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Mandela likely to find US 'cautious'

NEW YORK. —When Nelson Mandela meets this week with US corporate leaders to discuss foreign investment, he's likely to find an attentive but cautious audience.

That view emerges from a random survey of major corporations that cut ties with South Africa.

For years, the African National Congress and Mr Mandela urged the international business community to quit trade with South Africa as a means to pressure the country's White rulers to relinquish

power to the Black majority.

The African National Congress president has credited economic sanctions for the limited progress in South Africa. South African President De Klerk has freed political prisoners, eliminated key segregationist policies and agreed to talks on power-sharing with Black leaders.

Mr Mandela, scheduled to address the United Nations General Assembly yesterday, has planned meetings with executives at major corporations and foundations to encourage foreign investment if a

Black majority government comes to power.

An ANC spokesman said a key message from the meetings is the group is "not hostile to foreign investment".

"Once the question of an interim government has been solved, then the ANC would like assistance in resolving the economic problems because we need job creation and investment". Miss Lindiee Mabusa, the ANC's chief representative in Washington, said through a spokesman. "We have too much unemployment".

The Ford Foundation is today sponsoring a luncheon with Mr Mandela and representatives of some two dozen corporations and foundations in New York. On Friday, H J Heinz co invited Mr Mandela to address 2 500 executives at the University of Pittsburg.

Some corporate leaders found a bit of irony in Mr Mandela's scheduled meetings with some of the corporate power brokers the ANC pressured to leave the country.

But Mr Mandela's visit is generally viewed by businessmen as a natural evolution of South Africa's "return to the fold".

One East Coast banker, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said Mr Mandela may find a lukewarm response to his plea to delay investment until a new Black government gains power.

"If we're being told that investment is important but we can't do it yet because of political reasons, then it's sort of going to be a turn-off," the banker said. "And we will look elsewhere until we're truly welcome."

Mr Ted Smyth, vicepresident for corporate affairs at H J Heinz, agreed that American corporations are being lured by countries in the Pacific Rim and Eastern Europe.

"South Africa is one on a long list of places where capital can go." he said.

But Heinz, one of the few US companies with a large investment in neighbouring Zimbabwe, sees southern Africa as a potential market of 50 million people, said Mr Smyth. — Sapa-AP.

Life of the party

IKE the rest of us, the SA Communist Party is feeling its way towards an uncertain future. The SACP may pretend to be more confident than most about where it is going, but those uncertainties will come crowding in in the years ahead. If the party has a future, it will be forged not by socialism, or the communism to which it hopes socialism will lead, but by democracy.

As one of the few growing communist parties in a world rushing to ditch communism, the SACP starts this week's congress with some reason for hope. That optimism will have to survive distrust and mockery. It will have to survive the suspicion by political opponents that the communist leadership is secretive, manipulative and inherently deceitful. It will have to survive withering criticism from countries where communist parties are dying, including those countries which once practised it. And it will have to survive the SACP's inevitable reduction to a fringe party with no hope of gaining power and a decreasing influence on those who do.

The SACP will spend this week defining a role for itself, an unbanned party with open membership competing for political influence in a changing South Africa. That will require an honest assessment of how bright the communist star will shine in the new political firmament. Leaders and members will have to address frankly the problems communists will have competing in the marketplace for political ideas. The greater the

manifestations of democracy, the more its opponents are likely to start trusting it.

And that means democracy as understood in a world communists have sought to undermine, overthrow and ultimately subject to totalitarian rule. The new communists reject totalitarianism and they blame Stalin for the denial of human rights, but they have not abandoned their belief that Marx can still lead the world to a perfect future. Communism is still the aim. with what is now called democratic socialism as the means to that end. And, as the SACP manifesto explains, democratic socialism means the economy must increasingly be placed under public ownership and

That may be what the vast majority of people in this country want, in which case the SACP will soon be swept to power on a wave of popular democratic support. If this is not what the party expects, it must tell us how it will adjust to minority status and whether it will seek covert rule through the ANC.

The SACP is having to make many adjustments in a new era of legality, but the greatest of all may be the change from a vanguard revolutionary party to one having to sell its ideas to a freely voting public. It is not going to join democracy's few winners but its many losers; it is condemned ultimately to declining membership and depleting funds.

Defeat, not victory, is what tests democratic convictions.

SACP, ANC will not split now or in future — Cronin

SA COMMUNIST Party (SACP) central committee member Jeremy Cronin yesterday predicted there would not be a split between the party and the ANC, even in the long term.

Speaking in an interview on the eve of the SACP's eighth congress, Cronin said he would venture that a split between the SACP and the ANC in the long term was neither inevitable nor necessary.

There was no prospect of a split in the short term, he said.

Cronin said the SACP's draft manifesto, which will be one of the major focuses of the four-day conference, stated that change in SA would not be complete without socialism.

"To deepen and defend national democratic change ... socialism enters into the picture. At such a time it will be possible and necessary to persuade the overwhelming number of ANC members to move in that direction.

"Whether we will merge with the ANC or whether there will be a compact of forces, one does not really know, but as a relatively small party we cannot make the

TIM COHEN

socialist revolution alone."

The congress, the SACP's first inside SA for 40 years, will give the majority of the SACP's newly acquired 23 000 members their first opportunity of electing leaders.

According to nominations received from SACP branches, the frontrunners for the top SACP post of general secretary include Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso Cosatu assistant general secretary Sidney Mafumadi, SACP national organiser Charles Nqakula and central committee member Chris Hani.

Hani has already indicated he will not stand for the post, although he would accept nomination to the central committee.

Frontrunner for national chairman is current SACP general secretary and de facto leader Joe Slovo, while central committee member Raymond Mhlaba has been nominated Slovo's deputy chairman.

Figures released by the party indicate its strongest support comes from the Border region which will send 94 delegates.

16/1/11

Mandela urges UN to lift sanctions in phases The Star 4-12-1991)

New deal 'within year'

Special Correspondent

NEW YORK — There was no reason why South Africa's new constitution could not be drawn up within a year, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the 46th session of the UN General Assembly in New York yesterday.

Mr Mandela said it was of decisive importance to the work of the Convention for a Democratic SA (Codesa) that the ruling National Party should make a commitment

that the decisions of the convention be given legal force.

"Unless this is done, the convention will be no more than a mere talking shop.

"After the convention's work has been concluded we will need to move as quickly as possible to establish the constitution-making body.

"In our view, this should be an elected constituent assembly. Once established, we see no reason why this as sembly should not conclude drawing up the new constitution within the year."

Mr Mandela, however, repeated his call for sanctions to be maintained.

"Precisely because the goal of liberation has not yet been reached, we believe there is need for continued international pressure to encourage speedy movement towards ending the system of apartheid," he said.

"Sanctions, therefore, continue to be important."

He said the ANC believed that such sanctions should be lifted in phases corresponding to actual progress being achieved in South Africa.

"The two major phases ahead of us would be delin-

eated by the establishment of the interim government and, secondly, the election of the new government."

But Mr Mandela also said he saw a brighter future ahead for South Africa.

"We can see rising on the horizon the new glorious entity which shall no longer be spoken of as the parial among the nations.

"We are beginning to see emerge a new country which because it arrives so late at the festival of liberty, must surely value freedom like the apple of its eye, and strive hardest to live up to

the dream of all humanity throughout the ages for emancipation, prosperity, happiness and peace."

He added: "We envisage a South Africa which shall, in all respects, belong to all who live in it, both black and white.

"Its political life will be governed by a thoroughgoing democratic constitution, based on the principle of one person, one vote, without any distinction on grounds of race, colour or creed, and without any element whatsoever of racial domination and discrimination."

The ANC leader went on:
"We also want to see entrenched all the necessary
provisions ensuring the fullest possible protection and
advancement of the fundamental human rights of
every citizen,"

But he warned that at the same time, the new South Africa would have to address the burning question of mass poverty, which affileted militions of people, especially the black population, and the gross-racial imbalance regarding the distribution of income, wealth, land and opportunity.

The Star 4-12-199

CP stand on negotiations 'not changed'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba Political Staff

The Conservative Party has not changed its position on negotiations with the ANC, CP chief secretary Andries Beyers said today.

In an interview with The Star, Mr Beyers denied saying the CP would change its policy and negotiate with the ANC if the latter fully acknowledged Afrikaners' right to rule themselves in a sovereign, independent state.

He was commenting on a report in a leading Afrikaans daily today, quoting him as saying the CP would engage the ANC in talks if the liberation movement "renounced the enmity" between the two parties and acknowledged Afrikaners' right to rule themselves.

He had said that, once it was in power, the CP would be willing to negotiate with leaders of other groups "if they acknowledge our right of self-determination".

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Sharpeville an 'oasis of peace'

By Denis Beckett

"Oasis Sharpeville". That's how the man from the Sharpeville Civic Association described the township whose name still rings with echoes of the massacre 31 years ago.

"We're an easis. We've been untainted by all the violence since '84. You should come and see. Come to the Clean-Up Day on Sunday. All affiliations will join to combat the environment problem. You'll see what can be done when peace provails."

Sunday could be interesting.
But the finger of fate is a
cussed thing. Saturday, of all
days, was the day the tranquil-

lity biccuped.

There was a funeral. It had not, in advance, been perceived as a reprisal-type funeral, or indeed as a "political" funeral, at all. Only afterwards did it become apparent that the deceased, an Inkatha man, had been killed by a member of the ANC, and even then word in the township was that the political connections were coincidental; that it had been a plain fight.

The feeling at the hostel, on the other hand, was that here was an example of the ANC trying to wipe out opposition.

Whichever, what definitely happened was that the funeral became a rampage. The cortege, hostel people, stormed through a section called Putwasteen and in the end two householders were taken away by a mortuary van and several others by ambulance.

By nightfall Sharpeville was in red alert, for the first time in years.

The following morning, the Big Clean-Up was a resounding flop. Hardly anyone turned up, and among those who did fill the plastic bags donated by Pick'n Pay, the dominant affillation was a nursery school.

The Civic Association people were abashed. Obviously, they said, the citizenry were scared.

That was part of the problem. The citizenry were displaying little reluctance to stroll about or drink beer in their gardens, but to have drawn news of the clean-up from the Civic's few hand-painted signs they'd have to be both hawk-oyed and hieroglyphics experts.

A Verceniging plant-lire firm had offered front-end loaders to the cause, provided the drivers put in their labour free. Only one driver volunteered. He golinged huge mouthfuls of rubbish at such a rate that the unmechanised efforts of everyone olse were dispiritingly futile by comparison.

Worse, there was nowhere for the driver to deliver his loads. There had been an arrangement that TPA trucks would remove the junk, but that also went awry. Sharpeville's main street now has hills of rotting garbage at 20 m intervals.

Before long, the heart fell out of the clean-up. Adult volunteers drifted away, children turned to playing, and soon the front-end driver was on his own.

Heartening

On the face of it, the goodnews day had turned sour, the festival of peace had been wrecked by a combination of error, let-down, Inertia and the clouds of war.

Deeper, however, there was something heartening.

This reporter, returning northwards soveral hours after the collapse of the main event, drove with a lightness of heart.

To substitute for the nonclean-up, the Civics people laid on an impromptu townshiptour-eum-political seminar.

The tour showed problems, all right, but it was also a neat

reminder that the best side of South African township life is Jar from bygone.

Mr Average in Sharpeville probably passes more greetings to his neighbours in the course of a morning than his Sandton counterpart does in a decade, and the everybodies notably in cluded numerous patrolling policemen, pale skins or dark.

"Oh," says one of the Civic people after his umpteenth friendly wave to representatives of a force that his organisation officially considers the tools of the oppressor, "we have no problem with the ordinary police."

Then there are the roving vehicles calling out support for soccor teams; the soulful in uniforms of independent churches at open-air services; residents tending gardens or conducting household chores. It's hard to traverse a place like Sharpeville on a Sunday morning and come away mournful.

As for the political enlightenment programme — well, the rheteric is barely recognisable. For a decade or more, the tone has been heavy insistence that you either sign up with the true faith or else are cast into outer darkness. Now it has all but reversed, to a flerce determina-

tion to recognise differences, to allow diversity, to seek the encompassment of dissidents instead of their exclusion.

Sharpeville's Civic was born and reared in an ANC mould at a time when ungovernability ranked high in the scheme of things. But things have changed, and the current quest is for practical resolution of local issues, practical relationships with the Nats, with Eskom, with the PAC, with the Conservative councils of white towns in the area, and even, although this often comes hardest, with Inketha.

It's a new ball-game — not an easy ball-game, but by no means an impossible one. Outright distrust becomes replaced not so much by outright trust as by a cautious voetjie-voetjie. Demands give way to negotiations; rejection to arms-length dealings.

The Sharpeville Civic has a large vision of Sharpeville as a haven of peace, development and environment-consciousness.

"1002," says one member, "is Verceniging's hundredth anniversary and Sharpoville's fiftieth. Imagine what we can do if we can use the anniversaries to truly get our acts together." The Star Wednesday December 4 1991

The Star

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South Africa's largest daily newspaper

The ticking time bomb

INANCE MINISTER Barend du Plessis and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals have warned that even the best political settlement will be useless unless it is buttressed economically. The Reserve Bank has described unemployment as a "time bomb" which could seriously damage the delicate process of political democratisation.

A reminder of the precarious state of this economic underpinning has now been given by economists with the SA Chamber of Business and the Small Business Development Corporation. They calculate that fewer than one in every 10 of this year's 400 000 matriculants will be able to find employment in the formal sector of the economy.

With the number of unemployed people running at between 4 million and 5 million and growing rapidly every day, the government that comes to power under a new nonracial constitution may have to deal with as many as 7,5 million jobless men and women. It does not augur well for the future of our long-fought-for democracy.

Already there are signs that unemployment is starting to tear South African society apart: the crime rate, having reached unprecedented levels, continues to rise; there is physical deterioration of the infrastructure as vandalism, born of despair, spreads and intensifies.

Sanctions are only a secondary cause. The economy started to decline long before the formal advent of sanctions in the mid-1980s. But even minor causes must be removed immediately, today rather than to-morrow. Even once investment returns, the creation of jobs through economic growth is not an instantaneous process. The benefits take time to filter down.

The ANC agrees that there is an urgent need for growth. Yet Nelson Mandela, a strong candidate for helmsman of the new state, continues to press, myopically, for the maintenance of sanctions until "significant political progress" has been made. He should be encouraging the world to invest in and trade with South Africa. He owes it to the new nonracial society he hopes to preside over.

The Star 1-12-19191

Patriotic Front linked to communist strategy

The formation of the Patriotic Front was not unexpected in view of communist strategy.

In the late 1920s, Dimitrou, then leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party, formulated this strategy after the failure of the first Bulgarian socialist revolution. His theory was later accepted and approved by the Communist International (Communist International (Communistri) Congress in Moscow as one of the most important contributions to communist strategy and tactics since the death of Lenin.

This strategy was extensively used in Eastern Europe during and after World War 2. In Bulgaria, it was called the "Fatherland Front". Dimitron headed the first government. East Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia had variations of these "fronts".

In Vietnam, the "Fatherland Front" was led by Ho Chi Minh and fought for three decades to vanquish finally the democratic forces. The poor people of that country sacrificed their all for a atopian socialist mirage, which has only brought them misery, hunger and terrible suffering.

In Africa, similar communist

strategies have emerged from time to time, that is, the Patriotic Front of Zimbahwe. It was therefore not suprising that the SACP would attempt the same manouevre in South Africa through its front, the ANC.

The SACP is the eminence grise in the so-called Patriotic's Front. Those parties and organisations which participate will be used for as long as deemed; necessary, until they are either swallowed or destroyed by the communist serpent.

It is a Trojan horse that will lead South Africa to a government of "Blut und Eisen" in the same manner as in all communist/socialist countries. Let us pray and evoke the power of God as Muslims, Christians and Jews. Let us appeal to our ancestors and Mvelingqangi to give us power to crush the forces of darkness — Marxism is like a cancer destroying the healthy cells of a body.

Let us stand up and say no to this beast! "Cullus non facit! monachum" — the cowl does! make the monk.

Mjolie Shwabada

Evaton

16/1/14

ANC, 'no' to Azapon

By Kaizer Nyatsumba Political Staff

The Azanian People's Organisation's calls for a "Black Christmas" this month suffered a major blow yesterday when the ANC's most influential region, the PWV, decided not to support it.

Azapo said blacks have nothing to celebrate over the Christmas period and should therefore withdraw their buying power from mid-December to mid-January.

The action would also be in protest against VAT and the Government's failure to end violence.

The ANC PWV regional committee's decision last night means that the

major forces in black politics — the ANC, the PAC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — are opposed to a "Black Christmas". This couldturn Azapo's "Black Christmas" into a flop.

Christmas" into a flop.

The PAC's Transvaal regional leaders said this week that they were not in favour of a Christmas consumer boycott because there had been "no adequate consultation". Boycotts were "tantamount to token resistance bound to cause division among the people", they said.

The IFP, on the other hand, is always opposed to boycotts of any kind.

ANC PWV regional

ANC PWV regional spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night

that the ANC PWV regional executive committee decided that the community deserved a break from mass action.

"We believe our people should be accorded the opportunity to celebrate Christmas and New Year in a spirit of goodwill, and to use that period to regain their strength and dedication to launch higher forms of mass action next year," he said.

The community had been involved in the recent two-day national campaign against the introduction of VAT and it would therefore be difficult to organise a national consumer boycott in the short space of time before Christmas, Mr Mamoepa said.

Mandela predicts new constitution

within year

N/Merary 4/2/9/

Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night called for continued economic pressure against South Africa, but added that there was a strong chance of a new constitution being drawn up within a year.

Addressing the sitting of the UN General Assembly — in which new Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali was inaugurated — Mr Mandela paid tribute to the UN for its "invaluable contributions" to South Africa.

He called on member-states to "heed the voice of the oppressed" and maintain economic sanctions, lifting them only in phases "corresponding to actual progress..."

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa due to be held on December 20 "will mark an important step forward in the process leading to a negotiated resolution of the political problems facing our country".

He made a call for the National Party to make a commitment to ensure that all decisons taken at Codesa "be given legal force. Unless this is done, the convention will be no more than a mere talking shop. Obviously, this cannot be allowed".

Matters to be discussed at Codesa would include: principles underlying the new constitution; the mechanism to draw up this constitution; structure of an interim government; the reincorporation of the bantustans; time frames for the transitional period as a whole; and the role of the international community.

Mr Mandela said a constitution-making body would be established soon after the convention.

"Once established, we see no reason why this assembly should not conclude its work of drawing up the new constitution within the year," he told the General Assembly to loud applause.

He said South Africans would have to address the "burning question of mass poverty" in order to guarantee the survival of any political settlement reached.

16/1/11

Patrick Laurence looks at the issues that confront the SACP at its congress

The challenge of a new era



It is, of course, the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe and, more especially, the Soviet Union, where, in the wake of the failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev in August, the Communist Party was dissolved and statues of Lenin hauled down.

The failure of communism in its heartland, and the implications and lessons for South African communists, will be the dominant theme at the SACP congress. It is a question the 400 delegates from nearly 250 branches cannot avoid.

The challenge posed to the SACP by the crisis of world communism has been given an additional significance by a curious paradox: the decline of communism in its former bastions coincides with the continuing appeal of communism in South Africa.

The membership of the SACP

now stands at 25 000, the highest it has been since its formation in 1921. Most members are new recruits since the SACP was unbanned on February 2 1990.

Its membership profile is preponderantly black and working class, with a high proportion of young people; these traits show, communists believe, that the SACP is riding the demographic wave of the future.

Joe Slovo, outgoing SACP general secretary, has set the tone for the debate about the lessons of the catastrophic developments — for communists — in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

His discussion paper, "Has Socialism Failed?", written in December 1989, argues that commu-nist regimes failed because they reneged on their commitment to democracy; his prescription for the SACP is that it should commit itself to democracy, in its own ranks and in the wider society.

The importance of the eighth congress, to be held in Johannesburg, is that it will give party members an opportunity to de-

bate many of the central ideas in Mr Slovo's seminal paper.

Many have been incorporated, after consideration by party leaders, into a new, 24-page draft manifesto to be put before the congress, as the SACP's supreme policy-making body, for adoption, modification or rejection.

One of the central ideas in the manifesto is "democratic socialism", a notion embracing multiparty democracy - or "bourgeois democracy", as party comrades sneeringly used to refer to it and "participatory democracy".

The commitment to participatory democracy is particularly important: it means the SACP will fight for the continuous participation of ordinary people in the gov-ernance of South Africa instead of restricting their role to voting in elections every five years.

As Mr Slovo has made clear, his discussion paper was addressed to comrades within the party as well as the wider audience that the SACP hoped to convince that it had learnt the lessons of history. His motive was, as he has noted,

(within the SACP) with those who still defended Stalinism or questioned its existence".

Even today Mr Slovo's analysis has not won complete acceptance in the SACP. There are members who contend that the crisis of communism was caused by Mr Gorbachev's "revisionist" doctrines of glasnost and perestroika. The remedy, they infer, is to turn the clock back and re-install orthodoxy, even if it means reinstating Brezhnev's neo-Stalinism.

Harry Gwala, a veteran member of the SACP and chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region, is perhaps the best known member of the SACP's Old Guard. Mr Gwala, a forthright man, is a selfacknowledged Stalinist.

The pertinence of the "revisionist" versus "Stalinist" issue is reflected in the latest issue of the African Communist. It contains articles by Jeremy Cronin, a member of the SACP central committee, and Mr Gwala. Both are former political prisoners who have fought for communism at risk to life and liberty.

to the congress, ideological battle will be joined. Observers, however, expect a resounding victory for the Slovo camp.

The battle will be fought for positions as well as ideology. At stake are five senior posts chairman, deputy chairman, general secretary, deputy general secretary and treasurer - as well as the remaining 20 vacancies on the SACP's central committee.

Interest in the elections has been stirred by Mr Slovo's decision to step down as general secretary: he has bone marrow cancer and, in view of his already heavy responsibilities on the ANC's national executive, has decided not to stand for re-election.

It is an open secret that the SACP leadership, which feels that position should be filled by a black person, wanted Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani to take over at the helm.

The party leaders have, however, abandoned their quest to persuade the ANC to release Mr Hani, who is also a senior member

of the ANC national executive, to take up the SACP post.

With Mr Hani no longer a candidate, conjecture is rife over who will succeed Mr Slovo.

One name that has been mentioned is Charles Nqakula, an official at the party's head office and a former journalist who served as an Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter. But one or more challenger is likely to emerge from the ranks of the trade unions.

Moses Mayekiso and Sydney Mufamadi, who, with Mr Slovo, represented the SACP at the preparatory talks for Codesa, may surface as candidates.

The SACP has promised to put aside the secrecy of its underground past - forced on it when it was outlawed in 1950 - and to make its congress a time when those with communist convictions will be proud to proclaim them.

Observers will be watching with more than a little interest to see whether any unexpected people emerge from their incognito political existence to declare allegiance to the SACP. [

I-ANC iphika isivumelwano esidalulwe

EGOLI:-I-ANC iluphikile udaba olufana nebhomu oludalulwe yiPAC lokuthi iqembu lamaNeshinale ne-ANC sebenze isivumelwano sangasese sokubusa lelizwe ngokubambisana.

Emhlanganweni ophuthumayo wezintatheli kusihlwa ngolwesi-Thathu, unobhala jikele-le we-ANC, uMnuz. Cyril Ramaphosa, nesi-khulu se-ANC esiphethe uphiko olumaqondana nezindaba zamazwe, uMnuz. Thabo Mbeki, bakuphikile konke oku-shiwo yiPAC, bathi akukho zingxoxo ngomthet-ho-sisekelo esezike zabakhona noHulumeni waseSouth Africa kulezizinyanga eziyisithupha ezedlule.

UMnuz. Mbeki uthe incwadi evezwe yiPAC ukufakazela lokho ekushoyo "iwukwelelesa okukhuku (okulunjwe ngomunye umuntu) ofuna ukujivaza i-ANC. Angazi ukuthi ngubani owenze

UMnuz. Ramaphosa uzwakalise okukhulu ukudabuka ngokuthi iPAC...ebambisene ne-ANC kuPatriotic Front...iqoke "ukusho izinto budedengu" emaphepha-

ndabeni.

Ntambama ngolwesi-Thathu iPAC iveze obufakazi obubhaliwe obuthi iqembu lamaNeshinale nePAC sebenze izivumelwano eziyimfihlo ezizo-kwenza lamaqembu omabili "abuse iSouth Africa ngokubambisana iminyaka eminingi eza-