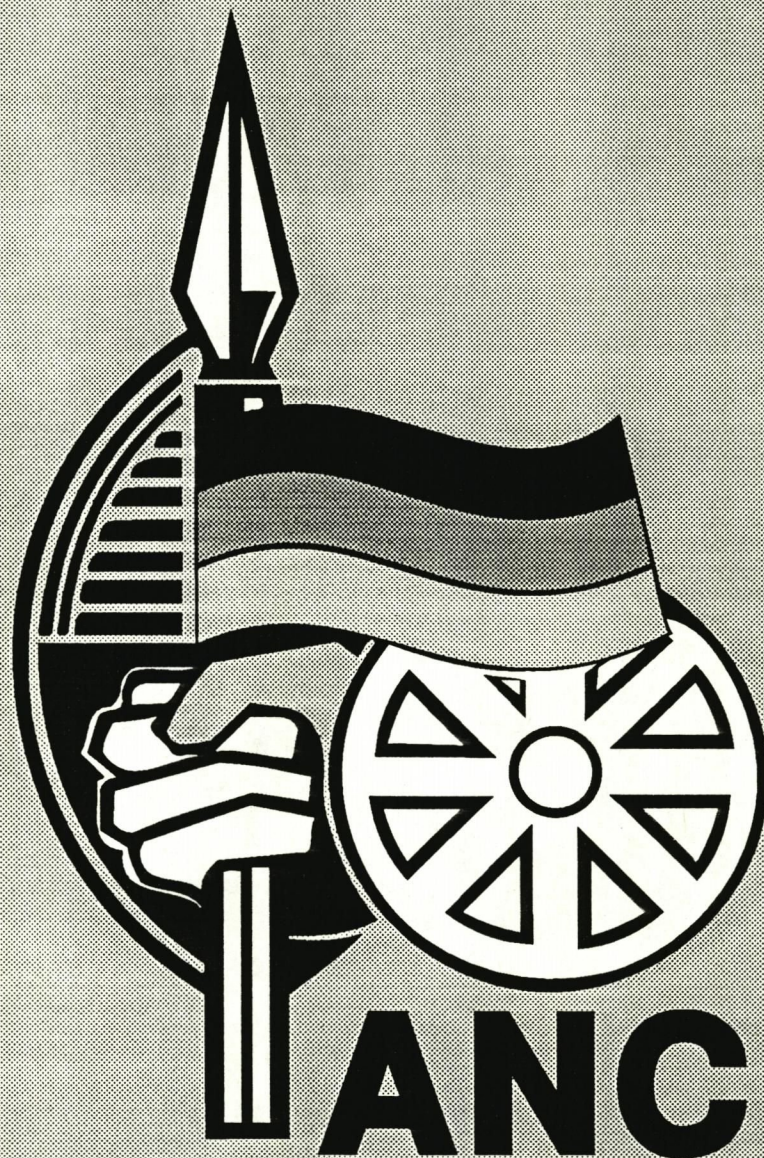


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FOCUS ON CODESA



19 DECEMBER 1991

Aggrieved Buthelezi won't attend but..

Codesa ready to roll

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

A DECLARATION of intent will top the agenda at this weekend's historic inaugural meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

The two-day convention, which starts tomorrow, will be at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg.

The declaration will lay the ground rules for future negotiations of a political dispensation for a new South Africa.

An early setback, however, is the refusal by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi to attend the convention in a dispute over his insistence that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini

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be invited to Codesa separately from the IFP and the KwaZulu government.

The Codesa media committee yesterday also released the agenda for the convention as well as a logo and poster showing a rising sun against a blue and red sky.

Media committee member Saki Macozoma refused to comment on the demand by the IFP to send more than one delegation to the convention.

Buthelezi's statement last night did not indicate whether the IFP would also withdraw from the talks.

It is understood senior IFP officials were discussing the issue with Buthelezi, spokeswoman Ms Sue Vos said yesterday.

Vital

The KwaZulu leader said it had been shown how vital the king and his government's role were in attaining peace and stability in the country.

"Now some wish to refuse them representation, which is rightfully theirs, on all the matters pertaining to the future of South Africa and the Zulu king.

"The king and KwaZulu are a vital part of the South African reality and will have to be afforded the full status of negotiating partners," he said.

Tomorrow's proceedings will be opened at 10am by Chief Justice Corbett. This will be followed by prayers to be delivered by religious leaders of various faiths and denominations.

Justice Corbett will then hand over the reigns of the convention to the co-chairmen, Mr Justice Mahomed and Mr Justice Schabert.

See Pages 8, 14 and 20

Codesa preparations go full-steam ahead

PREPARATIONS for the first meeting next week of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) are going full-steam ahead, according to a statement yesterday by Codesa.

Under the direction of a Steering Committee formed by the preparatory meeting for Codesa, 60 temporary staff are making arrangements to accommodate 240 official delegates, 100 advisers to delegates, 200 support staff for delegates, 30 international observers with staff, 45 heads of for-

eign missions, 160 Codesa staff and at least 200 media representatives.

The meeting takes place on December 20 and 21 at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

Preparations for the milestone convention include building a Press gallery, installing a sound system and lighting suitable for television, and seating facilities for the delegates, their advisors and guests.

Dining rooms, restaurants, closed-circuit

television, media interview rooms, a media centre with a conference area, and offices for delegations and their staff are among other facilities being prepared.

A special Codesa logo and podium backdrop is to be released to the media on Tuesday, December 17.

The three task groups set up by the Steering Committee to facilitate arrangements are to meet on Tuesday to get report-backs from technical management committees. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

14/12/91

Stage set for crucial talks on charting SA's future

THE GOVERNMENT'S total monopoly of State power is beginning to slip from its grasp as high-powered South African and international delegations gather for the Friday and Saturday meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which will start to determine the country's future.

"It is in Codesa that the future government will be determined," ANC sources are now saying, for the first time conceding that the reform process is irreversible.

"Codesa is going to make it impossible for the Government to refuse to hand over power to a democratically elected government."

"We are beginning to see what irreversibility really means," one senior

**PETER FABRICIUS
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT**

Government official said.

As heavyweight delegations from five international organisations and about 20 political parties and homeland governments begin to assemble for Codesa, elements in the Government began to get jittery about the implications.

Codesa rekindled the the Government's perennial sensitivity about its sovereignty when the Commonwealth announced a high-level delegation including a former national president and several former foreign ministers to observe Codesa.

And it became clear that all the South African parties to Codesa were

according it the necessary gravity by sending their top people.

President de Klerk will lead the Government delegation which includes only one member not in the Cabinet. The NP delegation led by Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers includes three other Cabinet ministers.

The ANC is still to announce its team, but it is sure to be led by Nelson Mandela and to include other heavyweights such as secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The Labour Party will be led by its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and Solidarity by its lead-

● TO PAGE 2.

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er Dr J N Reddy.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was expected to announce its delegation last night. It is becoming clear that Codesa will be the sort of crucial gathering that no one wants to miss if they can help it.

Apart from about 20 political parties and homeland governments, it now seems that the Zulu king and other tribal leaders may also send delegations.

But in a major disappointment, the CP and other right-wing organisations have all refused to attend.

For the first time the ANC — hitherto sceptical about the Government's intentions — is expressing confidence that the momentum to a new democratic constitution is irreversible.

This week the Codesa secretariat set up office in the World Trade Centre at Jan Smuts Airport where the December 20 and 21 conference will be held. And in intense behind-the-scenes negotiations in a plethora of committees, the ANC and other parties have been trying to persuade the Government to make a formal commitment to implement the decisions that Codesa makes.

There is pressure to go further by insisting

that Codesa itself should draft the legislation that will give legal force to its own decisions. Confidence is expressed that this move will succeed.

Several parties would like the commitment to become part of the declaration of intent which all parties to Codesa make at the start of the first meeting.

This could be the most crucial aspect of the first meeting as it could irreversibly set in train the further unfolding of negotiations.

The declaration is also likely to include a commitment to aim at attaining broad constitutional principles.

This will be the main business of the first meeting, which is then likely to break up into working groups to thrash out issues such as the nature of a transitional government, the type of forum to negotiate the constitution.

These committees could report back to a second Codesa plenary meeting late in February or early March which could take the key decision — whether or not an elected constituent assembly will draft a new constitution.

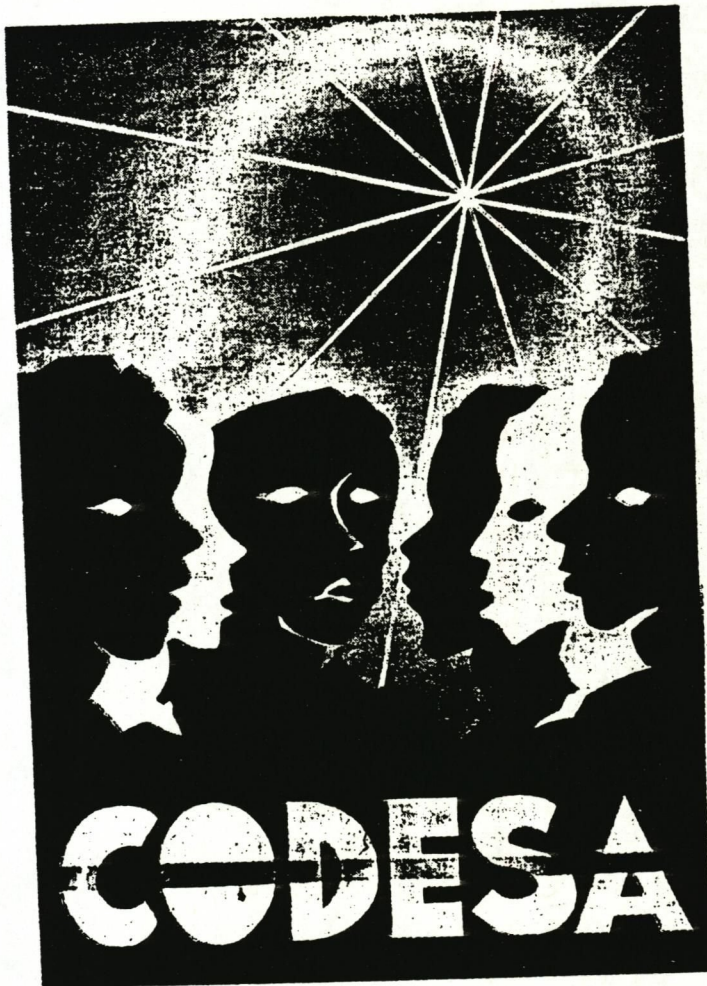
Once this is resolved, the momentum to a new government ought to be fast — with ANC leaders predicting a new constitution in six months.

SATURDAY STAR

14/12/91

C • O • D • E • S • A

3 Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) logo, which was unveiled yesterday. It symbolises hope, energy, light and life.



This symbolic poster, depicting profiled Black and White faces, against a rising sun, is a miniature of the backdrop against which Codesa participants will speak. • Pictures by Doug Lee.

'Dawn of new era'

CODESA'S symbolic logo — a rising sun against a bright yellow and red background — was revealed by organisers yesterday.

Codesa media sub-committee spokesman, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, said the bumper-sticker-size logo symbolised the

dawn of a new era in South Africa's history.

"The rays of the sun are seen as neutral — it shines for all people no matter what prejudices exist," he said at a Press conference at the World Trade Centre.

The blue letters of the word Codesa are printed boldly across the logo.

A symbolic poster — three profiled Black and two White faces, also against a rising sun — was also revealed.

The posters, commissioned from a different, as yet unnamed artist, were a miniature of the backdrop against which speakers at Codesa

Symbolic

FROM PAGE 1

would make their speeches.

Mr Macozoma said the logo symbolised hope, energy, light and life, all of which were necessary ingredients for the success of the future democratic and non-racial South Africa which was envisaged.

The design company for the logo was given the following brief to take into consideration:

- South Africa was undergoing a process of change;
- For the first time different parties and organisations which had

never co-operated before were sitting down to negotiate a common future;

- Something new was being born out of the womb of the old;

- A bright future awaited the successful conclusion of the process;

- The majority of South Africans were anxiously awaiting the outcome of successful negotiations;

- The process was meant to be an inclusive one; and

- The most preferred route for reaching decisions at Codesa was consensus. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

19/12/91

TO PAGE 2

Two problems for Codesa

SUNDAY TIMES 15/12/91

POLITICAL parties were this weekend locked in intensive discussions to resolve two remaining obstacles to a successful launch of South Africa's second national convention next week.

The issues that have not been resolved are:

- Inkatha's insistence that the Zulu king be allowed to participate in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa);

- An ANC proposal that all parties, including the government, commit themselves to abide by decisions taken by Codesa and that the convention establish an implementing mechanism to draft the text of all legislation necessary to give effect to decisions of Codesa.

A solution to the first problem, at present being discussed, centred on issuing invitations to all tribal kings and chiefs to attend Codesa as observers.

Dispute

The second obstacle was proving more intractable.

The government objected to the ANC's proposal for an implementing mechanism on the grounds that it was a backdoor attempt to introduce an interim government. Its draft declaration of intent made no provision for an implementing mechanism.

A sub-committee consisting of Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, the ANC's Feroz Cachalia and one other has been appointed to try to resolve the dispute.

A government spokesman said the resolution of the problem lay in defining what was meant by "sufficient consensus" — the manner in which decisions were taken by Codesa — without creating the impression that some parties were

By MIKE ROBERTSON
Political Correspondent

more important than others.

The spokesman said rather than stipulate that Codesa itself draft legislation, government believed a process similar to that followed in setting up the peace secretariat should be followed. This involved the parties agreeing on what course of action to follow and government drawing up the required legislation.

However, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday that it was important that all parties, especially the government, committed themselves to abiding by decisions taken by Codesa and also to giving legal effect to those decisions. It was vital that Codesa had an implementing mechanism.

He rejected suggestions that this could be construed as bringing about an interim government through the back door.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC believed that Codesa should have a relatively short lifespan and that the first non-racial elections flowing from agreements reached at the convention should take place within 12 months. An interim government should be in place by next year.

Mr Ramaphosa rejected recent suggestions by some government members that the transitional period last for several years. The ANC believed that this would hinder economic progress.

Asked to comment on the significance of next week's convention, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said: "It will be another important and momentous development in the whole process ... it is not the beginning of the process — February 2 was. But it is a significant and historic moment and, from our point of view, we are glad to have reached this stage."

● See Page 29

SUNDAY TIMES 15/12/91

Codesa set to kick off 'real work' this week

David Breier
Political Correspondent

THE REAL work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) will only begin after this week's two-day opening session near Johannesburg, say sources close to the convention.

As the steering committee, with its three task groups, completes its work in the next few days, predictions are that Codesa has a strong chance of agreeing on some form of interim government as early as the second half of next year.

President F W de Klerk will have his back to the wall at Friday's milestone democratic convention, after dramatic political developments wrenched the negotiating initiative away from the Government this week.

Observers

In the first jockeying for position at Codesa, a high-profile audience — including a top-level Commonwealth delegation and UN and OAU observers — will hear Mr de Klerk's opponents tearing into the Government for its continued covert funding of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its judicially discredited policy to permit IFP-style Zulu traditional weapons.

Calls for an interim government, made in the international spotlight, will undoubtedly add to the nervousness of a Government already reported to be jittery about the implications of Codesa: that the process is irreversible.

Suggestions that Codesa, itself representing some 20 parties, could become the interim government have been largely dismissed by insiders. In addition, there is scepticism about proposals that Codesa will be given statutory powers.

Codesa decisions will be by "sufficient consensus" and will need the support of the Government and NP delegations.

"Sufficient consensus" is being defined as "a majority sufficient to permit Codesa to continue with its work" — which means at least the participation

of the Government and Nat delegations and the ANC.

Sources involved with Codesa agree that the Declaration of Intent, at present being drafted by one of the task groups for ratification at the launch on Friday and Saturday, will be framed in general terms in order to be widely acceptable.

The proposed declaration will also commit Codesa to a constitution-making body and interim government measures, but the wording will be carefully drafted to avoid giving offence to the main players, which have different positions on these issues.

The Declaration of Intent is likely to be a "motherhood-and-apple-pie" document aimed at achieving maximum common ground at the launch and avoiding divisive wording.

The hard bargaining will only begin in the approximately half-dozen working committees to be announced at Codesa.

Meanwhile, it was announced yesterday that Nelson Mandela will lead the African National Congress' delegation to Codesa.

Ramaphosa

The other members of the team are secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, MK commander Joe Modise, central committee members Mohammed Valli Moosa, Sam Shilowa, Barbara Masekela, and Marion Sparg; Western Cape ANC chairman Allan Boesak, ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope, and the Youth League's Peter Mokaba.

● The PAC is holding a two-day consultative congress in Cape Town, which will decide whether the PAC continues as a participant in Codesa or not.

The deal being offered by PAC leadership to its activists this weekend is that the PAC will participate in Codesa on the strict condition that they guarantee their bottom line will remain — that only an elected constituent assembly can draw up a new constitution.

Sunday

Star 15/12/91

Codesa's decisions 'not legally binding'

By Sapa and
Martin McGhee

ALL parties to the Codesa meeting starting tomorrow have accepted the convention's resolutions would not be legally binding,

National Party delegation leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers, announced yesterday.

"That issue has been resolved," he told an NP Press conference at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport, where

the two-day convention on working out a future democracy for South Africa will take place.

"However, as a compensation, there is a commitment that all parties will commit themselves to do whatever is in their

power and authority to implement the Codesa resolutions," Dr De Villiers said.

"All parties will have a moral obligation to imple-

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'Decisions not legally binding'

FROM PAGE 1

ment any decisions and to work towards implementation by Parliament. The government cannot, in supporting any Codesa resolution, bind Parliament in any way."

President De Klerk had given a commitment that any major changes to the constitution would be tested by referendum, and any mandate from Codesa would always be with that proviso.

The National Party would say in its statement of intent that it was committed to democracy in South Africa.

"But the agenda will always be open to new items for discussion and debate. The interim government is an important part of that agenda, but Codesa cannot unilaterally take the decision to introduce such a government," Dr De Villiers said.

Dr De Villiers dismissed suggestions that Codesa would be merely a talking shop.

"The commitment of all parties is very clear ... the whole process is irreversible, and we have to arrive at a new dispensation.

"I am convinced the sheer weight of the process will carry us forward."

NP secretary-general and senior delegation member, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "A talking shop is where people get together to get rid of a lot of hot air, without any consequence.

"If agreements are reached at Codesa, they will be of consequence, even if they are not legally binding."

It was spelt out earlier, on the prospect of an interim government emerging from Codesa, that this was not possible without major constitutional amendment through Parliament.

"An interim government is very different, but interim arrangements could be done without constitutional changes," Dr De Villiers said.

The NP delegation emphasised repeatedly that it was attending Codesa as a separate entity to the government even though Cabinet Ministers were in the National Party group.

The government would be speaking up, for example, if responsibility for the security forces was discussed. It did not matter that both Ministers of

Law and Order and Defence, Mr Hernus Kriel and Mr Roelf Meyer, were part of the NP delegation.

Dr De Villiers said the government was in charge of the day-to-day running of the country, in terms of the present constitution, whether people liked it or not, and its presence at Codesa as a separate entity, carrying this responsibility, was vital.

The NP could, for example, support an idea without considering the financial implications of implementation, but the government would have to advise on this.

Dr De Villiers also stressed that Codesa was seen by the NP as the beginning of a process, via negotiations and consensus, towards a new dispensation for South Africa.

It was a matter of regret that Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, other Right-wing groups, and also those on the Left, such as Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress, still refused to participate in Codesa.

The convention's doors would, however, remain open to these groups, and the NP would vigorously defend their right to state

their views even though his party might disagree with these.

On the CP specifically, Dr De Villiers said: "It will not help to solve our problems by belittling Codesa, with over 20 parties representing a large proportion of South Africa.

"I would like to hear his (Dr Treurnicht's) views, and hope he will reconsider his position, and take up the opportunity of Codesa to state his views and argue his case.

"By standing aside, they risk the danger of being eventually left out in the cold, passed by history and blamed by their children one day for not having taken the opportunity to state their case."

Dr De Villiers said the ideal would have been to have 100 percent participation in Codesa, but it was a reality that the complexity and diversity of South Africa made this impossible.

"The issue is whether the majority should be held back by smaller elements.

"But we in the NP will continue to endeavour to get more people to take part. The doors remain open."

CITIZEN

19/12/91

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Codesa

WE are pleased that all parties to Codesa have accepted that its resolutions will not be legally binding.

This statement by the leader of the National Party's delegation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, should reassure those people who believed that making Codesa's resolutions binding would be a dangerous development, since it would mean that Parliament, in effect, would be sidetracked.

According to Dr De Villiers, as compensation all parties would commit themselves to do whatever was in their power and authority to implement the Codesa resolutions.

But we are not as pleased by other aspects of the deal that has been struck.

The controversy began with ANC president Nelson Mandela insisting that the government gives an undertaking that decisions by Codesa be given legal force.

If the National Party refused, there would be no further progress, he said.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, rejected Mr Mandela's demand, saying this would indirectly amount to a suspension of the constitution and would create a constitutional vacuum.

Codesa would have no constitutional or legal status.

Any legal implementation of Codesa decisions would have to take place according to the normal constitutional route, through the legislature and the organs of government.

"Obviously where parties agree at Codesa, this would imply that as far as it is in their power, they will implement them through the proper legal and institutional channels.

"But it is inconceivable that they can automatically acquire legal or binding force."

However, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the general secretary of the National Party, said in a

later statement that the government would not shirk its responsibility to promote any changes in legislation "that may be necessary" if it agreed to do so at Codesa.

Sources in Codesa's Steering Committee last night said that all parties had agreed a Declaration of Intent, to be adopted at the end of Codesa's two-day deliberations on Saturday, would "politically and morally" bind the participants.

The ANC would effectively recognise the government and sovereignty of Parliament.

Codesa would be empowered, through the declaration, to work on draft texts of changes to the constitution, which could then be enacted by the necessary majority in Parliament.

No wonder Mr Mandela appears to be in a buoyant mood after the deal that has been arrived at.

The ANC will get its way provided it can achieve "sufficient consensus".

For its part, the government will have to abide by the decision even if it is not part of that "sufficient consensus".

Moreover, any constitutional changes drafted by Codesa will have to be put through parliament because the government will be morally obliged to do so.

The ANC is also demanding an interim government, followed by a constituent assembly, which would be elected by universal suffrage and which would draw up the constitution, as happened in Namibia.

The interim government, it says, must be in place by the middle of next year and should last 18 months before elections.

No doubt the ANC hopes to get Codesa to agree, by "sufficient consensus", to these demands as well.

Meanwhile, with observers from the Commonwealth and United Nations, both pro-ANC organisations, on the scene, the pressure on the government to follow the route chosen by the ANC will be all the more intense.

It is for these reasons that we warn the government to take great care that it does not land in a situation in which it has to give in, one by one, to the ANC's demands.

If that were the case, it might as well allow Codesa and the ANC to put it out of business right now.

Buthelezi quits over snub to king

Codesa given go-ahead to draw up laws

GOVERNMENT agreed yesterday that Codesa would be involved in drafting all legislation needed to give effect to convention decisions, steering committee sources said.

This and other key issues were resolved during yesterday's steering committee meeting.

But just as it seemed that all systems were go, with parties expressing their satisfaction at the progress, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced he was withdrawing from Codesa because the committee had failed to reach agreement on Inkatha's demand that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini have his own delegation.

Buthelezi said the committee's inability to reach a decision on the king's participation amounted to an insult to his dignity.

"I simply cannot endorse this by attending Codesa with the knowledge that the king has been snubbed," he said.

LINDEN BIRNS reports that Inkatha, however, decided that, as a party, it would remain in the talks despite its leader pulling out. The decision would go before a meeting of the full Inkatha delegation today.

Steering committee chairman Zach de Beer had said last night the committee had been unable to resolve the issue of the Zulu king's participation in Codesa and he would thus not be an active participant.

In reaction to Buthelezi's announce-

BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN

ment, De Beer said later he had not been informed.

"I think it is a pity that Dr Buthelezi will not attend. He is a leading SA figure and it would have been nice to have him, but Codesa is much bigger than all of us and it must continue."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation regretted Buthelezi pulling out but there had been agreement that any issues that could not be resolved in the steering committee would be referred to the Codesa plenary tomorrow. The ANC expected Buthelezi to abide by this decision.

Defence Minister and member of the NP delegation Roelf Meyer said: "It is a great pity that he will not be there personally, because of the importance of Codesa. It is very disappointing."

Yesterday the steering committee agreed to recommend to Codesa that an implementing mechanism be set up to meet the ANC's demand that decisions of Codesa be given legal force. It was also decided that a working group, with government involvement, would be given the task of drafting legislation for Codesa.

After a Codesa plenary session agreed to draft legislation, government would be

□ To Page 2

B/DAY 19/12/91

Viljoen rejects Mandela's demand

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

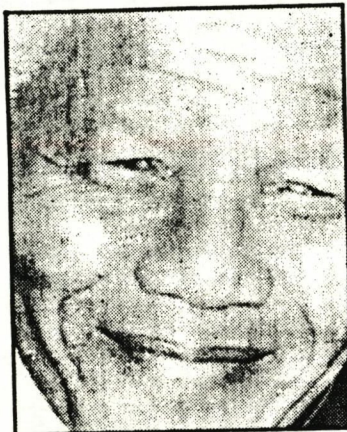
The Government yesterday firmly rejected ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand that automatic legal force be given to the decisions of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

This would indirectly amount to a suspension of the constitution and would create a constitutional vacuum, Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen told The Star.

He strongly criticised Mr Mandela's remarks, made at an Umkhonto we Sizwe rally in Soweto on Sunday. Mr Mandela said he would insist that the Government give an unequivocal undertaking that decisions taken at Codesa be given legal force.

Mr Mandela said that if the NP refused to accept the ANC's demand that Codesa's decisions be legally binding, there would be no further progress.

Dr Viljoen said he was disap-

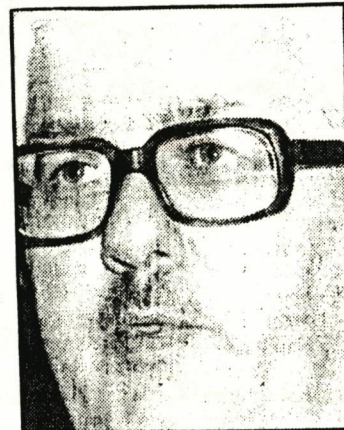


Nelson Mandela . . . has called for Codesa's decisions to be legally binding.

pointed at the "insensitive and inopportune" way Mr Mandela had made a public issue of a sensitive matter which was going through the final stage of negotiations this week.

Dr Viljoen said Codesa would have no constitutional or legal status. It was a coming together of political parties whose agreements could acquire no automatic legal status.

Any legal implementation of



Dr Gerrit Viljoen . . . ANC proposal would create a constitutional vacuum.

Codesa decisions would have to take place according to the normal constitutional route, through the legislature and the organs of Government.

"Obviously where parties agree at Codesa, this would imply that as far as it is in their power, they will implement them through the proper legal and institutional channels.

"But it is inconceivable that they can automatically acquire

legal or binding force."

Dr Viljoen said the Government had accepted all along that the present constitution had to be replaced. But until a new constitution was implemented, the present one had to remain in force.

ANC sources have expressed fears that a "gentleman's agreement" by the Government to implement Codesa decisions would be inadequate.

They charge that the Government "distorted and delayed" such gentleman's agreements in the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

They now want a formal undertaking from the Government — probably in a declaration of intent at the start of this week's first Codesa meeting. They also want the Government to agree that Codesa itself should draft — although not pass — legislation to effect its decisions, to ensure the decisions are not distorted in the process.

Dr Viljoen said the question of the status of Codesa decisions was being discussed in committees this week and he was confident a compromise would be found.

STAR 18/12/91

Legal status for Codesa not possible says Viljoen

THE planned Convention for a Democratic South Africa has no legal status, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

He was reacting to a comment by African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela on Monday that the ANC would insist that all decisions taken at the forthcoming Codesa talks be given legal force.

In his reaction to Mandela's comment Viljoen said:

"It is a pity that Mandela has raised a delicate matter in public on which parties are still negotiating. This is an issue which cannot be negotiated through the media.

"Codesa is not a body which has legal status in terms of public law.

SOWETAN

18/12/91

Binding force

"It is a coming together of political organisations. Codesa's agreements cannot of themselves have legally binding force.

"The only way in which this can happen is through the present constitutional structures of Parliament."

The call for the representation of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus at the inaugural meeting of Codesa this weekend continues to be a thorny problem.

The steering committee of Codesa met yesterday to discuss, among other things, the demand by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that the Zulu king be represented by 12 men.

Five kings

Entering the fray, Transkei's military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday if Buthelezi's demand was acceded to Transkei's five kings should also be allowed 12 representatives each.

In an apparent bid to defuse the row, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday traditional leaders should be allowed to attend Codesa as observers "in the interest of unity".

Meanwhile, the formation of an anti-Codesa front gained momentum this week after the Pan Africanist Congress' decision to withdraw from the convention.

Codesa

□ From Page 1

obliged to put this to Parliament, to vote into law.

Because most parliamentary parties — apart from the CP — would be involved in drawing up the legislation through Codesa, it was likely Parliament would pass it.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday the ANC and government/NP had resolved the question of the legality of Codesa decisions and agreed it could not be regarded as a legally constituted body with the force of law.

Government also agreed to a clause binding it to do everything in its power to have Codesa decisions implemented.

A source said government faced the threat that if it did not reach agreement on an implementing mechanism, this would be raised on the open agenda at Codesa and be debated before the international community.

The implementing mechanism and other major agreements, including broad constitutional proposals, will be enshrined in the declaration of intent, which all parties agree is one of the most important documents that will emanate from Codesa.

The steering committee also decided to recommend that five working groups be established to negotiate critical areas for the way forward. These are:

- Creation of a climate for free political participation and the role of the international community;
- General constitutional principles and a constitution-making body, such as a constituent assembly;
- Transitional arrangements and an interim government;
- The future of the TBVC states; and
- Timeframes and the implementation of Codesa decisions.

Another key issue agreed to by the parties was a set of standing rules for negotiation at Codesa. Among these was a definition for decision-making.

NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said consensus was the basis of decision-making and if all parties did not agree,

then sufficient consensus to ensure the process "moving forward effectively" would be employed.

It is understood mechanisms for arbitration, mediation and bilateral negotiation have been included in case there is serious disagreement preventing progress.

Before the steering committee had completed its discussions on the participation of the king, Inkatha released an "interim Press statement" which said Inkatha could not accept being put in a position in which it could be interpreted that it had "endorsed the elbowing out of the Zulu king and the Zulu nation from participating in shaping a new SA".

At the preparatory meeting at the end of last month, it was decided that only political parties or organisations would be invited to Codesa as delegates.

Yesterday the committee decided also that religious leaders would not be included even in an observer role at tomorrow's meeting. But they may be called upon as specialists later in the process to give specific input.

De Villiers said this had been decided because it would have meant trade unions, business organisations and other interest groups would also have to be included, and this would have become unmanageable.

Mixed security teams would also be a feature of tomorrow's meeting. A security committee has been set up which includes representatives from the ANC, Inkatha, Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, among others.

The parties also agreed in the statement of intent to leave a door open for parties that have refused to attend Codesa. It makes provision for participating parties to add items to the agenda for debate.

Van der Merwe said the democratic principle of defending any party's right to debate and put forward proposals was being adhered to by Codesa in the hope that the CP, PAC, Azapo and others wanting to join still could, and have their proposals given fair treatment.

B/DAY 19/12/91

Govt, ANC locked in talks to decide on status of Codesa decisions

GOVERNMENT and the ANC were locked in talks last night to resolve their opposing positions on the status of decisions to be taken at Codesa.

Indications were that they would be able to reach some form of consensus.

The parties are due to report on this issue, and the question of how decisions will be arrived at, at a meeting of Codesa's steering committee today.

The main point of contention arose in the task group preparing Codesa's statement of intent. The ANC wanted enshrined in it that Codesa would establish an implementing mechanism (which would include gov-

ernment) to determine the procedures and draft the texts of all legislation necessary to give effect to Codesa's decisions.

The ANC does not want any body, including Parliament, to overrule Codesa decisions. It is prepared to accept that Parliament passes all legislation because this is the body with constitutional and legal power. Government is concerned that this would amount to a suspension of the constitution and create a constitutional vacuum.

Yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela and rejected his demand that automatic legal force be giv-

BILLY PADDOCK

en to the decisions of Codesa.

He criticised Mandela for raising "a delicate matter in public on which parties are still negotiating". Codesa's agreements could not be legally binding; the only way this could happen was through the present constitutional structures of Parliament.

However, he said that any organisation party to any of the agreements would "be duty bound to — as far as it is within their power — implement those agreements or promote their implementation".

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der

Merwe issued a similar statement last night, saying the NP would be honour-bound to promote any necessary changes in legislation.

Mandela and the ANC insist this is not enough and claim unless such a mechanism is put into effect, Codesa risks relegation to a "mere talking shop" or leaving its decisions to be interpreted by government officials. It says this is what happened with the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes.

"People were ecstatic that exiles would return and political prisoners would be released, only to find later ... there were certain conditions and interpretive deci-

sions made that were not clear at the negotiations," constitutional committee member Albie Sachs said.

One ANC source said the ANC was not trying to prevent Parliament from carrying out its functions, but was insisting the drafting of legislation be done jointly to avoid unnecessary problems.

He said all parties in Parliament except the CP were represented at Codesa so there would be no usurping of Parliament.

The task group dealing with decision-making has decided to recommend to the steering committee today that all deci-

□ To Page 2

Codesa

sions are taken on the basis of sufficient consensus to ensure the negotiating process continues.

Meanwhile, Mandela called last night for all the highest-ranking traditional leaders to be involved in Codesa and attend the proceedings as observers. This would include Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini. Apparently, Inkatha and its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi have agreed that observer status be accorded to traditional leaders.

□ Sapa reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht called yesterday for an imme-

diately suspension of Codesa and warned that the agenda for a majority government in a unitary SA would suppress the white minority to such a degree that it could lead to unprecedented bloodshed.

Reiterating his stand that his party would not attend the talks, he said the entire negotiation process would have to be restructured — and that the starting point for talks would have to be the autonomous rights of nations.

● Comment: Page 6

□ From Page 1

B/DAY 18/12/81

STAR 18/12/91

New Govt position on Codesa

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The Government has agreed to commit itself to abide by decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa which meets on Friday to start negotiating a new constitution.

This important decision was taken at a Codesa task group meeting yesterday.

After some tough bargaining over the last week, the Government agreed to the commitment, which will form part of a declaration of intent made by all parties at Codesa.

It is understood that the Government only agreed to the commitment to abide by Codesa decisions after the

task group agreed yesterday to a decision-making mechanism for Codesa which would, in effect, give the Government a veto right. It agreed that Codesa decisions would be taken by "sufficient consensus" — meaning sufficient agreement to prevent a breakdown of Codesa.

Continue

As Codesa cannot continue without Government participation, the agreement in effect gives it a veto right.

Agreement, however, was not reached at yesterday's task group on how decisions taken at Codesa would be implemented.

The ANC proposed that all

participants at Codesa, including the Government, jointly draft legislation to implement decisions.

It feels this is necessary to prevent the Government "distorting" Codesa decisions in the process of drafting them as legislation.

According to some sources the Government does not accept this, largely because it believes such a decision would detract from the sovereignty of Parliament.

But a Government source said he believed the Government did not have a fundamental objection to Codesa formulating legislation to submit to Parliament.

However, Parliament as the sovereign institution

● To Page 3

New Govt position on Codesa

● From Page 1

would have to approve the legislation finally, and so Codesa decisions would not have automatic legal force as ANC president Nelson Mandela demanded on Monday.

Constitutional Development Minister Gerit Viljoen sharply rejected this idea and said it would undermine the constitution.

Government sources

believe this problem could be resolved — possibly in time for today's Codesa steering committee meeting.

However, other parties believe the question of a mechanism to implement Codesa decisions will not be included in the declaration of intent and will be negotiated in later Codesa meetings.

Late-night lobbying continued yesterday after another Codesa

task group failed to reach agreement on the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for a role for the Zulu king at Codesa.

The ANC and other parties have agreed to the king attending, provided he is only an observer and that paramount chiefs of other tribes also attend with the same status.

● More reports
— Page 8

ANC to speak first at Codesa, govt last

THE African National Congress will make the first opening remarks, and the government the last, on Day 1 tomorrow of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa at the World Trade Centre.

The agenda for the two-day meeting was released by Codesa yesterday.

Starting at about 10 am, Chief Justice Michael Corbett will open the convention and hand over to co-chairmen Mr Justice Piet Schabert and Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed, after prayers.

Opening remarks by delegation leaders will follow, with each speaker limited to 15 minutes.

The order will be alphabetical, with the organisations' names in English. The ANC will be first, and the RSA Government last.

For the remainder of Day One, a Declaration of Intent will occupy the delegates.

Because of the 10 am start, there will be no morning tea break, and there is no specific evening cut-off time.

Day two on Saturday will begin with consider-

ation of standing rules, followed by the formation and terms of reference of working groups.

Discussions will continue until the end of the convention on The Way Forward, including administration, starting dates for working groups, and the next plenary meeting of Codesa.

A Declaration of Intent continues to be discussed by the Codesa Steering Committee and it is possible it will be released late tomorrow.
— Sapa.

CITIZEN

19/12/91

ANC-NP row brews over Codesa powers

ANC president Nelson Mandela's demand that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa should have legal power drew separate statements of protest from two senior National Party sources yesterday, setting the scene for a public squabble days before the multi-party meeting takes place on December 20 and 21.

First the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, insisted in a statement that decisions taken at Codesa would have no legal status. He said only Parliament could implement legally binding changes.

Mr Mandela's earlier comment that the ANC would demand legal status for Codesa drew criticism from Dr Viljoen: "It is a pity that Mr Mandela has raised a delicate matter in public on which parties are still negotiating."

Dr Viljoen said Codesa was "a coming together of political organisations". The forum could have no legal status in terms of public law.

But he added, organisations party to agreement at Codesa would "obviously . . . be duty-bound — as far as it is within their power — to implement such agreements or to promote their implementation".

His views were supported in a later statement by the NP's secretary general, Dr Stofel van der Merwe.

"Firstly it is regrettable that such demands are made in public when

the very issue of the status of agreements reached in Codesa is a subject about which negotiations are currently in progress.

"This creates the impression that the ANC and its allies are attempting to manipulate public opinion on certain matters before those matters have been properly discussed in the appropriate forum," Dr Van der Merwe said.

He promised the NP would not shirk its responsibility to promote any changes to legislation "that may be necessary" if it agreed to do so at Codesa.

Codesa consisted of all the major role players in the political field — "therefore it can never be just shop talk. It has a unique and crucial role to play".

— Sapa.

CITIZEN 18/12/91

Codesa will have say in law-making

By Peter Fabricius
and Esmaré
van der Merwe

In a far-reaching move, the Government agreed yesterday to give Codesa — the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — a role in drafting legislation to give effect to Codesa's decisions.

This critical agreement will give real teeth to Codesa's multiparty negotiations for a new constitution.

However, both ANC and Government sources stressed that this would not impinge upon Parliament's constitutional sovereignty as legislation would still have to be tabled and passed by Parliament. The breakthrough — a concession to the ANC, which wanted Codesa's decisions to have the force of law — was achieved after a day of hard bargaining at the Codesa steering committee yesterday.

Feverish activity to thrash out political disagreements and make final arrangements for Codesa continued yesterday.

The high-powered Commonwealth delegation arrived and the Codesa administration announced that members of the OAU and European Community delegations would start arriving today. The United Nations and the Non-Aligned Movement are also to attend.

The commitment to abide by Codesa's decisions and to agree on a mechanism for implementing them will form a major part of a declaration of intent to be made by 19 political parties and homeland administrations at the first Codesa meeting.

The declaration will include a commitment to broad democratic principles such as multiparty democracy and an independent judiciary. However, it is understood that the Government

will make a separate commitment, phrased slightly differently but with the same meaning.

The declaration will ensure that Codesa — the most representative constitutional gathering in South African history — will launch the country irrevocably on the road to a new democratic constitution.

The steering committee agreement to give Codesa a role in drafting legislation to implement its decisions went a long way towards satisfying the ANC demand that Codesa should be more than just a "talk shop".

However, in an important compromise to the Government's concerns about its sovereignty being undermined, the steering committee agreed that the SA Government and the TBVC administrations would jointly draft Codesa legislation with Codesa itself.

Undivided

Detracting from the general mood of agreement between the parties, Bophuthatswana government delegate Rowan Cronje said after the steering committee meeting that his government would not be bound by any Codesa decisions which affected the homeland's existence.

It is understood that the statement of intent clearly spells out that South Africa would be a unitary and undivided country.

Government sources also made it clear that its commitment to abide by Codesa decisions was only made possible by the steering committee's decision that Codesa decisions should not lead to a breakdown of Codesa.

This will in effect give the Government — and the ANC — a veto right.

And National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe stated clearly at a press conference yesterday that there was another proviso to the NP's commit-

ment to implement Codesa's decisions.

He said it was subject to approval by the white electorate in the referendum which President de Klerk had promised if major constitutional changes were planned.

Yesterday it was also agreed that the Government, the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the IFP, the Transkei government and the Intando yeSizwe Party of the Kwa-Ndebele homeland government should be given joint control of the security force to protect Codesa delegates.

However, Government sources said a private understanding had been reached with the other parties that in the event of an emergency, only an SAP officer could give commands to other policemen.

The Codesa administration also released the Codesa logo — a rising sun against a bright yellow and red background — and said this symbolised "the dawn of a new era in South Africa's history".

The symbol was accepted as politically neutral, it said.

The administration also released the agenda for Codesa.

The meeting will start with an official opening by Chief Justice Michael Corbett, and then prayers, before co-chairpersons Mr Justice Piet Schabert and Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed take over.

The heads of the 19 delegations will make opening remarks, and then the declaration of intent will be considered.

On Saturday, Codesa will discuss its standing rules and the formation of working groups to discuss major issues such as an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The last item on the agenda will be the way forward, including the date and venue for the next plenary meeting of Codesa.

STAR

19/12/90

Pik won't comment

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday refused to comment on the validity of the forthcoming convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in the light of decisions by various Left- and Right-wing parties not to take part in the historic meeting tomorrow and Saturday.

He was speaking shortly after visiting Zambian Vice President Levy Mwanawasa, who is recuperating in a private Johannesburg clinic after he was involved in a serious car accident in Zambia.

"It would have been better if they participated. To which extend it (the parties' absence) will affect Codesa's legality I do not wish to comment."

"The time has come to forget our antagonisms of the past. If Codesa can

move us forward then I hope that such a forward move will encourage the others to join us," said Mr Botha.

He said it would be "a pity" if the parties did not attend as all leaders at Codesa wanted them to.

On reported discussions on the formation of an anti-Codesa forum or so-called reconstituted "Patriotic Front" of organisations opposed to the convention, Mr Botha said he hoped such plans would not be executed.

"It will serve no useful purpose.

"I sincerely hope that the leaders attending this important convention will find it possible to achieve consensus on the important matters facing us," he said. — Sapa.

• See Page 13.

CITIZEN

19/12/91

SOWETAN

17/12/91

ANC will rule within two years says Ramaphosa

THE African National Congress will rule South Africa within two years, a top official of the organisation said at the weekend.

In a British Broadcasting Corporation radio interview, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said apartheid would end soon.

"We would expect that the nightmare of apartheid will end fairly soon and within two years we will have a government of the people," Ramaphosa said.

Addressing a meeting on Sunday, he said constitutional talks with the South African Government could quickly reach a stalemate and "other means" might be needed to force the

Government to capitulate.

Ramaphosa, Mandela's right-hand man in the talks that start on Friday, said serious differences would arise once substantive issues were addressed next month.

"The apartheid regime will want to frustrate the aspirations of our people," he told the Transvaal Indian Congress, an ANC ally.

"But there are certain issues on which there can be no compromise," he said, citing the ANC's demands for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

"Our people as a whole must be in a position of readiness to engage the apartheid regime in all forms. The real

negotiations are not going to be at the table, they are going to be in broader society."

Ramaphosa said talks so far with the Government and other parties including the Inkatha Freedom Party had gone smoothly because they dealt mainly with procedural matters.

"Comrades, the conflicts are going to emerge in January when the real negotiations start, when we are going to see that Government leaders have plastic smiles.

"I have never been able to vote in my life. I want very much to be able to vote for a constituent assembly by December 1992," he said. - *Sapa-Reuter*.

Government must be bound to Codesa: Slovo

IF the government was not bound by the decisions of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, participants would be wasting their time and Codesa would

be reduced "to a talkshop," Mr Joe Slovo warned yesterday.

Codesa could also not become an interim government or a constituent assembly, he said. It could only help facilitate them.

"We're on the eve of the most important moment in our history, and we must not waste it," Mr Slovo said in an exclusive interview with Sapa in his office at the African National Congress headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Slovo, national chairman of the South African Communist Party, will participate in Codesa as a member of the SACP delegation.

However, he is also a member of the ANC's national executive committee and of the ANC's negotiating commission.

Mr Slovo has participated in every round of talks to date with the government, and is considered to be a key negotiator within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

In the interview he clearly spelt out the alliance's negotiating position, including the "non-negotiables", what the absence from Codesa of certain organisations and parties meant, and what exactly the alliance expected from the government/National Party alliance.

"The gravity and the solemnity of the occasion must be understood by all ... because if Codesa fails, South Africa fails, and all its people will be the losers.

"We enter upon Codesa in the spirit that we can

succeed in launching the process for a new future.

But whether it does so or not is not written in the stars," Mr Slovo said.

"The alternative to Codesa is just continuing chaos and violence.

"If the government does not act on the agreements entered into at Codesa, if it is not bound by those decisions, then we're all wasting our time." — Sapa.

SACP announces its Codesa team

Citizen Reporter

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) yesterday announced its delegation to attend the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Headed by its general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, the delegation also comprises national chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, Mr Essop Pahad, Mr Blade Nkomo, Mr Thenjiwe

Mtintso, Mr John Gomo, Mr Moses Mayekiso, Mr Nozizwe Madlala and Mr Skenjana Roji.

The 12 members will be accompanied by advisors Mr Raymond Suttner, Mr Gwede Mantashe, Mr Faku Ndamase, Mr Howard Yawa and Mr Dipuo Mvelase.

At the same time the SACP said it condemned the war talk that some organisations had engaged in lately, which illustrated intent on the part of such forces to disrupt peaceful negotiations.

CITIZEN

19/12/91

Give Codesa legal force — Mandela

THE ANC will insist that the government give an undertaking that decisions made at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) be given legal force.

This was said by the ANC's leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, at a rally marking the 30th anniversary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

He said Codesa was the hope of all South Africans, and the ANC and other political parties were working harmoniously to bring about democracy and peace.

The ANC was working with organisations in and outside Parliament to "stop the slaughter of innocent people and make South Africa a happy country".

"We urge all South Africans to unite in the demand for the immediate installation of an interim government of national unity and the election of a constituent assembly.

"The interim government would result in the lifting of financial sanctions and would help our South African economy to recover."

He said he had never found as much unity among all South Africans, including the National Party, on the need for democracy and peace.

"Codesa will succeed because all the people of South Africa stand behind us."

If the NP refused to stick to the ANC's demand that Codesa decisions be legally binding, there would be no further progress.

"Codesa will not become a talk shop or a propaganda platform, but a serious discussion to solve the problems of South Africa immediately.

"It is not only the view of the ANC but the other participating organisations not to tolerate delaying tactics in the resolution of our country's problems."

Speaking about the role of traditional leaders within the Black community, Mr Mandela said that since 1912 the ANC had maintained respect for traditional leaders. In an apparent reference to the king of the Zulus, he asked that "all paramount chiefs and kings, without exception, be invited and participate as observers to Codesa".

Mr Mandela said there were, however, Black political parties which wanted to rise to government over the corpses of Black people, and that these organisations talked peace when speaking in English, but war when speaking to crowds "in the vernacular".

He said many Whites were worried that in a democratic South Africa, they would lose what he called their privileges.

"It is true that the standard of living will fall once everyone becomes equal before the law.

"The ANC does not seek revenge, but is committed to all people of this country."

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe had marked a decisive break with the past and ushered in a new era in which Blacks negotiated their freedom with weapons, said the ANC's chairman, Mr Oliver Tambo, at the rally.

He looked back on the history of Umkhonto "with pride and vindication".

"Umkhonto survived despite the efforts to destroy it and it developed into a formidable army of liberation, striking fear into the hearts of oppressors.

"Today we are poised to regain our long-sought freedom as former warring groups gather around the negotiating table to map out a new future for our country." — Sapa.

ANC denies issuing declaration of intent

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

The ANC yesterday denied it had released a draft declaration of intent before the start of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) this week.

In a statement yesterday, the ANC said a statement published in the Sunday Times this week was not an ANC draft declaration of intent as reported.

However, it was "a compromise document" with input from various parties and organisations taking part in Codesa.

Discussed

The ANC said the statement, which appeared side by side with what was described as a National Party draft declaration of intent, was a product of "lengthy discussions and several consultations" and had "expressly included" texts from an NP document.

"Terminology was discussed with many participants, including the NP representatives. The document, then, is in fact a proposal with across-the-board support, not an ANC document.

"We have no idea if the version attributed to the NP is correct. It was not submitted to the group established by the Codesa Preparatory

Committee to draw up a declaration of intent acceptable to all.

"If the NP wishes to negotiate through selective presentations to the press, all we can say is: that is not our way. What is more important is that they not be permitted to leak documents in the name of the ANC that are not ANC documents," the ANC said.

● The ANC's northern Transvaal region is to seek a meeting with Venda's Military Council to discuss reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa, it was announced yesterday.

At its second annual northern Transvaal regional congress at the weekend, the ANC called on its newly elected regional executive committee to discuss an Incorporation Forum instituted by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana's military government "and other matters related to the whole transitional period".

The regional congress also resolved to improve relations between the ANC and traditional leaders who "had an important role to play in the transitional period and in a democratic future".

The congress also recommended that traditional leaders should be accorded observer status at Codesa.

STAR

17/12/91

ANC alleges conspiracy

THE Weekly Mail's revelations of secret military training and financial support for Inkatha Freedom Party members by the South African Defence Force suggested a gigantic conspiracy, the African National Congress said yesterday.

"These disclosures, coming so soon after the uncovering of continu-

ing support from the public purse for the activities of the IFP, which have now been confirmed as true by SAP Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, call into question the good faith of the South African Government and its commitment to the achievement of peace," the ANC said.

"We find wholly unacceptable the threadbare excuse offered by Gen Van der Merwe that the SAP gave such financial support purely as part of an ongoing programme to combat violence and crime."

The reports demonstrated that State President De Klerk had still not made a clean breast of the real extent of government support and involvement with the IFP, said the ANC.

In July this year, when reports of the IFP

receiving support from the government first became known, President De Klerk assured the country that all secret funding of the IFP had ceased in March 1990.

"It is now evident that such funding continued at least until January 1991," the ANC said.

"What weight can anyone lend to the pronouncements of State President De Klerk now that it is clear that he demonstrably lied to the South African public on a matter of such gravity?"

"More alarming are the statements made by former trainees at the Mkuze Camp, uncovered in northern Natal, that they have been involved in death squad hits directed against activists of the democratic movement and political opponents of the IFP.

"Can the IFP's loudly announced denials be taken seriously in view of the evidence of links between Military Intelligence and itself," asked the ANC.

South Africans should be gravely concerned that on the eve of the first meeting of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, two of the parties to the talks were bound together by a host of alleged clandestine connections.

"At issue is the trustworthiness of the De Klerk government and its credibility as a participant in negotiations. Both these leaders must account to the South African public regarding these disclosures."

The ANC reiterated its demand for the establishment of a multi-party commission of inquiry. — Sapa.

CITIZEN 14/12/91

Mass action is more crucial than ever: ANC

PIETERSBURG. — Mass action in the coming period will be more crucial than ever before as the country is entering the most decisive stage of the political transition, the African National Congress said at its Northern Transvaal regional conference yesterday.

In his political report, the regional chairman Mr Joel Netshintzhe said the ANC stood for democracy and not

years of transitional "multi-headed presidents and Cabinets".

He accused the government of wanting to prolong its life-span by some form of interim government spanning 10 years which would enable power to remain effectively in White hands.

Warning that the government wanted to prevent an ANC government coming into office, Mr Netshintzhe said the or-

ganisation must assert its policies both in the streets and in negotiations to counteract this.

The ANC called for a short transitional process, and believed that the Congress for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) could complete its work in a few months.

"And we demand that elections to the Constituent Assembly be held not later than 1992." — Sapa.

'Talks must carry legal force

Staff Reporters

The ANC will insist that the Government give an unequivocal undertaking that decisions taken at the forthcoming Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) be given legal force, Nelson Mandela said at the 30th anniversary rally of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, at Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

Rallies to mark MK's anniversary were also held in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The Soweto rally was addressed by ANC and MK stalwarts, including ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, MK leader Joe Modise and ANC Women's League president Gertrude Shope.

Professor Kader Asmal, of the ANC's national executive committee, and MK chief of staff Chris Hani spoke in Cape Town, and ANC head of social welfare Winnie Mandela and Transkei

leader General Bantu Holomisa addressed crowds in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Mandela said that if the National Party refused to stick to the ANC's demand that Codesa's decisions be legally binding, there would be no further progress.

Sanctions

He also called on "all South Africans to unite in the demand for the immediate installation of an interim government of national unity and the election of a constituent assembly".

"The interim government would result in the lifting of financial sanctions and would help our South African economy to recover," he said.

Referring to the role of traditional leaders in the black community, Mr Mandela said he had asked that "all paramount chiefs and kings be invited and participate as observers to Codesa".

Mr Mandela said Codesa was the hope of all South Africans, and the ANC, together with all the political parties, were working harmoniously to bring about democracy and peace in the country. "All the people of South Africa stand behind us," he said.

Mr Tambo said that as parties met at the negotiating table, they "must remember the contribution of MK to the current political climate".

He added that the release of "the heroes and heroines of our struggle still languishing in apartheid jails" would contribute towards mutual trust at the pending Codesa meeting.

Mr Modise revealed that MK was intensifying preparations for the formation of a defence force in the future new South Africa and that "many of our young officers are undergoing training in modern military techniques".

In Port Elizabeth, General Holomisa —

slating Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's request for two separate representations for the Zulu king and KwaZulu government at Codesa — said Transkei would not hesitate to demand that its five kings be represented by 12 members each at Codesa should the steering committee yield to the IFP's call.

Mrs Mandela, dressed in camouflage uniform, told about 10 000 people who braved a cold drizzle that armed action had brought the Government to talks.

She then launched a scathing attack on President de Klerk, saying he was "not a man of integrity" but "a mast of hypocrisy".

In Cape Town, Mr Hani was presented with a symbolic spear and inspected a guard of honour of about 40 unarmed MK cadres dressed in parade ground uniforms.

● Buthelezi hits out at ANC — Page 9

Mandela's hope as rift heals

ANC president Nelson Mandela, in a politically buoyant mood on the eve of Codesa, said his organisation's political achievements since his release, particularly Codesa, were a source of encouragement and hope.

"That is why our approach to our political work generally, but Codesa particularly has a great deal of hope and acceptance" from right-thinking South Africans.

Mr Mandela's comments came as sources revealed that the ANC and the government had made great strides in healing the rift over Codesa's exact role.

Sources in Codesa's

Steering Committee said that all parties had agreed a Declaration of Intent, to be adopted at the end of Codesa's two-day deliberations in Johannesburg on Saturday, would "politically and morally" bind the participants.

The government had earlier objected to Codesa having legal force as it undermined the sovereignty of Parliament.

Through the deal struck, the ANC was effectively recognising the government and sovereignty of Parliament.

Codesa would be empowered, through the declaration, to work on draft texts of changes to the constitution, which could then be enacted by the necessary majority in Parliament.

The ANC source said his organisation put forward the view that an in-

terim government must be in place by the middle of next year. It must have limited duration leading to a Constituent Assembly.

The ANC's point in the Steering Committee meeting last night was that the interim government should last 18 months before elections.
— Sapa.

CITIZEN

19/12/91

Hold Patriotic Front together, ANC is told

THE Northern Transvaal ANC region has instructed its leadership to have talks with the Venda administration to discuss the incorporation forum formed by the homeland's military leaders.

The instruction was part of the four resolutions adopted at the regional conference at the University of the North over the weekend.

The national office was also urged to do everything possible to keep the strained Patriotic Front intact and to bring other organisations of the oppressed together.

Venda's incorporation forum was formed by Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana

By DON SEOKANE

this year, in an effort to reincorporate the homeland into South Africa.

The conference also decided that the region, in consultation with the national office and homeland administrations should urgently work out the process of phasing out the homelands.

It was recommended that traditional leaders should have observer status at Codesa talks.

The conference ended with a rally to mark the 30th anniversary of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

see EPM

18/12/91

Inkatha takes its cue from America

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's draft proposals for a future constitutional dispensation are loosely based on the American federal system of government.

The proposals are flexible in that they can be adapted to a unitary state as well, although the IFP regards such a state with a measure of scepticism.

While the proposals are unambiguously in favour of a federal state, the merits and demerits of a unitary state has come under scrutiny during the process of constitutional negotiations.

"The conclusion of the IFP is that there is much to be said on both sides. The IFP will therefore approach this issue with an open mind," the proposals state.

There is a strong emphasis on decentralisation under the precept that the country will be divided into states "based on more logical economic, territorial, cultural and linguistic factors."

The IFP suggests that a "state boundaries commission" be established "immediately to consult the entire population and produce a report on state boundaries."

Under the rubric: Basic Ideas on a Democratic, Nonracial, Multiparty Constitution for South Africa, the IFP states that: "The South African State shall comprise all the territories that formed part of South Africa as in 1910."

This suggests that TBVC states be re-incorporated into South Africa, but the IFP accepts that this will have to go through the negotiation process.

Inkatha's ideal state has a Bill of Rights almost identical to that which was included in the

FOCUS

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has released Inkatha Freedom Party proposals for a new constitution. The Sowetan's Political Correspondent ISMAIL LAGARDIEN looks at the document.

KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals.

There would be a two-chamber parliament and power would be divided between a State President and a prime minister, the IFP suggests.

"The powers of the State President will be carefully defined. Some powers the president will exercise in accordance with his own deliberate judgment and others will be exercised in accordance with the advice and consent of the prime minister," the IFP says.

The proposed bicameral legislature would consist of a lower House, or national assembly, elected by universal suffrage by means of proportional representation, and a second House, or senate, to represent various states.

The lower House would choose the prime minister, who in turn would appoint a Cabinet.

Laws would have to be passed by majorities in both Houses, with the State President holding veto powers.

Both Houses would have equal powers to initiate legislation except for the Budget, which would be ini-



Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... want separate delegations at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa talks this weekend.

tiated in the lower House. This is where the IFP has borrowed the most from the United States example.

"It is considered that in the conditions in the modern world, the idea of an upper house which has merely the negative powers of delay, review and veto is not good constitutional practice.

"The upper House should in fact be a fully functioning House. This would compel a system of constructive co-operation between the two Houses of Parliament," the IFP proposals explain.

New judges would be recommended by what the IFP calls a judicial service commission. The State President would formally appoint judiciary.

The IFP's Bill of Rights would form part of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

A "civil service commission" would be installed which would "ensure that the civil service is representative of all population groups" in addition to its normal duties with regard to "the preservation of standards and merit."

The IFP is in favour of an impartial, professional army which pays allegiance to the constitution only, and remains accountable to the State President only.

The police force would be accountable to the prime minister, and in the case of state or city police, to the regional authority.

"Suitable constitutional provisions" should be adopted to provide for the recognition and powers of traditional leaders.

"Any participatory democracy in our country will require proper attention to be paid to this aspect," the document states.

This is the core of the IFP's constitutional proposals, which in effect does not differ radically from that of the ruling National Party.

The essence of the IFP proposals lie in its federalism and the predilection for decentralisation with checks and balances which it is hoped would make the government of the day dependent on the approval of regional government for its political programmes and decisions.

100 years of waiting have ended for blacks

The day we, the black people of South Africa, have been looking forward to for over 100 years, has at last arrived.

Since our ancestors were crushed militarily between the years 1877 and 1883 by the physical might of the British and the Boers, the blacks have been calling on the white government to bring together the representatives of all the races of South Africa to discuss how this country should be governed.

At long last that day has arrived. Oddly, there is no dancing in the streets - a clear enough testimony to how difficult the South African problem has become.

No one expects miracles will happen at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, Codesa, which convenes in Johannesburg tomorrow. This is because "the miracle" has already happened. It happened a few years ago when PW Botha then state president of South Africa met his regime's long standing opponent and prisoner, Nelson Mandela. Since that day the whites have been coming to terms with the realisation that they have to sit down with blacks and talk about how this country should be governed.

Quite how difficult this decision was for the whites - and still is for many - is reflected in the fact that PW Botha is still agonising over it. History, however, has moved on and the "miracle" continues to reveal itself in many strange ways.

The whites are not the only ones however who are caught in the painful vice of history, many blacks are also just as shocked by

FOCUS

MOELETSI MBEKI, Cosatu's head of communications, writes here in his personal capacity. This is the first of a two-part series analysing the historic Convention for a Democratic South Africa. Before returning from exile last year Mbeki was a senior journalist with the Herald in Zimbabwe. He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard University in the US in 1988-89.



of that conquest. This demand takes several forms, the demand for socialism for example, or for nationalisation. These are only polite words for expropriating from the whites and returning what is perceived as the assets

The conquest of the Africans meant their complete subjugation to the whims of the whites. It also meant the exercise of naked, unrestrained power by the whites over the blacks. The Group Areas Act, and the forced removals that went with it; the Bantu Education Act and the emasculation of black culture and education that went with it; the Industrial Conciliation Act and the exploitation of black workers that went with it - are only but a few examples of this naked power. Some of these laws may now have been repealed by their initiators but the social and economic reality these laws were designed to bring about have been left intact.

From the standpoint of the whites, Codesa is therefore intended to preserve the social and economic reality created during the past hundred years but without the racially based laws which have led to so many black revolts in the past and to the wrath of the international community against South African whites.

The whites however have also learnt their lessons from the decolonisation of Africa. They have learnt that black government in Africa does not necessarily lead to the loss of white privileges.

From the point of view of the whites Codesa will therefore have succeeded even if it leads to a black or a black-dominated government provided this does not lead to the collapse of white privileges.

How then is Codesa likely to reconcile these apparently mutually exclusive positions?

Tomorrow: Why there's hope for Codesa.

the unfolding events. Perhaps it is this shock more than the anxiety about what lies ahead that explains the absence of celebrations by the blacks.

Many blacks cannot believe what is happening. It is therefore more comforting for some to convince themselves that things have not changed from the day their ancestors were defeated and their centuries-old social systems smashed in the 19th century and subsequently. This is the position of many in Azapo, PAC, Wosa and some even in the ANC.

From the standpoint of black South Africans, Codesa has to reverse what happened in the years 1877-83. It has to reverse the humiliation that went with the crushing defeats of those years. It has to cure the painful aftermath

which were forcibly taken away from the blacks.

To the minds of the negotiators, Codesa is about bringing democracy to South Africa. The truth of the matter is that very few blacks care about democracy if it does not reverse the effects of their conquest.

From what they see in the experience of countries to the north of the Limpopo - Kenya, Zambia, Zimbabwe - they have learnt that democracy or black majority rule is not the same thing as shaking off subjugation. You can have a black government and still be subjugated.

In the eyes of the blacks if Codesa only brings about democracy then it will have failed and therefore not be worth dancing in the streets about.

B/day 17/12/91

Inkatha man might sue over allegations

INKATHA Institute director Gavin Woods said yesterday he was considering legal action against the Weekly Mail newspaper following allegations in its latest edition that he was a security police informant.

The allegations relate to an SAP admission that it had paid money into an Inkatha Institute account, whose funds Woods used for transport and other logistical costs.

Woods said he had been an unwitting player in that he had not known the SAP was supplying funds to Inkatha via the institute.

"It was only after I had completed my work for an inquiry into trade unions, when I was approached by the security branch on my findings, that my suspicions were raised," he explained.

He said his lawyers were advising him on two other points of dispute between the Weekly Mail and himself. One of these related to Woods's accusation that the newspaper had fabricated comments, in which he reportedly confirmed knowing the SAP funded Inkatha.

The second dispute related to Weekly Mail claims that the Inkatha Institute was a conduit for SAP funding of Inkatha rallies. Woods said chartered accountants Deloitte Pim Goldby had been asked to audit the institute's accounts and would soon report its findings.

Meanwhile President FW de Klerk is expected to respond tomorrow to allegations that government continued to fund Inkatha nearly nine months after the date he said funding had stopped.

Last week SAP Commissioner Gen Johan van der Merwe confirmed the SAP supplied "a sum of money" for an Inkatha rally addressed by its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in January this year. Van der Merwe said the rally was to promote the countering of violence and crime in the Port Shepstone area.

In August De Klerk gave a public assur-

LINDEN BIRNS

ance that funding of Inkatha had stopped at the end of March 1990.

In late November the Weekly Mail published a report that the SAP had secretly funded an Inkatha rally on January 26 this year. In its latest edition the newspaper published an SAP admission that police funded the rally. It also alleged the SADF had trained Inkatha hit squads.

De Klerk's spokesman Casper Venter said De Klerk would not be available for comment before tomorrow.

Police had earlier admitted to supplying R250 000 for at least two other Inkatha rallies, staged for "anti-sanctions" purposes.

Van der Merwe did not say how much money was given for the January rally.

SADF spokesman Maj Charl de Klerk said the SADF "was not prepared to comment in any way on allegations and speculation about covert actions".

He said the SADF had nothing to add to a statement issued in August which dealt with the training of Inkatha members in Namibia.

On claims that the SA Christian Cultural Organisation was a covert front for Military Intelligence, De Klerk said the SADF had already submitted details of all its covert organisations to the President's committee appointed in July to gather specific information on special covert projects.

He referred to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis' statement of July 31 that it was never government's intention to disclose full detail of all special covert projects.

He also declined to comment on allegations that the SADF had organised training in Israel for Inkatha members, or that Inkatha members trained at Mkhuze were taken into the KwaZulu Police as hit squad members.

● Comment: Page 8

Colossal bloodbath unless . . . says IFP

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that Unita and Renamo activities would look like child's play if large groups of men and women were left out of the negotiation process.

Buthelezi, speaking at Umlazi's King Zwelithini Stadium to a crowd of 9 000 IFP supporters on Sunday, was referring to the destructive actions of Renamo and

Unita when "those who felt aggrieved gathered together".

He called for King Goodwill Zwelithini to represent KwaZulu at the Congress for a Democratic South Africa talks as an observer.

"His (the king's) position there will not be more than that of an observer on the same basis on which the South African Government will be there," he said.

Earlier this week, a Durban legal expert pointed to a KwaZulu government proclamation that any per-

son attempting to involve the king in politics would be guilty of an offence punishable by up to two years' imprisonment.

Buthelezi denied his call was illegal.

"His majesty will not be drawn into party political wrangling at Codesa. He will be there to be consulted and to advise where necessary."

Most of Buthelezi's speech emphasised that KwaZulu was not an entity created by apartheid, but was

an independent state before white control.

Earlier this week anthropologist Ms Mary de Haas of the University of Natal rebutted Buthelezi's historical argument for separate representation for KwaZulu.

Despite Friday's Supreme Court ruling that the clause of the Natal Code of Zulu Law, allowing for the carrying of traditional weapons as a Zulu custom was "void for vagueness", spears, sticks, axes, and pangas were seen at the rally. - *Sapa*.



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

SOWETAN 17/12/91

Inkatha delegation considers its position

Buthelezi pulls out of Codesa

A blow was dealt to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa last night when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced his withdrawal because of an impasse reached on separate delegations for the KwaZulu government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

However, the IFP will retain its participation in Codesa, pending a meeting of the full delegation in Johannesburg today.

In his statement from Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said the impasse, which arose during the final meeting of Codesa's steering committee, amounted to an insult to the dignity of the king and that he could not "endorse this by attending Codesa".

"We find it contradictory that his majesty the king, the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu Chiefs' Caucus attended the National Peace

tions, and this is now being denied them," he added.

The negotiations ahead would dispose of boundaries and rewrite the provinces and provincial boundaries and perhaps divide South Africa into a number of states for a federal or another kind of constitutional structure.

"The people whose boundaries are being altered must be a party to the discussion. This is not negotiable," Chief Buthelezi said.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Codesa's steering committee, said last night Chief Buthelezi's sudden withdrawal from the two-day gathering would not greatly harm the convention as a real national movement.

"It is well known that Inkatha has been seeking additional representation, and the fact that this was not awarded might have been expected to elicit negative reaction."

ANC media official Gill

Marcus said last night that while the ANC regretted Chief Buthelezi's decision, the organisation hoped the IFP would retain its full participation in Codesa.

Dr Dawie de Villiers, leader of the National Party delegation to Codesa, said that although the withdrawal of Chief Buthelezi was a disappointment, he was confident the process would continue successfully and that Chief Buthelezi would eventually return to continue playing his important role.

"It is heartening to note that the IFP presence will continue and therefore I believe that this action is only connected to the issue surrounding the king, which could not be resolved in Chief Buthelezi's view in a satisfactory manner."

Talks on TV

The Codesa talks will be broadcast in full on TV1 tomorrow, and on TV2/3/4 on Saturday.

The SABC announced yesterday that transmission would begin at 9.45 am and run until about 6 pm.

During the lunch break there will be summaries, interviews, special news bulletins and panel discussions.

There will also be full radio coverage on Radio 2000 on both days.

News bulletins on TV1, 2 and 3 will have live crossings to the talks and, when necessary, radio news bulletins will be extended.

Sunday night TV will also cover Codesa. — Sapa.

STAR 19/12/91

Disclosures were bid to embarrass NP: Stoffel

Citizen Reporter

FURTHER revelations on covert government projects and funding of Inkatha were designed to place the government and the National Party on the defensive at this week's Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), says Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, the general secretary of the NP.

He said the timing of the revelations left no doubt they were designed to embarrass the government and the NP on the eve of the conference.

However, because President De Klerk had announced an end to all covert operations involving political groups, and this funding had now come to an end, the disclosures would not have the desired impact.

There was no reason for concern that the disclosures would paint the government and the NP into a corner.

Last week, there were newspaper reports confirming police funding of another Inkatha rally,

and allegations — on which the Ministry of Defence declined to comment — concerning the running of a "hit squad" training camp in KwaZulu.

No spokesman for the Ministry of Defence was yesterday available to comment on a report that former members of the Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) would make disclosures embarrassing to the government, unless their financial demands were met.

Former CCB members were reported to be dissatisfied with their financial settlements from the SA Defence Force after the decision was made to disband the organisation.

Meanwhile, government sources believe the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) will take its seat at the Codesa conference despite a decision not to allow the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and the KwaZulu Government to attend.

No IFP spokesman was available to say whether or not the party would take its seat, following comments by the IFP's president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on the non-attendance of the king and the KwaZulu Government.

Dawie: I am disappointed

DR Dawie de Villiers, leader of the National Party delegation to Codesa, said that although the withdrawal of Chief Buthelezi was a disappointment, he was confident the process would continue successfully and that Chief Buthelezi would eventually return to continue playing his important role.

"Of course, it is a pity that such an important leader and role player will not attend the Codesa meeting.

"There is no doubt that he personally, and through the IFP, can and must play an important role in the negotiation process in South Africa," Dr De Villiers said.

He trusted it was not a permanent withdrawal and that Chief Buthelezi would continue to play a role in the process in future.

"Although it is a pity and a disappointment at this stage, it is heartening to note that the IFP presence will continue and therefore I believe that this action is only connected to the issue surrounding the king which could not be resolved in Chief Buthelezi's view in a satisfactory manner."
— Sapa.

Full coverage on TV and radio

THE Codesa talks tomorrow and Saturday will be broadcast in full on TV1 on Friday, and on TV2/3/4 on Saturday.

The SABC announced yesterday that on both days transmission would begin at 9.45 am and run until about 6 pm.

During the lunch break there will be summaries, interviews, special news bulletins and panel discussions.

There will also be full

radio coverage on Radio 2000 on both days.

Television news bulletins on TV1/2/3 will have live crossings to the talks, and when necessary radio news bulletins will be extended.

The SABC is also planning to cover Codesa on Sunday night TV programmes, and on Monday morning radio services.
— Sapa.

CITIZEN 19/12/91

A SEVERE blow was dealt to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) last night when Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, announced his withdrawal because of an impasse over separate

delegations for the KwaZulu Government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

In a statement from Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said the impasse, which arose during the final meeting yesterday of Codesa's Steering Committee, amounted to an insult to the dignity of the king.

"I simply cannot endorse this by attending Codesa with the knowledge that the king had been snubbed."

The Inkatha Freedom Party will retain its participation in Codesa, pending a meeting of its full delegation in Johannesburg at 9 am today, IFP spokesperson, Suzanne

Vos, announced. "A statement will be issued afterwards."

Earlier in the day, the IFP strongly supported moves for three separate delegations at Codesa, citing the presence of other homeland governments as a reason for

TO PAGE 2

Buthelezi pulls out

FROM PAGE 1

KwaZulu having its own representation.

The ANC described Chief Buthelezi's withdrawal as unfortunate and regrettable.

Dr Zach de Beer, chairman of Codesa's Steering Committee, said Chief Buthelezi's withdrawal would not greatly harm the convention as a real national movement.

Chief Buthelezi said: "It was always our understanding that the king and the KwaZulu Government would participate in negotiations about the future of our country.

"We find it contradictory that his majesty the king, the KwaZulu Government and the KwaZulu Chiefs Caucus attended

'Can't elbow out king'

THE Inkatha Freedom Party would not be put in a position in which it could be interpreted that it had endorsed the "elbowing-out" of the Zulu king and the Zulu nation from participating in tomorrow's Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). IFP National Chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said yesterday.

There was no way in which Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini could be "subsumed within the Inkatha Freedom Party".

"We believe that the Zulu king, leader of more than 7 million Zulus spread throughout the length and width of this land, has to be represented at Codesa.

"We also believe that the KwaZulu Government ought to have been represented."

the National Peace Convention with full delegations, and this is now being denied them."

It was earlier shown how vital the king and his government's role were in attaining peace and stability in the country.

"Now, some wish to refuse them representation, which is rightfully theirs, on all the matters pertaining to the future of South Africa and the Zulu king.

"The king and KwaZulu are a vital part of the South African reality and will have to be afforded the full status of negotiating partners."

The negotiations ahead would dispose of boundaries and rewrite the provinces and provincial boundaries and perhaps divide South Africa into a number of states for a federal or another kind of constitutional structure.

"The people whose boundaries are being altered must be party to the discussion. This is not negotiable," he said.

"KwaZulu is not a creation of apartheid which can be crossed out of political existence by pens of administrators and negotiators.

"There is danger emerging in South African politics that there are those political leaders who think that the parties of their choice negotiating have a clean slate on which to write anything they want to write upon. That is simply not the case."

Dr De Beer said: "It is well known that Inkatha has been seeking additional representation, and the fact that this was not awarded might have been expected to elicit negative reaction.

"I am sorry that this has taken place, but I do not

believe it does any great harm to the status of Codesa as a real national movement."

Speaking on behalf of the ANC, media official Gill Marcus said while they regretted Chief Buthelezi's decision, the ANC hoped the IFP retained its full participation in Codesa.

"Because the Steering

Committee did not solve the problem on Wednesday night, as with all other matters that it has not reached agreement on, the matter has been referred to Codesa itself to take a decision.

"In the light of that, it is deeply regrettable that he did not come to present his case to the full convention." — Sapa.

CITIZEN 19/12/91

Concern at 'role of state in violence'

DURBAN. — An Amnesty International (AI) fact-finding mission to South Africa yesterday expressed its concern at the role of the state security forces in the political violence sweeping the country.

The four-member delegation — consisting of Mr Piet van Reenen of the Netherlands, Mr Stephen Owen of British Columbia, Mr Rayner Mary and Mr Joseph Gitari, both of the Secretari-

at in London, — said they had received reports that the police and military had not stepped in to save lives when they were in the position to do so.

Addressing a media conference in Durban, the delegation said information in their possession indicated the military held back from intervening in certain incidents, particularly in Mooi River, Natal, where at least 18 people were killed last week, and Bruntville near Mooi River.

However, the role of the security forces was problematical and AI said they had been told of cases where soldiers had conducted themselves in a helpful manner.

Referring to allegations of third-force involvement in violence, the delegation said: "We did receive information regarding the activities of gunmen in the Reef area where we could see the possibility of a third force.

"It is not clear on the

evidence to what extent they (the gunmen) are linked to the security forces."

The delegation believed the political unrest that overtook communities often had a life of its own, and that it had moved beyond simple ideological boundaries.

They said repeated revenge attacks seemed to feed the cycle of violence.

"Part of the information we have received is that people are concerned about the violence, and much of the violence appears to be indiscriminatory and not ideological."

Amnesty worried about the fear most people had in testifying in cases of political violence. They expressed dissatisfaction with the police's "inability to build up evidence in political investigations" and the "low number of cases that reached the courts".

The delegation visits Cape Town this weekend, before returning to AI's headquarters in London, where they will release a full report. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

14/12/91

08410 12/18 23-12 CODESA-BUTHELEZI-IFP

JOHANNESBURG Dec 18 Sapa

The Inkatha Freedom Party would retain its participation in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), pending a meeting of the full delegation in Johannesburg on Thursday.

Earlier on Wednesday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shocked other participants when he announced his sudden withdrawal from Codesa, saying the Steering Committee's failure to resolve the question of separate representation for the IFP, Kwazulu Government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was an insult to his monarch's dignity.

IFP official Suzanne Vos confirmed late Wednesday that the party had not pulled out its delegation.

"We will have a meeting of the full delegation in Johannesburg at 9am on Thursday to discuss the issue. A statement will be issued afterwards," she said.

Earlier in the day, the IFP strongly supported moves for three separate delegations at Codesa, citing the presence of other homeland governments as a reason for Kwazulu to have its own representation.

Sapa
/nl/le/

SAPA 19/12/91

The ghosts of Christmas past



SUNDAY STAR 15/12/91

SADF-Inkatha link to violence alleged

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA members who allegedly underwent secret SADF military intelligence training have been directly involved in violence, the Weekly Mail reports today.

According to the newspaper, five military intelligence trainees were being sought by police for their involvement in violence in Natal.

Apparently one has been linked to the murder earlier this year of tribal leader Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo. One of the men involved in his murder told the Natal Witness newspaper about his involvement.

Since then he has been protected by ANC members who have worked out a deal with the police to ensure his safety. He has been providing information in tracking down others involved in the planning and killing of the chief.

The Weekly Mail will also publish fresh evidence of covert Military Intelligence involvement in political matters including: court records showing that the front organisations that ran and equipped the secret training camps for Inkatha, and paid the salaries of the hit squad trainees, were a military intelligence front.

It will also provide details of other military intelligence fronts that have been involved in similar activities, and more evidence on an Israeli connection. The newspaper says it has evidence at least some of the Inkatha trainees involved in hit squads were trained in Israel.

Weekly Mail editor Anton Harber said he could not divulge further disclosures at this stage, but said this was not the last of the Weekly Mail's information on covert SADF operations involving Inkatha. He said the newspaper would reveal much more evidence in the new year.

B/DMY

19/12/91

OPINION

Decay of trust

THE web of deceit spun around the government's relationship with Inkatha makes it impossible to judge whether President De Klerk has been duped by his officers and officials, or has himself been economical with the truth, but much depends on the answer.

The core facts are these: On July 30 President De Klerk, in the course of what purported to be a full disclosure, admitted to the funding by the state of two Inkatha rallies, and to the training of 150 Zulus by the SADF. He claimed, however, that these activities belonged to a past era of violence and that he was winding down such operations, intimating that the continued funding of Uwusa, the Inkatha-supporting union movement, was an oversight. On January 10, he claimed, he warned his police officers to maintain strict political neutrality.

Now it turns out that only 16 days later, in apparent defiance of President De Klerk's warning, the police funded another Inkatha rally which was addressed by Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi. The feeble — nay, incredible — excuse is that it was an attempt to curb violence.

On these facts, only two conclusions are possible: either President De Klerk was ignored by the police and duped into making a misleading statement on July 30, or else President De Klerk has himself been duplicitous. He cannot allow the latter interpretation to stand, not simply because it assaults his reputa-

tion but because it will undermine his ability to govern.

Already the authority of his government is decaying. The cohesion of the Afrikaner elite has broken down and, as usual when thieves fall out, the factions are clamouring to disclose each other's dirty little secrets. The days when the government could hope to keep the lid on scandals are gone. A succession of such disclosures — the misuse of funds by the police, the activities of the CCB and the disappearance of evidence of criminal activity, the political favouritisms, Sasol's sweetheart deals, the nepotistic contracts, the outright theft in military units, pervasive fraud within the bureaucracies — has undermined the trust of South Africans in the institutions of government.

The value of that trust must not be underrated. It sustains the authority of the policeman and the tax collector, it inspires investment of money and effort, it elevates the public weal above the selfish interest. As it decays, there will be more leaks and disclosures, more disloyalty and blackmail, more betrayals — and less certainty that President De Klerk's orders, whether they concern political neutrality or anything else, will be carried out. He must purge the institutions of government, or watch them fall apart in his hands.

If that happens, neither President De Klerk nor this government will determine the pace or the circumstance of transition; the fate of the nation will be in the hands of other, perhaps anarchic, forces.

Sunday Times: COMMENT

15/12/91

The same old story

HOW many more dirty tricks lie waiting to be exposed? The Sunday Star wrote these words when the Weekly Mail first exposed the Inkatha-funding scandal nearly five months ago. We ask the question again this week after the police admission that it funded another Inkatha rally and the Weekly Mail disclosed full details of a secret SADF training camp for the organisation.

Mr F W de Klerk should know that, like Biko, the Inkatha scandal will come back again and again to haunt the Government and taint all those who are involved or try to cover up the outrage.

Mr de Klerk himself has come under deep suspicion. Less than five months ago he told an international media conference about three cases of secret funding and assured everyone that, as far as he knew, there were no other similar cases. Well, we know there are indeed other cases and now Mr de Klerk has only two choices: either he must admit that he misled the world, or that he himself was misled by his most trusted colleagues in the SAP and the SADF.

If Mr de Klerk was covering up, he has done his cause no good, for the latest revelations come on the eve of the Codesa talks and the ANC has branded his previous statement a lie. Once again the ANC lays serious claim to the moral high ground.

If the President was misinformed he owes it to the country — and himself — to expose those who lied to him, and to sack them.

Five months ago the Sunday Star called on Mr de Klerk to sack Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok and Defence Minister Magnus Malan. Wisely, he demoted them to obscure Cabinet posts, thus admitting by deed if not by word that they had been obstacles in the way of peace.

We also warned Mr de Klerk that the truth would out, that if he himself did not disclose full details of Government dirty tricks others would and he would once again be seriously embarrassed. Unwisely, he did not heed this advice, and once again, he has been tainted.

Once again we urge him to follow this advice; once again we warn that unless he does, his reputation will be further damaged.

Traditional Zulu weapons regs are invalid

DURBAN. — A Natal judge has ruled that regulations passed by President De Klerk permitting the carrying of "traditional" Zulu weapons in Natal were invalid.

An application before Mr Justice Didcott against the State President was brought by a Durban freelance journalist, Mr Solomon Tsenoli, who said amendments to the Natal Code of Zulu Law were discriminatory.

President De Klerk amended the code on August 30 last year so that no

Black person in Natal could carry dangerous weapons unless it could be proved they were for "traditional Zulu uses, ages, customs or religions".

Legislation for 100 years before the amendment prohibited the carrying of assegais, axes and other dangerous weapons in public.

"It is a notorious fact, a fact which every judge of this division knows full well from his work in criminal cases, that the

Black people of Natal have been exposed during the past four years or thereabouts to inter-cine violence on a scale far exceeding anything else experienced by them in modern times, and that they have suffered atrociously as a result.

"One finds it hard to understand why, in a state of affairs so parlous, the exemptions from the prohibition against the carrying of dangerous weapons were enlarged; why the prohibition itself was

accordingly reduced by the insertion of the subparagraph (amendment)." the judge said.

Mr Howard Varney of the Legal Resources Centre in Durban, who acted for the plaintiff, said of Mr Justice Didcott's finding: "Many people have been trying to get the police to enforce laws about carrying weapons in public. The standard response was that they could not, because the weapons were cultural.

"Lawyers made approaches the police, but to no avail. Now the police can act."

• A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said that a copy of Mr Justice Didcott's judgment had been called for and would be studied before any comment on the issue would be made. — Sapa.

CITIZEN 14/12/91

Buthelezi hits back

ULUNDI. — Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, facing fresh allegations of secret funding for his party, last night moved to quash claims of an IFP hit squad and attacked the rival African National Congress.

"The IFP has never trained one single person for hit squad activity and has never, ever trained anybody for any killing against anybody or against any organisation anywhere," Chief Buthelezi said.

The Weekly Mail has claimed that the SA Defence Force pumped millions of rands into the training camp at

Mkhuze to help in the training of IFP professional killers.

Chief Buthelezi said 150 young men were trained at the camp to protect KwaZulu Government officials and property following a call by the ANC of a people's war.

"It was in these cir-

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Buthelezi hits back

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cumstances that the KwaZulu Police finally decided that effective action should be undertaken to protect KwaZulu VIPs from the kind of attacks that revolutionaries were boasting they were going to make," he said.

At an ANC meeting in Swaziland in 1985, threats of violent campaigning against KwaZulu were aired.

"Later on this plot was confirmed to us through our intelligence sources and the then acting Commissioner of Police, Brig S M Mathe, had to select 150 young Zulus for training in VIP protection services."

Afterwards, when it was decided the young men could not be re-

tained as a unit, they were taken for training as policemen and were integrated into the KwaZulu Police Force.

"They were then allotted to me, and to other ministers and deputy ministers, and some were to guard our government buildings which were also under threat in terms of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe plans."

The group was housed temporarily at the Bureau for Natural Resources's Mkhuze Quarantine Camp because the police barracks at Ulundi were full.

"They were not housed there to undergo any training as far as I know. If such training, as is alleged in the media, took place, then

I was not aware of it.

"I want to state emphatically that the IFP and I have never had a private army or a 'hit squad' as is alleged in the media. I challenge them to prove that we did."

If any of the trainees were sent on any killing missions, "I want to state emphatically that I was never aware of it and I challenge anyone to prove the contrary".

Chief Buthelezi called on ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the leadership "to cease their atrocious double standards".

"If Dr Mandela and the ANC are serious about peace, they will not go out to become peace-wreckers at every possible opportunity," he said. — Sapa.

Buthelezi hits out at ANC in UK interview

STAR - 17/12/91

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has accused the ANC of "seeding" white towns with black squatters in order to upset the vote in the forthcoming South African elections.

This, together with a bitter attack on the ANC and its leader Nelson Mandela, forms the basis of a two-page interview with Chief Buthelezi by Brian Hitchen, editor of the London Daily Star.

Chief Buthelezi says: "It is happening on a very large scale. They (the ANC) are encouraging squatter camps so that the people will be lined up to vote for them when the time comes and have specially selected areas to overturn

the existing vote."

The Inkatha leader, described as "every inch a leader" and "the political torchbearer of democracy", also accuses the ANC of ensuring that violence will continue throughout the country.

Plotting

And in an astonishing personal attack on Mr Mandela, he tells the Daily Star: "Mandela is fashionable. Out of his release the press created the impression that he was the leader of South Africa. That he was the future president.

"But they forget to mention why he was put in jail in the first place. He was a convicted terrorist plotting the very bloody overthrow of the Government."

He claims the ANC's "cultural weapon" re-

mains the AK-47 and says Mr Mandela's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe contributes to the danger of violence in the months to come.

"Definitely there is going to be violence... if the ANC thinks it can take over the running of South Africa as some sort of government returned from exile, they can think again. I am afraid there will be terrible violence."

Chief Buthelezi also warns British readers of an alleged white backlash if they are "rolled up in a certain way against their will", and attacks sanctions as "pulverising the country". He calls on Western nations to lift sanctions as soon as possible.

"While they are still in force, economic pressure will continue to add to South Africa's problems," he says.

Inkatha stands defiant despite double bruising

Peta Thornycroft

THE Inkatha Freedom Party stood defiant this week after being bruised and battered by fresh revelations of covert SA Police funding and a judgment that banned the carrying of traditional weapons in Natal.

While the IFP put up a shield of explanations over police funding for an IFP rally held near Port Shepstone early this year, and a Weekly Mail expose over military funding for an alleged hit squad, a party spokesman defiantly squashed hopes that the signing of the Peace Accord would stop IFP members carrying traditional weapons.

The issue of secret funding could weaken the IFP's negotiating stance at the first Codesa meeting later this week.

Weapons

Dr Zac de Beer, DP leader, said if the IFP had "difficult" demands to make to Codesa it would now find it "very difficult to get consideration."

Although the Accord urges all political parties to actively discourage and prevent members and supporters from possessing, carrying or displaying weapons or fire-arms when attending any political gathering, procession or meeting, IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said Zulus would continue to carry "traditional" weapons to political rallies and cultural events.

Mr Felgate was unavailable yesterday to comment on whether the IFP would also defy Justice J Didcott's judgement, which expressly bans the carrying of traditional weapons in Natal.

Mr John Hall, chairman of

the Peace Committee said: "The committee generally accepts that dangerous weapons taken to political rallies could be provocative."

He said dangerous weapons had been an issue which concerned the Committee, and that he hoped the matter would be addressed soon by a proclamation from State President FW de Klerk, a proclamation promised 11 weeks ago when the Peace Accord was signed.

Mr Peter Gastrow, a member of the Peace secretariat — speaking as DP law-and-order spokesman, said it was time to "stop pussy-footing" around the issue of "cultural" weapons.

"The SAP must be given clear instructions to disarm people carrying dangerous weapons at gatherings addressed by political leaders."

Mr Pallo Jordan, the ANC's director of information said he was surprised that the State had "chosen not to enforce" the Peace Accord clauses on weapons.

"From the day of the signing of the Peace Accord, the IFP chose to flout those provisions. It seeks to reduce the Accord to nothing more than a piece of paper," he said.

Meanwhile, IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week denied allegations of an IFP hit squad.

"The IFP has never trained one single person for hit squad activity and has never, ever trained anybody for any killing against any organisation anywhere," he said.

The denial follows a Weekly Mail claim that the SA Defence Force pumped millions of rands into the training camp at Mkhuze to help in the training of professional killers.

SUNDAY STAR 15/12/91

SUNDAY Tribune 15/1/91

Old values must be retained in new SA, says Ngubane

INKATHA'S MAN SET TO BRIDGE THE GAP

INKATHA is often portrayed as a one-man-band, dominated by the personality of its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But, like any political organisation, the IFP has it heirs apparent. Unlike the ANC, where the figures on the ladder behind Nelson Mandela have a high public profile, the IFP's rising stars are

hardly known outside the party.

Diplomats and political observers, however, say one of the foremost among these is the KwaZulu Minister of Health, Dr Ben Ngubane. SAM SOLE spoke to him after the successful formation of the Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee this week.

IF Inkatha is to counter its media image of spear-wielding imps, there are few better men to do this than Dr Ben Ngubane.

Urbane, articulate and a veteran of frequent foreign travels and conferences on behalf of the Red Cross, Dr Ngubane appears well suited to straddle the old world of Inkatha's constituency and the brave new world of the next South Africa.

Dr Ngubane was born at Inchanga and educated at the Mariannhill and St Francis mission schools.

The influence of a mission education and a dedicated mother made itself felt on the whole family: his elder brother is a senior official in the Roman Catholic Church in Natal and his sister Harriet is professor of social anthropology at the University of Cape Town.

Dr Ngubane studied medicine at Natal University, graduating in 1971 and becoming medical officer at Ngwelezane in 1974.

He studied tropical medicine at Wits and holds a masters in community health from the University of Natal.

After graduating he concentrated on his medical work, but joined Inkatha soon after the organisation was formed. He was subsequently elected to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and is on the executive of the IFP central committee.

"I joined Inkatha because I supported the basic philosophical position of non-violence, self-help and community upliftment," he says.

He was appointed minister of health in March this year when Dr Frank Mdlalose was appointed to



Dr Ben Ngubane

work full time on negotiations.

Like many members of Inkatha, he is concerned with the successful bridging of the old and the new: the integration of traditional structures and values into a modern society.

"We feel very strongly that for an effective transition, you need to maintain very strong principles."

Dr Ngubane feels strongly that traditional black culture, including tribal structures and respect for the role of royalty, must provide those "strong principles" on which change can be built.

The necessity for holding fast to traditional norms has been demonstrated by the appalling breakdown in the social fabric where black people have been thrown into an unstructured urban environment, he argues.

"The very high rate of teenage pregnancies is an example of what happens when you get a breakdown of very fundamental value systems."

The Japanese, he says, successfully managed to hitch a modern technical proficiency to a very ancient cultural fabric and so keep their society intact.

"Blacks have to move, but their societies must remain intact, preserving respect, order, discipline."

Dr Ngubane's immediate project is to work for the integration of Natal's various racial health services. The KwaZulu government is drawing up legislation to allow for closer co-operation with the NPA.

His biggest regret is that the ANC and Inkatha could not work together during the struggle against apartheid.

He also expresses regret over the way Nelson Mandela was dragged into party politics so soon after his release, rather than providing a catalyst for black unity.

"Now Codesa (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) is being used as another level of struggle, rather than as a healing process. There is too much jockeying for power rather than looking squarely at the problems the country faces."

The greatest strength of the IFP, he feels, is that it is rooted in everyday black experience, in reality rather than rhetoric. Its biggest weakness is that it is actually involved in government.

"Its weaknesses are used to show it up as inefficient and incompetent, when they are often merely a result of a lack of resources. When you compete with extra-parliamentary groupings which have never had to prove themselves in practice, you're at a tremendous disadvantage."

Funding claims 'sour talks'

EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

ANC International Affairs director Thabo Mbeki yesterday warned that new disclosures concerning government funding of Inkatha soured the atmosphere for negotiations.

His caution came days before Codesa was scheduled to meet. Mr Mbeki demanded that the government come clean on its secret funding of Inkatha and other organisations.

This week The Weekly Mail alleged that the government spent more than R7-million to train 150 Zulus in VIP protection skills.

And the SA Police admitted this week that it funded an Inkatha rally at Mzumbe on Natal's south coast on January 26 this year.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC would press the government to make a full disclosure of any secret fundings.

Also, it would ask the Israeli government to find out what part it had played in the training of Inkatha members, as alleged by the newspaper.

Police commissioner General Johan van der Westhuizen admitted that the SAP funded a rally which was addressed by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The rally was initiated by chiefs in the Port Shepstone area.

Secret

The Weekly Mail also claimed that the SADF paid R2.25m a year — for at least three years — to pay the salaries of Inkatha men being trained as "hit men" at a secret Mkuze base. The money was channelled through front companies.

Mr Buthelezi, president of the IFP, denied the party had ever trained "hit men".

● NORMAN WEST reports that the PAC delegation, which walked out of the Codesa preparatory meeting last week, would today seek a fresh mandate from the organisation's members to return to the talks when they continued in Johannesburg next weekend.

The PAC delegation, led by Information and Publicity Secretary Barney Desai, withdrew from the preparatory Codesa meeting after its demands for a neutral venue and chairman failed.

SUNDAY

Times

15/12

Leaders face compromise challenge – Idasa's Boraine

CAPE TOWN — If President de Klerk is to enjoy maximum influence he will have to consider some form of government of national unity, says Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

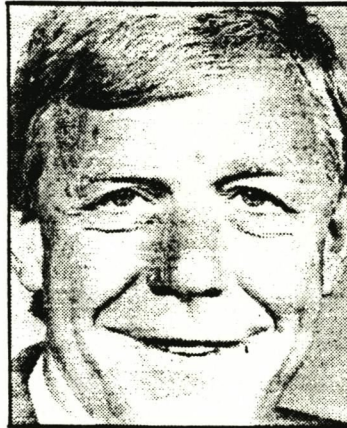
The name is not all that important, Dr Boraine said in an editorial in the latest issue of the institute's journal *Democracy in Action*. But, the substance will shift towards joint responsibility and a far greater sharing of power between the National Party and the African National Congress.

He said direction would be towards participatory politics.

"The Convention for a Democratic South Africa will see a great deal of positioning by the parties concerned but that is all to the good," said Dr Boraine.

He said it would be difficult, particularly for the NP and the ANC, to meet the need for compromise, which was an integral part of negotiation politics, and at the same time to move towards electoral politics.

"The supreme test of leadership for both Mr de Klerk and



Dr Alex Boraine . . . many hiccups before sharing of power.

Nelson Mandela will be holding in tension the desperate need for the healing of the land and reconciliation.

"One can only hope that in the ebb and flow of politics during 1992, these outstanding political figures will be seen as two great statesmen who are more concerned about a united, peaceful and prosperous South Africa than only success at the polls," Dr Boraine said. — Sapa.

STAR

18/12/91