

tiff and not issues pertaining to the life and death struggle of the oppressed. Mandela kowtowed to the only principle he now espouses – that of compromise – and the happy relationship between the ANC and the government was put back on track.

The little game of deceit, however, was and will be one of many. CODESA cannot hope to deliver the oppressed out of the political servitude and socio-economic deprivation that is their lot. The oppressed have to learn that hope alone, whether it be in an organisation, in an individual or in an ideal – cannot realise our liberation. History teaches us that only sound organisation of the people themselves, guided by scientific principles of political struggle can win our freedom in South Africa. Any other route or quick-fix solutions can only set us back in this quest; and this is the very task of CODESA – to hijack the struggle in this country.

"I'M NOT THE LAST WHITE HEAD OF STATE" – F.W. De Klerk

Mr F.W. de Klerk recently told a German political magazine, "Der Spiegel", that he did not believe he would be the last white head of state in South Africa. At the same time he warned that if South Africa became "ungovernable" . . . "we (the government) have a lot of options left (to reverse this) . . . Unfortunately, they are not attractive ones." Nor did he rule out the possibility of reimposing a state of emergency if political talks failed to "achieve desired ends". He insisted that "whites will play a critical role in any (future) government, no matter under what constitution". (The Star, the Johannesburg International weekly, 20 November 1991)

De Klerk added that he wanted a system of government by coalition which would be representative of all players and have "a rotational presidency"! "The Westminster system in which a group with 51 per cent of the vote has all the power, is unsuitable for South Africa . . . For example, we need a second parliamentary chamber to look after minority interests." There would be "trouble" if a new system led to "the suppression of minority rights and violation of property rights," he added. There should not be "a repeat of the conditions in other African countries." By the same token, De Klerk contended that "there

are no landowners in South Africa who did not pay for their property. Legitimate landowners have a right to protection.” Blaming the ANC for “delaying tactics” in his attempts to bring about “the new society”, De Klerk said: “We are in a rush and we had hoped to achieve more . . . and we should have a multi-party conference before the end of the year.”

CONVENTION WITH ONLY ONE “LIBERATION” MOVEMENT

On 29-30 November, therefore, an all-party/multi-party meeting was convened to plan for a conference that would bring about negotiations. De Klerk assembled a motley collection of largely homelands/Bantustan/tricameral collaborators – 14 of them out of a total of 20 persons at the meeting, each representing some ‘organisation’ or other. Apart from De Klerk (Nat government), Gerrit Viljoen (Nat Party), J de Beer (Dem Party), Nelson Mandela (ANC), J. Slovo (SACP) and Clarence Makwetu (PAC), there were three tricameral ‘MPs’ (Hendrickse of ‘Coloured’ Labour Party; A. Rajbansi and Reddy of Indian collaborator parties). To make up the majority were eleven homelands/Bantustan chiefs, which included Holomisa (Transkei), Oupa Gqozo (Ciskei), Mangope (Boputhatswana), etc. Though the PAC was present at the start of the meeting, the delegation subsequently withdrew by walking out of the talks after alleging that the ANC and the government were in collusion. The PAC would, at a special conference on 16 December decide whether it would be part of the Convention for a Democratic South (CODESA) affair*. There was the likelihood that the PAC would boycott the meeting scheduled for 20-21 December and this would mean that since the AZAPO/BCMA, the New Unity Movement and WOSA would not be part of the “Convention”, the only “liberation movement” to attend it would be the ANC-SACP alliance.

COSATU had earlier wanted to be represented in their own right on the “Convention” and not as part of the tripartite alliance of the ANCP, but the government had decreed that COSATU was not a ‘political party’. Apparently COSATU was now satisfied to be represented by the ANCP grouping.

* The PAC decided at their special conference in Cape Town on 16 December that they would boycott the talks scheduled for 20-21 December because of the undemocratic composition of CODESA. Clarence Makwetu, the PAC President, had told the meeting that it was doubted whether the government was sincerely interested in ending white rule or merely trying to lure opposition groups to accept an undemocratic system. The boycott decision was unanimously accepted by the 2 000 delegates and supporters at the conference.