

L5.3 For rural areas, appropriate (but not necessarily low-level) technology and technical training should be essential components of integrated rural development programmes.

L5.4 Overall science and technology policy will be integrated with specific sectoral science and technology policies, to produce the right mix of skills, products, services and know-how for those sectors. These sectoral policies will be used directly to support the economic and social development necessary to satisfy basic needs and improve quality of life for all.

L5.5 In the economic sectors, predominantly in manufacturing, mining and agriculture, technology is a direct input into the production process. Policies for Research and Development, for incremental innovation and for the protection of intellectual property rights (e.g. patents) are necessary to enable technical change to occur. The degree of protection accorded to intellectual property rights shall be consistent with the optimum requirements of our economic policy.

L5.6 In the socio-economic sectors technology choice will play a major role in the equitable provision of health and education, and in infrastructure development in both urban and rural areas.

L5.7 Telecommunications, energy and water resources are common to both the economic and socio-economic categories. Broad ANC policies for telecommunications, electricity and water supply incorporate:

L5.7.1 Technology provision, social need and economic policy providing access to these essential services for all South Africans;

L5.7.2 The equitable allocation of these resources between industry, agriculture and domestic consumers;

L5.7.3 The democratisation of the control of utilities which provide these services.

M. MEDIA

M1. ESTABLISHING A DEMOCRATIC MEDIA

M1.1 South Africa has been a closed society, with many restrictions on the flow of information. Legislation, the structure of ownership of media resources, skills, language policy, and social deprivation have undermined access to

information for the majority of the population.

M1.2 The ANC believes the transition to democracy in South Africa entails a movement from a closed society into one based on a free flow of information and a culture of open debate.

M1.3 At the core of democracy lies the recognition of the right of all citizens to take part in society's decision-making process. This requires that individuals are armed with the necessary information and have access to the contesting options they require to make informed choices. An ignorant society cannot be democratic.

M1.4 The ANC asserts that mere declarations of media freedoms on their own are not enough. These freedoms must be underpinned by an equitable distribution of media resources, development programmes and a deliberate effort to engender a culture of open debate. This requires policies of affirmative action to redress the inequalities in our society.

M1.5 The ANC is committed to media freedom and various mechanisms to bring it about. A Media Charter which sets out broad principles to promote these freedoms will contribute immensely to the democratic process. Elements of such a Charter will find expression in a constitution and bill of rights; while others will be realised through relevant legislation. Still others will serve as social guidelines.

M1.6 The outcome of negotiations depends on the assertion of these rights. It is crucial, therefore, to strive for these freedoms way ahead of the advent of democracy. An open negotiations process - in which the public is informed about developments and itself participates in the debates - is a necessary prerequisite for a democratic transition.

M2. BASIC RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

M2.1 The basic principle around which our Media Charter should revolve is maximum openness within the context of a democratic constitution and bill of rights. Thus, for instance, it would be erroneous to advocate the setting up of bodies which determine what society should and should not read, hear or watch. Rather, judicial procedures should be effected if and when civil rights are threatened or violated. Media freedoms should be understood in the context of other citizens' rights such as the right to privacy and dignity.

M2.2 The citizens' right to privacy, dignity and any other freedoms entrenched in the Bill of Rights shall not be violated in favour of the free flow of information.

M2.3 The media shall strive to interact with society as a whole;

and organisations, institutions and citizens shall have the right (and mechanisms) of reply regarding information and opinion published about them.

- M2.4 All people shall have the right of access to information held or collected by the state or other social institutions subject to any limitations provided for in a constitution and bill of rights.
- M2.5 There shall be no institutional or legislative measures restricting the free flow of information or imposing censorship over the media and other information agencies.
- M2.6 All people shall have the right freely to publish, broadcast and otherwise disseminate information and opinion, and shall have the right of free access to information and opinion.
- M2.7 All media should subscribe to a Standard of Practice and/or Code of Conduct agreed upon among the producers and distributors of public information, communications and advertising.
- M2.8 There shall be no restrictions on private broadcasting initiatives beyond the accepted constitutional constraints and technical regulations arising out of legislation governing media.
- M3. DEMOCRATISATION OF THE MEDIA
- M3.1 The forms and mediums of mass communication will take account of the diversity of communities in respect of geography, language, gender, interests and prevailing levels of literacy.
- M3.2 Measures will be taken to ensure that all communities have access to the technical means for the receipt and dissemination of information, including electricity, telecommunications and other facilities.
- M3.3 All communities will have access to the skills required to receive and disseminate information, including the skills of reading and writing.
- M3.4 Ownership of media resources, production facilities and distribution outlets shall be subject to anti-monopoly, anti-trust and merger legislation.
- M3.5 Affirmative action will be implemented to provide financial, technical and other resources to those sectors of society deprived of such means.
- M3.6 Affirmative action, in terms of race and gender, will be applied to allow access to and control of the media institutions. This includes ensuring the participation of women in managerial positions on these media bodies.

M4. PUBLIC MEDIA

- M4.1 Media resources in the hands of the state shall be used to promote and strengthen democracy, which would include monitoring the media for gender and race biases.
- M4.2 The state shall maintain a public broadcasting service which shall serve society as a whole and give a voice to all sectors of the population.
- M4.3 Such a public broadcasting service shall be independent of the ruling party or any other interest group.
- M4.4 There should be structure(s) responsible for public media and this (these) should be broad-based and act as facilitator(s) to ensure fair access to air time and resources.

M5. MEDIA WORKERS

- M5.1 Society and the state shall strive to create the necessary environment in which the gathering, processing and dissemination of information can be conducted without restrictions.
- M5.2 Media-workers shall be protected against intimidation and other forms of pressure which inhibit their work.
- M5.3 Media-workers shall be protected by law from disclosing their sources of information.
- M5.4 Media-workers shall have the right to form or join trade unions, political and other organisations of their choice, and they shall enjoy the rights accorded to all other workers.

M6. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- M6.1 The state and media institutions shall provide facilities for the training and upgrading of media-workers.
- M6.2 In the provision of skills, account shall be taken of the need for affirmative action in favour of those who, because of racism, sexism and other discriminatory practices, are disadvantaged.
- M6.3 Training programmes and school curricula shall include mechanisms aimed at empowering communities in their endeavours to publish and to broadcast.
- M6.4 As part of civic education programmes, the state and media institutions shall strive to inform citizens and media workers about their media rights and duties.

M7. PROMOTIONAL MECHANISMS

- M7.1 In order to promote and monitor the realisation of these freedoms, independent structures shall be set up for defined sectors of the media, including advertisers and their agencies.
- M7.2 These structures shall be representative of media-owners, workers, political parties, civil society, relevant experts and others.
- M7.3 Standards of Practice or Codes of Conduct are necessary to ensure the implementation of the above principles, and these shall be established through a democratic process involving the major media parties.
- M7.4 An ombudsperson shall be appointed to receive and act on complaints relating to the infringement of the above principles; and such an appointment shall also be made through a democratic process.
- M7.5 Society shall have the right to challenge decisions of all these structures and persons in a court of law or constitutional court.

N. ARTS AND CULTURE

N1. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

- N1.1 A flourishing cultural life is vital to the well-being of South Africa. The ANC strives to facilitate and celebrate cultural production that captures the diversity, complexity and vibrancy of all South Africans. The right of all South Africans to practice their religions, uphold their cultures and speak languages of their choice should be promoted and protected.
- N1.2 The ANC recognises that through arts and culture a sense of national identity and pride can be cultivated. Arts and culture are thus a potentially unifying force in a country divided along ethnic and cultural lines by apartheid. Thriving and thought-provoking artistic and cultural practices can contribute to a democratic and tolerant socio-political environment. A single national department to promote arts and culture should be created. The national anthem and flag, being symbols of apartheid should be replaced by symbols of national unity. The monopoly over public symbols and names should give way to a more diverse range, representative of our whole population.
- N1.3 Arts and culture are not the property of any one political party or group. Consequently the ANC believes that state-funded cultural institutions should be non-sectarian. While it is the governments duty to actively support artistic and

cultural production, such support must be severed from party political interest. Public funded, non-sectarian artistic and cultural institutions that serve all of South Africa's communities and all our cultural workers are central to ANC policy. Arts Councils will be established to foster and promote the arts and to assist both professional and amateur artists and cultural workers. Such councils will allow for the representation of cultural workers on these bodies.

- N1.4 Parastatal cultural institutions have almost exclusively promoted Eurocentric art in English and Afrikaans in the white and black communities. Arts and culture in the black communities, most notably in the rural areas, have received negligible state support, specifically the imbalances between rural and urban areas should be addressed. ANC cultural policy aims to redress the imbalances inherent in our society both in terms of race, class and gender. In particular our rich and diverse artistic traditions in the fine arts, literature and music must be nurtured and promoted, as must alternative and under-represented traditions.
- N1.5 Arts education and training institutions must be established and appropriate programmes must be incorporated in all educational institutions, schools, teacher training colleges, technicons and universities, with particular emphasis on black schools which have been grossly neglected in the past. Art exhibitions and performances will be included in school programmes. Where arts education has been undertaken under the present system the content has been biased in favour of eurocentric high art and indigenous art has been denigrated. A conscious effort to promote, document and research South African and African forms of cultural expression should be made. The ANC will promote artists' and writers' associations which explore and encompass the diverse cultural values within South African society.
- N1.6 Arts and culture should assist in transforming customs and practices that oppress or discriminate against women. ANC policy will, through a programme of affirmative action strive to increase the participation of black people and women in all spheres of the arts and culture, including participation in the direction and management of state-funded cultural institutions.
- N1.7 Apartheid policies have resulted in an alarmingly high rate of illiteracy amongst the black population, especially Africans. ANC policy will strive to raise the national level of literacy and numeracy, particularly as literacy is a precondition for many forms of creative and artistic expression.
- N1.8 The ANC supports freedom of expression. However if a conflict arises between the principle of freedom of

expression and constitutional rights, it shall be resolved by the Constitutional Court.

N1.9 Cultural centres, with appropriate facilities should be established in disadvantaged communities in order to promote all the art forms. The ANC recognises that a broad spectrum of South Africans should have the opportunity to pursue and appreciate the arts including the music, photography, fine and performing arts. In this regard access to training should be promoted.

N1.10 Apartheid language policy, applied through group areas and separate education legislation has had the effect of dividing our people into ethnic groups. The ANC strives to actively promote and develop multilingualism as a way of building national unity. A multilingual national literature, especially in the African languages, will be promoted.

N1.11 The ANC recognises the need for progressive labour and copyright laws that protect the rights of cultural workers. Together with a programme of public education, such laws will attempt to eliminate and/or monitor the breach of copyright and, in particular, record piracy.

N1.12 The public broadcasting service will be required to commission and broadcast an appropriate quota of South African programmes, including those that have hitherto been excluded.

N2. PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND ART FORMS

N2.1 ANC policy recognises that well-stocked libraries should be established throughout the country, in both rural and urban centres, to encourage a reading culture among all our people;

N2.2 ANC policy recognises that arts and crafts should be preserved, promoted and exhibited as part of our national heritage and production of arts and crafts should be supported and encouraged in our communities.

N2.3 A comprehensive and accessible archive of South African photographic material, both past and present, should be created.

N2.4 Heritage resources and facilities, including those previously neglected, should be popularised, preserved, democratised, be open and belong to all South Africans and should serve as community resource centres. Community needs will be integrated into the appropriately restructured management of heritage resources.

N2.5 The ANC believes that a democratic state should allocate

funds to the arts, which funding must be fairly and widely distributed and for the enrichment of the country, not merely for profit. Further funds for the arts should be raised from the private sector and taxes raised on local and overseas commercial exploitation of cultural products.

N2.6 The ANC will encourage cultural exchange between the people of South Africa and those of the rest of the world. This exchange must take into account the views of cultural workers and associations and promote local developmental programmes and international understanding, without exploiting the local arts and culture industries.

N2.7 In view of the fact that the film and video industry has been dominated by the influence of the apartheid state, the ANC believes that a National Film Council should be established. The council will be responsible for the administration of public funds set aside for the development of the film and video industry. This council shall examine the viability of establishing professional training centres in film and video and conducting research into the structure of the industry.

N3. LANGUAGE

N3.1 South Africa is a multilingual society with a large number of languages. ANC policy will recognise, protect and develop all languages and ensure that all citizens will have access to all spheres of the nation's life.

N3.2 To overcome the practical problems of multi-lingualism, it will be possible to designate a single common language to be used for record purposes or for other special use, either at the national level or in the regions. All the major languages spoken in our country should be equally available for such purposes (in alphabetical order - Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu). Other languages spoken by South Africans - such as Portuguese, Tamil, Hindi, Gujarati, Hebrew, Urdu and Arabic, and others, will be respected and promoted.

N3.3 All South Africans will be free to use any South African language of their choice in dealings with the state. Within the limitations of reasonableness steps will be taken to ensure that no citizens who are illiterate or whose knowledge of a particular language is limited, will thereby be impeded in their access to public services, or in the realisation of their rights as citizens.

N3.4 In order to ensure the removal of linguistic barriers to understanding and participation from all spheres of the nation's life

N3.4.1 It would be necessary to develop language services,

such as the provision of interpreting and translation.

N3.4.2 All South Africans will have the right of educational access to skills in the languages of their choice to participate fully in national regional and local life.

N3.5 The ANC policy will further the development of all our languages, in all aspects of life, to engender respect for different languages and to prevent the use of any language or languages for the purpose of domination or division. A programme of affirmative action will be implemented in respect of languages whose status was reduced under apartheid.

O. SPORT AND RECREATION

O1. PREAMBLE

O1.1 The ANC sports policy is closely linked to the development of the non-racial sports movement in South Africa, which we have supported. We have actively encouraged unity amongst the various non-racial codes and the establishment of umbrella sporting organisations. This has been done in the belief that sport and recreation will facilitate the promotion of national unity through developing a united national pride transcending cultural, linguistic and racial barriers, as well as enhancing international relations and friendship.

O1.2 Successive governments in South Africa have systematically promoted sport in and ensured the provision of sporting and recreational facilities for the white community, to the exclusion of the majority of black people in the country. In spite of this, many disadvantaged sports persons have made commendable achievements. The ANC will be guided by policies of affirmative action for the benefit of all people, with particular emphasis on disadvantaged communities. Key to redressing imbalances will be an extensive, integrated and sustained sports development strategy. Development is thus key to ANC sport and recreation policy.

O2. BASIC PRINCIPLES

O2.1 Participation in sport and recreation is a right of each and every person and not a privilege. Facilities and opportunities in sport and recreation must be open to all. These must be open irrespective of age, physical condition, class and gender.

O2.2 These principles can only be realized through development programmes which are expressly aimed at facilitating increased participation in sport and recreation in the black communities, villages and rural areas across the country. This requires programmes aimed at the development

of grassroots sport. It is therefore imperative that sport and recreational facilities be an integral part of all community development programmes.

O2.3 The development of sport in our communities will contribute to the health, general quality of life and productivity of the population as a whole.

O2.4 Sport is also an effective means through which to redress gender inequalities and discrimination against the disabled. The ANC, in line with its other affirmative action policies on gender, will promote the participation of women in different sports codes, administration, training and advancement. This will be done with the intention of breaking the past racial privilege and domination of men in particular sports.

O3. THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT

O3.1 The democratic state, through a ministry of sport and recreation, will be responsible for the promotion of sport and recreation by providing facilities at educational and community centres as well as institutions for the disabled.

O3.2 The autonomy of the sports movement will be guaranteed and legislation protecting individual sports persons, codes and organisations from political manipulation, will be established.

O3.3 The government shall appoint a statutory body, the National Sports Commission, for the purpose of regulating the promotion and development of sport and recreation.

O3.4 The National Sports Commission will liaise closely with all national sports organisations for the advancement of these objectives.

O4. ADMINISTRATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SPORTS

O4.1 The National Sports Commission, acting in concert with the relevant organs of civil society will be entrusted to set up sports academies for the training of sportspersons, administrators, coaches and other officials.

O4.2 Educational institutions will be provided with qualified teachers responsible for physical education and recreation as sport will be an integral part of the curriculum.

O4.3 Clear guidelines will be drawn up regarding the sponsorship of sports development, aimed at correcting the imbalances within underprivileged communities. The private sector will be encouraged, through the provisions of incentives, to sponsor sports development.

O4.4 Provision be made by management to encourage full worker participation in sport; arrangements for those who excel in

specific competitive codes be made with the unions concerned that his/her performance is not impaired by work conditions.

04.5 The National Sports Commission shall establish a national rural sport and recreation development programme to redress the historical neglect of black rural communities with regard to sport and recreation facilities and activities.

05. SHORT TERM/TRANSITIONAL POLICY PROPOSALS:

05.1 As a result of apartheid, most sports codes are non-existent or weak within the Black community. This has a retarding effect on development and the unification process. In the transitional period the ANC's attitude towards sport is guided by the following:

05.1.1 Continued facilitation, encouragement and monitoring of the unity process on national, regional and local level, the existence of concrete affirmative action developmental programmes and agreement on symbols not associated with Apartheid as prerequisites for admission into the world sports family.

05.1.2 Ensuring the democratisation and de-racialisation of the sports movement in line with the Olympic Charter and principles of international federations.

05.1.3 Regular and consistent consultation with the various sports bodies to enable us to develop acceptable policy to ensure that all present sports development plans be carried out with a clear view to correcting the imbalances caused by apartheid.

05.1.4 The typical focus and promotion in the South African media and advertising during peak recreation times, of traditionally male sport, excludes most women from enjoying their right to sport and recreation. The ANC should strive to address this issue with the intention of promoting non-sexism in sport and recreation.

P. PEACE AND SECURITY

P1. THE CREATION OF LEGITIMATE SECURITY INSTITUTIONS

P1.1 For several decades the regime has relied on its formidable police, defence and intelligence structures to maintain the system of apartheid and minority rule in order to suppress popular resistance to that system. As a result of Total Strategy, the whole of the South African state and society became militarized.

P1.2 National security was pursued primarily through military and paramilitary means. The effects of this approach to security are evident: high levels of violence and crime, economic decline, regional arms races, destabilization and perpetual insecurity throughout the sub-continent.

P1.3 The South African security institutions themselves developed a racist, closed, secretive, undemocratic structure, lacking legitimacy in the eyes of the people. The process of democratization underway in our country will not be complete without addressing this problem.

P1.4 On the other hand, Umkhonto we Sizwe - the People's Army - represented the cutting edge in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society. Viewed by the majority of South Africans as a liberating force, its popular support was demonstrated at countless rallies, marches and demonstrations.

P1.5 The challenge is to address not only the security institutions and their composition, but also to go deeper and address the very nature of security policy itself. The basic principles underpinning such a policy should be based on a realistic assessment of threats to peace, territorial integrity and personal security.

P2. A NEW APPROACH TO SECURITY

P2.1 The ANC believes that national and regional security should not be restricted to military, police and intelligence matters, but as having political, economic, social and environmental dimensions.

P2.2 Underdevelopment, poverty, lack of democratic participation and the abuse of human rights are regarded as grave threats to the security of people. Since they invariably give rise to conflict between individuals, communities and countries, they threaten the security of states as well.

P2.3 The ANC is committed to the following principles which underpin a new approach to security in a democratic South Africa:

P2.3.1 South Africa shall be committed to resolving internal and external conflict, primarily through non-violent means.

P2.3.2 National security and personal security shall be sought primarily through efforts to meet the social, political, economic and cultural needs of the people.

P2.3.3 South Africa shall pursue peaceful and co-operative relations with neighbouring states.

P2.3.4 The security institutions shall be bound by the principle of civil supremacy and subject to public

Q2.1 The ANC believes that society has a responsibility to develop and nurture its youth, to allow them to reach their full potential in order to make a meaningful contribution as individuals and as members of society. Their resourcefulness, energy and enthusiasm must be harnessed to allow them to play their meaningful role in our in our country.

Q2.2 The basic values for our youth policy are democracy, non-racialism, respect for human dignity, non-sexism, tolerance and all values encompassed in the general ANC policies.

Q2.3 The objectives of our youth policy are to:

- Q2.3.1 Address the problems faced by youth who have been directly marginalised by apartheid, including young exiles and political prisoners, with particular emphasis on the immediate issues of education, unemployment and violence;
- Q2.3.2 Promote the development of all South Africa's youth and implement policies which will prevent the recurrence of the marginalisation of our young people in the future;
- Q2.3.3 Focus ANC programmes on the socio-economic development of the youth;
- Q2.3.4 Develop guiding principles for all governmental and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) consistent with the above values in our society;
- Q2.3.5 Set in place an autonomous, broad and representative structure of youth to coordinate and develop youth activities;
- Q2.3.6 Encourage a spirit of understanding and respect between the young and old, parents and children.
- Q2.3.7 Entrench and promote the rights of young people in all spheres of our society, in particular:
 - Q2.3.7.1 The right to be represented in relevant decision-making structures of the state and other structures, at all levels;
 - Q2.3.7.2 The right to education and to seek answers;
 - Q2.3.7.3 Protection against violence, crime and abuse;
 - Q2.3.7.4 The right to health;
 - Q2.3.7.5 The right to recreation and leisure;
 - Q2.3.7.6 The right to a stable family life and good care;
 - Q2.3.7.7 The right to develop to their full potential;

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Q2.3.7.8 To promote youth employment;

Q2.3.7.9 The full social integration of young disabled persons;

Q2.3.7.10 The right to work within a safe and healthy environment;

Q2.3.7.11 The right to live in peace and friendship;

Q2.3.7.12 Freedom of belief, cultural expression and language;

Q2.3.7.13 Recognition of the rights of children as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on Children's Rights.

Q2.4 OBLIGATIONS AND DUTIES OF YOUTH

Q2.4.1 The youth policy will recognise the obligations of South African youth to make an active contribution to the development of society, in particular:

Q2.4.1.1 A patriotic obligation to work for reconciliation and to promote a common South African identity;

Q2.4.1.2 A democratic obligation to participate actively in the political, social and economic life of the country, to combat discrimination and racism, and to promote democratic values;

Q2.4.1.3 An obligation to acquire skills and to play a productive role in the economic reconstruction and development of the country.

Q2.5 YOUTH INTERNATIONALISM

Q2.5.1 To foster links with youth in the Southern African region, the African continent and the world in the spirit of friendship, co-operation and solidarity.

Q2.5.2 To ensure that youth play a role in shaping foreign policy.

R. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

R1. CONTEXT

R1.1 The foreign policy of a democratic South Africa will be primarily shaped by the nature of its domestic policies and objectives directed at serving the needs and interests of our people.

R1.2 A democratic South Africa's foreign policy will further be influenced by the emergence of a New World Order whose

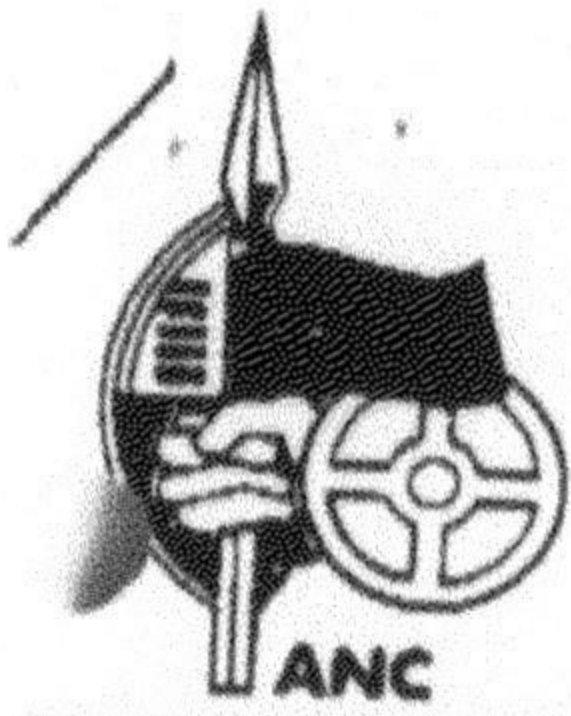
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major elements include:

- R1.2.1 The collapse of the socialist community of states, the emergence of a uni-polar world, whose features include the increased influence of the U.S. and its allies in world affairs, as well as the division of the world essentially into three major economic blocs, namely: the U.S.-led North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA); the European Economic Bloc; and the Japanese-led East Asian Economic Sphere.
- R1.2.2 These developments, in turn, have resulted in a growing discrepancy between the developed and developing countries and, in particular, the marginalisation of Africa.
- R1.3 A democratic South Africa will be non-aligned and will not affiliate to any international military blocs.
- R1.4 A democratic South Africa will actively promote international cooperation to promote environmental conservation.
- R2. TRANSFORMING OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES
- R2.1 The foreign policy of the Apartheid regime was an extension of its oppressive and violent nature. Isolated by the international community, it pursued every means to circumvent such isolation. Where it could, it appealed to narrow self-interest in order to undermine its isolation. Where it could not, it resorted to coercion, destabilisation and military aggression.
- R2.2 ANC policy will contribute to the democratisation of international political and economic relations, and so help secure a global context within which a democratic South Africa will be able to coexist peacefully and to cooperate on a democratic basis with its neighbours in the region and further afield.
- R3. A FULL MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY
- R3.1 A democratic South Africa will actively promote the objectives of democracy, peace, stability, development, and mutually-beneficial relations among the people of Africa as a whole, as well as a Pan African solidarity.
- R3.2 A democratic South Africa will establish relations with all countries, and join such international organisations as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the Non-Aligned Movement, and assume its responsibilities in the United Nations, as well as rejoin the Commonwealth.
- R4.1 A democratic South Africa will continue as a member of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, as well as seek membership of the African Development Bank

(ADD).

- R3.4 Relations with these and other international financial institutions will be conducted in such a way as to protect the integrity of domestic policy formulation, and to promote the interests of the South African population and economy.
- R3.5 A democratic South Africa will ensure that it remains a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, as a token of its resolve and commitment to help create a world free of nuclear weapons as well as other weapons of mass destruction. In this context, it will seek to promote the Africa and the Indian Ocean as nuclear-free zones and areas free of foreign military forces and bases.
- R3.6 A democratic South Africa will abide by the relevant Covenants and Treaties relating to the peaceful use of Outer Space, international waters and air-space; and will engage in multilateral cooperation in the exploration and conservation of the universe.
- R4. REGIONAL COOPERATION, PEACE AND SECURITY.
- R4.1 Inter-African relations will continue to be built on the basis of regional cooperation, as expressed by such organisations as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), the Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern Africa (PTA) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).
- R4.2 South African membership of regional organisations will have to be predicated on the elaboration of an agreement by all countries in the region, which will ensure balanced regional development, so that the inclusion of South Africa in these organisations does not impact adversely on the economies of the member countries. The democratic South Africa will therefore move away from the position asserted by the white, minority regime, that South Africa must be recognised as a dominant regional power.
- R4.3 A democratic South Africa will rationalise its armed forces in conformity with its defence needs.
- R5. ORGANISATIONAL MATTERS
- R5.1 A democratic South Africa will aim for the establishment of a professional foreign service, in which training, employment equity and affirmative action will be important components for the attainment of high standards of service.
- R5.2 A democratic South Africa will establish and maintain a comprehensive foreign information policy and service.



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Observer Mission to the United Nations

4/92

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) PROPOSAL: BODY AND PROCEDURES FOR DRAFTING A CONSTITUTION

The ANC proposes that:

1. The Constitution be drafted and adopted by a body to be elected according to the principle of universal franchise.
2. This body (which in this document will be called the Constituent Assembly) shall be as inclusive as possible.
3. All persons over the age of eighteen (18) living within the 1910 borders and regarded in international law as South Africans, shall be entitled to vote.
4. The system of proportional representation shall be used.
5. The Constituent Assembly (CA) shall consist of four hundred (400) delegates and have a steering committee which will lay down its procedures.
6. The Constituent Assembly shall elect from its own ranks a representative drafting commission consisting of 40 persons to work under its direction.
7. Decisions at the Constituent Assembly shall be by a two thirds majority.
8. The Constituent Assembly shall be obliged to enshrine the principles agreed upon by CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa) in the new constitution and shall not contradict such principles.
9. The Constituent Assembly shall appoint an independent constitutional panel consisting of nine respected, representative and competent persons to hear any disputes concerning the application of clauses submitted to it by members of the Constituent Assembly.
10. Functioning within the above framework, the Constituent Assembly shall be legally entrusted with sovereign powers to draft and put into operation a new and binding constitution for South Africa. Towards a Democratic and All-inclusive Constitution-Making Body (CMB).

1. THE NAME OF THE CMB *Constituent Making Body*

We prefer the term Constituent Assembly. This is the one most widely used internationally. It indicates that what we are doing is constituting a new South Africa out of the old, and that we function not as self-appointed individuals but as representatives sitting in solemn assembly with a proper mandate and appropriate procedures. The name in itself is not crucial. We could call it the Congress, after the body which drafted the first great modern Constitution - that of the USA. What matters is how it is chosen and how it functions, not who first came up with its name.

2. THE BODY MUST BE CREATED AND MUST FUNCTION IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY.

Since the objective is to install democracy in South Africa, the body must itself exemplify democracy. At the heart of democracy lies the question of choice and elections. Without elections there can be no democracy.

CODESA has a vital but limited function, namely, to create the conditions for the adoption of a new constitution, not to draft a new constitution itself. The fact that it is self-appointed is appropriate to its function, which is essentially that of negotiating the process of transition from apartheid to democracy. The broad support that it is receiving despite its non-democratic character derives from acceptance of its limited role. When it has established the foundation for the process of drafting a new constitution, its historic task will have been completed. Should it attempt to perpetuate itself and usurp the role of the body it was set up to create, CODESA will lose its prestige.

No one who genuinely supports democracy can fear elections. Once the racial and colonial myths are destroyed, there can be no justification for denying the principles and practice of democracy. Are we to say that elections are only good for whites in South Africa and blacks in other countries? Are we to back democracy in Zambia and in Eastern Europe and deny it in our own land?

The dream of the oppressed majority in this country ever since 1910 has been full participation as ordinary South Africans in elections and the choice of government. The National Convention that preceded the 1910 Constitution was based on whites-only elections for a whites-only convention. That ugly beginning to our constitutional life can only be expunged by non-racial elections for a non-racial convention. Elections thus have an historical healing role to play in our country. They are a part of the process of achieving independence from which the majority were excluded in 1910; they are a signal that true citizenship has at last arrived for all.

Elections will be proof that we really are in a new South Africa. They will signal a compelling acknowledgement of our common South African-ness. They will open the way to the development of a genuine and generous national vision, and encourage a sense of shared responsibility for the country's future.

When we say that it is elections that give the constitution-making proceedings legitimacy, we accordingly refer not just to formal international and internal legitimacy, but to subjective and moral legitimacy in the hearts of our people.

It might be difficult for those who take elections for themselves for granted to understand what it will mean to those who have been permanently excluded from the electoral process to at last have a chance to stand up and drop their ballot slip into the ballot box. What the voters will be asked to decide is who they wish to represent them in the body which drafts the constitution. By voting they identify actively with the whole process and hence take responsibility for its outcome.

There will be direct nexus through the elected representatives between each voter and the final product.

* In this way, elections will take away the sense of distance and incomprehension which, unfortunately, at present separates the general South African public from CODESA.

Elections will be the first step in an open and public process. The people of our country should be entitled to know at each step exactly what is being done at the CMB in their name. Compromises openly struck, honestly agreed to for purposes of mutual advantage and frankly explained, have a much greater chance of being accepted than those negotiated in terms of secret agreements behind closed doors. The electoral process encourages openness and accountability. It places the issues before the people who take an interest in them because they know that their opinions can make a difference.

Ratification by referendum

An after-the-event ratification can never be considered as a serious alternative to involving the public in elections for the CMB. Far from legitimising the process, it will ensure that the Constitution is born in an atmosphere of cynicism and indifference. A referendum is a useful means of testing public opinion in relation to issues where a simple "Yes" or "No" would be appropriate. It is a grotesque device for ensuring that a long complicated document corresponds to what the populace thinks is correct.

The public is placed in the invidious position of giving a simple "Yes/No" to a lengthy document, much of which will inevitably be in technical language, without the option of influencing its individual parts.

There is the added problem of persons being compelled to vote in favour of a constitution with which they might not agree, simply because to continue with the present racist constitution would be a greater evil.

All the practical problems and inconveniences said to relate to elections for a Constituent Assembly would apply to the holding of a referendum.

The arguments against the CMB being elected

The case for elections in the modern world is so strong that only someone very cut off from contemporary thinking would argue against it. As we understand it, none of the participants in Working Group 2 are actually against elections in principle.

Certain participants have, however, raised queries about the feasibility of elections in current conditions or about the desirability of granting what they call a "blank cheque" to an elected constituent assembly. It would be ungracious to suggest that they are opposed to elections because they fear that they themselves will not fare well if they lose their base in apartheid structures and are left to the mercies of the electorate. We accordingly treat the arguments on their merits.

(i) Violence

The first point made is that there is too much violence in the country for free elections to be held, and that elections would only encourage further violence (one assumes that this is meant to express a fear and not to convey a threat).

The danger of this argument is that if the existence of violence is accepted as a reason for not holding elections, then those who are fearful of losing an election will have a stake in maintaining the level of violence.

We are in fact convinced that far from contributing to violence, the holding of elections will provide an orderly and publicly supervised manner in which the contest for political leadership can be conducted. It will serve not as a source of violence but as an alternative to it.

The turning point in Namibia from a state of severe internal conflict to a state of peace was the holding of elections for the Constituent Assembly. The way in which the CA (Constituent Assembly) there conducted its business, based on extensive give and take, promoted national unity and has until now virtually eliminated political violence. We have no doubt that the same process would have the same beneficial results in South Africa.

What we should be concerned about is not the fact of holding elections, but how to ensure that voters are free to exercise their choice and that they are well-informed when doing so. Elections are held precisely so that different ideas can compete. The stronger the competition, the greater the need for elections.

(ii) "Simple Majoritarianism" *they say it does not respect minority rights*

The second argument against having the constitution drafted by an elected Constituent Assembly is that this would amount to giving a blank cheque to an electoral majority without respecting the rights and interests of minorities. The term "majoritarianism" is used in this connection as though somehow it is inherently evil. Add the adjective "simple" and it becomes even worse.

This approach comes badly from people who hold office on the basis either of no elections at all or of elections based on principles of simple majoritarianism.

If the present government were to resign because it has been chosen by means of simple majoritarianism (times three), then its moral position as an opponent of majority rule would indeed be powerful. The same would apply if it were to impugn the validity of the recent referendum on the basis of its simple majoritarian nature, or to deny the validity of all legislation passed since Union in 1910; with one exception, such laws were always based on the approval of a simple majority of Members of Parliament who in turn had been elected on the basis of simple majority (or less) of voters.

The Presidents of France and the USA as well as the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and India have all been elected on the basis of "simple majoritarianism".

One cannot escape the conclusion that the arguments against majority rule are being advanced not so much because of the principle involved but because of dissatisfaction with whom the majority will be. Put simply, "simple majoritarianism" was good enough for the whites for 82 years, but will not be good enough for the blacks today, unless, that is, they promise to vote for the party presently in office, in which case the virtues of majority rule might re-assert themselves. The irony of the situation is that while we in the ANC firmly believe that the principle of free elections and majority rule lies at the heart of democracy, we do not support what has been called simple majoritarianism for South Africa. We, who have never benefitted from the Westminster system of government in the past, in fact have a much stronger claim to opt for a different system than those who for decades have been advantaged by it.

There are at least three major respects in terms of which our proposals differ from what is called simple majoritarianism.

More than 15 months ago, the ANC declared its support for the system of proportional representation. We did so for two basic reasons (in addition to the usual arguments). In other words, a relatively large body would more easily accommodate the diversity of the South African nation than would a small one. We are of the view that it would be of great advantage for individuals and communities to feel that they are directly represented at the CA through persons they know and who will be able to report back and explain the proceedings to them.

It would not, of course, be necessary for the CA to work all the time in plenary. Our proposals for a drafting commission are set out below. This commission would be relatively small in size and would be responsible for the day-to-day technical carrying out of the wishes of the CA in relation to establishing draft terms for the new constitution.

Confusing **CRITICAL INTERPOLATION ON THE PROPOSAL FOR A BICAMERAL CMB** ?
a second house?

One of the participants has made the proposal, apparently seriously, that the CMB be a bicameral body. We are unaware of any precedent anywhere in the world for such a procedure. Indeed, it seems to represent the kind of elementary confusion between the functions of a CMB and those of a legislature, that would fail a first year law or political science student. These are clear, democratic and manifestly fair ways of ensuring that the Constitution will emerge from an all-inclusive CA seeking consensus, and that the end result will be basically acceptable to all South Africans. Why create a complex and constitutionally monstrous Second House when manifestly legitimate and internationally acceptable means of achieving the same result are available?

We feel that constructing two Houses on the basis of assuming inevitable conflict between the majority and minorities, and then setting them against each other on a collision course, is designed to maximise rather than reduce differences.

It will encourage reciprocal intransigence rather than mutual attempts to find solutions. Sensitivity to the wishes of the minority cannot be achieved by insensitivity to the feelings of the majority. The upper House will come generally to be seen as the House of Losers, and bad Losers at that. What are elections for if losers take nearly all?

Already we hear the mocking phrase: "simple minoritarianism". One may also speak of the system of DR (Disproportionate Representation). How inclusive and nation-building can a process be that nullifies the wishes of seventy or eighty percent of the population? How inclusive is the process if the third of the population living in the TBVC states is excluded from it? What we need are not two houses at each other's throats, fearful of and antagonistic towards each other, but a single, multi-faceted body representing the nation in all its variety and seeking to establish fair ground rules for the realisation of the principle that South Africa belongs to all who live in it.

7 regional representation is good but when reg. minority gets more representation

This ad hoc and specially constructed bicameralism will be seen by the majority of South Africans and by the world at large as a reminder that the cadaver of apartheid still rules from the grave into which it was said to have been cast. The racial group rights idea at least had the virtue of honesty, declaring in effect that some people were inherently different from and more worthy than others. We now end up with the confusion that inevitably results from trying to democratise apartheid. Elections are held to choose losers. Minority parties undermine their moral position by being associated, whether they like it or not, with institutional chicanery.

Deadlock is built as a mathematical inevitability. The defensible principle of regional representation, and, possibly of over representation in favour of poor regions, is undermined by the principle of minority groups in the region ending up with more representation than the regional majority. Everything is brought into disrepute: elections, consensus, minority rights, even true bicameralism itself.

4. SOME PROCEDURAL ELEMENTS

The Drafting Commission - *to draft constitution*

The drafting of the Namibian Constitution was considerably facilitated by the establishment by the CA of a drafting commission from its own ranks, supported by three independent legal advisors from outside. We propose that the CA for South Africa elect a drafting commission of approximately 40 persons from its own ranks. These need not be lawyers or political scientists, but should be persons with competence in drafting and in handling constitutional concepts. The commission should be chosen on the basis of proportional representation, subject to the right of every party represented in the CA having at least one member.

Provision should be made for legal and other advisors to participate in support of the respective parties as they have done at CODESA. The Commission would have the task of giving appropriate shape to the wishes of the CA, under whose direction it will function.

FUNCTIONING OF THE CMB *constituting body*

The CMB, which should function in Parliament in Cape Town, should be given four months to complete its work. Should it fail to do so, it should be compelled to dissolve itself so that new elections could be held. The threat of imminent elections would concentrate the minds of the delegates.

The CMB would at its first session elect a steering committee on the basis of proportional representation. This committee would be responsible for questions of management. It would propose rules of procedure and suggest the persons, drawn from the ranks of the CA, who

would chair sessions. It would attempt to achieve consensus wherever possible, but if an issue were to go to a vote, a simple majority should suffice.

The Drafting Committee, on the other hand, should take its decisions by a two thirds majority. It may submit majority and minority reports to plenary sessions

If a dispute arises in this committee or at the CA as to whether an agreed general principle has been ignored or contradicted, the problem should be referred to the steering committee, and if the steering committee in turn is unable to find a solution satisfactory to all, the issue shall be sent to the Constitutional Panel.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PANEL

The Constitutional Panel would consist of nine persons selected on the basis of their integrity, representiveness and competence by the CA. We propose that they be chosen en bloc, with a vote of at least 80% in favour of the panel as a whole. This would conform with procedures in European countries where the Constitutional Court is nominated by Parliament.

The members of the Panel would not be members of the CA and would be independent in their functioning. They would entertain petitions by the Steering Committee, or by at least 15% members of the CA, in relation to whether draft proposals for the Constitution contradicts or fail to enshrine general principles agreed to at CODESA. They would also be called upon to verify that the Constitution, as finally adopted by the CA enshrined and did not contradict these principles.

The decision of the Panel shall be final and not subject to review by the CA or by the ordinary courts. While there are undoubtedly persons of great merit in the present judiciary, the court system as such is seen by the majority of South Africans as a creation of the apartheid government which appointed the judges and as lacking in legitimacy.

Many outstanding lawyers have in fact refused to serve as judges for this very reason. Only 1 out of approximately 150 judges is not white, and only 2 are not male; if issues of non-racialism and non-sexism arose, it would be manifestly inappropriate for them to be decided by all-white and all-male bodies.

In any event, the procedures and time frames of the ordinary courts would be such as totally to impede the proper functioning of the CA. Decisions at the CA will have to be taken swiftly so as to enable the constitution-drafting process to proceed.

The Panel will in fact function very much along the lines of the French Conseil Constitutionnel which decides on questions of the constitutionality of proposed laws submitted to it from Parliament, and which enjoys considerable prestige. Members of the

PLATFORM OF GUIDING PRINCIPLES

FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS

ANC/COSATU position presented to the National Conference in Support of the African National Congress and Other Democratic Forces for a New South Africa.
November 13-15, 1992
Riverside Church, New York City

1. **Introduction**

- 1.1 The apartheid legislative process that governs investment at present is a major obstacle to growth and development. In this context the process of foreign investment needs to be assessed with care.
- 1.2 At present the basic ILO Conventions do not apply across South Africa. Discriminatory practices are widespread, and the lack of transparency in government is hiding corruption and inefficiency, and promoting political violence and destabilization. Measures to protect the environment are weak, weakly implemented or non-existent. Investment in such a context will, therefore, not automatically contribute to growth, development or the eradication of apartheid.

2. **GUIDING PRINCIPLES**

We therefore propose that any investment after the lifting of the policy of economic sanctions should be guided by the following principles:

2.1 **Workers' Rights**

Companies should uphold workers' rights including the recognition of representative unions and their rights to bargain collectively, to strike, to picket peacefully, and strike breakers will not be hired.

2.2 Investment should enhance employment creation.

2.3 **Equality of Opportunity**

Companies will eliminate all discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, political opinion or physical handicap and will implement affirmative action programs.

2.4 **Environmental Protection**

Investment must incorporate environmentally sound and clean practices and technology.

(more)

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2.5 **Training and Education**

Investment should enhance the productive capacities of South Africans, and should, in particular, institute training and adult education programs for workers in consultation with the trade union movement.

2.6 **Conditions of Work and Life**

Conditions of work and life offered by companies shall compare favorably with the best conditions in the relevant sector domestically.

2.7 **Security of Employment**

Investment should contribute to the security of employment of South Africans.

2.8 **Empower Black Business**

Companies should, where possible, adopt business practices which enhance the development of Black business in South Africa.

2.9 **Implementation**

Mechanisms should be put in place to evaluate the implementation of the above principles, including the disclosure of relevant information by companies.

3. **FUTURE POLICIES OF A DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT**

3.1 It is our intention to have the above principles incorporated in the future policies and laws of a democratic government, and these will apply to all investors, domestic or foreign.

3.2 In the interim phase, we will campaign for these principles, and will support the further development of codes of conduct along with other democratic formations.

- ends -



AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Mission to the United States

NEC RESOLUTION ON NEGOTIATIONS AND NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

Further to our adopted document "Negotiations, a Strategic Perspective" this meeting of the NEC decides as follows:

1. We reject the National Party's power sharing proposal either for a permanent or fixed period.
2. In the interest of reconstruction and peace and the need to minimise the potential threat to democratic advance from divisive forces in the period immediately following the adoption of the new constitution, we declare our support for an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) which would exist up to the point of the adoption of the new constitution. After the adoption of the new constitution the IGNU would continue in the same form as a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction in order to phase in structures provided for in the new constitution.

The GNUR would exist for a specified limited duration, whose term would come to an end by the first election under the new constitution, which would be held no later than five years after the elections for the CA.

3. Such a GNUR shall be governed by the overriding principle that minority parties shall not have the powers to paralyse the functioning of the executive or to block the process of restructuring, more particularly:
 - (a) It shall be made up of an executive in which there will be proportional representation of all the parties elected to the CA subject to a minimum threshold of 5% of the seats in the Constituent Assembly.
 - (b) The President shall be elected by a simple majority of the Constituent Assembly
 - (c) Representatives of minority parties in the cabinet shall be appointed by the President in consultation with the leaders of each party in question. The President shall have the right to insist on an alternative if the person proposed by such leader is, for specified reasons, unacceptable.
 - (d) In general the President shall exercise his or her executive powers after consultation with the cabinet.
 - (e) In the case of certain specified powers the President shall exercise his or her powers in consultation with the parties represented in the cabinet. In the event of a disagreement the President's decision shall require support from 2/3 of the members of cabinet.
 - (f) The specified powers mentioned in (e) are still to be negotiated and before an agreement is reached in this regard a detailed mandate will have to be obtained from the NWC sitting with either the chairperson or secretary of each region.

4. The meeting further reaffirms its positions concerning the Constituent Assembly that the Constituent Assembly shall be a sovereign constitution-making body which will be bound only by agreed general constitutional principles. It should be composed of representatives elected on the basis of national and regional lists. It would take decisions by a two thirds majority. Matters pertaining to the powers and functions of regions will also require an additional two thirds majority of the regional representatives sitting as a whole. The Constituent Assembly should complete its work as quickly as possible and not later than nine months after its election.

The NEC will continue to negotiate the issue of an effective deadlock breaking mechanism which would be used in case the Constituent Assembly is unable to conclude its work within the specified time frame.

5. The meeting of the NEC resolved that work should continue to build a national consensus on the question of future regional government, through discussions with other parties and organisations. All decisions concerning the powers, functions, boundaries and structure of regional government should be decided by the Constituent Assembly. Any Commission on Regions that may be established by a multi-party forum would, apart from delimiting electoral regions for the Constituent Assembly elections, only make recommendations to this Assembly.

6. Programme of Reconstruction and Development

In endorsing the package concerning inter alia a Government of National Unity, the NEC affirmed that such arrangements must, during the transition period itself, be reinforced by an effective programme of reconstruction and democratic transformation.

The ANC immediately needs to embark on a process to consolidate its ranks, supporters and those of the broad democratic forces around a transitional strategy to empower the oppressed majority. This will entail:

- (i) identifying those key sections of the organs of state that require restructuring as a matter of priority.
- (ii) evolving an affirmative action programme, with definite time frames, to reconstruct the organs of state in conformity with a democratic society;
- (iii) a far-reaching programme of social and economic reconstruction to address the pressing needs of the majority of South Africa;
- (iv) a process of consultation and mobilisation of mass democratic forces and the convening of a conference on reconstruction and broad strategy. Such a conference to be held within four months.

business and military sectors in El Salvador who are opposed to the Peace Accords.

To make sure these changes become irreversible and to deepen the democratization in our country, the FMLN is proposing to boldly enter into the Government in 1994. For the 1994 general elections, we intend to form a broad opposition bloc that will bring in all the political and social forces who are committed to deepening the changes begun in the Peace Accords. For the FMLN, this means devising a pluralist policy of alliances that can involve sectors such as Christian Democracy, Social Democracy, Social Christians, organized labor and cooperative sectors, women's organizations, environmentalists, Christian base communities, and all those who agree on the goal of ensuring that the past of militarism and repression shall never again be repeated in our homeland.

III

It is essential to ask ourselves what the Peace Accords represent in the long path of making the revolution in El Salvador. Measured in the context of our history and our reality, they represent a great advance. Nevertheless, they are not everything. In our judgment, what we have begun in El Salvador is a new stage of struggle in more favorable conditions - but it certainly represents struggle on the political, ideological, economic and social terrain.

In this stage, the great tasks of the democratic revolution must be fulfilled completely: To establish a political system of a pluralist character, that responds to the needs of the majority, respectful of human rights and civil liberties. To plant the bases of a more just socioeconomic system, that can overcome the present oligarchic and neoliberal model by one that includes a strong popular pole, with enterprises owned by the workers and individual small and medium business people, that ensures that these sectors can be productive, competitive, and influential in the national economy. The foregoing is possible only if the plurality of forms of property is ensured, in such a way that the private capitalist forms can coexist interrelated with and complementary to the collective (cooperatives and other associated forms of a social character) and state forms. Additionally, the new participation of our economy in the world economy must be favorably resolved.

Democratic revolution means advancing effectively in the demilitarization of the country, with the dual proposition of eliminating any danger to the full exercise of democratic freedom and ensuring the bases for economic and social development by reducing high military spending. In this stage, the conditions for our country's exercising an independent foreign policy in accordance with the interests of our people must be ensured, participating in redefining North-South relations.

It is in the framework of this plan and this pace that we propose the necessity of later passing over to higher forms of social development, such as socialism. Our idea of socialism is a system that places into the hands of society, not of the state, the means of production, distribution and communications, as well as economic development, the political system and the government, which presupposes recognition of the diversity of ideas and parties.

The role of the state should be concentrated in supporting and ensuring social development and gradually become weakened as a coercive apparatus, to give way to a growing perfection of social organization and self-development.

Our idea of socialism is inseparable from democracy, for only democracy can provide the channels of expression for the various thoughts and interests present in society. We declare ourselves in favor of a democracy which transcends the concept of representative democracy, and which can open the doors to direct participation of the popular majority in the great decisions of state. This democracy must also include the establishment of mechanisms of popular control over the organs of state power.

We who fight for socialism must make efforts to redesign the model we offer, to draw lessons, from the positive as well as negative aspects of the experience left us by the countries of the East. It is important to study more deeply the original thought of the founders of socialism, incorporating the advances of contemporary social science, as well as the dramatic modifications the technological revolution has introduced into the relations of production at the local and international level.

In the FMLN, we believe that the socialist proposals of today must be far removed from the failed, rigid models. We say: "We must think with our own heads, to seek responses to our own realities." We believe we are faced with the opportunity to burst forth with our own thinking, offering a balanced combination of flexibility and creativity, such as we did throughout the armed struggle and during the negotiations that ended in the Peace Accords.

The present century has witnessed impressive social and political experiments, authentic revolutions in the history of humanity. The coming century will bring us great advances and great changes. We haven't the slightest doubt that the struggle for socialist ideals will be one of the great generators of such changes, since these ideals offer humanity the opportunity to end the increasingly abysmal misery, hunger, sickness and ever greater backwardness, and lack of freedom and respect for individuals and their rights.

Address of Sigfrido Reyes, representing the Political-Diplomatic Commission of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador. Reyes is a member of the Salvadoran Communist Party. Translation by Buddy Clark.

9/92?

SOUTH AFRICA

We shall end minority rule and apartheid in any guise

by Hlatshwayo Madoda

In 1990-91, at a conference called CODESA (Convention for a Democratic South Africa), both the ANC and the government and other groupings committed themselves to a new constitution that would be adopted on the basis of unity, democracy, nonracialism and nonsexism that would create a new South

Process to Codesa -
Believe peaceful resolution
credit for neg - no violence - no cult

Africa. The process started at CODESA has now been deadlocked. The problem, fundamentally, is with the ruling white minority party, which continues to seek ways to guarantee itself continued power regardless of its electoral support. The regime insists that the political majority, no matter how large, should be subjected to a veto by minority political parties - in the main, white political parties. Unless the government comes forth with a firm commitment to full democracy based on internationally-recognized principles and acceptance of sovereignty, the process cannot move forward.

After many years the struggle inside and outside South Africa was brought to a point where we all generally accepted that it could be peaceably resolved. The ANC went to the General Assembly [of the United Nations] and put forward the conditions under which it was prepared to enter into negotiations with the de Klerk government. Among the most important was that the negotiations must be undertaken only in an atmosphere free of violence. The General Assembly was in full agreement. Indeed, the South African government itself adopted this position - free discussions without intimidation, a clear, easy political atmosphere in the country, and no violence. However, as we all know, the violence has continued and the ANC feels it cannot continue negotiations as long as the people are being slaughtered.

It is not only the ANC which is pressing the issue of violence. Other, non-political, independent organizations have pointed out the de Klerk regime's involvement in the violence. An independent organization, Community Agency for Social Equity, has issued reports which found that the violence appears to be switched on and off at strategic moments. "Behind the scale of brutality is the clear evidence that the violence erupts at points when it most weakens the ANC and its alliance and dies down dramatically when it would most harm the government of F. W. de Klerk."

The report notes that two political parties clearly seem to be benefitting from this violence: the National Party, which is running the government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party of Mr. Buthelezi. To the ANC, it is definitely beyond a reasonable doubt that the violence in South Africa is both organized and orchestrated. It is specifically directed at the democratic movement, whose activists, members and supporters make up the overwhelming majority of its victims. This constitutes a cold-blooded strategy of state terrorism intended to create conditions under which the forces responsible for introducing and entrenching the system of apartheid would also have the possibility of imposing their will on a weakened democratic movement.

It is widely acknowledged that agreements the ANC has reached in the past with the de Klerk government, particularly those aimed at curbing violence, have not been carried out. For instance, the government has made no effort to implement agreements reached bilaterally between Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela [President of the African National Congress] on cultural weapons and hostels - areas over which it clearly has control. And it continues to blame the ANC for the violence. Faced with the horrendous escalation of violence, as evidenced in the Boipatong massacre and taking place in the context of the negotiations deadlock, the ANC has been forced to withdraw from

the multilateral negotiations process. From the ANC's point of view, the blame lies squarely with the regime. Only the regime has the law-enforcement personnel and legal authority to stop the violence and act against the perpetrators. The government has an obligation to protect the lives and property of all the people. It has failed to do so.

The central thrust of the violence is to weaken the ANC and the democratic movement as a whole. The ANC maintains that the government is responsible for the violence, both by acts of omission - such as failing to enforce the agreements - and acts of commission, particularly the role played by its security structures. International organizations such as the International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International have also charged the government with failing to act against violence and failing to bring to justice the individuals involved in the violence.

No action has been taken in a number of situations where policemen were involved and Inkatha was involved. Nonetheless, Mr. de Klerk consistently points the finger at the ANC. The ANC believes that de Klerk may, on the one hand, be committed to a new dispensation against apartheid in South Africa, but perhaps, on the other hand, may not actually have control over the security apparatus. The ANC would like to assist de Klerk, not only in terms of the self-interest of the mass democratic movement, but also in his own interests, by having the United Nations involved in monitoring the violence. With the U.N. physically in the country, monitoring the police and the so-called violence from the ANC, de Klerk could indeed be free to carry on legitimate negotiations at CODESA, based on internationally accepted principles of democracy. We have in South Africa in 1992 an awkward situation where the vote of Africans is supposed to count for about three-quarters of the vote of someone who is white. This is what they are pushing at CODESA. The government wants everything to pass parliament on the basis of a 75 percent plurality, which would mean totally weakening the vote of the victims of apartheid. In U.S. history, Black people were once counted as three-fifths of a person in apportioning representation. In South Africa, in 1992, our vote is supposed to be worth three-quarters. Obviously, this is unacceptable.

This is one of the fundamental problems here. Their perception of the African people is as less than human. In spite of the so-called new era and the so-called new regime, they still hold their fascistic fantasies dearly. Although the ANC is prepared to negotiate for a dispensation that will accommodate all South Africans, including the reactionary whites, it is dealing with people who are still wearing cold war blinkers. De Klerk does not see our struggle for freedom as being legitimate. He cannot see the ANC leading the people of South Africa - all of them, Black, white, Colored, Indian. To the contrary, he acts as if the fascist whites have the right to bring in a new South Africa. But, they have no capacity to change the country. Even as we are speaking today, they are engaging in covert anti-democratic actions. They do not compete openly, democratically, with the ANC's new ideas. To the contrary, they murder: not just ANC people but so-called sympathizers of the ANC.

Apartheid is alive and well in South Africa. Last year, after

Violence planned on & off

Mr. de Klerk declared that apartheid was history. President Bush rushed to lift the sanctions. We need the sanctions now, more so than ever. Apartheid will not wither away and it will not be dismantled by de Klerk or Bush. We have to keep the pressure on.

Toward this end, the ANC, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other democratic forces in the Black communities, such as Azanian Peoples Organizations and the Pan-African Congress of South Africa, are all going to be involved in a general strike on Aug. 3. We are asking for solidarity. The ANC views the international community and its solidarity efforts as essential to our struggle. Let's keep the faith.

Today's situation is new for everybody, not only for the left movement in the United States. The situation that is in transition in South Africa is new both for South Africans and for the solidarity movement. Recognizing this, the ANC National Executive Council, meeting at the end of May, called on the ANC to organize international solidarity conferences in the areas where it has been operating most effectively: the Pacific Basin, Europe and North America. At these solidarity conferences, the ANC will present to the movement its reading of the new situation, and the solidarity movement will present to the ANC its reading on new developments. This conference is planned in November in New York City. These conferences can only be a success if the grassroots are involved. The comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 was enacted because of the pressure from the grassroots. Mr. Reagan vetoed it thrice, but Congress overruled him. So it's very, very important that the grassroots be mobilized, that they hear directly from the people who are involved on the ground on the new situation that has arisen and how the ties, based on equality, should be enhanced.

We share the situation the left finds itself in in this country today. The ANC itself, as an organization, is still reeling from the new situation it is confronted with. Not only does it have to fight against the apartheid monstrosity, but the ANC has to rebuild organized structures within the country, working through at least three different traditions that have arisen in the course of the struggle. The ANC has a tradition of struggle from the UDF [United Democratic Front - a coalition of legal mass organizations - Ed.]. The second stream is the people who participated in the struggle by spending most of their lives in prison. And that's a large number of people - not only in the leadership but also among the rank and file. The third stream in the ANC today is composed of people like me, people who have spent 29 plus years in exile and struggled in exile. This indicates some of the tasks that the ANC is confronted with. Thank you for the support. *A luta continua! Amandla!*

Address of Hlatshwayo Madoda, deputy head of the African National Congress mission to the United States.

GERMANY

Toward a new vision of democracy and socialism

by Andrea Lederer

Good evening. First, please excuse my mistakes in English. It's the first time I've given a speech in English. I want to thank you for inviting me to address this conference. Gregor Gysi, the chair of the Party of Democratic Socialism in Germany, asked me to greet you and wish your conference all success. He is very interested in being in touch with the CoC next time he's in the United States.

I listened to your discussions today with great interest. A lot of the questions remind me of discussions we are having in Germany, and I think these are questions which also concern the left movement in Europe. This is not surprising because the left has to act under completely new conditions today.

I want to inform you a little bit about the situation in Germany after unification. First, what the German government calls unification is in reality a kind of political, ideological, social, economic and cultural annexation of the former GDR [German Democratic Republic]. This is true despite the 1990 elections in which people voted for the Christian Democrats. The consequences are deep economic problems, a large budget deficit, and we estimate that it will take 10 or 15 years to equalize living standards between east and west Germany. If this is a sample of integration between west and east Europe, it's not a good sign. And in eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics there are problems which are quite similar to or worse than those in the former GDR.

The social situation for the people in east Germany is very bad at the moment. The rate of unemployment is between 30 and 40 percent, and I know some communities which have 80 percent unemployment. So you can imagine that there is anger and desperation, and I think the government is a little worried about this situation. They don't know what sort of movement may develop.

Women - as is often true - are the main losers in this situation. In the former GDR, 95 percent of the women worked outside the home, and they were also able to have a family. Now they are the first ones to lose their jobs and they have lost child care as well, because all the child care facilities that existed in the former GDR have closed.

Racism is growing. You have probably heard about the recent attacks on refugees and immigrants. We're afraid that the extreme right wing will succeed in recruiting people by exploiting the social problems, and this is becoming a real movement. We're giving a great deal of attention to developing ways to combat this.

What I'm saying today is not very friendly about the country I come from, but that is the way we see it. In the arena of foreign affairs this German government talks a lot about its growing international responsibility. The first step they have planned is to change the constitution so that German soldiers

EUROPEAN NATIONS TO LIFT SANCTIONS ON SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID FOES IGNORED

Citing Moves by de Klerk, 12
Countries Agree to Drop
Economic Embargo

By ALAN RIDING

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, April 15 — Ignoring appeals from the African National Congress, the 12-nation European Community agreed today to lift its remaining economic sanctions against South Africa in response to the Pretoria Government's continuing moves to dismantle apartheid.

Meeting in Luxembourg, community foreign ministers said the move would result in ending a five-year-old ban on imports of gold coins, iron and steel from South Africa. Last December, the ministers revoked a prohibition against new investments in South Africa.

Although the nations of the community are still bound by the United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa, today's action marks a new step toward South Africa's reincorporation into the world economy. In 1985, the year before European sanctions were adopted, South Africa exported some \$700 million worth of gold coins, iron and steel to community countries.

U.S. Conditions on Sanctions

In Washington, a State Department official said the South African Government must still fulfill two conditions — freeing all political prisoners and repealing laws that classify people by race — before American sanctions can be lifted under the measure by which Congress applied them.

Washington's sanctions are wider than the European Community's. In addition to prohibiting import of South African gold coins, iron, steel and agricultural products, they ban the export to South Africa of crude oil, petroleum products, munitions and computers and computer services to security services. And the United States continues to ban new investment in South Africa.

The European Community's decision today was signaled last February when community officials told Pretoria that remaining sanctions would be lifted as soon as South Africa proposed legislation to repeal important apartheid laws. The South African Parliament is expected to approve this legislation in July.

Opposition to Move

Last week, however, the Secretary General of the African National Congress, Alfred Nzo, urged the European Community to maintain its sanctions, arguing that the apartheid system was still in place. Many members of the European Parliament also spoke out against today's community move.

But the community foreign ministers were reportedly unanimous today in supporting the lifting of sanctions and in denying the European Parliament an opportunity to debate the issue.

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

Community officials said the ministers argued that they had exclusive authority to decide about the sanctions.

A European Community official in Washington said it was likely it would take several months to re-establish trade lines cut off since the mid-1980s.

The official said there would be a good market for South African gold, in Europe and business could easily reach the pre-sanctions levels, but for iron and steel the outlook was less promising.

There have been major changes in the structure of the European industry, the official noted, with less need today for types of steel supplied by South Africa.

"They must have lost their traditional trade lines, and I can't imagine there would be an immediate pickup," she said.

At the meeting today in Luxembourg, which currently holds the rotating presidency of the community, foreign ministers also agreed to press for a war crimes trial for President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, accusing him of aggression against Kuwait, using chemical weapons against civilians and condoning genocide against the Kurds.

European officials said that, after Germany's Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, made the proposal, it was agreed that Luxembourg's Foreign Minister, Jacques Poos, would raise the issue with the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, when they meet Tuesday.

The officials said Mr. Genscher had not clarified in what court and under what international conventions that Mr. Hussein should be tried, but they recalled that, in the months leading up to the Gulf war, the community repeatedly warned the Iraqi leader that he would be charged with war crimes.

Eager to play a diplomatic role in the wake of the Gulf war, community foreign ministers are also to meet the Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d in Luxembourg Wednesday to coordinate their policies towards the Middle East in general and the Kurdish refugee crisis in particular.

Much of today's meeting in Luxembourg, though, was given over to discussion of the community's broader moves towards closer integration, above all plans to draw up common foreign and security policies that would enable it to play a more active role in future crises than it did in the Gulf war.

4/1991

LIFT SANCTIONS

ations Agree to Lift Sanctions Against South Africa

could make the white minority Government more intransigent.

Saki Macozoma, a spokesman for the congress, said that Mr. de Klerk "knows what is needed in this country and does not need rewards to do it."

Mr. Macozoma said Alfred Nzo, the congress's secretary general, and Thabo Mbeki, its international affairs secretary, had gone to Brussels last week in an effort to dissuade the European Community from its decision.

U.S. Response to Move

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 15 — A State

Department official said today that South Africa, to win an end to American sanctions, still needs to comply with two conditions of the original five set by Congress in imposing the curbs.

Pretoria has complied with three of five conditions set by Congress: repealing state-of-emergency regulations, legalizing once-banned opposition political parties and entering negotiations with representative political groups.

The law imposing the sanctions also mandates that all political prisoners — there are between 300 and 1,200 — must be released. In talks with the African National Congress last fall, the Govern-

ment promised all would be freed by April 30.

Under the law, President Bush may consider modifying the sanctions once the political prisoners have been released. He has committed himself to consulting with Congress before he does that, the State Department official said.

Congress also demanded that Pretoria repeal the Groups Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, laws that classify people by race and limiting blacks' access to land ownership. The Government has introduced legislation to repeal these laws during the current parliamentary session.

De Klerk Welcomes Move

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, April 15 — President F. W. de Klerk tonight welcomed the European Community's decision to lift economic sanctions against South Africa, calling the latest move "positive and most encouraging."

In a statement, Mr. de Klerk thanked the European governments for standing by commitments to lift the sanctions.

"It is another important step for South Africa and all its people towards improved economic conditions and normal international relations," Mr. de Klerk said.

Mr. de Klerk said he would refer to the issue in greater detail when he visits Western Europe later this month.

The African National Congress, which has repeatedly opposed any lifting of sanctions without its approval, expressed concern that the decision

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Tilden J. LeMelle, Chairman
Jennifer Davis, Executive Director

The end of the beginning

FROM OUR SOUTH AFRICA CORRESPONDENT

SOUTH Africa is being reshaped. Within ten months, if all goes well, it will have a new, popularly elected legislature. Lawyers are drafting an interim constitution to replace the present racially structured one. Cartographers are delineating new regions to replace the existing four provinces and the ten black "homelands".

That was the good news from the negotiating sessions late last week, when a decisive majority of the 26 parties involved accepted a compromise fixing next April 27th as election day and setting out the framework for constitution-making. But discord will break out again when negotiations resume on July 19th, and the interim constitution is tabled for debate. And—not by accident—the compromise was promptly followed by hideous days of political slaughter on the streets.

The compromise reached by "sufficient consensus" on June 30th sought to reconcile two quite different views of the way ahead. F.W. de Klerk's government and the African National Congress argued that the country's permanent constitution should be drawn up by a popularly elected constituent assembly. The conservatives, black and white, allied in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), wanted it drawn up by the

present group of negotiators.

Under the compromise, the negotiating council will approve, maybe with changes, an interim constitution drafted by a technical committee; the permanent one will be written by the body elected next April, which will also act as an interim parliament. But the new body will not have a free hand: it will be bound by "constitutional principles" adopted by the current negotiators.

To allay fears of domination by a powerful, probably ANC-controlled, central government, the resolution offered further guarantees: the new South Africa should have "strong regional government"; the final constitution would be adopted by "special majorities" rather than a simple majority; and a special court would oversee adherence to the constitutional principles.

Even so, Cosag was unhappy. On July 2nd, when the election date was confirmed, four of its six constituents voted against. The Afrikaner-based Conservative Party and the largely Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party walked out. But they say they will be back to debate the interim constitution. Everything, for them, depends on that and on the shape of the new regions, to be fixed by a special demarcation committee.

The election will be held on a list basis, not the present first-past-the-post system. Half the new members will come from national lists, half from regional ones. So regional representatives will help to draft the final constitution. Regional elections will also produce regional governments to operate during the transition. The stakes are clearly high.

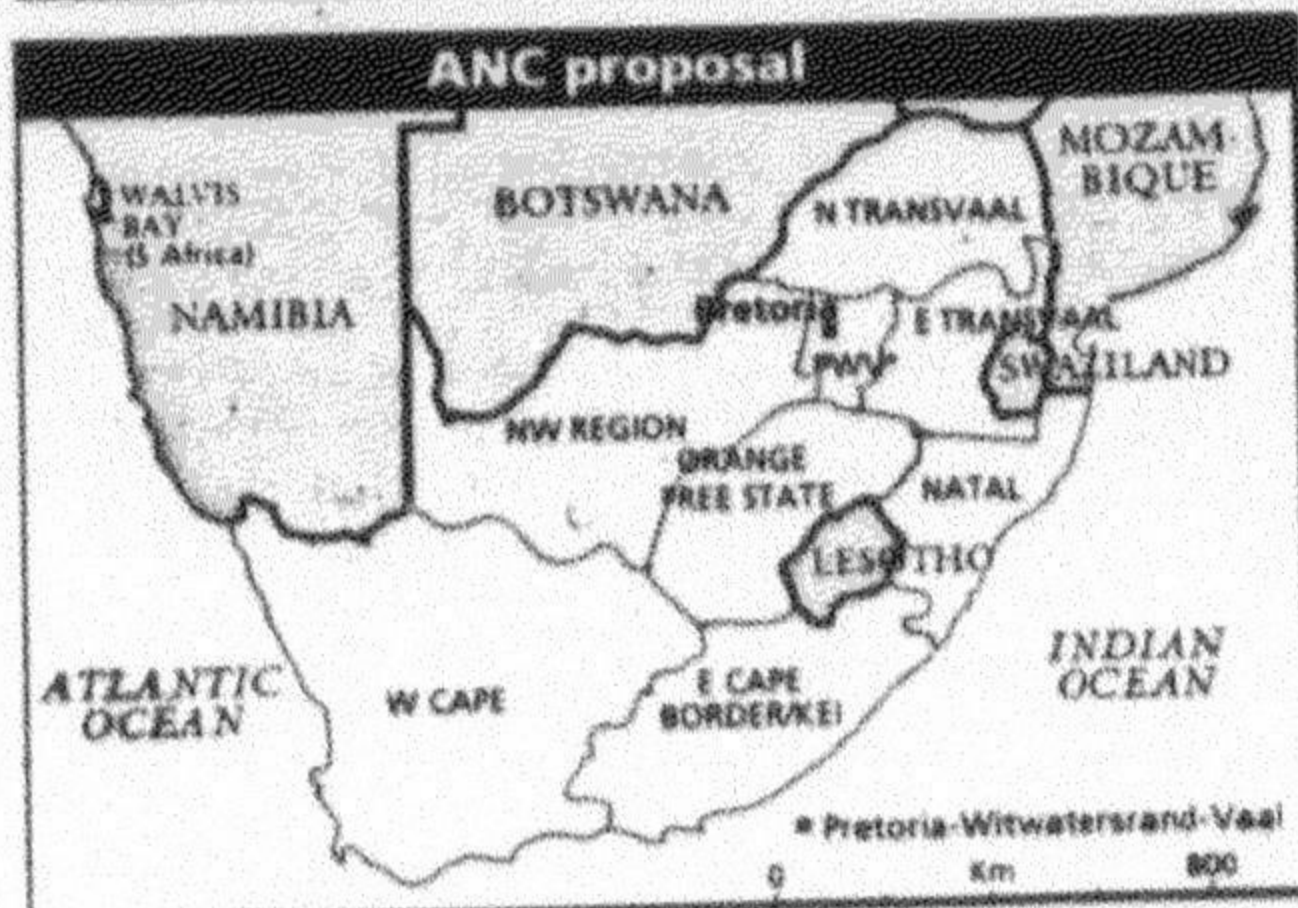
Except for the Conservatives' dream of an Afrikaner state, the debate over regions is unlikely to lead to acrimony. The government, with the National Party, has submitted two maps, one with seven regions, another, which it prefers, with nine. The smaller

Democratic Party proposes a very similar nine. The ANC proposes eight regions. The maps diverge in detail, but not in principle. All four maps concur on one point: the existing province of Natal should be one of the regions, as demanded—non-negotiably, he says—by the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Linking the ostensibly independent state of Bophuthatswana with neighbouring territory to form one region should not cause too much fuss.

The trouble will come over the Conservatives' quest for an "independent" Afrikaner "state"—their words—within a confederation. The notion has already been firmly rejected by the negotiating council; Inkatha was particularly sharp about it. And others who like the idea of an Afrikaner homeland are readier than the Conservatives to accept demographic and political realities. The minor Afrikaner People's Union, for instance, is seeking a smaller Afrikaner polity within a federated South Africa, promising that it would grant citizenship to all its inhabitants, not just Afrikaners.

These differences will re-emerge when the transitional constitution is published. Its proposals on the powers and functions of regional governments will be scrutinised closely. Cosag wants wide powers for the regions, within a federal system. The government too favours a federal system. On this point, therefore, the balance at the negotiating table will alter. The ANC shuns the very

word "federalism", fearing that devolution of too much power to the regions would render the central government powerless or even lead to secessions and the break-up of the country. The centre must be strong, it says. The ANC's chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa, has already been accused by ANC militants of giving away too much; criticisms put into sharp focus by Tony Yengeni, a former guerrilla fighter, who has accused Mr Ramaphosa and his negotiating team of cowering under the table when Afrikaner extremist thugs invaded the negotiating premises on June 25th. Stung by such criticisms, Mr Ramaphosa is unlikely to be too accommodating.





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Tilden J. LeMelle, Chairman
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Mandela's On a Mission

Tours U.S. to raise cash for elections

By Dele Olojede

UNITED NATIONS CORRESPONDENT

Los Angeles — In the basement of this city's oldest black church, Nelson Mandela stood before 200 people Friday afternoon to plead for money for an election campaign that would install a government dominated by blacks for the first time in South Africa.

That evening, having donned a dinner jacket, he made the same case to an adoring crowd of Hollywood glitterati at a private feast hosted by the entertainment mogul Peter Guber, whose guest list of more than 100 stars and starmakers included Whoopi Goldberg, Barbra Streisand and Sidney Poitier.

"We need your money," he said over and over again, "so that the result of the election would be a true reflection of the wishes of our people."

As South Africa turns toward all-race elections, Mandela has shifted the focus of his organization from that of a liberation movement fighting apartheid to that of a full-fledged political party trolling for votes.

On a 12-day tour of the United States that ends tomorrow, he has played traveling salesman, promoting his country as a business opportunity, his organization's readiness to rule, and his need for millions of dollars to prepare the 75 percent black majority to do what it has never done before — vote.

Mandela, who turns 75 next Sunday, has held out his hat to a congregation in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, one of New York's poorest neighborhoods, and has collected \$5,000 apiece from 75 friends of the billionaire banker David Rockefeller. His quest has taken him to union halls in Chicago and to the wood-paneled meeting rooms of a Washington think tank. And after a long day Friday, when Eliza-

beth Taylor and Michael Jackson pulled up in limousines at Mandela's swank hotel in Beverly Hills, the black-liberation leader received them with much the same message.

Between now and the elections, set for April, Mandela hopes to raise about \$40 million for voter education and the election campaign, about half of it from the United States. His aides couldn't say exactly how much has been raised on this trip, but estimates range from \$1 million to \$1.3 million.

Mandela's African National Congress, the country's largest political group, is widely expected to win the elections, and blacks, its support base, represent 19 million of the 22 million would-be voters. But half of the black population is illiterate and unemployed and lives in remote settlements with almost no infrastructure. The ANC has never run an election campaign; virtually none of its supporters have electoral experience.

By contrast, its principal opponent, the formerly whites-only National Party of President Frederik W. de Klerk, has demonstrated a capacity for carefully choreographed western-style political campaigning. In March last year, while seeking a mandate for reform from whites, the party hired the international public relations firm of Saatchi and Saatchi and won in a landslide.

During his travels here Mandela frequently acknowledged his rivals' superior electoral skills. "You don't win simply because you are a popular organization, but because you have the resources to organize and bring people to the polls," he said Friday.

Mandela has pursued a two-track strategy. He has canvassed for large corporate and private donations for a not-for-profit organization called the South Africa Free Elections Fund, which hopes to raise \$10 million

'We need your money so that the result of the election would be a true reflection of the wishes of our people.'

— Nelson Mandela

NEW YORK NEWSDAY, SUNDAY, JULY 11, 1983



Mandela lights a candle on his cake at a 75th birthday party at Sony Pictures in Culver City, Calif., Friday

to be allocated directly to civic and religious organizations in South Africa devoted to voter education drives among blacks.

The organization is headed by Anthony O'Reilly, president of H.J. Heinz Co., the food giant, and includes other financial heavyweights like former Orion Pictures chairman Arthur Krim and his wife. Dr. Mathilde Krim, chairman of AmFAR (the American Foundation for AIDS Research); Jim Manzi, head of Lotus Corp.; Ida Schmetz, an executive at American Express, and Theodore Sorensen, the former Kennedy presidential counsel. Former federal judge A. Leon Higginbotham serves as co-chairman, and Guber, who is chairman and chief executive of Sony Pictures, is a board member.

Mandela also has raised money directly for the ANC, through a network of anti-apartheid organizations loosely coordinated by Randall Robinson of TransAfrica in Washington, and especially through black churches. His visit began in New York and has taken him to Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and Indianapolis. He is scheduled to spend the night in Atlanta before heading home tomorrow.

In exhorting a congregation at Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn to make "sacrificial gifts," the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, who was prominent in the civil-rights movement, said on a recent evening that Mandela's fight was as good as any his listeners would ever support. "In my 40 years in the ministry I have raised a lot of money for a lot of good causes, but none is as good or as great as this one," he said.

'It is clear the Cabal intends to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses to serve its own ends'

IN an exclusive article published below, Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela, hits out at a secret cabal within the ANC intent on taking over power by infiltrating key committees within the organisation. The cabal's intentions, she says, is revealed in two documents written in 1990 and 1992. The documents, she says, attack Nelson's Mandela's leadership. She says the first document, written within months of his release, is already intent on

dethroning him. And she quotes from Document 2: "... his (Mandela's) continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations with the regime lessen his usefulness." She says the cabal's main objectives are: ■ To remove Mandela as ANC president, ■ To replace him with Cyril Ramaphosa, ■ To infiltrate the ANC's negotiations team in order to realise its aims at the negotiations table.

■ To consolidate their position at regional levels; ■ To allow De Klerk certain victories in the international arena; ■ If necessary, to keep the Nationalist Party in power even after the ANC wins an election. She quotes from Document 1: "To include the masses who are mostly illiterate when it comes to the intricacies of negotiation is a folly. Perceptions should, however, be created that they are included." Says Winnie: "It is clear that the cabal in-

tends to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses and negotiate a settlement which serves the ends of the cabal, not the people." "They want to infiltrate their own people into key positions on ANC negotiating team," says Winnie. "We have to eliminate elitist dictatorship which seek to pursue their personal ambitions and power." She points out that the cabal fears Cosa and its influence on the masses.

EXCLUSIVE: Winnie Mandela speaks out on a cabal within the ANC intent on taking power for its own ends

The plot to oust Nelson

THERE is no doubt in my mind that we must negotiate our way into a new, non-racial, non-segister democracy. But, at the same time, there is also no doubt in my mind that we will only have that democracy if it works in the interests of the vast majority of the people of this country. If that new democracy protects the white privileges accumulated over the last 300 years, then it is no democracy.

When the ANC was banned in 1960 we lost its democratic tradition. Separated from the people, the ANC in exile was established as a small committee. When it grew into a large bureaucracy, with embassies throughout the world, control was centred in a small executive of 35. Cut off from its constituency, it could not develop a democratic tradition.

In South Africa, the UDP, hampered by emergency and security legislation, was unable to develop a democratic tradition. In that situation the tendency for small groups to make decisions on behalf of the people became widespread, and all regions suffered.

Now that we are moving towards a non-racial, non-segister democracy, we have to eliminate elitist dictatorships which seek to pursue their personal ambitions and power for the sake of power—they are not pursuing an ideological agenda.

They want to infiltrate their own people into key positions on ANC negotiating teams, and then to use those positions to speed the ANC through the negotiations process in order to ensure their hold on a future government, regardless of the consequence of that government for the people.

Power at any price

The intention of the secret cabal is explicit in the two cabal documents of 1990 and 1992. The 1990 document was expressed by Aubrey Mokoena, who sent copies to leading comrades. The 1992 document, leaked to the press, is a sort of progress report on the 1990 document, the veracity of which, to the best of my knowledge, was not challenged.

The ANC's recent power-sharing document, with "Strategic Perspective", reflects the culmination of the cabal's goal. The authorship of the "Strategic Perspective" document is attributed by Vrye Weekblad to (Mohammed) Valli Moosa, who also features in Document 2.

The "Strategic Perspective" of the ANC is the cabal's crowning glory. Negotiation is their way to future power at any price, and the price is democracy itself and the people's rights, as the ANC shares power with the Nats because of such meaningless jargon as "the balance of forces has forced on to the South African political situation relationships between these two leading players, characterised by contradictory elements of co-operation in pursuit of our goals, and competition in pursuit of our divergent objectives".

The differences in the documents are differences dictated by events in the interim period. The 1990 document is on the threshold of negotiation, when the cabal's plan to take over depends on its infiltration into the Mandela Reception Committee; the 1991 document is post-Codesa 1, where the cabal has succeeded in making substantial inroads and the "Strategic Perspective" sees the beginning of the cabal dream.

The negotiating table is the forum in which the cabal intends to realise its aims



through the infiltration by members of the cabal.

Document 1: "We have been successful in creating a shadow negotiations team... at least four of our leaders are certain to be included in the negotiation team."

Document 2: "We defined an urgent short-term objective to spread our influence to certain regions."

"In the months to come we should consolidate our position on a regional level. We are in a strong position in all working groups, and adequately represented on the management committee."

"Our boys in the ANC delegation, combined with the Party, NIC (Natal Indian Congress)/TIC (Transvaal Indian Congress), and a carefully selected Cosatu delegation, could increasingly play a directing and manipulating goal-reaching role."

The elitist cabalists reflect no concern for democratic consultation and, hence, for the people.

Document 1 states: "To include the masses who are mostly illiterate when it comes to the intricacies of negotiations is a folly. Perceptions should, however, be created that they are included."

And Document 2 states: "We should however, at all times, appear to insist on the correct mechanisms. The masses cling to it, and for them liberation would not be complete without it... for they are now seeking not struggle but the realisation of long held ideals such as non-

racialism and freedom."

From this it becomes clear that the cabal intend to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses, and negotiate a settlement which serves the ends of the cabal, not the people.

The cabal also fears Cosatu and its influence on the masses. Document 2 states that Cosatu's "participation in Codesa, as well as the anticipated insistence on the establishment of the correct mechanisms, coupled with their ability to mobilise the masses, can decisively influence the process we seek to control."

Document 1 states: "Through our efforts we have been successful in creating a shadow negotiations team... at least four of our leaders are certain to be included in the negotiation team."

The first document, written within months of Mandela's release, is already intent on dethroning him. It questions his leadership: "... nobody can confidently proclaim that he is a natural leader with a large constituency among the youth... the euphoria generated by his release quickly wore off. After his first message the youth grew tired of listening to old rhetoric."

Document 2: "... his continuing tactical and strategic blunders in negotiations with the regime lessen his usefulness. His popularity has waned considerably and we should expect Winnie's capers to seriously harm him."

"Already there is the rumoured split in the marriage which, once it becomes public knowledge, will further tarnish his image."

Both documents point to (Cyril) Ramaphosa as his successor.

Document 1, referring to Ramaphosa: "The man shows a great deal of promise and should continually be nurtured."

Document 2: "Our vision to develop an alternative leader to Mandela has already got handsome J videnka... Within the movement we must continue to strengthen the position of Comrade CR, but take care not to public harm Mandela's position. We should work inside, and eventually it will appear natural for CR to take his position."

At the time of the above two documents Mandela had not yet outgrown his usefulness.

Document 1: "It is extremely gratifying Nelson Mandela is accepted as leader of both the ANC and the people of SA. Our evaluation thus proved right."

The evaluation at the time was that through the Mandela Reception Committee they (the cabal) would bask in Mandela's glory and great leadership. "The National Reception Committee has catapulted our people into also becoming the leaders of the people."

Having become the leaders, their next task was to eliminate the leader, they are still aiming at that.

All three documents show concern for De Klerk, and for keeping him happy.

Document 1: "Threat from Right wing is serious and dangerous... whites should not be angered as it could force De Klerk to a referendum." Document 2: "De Klerk must be allowed to score certain victories in the international arena."

In the "Strategic Perspective" the ANC is ready to maintain Nat power even after the ANC wins an election, by keeping its security forces and civil service, the remarkable argument being: "If the transition to democracy affects the interests of the individual in those institutions wholly and purely negatively, then they would serve as fertile ground from which the destabilisers would recruit." So the ANC must keep the Nats and their edifice in power — for how long?

Albatross around the neck

The first document fears the return of 5 000 to 7 000 MKs. They will exacerbate the situation. They will defect to (Peter) Mokaba and Sayco (SA Youth Congress), both detested by the cabal.

The second document sees the MK as "an albatross around the movement's neck. The sooner we rid ourselves of the potential time bomb, the greater the opportunity to ensure major political gains... leave the MK to Winnie and her cohorts."

I am deeply concerned about this kind of power mongering leadership. I fear that it will sabotage our future democracy.

I believe in Mandela, I always have, and I devoted the major part of my adult life upholding and keeping alive his ideals. It pains me to see how he is being undermined by the self-

serving men who plot and manipulate and take control.

It is imperative that any new government established in South Africa be democratically accountable to ordinary people of all colours at every level, if we are to avoid yet another cycle of oppression and horror.

No settlement reached without the full comprehension of, and support of, the masses will ever bring to this country the peace necessary for economic growth and prosperity.

KEY FIGURES WHO FEATURE IN THE SECRET DOCUMENTS, AS IDENTIFIED BY WINNIE



CENTRE STAGE... both documents point to Cyril Ramaphosa as Mandela's successor.



AUTHOR... "Strategic Perspective" is attributed to Mohammed Valli Moosa, who also features in document 2.



CIRCULATED... Aubrey Mokoena sent copies of the 1990 document to leading comrades.

INTERNATIONAL

S. Africa's Talks Disrupted By Detention of Militants

Crackdown widens ruling party divisions between hawks and doves

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

JOHANNESBURG

A NATIONWIDE police crackdown on the leadership of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress has disrupted multiracial talks for a transition to democracy and jeopardized a June deadline for setting a date for the country's first democratic ballot.

PAC President Clarence Makhulu said yesterday that his party would not continue to take part in the negotiations unless the government freed 62 PAC leaders still in custody, restored seized property, and repaired damage incurred in the raids.

The crackdown, coming at a time of escalating township violence, has shaken confidence in the 26-member Multi-Party Negotiating Forum and widened divisions between hawks and doves in the ruling National Party.

"One cannot escape the conclusion that elements in government carefully planned the timing of this swoop to ensure maximum impact in demonstrating who is in control and [to ensure] that terrorism will not be tolerated - even if it means jeopardizing negotiations," said a Western diplomat.

The simultaneous crackdown on PAC officials around the country early Tuesday morning and the forced entry into PAC premises bore all the hallmarks of security operations at the height of the apartheid era.

Police swooped in on senior members of the PAC and alleged officials of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), arresting 79. The operation was the most extensive crackdown on a black opposition group since the United Demo-

cratic Front and other anti-apartheid groups were banned in February 1988. It followed four days of renewed violence in the black townships east of Johannesburg that has already claimed more than 50 lives.

Yesterday police released 11 of the arrested officials, including one of seven detained PAC executives.

Most of the 26 parties at the Multi-Party Negotiating Forum supported a resolution that criticized the government for the "insensitive" timing of the raids and the potential damage it could inflict on the negotiating process.

But Gen. Constand Viljoen, a former chief of the South African Defense Force who now heads a right-wing umbrella group, the Afrikaner Volksfront, welcomed the raids. "If this is a move to ensure more peace as we have recommended ... it is a step in the right direction," General Viljoen said.

The timing of the raid, which was not approved by the Cabinet in advance, appears to have widened a split in the National Party. It emerged Tuesday that the Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who heads the government negotiating team, had no prior knowledge of the raids.

A parliamentary legislator, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said President Frederik de Klerk had told him that he had first known about the raids only after they had already begun.

Mt. De Klerk was locked in all-day discussions with members of his Cabinet yesterday in what was expected to be a stormy session after the African National Congress demanded the sacking of Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel in response to the raid.

ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said the raid was a

"travesty of justice" which had left the negotiations "hanging by a thread."

He said it also raised questions as to who was controlling the country - the politicians or the security officials?

In the aftermath of the crackdown, the PAC, which in the past has failed to translate widespread sympathy among radical blacks into a significant increase in membership, has already received a huge propaganda boost.

But PAC General Secretary Benny Alexander, who says he escaped from the police and disputes their claim that he was released after questioning, said that the raid had rendered the organization unworkable.

"We are effectively banned from functioning," he said.

PAC Foreign Secretary Gora Ebrahim slammed the government for its "Gestapo-like tactics" and said the action appeared directed at forcing the PAC out of negotiations when the most important decisions about the future were about to be taken.

PAC leaders appear to have accepted that a long-term withdrawal from the negotiating forum would play into the hands of right-wing elements in government who want to delay the process so that a newly-formed right-wing front can formulate a united position and table its proposals at the negotiating table.

The PAC, which has continued to wage an armed struggle against security personnel and white farmers while taking part in negotiations, has focused its political campaign on the return of land to the black majority.

Police said the arrest of PAC and APLA officials around the country was part of routine police duties in preventing crime and did not constitute an orchestrated attack on a political organization.

DECLARATION OF THE OAU AD-HOC COMMITTEE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA
ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA:
HARARE, ZIMBABWE: AUGUST 21, 1989

I. PREAMBLE

- 1.0 The people of Africa, singly, collectively and acting through the OAU, are engaged in serious efforts to establish peace throughout the continent by ending all conflicts through negotiations based on the principle of justice and peace for all.
- 2.0 We reaffirm our conviction, which history confirms, that where colonial, racial and apartheid domination exist, there can neither be peace nor justice.
- 3.0 Accordingly, we reiterate that while the apartheid system in South Africa persists, the peoples of our continent as a whole cannot achieve the fundamental objectives of justice, human dignity and peace which are both crucial in themselves and fundamental to the stability and development of Africa.
- 4.0 With regard to the region of Southern Africa, the entire continent is vitally interested that the processes, in which it is involved, leading to the complete and genuine independence of Namibia, as well as peace in Angola and Mozambique, should succeed in the shortest possible time. Equally, Africa is deeply concerned that the destabilisation by South Africa of all the countries in the region, whether through direct aggression, sponsorship of surrogates, economic subversion and other means, should end immediately.
- 5.0 We recognise the reality that permanent peace and stability in Southern Africa can only be achieved when the system of apartheid in South Africa has been liquidated and South Africa transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. We therefore reiterate that all the necessary measures should be adopted now, to bring a speedy end to the apartheid system, in the interest of all the people of Southern Africa, our continent and the world at large.
- 6.0 We believe that, as a result of the liberation struggle and international pressure against apartheid, as well as global efforts to liquidate regional conflicts, possibilities exist for further movement towards the resolution of the problems facing the people of South Africa. For these possibilities to lead to fundamental change in South Africa, the Pretoria regime must abandon its abhorrent concepts and practices of racial domination and its record of failure to honour agreements, all of which have already resulted in the loss of so many lives and the destruction of much property in the countries of Southern Africa.

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