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Buthelezi questions

MERCURY 28/10/91

ANC's arms caches

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will not be a participant in negotiations if the ANC remains committed to keeping Umkhonto we Sizwe and its arms caches, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister, said in Ulundi at the weekend.

Speaking at the IFP Women's Brigade annual conference, Dr Buthelezi said: "Most certainly the ANC's continued retention of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the continued secreting of arms and ammunition in caches in various parts of the country amount to a flagrant violation of the peace accord.

"The IFP will not become party to making a farce of negotiations by turning them into something that happens between committees whose members are elected by committees which has members who are in turn have been elected by yet other

Mercury Reporter

committees."

Dr Buthelezi said he did not see how the IFP could be a serious participant in the negotiation process if the ANC remained committed to keeping its army and its arms caches.

He criticised the ANC/SACP/Cosatu Alliance for using the Patriotic Front as a means to gain an effective control within the constituent assembly which would enable it to become both the controller and the player.

"Whoever controls the constituent assembly will have control over the whole process in which negotiations will get off the ground and determine the negotiation structure and format as well as influence the objectives of negotiation," he said.

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Star Oct 28

The NP has a lesson to learn if it wants a successful outcome to negotiations

The necessity of give and take

THE ANC leadership's sudden economic radicalisation has triggered widespread shock and scepticism about its ability to act as a major partner in the reconstruction of South Africa.

The time, however, has come to cast as critical a look at the NP leadership in probing the reasons for the polarisation of the NP-ANC relationship.

It is in fact becoming clear that the NP leadership is not fully aware of the extent to which its words and actions are militating against a successful outcome of the negotiations.

In a stimulating and perceptive new study, "Power Plays: Bargaining Tactics for Transforming South Africa" (Southern Book Publishers), Pierre du Toit succinctly formulates the goal to which all negotiating parties must adhere if they want a stable and prosperous South Africa. This is a new political centre held together by "the constraining and binding power of mutual tolerance".

Only a power grid which contains an "interlocking and countervailing network of power relationships" will be able to provide for the mutual security of all parties and economic development along modern industrial lines.

As in the case of the nuclear

arms race the best chance for a settlement between the major parties in South Africa is a situation where neither of the parties has an appreciable advantage. In short, a situation where some parity exists. This was indeed the case in February 1990. Whites had the advantages of political incumbency, capital and skills but this was counterbalanced by black numbers and labour power together with international and internal legitimacy of the ANC.

In embarking on the turbulent negotiations course the NP leadership has had to contend with two radically conflicting demands. On the one hand there is the demand that it learns to entrust its adversaries with power. In citing the paradoxical statement that "power is based on giving", Du Toit notes that power derived from a mutually dependent adversarial relationship in fact enables one party to gain power by giving benefits to the opponent.

With a steadily shrinking white minority as its main base the NP paradoxically will have to take unknown risks in giving a substantial part of power away if it wants whites to enjoy security in the next century.

On the other hand there is the demand from its own constituency

Continued - - -

The NP has a lesson to learn if it wants a successful outcome to negotiations

The necessity of give and take

The Pattern of Politics

HERMANN GILIOMEE



that the NP gives no power away unless it is certain that the overall framework is stable.

The NP's natural inclination has always been to follow the latter course. It knows implicitly what a Richard Nixon meant when he declared that no state should ever let its president go to the bargaining table as the leader of the second-strongest state in the world.

Heading the party of minorities, as the NP is now styling itself, President de Klerk and his colleagues are particularly aware of the dangers minorities face if they lose power and become subjected to a nationally distinct majority.

Nevertheless clinging to power at all costs is hardly the way to confront the dangerous decade that lies ahead for us. It is my impression that the NP since February 1990 has erred by not taking into account enough the need to give power in order to get power. It has rather been inclined to pre-

serve and even extend its power.

For example, it has claimed the ending of South African isolation in the field of trade, investment and sport as trophies marking its own endeavours and power with hardly any acknowledgement of the ANC's role in normalising sports relations.

Seeing its rival bolstering its own power unilaterally, the ANC has been compelled to demonstrate its own power. Its threats to wreck the economy are ultimately a political power play intended to spell out clearly the damage the ANC can wreak if it becomes marginalised.

If the negotiations process is to survive the NP should make every effort to counter the impression that it intends to hoard most of the power regardless of the outcome of the first post-apartheid general election.

The first area is that of its constitutional proposals. The NP demand that minorities be effectively represented on all levels of government is one that all except blinkered liberationists will understand.

However, what gives away the game is the NP's proposal for a Senate which gives equal representation to all parties attracting more than a minimal proportion of the votes. Since this Senate can

veto legislation passed by the lower house this can effectively nullify the power the majority party has won at the polls.

At one stage or another the NP will have to accept that the decisive step toward democracy is the acceptance of uncertainty and of the fact that it cannot control the outcome of an election.

The second area is that of an economic pact. Unless a future order meets enough of the expectations of the subordinates it does not have a hope of survival. In answer to criticism of his support of nationalisation Mr Mandela has repeatedly urged that alternative proposals be worked out.

Reportedly one major agglomerate has responded so far but the ANC cannot really consider a proposal unless it is backed up by the private sector as a whole and Government. It is therefore of a great importance that Barend du Plessis elaborates on the suggestion he recently made at the World Bank and IMF that a form of social accord between Government, business and labour is needed.

Thirdly the Government should give urgent attention to reasonable demands for the Africanisation of the civil state departments. Although Mr Mandela could have chosen his words more carefully

proposing the training of civil servants abroad for a post-apartheid state the churlish response of Minister of Administration Piet Marais was yet another indication of a reluctance to meet the ANC on anything but NP terms.

With only 14 blacks in the 2 883 top income categories in the central state departments and provinces the responsible Minister should have welcomed every effort to rectify the situation.

The political rivalry between the ANC and NP increasingly resembles the nuclear arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States during the past 40 years. Each superpower knew that victory could only come at the price of destroying itself. Yet the arms race continued at a desperate economic cost to both.

To achieve a settlement both the NP and the ANC need to embark on a fundamental redefinition of the situation and of its adversaries — as the superpowers did at the end of the 1980s.

Should they fail to do so, the entire negotiations will become paralysed by intermediate issues such as whether the parties can trust each other, rather than focusing on the goal of attaining peace. □

Professor Giliomee teaches politics at UCT.

Star Oct 28

FW studies PF demands for all-party talks, interim govt —

Political Staff

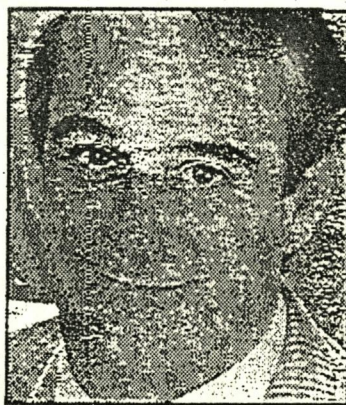
DURBAN — President de Klerk was today studying the demands made by the newly formed Patriotic Front in Durban at the weekend for an all-party conference within two months leading to an interim government and a constituent assembly.

He will meet members of the Ministerial Committee on Negotiations — comprising the four National Party provincial leaders — and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to work out the Government's position.

Government reaction to the PF demands came today from the National Party's information chief, Piet Coetzer MP, who said: "It is pity that the PF has apparently locked itself into rigid positions on some crucial matters that should be subjects for discussion and negotiation at a conference."

In a unanimously adopted declaration issued at the end of the historic three-day PF conference, the attending organisations said the all-party congress should be convened by independent and neutral conveners urgently.

Yesterday's declaration came after an earlier joint statement by co-conveners, the ANC and the PAC, saying



Piet Coetzer ... PF is locked into rigid positions.

a meeting should be held with the Government and other interested parties "within the next few weeks" to discuss the date, venue and convener of the all-party congress.

The ANC and PAC, which said the transfer of power "from the minority regime to the people" was the main objective of "the struggle", said the all-party congress's duties would be to work out the procedures of setting up a constituent assembly; work towards the creation of an interim government or transitional authority with sovereign powers; ensure the re-incorporation of homelands into South Africa; define the role of the international community in the transitional process and agree on the time frame to bring about a democratic order.

The PF pledged itself to ensure that the Government's unilateral restructuring of the economy was defeated. All the organisations vowed to create mechanisms for harmonising their approach to socio-economic transformation.

Condemning the introduction of VAT, the PF called on all South Africans to join the anti-VAT general strike on November 4 and 5.

Other resolutions passed at the conference included calls for:

- The Government to stop the violence in the country and to expel all "foreign mercenaries".
- The people to refuse "to become tools of the regime" in violence and a pledge that all peace initiatives, including the recently signed National Peace Accord, are fully implemented.
- The normalisation of relations between the people and traditional chiefs.
- The release of remaining political prisoners and the granting of general amnesty to all exiles.

It was also resolved that Inkatha, which was not invited because of its known rejection of a PF as "a gang-up against whites", was welcome to join if it would endorse demands for a constituent assembly and an interim government.

Peace team in hurry to start

The interim National Peace Secretariat appointed last week is expected to get down to work immediately. Although at least two more members have still to be announced, informed sources said the secretariat would move into offices very soon.

The secretariat's main task will be to establish a network of regional and local dispute-resolving committees.

The sources said even before the formal appointment of the secretariat, discussions had been held to establish dispute-resolution committees in flash-points. Yesterday Cosatu's Jeandra Naidoo, Inkatha's Suzanne Vos, National Party MP Gert Myburgh, and Transvaal Law Societies president Dr Antonie Gildenhuys were appointed to the secretariat.

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Grenade kills 6 at wedding X

DURBAN — Six people were killed and 12 seriously injured in an explosion at a wedding feast in Umbumbulu on Saturday night.

KwaZulu police say an unidentified man planted

an explosive device, believed to be a handgrenade, in a crowded room.

The blast was at the wedding celebration of Mbuzini Shoji. The motive for the attack is not known. — Sapa.

ANC and PAC could unite to fight the Nats

DURBAN — The patriotic front, bolstered by an unprecedented agreement between the ANC and PAC, could emerge as a single force to contest elections against an NP alliance.

United around the attainment of a constituent assembly as its prime objective, the ANC and PAC had begun a process that could see them fighting an election under a patriotic front banner, a front source said at the weekend.

Asked about the possibility of the two organisations merging, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said: "It's a desirable thing. We are making a start here. Depending on how far we move together, that will certainly arise at some stage."

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said: "If we consolidate properly and we find greater levels of unity, that idealised goal might very well be achieved."

It is understood that preliminary discussions have been held on the disbanding of the two organisations and the formation of a single party which would be backed by the trade unions.

PATRICK BULGER

Meeting in Durban with 90 other organisations, the ANC and PAC put aside the animosities that have divided them for three decades and agreed to engage government in all-party talks.

Moseneke said that while the front did not represent a merger of the two organisations, it would seek to pursue a common approach on central issues.

He said the November 4 and 5 anti-VAT strike would be the beginning.

The unity process should not be confined to the ANC and PAC, ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said. The patriotic front should reach out to other organisations and win them over. These are thought to include Inkatha, which was not invited to the conference, and Azapo.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo added a note of caution to the unity euphoria. He warned against "a super executive" which could paralyse the right of individual organisations to act outside of the front.

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Citizen Oct 28

Ciskei chiefs slam ANC residents' associations

Citizen Reporter

ANC-ALIGNED residents' associations should be disbanded because they had caused nothing but chaos, Ciskei chiefs said after a special meeting at the weekend.

The chiefs named actions by these associations which they said had led to the current violence in Ciskei. A resolution was passed that the associations be disbanded.

Values

"The status of the traditional leaders had been eroded, there was disrespect for the government, values had been thrown overboard and the ordinary lives of the peaceful citizens in Ciskei had been disrupted," the Ciskei Council of State said in a statement yesterday.

The meeting was called to discuss a wave of crime in Ciskei. Another topic was the impending visit to

Ciskei of ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The Ciskei Government had heard via the media of Mr Mandela's intentions to visit traditional leaders, but no formal approach had been made.

Channels

It was expected of Mr Mandela to inform the government "through relevant channels", and not through the media, if he intended to visit.

"Such a visit would be more valid if Mr Mandela would tell his supporters to stop burning, bombing, harassing and intimidating people who supported the government," said the Ciskei Council of State.

Concerned

The government was gravely concerned about ANC supporters who

were making life miserable and unbearable for loyal citizens.

There had been burning, destruction of houses, harassment and intimidation of chiefs, headmen and supporters of the recently reintroduced headman system in Ciskei.

COMMENT

Challenge

Citizen Oct 28

THE formation of a Patriotic Front by the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress is a serious challenge to the government.

What is happening is very much like the formation of the Patriotic Front between Zanu and Zapu in the Rhodesian bush war.

They stuck together until after the political settlement, when they fell part because of political differences.

We don't suppose for one moment that the ANC and PAC will remain together if they achieve their common aim of attaining a constituent assembly.

But for the present, they have sunk their differences in order to confront the government with a united front.

As ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the PF conference on Saturday, the leadership of the two organisations has agreed to act in a united way on issues where there is agreement between them.

Anyone who foolishly hoped that the big differences between the ANC and PAC (one settler, one bullet) would keep them apart was sadly mistaken.

They both want power for the people, and through the Patriotic Front they hope to achieve it.

The government faces a tricky situation.

The PF wants the holding "as soon as possible of an All-Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly meeting which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly, which shall effect the transfer of power."

One might think that the government will stand by its right and duty to convene the multi-party conference it favours, but it will be recalled that the State President's peace initiative failed because the ANC would not attend the conference called by him.

After that, the peace initiative was launched by church leaders and businessmen; the outcome was a limitation on the security forces under a peace accord that very much favours the ANC and its stance.

If the government allows the Patriotic Front to determine the agenda of the all-party talks, and who convenes them, then the PF will have won an important victory.

The PF wants the All-Party/Pre-Constituent Assembly meeting to deal with the principles on which a new constitution would rest, the method of drafting the constitution, meaning specifically a constituent assembly, and the installation of an interim government/transitional authority (the ANC favours the former, the PAC the latter), the role of the international community (as we predicted, the intention is to get the UN to supervise the election of the constituent assembly), the re-incorporation of the Bantustans, and the time frame for the various stages of the transitional process to ensure rapid progress.

If you read all this in conjunction with the final communique of the PF conference, you will understand that the PF is determined not only to take over the constitution making from the government but to get its way on a constituent assembly.

"The De Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate and totally discredited," it says "and does not enjoy the trust of all our people."

The PF insists on the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority which "shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, State media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation".

Do you understand why we have called the creation of the PF a serious challenge to the government?

Do you understand why we have frequently called on the government to toughen up its attitude towards the ANC and other forces opposing it?

If the government gives in to the demands of the PF, it may as well hand over the country now.

Cape Cosatu rally, SACP protest flop

CAPE TOWN — Two planned political protests — Cosatu's anti-VAT rally and the SA Communist Party's picket for political prisoners — were cancelled at the weekend, possibly an indication that support for protest action is on the wane in the Western Cape.

Yesterday Cosatu failed to draw workers to an anti-VAT rally even though Western Cape ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo and Cosatu assistant general-secretary Mr Sam Shilowa were billed to speak.

Cosatu regional secretary Mr Allan Roberts said the rally had not been well advertised and transport to the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone had been organised too late.

He also said the stadium was not well known to workers. Less than 100

people turned up while four Tramways double-decker buses and two traffic vehicles parked outside the stadium.

Asked where the speakers were, Mr Roberts said Mr Slovo was still at the Patriotic Front meeting in Durban and Dr Boesak and Mr Shilowa "were around".

The rally was to have "popularised Cosatu's campaign against the implementation of VAT, economic restructuring without consultation and other basic demands".

A picket for political prisoners which was to have taken place on Saturday was cancelled because SACP protesters backed by the ANC were not prepared to be arrested, SACP spokesman Mr Garth Strachan said on Saturday.

The organisers of the picket had municipal permission but not magisterial permission. — Sapa

Citizen Oct 28

Control of security forces demanded

THE Patriotic Front, in its statement yesterday after its founding conference, committed itself to a sovereign Interim Government/Transitional Authority "that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, State media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation.

It said it believed "that a democratic order can only be ushered in through a mechanism in which our entire nation elects by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly that drafts and adopts a democratic constitution which shall constitute the basis for unifying our divided and tortured land around a common patriotism."

It recognises the "De Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate, and totally discredited and does not enjoy the trust of our people".

It had "unilaterally embarked upon restructuring our economy and shaping our social life in order to perpetuate, in a new guise, the old social order based on White privilege and Black impoverishment.

The PF pledged itself to ensure that these designs shall be defeated; We demand that the regime takes such action forthwith and acknowledges it as no right to unilateral take such measures." The PF condemned the introduction of Value

Added Tax (VAT) and called upon "all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November and all other forms of united action on this and other issues".

The PF pledged to ensure that "all peace in-

itiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people, are fully exploited at every level of our community.

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent Assembly were free and fair, the PF insisted on the establishment of an Interim Government/Transitional Authority to "ensure that the De Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over State power and resources".

The PF demanded the holding as soon as possible of an All-Party Congress/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting (APC/P-CAM)", which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected Constituent Assembly which shall effect the transfer of power.

It resolved further that the "joint liaison committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-conference follow up as well as look into ways and means, in-

cluding the establishment of a consultative Forum and the convening of a further patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation, joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process."

The conference said that it was outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles," it demands that the regime complies with these requirements forthwith."

The statement concluded. "United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities and independence, we assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now; therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate our need to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate future, a truly democratic order in which non-sexism, non-racialism and

democratic majority rule shall be non-negotiable and be realised in practice.

"To this end, and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for united action and widening the areas of common understanding, and call upon our people, wherever they are, to join and engage in this process emanating from our conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself." — Sapa.

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Talks at end of November?

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — All seems now set for the proposed all-party talks at the end of

November.

There may, however, have to be immediate discussions between the government and the Pan

Africanist Congress, which has decided to join the constitutional negotiation process, about the arrangements for a first constitutional meeting, similar to discussions already held with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The PAC, however, may insist that the new Patriotic Front does the talking.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, told The Citizen yesterday the government would in due course make a studied response to the weekend's events, after it had received the full documentation from the Patriotic Front meeting.

He declined to comment before being fully informed on the Patriotic Front decisions.

Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party caucus chairman, who attended the Patriotic Front meeting together with DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, and others, as observers, said the decisions taken at the Patriotic Front meeting were "an important step towards negotiation on a new constitution."

"The statement issued after the Patriotic Front locks both the ANC and

Talks in November?

FROM PAGE 1

the PAC into the negotiation process. They jointly urge the calling of an all-party congress and as soon as possible," said Mr Eglin.

Before the Patriotic Front meeting in Durban, there was agreement during bilateral talks, between the government and the ANC and between the government and Inkatha, that an all-party meeting should be called before the end of the year.

A venue in the PWV area is expected, while there has been consider-

able speculation on a date during the week starting Monday, November 25. This will have to be by arrangement with all the parties involved.

At this stage Azapo is still outside the process. Its refusal to sit down with political groupings from within Parliament led to its excision from the Patriotic Front organising committee last week, although it appears the ANC and PAC will continue to exert pressure on it to participate.

One of the major hurdles facing the first meeting will be the question of a constituent assembly.

While parliamentary political parties, including the NP and the DP, want "legal and constitutional continuity" between the present government and the new government, the Patriotic Front has called for the creation of an interim government/transitional authority.

The Conservative Party and other Right-wing groups are still outside of the talks about talks. Dr Andries Treurnicht, CP leader, recently made it clear the CP would only participate in constitutional talks based on "self-determination" for the individual race groups.

TO PAGE 2

PF PUTS STRONG DEMAND TO GOVT

**What
the PF
wants:
Page 2**

DURBAN. — The African Nationalist Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined forces in a united Patriotic Front and gave notice it would settle for nothing less than a democratically elected constituent assembly.

The unity achieved means the PAC will enter the negotiation process as

a member of the Patriotic Front

The talks or discussions with the government to finalise details for formal all-party talks will begin within weeks.

Claiming to represent 15 million South Africans at its historic three-day founding conference, PF leaders said the "overwhelming weight of our

TO PAGE 2

PF puts strong demand

FROM PAGE 1

people's call for it will be so immense that the government will have no choice in it".

The new unity, subject to a retention of individual integrity and independence on issues on which differences remain, represents a major development.

The broad consensus reached in debate and expressed in a final declaration at the conference now puts the ANC and PAC at the head of a powerful negotiating alliance.

This strength was stressed repeatedly, although the conference was as frequently reminded that the government was not likely to capitulate with ease.

However, delegates

and the leaders constituting the convening liaison committee were clear in their resolve, as PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke put it, that the negotiating process would take as long as Mr F W de Klerk's government refused to accept a constituent assembly.

The call for a constituent assembly formed the common ground on which compromise was achieved.

It became apparent that the ANC and PAC had worked hard for pre-conference agreement on the contentious issue of all-party talks and an interim authority.

By combining their differing terminology by naming the two an All-Party Conference/Pre-Constituent Assembly Meeting and an Interim

Government/Transitional Authority, and adding some subtle shifts in emphasis, the convenors carefully steered delegates to agreement.

Their major triumph, although gained with some trauma among PAC delegates, was to see their plans gain broad enough support from the floor to sweep objectors into the unity net.

On the issue of all-party talks, the conference faced its most daunting challenge.

The PAC had to shift the most ground to turn away from its rejection of talks with the government, and leaders were at times forced to placate angered delegates at impromptu meetings held in the hotel garage during breaks.

In return, the PAC ob-

tained special assurances that its primary objective, the calling of a constituent assembly, would be put beyond compromise.

The result was the 600-member conference, representing 92 organisations, visibly grew in unity.

A second PF conference was called for within six months, and the members of the new front pledged themselves to draw in those who were not present, especially Azapo, which dropped out of the convening team and the conference after a controversy over who should be refused attendance.

The convening liaison committee was empowered to remain in office and to pursue the front's objectives. — Sapa.

Citizen Oct 28

DURBAN — The PAC will join the ANC at a meeting with government to be held "within weeks" to finalise the date, venue and convenor of an all-party conference on constitutional negotiations.

The patriotic front, formed after a meeting attended by 92 organisations, said in a declaration yesterday it wanted such talks as soon as possible. The talks would convey the front's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly, the latter elected on a proportional basis.

The front's two major components, the ANC and PAC, agreed at the weekend that

the PAC would in future be involved in constitutional talks aimed at securing a constituent assembly. It called for a sovereign interim government with control over the security forces, the electoral process, state media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as international participation in the transition process.

All-party talks should be brought together by "independent and neutral conveners as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected constituent assembly which shall effect the transfer of power".

PATRICK BULGER

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday other meetings with government had been planned, to which the PAC would now accompany the ANC.

Closing the conference, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu called on government to abandon its role as the "supreme manager" of the transition. He said the NP had not yet come to terms with the concept of democracy and that it was not worthy of acting as referee in the negotiations.

"We call on government to stop resisting

the overwhelming demand for a constituent assembly elected on the basis of one person, one vote," Sisulu said.

The conference, observers said, represented a victory for the ANC which had finally brought the PAC around to its way of thinking on talks with government.

When the conference opened, the PAC was insisting that only the PAC and ANC confront government as a single patriotic front. However, the ANC had persuaded the PAC to allow a multiplicity of parties and interest groups to put forward their own ideas at a forum at which the NP

would be just one of the participants.

PAC president Clarence Makwethu said it was important that those parties not represented in the front be brought into it. Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Tertius Delpont told SABC's Agenda last night government was heartened that SA parties could at last move towards a multiparty conference. But it was concerned that many points for debate at such talks had been pre-empted by the firm line adopted by delegates to the patriotic front meeting.

Business Day Oct 28 1991

PF agrees on talks agenda

THE Patriotic Front conference yesterday agreed on an agenda for all-party talks which will be presented to the government within weeks.

Talk within the conference in Durban, which was attended by 70 organisations, was that the first all-party talks would take place in the last week of November.

The conveners of the conference, the ANC and PAC, reached agreement on the all-party talks agenda at a lunchtime meeting behind closed doors.

Role

The decision to call early talks represents an important breakthrough in efforts to form a united front to face the government in negotiations. The PAC had previously refused to enter into negotiations with the government.

Parties at the PF conference agreed that the agenda of the first all-party meeting should include:

- Constitutional principles;
- An interim authority;
- Re-incorporation of the homelands;
- The role of the international community;

EDYTH BULBRING: Political Reporter

- Time frames for transition;

- The method of drafting a constitution — meaning, specifically, discussions on a constituent assembly.

The PF agreed that the all-party talks should be convened by an independent body. The ANC and PAC will hold discussions to decide on a convener before meeting the government.

The parties at the PF undertook to present a united front against the government at the first meeting on matters on which they had reached consensus.

They also agreed a constituent assembly should be an elected body with

sovereign powers as far as decisions on drawing up a constitution were concerned.

Elections for a constituent assembly should take place on the basis of one-person, one-vote on a proportional representation basis.

Agreement was reached on broad principles for an interim government.

The PF is expected to issue a declaration today on a common position to be used as a guideline in forthcoming all-party talks.

The main elements of the proposed transitional arrangements are:

- The interim government would have control over security forces, electoral processes, the SABC

and defined areas of finance and the Budget;

- The interim arrangement would last 18 months during which the present parliament and government would dissolve;

- The interim government would not administer discriminatory laws;

- International involvement in monitoring transition.

Despite opposition from the PAC, all sessions at the meeting have been open after a request by Cosatu.

The majority felt organisations did not trust the present government to oversee the transition.

ANC NEC member Mohamed Valli Moosa told the conference that apart from political change, socio-economic issues also needed to be addressed.

Sunday Times

Oct 28 1991

Inkatha's 'struggle' was marred by intimidation

IT WAS interesting to read what Mr Ntsele Mahlasela had to say about the IFP being involved in a "peaceful struggle" (Sunday Times, October 13).

I am not a member of any political organisation

and the events I refer to were witnessed by hundreds of residents in Madadeni and Osizweni.

The local labour organisations were disrupted by the IFP in 1986 without any justifiable reason. Houses were petrol bombed and workers

attacked with so-called traditional weapons.

The small industries operating in Madadeni, which pay wages far below the headline, are the so-called foreign investment brought in by the IFP leaders.

When workers of these

factories protest against exploitation, they are suppressed with traditional weapons.

The IFP stands only for the interests of the businessmen in KwaZulu.

At an Inyanda Chamber of Commerce meeting in Mashona, one speaker, a

member of Parliament in KwaZulu, said:

"Inkatha is a useful weapon in our (the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce's) hands. We must make sure it will stop the ANC from taking power. We must never allow the ANC to nationalise our businesses.

"The poor people in KwaZulu are our source of income. We must make sure it stays that way."

I had heard such words when I was a secretary of the Youth Brigade in 1977. I resigned because I am a poor man's son.

I did not join the ANC because the two are identical. But for Mr Mahlasela to say the IFP struggled peacefully is not entirely correct.

It has acted peacefully against the government, but extremely violently towards black people in KwaZulu. — SGONYA BUTHELEZI, Osizweni.

Sunday Times Oct 28 1991

Civil servants' rights will be protected: Min

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The government will ensure that the job security of civil servants is entrenched in a new constitution, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development, said in an article in the SA Communication Service monthly publication, SA Policy review.

He was responding to uncertainty among the

civil servants, following the announcement by the ANC that it intended to send some of its members abroad to be trained in State administration.

Dr Viljoen said the position of the civil service and civil servants was defined in existing legislation. The government had given an undertaking that it would protect the reasonable interests of civil servants during the

transitional phase.

The State President also said that the government will ensure that the impartiality, professionalism and the job security of the civil service would be entrenched in a new constitution, he added.

"The government will therefore not accept a new dispensation in which reasonable provision for job security for members of the civil service is not embodied".

Dr Viljoen admitted this issue had the potential for a situation of deadlock, but this was the case with many points of dispute during the negotiation process.

"There are various issues which must be negotiated and about which the different parties strongly disagree with each other. But the mere fact that they are prepared to negotiate indicates that they want to seek solutions," said Dr Viljoen.

Cape Cosatu rally, SACP protest flop

CAPE TOWN — Two planned political protests — Cosatu's anti-VAT rally and the SA Communist Party's picket for political prisoners — were cancelled at the weekend, possibly an indication that support for protest action is on the wane in the Western Cape.

Yesterday Cosatu failed to draw workers to an anti-VAT rally even though Western Cape ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak, SACP general-secretary Mr Joe Slovo and Cosatu assistant general-secretary Mr Sam Shilowa were billed to speak.

Cosatu regional secretary Mr Allan Roberts said the rally had not been well advertised and transport to the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone had been organised too late.

He also said the stadium was not well known to workers. Less than 100

people turned up while four Tramways double-decker buses and two traffic vehicles parked outside the stadium.

Asked where the speakers were, Mr Roberts said Mr Slovo was still at the Patriotic Front meeting in Durban and Dr Boesak and Mr Shilowa "were around".

The rally was to have "popularised Cosatu's campaign against the implementation of VAT, economic restructuring without consultation and other basic demands".

A picket for political prisoners which was to have taken place on Saturday was cancelled because SACP protesters backed by the ANC were not prepared to be arrested, SACP spokesman Mr Garth Strachan said on Saturday.

The organisers of the picket had municipal permission but not magisterial permission. — Sapa

Citizen Oct 28

16/1/14

Full text of goals of the PF summit

Sowetan 28 OCTOBER 1991

THIS is the full text of the declaration adopted at the Patriotic/United Front Conference held in Durban from Friday to yesterday:

We, women and men, together as equals assembled under the banners of political, labour, women's, religious, youth, professional, sports, cultural and business formations as well as organisations of traditional leaders; experienced in diverse ways of engaging in the struggle against apartheid and minority rule; repositories of true democratic values and champions of human rights in our country, gathered together in this conference of the Patriotic/United Front in Durban on 25-27 October 1991.

Reaffirming our commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, nonsexist, democratic, unfragmented and unitary country; recognising that through struggle our country has reached a point where transfer of power from the white minority regime to the people as a whole now, is the most urgent necessity of struggle; convinced that the De Klerk regime cannot be, and is not the agent of democratic change; resolved together to seize this moment in history to ensure the speedy establishment of national democracy.

Believing that a democratic order can only be ushered in through a mechanism in which our entire nation elects by proportional representation on the basis of universal suffrage, a constituent assembly that drafts and adopts a democratic constitution which shall constitute the basis for unifying our divided and tortured land around a common patriotism; recognising that the De Klerk regime is illegal, illegitimate and totally discredited and does not enjoy the trust of our people, and that it has unilaterally embarked

upon restructuring our economy and shaping our social life in order to perpetuate, in a new guise, the old social order based on white privilege and black impoverishment; pledging ourselves to ensure that these designs shall be defeated; we demand that the regime ceases such action forthwith and acknowledges it has no right to unilaterally take such measures; condemn the introduction of Value Added Tax and call upon all our people to support and participate fully in the national strike on the 4th and 5th November 1991 and all other forms of united action on this and other issues.

Noting further that the violence raging throughout our country today has been initiated and sponsored by the apartheid State, including the use of foreign mercenaries, and that it has the power to stop it, we demand that it does so forthwith.

Further that there should be the immediate and verifiable expulsion of all foreign mercenaries from our soil; call upon our people to refuse to become tools of the regime, assert our inherent desire for peace and take all measures to contain and eliminate the violence which constitutes a prime obstacle to the establishment of a genuine democratic order.

Accordingly pledge to ensure that all peace initiatives, including the Peace Accord, aimed at assisting in securing peace among our people are fully exploited at every level of our community; sharing the agony of those in sorrow over their dead and injured and searching for their lost ones and concerned that the violence has rendered our women and children the main victims of the carnage; call for the normalisation of the relations between our people and our

traditional chiefs.

Commit ourselves, side by side with our people, to bring peace by all means at our disposal including helping in the creation of self-defence units and embarking upon programmes to assist the victims of violence.

Now therefore:

In order to ensure that elections to the constituent assembly are free and fair we insist upon the establishment of an interim government/transitional authority to ensure that the De Klerk regime does not preside over or manipulate the transition through the misuse of its de facto control over State power and resources; commit ourselves to a sovereign interim government/transitional authority that shall at the very least control security forces and related matters, the electoral process, State media and defined areas of budget and finance, as well as secure international participation

DEMAND the holding as soon as possible of a all-party congress/pre-constituent assembly meeting which shall be brought together by independent and neutral convenors as a necessary mechanism to set into motion the process leading to a democratically elected constituent assembly which shall effect the transfer of power

CONFIRM

Our common understanding that the APC/PCAM shall underwrite the constitutional principles, find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly, realise the establishment of the IG/TA, ensure the re-incorporation of the bantustans, define the role of the international community and agree upon the time frame to bring about a democratic order.

Resolve further that the joint li-

aision committee established by the co-convenors of this conference be maintained to facilitate post-conference follow-up as well as look into ways and means, including the establishment of a consultative forum and the convening of a further Patriotic/United Front Conference within six months in order to involve all the organisations gathered here today into closer consultation, joint action and the drawing in of formations still outside this process.

Outraged at the failure of the regime to fully comply with the demand, endorsed by the whole international community for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and for general amnesty for all exiles:

That the regime complies with these requirements forthwith; and pledge to campaign for the immediate realisation of these aims.

United by these common positions, maintaining our separate identities and independence, we assembled at this Patriotic/United Front Conference now therefore, separately and collectively, dedicate ourselves to intensify the struggle on every front and every terrain to realise, within the immediate future, a truly democratic order in which nonsexism, nonracialism and democratic majority rule shall be non-negotiable and be realised in practice.

To this end and acknowledging that there remain areas where consensus among us still needs to be reached, we pledge ourselves to continue our search for united action and widening the areas of common understanding, call upon our people wherever they are to join and engage in this process emanating from our conference to create a nation that will be at peace with itself. - Sapa.

16/1/14

PF takes off

SOWETAN 28/10/91



ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu (left) chats with Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday during the final day of the Patriotic Front conference in Durban.

94 groups ready to tackle Government

NINETY-FOUR organisations yesterday adopted a declaration to demand an interim government and an end to National Party rule.

The organisations took the pledge at the end of the three-day Patriotic Front Conference in Durban.

The groups, hosted by the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress, committed themselves to the establishment of an interim government or transitional authority which would control security forces, the electoral process, State media and the defined areas of budget and finance.

They resolved to demand the urgent holding of an all-party congress and/or pre-constituent assembly meeting to be brought together by independent and neutral convenors, which in turn would lead to an elected constituent assembly.

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**
Political Staff

The constituent assembly should be the only mechanism to effect the transfer of power to the majority.

Furthermore, the APC/PCAM would underwrite the constitutional principles and find the modalities for drawing up the constitution through the constituent assembly.

The agreement to establish the interim government or transitional authority is considered a milestone in the politics of the liberation movement and a major unifying factor between the ANC and PAC.

This process, it was decided, would ensure the re-incorporation of homelands, define the role of the international community and set a timetable for the establishment of a democratic order.

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16/1/11

It's a turning point, says Joe^x

MERCURY 28-10-91

Political Reporter

SENIOR members of the PAC, ANC and other groups came away with positive impressions of the decisions taken at the patriotic front conference at the weekend.

SACP general secretary Joe Slovo said the conference would be seen as a turning point in South African history.

"When we look back historically, it will have been a watershed in the liberation side of the struggle. The degree of togetherness which was displayed augurs well for the coming battles in the terrain of negotiation," he said.

PAC general secretary Benny Alexander said the conference "went well beyond the expectations of our friends, our detractors and ourselves."

"The real test will lie in the manner in which organisations will work together with accountability and trust, and strength of commitment and purpose on joint issues," he said.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, an ANC NEC member and constitutional expert, de-

scribed the conference as an "overwhelming success".

"There were 16 political parties or organisations among the 92 groups — these were from inside Parliament, the homelands and extra-parliamentary organisations. They are all now committed to joint action on negotiations."

Mr Murphy Morobe, an ANC national executive committee member said: "Given the history of the ANC and the PAC it is a major achievement to thrash out our similarities and differences in a period of three days."

A statement issued by Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party national chairman, said the conference was "an important and constructive step in the process of negotiating a new constitution for South Africa".

He said it would be possible to create a constructive relationship between the DP and the patriotic front on the issue of developing a new constitution.

Izinqumo ezithathwe engqungqutheleni

OLUNDI. - Ezinqumweni ezithathwe engqungqutheleni yabesifazane beNkatha Freedom Party (IFP), kunxuswe wonke amaqembu ezombusazwe nazozonke izinhlangano zemiphakathi ukuba zehlukane nokuzigaxa ezenzweni zendluzula futhi kusetshenziswe uhlobo lokuzithoba oluyovimbelwa ukuba badonseleke endluzuleni abangazange bayihlele ngokwabo.

Kubuye kwanxuswa uMongameli wezwe, uMnuz. F.W. de Klerk namalungu eKhabhinethi yakhe aqondene nokuphepha kwezwe kanye nokugcinwa kokuthula, ukuba benze konke okusemandleni ukukhalima indluzula.

Lombutho unqume nokuba:

* Unxuse imiphakathi evinjezelwe yindluzula ukuba manje izwakalise ukudinwa kwayo nokuba ithathe indlela ezodala

ukuthula;

* Ukunxusa abaholi be-ANC ukuba bahlakaze uMkhonto weSizwe futhi bakhombise uhlobo lokuzivikela oluyoholela ekubeni abalandeli babo babeke phansi izikhali ngoba bethanda iSouth Africa;

* Ukunxusa wonke amalungu abesifazane ukuba asifunde isiVumelwano sokuThula sikaZwelonke nokuba aqhuba umyalezo ezingeni lasekhaya lapho umsebenzi wokudala ukuthula kufanele uqale khona ngokwempela;

* Banxuse bonke abahleli bamaphephandaba nezintatheli ukuba zisebenzise ubuhlakani obukhulu ngenhloso yokugwema ukusakaza imibiko eyinzwabethi beyisakaza njengamaqiniso, okuyinto eyandisa ukwesaba neholela endluzuleni.

Sanctions should stay, church body recommends

CITIZEN OCT 28

CAPE TOWN.

There should be no general lifting of sanctions against South Africa until violence was controlled and agreement reached on an interim government, representatives of local and international churches said in a major policy statement.

The document, known as the Cape Town Statement, is the outcome of a four-day conference held under the auspices of the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches.

It also called for the establishment of a peace-keeping agency with representatives of all major political groups, for a general amnesty for political prisoners and exiles, and for restitution for Black people who lost land and opportunities under apartheid.

The statement said the churches welcomed those political changes that had taken place.

Financial and other sanctions had contributed to these changes and continued to play an important part in bringing about political change, it said.

"Our concern is that any further lifting of sanctions would stall the negotiation process by eliminating the pressure needed to ensure political transition.

"It is our firm belief that the time for the lifting of all sanctions has not yet come.

"For that to happen, violence must be controlled and there must be agreement on an interim government and a democratic constitution.

"Premature action on the lifting of sanctions would render less effective the sacrifice made by so many over the years."

University of Cape Town theologian Prof Charles Villa-Vicencio, one of the drafters of the statement, said the document did not discuss details of what sanctions could be lifted when because, he believed, "the church was not competent to make these decisions".

"There are more capable people in political and economic circles to make these decisions. We are not talking specifics. We are talking principles, and the fundamental principle of this conference is the need for continued pressure to ensure that negotiations stay on track, to ensure that the baby is born."

The statement said reconstruction in SA would be increasingly undermined if the endemic violence in the country was not controlled.

In co-operation with the National Peace Accord, and independently, churches should engage in monitoring, reporting and exposing the perpetrators of violence.

"Because the SA Police are either unable or unwilling to deal fairly and firmly with the reports of violence that have been referred to them, a peace-keeping agency consisting of representatives of all major political groupings is urgently required.

"An international monitoring mechanism ought also to be considered," it said. Sapa.