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AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION

**OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL**

Don Nkadmeng, B.Luris ; LL.B
1st Floor Oribl House
20 Vorster Street
P O Box 3124
PIETERSBURG 0700
South Africa

Tel . & Fax No. 01521 - 915983 (Intern. 027-1521-915983)

Our Ref: D Nkadmeng

Your Ref: P J Gordham

1992-05-12

Chairman
Codesa Management Committee
World Trade Centre
KEMPTON PARK
1619

Dear Sir

Fax No 011-397-2211

INVITATION TO ATTEND AND PARTICIPATE IN CODESA II : 15-16 MAY 1992

Receipt of your invitation to attend and participate in CODESA II is hereby acknowledged.

In response to the invitation, Azapo wishes to bring the following to your attention :

1. The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the whole Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) believe that there is always a peaceful option in the resolution of national conflicts. In the particular situation of Azania, our peaceful option is a matter of public record, but for your information -
 - 1.1 Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), respectively the internal and external political flagbearers of the BCM, will engage the present minority regime in only those negotiations that will lead to the transfer of both
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political and economic power from the white minority to the majority of Azanians.

1.2 Such negotiations must -

1.2.1 take place at a venue outside this country;

1.2.2 be presided over by an impartial mediator; and

1.2.3 have a specific Agenda which includes

- * the resignation of the regime
- * the quarantine of the regime's armed forces
- * the setting up of a transitional authority, and
- * the modalities of a Constituent Assembly

1.2.4 be guaranteed by an international organ like the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation.

2. The present negotiations through Codesa, to which your invitation relates, are not likely to result in the transfer of power to the majority of our people, more particularly because -

2.1 the present minority regime is both a player and a referee in the present negotiations

2.2 the absence of an independent guarantor means that any party to the present negotiations may renege from any agreement arrived at

2.3 the regime and its creations, in the form of bantustans and tri-cameral parties are over-represented and dominate the process

2.4 except for the vague mandate obtained by the National Party in March 1992, none of the other 18 parties has a mandate to negotiate as they do

2.5 the discredited bantustan leaders and their tri-cameral colleagues, and especially the soldiers, are not likely to abandon what they now have in favour of a democratic system that will ensure their permanent exit from politics

2.6 Azapo is in favour of a two-sided negotiations table, with the oppressed facing the oppressor, instead of a 19-sided table where proposals come in their dozen. No forum can succeed in these circumstances

2.7 Codesa does not address, nor is it its intention to address, the genuine revolutionary demands of our people, eg the return of the land, the redistribution of wealth, nationalisation or socialism, all of which are indispensable for lasting peace and democracy in this land

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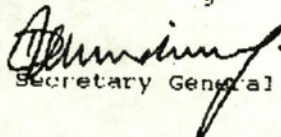
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In the light of the foregoing, Azapo and the BCM do not believe that the necessary shift in power relations in our country can be effectively addressed through the mechanism of CODESA, and consequently your invitation that Azapo participate in CODESA II is hereby accordingly declined.

Yours sincerely

Don Nkadameng



Secretary General

AZAPO

Die Herstigte Nasionale Party van Suid-Afrika

Pretoriusstraat 1043
Hatfield, Pretoria. 0083
Posbus 1868
Pretoria. 0001
Telefoon: 342-3410
Faks: 342-3417

HNP

12 Mei 1992

Mnr P J Gordhan
Voorsitter: Bestuurskomitee van Kodesa
Faks 397-2211
JOHANNESBURG

Geagte mnr Gordhan

Dankie vir u uitnodiging aan die HNP om Kodesa 2 by te woon.

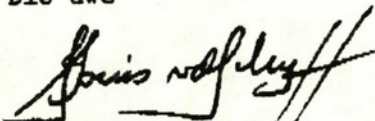
Die HNP sal egter nie van die geleentheid gebruik maak nie. Ek het opdrag om u soos volg mee te deel:

1. Die HNP kan hom nie vereenselwig met Kodesa se Deklarasie van voorneme nie.
2. Die HNP beskou Kodesa as n gevorderde stadium van vredesonderhandelings tussen die Regering en die ANC-SAKP wat reeds sedert 1986 plaasvind, en waarby die HNP en ander partye se deelname nie gevra was nie. Die belangrikste aspekte van n voorgestelde konstitusionele orde is dus reeds deur hulle bepaal, soos een onverdeelde Suid-Afrika en n stemregtelike stelsel van een mens, een stem, wat uit beginsel deur die HNP verwerp word.
3. Die HNP is oortuig dat die konsep van n eenheidstaat met n oorkoepelende sentrale regering oor n veelheid van rasse- en etniese groepe tot mislukking en rampspoed gedoem is, soos die voorbeelde van Nigerië, Ciprus, Indië, die Sowjet-Unie en Sentraal-Europese State bewys.
4. Die feit dat die ontwerpers en beplanners van, en deelnemers aan, Kodesa hierdie historiese werklikhede verontagsaam, dui daarop dat daar n behepthed met ideologiese vooringenomendhede is tot uitsluiting van realisme. Kodesa is in dié sin n tussenspel om aan die reeds ooreengekome slotsom die skyn van n onderhandelde ooreenkoms te gee.

Hierdie beskouing steun op feite soos mnr Harry Schwarz, SA se Ambassadeur in die VSA, se verklaring dat Suid-Afrika binne twee tot drie jaar n Swart regering sal hê; en Staatspresident, mnr F W de Klerk, se erkenning aan mnr John Major, Britse Eerste Minister, dat mense uit Suid-Afrika sal emigreer liewer as om te leef onder n Swart regering wat pas met mag beklee is; en ook die verklaring van n adjunk-direkteur van n staatsdepartement, mnr Len Dekker, dat die nuwe Suid-Afrika nie net n Swart president sal beteken nie.

In die lig hiervan is "onderhandeling" weinig meer as politieke tydverdryf.

Die uwe



L J VAN DER SCHYFF
HOOFSEKRETARIS