections are guaranteed.

And secondly because it commits all parties — and especially the National Party — to be bound

by the decisions of Codesa and to take all possible steps to implement them.

These two vital commitments — to democracy and to implement Codesa decisions — will be taken before an impressive array of witnesses.

Present will be the representatives of five international organisations and of all the governments which have missions in South Africa.

The declaration will also be signed before representatives of about 200 local and international news organisations.

And it will be witnessed by millions of ordinary South Africans who will watch and listen to the proceedings of Codesa on live television.

This will be the chief value of the declaration. It has no legal binding force — something the ANC wanted but the Government and National Party resisted. They argued that they were bound by the provisions of the existing constitution and the law.

Nonetheless, the moral and political force of this declaration, made in the presence of the world, will be immense.

None of the parties at Codesa will be able to renege on any of these important commitments without South Africa and the world knowing it.

It is in a sense the preamble to the first democratic constitution in the history of South Africa. □



Commonwealth eyes on Codesa . . . (from left) Justice Telford Georges of the Bahamas, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie of Malaysia, Shri Dinesh Singh of India, the Reverend Canaan Banana of Zimbabwe and Australia's Sir Ninian Stephen.
 STAR, 20 DECEMBER 1991
 Picture by Stephen Davimes

Declaration of Intent for Codesa delegates

WE, THE duly authorised representatives of political parties, political organisations, administrations and the South African Government, coming together at this first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, mindful of the awesome responsibility that rests on us at this moment in the history of our country, declare our solemn commitment:

1. To bring about an undivided South Africa with one nation sharing a common citizenship, patriotism and loyalty, pursuing amid our diversity, freedom, equality and security for all irrespective of race, colour, sex

or creed; a country free from apartheid or any other form of discrimination or domination.

2. To work to heal the divisions of the past, to secure the advancement of all, and to establish a free and open society based on democratic values where the dignity, worth and rights of every South African are protected by law.

3. To strive to improve the quality of life of our people through policies that will promote economic growth and human development, and ensure equal opportunities and social justice for all South Africans.

4. To create a climate conducive to peaceful constitutional

change by eliminating violence, intimidation and destabilisation and by promoting free political participation, discussion and debate.

5. To set in motion the process of drawing up and establishing a constitution that will ensure:

a. That South Africa will be a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist state in which sovereign authority is exercised over the whole of its territory.

b. That the constitution will be the supreme law and that it will be guarded over by an independent, nonracial and impartial judiciary.

c. That there will be a multi-party democracy with the right

to form and join political parties and with regular elections on the basis of universal adult suffrage on a common voters roll; in general the basic electoral system shall be that of proportional representation.

d. That there shall be a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary with appropriate checks and balances.

e. That the diversity of languages, cultures and religions of the people of South Africa shall be acknowledged.

f. That all shall enjoy accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties including freedom

of religion, speech and assembly, protected by an entrenched and justiciable bill of rights and a legal system that guarantees equality of all . . .

We agree:

1. That the present and future participants shall be entitled to put forward freely to the convention any proposal consistent with democracy.

2. That Codesa will establish a mechanism whose task it will be, in co-operation with administrations and the South African Government, to draft the texts of all legislation required to give effect to the agreements reached in Codesa.

We, the representatives of political parties, political organisations and administrations, further solemnly commit ourselves to be bound by the agreements of Codesa and in good faith to take all such steps as are within our power and authority to realise their implementation.

We, the South African Government, declare ourselves to be bound by agreements we reach together with other participants in Codesa in accordance with the standing rules and hereby commit ourselves to the implementation thereof within our capacity, powers and authority. □

Number of violent deaths expected to soar to 30 000

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

Between 26 600 and 28 056 South Africans have died violently so far this year — and this figure is likely to leap to nearly 30 000 by the end of 1991.

This massive toll comes from deaths as a result of criminals, politically motivated killings and road fatalities.

The biggest contributor to the carnage has been — as in the past few years — crime and political unrest, which together will toll a conservative estimate of 17 644 lives by the end of December.

The second biggest contributor is road deaths — expected to reach the usual annual average of 11 000 by the end of 1991.

This year has seen a dramatic swing in the nature of violence as the overwhelming majority of murders

have been criminal rather than politically motivated.

Of the 11 764 deaths counted by police from January until August, only 806 were unrest related.

(The earlier 17 644 figure is based on the SAP's January to August count, taking a monthly average of this figure for the remaining months of the year.)

Independent figures back up the police contention that political fatalities have in fact dropped.

The South African Institute of Race Relations says political violence has dropped by 26 percent this year — with 2 510 deaths. Last year the SAIRR counted 3 699 politically motivated deaths.

The Human Rights Commission lists 2 031 political deaths until the end of last month.

However, even with a drop in politically motivated mur-

ders, the overall figure for murder is expected to be at least 2 500 more than the corresponding police murder count for last year.

The alarming number of armed robberies and suburban murders has caused concern for police, who have blamed soaring poverty, unemployment and homelessness for the unacceptable crime level.

South Africa's roads continue to claim scores of lives every day — and the National Road Safety Council fears a sudden increase this weekend to a relatively improved festive season death count.

By Wednesday the holiday road death toll had reached 376, compared to 509 on the same date last year.

"But this figure could jump by 20 percent over the next few days," a NRSC spokesman said.

● 2 510 political deaths
— Page 7

STAR
I know nothing
of third Inkatha
funding — FW

President de Klerk said yesterday that statements made by himself and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis earlier this year had reflected all information available to them on "proven, alleged or suspected" Government funding of the IFP.

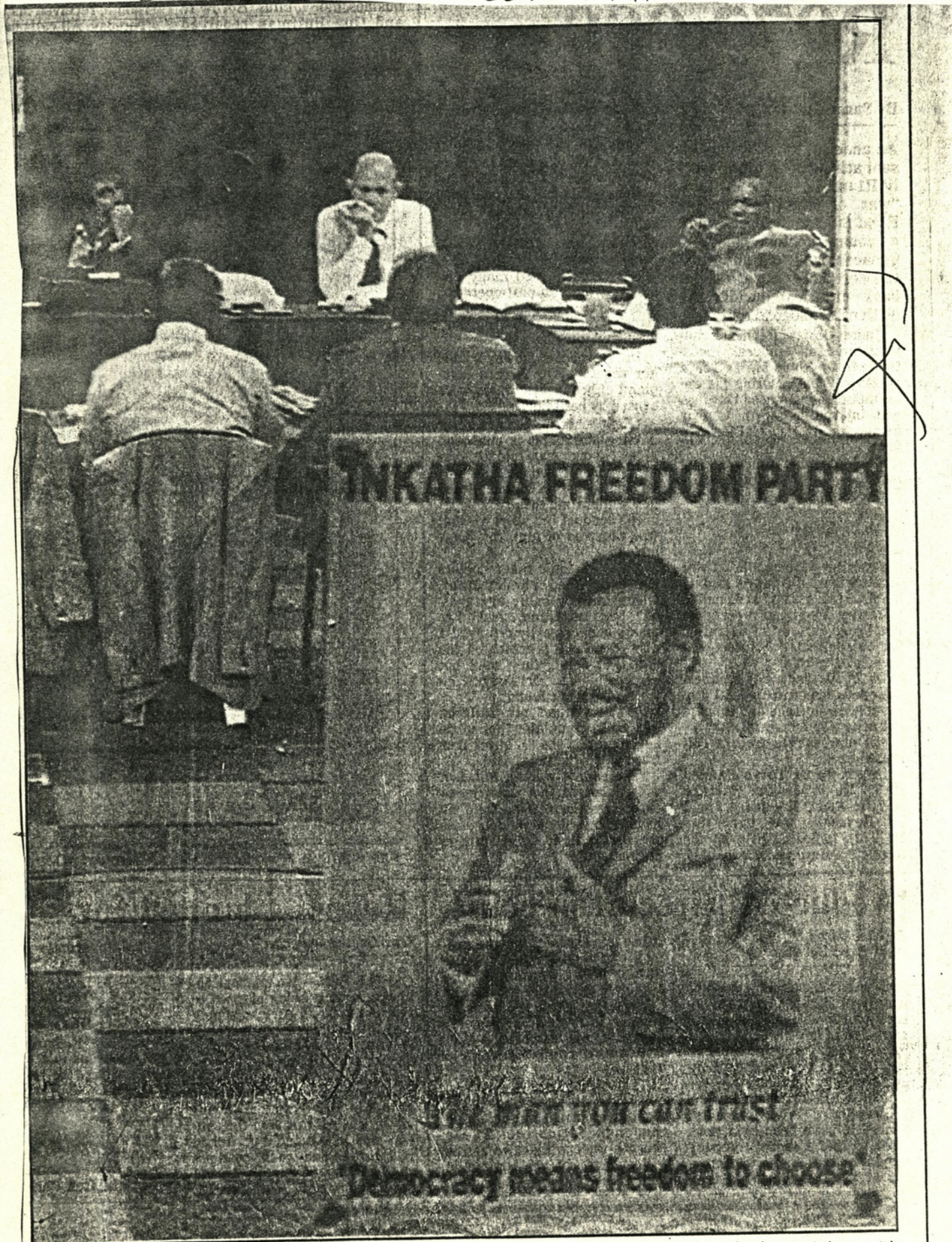
"Those statements were issued after extensive consultation and inquiry. Neither I nor the minister were aware of any allegations about information which could indicate the contrary."

Mr de Klerk was reacting to renewed reports by the Weekly Mail last week that police had funded another Inkatha rally this year, despite Government assurances that secret funding was stopped early in 1990.

The paper also claimed to have evidence suggesting Major Louis Botha — who reportedly funded two earlier rallies — had paid for a rally in Natal on January 26 this year. — Sapa.

STAR

20 DECEMBER 1991



Freedom to choose . . . Inkatha Freedom Party delegates to Codesa discuss yesterday whether to take part in the multiparty conference following Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's withdrawal. Finally, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose announced they would attend the talks.

Picture: AP

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

The moment of truth

OUR date with destiny has arrived. Never mind that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is clumsily named, oddly located and subject to fits of pique by its participants — it is a moment of truth. There is an evocative Zulu phrase to describe this moment: *asijiki*, no turning back.

Codesa 1, as we have noted, will not take decisions in detail on the future shape of South Africa. But, as the compromise achieved over the status of Codesa resolutions shows — there was agreement that a multiparty group will jointly draft legislation for parliamentary approval — it marks our entry into an entirely new phase of politics. That phase involves an ineluctable chipping away at the Government's exclusive hold on state power, and the concomitant empowerment of the parties which remain outside Parliament but are now having a good look in.

For this overarching reason, the delegates — gathered under the benevolent eyes of observers from all over the world — are making history. They are proving that representatives of the polyglot people that go to make up the "South African nation" can learn to work with each other, and work out their problems, as equals.

The momentousness, dignity and optimism of the event make it all the more tragic that Chief Buthelezi of the IFP should have succumbed, in unstatesman-like fashion, to the temptations of grandstanding. His decision to boycott Codesa undoubtedly detracts from the powerful symbolism (not the content, as an IFP delegation will be present) of the occasion.

Arcane sensitivities about the role of the (constitutionally apolitical) Zulu king will not convince the majority of South Africans that Chief Buthelezi is justified in taking this churlish step. Codesa must proceed without further reference to the touchy chief. In time he will come back into negotiations, as he must, and he should not be allowed now to spoil a moment this country has been waiting decades for.

Ex-Inkatha leader jailed for 'evil' killing

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — Former Inkatha youth leader and special constable Toti Nkosenye Zulu (21) was yesterday jailed for an effective 18 years for the "evil assassination" of the Rev Victor Africander and for assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm on a six-year-old girl.

Mr Justice Broome said that others were involved in the killing which took place at Imbali last May, but Zulu was the principal actor.

The killing was premeditated, the judge said. On the previous day Zulu was seen at the scene and the inference was that he watched Mr Africander.

The court was told Zulu ran up to Mr Africander's car, fired the shots and jumped into a vehicle which sped off.

The judge said society could not countenance the killing of people whose aims and ideals

were not approved of.

He found it impossible to conceive how Mr Africander could have harmed Zulu and what legitimate grudge Zulu could have held against him. Zulu did not take the court into his confidence on this and he showed no remorse.

Zulu was discharged from the police for losing his issue firearm.

The judge said he had served as a policeman for most of 1988 and one would have hoped that that service would have taught him how to behave.

Mitigating factors were his clean record and his youth.

Zulu, who has been in custody for 18 months, was jailed for 18 years for the murder of Mr Africander and two years for the assault on a girl.

Defence counsel Pranil Singh noted an application for leave to appeal against conviction and he is to consider an appeal against sentence.

Nearly 200 IFP leaders assassinated

DURBAN — Nearly 200 Inkatha Freedom Party leaders had been assassinated in recent years, and it was astounding that there had been no international or even national outrage at this, IFP central committee member David Ntombe-la said in response to the murder of Thomas Msoki Gcabashe (45).

Mr Gcabashe, an IFP leader in the Table Mountain area, was gunned down in his car as he turned into the driveway of his home in White Road, the Grange, Maritzburg on Tuesday.

He was shot five times in the neck.

The killing was almost identical to the assassination of Chief Mhlambuzima Maphumulo, an ANC leader at Table Mountain, in February last year.

Mr Gcabashe's brother, Sabelo Elliot Gcabashe (35), was wounded in an ambush on Monday near Table Mountain. — Own Correspondent.