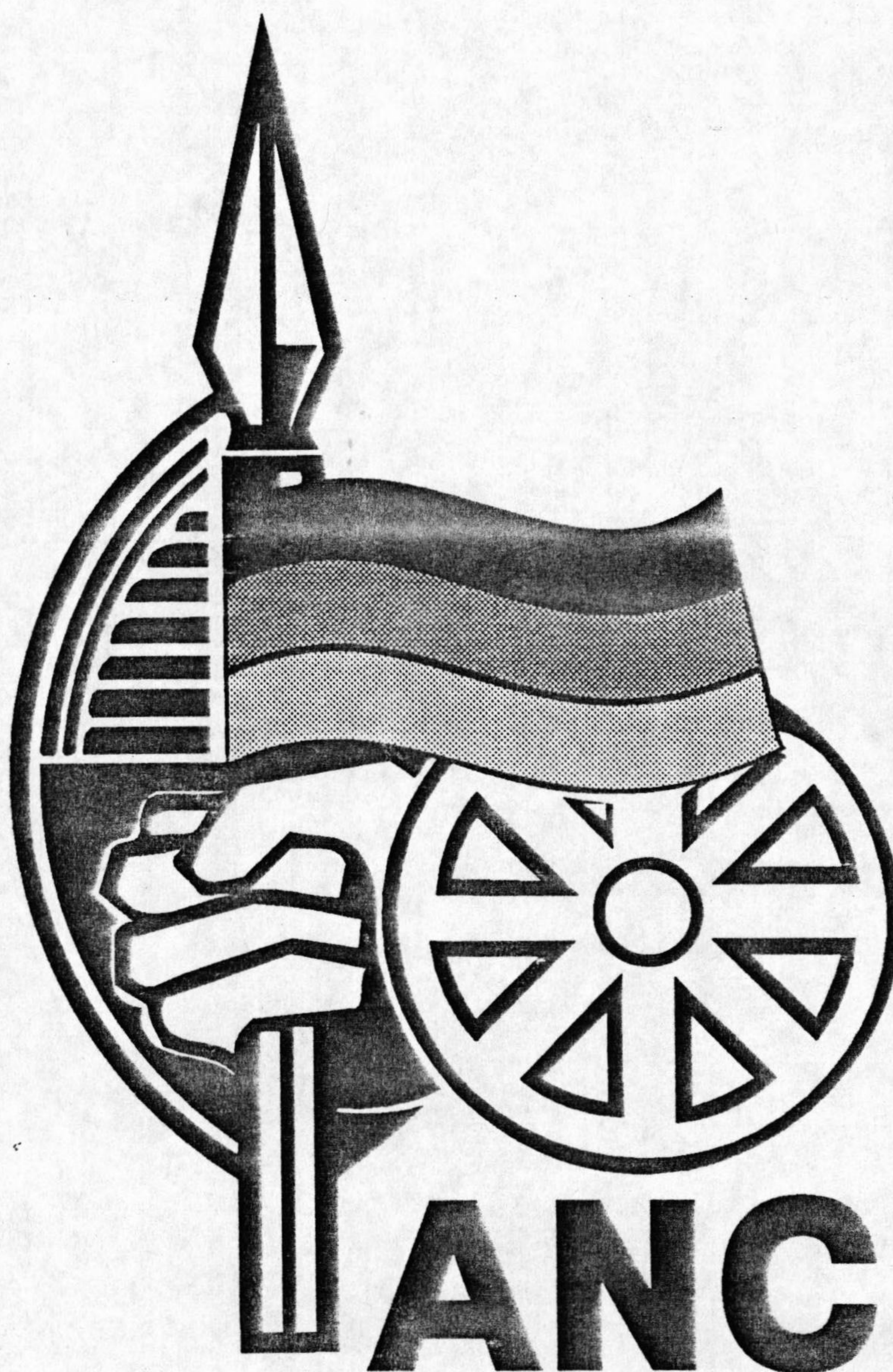


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02/12/91

Press Briefing



2 December 1991

Blacks favour Church says Chief Buthelezi

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend that the spread of Christianity in South Africa had also influenced black South Africans' "basic grassroots, deep-down rejection of communism, apartheid and racism".

Buthelezi made the comment while opening two new wards at St Mary's Missionary Hospital at KwaMagwaza in Natal.

He said this particular Christian missionary hospital had always been of great historic significance to the Zulu people.

It stood on the site which had been donated to the church by Zulu King Mpande ka Senzangakhona after he embraced Christianity.

The first clinic was opened in 1887 by Dr James Petrie immediately after the Zulu War resulted in the partition of the Zulu kingdom into 13 different chieftainships.

He also felt "somewhat sentimental" about Bishop Vivyan, who laid the foundation stone in 1913 for the permanent three-storey hospital built there, as the bishop had had close links with his family.

Vivyan had confirmed his late mother - the Princess Constance Magogo ka Dinuzulu - at St Mary's Church in Nkonjeni.

Buthelezi warned it was important never to underestimate the influence of the Christian Church in South Africa's history.

"I see black South Africa's basic, grassroots, deep-down rejection of communism and apartheid and racism, and that same grassroots society's acceptance of multi-racialism and democracy as the product of Christian input."

Directives

He ranked the work of the "humble" missionary in places like KwaMagwaza, Mahlabathini, Vryheid, Dundee and elsewhere as "being fundamentally more important than all the councils and synods of the churches, and all the directives of bishops and archbishops".

"Two descendants of the man Zulu, after whose name our nation is known, became bishops of their church, namely Bishop Alpheus Zulu and Bishop Lawrence Zulu."

St Mary's, as a missionary hospital, remained a pivotal part of Zulu history, where medical care was provided in a place "where everything had to be struggled for and fought for and argued for". - SA Press Association.

SOWETAN 02/12/91

STAR 02/12/91

Drive for sanctions continues

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement on Saturday decided to continue its campaign for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa, the AAM said in a statement faxed from London.

The statement was released at the end of the AAM's 1991 AGM in London. The movement's chairman, Labour MP Bob Hughes, said the AAM's priority was "the campaign to replace the De Klerk regime with an interim government".

"We will be calling upon the public to maintain the boycott and sanctions to secure this objective," he said.

In a telephone interview, AAM executive secretary Mike Terry said the movement would take its signals from the African National Congress and other democratic movements as to when to end the campaign to maintain sanctions.

Mr Terry said, however, his organisation would "vigorously" oppose the lifting of embargoes on arms, oil and the exchange of nuclear information and technology until there was a democratic system of one-person one-vote in place in South Africa.—Sapa.

Cyprus to drop ban on SA air link, sport

NICOSIA. — Cyprus has announced a gradual abolition of sanctions against South Africa, lifting a ban on air links and resuming sport and cultural exchanges. But economic sanctions remain in force.

The Mediterranean island's government said the decision was taken "in view of the positive political developments in the country and in line with the recent decision of the Commonwealth summit in Harare for an immediate end to people-to-people sanctions."

Abolished

It said a ban on air links will be lifted and restrictions on tourism abolished.

Consular restrictions will be lifted. Cultural, scientific and sport exchanges will be restored under conditions placed by the Commonwealth.

A ban on the sale or transfer of weapons through Cyprus and economic, trade and commercial sanctions will remain in force until the conditions set by the Commonwealth are met, the government said. — Sapa-Reuter.

CITIZEN

62/12/91

Schlebusch: What I told Kohl

Citizen Reporter

FORMER Vice State President Alwyn Schlebusch has denied that in talks he had with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl in 1987, he suggested the possibility that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be released without having to renounce violence.

The Sunday Times reported on November 24 that State President P W Botha had mandated Mr Schlebusch "to sound out Mr Kohl on what the reaction of European governments would be if he release Mr Mandela on parole without first demanding he renounce violence.

"Details of this communication between Mr Botha and the German Chancellor have been passed to the Sunday Times to rebut suggestions by Mr Botha that President De Klerk was incorrect when he maintained the actions he had undertaken since becoming president were the logical consequence to those of his predecessor."

In a statement to The Citizen, Mr Schlebusch said: "It is extremely annoying that the Sunday Times of November 24 published a news item on its front page which has the effect of unwillingly drawing me into controversies that Mr PW Botha has with persons and/or instances.

"The news item is an embarrassment to me for the reasons that follow:

"At the time that I visited the Chancellor of Germany, relations of our country with most Western countries were extremely sensitive and for that reason, and other considerations, both sides agreed that the visit should be a secret one. This leakage to the Sunday Times must therefore emanate from somebody who knew of the arrangement.

"Furthermore, one would expect that the Sunday Times would have

shown me the elementary courtesy of checking their facts with me before publishing a news item which is both embarrassing and suffers from serious discrepancies.

"I returned to the Cabinet during December 1986 and ranked as the most senior Minister.

"Shortly after my return I was approached by a highly respected and

competent member of the private sector who asked me whether I would be prepared to meet with Chancellor Kohl in Germany should he invite me. My response was positive, - but I explicitly said that I must obtain the approval of the State President, which he gave

me.

"A fairly long time elapsed before I received the invitation. I duly visited the Chancellor in Bonn on July 2 1987.

"The only other South African who was present at our meeting was the late Mr Willem Retief, the then Ambassador for

South Africa in Bonn.

"We were cordially received and our interview with the Chancellor lasted for more than an hour.

"Before leaving for Germany, I realised that one of the crucial matters was the question of the release of Mr Mandela.

"With this in mind, I

had a meeting with State President Botha and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

"Both these gentlemen agreed that I could inform the Chancellor that the South African Government was seriously considering the release of Mr Mandela:

"Consequently, during my interview with Mr Kohl, I informed him that the South African Government was seriously considering the release of Mr Mandela, BUT subject to conditions of par-

ole.

"At no stage during our talks did I mention the possibility that the renunciation of violence would NOT be one of such conditions, as the Sunday Times suggests.

"To my mind, in this particular instance, and at that point in time, it would have been unthinkable to waive such a condition.

"The whole interview was conducted in a positive and amiable spirit, but I am not prepared to give any further details."

CITIZEN 02/12/91

Health groups reject medical schemes Bill

THE National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) and the Dispensing Family Practitioners Association (DFPA) have rejected the new Medical Schemes Amendment Act and called for the immediate suspension of the Bill's implementation.

"We recognise (in the Act) a desperate measure intended to save the imperilled medical schemes industry," Namda and the DFPA said in a weekend statement.

The Bill would have serious repercussions for providers of health care and for patients with extended privatised health care in the form of Health Maintenance Organisations and the expanded involvement of insurance companies.

"The Bill will also have repercussions on our already overburdened public sector health services, by forcing those patients with chronic illness or disability on to state hospitals," the statement said.

However, the Representative Association of Medical Schemes (RAMS) "unequivocally and wholeheartedly" supported the proposed amendments.

□ The Federal Information Service of the NP said in Cape Town yesterday the attacks on Health Minister Dr Rina Venter by certain organisations in the medical community were "unfair and unjustified", and that she had been at the forefront of socio-economic reforms. — Sapa.

B/DAY 02/12/91

Retention of Bok emblem a gesture of goodwill

The belief that the Springbok emblem has always been reserved for the use of white sportsmen is incorrect.

While this may have been the case after the enactment of apartheid legislation, it was not the case prior thereto.

These photographs (right) and their accompanying caption appeared in the August 1949 edition of "Strength and Health", an American bodybuilding magazine.

I believe retention of this emblem would go a long way towards demonstrating that the attitudes of pragmatism, goodwill and reconciliation that have been exhibited by many members of the white section of the community towards persons of colour are being reciprocated by a gesture of sensitivity towards their feelings which would cost nothing, but would go a long way towards demonstrating that all have a place in a New South Africa.

Matus Michael Garber
Kensington,
Johannesburg

□ □ □

It's really very simple. We need a symbol that every New South African can take to heart; a symbol that represents the struggle for liberation from apartheid and epitomises the spirit of freedom, democracy and co-operation that will pervade the new South Africa.

That symbol is the AK-47.

Janet Pieterse

Pinegowrie

□ □ □

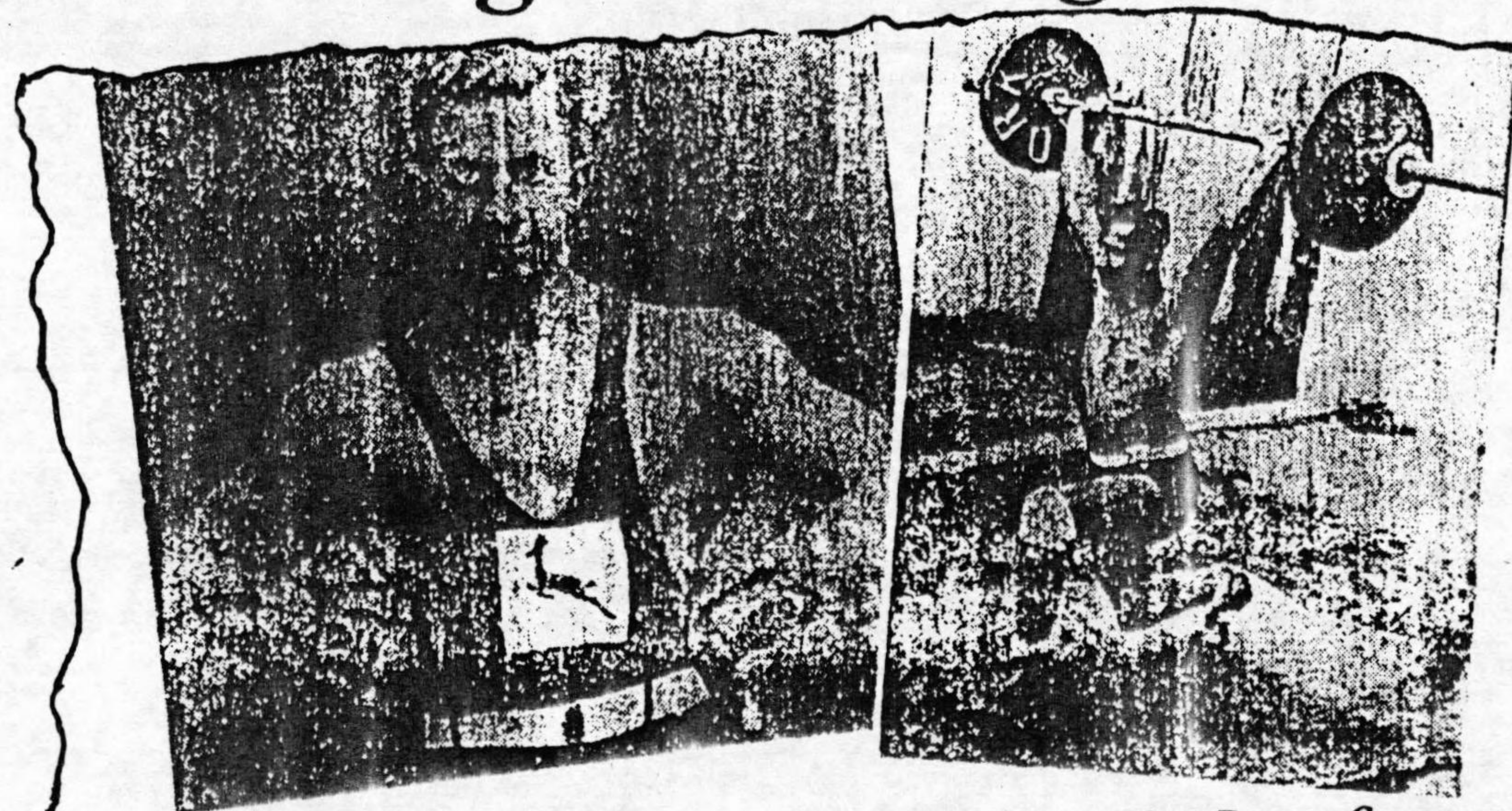
Designing a new flag will most certainly require a committee, and their work could take many months.

Mr Sam Ramsamy's flag "hit the breeze" with the speed of an Olympic runner.

But why not a nation-wide competition to find the best design?

George Blake

Johannesburg



South Africa has no more ardent booster for weight lifting than MILO PILLAY. Commenced training with the weights in 1920 when only 9 years of age. During the span of nearly thirty years that he has been active in the "iron game" he has won many honors and contributed much to the progress of the sport in his country. Has won South African National Championships and was chosen to compete in the 1936 Olympic Games. Many prominent lifters and body builders have trained at Milo Pillay's gymnasium at Port Elizabeth. He has staged a considerable number of physical culture demonstration shows and contests to promote the movement.

STAR 02/12/91

STAR 02/12/91

Govt launches massive education campaign

Medical Reporter

Aids could be stopped before it started and everybody had a role to play in this preventive strategy, Minister of National Health Dr Rina Venter said in her World Aids Day message yesterday.

This year's World Aids Day theme was "Sharing the Challenge".

Dr Venter was speaking as the Government yesterday launched a massive multi-million rand information campaign with advertisements which provided explicit information on some of the ways people could — and could not — get Aids.

The advertisement warned that some of the words it contained could shock because the words "until now have not been considered polite or acceptable in everyday conversation".

Dr Venter said in her message that international experience had indicated that broad involvement by parents, teachers, community leaders and role models, peer group educators and people with Aids was essential if effective measures were to be taken against the pandemic.

Dr Venter said: "Aids prevention education is already being integrated into life skills education at school level with the aim of involving children and parents and the other important members of the educational community."

She called on community leaders, social and women's groups, clubs even concerned individuals, to contact the Government's Aids Unit directly or their local Aids Information and Training Centres to find out more about Aids education and counselling.

SA imposes customs control for Walvis

WALVIS BAY. — South Africa yesterday imposed strict customs controls around Walvis Bay.

Namibia's government-owned New Era newspaper called the move "nothing short of sinister" because it came four days before the two countries opened negotiations on future control of the deep-water port.

Feared traffic jams and long delays at the previously unrestricted border failed to materialise yesterday, but officials said they expected problems when normal traffic resumes today.

"We get about 2 (XX) vehicles through here on a normal weekday," said South African Army Sergeant D van der Merwe,

who is in charge of the border crossing point.

The Namibian side of the border remained free of customs controls yesterday.

There was no immediate comment from the South African Government.

In its editorial, New Era accused South Africa of "tightening its grip" on Walvis Bay just before

the negotiations began.

Walvis Bay has strong commercial links with the neighbouring Namibian resort town of Swakopmund. A fire recently destroyed the main bakery in Walvis Bay, so dough prepared in the enclave has been transported daily to Swakopmund for baking, then returned for sale.

Beer brewed in Swakopmund is sold in Walvis

Bay, while soda bottled in Walvis Bay is sold in Swakopmund.

Swakopmund Mayor Jorg Henrichsen said the customs controls would disrupt commerce as his town prepares for the regular influx of holiday visitors. But he predicted a quick solution, calling the controls "an interim measure until Walvis Bay is integrated into Namibia". — Sapa-AP.

AAM still to call for sanctions

THE British Anti-Apartheid Movement on Saturday decided to continue its campaign for the maintenance of sanctions against South Africa, the AAM said in a statement faxed from London.

The statement was released at the end of the AAM's 1991 AGM in London.

The movement's chairman, Labour MP Mr Bob Hughes, said the AAM's priority is the campaign to replace the De Klerk regime with an interim government.

"We will be calling upon the public to maintain the boycott and sanctions to secure this objective," he said.

In a telephone interview, the AAM's executive secretary Mr Mike Terry said that the movement would take its signals from the African National Congress and other democratic movements as to when to end the campaign to maintain sanctions. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

62/12/91

NIS chief defends 'loyal' service

PRETORIA — The League of Former Members of the National Intelligence Service has come out strongly against an alleged statement by former president P W Botha that "you were a corrupt department" and a "bad lot".

Head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) Niel Barnard said in a statement yesterday league members were "very upset and dissatisfied" with statements made by Botha about the department in discussions with him on November 12.

"As I had no desire to get involved in another unpleasant argument, which in

any case had no bearing on the subject then under discussion, I replied that I was in no position to judge," Barnard said.

"By making this statement I would like to put on record that the service and its people have always been loyal in serving this country and have always been willing to make sacrifices in this regard. This has been confirmed by many political officials in private and public statements."

He said the service had a high regard for the decisive role its founder members had played in the safety of the country. They had laid the foundations for a highly professional intelligence capability. — Sapa.

B1 DAY 02/12/91

STAR 62/12/91

NIS men upset by PW

The League of Former Members of the National Intelligence Service has come out strongly against an alleged statement by former president P W Botha that it was "a corrupt department and a bad lot".

The head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr Niel Barnard, said in a statement yesterday league members were "upset" with statements made by Mr Botha regarding the department in discussions with him on November 12.

"As I had no desire to get involved in another unpleasant argument, which in any case had no bearing on the subject then under discussion, I replied that I was in no position to judge," Dr Barnard said.

"By making this statement I would like to put on record that the ser-

vice and its people have always been loyal in serving this country and have always been willing to make sacrifices in this regard.

"This has been confirmed by many political officials in private and public statements."

He said the service had a high regard for the decisive role its founder members had played in the safety of the country. They had laid the foundations for a modern and highly professional intelligence capability which currently functioned to the advantage of the Government in SA.

Dr Barnard said his statement was made with the knowledge and approval of State President F W de Klerk.

A copy of a letter addressed to him and signed on behalf of the chairman of the League of Former Members, C J

Bekker, quoted press reports alleging that Mr Botha had told Dr Barnard: "Dr Barnard, I brought you into NIS because you were a corrupt department, and you know it. You must know NIS and the Bureau were a weak lot."

"We, as former members of the service are not aware of any happenings which in any way justify such accusations," Mr Bekker wrote.

"Should the statements actually have been made, we herewith wish to place on record our total rejection of them. Respect for the office Mr Botha held and contributory factors of which we are aware, deters us from stronger expression on the matter."

"You are free to release this letter to the press should you feel it necessary," Mr Bekker wrote. — Sapa.

5 Whites on double murder charge

Crime Reporter

FIVE White men will face murder charges in the Marble Hall Magistrate's Court today following the discovery of the bodies of two Black men after a gang killing.

The story of the double murder unfolded at the Marble Hall police station on Saturday morning when a White man told police that he had come to surrender because he could not live with the guilt.

He made a statement, following which police went to the Arabie Dam and found the bodies of two Black men. They had apparently been stabbed to death.

Police said yesterday a third man who escaped the attack had not yet been located.

Four more White men were later arrested and held by Marble Hall police.

A police spokesman said the five men, apparently returning home from a party, picked up three Black pedestrians at about 1 am.

The Black men were allegedly assaulted during the trip. At one stage the vehicle stopped and one of the Black men managed to escape.

The other two were taken to the Arabie Dam where further alleged assault and stabbing took place.

The accused said to be residents of Marble Hall, are aged 24, 27, 29 and 32.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

Leak wasn't from Nujoma, says PAC

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday strongly denied reports that Namibian President Sam Nujoma was responsible for leaking the minutes of Mr Thabo Mbeki's diplomatic briefing to ambassadors of the frontline states at the United Nations.

The alleged briefing resulted in accusations

that the ANC and the government had made a secret deal and were in collusion with each other.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander "emphatically denied" that President Nujoma was the source.

"I want to make it clear that at no stage were these revelations discussed with him."

Mr Alexander was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star which claimed that the source of the leak was Mr Nujoma, whose diplomatic representatives were said to have passed the document on to him.

TO PAGE 2

Source of leak

FROM PAGE 1

"We regret any inconvenience this type of irresponsible reporting would cause Mr Nujoma, as he is a trusted friend of both the PAC and the ANC," said Mr Alexander.

"I reiterate that the source of our information is based in New York." —Sapa.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

Woods dismisses claim of funding for Inkatha

Citizen Reporter

DR GAVIN WOODS, the director of the Inkatha Institute, said yesterday that allegations that police funded an Inkatha rally this year were "highly unlikely and improbable".

Dr Woods was responding to an article in a weekly newspaper last week, which stated that a senior Inkatha source had informed the newspaper that money for the rally was paid into the insti-

tute's bank account.

It stated that there were suggestions that Major Louis Botha, the man who funded two rallies which led to the "Inkathagate" scandal, had paid for the rally.

The rally referred to in the article took place in Mzumbe on the Natal south coast on January 26 this year — almost 10 months after President De Klerk said funding to Inkatha had been stopped.

The Commissioner of

Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has ordered an investigation into the claims. A spokesman from the police headquarters in Pretoria said a statement would be issued at a later stage.

Dr Woods said that he had "no reason at all" to believe that there was any substance in the weekly paper's article.

The institute knew who the weekly paper's informant was: "He is a young man who has been humiliated with Inkatha for having done improper things."

When questioned about his contact with Maj Botha, Dr Woods said it was of an ad hoc and casual nature.

"Maj Botha's job takes him on trips to Ulundi and Durban where myself and others bump into him on a regular basis, and we exchange pleasantries.

Dr Woods said the weekly newspaper's article had been guilty of "gross fabrication".

"Sentences from various parts of my discussion with the newspaper have been used out of context to manufacture the perception that the newspaper's unsubstantiated allegations have validity."

The institute had indicated publicly that they would have an external auditor to audit all the institute's accounts to prove that no such monies ever went into its account.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

Long, uphill road that led to Codesa

IT was never going to be easy to formally bring South Africa's political parties together in the same room - and nobody had any delusions to the contrary.

There was a point during the days and weeks before this past weekend's preparatory meeting for multiparty talks - which will now officially be known as the Conference for a Democratic South Africa - when the ANC wanted to call off the whole concept of a multiparty conference as the launching pad for constitutional negotiations.

It was on Wednesday, November 20, after an intense six-hour debate with the Government that the ANC decided that perhaps the idea of a multiparty or all party conference was not going to work, and that perhaps its following had to come up with a better configuration to launch actual negotiations.

However, after having decided that negotiations were the only workable option for a democratic South Africa, to bury apartheid once and for all, there was no way the ANC could call them off.

The leadership did a double-take... they sat down again and resumed deliberations.

The ANC's leadership first raised the issue of an "all party congress" on January 8, which incidentally sounded similar to the idea of a "multiparty conference" which the Government was playing around with at the time.

In terms of ANC thinking at the time, such a conference would include all political parties and was aimed at reaching agreement on constitutional principles, interim arrangements and on the constitution-making body.

The ANC then entered into "ex-

FOCUS

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

**TALKS
SPECIAL**

ploratory constitutional talks" as stipulated in terms of the Pretoria Minute.

At the first, and only, such a meeting, at "the exploratory level", the possibility of an APC/MPC was discussed. The ANC's "open letter" to the Government on April 25 then cut these discussions short because of the violence in the country.

However, the revelation of South African Police collusion and the Inkatha funding scandal, brought a new sense of urgency in the country.

The ANC felt that the longer the process chugged along on half power, the greater the danger was of the country being plunged into total chaos.

A member of the ANC's negotiations' commission, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said the movement realised then that "in terms of our analysis, the violence in the country could not end as long as the minority regime was in power".

"The existence of a white minority regime and peace was just not compatible because that was the basis of their existence."

It was then, at a meeting of the ANC's National Executive Committee on July 31, that the ANC

decided to start making preparations for an APC/MPC, and simultaneously elevated the demand for an interim government of national unity "as the immediate and primary demand," he explained.

Wide-ranging discussions with the various political organisations, trade unions, religious bodies and within the movement itself commenced with a newfound sense of urgency, and in search of a mandate for an APC/MPC.

By the beginning of October, the ANC's negotiations' commission resumed its discussions with the Government - for the first time since its open letter - ostensibly to discuss the possibility of an APC/MPC.

At the time the negotiations' commission was made up of Moosa, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Thabo Mbeki, Mr Jacob Zuma, Ms Barbara Masekela and headed by the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

This commission was strengthened at last week's NEC meeting by the inclusion of Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Joe Modise.

A number of bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC took place on how an APC/MPC should take place, what the possible functions, agenda, venue, participants and principles of such a conference should be.

Among other issues, too, was the question of the involvement in other organisations in the actual planning of an APC/MPC.

Intense haggling took place during most of the meetings over the shape and size, who should be the convener and where an APC/MPC should take place.

There was another development running concurrently with the planning of an APC/MPC - the

Patriotic Front.

The Front was launched on the weekend of October 26 and its birth strengthened the resolve of the extra-parliamentary force. Inclusion of at least the major signatories of the front in the preparatory meeting for multilateral talks was inevitable.

However, as greater consensus on the APC/MPC grew, the suggestion arose that the preparatory meeting should be arranged by the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government.

This was when things fell apart. The IFP felt it was comfortable with the ANC and the Government only as partners in the preparatory meeting.

The ANC dug its heels in and wanted a large preparatory meeting, which included as many political parties as possible - and more especially its Patriotic Front allies.

Lengthy and sometimes acrimonious haggling took place. And it was during this period that the wheels almost came off.

But consensus grew in tandem with the proposals of the size of the envisioned preparatory meeting.

Two postponements later, and that near death of the APC/MPC (before it was even born) the number of delegates to the preparatory meeting had swelled from the three to seven, and then lurched to 24. The ANC was beaming.

Then came this weekend's actual preparatory meeting.

In summing up the meeting, the ANC's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "Through the conclusion of this meeting, we have jointly taken the future of our country into our hands... our people will not forgive us if we do not seize this moment and move speedily towards a democratic future."

See Page 24

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Codesa set to be informal interim govt

THE Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) was set to become an informal interim government that could be transformed into a formal executive body, government sources said at the weekend.

Codesa will meet on December 20 and 21 to consider a declaration of intent that will commit SA's political parties to a constitution-making process and give them an effective say in national policies pursued during the interim period leading to a new government.

A government source, impressed at the level of consensus displayed by most political parties and homeland governments, said major legislation or restructuring would have to be negotiated at Codesa.

However, the NP was intent on having the present government retain its ultimate sovereignty until a referendum was called if major changes to the constitution were to be made.

"In effect the interim government started at this meeting. Taken together with the peace accord, the powers that Codesa would command render it a kind of umbrella body over the whole process of transition SA is going through," he said.

The ANC made it clear before the start of the weekend meeting that it was not prepared to become involved in a negotiating forum that could be overruled by Parliament or Cabinet. The compromises reached at the preparatory meeting reinforced the power of the multiparty forum.

"Once Codesa is off the ground and working properly its decisions would force

BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER

government to implement them. Any recommendations coming from the working groups and accepted by Codesa would become policy," ANC national executive committee member Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The government source said Codesa would probably need to be transformed into another form during negotiations to satisfy the ANC demand for greater power over policy matters, while government insists that any transitional authority must accept greater responsibility for implementing decisions taken.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting demonstrated a common understanding by all organisations of the need to rise above party political interests and be guided by the national interest.

"The only assurance that we shall achieve democracy is this commitment to the national interest that has inspired us over the last two days. This should be the primary guide to the way we conduct ourselves," he said at the meeting's close.

Constitutional Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the meeting represented "a clear and irreversible break with the past".

"We have now reached a phase where real talks will begin. This meeting is a watershed in our history. It augurs well for the actual implementation of the new SA, with equal rights for all within its confines," Viljoen said, adding that he was

□ To Page 2

Codesa

struck by the repeated efforts to find agreement "in areas where it seemed impossible".

Inkatha delegation leader Frank Mdlalose said SA was clearly on the path to a new, democratic dispensation.

"We are very pleased that the preparatory committee will now show the world that South Africans can put right that which is wrong. The IFP concludes its participation in the first phase of this process with a feeling of optimism," he said.

One representative of each of the participants at the weekend's meeting will sit down on Wednesday in a steering committee to finalise Codesa's logistics and funding arrangements.

In the meantime talks between government and the political parties will continue in an effort to reach consensus on the specifics of transitional arrangements. Government wants to increase pressure on the ANC to be more supportive of a trilateral decision-making process involving

Inkatha.

It is understood that each group will submit its nomination for the committee by tomorrow.

Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed and Mr Justice Petrus Schabert were elected chairmen of the steering committee which would meet throughout the negotiating process, but because neither of them were available for Wednesday's meeting DP leader Zach de Beer had been elected as chairman.

Chief Justice Corbett will officially open Codesa, with Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert chairing all sessions of the talks.

Despite the dramatic withdrawal from the proceedings of the PAC shortly before the preparatory meeting ended, participants kept their door open to its inclusion in the steering committee.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

B/D 24
02/12/91

SOUTH Africa could have a new style of rule within months - when decisions taken at multi-party talks on December 20 and 21 are expected to be given legal clout.

The talks, which will be called the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, will be held at the the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

And when Codesa does get legal power, the very nature and function of the South African Parliament as it has existed since 1910 will be changed.

This will irrevocably launch South Africa into a transitional phase and a possible measure of effective joint rule through Codesa.

In the words of Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the weekend's preparatory meeting for Codesa signalled a "clear break with the past".

"It augurs well for the implementation of a new South Africa with equal rights and equal opportunities for all its people and for everybody living within its confines."

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

Viljoen said.

In a statement after the meeting, the African National Congress' general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said the political parties had "jointly taken" the future of South Africa into their own hands.

"We shall continue to ensure that the government of the day takes practical steps to make it possible for a climate of free political activity to prevail," Ramaphosa said.

The Pan Africanist Congress is to hold a consultative congress in Cape Town on December 16 to seek a fresh mandate from its followers after it stormed out of the Codesa meeting on Saturday.

It accused the Government and the ANC of trying to ramrod their decisions with the "rubber stamp" support of the political parties of the tricameral parliament and the homeland leaders.

The PAC also contended that the ANC had

● To page 2

Codesa paving way for future joint rule

● From page 1

had deserted it during the two-day meeting - a move which flew in the face of agreements reached between the two at the launch of the Patriotic Front on October 26.

The PAC suspended its participation in Codesa until after it had received a fresh mandate to continue from its followers at its special consultative conference.

"We are mindful of the fact that our mandate for attending this meeting does not only emanate from the PAC membership but also from members of the Patriotic/United Front."

Flexibility

Ramaphosa said the parties which attended the talks had made major concessions and had shown a great deal of flexibility.

"And yet it is necessary for us to say to all who remain outside this process, all South African people demand their involvement.

"None of us can afford the luxury of clinging to party political interest. The South Africa of tomorrow needs all of us to be party to the process," Ramaphosa said.

All but four of the political parties in South Africa - Azapo, the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging - attended.

Agenda

The legal force for legal teeth for Codesa was placed on the agenda for the talks, along with:

- The creation of a climate for free political participation;
- The creation of a general constitution-making body and or process;
- The creation and installation of a transitional arrangement/interim government;
- The future of the homelands;
- The role of the international community during the transition period; and
- Other items agreed to by the steering committee

which will be elected from the participants of the preparatory talks and anything else which may arise.

The steering committee will be made up of one representative from each organisation present at the preparatory meeting and Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer will be the chairman.

The initial task of the steering committee will be to draft a statement of intent - the founding charter for

Codesa.

The weekend meeting also resolved to do what it could to bring into the fold the four parties who refused to participate in the preparatory talks.

The preparatory meeting also agreed to invite to Codesa observers from the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the European Community, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

Talkback topic

WITH South Africa now well on the way to a historic convention to decide its political future, a blemish is the non-participation of certain political groups.

Do you think it is important to ensure the involvement of groups like the PAC and Azapo on the left and rightwing groups like the CP and AWB.

Or do you think multi-party talks can take place without them?

Telephone Radio Metro DJ Tim Modise and share your opinion live with the nation on the Sowetan/Radio Metro Talkback Show between 5pm and 6pm today.

The hotline number is (011) 714-8063.

Sowet

02/12/

Able women at meeting but none in charge

THERE were remarkably few women in decision-making positions at the weekend's preparatory talks for a multiparty conference.

There were none among the delegates, and merely a handful in the "support group" category.

The women in attendance were nonetheless the media's umbilical cord with the conference.

The ANC's Ms Gill Marcus, assertive and helpful as always and dressed in a green kaftan-type dress with black trim, waded in and out of the disheveled press corps giving and taking instructions without a frown, a bead of sweat or a sigh.

It's hard to remember what politi-

Political Correspondent

cians did with hungry hordes of hacks before Marcus came to town.

The PAC's Ms Patricia de Lille worked diligently and unfailingly.

She had her hands full with a top-level leadership delegation in a room at the Holiday Inn - where the meeting was held - and another delegation in the conference.

Ms Sheila Camerer, the National Party's answer to impatient journalists, was suave and swift - she got everyone what they wanted and had enough energy to smile from ear to ear

non-stop.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Ms Suzanne Voss was all over the place but nowhere in particular, but one can assume that she filled her brief. She looked comfortable with her bag of press releases.

Another functionary was Ms Val Sutton from the South African Communications Service.

Sutton, whom every journalist knew as the voice on the other side of the telephone, became a face, and a valuable aide.

There were women, too, in less prominent positions, but at the risk of being repetitive, there were none among the delegates.

SOWETAN

02/12/91

Walkout 'storm in a teacup'

THE African National Congress yesterday criticised the Pan Africanist Congress for walking out of preparatory talks for negotiations and said the PAC had held secret high-level talks with the Government.

He also said the ANC would do "all in its power" to help President F W de Klerk.

Addressing a media conference at his home in Soweto, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela described the PAC's walkout on Saturday as "a classic storm in a teacup".

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told the conference that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had disclosed the secret meetings between the Government and the PAC, which has consistently rejected any dealings with the Government.

"It came as a surprise for us to learn from Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday at

SA Press Association

the preparatory meeting, a charge that the PAC did not deny, that there have been repeated secret meetings at the highest level between themselves and the PAC," Ramaphosa said.

Mandela said the PAC action would not have any serious impact on negotiations which get under way on December 20.

Attitude

"The forward move towards a democratic South Africa does not depend on the attitude of the PAC nor can they do anything to slow down that process," he said.

Mandela attempted to minimise the damage the accusations could have on the alliance which ended decades of political rivalry between the two organisations.

"We don't think the Patriotic Front is going to be weakened. The Patriotic Front does not consist of the PAC and ANC alone.

"The PAC alleges collusion between the Government and the ANC in order to create the perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country," Mandela said.

He added: "A wide gulf exists between their (PAC) rhetoric and their actions. We experienced similar posturing and manoeuvres in the preparations and holding of the Patriotic Front."

On another point Mandela said the rightwing posed a threat to De Klerk and pledged that the ANC would do all in its power to consolidate his position.

"He is the only person we can negotiate with. We are keen to do anything in our power to strengthen his position," he said. - Sapa.

SOWETAN

02/12/91

Judges were a popular choice

EARLY unanimity was reached on the professionalism with which the chairmen handled the preparatory meeting.

Mr Justice Ismail Mohammed (left) and Mr Justice Petrus Johannes Schabert were appointed as chairmen with only the PAC objecting.

Mohammed is South Africa's first black judge and he was appointed to the Transvaal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa with effect from August 12 this year.

For 12 years he served as a judge in the Swaziland Court of Appeal and in 1990 was appointed to the Supreme Court of Namibia and as president of the Appeal Court of Lesotho.

Schabert is a judge in the same division and was appointed on April 1 1984.

He was called to the Bar in January 1963 and became a senior council in February 1979.

Coetsee tells conference of secret deals with PAC over its exiles

PAC leaders had arranged deals with government at recent secret meetings not disclosed to the PAC's patriotic front colleagues nor its supporters, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told the weekend preparatory talks.

Yesterday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference Coetsee had removed the veil over the secret meetings with the PAC, adding that senior PAC officials had conceded privately several such meetings had been held.

He claimed there was a wide gulf between the PAC's "rhetoric and (its) actions. We experienced similar posturing and manoeuvres in the preparations and holding

of the patriotic front."

The PAC delegation walkout 10 minutes before the end of the conference came after two days of PAC opposition to proposals from the ANC, Inkatha and government. Last week it accused the ANC and government of negotiating secret deals.

Government delegate Coetsee expressed surprise at the PAC demand that, because of the number of its senior members in exile, the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) be held outside the country. Agreements had been reached in this regard in secret talks with its leadership, Coetsee said.

Among a range of issues discussed in the

BILLY PADDOCK and
JONATHAN REES

past few weeks was the granting of indemnity to exiled members of the PAC. He said he had assured the PAC, and it had accepted his assurance, that the Justice Department would facilitate the return of its exiles in time for Codesa.

At a briefing after the PAC's walkout, deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said there "was no accuracy in Coetsee's statement with regard to the PAC". However, PAC delegate Barney Desai admitted that leaders had held talks with government, but in their capacities as lawyers and not

PAC leaders.

Ramaphosa told yesterday's briefing the PAC's behaviour was "dishonest, destructive and manipulative", and described the walkout as "pure showmanship".

ANC president Nelson Mandela said the movement towards democracy in SA did not depend on the PAC's attitude, nor could the PAC slow the process. The patriotic front would not be weakened by a PAC withdrawal as the body did not consist of the ANC and PAC alone.

He considered the walkout to be a "classic storm in a teacup" which would not give him "sleepless nights".

The ANC was convinced the PAC would return to attend the December 20 meeting, which Ramaphosa described as crucial for the future, as it would represent the first time all South Africans could join in determining their own affairs.

Sapa reports that on the subject of the threat the right wing posed to President F W de Klerk, Mandela pledged his organisation would do all in its power to consolidate his position. "He is the only person we can negotiate with We are keen to do anything in our power to strengthen his position," he said.

The ANC president left on a working trip to the US last night.

B/Day 02/12/91

PAC had talks with govt, says ANC

THE African National Congress, castigating the Pan Africanist Congress for walking out of the preparatory talks on Saturday, disclosed yesterday the PAC had held secret high-level talks with the government, a disclosure that could embarrass the PAC.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, addressing a news conference at his Soweto home, called the PAC's walkout on Saturday "a classic storm in a teacup".

"I am not prepared to

spend sleepless nights over it," said Mr Mandela, hours before he was scheduled to leave the country for a working visit to the United States.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, reading a statement, told the news conference Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had removed the veil over the secret meetings between the government and the PAC, which has

consistently rejected any dealings with Pretoria.

"It came as a surprise for us to learn from Minister Kobie Coetsee on Friday at the preparatory meeting, a charge that the PAC did not deny, that there have been repeated secret meetings at the highest level between themselves and the PAC," he said.

"At a private level, some of their (PAC's)

leading officials admit that such meetings have been held."

Mr Ramaphosa, charging the PAC had entered the talks on Friday and Saturday with a mind to walk out, branded the move "pure showmanship".

Mr Mandela dismissed the PAC action and said it would not have any se-

TO PAGE 2

ANC hits at PAC

FROM PAGE 1

rious impact on negotiations, which get off the ground on December 20.

"The forward move towards a democratic South Africa does not depend on the attitude of the

PAC... nor can they do anything to slow down that process," he said.

The PAC delegation quit the preparatory meeting on Saturday after accusing the ANC, its partner in the Patriotic Front, of colluding with the government.

Mr Mandela sought to minimise the damage the accusations could have on their alliance.

"We don't think the Patriotic Front is going to be weakened. The Patriotic Front does not consist of the PAC and ANC alone," said Mr Mandela.

"The PAC alleges collusion between the government and the ANC in order to create the perception that they are the true revolutionaries of our country," said Mr Ramaphosa.

"A wide gulf exists between their (PAC) rhetoric and their actions. We experienced similar posturing and man-

oeuvres in the preparations and holding of the Patriotic Front."

Mr Mandela, conceding the threat that Right-wing posed to President F W de Klerk, pledged his organisation would do all in its power to consolidate his position.

"He is the only person we can negotiate with. We are keen to do anything in our power to strengthen his position."

Mr Mandela said he would appeal during his US trip for international assistance for the return of political exiles and their reintegration.

"The government has expressly refused to make a contribution. I will be calling upon the international community to make a contribution."

During the trip he is expected to address the General Assembly of the United Nations and meet President George Bush.

— Sapa.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

STAR 02/12/91

DP leader to chair steering committee

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer has been elected as the chairman of a steering committee to finalise arrangements for the December 20 and 21 convention which will begin to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa — to be called Codesa — has been described by Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen as "the real McCoy — the start of real negotiations".

It will bring together at least 19 political parties and governments from across the political spectrum to decide on a mechanism to draft a new constitution and on transitional government arrangements while this is being done.

The parties which will attend Codesa include the National Party, ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party, the TBVC governments, the majority parties of the self-

governing territories and the rest of the 20 political parties and governments represented at the weekend preparatory committee meeting which made the arrangements for Codesa.

The PAC, who stormed out at the end of the preparatory committee meeting, accusing the ANC and Government of having worked out all the main decisions in secret advance meetings, said it would decide whether or not to attend Codesa at a national conference on December 16.

The four parties which declined invitations to attend the preparatory meeting will be approached to attend Codesa.

They are the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging and Azapo.

Voting

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Saturday that the successful conclusion of the preparatory committee meeting marked the opening of genuine negotiations.

Codesa will take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan

Smuts Airport. Each party will be represented by a 12-person delegation. The SA Government will attend in addition to the National Party, but will have no voting rights.

Among the tasks of Codesa will be to decide on the future of the TBVC states and the role of the international community in the transition period.

The steering committee, consisting of one representative from each of the parties at the meeting, is to meet on Wednesday for the first time.

Dr de Beer said yesterday its tasks would include financing, back-up staff and other logistics.

He said it was generally assumed that the Government would fund Codesa which would then control the allocation of funds.

Dr de Beer said the preparatory committee had made no decision about making a declaration of intent, although there was a general belief that this would happen at the start of Codesa.

● Lion lies down with the lamb — Page 10.

Talks lull before storm, —says analyst

— By Sandy Baer

ALTHOUGH the preparatory talks were encouraging, they could be seen as the "lull before the storm," political analyst Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said yesterday.

This view was echoed by another political analyst, Professor Willem Kleynhans who said: "What lies ahead is a long drawn out journey with many pitfalls and problems."

Commenting on the talks-about-talks which will lay the foundation for constitutional negotiations this month, Professor Schlemmer said he was "hugely" encouraged by the apparent agreement by most parties about procedures.

"I don't think one expected this in light of the position of play and posturing beforehand. All were talking tough at one another."

However, he said the parties seemed to reach agreement rather readily on procedures and this was encouraging.

"This may be the lull before the storm, because all the actors have very anxious and watchful constituents behind them and I don't think we should be deceived that there won't be fireworks on constitutional issues."

He did not think there would be a quick settlement.

"There are years and years of sweating ahead of us. The real stuff is still ahead," Prof Kleynhans said.

The talks, held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn on Friday and Saturday, were "chicken-feed" compared with what was ahead.

What was of concern to him was the euphoria the delegates were expressing concerning the meeting. "The delegates must be realistic and tell the people in their statements that a miracle will not happen overnight."

"Black and White people have basic differences and to overcome that and find solutions can take months and years."

During negotiations this month, there will be stalemates and times when consensus can not be reached.

The Pan Africanist Congress walked out of the final session of the talks. The other 19 political organisations agreed on an outline for constitutional negotiations which will begin on December 20.

The PAC will decide at a later stage if it will take part in the December 20 talks.

- Democratic's Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday the preparatory conference went "as well as anyone could expect, perhaps better".

Dr De Beer, who played an active role in the conference by chairing some sessions, said it was clear the National Party and the African National Congress felt the need to make rapid progress.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

Preparatory talks were important more for style than content, Peter Fabricius reports..

Lion lies down with the lamb

It was in a sense the first Parliament of the new South Africa. Sixty delegates representing 20 parties and governments from across almost the whole political spectrum sat down together to discuss the country's future, in the broadest convention of its kind in South Africa's history.

Presiding over them were two judges, functioning very much like the Speaker of Parliament.

"It had very much the atmosphere of Parliament," one delegate and MP said.

"There were some sharp disagreements but afterwards everyone was friendly again."

There was a small but telling moment when ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa got up to oppose an Inkatha Freedom Party proposal that it and the KwaZulu government should be allowed to send separate delegations to this month's Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Before doing so Mr Ramaphosa asked the conference to join him in wishing IFP delegation head Frank Mdlalose a happy birthday.

This was a long way from the killing fields of Natal or even the hostile rhetoric of ANC and IFP party-political platforms.

Democratic Party leader Dr



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . opposed motion that IFP and KwaZulu send separate delegations.

Zach de Beer said beforehand that the most important aspect of the meeting would be the style of negotiations it set.

If political parties were ready to seek compromise in the national interest, it would succeed.

If they came, instead, looking to grandstand and score party-political points, it would be disastrous for the future.

In the event, the former approach prevailed with all but the Pan Africanist Congress.

One encouraging feature was the performance of the IFP, which, like the PAC, was expected to be at odds on some issues.

But it never broke ranks. It scored one minor victory — the decision not to involve clerics in the chairmanship of Codesa — and

took a bit of a knock in the defeat of its proposal that the KwaZulu government should be allowed a separate delegation.

However, the PAC made it clear from the start that total consensus would not be possible.

It objected to the very first decision of substance, the choice of judges Ismail Mahomed and Petrus Schabert as chairmen, and then to almost every other decision.

But on every point of difference the PAC stood alone, out-voted 19 to 1.

The PAC hung in until just before the end and then walked out in protest against what it called prior collusion between the Government and the ANC on the main issues.

The conference survived this trauma rather effortlessly. In fact Dr de Beer said the PAC departure caused "hardly a hiccup" in the room.

No one followed the PAC out and all the other main players condemned it, more or less explicitly.

The principle of "sufficient consensus" had been successfully demonstrated and a new style of negotiations had been born.

The success of the conference undoubtedly enhanced the status of this sort of multi-party, consen-

sus decision-making.

The conference decided that this should be the decision-making mechanism for Codesa.

The performance of the two judges was such that they were selected again to chair Codesa.

Essentially this was the method of negotiations favoured by the Government. And the preparatory meeting must surely have boosted the chances of it being the style of negotiations for the new constitution itself — rather than the elected constituent assembly favoured by the ANC and more vociferously by the PAC.

The Government, the ANC — and more significantly perhaps, the IFP — denied that any secret deals had been done before the conference.

But no one denied that there had been an enormous amount of one-to-one consultation where many differences had been removed.

In fact, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen said the conference owed its success to this preparatory work.

Nonetheless, the PAC did have a point when it complained that the conference was doing little more than rubber-stamping prior decisions by the Government and the ANC.

The term "sufficient consensus"



Zach de Beer . . . unexpected emergence as an honest broker in negotiations.

was never defined formally, but it was clear that it essentially meant consensus between the ANC and the Government.

As long as those two parties agree, sufficient consensus is likely to be an adequate decision-making mechanism, as most of the other parties are either allied to one or the other or find themselves between the two.

But should the Big Two disagree, as they are more likely to when more substantial issues are decided, then the method will be more sorely tested.

Codesa itself will provide such a test when it decides whether or not to establish a constituent assembly.

The preparatory meeting de-

monstrated another political theory, the centripetal effect of negotiations.

As negotiations gather momentum, they tend to pull centrist parties closer together and increase the tension in peripheral parties.

The PAC's walk-out proved that its decision at last month's Patriotic Front conference had aggravated tensions among moderates and hardliners.

Similarly Conservative Party moderate Koos van der Merwe's "inadvertent" appearance at the meeting, underscored and aggravated the tensions in his party between negotiators and hardliners. Conversely, the conference benefited a perfectly centrist party such as the Democratic Party.

One of the unexpected features was the emergence of Dr Zach de Beer as an honest broker in negotiations.

The delegates spontaneously elected him to open the conference in the absence of a chairman; they chose him to take the chair during the difficult two-hour debate on who should chair Codesa and he was elected again to chair the steering committee which will finalise plans for Codesa.

The DP's convergence theory seemed to be working.

STAR 02/12/91

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 474-0128

Find each other

THE Convention for a Democratic South Africa is born.

Good luck to it. All of us who have spent our lives so far on the receiving end of apartheid will pray that this is the vehicle which will take us to the new South Africa.

As vehicles go, of course, it is not perfect.

What makes it imperfect is the fact that it still does not represent everybody.

Notably absent from the ranks of the Convention are the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party.

And whatever one might think of either of these organisations the fact remains that they represent the views of thousands of people in our country.

The PAC walked out of the deliberations on Saturday, saying it needed to receive a new mandate from its supporters. The Conservative Party did not even bother to attend the talks.

Both, we believe, were wrong to behave as they did.

Our front-page headline on Friday, dealing with the talks about talks which were due to begin on that day, read: "Now for the real thing".

And that is the point. After all these years the ruling party has shown its willingness to sit down with other South Africans and work out a new constitution which will be fair to all.

The game has become serious. What emerges from the talks late in December will, like it or not, form the base of the way in which this country is going to be ruled for the next few years at least.

Organisations such as the PAC simply have to be there, as much for their own sakes as for the sake of the whole initiative. The Convention needs the PAC and it also needs the CP. Equally, both those organisations need the Convention.

We hope that they will find each other. If they do not, we fear the same mistakes that were made in the past will be made again. One of the mistakes was to exclude people while making decisions about their lives.

At the weekend the ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa made an eloquent call to people to set aside party political differences in favour of the national good.

We hope everybody listens. It is already a miracle, considering our very recent history, that groups such as the National Party and the ANC sit down together at all. Now the task is to make the miracle work for the good of everyone in the land.

SOWETAN

02/12/91

COMMENT

No easy walk

LESS than a month ago, President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were, on behalf of their parties, trading insults with each other, causing no little despair to the South African political psyche. Weary of conflict, this psyche manifests itself in a mindset which yearns for the avoidance of political conflict rather than its negotiated resolution. The pendulum has now, too easily, swung the other way — towards the euphoria which temporarily gripped the country after De Klerk's February 2 1990 speech and after the signing of the Pretoria Minute on August 6 last year.

There are good reasons for South Africans to concur with the sense of achievement expressed by the 19 political parties which emerged satisfied from this weekend's preparatory meeting. It has set the stage for the multiparty conference — to be called the Convention for a Democratic SA — to begin on December 20. Potentially divisive procedural issues — the chairmanship of the convention, the agenda, the venue and the invitation list — largely have been resolved to the satisfaction of all but the PAC.

The mood at the meeting demonstrated (again with the exception of the PAC) a general willingness to seek solutions to technical differences rather than to use them as pretexts for demonstrations of political muscle. In particular, each of the three main parties whose full participation in the process is es-

sential — the NP, the ANC and Inkatha — in turn made concessions on their original standpoints.

That is a good start. But there is a long way to go. It is easier to make concessions on symbolic, procedural issues (the NP's unwillingness to let go the springbok notwithstanding) than on substantive questions. The three are going to find themselves sharing responsibility for the interim governing of South Africa sooner rather than later.

Security and economic issues, in particular, will induce severe internal strains for each of them, and will introduce new divisions between them. The business of balancing the demands of party political advantage and the greater national good can become a nightmare. And this will be occurring as the parties, holding very different views on the shape of South Africa's future, attempt to negotiate a new constitution.

A further complication relates to those who remain on the outside of this process and those who, like the PAC, are uncertain about their participation. The paramilitary AWB march in Durban on Saturday was a sober reminder of the potential for destabilisation by groups for whom war is diplomacy by other means. As discussed below, the CP's choices are more limited.

South Africa deserves a reason for good cheer this December. But we should take care to temper this optimism with realism about the difficulties that lie ahead.

B/DAY
02/12/91

CP still won't join the talks:

By Sandy Baer and Keith Abendroth

THE Conservative Party has no intention of changing its mind and will not take part in the national convention for a new constitution on December 20 and 21, its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, told The Citizen yesterday. "The situation remains the same."

The CP did not take part in the preparatory talks held on Friday and Saturday at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, where 20 other political parties and organisations met to discuss the Conference on a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

"The conference will discuss power sharing and that is a denial of CP policy," Dr Treurnicht said.

The preparatory meeting decided that an invitation to the negotiations would be sent to the CP.

Sources in Pretoria say Mr Koos van der Merwe, the "rebel" Conservative Party MP who made a surprise appearance at the venue of the weekend preparation talks, will

Dr T

find himself on the carpet before the party leadership today.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP, confirmed

yesterday that Mr Van der Merwe's actions would be explored by the leadership — that "the matter is to be taken up with him".

It is believed this will be done today, following

TO PAGE 2

CP still says No

FROM PAGE 1

Dr Treurnicht's denunciation of Mr Van der Merwe's presence at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn conference.

Mr Van der Merwe, MP for Overvaal, could not be reached yesterday. He claimed in earlier newspaper reports he breakfasted with two Republic of China businessmen at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn and he introduced them to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

Dr Treurnicht said that

Mr Van der Merwe had under no circumstances had any authority from the party to "liaise" with the multi-party conference, "or to make media statements on the conference there".

The whole country, together with the other parties at the conference, knew full well that the CP stood "inexorably" for the right to self-determination of the people, and that the CP was not prepared to negotiate on the sharing of power "between all the country's peoples in a unitary, undivided South Africa".

Mr Van der Merwe is known to be one of a number of members of the party hierarchy who favour conditional involvement in the talks.

Speculation about his attitude has grown since publicity earlier this year about the so-called "Koos Document" in which Mr Van der Merwe argued the case for the party's involvement conditionally in the main talks.

Pressure is believed to be growing to oblige the leadership to hold a referendum among members to establish the degree of support for party involvement in the talks.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

STAR 02/12/91

'A helluva misunderstanding'

Political Staff

The Conservative Party yesterday rejected furious speculation about an imminent split between pro- and anti-negotiations factions.

Speculation intensified at the weekend after the surprise appearance at the preparatory meeting for multi-party talks of senior MP Koos van der Merwe.

He said he was at the conference venue to introduce a delegation of Angolan businessmen to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, but many observers interpreted his "coincidental" move as a indication of his keenness to be

involved in the talks.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, who rebuked Mr van der Merwe, would not comment further when contacted yesterday.

Mr van der Merwe told The Star last night that the controversy was based on "a helluva misunderstanding".

"It all started because the SABC created the impression that I was there, boots and all, through the security door negotiating and selling the white man down the river."

"He (Dr Treurnicht) was given information ... that I was in fact present at the talks. This created the im-

pression that I was negotiating. On that information he repudiated me. I was there for a completely different reason."

Mr van der Merwe said he did not believe there was a rift in the CP. "I think the party is clear, we have one vision. We have nothing against negotiations — provided the Government recognises our right to self-determination."

CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder, widely regarded as a "verligte" ally of Mr van der Merwe, yesterday dismissed rumours of an imminent split as nonsense.

2/12/91

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

No euphoria

THE agreement at the weekend on the chairmen, agenda and participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on December 20 and 21 is a good beginning.

However, nothing that happened justifies the euphoria being engendered both by major participants and Press commentators.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Constitutional Development, described the talks as a "watershed in our history". The meeting represented a "clear, irreversible and definite break with the past."

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the secretary-general of the African National Congress, said the successful conclusion of the talks marked the opening of genuine negotiations. "More than ever we are convinced we are walking the last mile."

And the national chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said South Africa was clearly on the path towards a new, democratic dispensation.

We have a feeling that the mere fact that nothing untoward happened — except for the walkout by the Pan Africanist Congress — gave the participants a sense of elation.

But the preparatory meeting, by its nature, did not deal with the nitty gritty of a future constitutional dispensation — and it is in Codesa, where the parties will get down to the real negotiations, where the participants will face their true test.

The agreement reached was, in fact, not of the kind that could cause any major deadlock.

The government wanted Chief Justice M M Corbett to chair the talks. Now he will have a merely ceremonial function — to open Codesa on December 20.

The conference decided to retain its co-chairmen, Mr Justice Peter Schabert and Mr Justice Ismael Mohamed, as chairmen of Codesa.

Although there was a two-hour discussion about the chairmanship, we can't see that it mattered much, since the two co-chairmen of the preparatory talks clearly handled the talks well and deserve to continue.

The walkout by the PAC was not unexpected. In publicising the alleged minutes of a meeting between ANC foreign secretary, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and United Nations ambassadors from the Frontline States, the PAC alleged there was a secret deal between the ANC and the government whereby an interim government would be introduced in February, in return for which the ANC had abandoned its demand for a constituent assembly.

The PAC alleged that in the preparatory talks, the ANC and government had backed each other's proposals.

One item of true drama was the appearance at the talks' venue of Mr Koos van der Merwe, the pro-negotiation maverick of the Conservative Party.

His explanation that he was having breakfast with two Taiwanese businessmen, whom he wished to introduce to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, does not seem very plausible.

Mr Van der Merwe is not that gauche as to do this at a conference which his party adamantly refuses to attend.

He has been rapped by party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who said: "All of South Africa and all parties to the multi-party conference know that the CP stands for the autonomous rights of our volk, and that the CP does not negotiate on the basis of power sharing between all the nations in an undivided South Africa."

The CP will split if this rift between pro-talks and anti-talks factions continues.

We have always believed that the CP should change its mind and take part in Codesa.

Without the CP, the PAC and Azapo, any settlement reached will be challenged.

In any case, with or without them, the road to the future is going to be a long and difficult one, assuming, of course, that the ANC and government have no hidden agenda and no secret pacts.

Indeed, far from being on the last mile, as Mr Ramaphosa suggests, we will have to travel many more miles before the ultimate destination of a new South Africa is reached.

Wishful thinking

IF WISHES were horses, the Conservative Party would gallop through a general election and bring back apartheid. They could end negotiations, reinstitute apartheid laws, bulldoze squatter camps, tell black people to go to their homelands and ensure we all lived separate, happy lives ever after.

But they will not and the party's leadership knows they cannot. It does the CP a disservice to pretend that they will, or even that they might. Those like Koos van der Merwe, who innocently turned up at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn on Saturday, are even prepared publicly to acknowledge it.

Apartheid cannot be restored, however much CP supporters wish it had not gone; white privilege is over, however much happier they

felt with political, residential and job segregation; black people will dominate government in the near future, however much some CP members might long for perpetual white domination.

These wishes are exploited for political gain, particularly at by-elections when it can portray President F W de Klerk as taking us to multicoloured perdition. But whoever speaks for South Africa's whites will have to negotiate the country's future with black leaders.

On the other hand, the CP cannot be wished away; it represents hundreds of thousands of people. It is still pretending it will not negotiate; when it does, its by-election victories will strengthen its hand should it demand a white homeland. Its separate future would be much smaller than our separate past.

B/DAY 02/12/91

If De Klerk disappears, we are back to square one – Mandela

ANC backs FW against Right

By Guy Jepson

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday pledged to do everything in his power to ensure that President de Klerk's power base was not eroded by the resurgent Conservative Party.

Addressing a press conference at his Soweto home on the eve of his departure for a series of top-level meetings in the United States, the ANC leader also said a serious attempt would be made to woo the CP to the negotiating table.

At the conference, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa charged that there had been "repeated secret meetings" between the PAC and the Government — a charge the PAC has recently made against the ANC.

"At press conferences and public meetings the PAC has continued to deny that such secret meetings have taken place. However, at a private level, some of their leading officials admit that such meetings have been held," Mr Ramaphosa claimed.

Discussing the question of the political threat posed by the white right wing to the thrust for a negotiated settlement, Mr Mandela said that there was "no doubt" that the CP was a danger to the NP Government.

Although the ANC had "reservations" about Mr de Klerk and had previously

ment was playing "a double game", the State President remained "the only person with whom we can negotiate" a new constitution, said Mr Mandela.

"If De Klerk disappears, we are back to square one," Mr Mandela said, adding that the ANC would do "everything in its power" to assist the State President in the face of the CP threat.

The ANC leader said the launch of real multiparty negotiations on December 20 under the auspices of the Convention for a Democratic

See Pages 3 and 10

South Africa (Codesa) was of "crucial importance" to South Africa.

He described the controversy over the walkout of PAC delegates at Saturday's preparatory meeting as "a classic storm in a teacup".

"I am not prepared to spend a sleepless night over it. The forward movement to a democratic South Africa does not depend on the PAC. Nor can they do anything to slow down the process."

Earlier, Mr Ramaphosa read out a statement condemning the behaviour of the PAC before and during the preparatory conference as "dishonest, destructive and manipulative".

"It is clear that the PAC came to the preparatory conference with a decision to

that this is pure showmanship and that they will return to participate in Codesa on December 20," Mr Ramaphosa said.

Mr Mandela was scheduled to fly to the United States last night, where he is due to address the United Nations General Assembly, and meet President Bush and US Secretary of State James Baker and members of Congress.

He will also be seeking financial support for the reintegration of political exiles. Meetings with top American business leaders and show-business personalities are also on Mr Mandela's itinerary.

Sapa reports that the PAC has strongly denied claims that Namibian President Sam Nujoma was responsible for leaking the minutes of Thabo Mbeki's diplomatic briefing of Frontline state diplomats.

The New York briefing resulted in accusations that the ANC and the Government were co-operating secretly.

In a statement yesterday, PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander said he "emphatically denied" that Mr Nujoma was the source.

He was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star, claiming that the source of the leak was Mr Nujoma, whose diplomatic representatives apparently passed the document on to him.

"I reiterate that the source of our information is based in New York," Mr

STAR

02/12/91

It'll be war if ANC takes over - AWB

AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche threatened war against an ANC government during a march by rightwingers carrying firearms, flags and posters through Durban's city centre at the weekend.

"If we have to talk with the ANC we will meet them over the barrel of a gun," the fiery rightwinger told about 300 people on the steps of Durban's City Hall.

"If the ANC governs this country, we will make war against the ANC ... we have no other choice but to fight against the communists," said Terre'Blanche who addressed his khaki-clad supporters on horseback.

He said State President FW de Klerk was declaring war against "boere" by "giving over to Joe Slovo and the Communist Party".

The marchers had intended to deliver a letter of thanks to the

police for maintaining law and order, but police earlier indicated they would not accept the letter.

Trust

In a brief interview before the march, Terre'Blanche said he believed police had refused to accept the letter because they could not trust their members anymore.

"Ninety percent of the force support the AWB anyway... Police are afraid of force members' loyalty to the AWB."

Terre'Blanche, however, thanked the police during his address, but warned that "boere" would never again allow police to set their dogs or fire on them as happened in the recent clash in Ventersdorp.

If this happened again "we will shoot the hell out of you".

Referring to the recent Virginia by-election, Terre'Blanche said the swing to the right there indicated that the voters knew De Klerk, who he called a "jellytot", had lied to the nation. - S a p a .

SOWETAN

02/12/91

Ex-NIS members hit back at PW

THE League of Former Members of the National Intelligence Service has come out strongly against an alleged statement by former President Mr P W Botha that "you were a corrupt department" and a "bad lot".

The head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), Dr N Barnard, said in a statement yesterday league members were "very upset and dissatisfied" with statements made by Mr Botha regarding the department in discussions with him on November 12.

"As I had no desire to get involved in another unpleasant argument, which in any case had no bearing on the subject then under discussion, I replied that I

TO PAGE 2

Ex-NIS men slam PW

FROM PAGE 1

was in no position to judge.

"By making this statement I would like to put on record that the service and its people have always been loyal in serving this country and have always been willing to make sacrifices in this regard. This has been confirmed by many political officials in private and public statements."

He said the service had a high regard for the decisive role its founder members had played in the safety of the country. They had laid the foundations for a modern and highly professional intelligence capability which currently functioned to the advantage of the government in South Africa.

"Many founder mem-

bers of the service have, until recently, played a key role and some are still playing a key role and render national service of high quality. I wish to confirm that I am not conscious of the service at any stage of its existence being a 'corrupt department'.

"I am requesting everyone who by all rights feels that his integrity and career are being questioned, to accept my assurance of appreciation and not to take steps that will prolong this unpleasantness."

Dr Barnard said his statement was made with the knowledge and approval of State President De Klerk.

A copy of a letter addressed to him and signed on behalf of the chairman of the League of Former Members, Mr C J Bekker, quoted

Press reports alleging that Mr Botha had told Dr Barnard: "Dr Barnard, I brought you into NI because you were a corrupt department, and you know it. You must know (weet mos) NI or the Bureau was a weak lot (swak spul).

"We, as former members of the service of which there were many founder members who for years served under Mr Botha as political head, are not aware of any happenings which in any way justify such accusations," Mr Bekker wrote.

"Should the statements actually have been made, we herewith wish to place on record our total rejection of them. Respect for the office Mr Botha held and contributory factors of which we are aware, deters us from stronger expression on the matter."

Because league members were aware that Dr Barnard had since his appointment made it his duty to research the activities of the service since its inception, they were in no doubt that he was the one person who could adopt a fair and unbiased standpoint on the allegations.

"You are free to release this letter to the Press should you feel it necessary," Mr Bekker wrote. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

02/12/91

Words of war, but message is peace

SOWETAN

02/12/91

By SONTI MASEKO

PEACE and war always go together. We go to war to secure peace and we want peace to prevent war, the ANC's Mr Walter Sisulu said at a Peace Day picnic at the weekend.

"It is understandable that sometimes we talk about peace when we are at war, these are the contradictions of our lives," Sisulu told about 400 ANC members gathered at Delta Park, Emmarentia, on Saturday.

The event, organised by the Johannesburg North West and Diepkloof branches of the ANC, received support from and was attended by the Japanese vice-councillor for political affairs, Mr Yasushi Naito, whose embassy also donated stationery for the day's art activities.

"This (event) is an incentive to promote peace, especially for the children. We think this is very important in the political interests of South Africa," Naito said.

Sisulu called on members to expose "those who are responsible for violence.

"Let the public know them, let them be exposed in every corner of the world," he said.

Children and adults spent the day designing postcards with peace messages and painting peace graffiti on a cardboard replica of the Great Wall of China. Sisulu spent the day doing what he loves most besides politics - telling stories to children.

Postcards will be collected and sent to strife-torn areas and other regions, organisers said.

Police briefly visited the picnickers and said they had received a complaint. Later a police helicopter circled the picnic area but no incidents were reported.

Robben Island to 'go green'

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Robben Island is to become a nature reserve and will be open to the public next year, chief director of the Cape Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation Johan Neethling announced yesterday.

Neethling said ANC president Nelson Mandela and other former political prisoners would be asked to advise on plans to develop their former prison into a museum.

A steering committee consisting of Cape Nature Conservation, Correctional Services and the National Monuments Council has been set up to oversee the development.

The Department of Correctional Services, he said, would be "scaling down" its operations over a period of time.

B/DAY 02/12/91

THE VAT strike and the outcry in wealthier communities about proposed wealth taxes are powerful reminders of the angry, sometimes disruptive, reactions tax evokes. They epitomise the dilemma SA reformers face in finding additional sources of revenue to fund development in a country which is already heavily taxed.

The crux of the dilemma, says Tax Advisory Council chairman, Michael Katz, is how to reconcile concessions on the revenue side of the national Budget to encourage savings, investment and growth; and social spending on the expenditure side to enable socio-economic development and political stability.

To be effective, a new tax system will have to provide a careful balance between what is perceived as fair by the system's "contributors", loosely defined as participants in the First World economy, and its "beneficiaries", the disadvantaged masses.

If contributors feel they are being overtaxed they will either lose interest in generating profits which will result in a decline in output and employment, damage the integrity of the tax by avoiding it or take their skills elsewhere.

If the beneficiaries believe the system is biased, their frustration will translate into political action which, in turn, will impair economic growth. Resistance against UK poll taxes and the VAT strike in SA are harsh reminders of this.

The current direction of SA's tax reform is closely linked to international trends. The cornerstone proposals of the Margo Commission were a reduction in nominal income tax rates, coupled with the expansion of the tax base through the removal of discretionary allowances and the introduction of broad-based indirect taxes like VAT. These proposals were very much in line with developments in major Western economies, such as the UK, and more recently African countries such as Tanzania and Zimbabwe which learned that high tax rates are not a panacea.

There is widespread agreement

SA's tax experts grapple with the dilemmas of reform

LESLEY LAMBERT

that the process of reducing nominal corporate and personal income tax rates should continue. However, the financial authorities warn that it may have become unaffordable following last-minute VAT concessions.

The reduction of rates has been accompanied by the removal or limitation of allowances which has increased effective tax rates.

While broadening the tax base, the removal of allowances should also make the system more neutral. However, the thinking on fiscal neutrality appears to be undergoing a quiet, though not uncontested, re-evaluation. Government recently approved accelerated depreciation benefits for companies involved in the beneficiation of local raw materials for export markets. Trade and Industry Minister Org Marais argued that it was important to boost export industries and offer incentives which would make SA as attractive as the Pacific Rim countries.

The removal of flaws in the existing income tax system and an improvement in the administration of the system are other ways of broadening the base without looking for new taxes, says Arthur Anderson senior partner Pierre du Toit.

But he adds that sooner or later the "contributors" are going to have to come to terms with the idea that wealth taxes — in more sophisticated

attire than a straight percentage of net wealth — are inevitable.

"A tax on net wealth is not feasible and probably not desirable as an instrument to tax wealth," says Lieb Loots, head of the University of the Western Cape's economics department and a key adviser to the ANC.

However, Loots argues that a new tax policy, while continuing with a moderate reduction in rates, should incorporate new taxes to improve the perception of fairness. His proposals — a comprehensive capital transfer tax, coupled with a capital gains tax, a progressive property tax and a rural land tax — are essentially aimed at taxing wealth.

SA already has wealth taxes in the form of donations tax and a 15% estate duty on estates exceeding R1m. The government is investigating the Margo Commission's recommendation of a comprehensive capital transfer tax to replace estate duties, donations and generation-skipping devices such as trusts, a popular vehicle for reducing taxable estates. It is also considering the introduction of capital gains tax, in spite of the commission's recommendation to the contrary.

The strongest arguments in favour of this tax are that it removes the

differentiation between capital gains and taxed earnings, which is currently biased against wage-earners, and prevents people avoiding income tax by switching income gains into capital gains. It also provides the perception of fairness.

Critics argue that it is complex to administer and yields a low return because of relief measures and the exemption of private house sales, while the burden of the tax often falls on lower income earners who are forced to realise gains to obtain cash. Another argument against capital gains tax in high-inflation countries is that it is difficult to justify taxation of inflation profits as capital gains. Most high inflation countries which introduced capital gains tax tax only real gains.

Loots's proposals of property and rural land taxes are likely to touch a raw nerve, particularly since they are proposed in conjunction with steadily increasing municipal rates and capital transfer and capital gains taxes. His opponents will argue that a process of fiscal redistribution is already under way. Individuals' contribution to government revenues has increased from 25% in 1976 to 38% this year, while that of the corporate sector has slipped from 29% to 20% over the same period, largely due to the declining fortunes of the mining industry.

Loots also proposes new forms of income tax such as a minimum business tax and argues that company tax should favour firms which invest a large percentage of their profit. A withholding tax on dividends with deductions for investment in productive capacity could also be explored.

There has also been support in the ANC for the reintroduction of dividend tax. Katz argues that this would be counterproductive. Apart from reintroducing double taxation, it would encourage companies to place more emphasis on equity rather than loan capital, making them overly vulnerable to economic downturns.

Katz says the recent decision to scrap proposals for a fixed low-rated withholding tax on interest earnings was indicative of the sensitivity surrounding the introduction of taxes which could be perceived as unfair. A low-rated tax on interest would have been politically unmarketable because it would have benefited individuals in the higher tax brackets.

Assuming moderate declines in corporate and personal rates and 3% growth, Loots estimates that over five years an additional, cumulative R55bn (in 1991/92 terms) could be raised over and above present budgeted revenue levels. He also estimates that the abolition of apartheid could result in a further R18,8bn saving on current expenditure over five years. After deductions for debt servicing, these could provide additional government revenue of about R60bn over the five-year period, assuming that the deficit before borrowing remains at its present level of 3.4% of GDP.

Alternatively, Loots says, if economic growth is slower than expected, or if tax reform generates less than anticipated, additional expenditure could be maintained by increasing the deficit before borrowing.

Much negotiation and creativity will be needed in planning a new, workable and effective tax system. Certain characteristics are crucial: a broad base, fairness and certainty for investors. Du Toit says the new system will have to be protected by means of strict adherence to the rule of law and, possibly, the introduction of a tax bill of rights.

LETTERS

B/DAY 02/12/91

STAR 02/12/91

9 injured in attack at Durban station

DURBAN — A gang of men went on the rampage at Durban station yesterday stabbing, shooting and beating so-called members of the ANC after a meeting at the King Zwelithini stadium at Umlazi.

Nine people were injured in the attack and taken to King Edward VIII Hospital.

A train commuter said at Reunion station he saw a number of men alighting and fleeing from the train in which he was travelling.

"I heard someone ask them why they were running and they said it was because armed members of Inkatha were waiting at Reunion station and they

believed they were in danger. The way they were talking it seemed they were ANC".

At Congella, Dalbridge, Berea and Durban stations, youths fled the train and were chased by alleged Inkatha supporters.

SAP spokesman Captain Bala Naidoo said a suspect had been arrested. — Own Correspondent.

ANC rejects call to suspend suspects

CAPE TOWN. — The ANC (Western Cape) has rejected as "premature" a call by Democratic Party MP Mr Jan van Eck that the five ANC members arrested in connection with the murder of the ANC's Mr Pro Jack be suspended.

"Without implying that they are necessarily guilty, I nevertheless want to appeal to the ANC, under the present

circumstances of widespread violence in the townships, to suspend the membership of the accused pending the outcome of their trial," Mr Van Eck said on Friday.

ANC spokesman Mr Mziwonke Jacobs said the ANC had committed itself publicly to taking tough disciplinary measures against any of its members who were proved guilty of violence.

"However, we feel that the call for us to suspend those accused who may be members are premature," Mr Jacobs said in a statement.

"We cannot suspend our members on the mere say so of the police as we have seen on numerous occasions in the past that the police have brought completely spurious charges against ANC

members for political reasons.

"Even in this case there is strong grounds to believe that several of the accused were not even in the country at the time of some of the alleged offences," Mr Jacobs said.

He said the ANC constitution was a "very democratic" document and stipulated that disciplinary measures could be

taken only after a duly constituted hearing where the charges must be put to the affected members. They must be given a proper hearing.

"The ANC cannot take any action before we have some evidence against those charged who may be members, whether from the police or our own sources," Mr Jacobs said. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

02/12/91