

IFP digs in its heels over KwaZulu Govt at Codesa

The Natal Mercury 9 March 1992
Mercury Reporter

THE Inkatha Freedom Party central committee said at the weekend that it would not be bound by any Codesa decisions until the KwaZulu Government delegation was accepted with full participating rights.

The committee pledged its support for a nationwide campaign to have the KwaZulu Government admitted to Codesa — and has vowed not to regard Codesa decisions as binding on the homeland.

The committee resolved to give its "total support for Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's (IFP president) decision not to betray the king of the Zulus, Goodwill Zwelithini, by participating in Codesa while his king is rejected by Codesa".

The meeting resolved that the IFP president must with-

draw his "compromise offer" made to Mr de Klerk and that the KwaZulu Government would withdraw his claim for representation at Codesa, if the king was given full participant rights.

"We believe that our president's non-participation in Codesa is disastrous for South Africa and state our conviction that this matter must be rectified," the IFP said.

The organisation also "pledged its support to Dr Buthelezi in everything he does to gain representation for the Zulu people at Codesa".

"The IFP position is that it cannot negotiate for KwaZulu because it is not a Zulu party. The IFP will not regard any decisions of Codesa binding on KwaZulu until KwaZulu is in Codesa to decide for itself what it would regard as binding or not binding" IFP said.

Cosatu's strike threat to Govt

Mercury 9 March 92
Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—Cosatu yesterday threatened the Government with mass action on an "unprecedented scale" including a general strike, or a tax strike, if an interim government was not put in place by the end of June.

General secretary Jay Naidoo, apparently unconcerned at the effect of the threat on the coming referendum, which he described as "irrelevant", said Cosatu wanted an interim government by the end of June, elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year and a democratic constitution in place by next year.

He warned that Cosatu's central executive committee would begin a programme of refusing to pay PAYE if certain demands were not met.

At a press conference, he announced a four-month "action programme", including a variety of political and economic demands identified by

the central executive committee.

Mr Naidoo said there was "no difference" between President de Klerk and CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

"We are warning De Klerk and Treurnicht that our programme towards achieving democracy in this country won't be stopped by either of them."

Defence Minister and negotiator at Codesa's Working Group 3, Mr Roelf Meyer, said it was unnecessary for Cosatu to make such statements. "They are obviously out of touch with what is happening at Codesa," he said.

"Business is very surprised that these demands are being made," a spokesman for a group of influential businessmen said, adding, "business will not respond positively with a pistol to its head."

B Day 9/3/92
 June deadline for union demands

Cosatu vows to strike over interim govt

COSATU yesterday threatened government with mass action on an "unprecedented scale", including a possible general strike if an interim government was not put in place by the end of June.

Its general secretary Jay Naidoo said Cosatu wanted an interim government by the end of June, elections for a constituent assembly by the end of the year and a democratic constitution in place by next year.

Naidoo said the threat would leave on the outcome of the March 17 referendum. Cosatu described the poll as irrelevant.

Naidoo also warned that Cosatu's central executive committee had resolved to start a programme of refusing PAYE deductions if certain demands were not met.

Naidoo was speaking at a Johannesburg news conference called to announce a four-month programme of action centred on a variety of political and economic demands identified by the central executive committee.

The demands include an immediate suspension of unilateral restructuring of the economy and the establishment of a National Economic Negotiating Forum.

Cosatu also wants the National Manpower Commission restructured — something which government has committed itself to prioritising.

Its programme of action includes a "people's referendum" on March 18 — Budget day — when Cosatu plans nationwide marches and pickets as well as a march on Parliament.

Cosatu will also hold an economic policy

SUSAN RUSSELL
 and BILLY PADDOCK

conference on March 27 to 29, May Day rallies and an alliance summit with the ANC and SACP in mid-April to assess the progress of Codesa working groups and to decide on forms of action if demands are not met by June.

The programme will conclude with a workers' summit with other labour groups, including Naxta, at the end of May at which a decision will be taken on national action.

Naidoo said the referendum was irrelevant to the negotiation process.

"We want to warn the present government and the CP that any attempt on their side to delay the democratisation process is going to be met with mass resistance on an unprecedented scale."

Naidoo said there was no difference between President F.W. de Klerk and CP leader Andreas Treurnicht.

"The negotiation process does not depend on the outcome of the referendum. Negotiations were mobilised by mass action on the ground."

"We are warning De Klerk and Treurnicht that our programme towards achieving democracy in this country won't be stopped by either of them."

Naidoo said the political process had to move beyond Codesa to an interim government underpinned by negotiations.

"We are not prepared to wait beyond June," Naidoo said.

Defence Minister and negotiator at Codesa working group 3, Roelf Meyer, said it was unnecessary for Cosatu to make state-

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Cosatu

mantra like this. He said they were obviously out of touch with what was happening at Codesa at present.

Meyer added that Cosatu's statements yesterday were probably a way of making the point that it was not part of Codesa.

It was clear, he said, that sufficient progress was being made at Codesa. Agreement was reached in working group 3 over proposals for a transitional body which would be the most powerful executive structure in the country.

The ANC's national working committee has already endorsed the plan and government and the NP are expected to do so too.

□ From Page 1

ANC spokesman could not be reached yesterday for comment.

A spokesman for a group of influential business leaders said all the demands set by Cosatu were already being addressed through Codesa or the Minister concerned. Some would also be addressed by the economic forum which was being set up.

"Business is very surprised at the fact that these demands are being made and at the unilateral way in which Cosatu has acted," the spokesman said.

Picture: Page 2

Mandela joins 'battle for soul of whites'

By Bill Schiller
TORONTO STAR

JOHANNESBURG — Calling next week's referendum on reform "the battle for the soul of white South Africans," Nelson Mandela appealed to whites yesterday to vote "yes" March 17 and ensure a peaceful future.

The African National Congress leader's appeal, in a column in the mass-distribution Sunday Times newspaper, comes hard on the heels of former president P. W. Botha's call for citizens to vote "no" in the whites-only poll.

It is yet another sign of the intensity and historic importance of the reform referendum. For the first time, the ANC has endorsed race-restricted balloting.

President F. W. de Klerk has vowed to re-

sign and call an election if white South Africans vote "no."

Opposition Conservative party leader Andries Treurnicht has indicated that a "no" vote would pave the way for his party's electoral victory, and the return of apartheid legislation.

In yesterday's column, Mandela wrote: "Our white compatriots have a chance to show they repudiate, once and for all, the cruel policies that have brought so much shame to our country and caused so much pain."

By voting "yes" in the referendum, Mandela said, white South Africans would "walk boldly . . . with heads high into the new South Africa."

He said he and the ANC "urge all those who have the privilege to vote to use it."

"These are the last whites-only elections." Mandela's appeal could well be a double-edged sword: on the one hand, his moderate, assuring tone will go some distance to calm and persuade those in need of assurance to vote "yes."

But on the other, the column may incite anger among conservative-leaning whites, who are already suspicious of behind-the-scenes collusion between de Klerk and Mandela.

Mandela's appeal could spawn a backlash among conservative-minded voters.

A week from tomorrow, white South Africans will be asked: "Do you support the continuation of the reform process which the president began on Feb. 2, 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

In a compressed and frenzied campaign, the de Klerk government is going all out to secure a landslide victory to carry them confidently into final negotiations.

Citizens with identification books will be able to vote abroad.

In newspaper advertisements yesterday, the government said that for those 400,000 white immigrants inside the country who want to vote, application could be made for "urgent naturalization," and the government would ensure voter eligibility within the week.

In his column, Mandela admitted he didn't like the whites-only aspect of the referendum, but told whites they "should not step back from the opportunity to make a direct contribution towards ending white domination."



MANDELA: He wants whites to vote for reform.

B. Day 7/3/92

Danger in the 'yes' vote hype

TONY LEON

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk has called for a landslide victory in next week's referendum. This makes some political sense, since affirmation by, say, more than 90% of the white electorate will clearly strengthen his hand in negotiations. It will also be a ringing endorsement of the process initiated at CODESA.

Exoterically, however, such a call could prove dangerous. It reinforces the air of triumphalism which abounds in certain circles of the "yes" referendum campaign. It suggests a smug complacency about the inevitability of success, which the facts on the ground could contradict.

Of course, I hope that an overwhelming majority of whites fundamentally discard the political habits of a lifetime and embrace the cause of a non-racial democratic future, offered by a "yes" victory. It is very possible, if preliminary opinion polls are to be believed, that they will do so in huge numbers. But that is a prospect — not a probability.

The 1948 general election is a case study of misreading electoral signals and results. That election outcome was, of course, distorted by the difference between votes cast (which the United Party government won by a margin of 9%) and the seats gained, with the National Party-Afrikaner Party Alliance achieving

an overall majority of just five MPs.

However, as Heard notes in his definitive study, *General Elections in SA 1948-1976*, "while the background to the 1948 election implies a certain inevitability in the Nationalist victory, this was far from evident at the time. The signs were undoubtedly there, but few read them dispassionately and clearly."

Reading accounts of that campaign confirms that the prevailing mood of UP supporters was indeed one which simply assumed victory, while speculation confined itself to the extent of the government majority. This attitude is typically captured by a leading article which appeared in the UP-supporting *Natal Daily News* in 1948. It is eerily evocative of much of the media hype surrounding the current "yes" campaign. It read: "It is notorious that the Nationalists are at sixes and sevens about leadership, between the provinces, and about slogans and policies. Political strategists have advanced (he thought) that (NP) victory would embarrass them more than defeat. All these things added together the inevitability of victory

for General Smuts."

Today the Nationalist Press, primarily, seized on every utterance of Kees van der Merwe to prove the fundamental division in CP ranks.

Equally, F.W. de Klerk's over-appearence is rapturously chronicled. Most importantly, the white establishment from big business to the tiny city councils, has endorsed (and funded) the "yes" campaign. So the odds are stacked against the CP and the rejectionist rag-tag of once it has cobbled together.

But none of these elements will prove sufficient. Each white South African must, first, be persuaded of the importance of voting. There are no "safe seats" in this referendum. Every Bantustan, every town and every village will be required to honour the "no" vote from Pretoria, Port Elizabeth to Port Shepstone.

Once the "no" vote is established in the process, is actually exposed — from apathy or disinter-

est — the "yes" campaigners face another, more difficult, task. The electorate has to be persuaded not to dip into grievance bank before voting; there is legitimate and massive discontent across the spectrum. Indeed, SA is lit by explosive forces — stagnant incomes, declining jobs, inflation-driven increases in prices and skyrocketing crime. These have now reached combustion point. The key to success on March 17 is to persuade whites to vote right past those anxieties and to concentrate their minds on a single question: no negotiation of a new constitution leading to an ineptive democracy.

Of course, it should be reasonably clear that the absence of an agreed constitutional framework makes the resolution of each of these "grievances" laudable, problematic, if not impossible to resolve.

However, while the CP offers no workable or worthwhile alternative it is expert at practising the politics of resentment and mobilising its adherents to the polls. If it manages to transform next week's referendum into a mandate on white discontent about the present — and not a voice

about the future — they would surely win. But they probably lack the resources — and certainly the credibility — to do so.

Assuming the government achieves a significant victory, in many cases the votes awarded to it will be grudgingly given. There is a constituency who will vote "yes" and instead mean "yes, but..."

Ordinary South Africans are tired of swingeing tax rates and increased crime. They are fed up with declining standards and soaring shopping bills. They fear the future — but are probably more distrustful of the return to a derelict past offered by the "No" camp. In the end, some will vote "yes" because Eugene Terre-Blanche terrifies them more than Chris Hani. But even a decisive win is to be greeted, and soberly, with interpretation.

Since this is the last occasion on which the white vote will matter decisively, F.W. de Klerk should use the remaining days of campaigning to explain his electorate precisely how he will use his mandate, land-able or not. If the DP is doing this in its 33 constituencies.

Only a "no" victory can transform our current malaise and lead to the triumph of hope over fear, and replace anxiety with certainty.

□ Leon is CP MP for Houghton.

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03 '92 09:55

Federal option best for SA problems — Russian expert

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

A federal option — fundamental to the idea of liberalism — had a greater opportunity of solving the social, political and economic ills bedevilling South Africa than any nationalist or communist experiment, visiting Russian academic Dr Vladimir Tikhomirov said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Dr Tikhomirov, director of studies at the Africa Institute and deputy director of the Centre of Southern African Studies in Moscow, was addressing a lunch hosted by the International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

His new book, "States in Transition: Russia and South Africa", was presented to the media.

Dr Tikhomirov said the Soviet unitary constitutional model had no prospects of bringing democracy to a multinational society, while the separatist approach

(apartheid) would in the long run be incapable of providing solutions to economic problems.

"Developments in South Africa during this century teach one lesson: separate development, along ethnic lines and within the borders of one country, contradicts the needs of the economy and can only be successfully implemented with great losses," he said.

Dr Tikhomirov said the Soviet and South African experiences also demonstrated the irreconcilability of two ideologies present in the two societies — nationalism and communism.

The struggle between the two ideologies formed the framework for developments in both countries which left little opportunity for the stabilising effect of liberalism.

He said similarities between South Africa and the Soviet Union explained the complexity and inconsistency of

their bilateral relations.

On the one hand, both closely co-operated in world markets — striving to generate funds for their costly social experiments at home.

On the other hand, both were seen as ideological mirror-images of each other, with South Africa vigorously fighting the national liberation movements which were backed by the USSR among other countries.

"It now appears that the two states are exchanging places: while the former USSR is reappearing in southern Africa as a major anti-communist force, an increasing number of South African leaders, especially from the black community, are taking socialist arguments seriously."

Dr Tikhomirov has been in the country for six months as a visiting research Fellow at the IFF. He leaves for home next week.

9-03-92

Mercury article elicits two-page Ilanga response

THE Inkatha-owned Ilanga newspaper has responded in a two-page report to claims made in an article in the Mercury that KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Chief Whip Johnny Mhlungu had paid only R124 000 for land in KwaMashu with shopping centre rights worth R46 million.

This information was revealed in documents before the Durban City Council's town planning appeals committee, which is considering objections by Khulani Holdings and Properties, of which Mr Mhlungu is chief executive officer, to a proposal by Tongaat Hulett Properties to establish a regional shopping centre on a site diagonally opposite his.

In the lengthy "comment

Municipal Reporter

and opinion" column, Ilanga asked: "What on earth has the position of the Chief Whip got to do with land bought by a private company for development?"

"The facts are that the land was bought perfectly legitimately and legally. The price has got nothing to do with the KwaZulu Government. It was in fact determined by the central Government.

"In terms of Proclamation R2626 dated December 1978 ... the selling price of land with trading rights was fixed at R11 for each 25 m².

"The business rights for the Khulani site were legally awarded to Khulani Properties by the KwaMashu Town Council on August 23, 1988."

The Citizen 2/3/92

ANC risks a civil war — Dr Treurnicht

BETHLEHEM. — If the African National Congress wanted to impose its will on the country it would be responsible for civil war, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night.

Citing reports that the ANC's director of foreign affairs had said the ANC would pursue the creation of an interim government in the event of a No vote, Dr Treurnicht said it would be unacceptable that Blacks governed Whites.

Dr Treurnicht said the ANC had first raised the spectre of a "bloodbath" in the event of a No vote,

and that conservative Whites would not let themselves be intimidated by terrorists.

People should not be so naive as to believe that Whites would not take up arms.

Threats

"We may be a small nation, but we are not too far from threats of a bloodbath."

Dr Treurnicht, addressing 700 people packed in a local rugby stadium, asked on which side the National Party government would be if the ANC instigated violence.

He said the government did not have the guts to outlaw Umkhonto we Sizwe.

"Now the chickens are coming home to roost."

He said 313 murders had been committed with AK-47 rifles, while the police had become a special target for the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Adding that there had been 959 attacks on senior officials last year, Dr Treurnicht asked, "Is this what FW wants us to vote Yes for?"

How much worse would the scenario be

under an ANC government? Dr Treurnicht asked.

The CP had no wish to govern Black nations, and at the same time would not accept Black governmenting Whites.

If ANC president Nelson Mandela suggested otherwise he was speaking out of turn and exhibiting Black imperialism.

There was a worldwide trend that one could not force different nations into one governmental system.

"The ANC's policy is a road to conflict, and if it wants to persist on forcing it on us, then it will be responsible for civil war in South Africa."

"We won't be responsible for civil war but it will be those parties that want to impose a government on Whites, which is totally unacceptable to us, while Whites say we have no wish to govern over others. We want them to govern themselves."

Dr Treurnicht is scheduled to address a rally in Pretoria today, with Frs. Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais and Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche. — Sapa

B. Day 9/3/92

Eight die in Rccf violence

EIGHT people were killed in unrest on the Reef yesterday, police said.

Sape reports five people, four men and a woman, died in separate clashes between hostel dwellers and residents in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, and a sixth was hospitalised.

In Kaitshong on the East Rand three people, including a municipal policeman, were killed and one injured when a group of about 200 armed men went on the rampage early yesterday.

The group also torched three houses and two vehicles.

Police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweel said the motive for the attacks was unknown and the police were investigating.

An Alexandra Clinic spokesman said the clinic treated 14 people for gun-

WILSON TWANE

shot wounds and nine for stabbings.

Van Zweel put the number of injured at seven.

The violence in Alexandra reportedly flared up after residents prevented Inkatha supporters from burying an Inkatha member at the local cemetery.

Meanwhile, Sharpeville civic leader Malik Madise said tension was mounting in the Vaal Triangle township yesterday as residents expected further attacks from local Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers.

One man died and another was injured on Saturday during an attack by hostel dwellers, who had descended on the township in the morning. Thola Moroka.

The ANC called for the withdrawal of SADF members from Sharpeville, saying that their presence made the township look like a war zone.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer said the senri-mul would be conveyed to headquarters.

ANC PWV official Floyd Mashele said his organisation demanded the immediate suspension and arrest of Special Const Skuta Marumo, who allegedly shot dead ANC activist Montoeli Molebatsi seven days ago.

Police liaison officer in the regional peace committee Phil Ziska Gouw said the case would be put before an independent court if police investigation showed the allegations had substance.

The Star

9/3/92

ANC leader foresees '92 interim rule

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

ANC president Nelson Mandela does not think he will be part of an interim Cabinet — which he believes could be in place by the end of the year — if the referendum result is a "yes" for reform.

He said he would be advising his colleagues "against putting some of us (top leaders) in that (interim) Cabinet. What is more important is the strength of our organisation (in the run-up to) the real elections, for a constituent assembly. We want that this year."

Mr Mandela said the principles agreement on a transitional executive structure which was reached in Codesa last week meant that it might be in place before the end of 1992.

"There are 19 parties in agreement. We have made significant progress. Even from the Government delegation we got the impression that there was no fundamental opposition to the scenario (for transition) which we presented."

In his most comprehensive remarks yet on negotiations in the context of the white referendum, Mr Mandela also:

- Urged that the March 17 whites-only poll should not be allowed to detract attention away from significant progress being made at Codesa, which "augured well" for the negotiations process.

- Insisted there was still a "well of goodwill" towards reform among whites — even in security force and some right-wing circles.

- Criticised President de Klerk for causing "uncertainty" by calling the referendum, but said the ANC recognised there could be no peaceful solution without the Government.

Mr Mandela, who has just completed a tour of the Free State, said he believed the "peace process has made a for-

midable impact in this country", even on policemen and right-wing groups.

"I made a point of visiting police stations in the Free State," he said, "and I was struck by the seriousness, by the elaborate steps taken by senior police officials to welcome me."

"I think there still is a well of goodwill among whites. Clearly, a substantial number welcomes the peace process. I see it all the time..."

He said the CP was a powerful political grouping in South Africa which should not be underestimated. It should come into negotiations. The AWB, he said, was capable of doing damage in the short term, "but I don't personally think the AWB can stop anything. In the long term the forces of peace are too strong".

Mr Mandela said it was regrettable that President de Klerk had chosen to have an ethnic referendum — "an incident which involves whites" — and that he was acting as an ethnic, not a national, leader.

"It is creating uncertainty," he said, "but he made a promise to whites and I suppose he is honouring it. It was clever from his point of view, the speed with which he pulled the rug from under the right wing after Potchefstroom."

"Although we don't recognise the Pretoria Government, it is the de facto Government of the country and there is no peaceful solution without it."

"It is regrettable that Mr de Klerk should think first and foremost about whites."

Mr Mandela said the process embodied in Codesa was where the future really lay, and the referendum was a passing issue. It was only in Codesa, he said, that fears — among whites and blacks alike — could be addressed.

The ANC leader said he still hoped the PAC would join negotiations, and noted that the PAC had not left the Patriotic Front, formed last year.

(Report by S. Johnson, 47 Super St., Johannesburg)

The Citizen 9/3/92

European Right-wingers call for a No vote

Political Correspondent

LEADING Right-wing politicians in Europe have endorsed the campaign by the Conservative Party and allied Right-wing bodies in South Africa for a No vote in the March 17 referendum.

The Group of the European Right, a Right-wing coalition within the European Parliament, yesterday struck back at European governments which have endorsed the call for a Yes vote.

The group, which includes the German League for People and Homeland, and the Flemish Block parties, is under the presidency of Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of France's National Front.

Mr Bruno Gollnisch, Member of the European Parliament and one of the

main organisers of the National Front's bid for victory is the French regional elections on March 22, yesterday accused President De Klerk of trying to "frighten" Whites into agreeing to surrender South Africa to the ANC/Communist alliance.

"This sounds like the final abdication of responsibility by the National Party regime," Mr Gollnisch said yesterday as spokesman for the Group of the European Right.

"It is clear that Mr De Klerk no longer has the will or the right to govern South Africa.

"Surely South Africans now realise that only a No vote on March 17 stands between them and an ANC/Communist regime?

"The only realistic solution to South Africa's

problems lies in the separation of the country into its constituent nations. That is the only way to avoid bloodshed.

"If Croats and Serbians, who have the same language and ethnic origins, could not live together in Yugoslavia, what chance has South Africa, with its Zulus, Tswana, Whites and many others?"

Mr Gollnisch said the nationalist parties of Europe were committed to the principle of self-determination for all nations.

In France, the National Front's policies for preserving the identity and sovereignty of the French people were expected to draw the support of at least a third of French voters in the March 22 regional elections, he added.

The Star 9/3/92

3 more die in Reef violence

Staff Reporters

Another three people were killed in Alexandra today after an attack was launched from a hostel, bringing the death toll in the strife-torn township since Saturday to 10.

Another 15 people have been wounded in a spate of attacks which started with the ambushing of an Inkatha Freedom Party funeral procession on Saturday.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said at 8.30 am today a mob of about 30 men appeared out of a hostel near the corner of First Avenue and Ruth Street, and "shot wildly" at another group, killing two and wounding another two.

Later, a man was stabbed and another shot in the stomach and back at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Ruth Street.

Earlier today, the body of a man who had been shot dead on Sunday was found in Vasco da Gama Street.

Four other men and a

woman died in separate attacks in the township yesterday.

Yesterday's deaths followed a bloody ambush and shootout in Alexandra on Saturday afternoon in which two people were killed and eight others were injured.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said at about 2 pm unknown gunmen fired on an Inkatha Freedom Party funeral procession in Vasco da Gama Street. Fleeing mourners came under fire for a second time and "a firefight ensued between the unseen marksmen and some mourners who were armed".

Police said police patrols in the township, which remained tense, had been stepped up this morning.

A mob went on the rampage on the East Rand yesterday, killing three people and damaging at least 40 houses as political violence swept across the area. The total death toll was more than 20.

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Three more killed in Reef fighting

● From Page 1

The apparently motiveless attack in Siluma View, Katlehong, launched by more than 200 people storming through the streets, began shortly before dawn.

The dead, including a municipal policeman, have been identified as Joseph Magope, Victor Masia and Constable James Rikhotso.

A municipal sergeant, R I Kmenene, was shot in the left leg.

Constable Rikhotso was killed at about 4 am when the mob stormed into his house and found him hiding under his bed.

His common-law wife, Vainah Nkuma, and her one-year-old baby had hidden with Constable Rikhotso under the bed.

A few houses away from the constable's house, Audrey Masia told how her husband, Victor Masia (42), was shot dead as he tried to hide in an outside toilet.

"I saw how they shot my husband as he ran towards the toilet to hide," she said.

At Sharpeville in the Vaal Triangle, where one person was killed on Saturday, the ANC yesterday fired volleys over the grave of MK member Montoeli Andries Molebatsi (18).

Captain van Zweel said Saturday's violence in the Vaal Triangle township began towards the end of the funeral of an Inkatha member killed last month.

Mourners were followed to their hostel by a group of toy-toting ANC supporters. A man was attacked and killed.

Captain van Zweel denied the police had supported Inkatha and had watched while people were killed. Township sources claimed four people were killed.

The Star 9/3/92

Caught up in fury of Alex funeral ambush

Star photographer JOAO SILVA came under attack in Alexandra on Saturday when unknown gunmen opened fire on an Inkatha funeral procession. He spoke to GUY JEPSON.

"The procession was due to leave from the Inkatha hostel for the graveyard at 10 am but there was confusion about the corpse — the undertaker twice brought the wrong corpse.

"Finally the right body arrived and about an hour later the procession — several hundred-strong — started moving towards the graveyard in three groups, behind the hearse, with police riot vehicles in between.

"I was just moving through the crowd, taking pictures. Occasionally an Inkatha guy would run up to a resident and slap him or throw a stone — but

apart from that it was very quiet as the procession moved through Alex on to Vasco da Gama Street — the only road leading to the graveyard.

"It was close to 2 pm and I was in the middle group, which was flanked by police vehicles on both sides. I was standing on a concrete island in the middle of the street when the first automatic rifle shots were fired as the procession passed near the intersection of Vasco da Gama

and 16th streets.

"I lowered myself to my knees as men from the crowd rushed in the direction of the houses from where the shots had been fired. Straight away the police fired teargas at the Inkatha guys to control them. The crowd started ducking through the teargas.

"Then they were revved a second time from the direction of 16th Street. The shots were fired into the teargas. People

were hiding wherever they could — they left their weapons, watches, caps, everything. There was panic — total panic.

"The adrenalin was pumping. I thank God I didn't get hit. I have been in violent situations before, but never in the centre of an ambush. I ensured I could get pictures of everything.

"The police were moving in, cordoning off the area. If they were on their knees, I was on

my knees, but shooting pictures the whole time.

"While moving through the shacks we came across a corpse of an Inkatha guy. He'd had something sharp rammed right through his chest.

"Then my back-up photographer, George Mashinini, who had been in another part of Alex during the ambush, arrived and we left for the office to get the pictures through.

"On Saturday night the images were all still clear in my head. When there is killing, you can't cut yourself off from the people around you."

The Star 9/3/92

Hugh Robertson reports on attempts to control US state television

Send to Inka MARS

Learning the lesson of fragile media freedom

BEHIND all the hoopla of the presidential primaries, and the evidence they provide of America's robust democracy, some disturbing events have shown just how fragile are some of the basic freedoms Americans take for granted — freedoms of intense interest to South Africans right now.

The first was an attempt in the US Senate to cut off \$1.1 billion (about R3 billion) in funding for the admirable non-commercial radio and television systems which provide civilised relief from the shallow crudeness of most of the commercial services.

The object was to force National Public Radio (NPR), which offers some of the best radio available anywhere, and the Public Broadcasting System (PBS), its television counterpart, into dancing to the ideological tune of a coterie of right-wing senators.

According to the senators, NPR and PBS are hotbeds of liberal excess, paying obeisance to communists (believe it or not, they still fret about them), homosexuals, feminists, serial killers, blasphemers and drug addicts to the exclusion of ordinary, decent Americans.

Another sign of how precariously freedom of speech survives in the US came with a bid by the Bush administration to ban "indecent" television broadcasts. The genesis of the attempted ban was Senator Jesse Helms, a man deeply troubled by much of the modern world, who persuaded his colleagues to pass a law in 1988 prohibiting "indecent" television.

But it was an episode with a happy ending.

The Supreme Court refused to uphold the ban, thus allowing to stand a lower court's ruling that such a prohibition violated the

constitution's protection of freedom of speech.

In effect, the highest court in the land had ruled that an act of Congress was unconstitutional. Just about every far-right spokesman was left hyperventilating.

And then, almost miraculously, the Senate itself came to its senses and lifted the "hold" on funds for NPR and PBS, although the issue has still to come up for formal debate and the money has yet to be voted on. No doubt the conservatives will put up a fight, but of interest to South Africans is the fact that much the same struggle for influence over state-funded broadcasting now rages within Codesa.

None other than the ANC's communications chief, Dr Pallo Jordan, recently informed the distinguished audience at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace that the ANC and other Codesa participants wanted an equal

say with the Government over the operation of state-controlled broadcasting. Not once did he refer to freedom of speech or the need for an independent media.

Will Codesa liberate broadcast journalism, or will that closed club of politicians simply agree among themselves to share power over it? It seems an invariable international rule that when politicians are in a position to exercise influence over the media, they not only cling to that power but are ultimately prepared to abrogate freedom of speech.

After more than 200 years of democracy, the US Congress passed a law which violated freedom of speech. And it was still prepared to consider withholding funds for radio and television on purely ideological grounds.

How much more vulnerable is our own fledgling democracy to the grasping hands of politicians? □

The Star 9/3/92

Codesa give-and-take bears fruit

SOUTH AFRICA could be forgiven for being confused about what is happening at Codesa on the crucial question of interim government.

Last week's apparently contradictory statements about a new multiparty interim Cabinet did not help, suggesting that the negotiators were back to square one.

Not so. There has been much convergence between the ANC and the NP since Codesa began less than three months ago. Nor is it true — as the CP is shrieking in the referendum campaign — that the NP has done all the back-peddalling.

It has won important concessions from the ANC, most notably in securing its basic demand for constitutional continuity during the transition.

Last year, before Codesa started, the positions of the ANC and Government were

quite distinct and simple.

The ANC was in favour of interim government and the Government was against.

The ANC's said the present constitution — including the present Parliament and Cabinet — should simply be suspended in favour of an interim government consisting of at least the ANC, the NP and other significant players.

It would be the supreme authority in the country, concentrating on supervising elections for a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution.

New democratic elections would be held on this new constitution, a new government would be formed and the interim government would hand over power to it.

The Government was totally opposed to this sequence of events, arguing that the suspension of the constitution would create a dangerous "constitutional vacuum".

Behind the confusion and the political smoke-screening by the Government and ANC on negotiations for an interim government, there has been substantial progress at Codesa, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

It said instead that the present Government should remain in power until a final new constitution had been negotiated.

It was only prepared to contemplate "transitional arrangements" which would give blacks advisory input during the transition.

The Government dramatically shifted its position at the first Codesa meeting on December 20 when President de Klerk accepted the idea of a new "transitional" government brought about constitutionally and legitimised through elections.

Codesa would agree on an interim constitution and the pres-

ent Parliament would enact it.

Elections would be held on the interim constitution to form a new interim legislature which would appoint an interim executive or Cabinet — and also draft a new final constitution.

The present Government and Parliament would remain in power until the interim government was put in place.

In one stroke, Mr de Klerk thus effectively met the essence of the demand by the ANC and others for an interim government and an elected constituent assembly.

The ANC last month responded to this important policy shift by publishing a new two-phase

plan for the transition that incorporated important elements of the NP plan.

The ANC accepted that in a second phase, the constituent assembly could also function as an interim legislature which would form an interim executive.

However, the ANC dismissed the NP's idea that the present Government should remain in power to supervise the elections for the interim legislature as this would make the Government both player and referee.

To ensure free and fair elections, there should be a first phase of transition supervised

by an impartial, multiparty interim government council appointed by Codesa.

This council would concentrate on crucial aspects of government such as the security forces, the State media, the Budget and supervising the elections.

After elections for a constituent assembly and interim legislature, it would hand over control to an elected interim government.

But even in this first phase, the ANC cautioned the NP's insistence on constitutional continuity.

It accepted that the present

constitution would have to be changed by the existing tri-cameral Parliament to give legal force to the interim government council.

And the present Cabinet and tri-cameral Parliament could remain in place even after that — although the interim government council would "supervise" them in some way not clearly defined.

Last week the Government's negotiators in Codesa's Working Group Three responded in turn to this proposal by accepting that the interim or transitional period should start with an executive body — now termed a "transitional" executive structure — appointed by Codesa rather than elected. The agreement in Working Group Three went no further than that — although it was logical to assume a tacit agreement on the basic premises of the ANC's second phase.

At that point, referendum po-

litics intruded, and the Government said it was envisaging a restructured Cabinet with new appointments from other parties at Codesa.

This would be effected via legislation — similar to a Bill submitted to Parliament by former president P W Botha but later withdrawn — to allow blacks to be appointed to the Cabinet.

The idea was to reassure white voters that the latest Codesa agreement was not essentially different from NP policy in the old P W Botha days.

The ANC's national working committee had to react by rejecting any suggestion of being "co-opted" into the present Cabinet.

But when this party-political smoke-screening has been removed, the Working Group Three agreement will remain as another big step forward to an interim government, probably later this year. □

The Star 9/3/92 'Urgent talks' on arms

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government would not enter into agreements in the negotiations process unless the ANC ended the armed struggle, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said last night.

Two further preconditions were that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, ceased its activities and that arms caches were "properly handled", he said during a TV debate with Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais.

Urgent talks were taking place about these issues, Mr Kriel said.

Mr Marais said he condemned right-wing violence, but the Afrikaner people would turn to "extra-parliamentary means" if their rights were removed. This would happen when a transitional government was established and it included

communists, he said.

Communism and the SA Communist Party are emerging as a central theme in referendum speeches by right-wing leaders.

Mr Kriel warned Mr Marais not to scare voters with communism as its days were over.

He added that the Government would not prescribe to the ANC about the inclusion of communists in a transitional government, just as the ANC could not prescribe to the Government who should represent it on such a body.

Mr Marais said the SACP and ANC wanted to seize power and make the country ungovernable. He added that the SACP controlled the ANC and the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosa-tu).

Mr Kriel said the Government would not allow the ANC or SACP to seize power.

(Report by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The Star 9/3/92

De Klerk in 'battle' with officers

By Garner Thomson
Star Bureau

LONDON — President de Klerk is engaged in a behind-the-scenes battle with army and police officers who refuse to accept the days are over when South Africa can be ruled by sheer power.

But, he is unable to purge the forces until he has a mandate to proceed with reform.

This is the basis for a report from John Carlin in Britain's Independent on Sunday, which poses the question of South Africa's army and police: are they out of control?

Carlin recounts the development under ex-President P W Botha

of "the most powerful and dangerous executors of State strategy" operating within military intelligence and the security police, singling out their involvement with Inkatha as their most dangerously relevant project to date.

During the Botha years, "Inkatha provided the South African State ... with an unmissable opportunity to turn black against black and to get someone else to do the dirtiest of the counter-insurgency work", he recalls. The action cost 4 000 lives and effectively neutralised ANC support among Zulus.

The report stresses that Mr de Klerk has not

simply taken over the "clandestine machine".

"When Mr De Klerk took over, he was in many ways leading a silent civilian counter-coup," Carlin writes.

He says Mr de Klerk has been unable to deal with the threat from within because many of those responsible now occupy powerful positions, but a purge is "clearly necessary".

After the referendum and if white support offers him the chance of swinging the power balance away from the armed forces, Carlin predicts, "he will then be in a stronger position to cut the necessary heads".

The Star 9/3/92

Ciskei raised at Codesa

Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Four Codesa participants have insisted that the convention's proceedings be suspended until the ANC has given an undertaking that it will withdraw its campaign in the Ciskei.

But the Ciskei government, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu, and the Dikwankwetla Party of QwaQwa today stressed they would not walk out of Codesa.

Codesa's management committee will discuss the request later today.

The Star understands that the Government will convene a meeting tomorrow between itself, the ANC and the Ciskei government to resolve the issue.

Asked if this was the start of a loose alliance, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said this was not necessarily so, but "if it happened there would be nothing wrong."

● Shaun Johnson reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela has not yet been fully briefed on the escalating Ciskei problem.

He told The Star it was a "serious matter" and discussions were being held with Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The Citizen 9/3/92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

PW speaks

WE don't think that former State President PW Botha committed any heinous political crime by intervening in the referendum.

Some say he shouldn't have attacked his successor, State President De Klerk.

But Mr Edward Heath kept up a running campaign against his successor, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and never stopped until the day she herself was ousted.

So it is done.

Some people, including Mr De Klerk, believe Mr Botha has acted out of personal resentment and bitterness.

Mr Botha has not forgiven Mr De Klerk for the manner in which he was ousted as State President after suffering a mild stroke from which he recovered.

Such bitterness is not unusual.

Minister Louwrens Muller resigned from Mr Botha's own Cabinet after a 30-year association and never forgave him.

Some people say leaders or former leaders should never turn on their old parties.

But Dr Andries Treurnicht and 15 of his colleagues broke away from the government in 1982 to form the Conservative Party.

Dr Treurnicht turned his back on former colleagues and on the decisions which he, as a member of the Cabinet, had been a party to.

We do not say that Mr Botha should have intervened, but we accept that he had a right to do so.

Moreover, since Mr De Klerk has made it clear that the referendum is the final test for the White electorate on his reforms, and there may not be another chance to vote on constitutional changes, each individual must decide whether to vote Yes or No.

And Mr Botha, as an individual, has decided to vote No and to make his feelings known publicly.

As for the accusation that he is now supporting the Conservative Party, Mr Botha says: "No, Mr De Klerk has asked a specific question to which he wants a Yes or No answer, and which does not come down to support of any particular party."

His No vote simply recorded a rejection of the Codesa process, he said.

Whether Mr Botha's open declaration of a No vote is a bombshell or a damp squib depends on whether you believe he has any power left to influence voters.

We doubt that he has.

Mr Botha in his time made a great contribution to the country's affairs and, in fact, started the reform process.

But he had become, in his last years, a most autocratic and feared leader.

His party and the country needed a new leader, and Mr De Klerk became party leader and subsequently State President when the Cabinet turned against Mr Botha.

Although there was some sympathy at the time for Mr Botha, there was no public outcry over his being ousted — which was proof enough that the change was welcomed.

We do not think Mr Botha has any influence left in the National Party or among rank and file members, who are among English-speakers, who were never really taken with him.

We believe, therefore, that his intervention will have a limited impact.

His view that Mr De Klerk's political direction was suicidal and leading the country into an abyss, and that Codesa is SACP-dominated and is negotiating a disaster, will confirm the feelings of those who have already reached that conclusion.

Undecideds will not rush to vote No because Mr Botha is voting No.

Mr De Klerk counters Mr Botha by saying that his decision to vote No was based on incorrect assumptions.

"It is not true that a Yes vote is a suicidal move which will lead to SACP/ANC domination. Exactly the opposite is true."

Nevertheless, we believe the NP has still effectively to counter the CP propaganda that a Yes vote is a vote for Mandela/the ANC/the SACT and disaster.

This is what the No vote is all about — and this is what Mr Botha's attack is helping to underline.

The NP ignores this propaganda, at its peril.

THE CITIZEN 9/3/92

Deal with ANC at gunpoint, says ET

Citizen Reporter

MR EUGENE Terre Blanche yesterday told about 400 chanting AWB supporters at a "meet the people" campaign in western Johannesburg, that he would only deal with the ANC over the barrel of a gun.

The group, which marched through the suburbs starting in Vrededorp, included about 100 uniformed AWB members, a handful of black-clad Iron Guard members and about 20 men on horseback, including Mr Terre Blanche, who had a noticeable limp from falling from a horse at Church Square, Pretoria, on Saturday.

"We will not negotiate with the ANC as they are Communist

inspired and trained terrorists. If we have to deal with them, then it will be over the barrel of a gun."

He called for a No vote in the referendum, and in a message to English-speaking people, warned them the ANC was not interested in sharing power. "They want our country and our houses."

Another AWB spokesman said Mr Terre Blanche had come to Johannesburg "to show the man in the street" that the AWB had support in the Johannesburg area.

Mr Terre Blanche said that the Whites of Johannesburg had an important part to play in saving the country.

"When I heard that

he (Mr F W de Klerk) came here, I knew I had to come," said Mr Terre Blanche.

After the address, Mr terre Blanche and the crowd went in procession through Vrededorp, Jan Hofmeyer, Auckland Park, Pageview and Brixton.

Signs painted on the side of trucks in the march read: "What has happened to teaching and you are saying Yes to sport and No to your children."

Uniformed members chanted "Hang Mandela" while others sang "the boers are going to plant bombs and shoot Blacks".

Mr Terre Blanche shook hands and spoke with the people who had gathered before leaving.

The Citizen 9/3/92

SADF purge to follow Yes vote: UK journalist

STATE President De Klerk will purge the security forces if he wins the referendum on March 17, a British journalist, Mr John Carlin, said in an article in The Independent newspaper.

The BBC will screen a documentary tomorrow in which Mr Carlin reports on security

force's involvement in South African political violence.

Mr Carlin said the only reason Mr De Klerk had not yet purged the security forces was because he needed the "big guns" behind him to negotiate with the African National Congress as equals.

"A referendum

would strengthen his hand against the armed forces and the police because of the proof of popular support."

Mr Carlin said it was known SADF chief, General Kat Liebenberg and Defence Minister Rieff Meyer were at "daggers drawn" and one of the two had to go. — Supa

The Citizen 9/3/92

16 killed, 15 hurt in weekend unrest

By Cobus Oosthuizen

SIXTEEN people were killed and 15 injured in five incidents of unrest countrywide during the weekend.

Seven people were killed and four injured in an attack on residents in Malukwazi, near Umlazi, in Natal yesterday.

Natal police liaison officer, Capt Hamilton Ngidi, said a group of people armed with firearms and knives moved into the township's Zamani area, forced open the doors of homes and attacked the occupants at about 5 am.

He said the deceased were all men. They have not been identified.

The injured, all women, were Mrs Pa-

tience Mbutswa (30), Mrs Ivy Mbambo (30) and Mrs Iris Mbambo (28). The surname of the fourth victim was unknown and she was identified only as Nombusela (35).

The motive for the attack is unknown and no arrests have been made.

Three people, including a municipal policeman, were shot dead and houses and vehicles damaged when a group of people went on the rampage in Kadehong, near Germiston, early yesterday.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer, Capt Ida van Zweel, said about 200 people went on the rampage, opened fire and hurled stones at people

and houses in the Siluma View section at about 4 am.

Three homes were razed and two vehicles destroyed when the mob set them alight.

Capt Van Zweel said the motive for the attack was unknown and no arrests have been made.

Three people, including a 14-year-old boy, were killed and at least 10 injured in unrest-related incidents at the funerals of three Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members in the Vaal Triangle and in Alexandra, Johannesburg, on Saturday.

In Sharpeville, near Vanderbijipark, Mr Joseph Ramonyaluoa (63), was attacked and killed after the funeral of Mr

Tihola Morake, whose body was found in an open field on February 28.

According to reports, Mr Ramonyaluoa was on his way to work when he was allegedly attacked and stabbed with assegais by ANC supporters.

Later extensive damage was caused when three petrol-bombs were hurled at Mr Morake's home. No one was injured during the incident.

At Tatanda, near Heidelberg, a 14-year-old boy, Namane Toathane, was shot dead and a 23-year-old man (name unknown) wounded during the funeral of Mr Mkhutha Swane, who was killed last week.

Capt Van Zweel said unknown people arrived at the proceedings and opened fire at mourners.

In Johannesburg, a man was shot dead and eight wounded during the funeral of Mr Thokozana Xaba, at Alexandra.

Unknown gunmen opened fire at mourners in Vasco Da Gama Street, between 18th and 19th avenues.

Armed mourners returned the fire and a man was killed.

A crowd of about 1 000 people beat a man to death with sticks and rocks in Duncan Village township outside East London on Sunday afternoon.

The killing followed an earlier stabbing in which a man was killed during an argument in C section.

Police said while a policeman had been attending to the stabbing scene, incensed residents had started looking for the suspect.

The Citizen 9/3/92

Cosatu to march on Parliament for interim govt

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) yesterday announced plans for a march on Parliament to highlight calls for an interim government and a constituent assembly.

General secretary Mr Jay Naidoo, told a Press conference activists would stage the protest on March 18, when Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis will present his budget.

The march, to be led by African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, will

come a day after the Whites-only referendum on whether State President De Klerk should continue constitutional negotiations with the Black majority.

Mr Naidoo said protesters will demand the installation of an interim government by June and elections for a constituent assembly by year-end.

He also said national marches and pickets would be held to commemorate the 1960

Sharpeville massacre and to mark May Day. The events would be held jointly with ANC, SACP and Nactu.

Protesters would demand the immediate release of "remaining" political prisoners, and general amnesty for exiles.

They would also call for the integration of security forces, the immediate restoration of citizenship to all people in the TBVC areas, and the reincorporation of TBVC "states."

Mr Naidoo called for the creation of a democratic undivided South African State and said "no to forced coalition governments and federalism."

An economic policy conference was being planned for the end of March to assess the government and business response to issues including VAT, food prices and pensions.

Mr Naidoo said Cosatu would demand the urgent establishment of a national economic negotiating forum involving government, trade unions and business.

Demonstrators would also call for the restructuring of the National Manpower Commission, and the full, rapid extension of rights to farm, domestic, public sector and workers in the homelands.

A "Workers Summit" would be held at the end of May.—Sapa.

London

THE TIMES MONDAY MARCH 9 1992

Mandela and Botha issue warnings on referendum

FROM RAY KENNEDY IN JOHANNESBURG

NELSON Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, warned South African whites yesterday that, if next week's referendum on reforms leads to a return to petty apartheid and "the hopes of the majority of South Africans are thwarted, the stress and upheavals of the past will be like a game of marbles".

Meanwhile, P.W. Botha, the former president, has declared that he will vote "no". He described the multiparty Convention for a Democratic South Africa as "an expensive and artificial Tower of Babel" dominated by the South African Communist party, and said he would not be untrue to himself and take part in the suicide of his own people.

President de Klerk reacted by noting that Mr Botha had begun the initiative which had led to the release of Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders. "I cannot but believe that his current conduct is motivated to a large extent by personal resentment," Mr de Klerk added.

Mr Mandela's words appeared in the mass-circulation Johannesburg *Sunday Times*. The newspaper has a mainly English-speaking readership which is the target of both the ruling National party, which wants a "yes" vote, and the right-wing alliance led by the Conservative party, which is campaigning

for a "no" vote. He said of the referendum: "It is painful and abhorrent to us that once again a decision on the destiny of our country is being taken by a minority of the population." But he urged "all those who have the privilege to vote to use it".

A "yes" vote, he said, would mean sitting round a table as equals and working out the best method of installing a democratic system in which all the country's inhabitants felt secure. A "no" vote would be "a declaration of war against the majority".

The referendum campaigns have now moved into overdrive, with the right-wing alliance of the Conservative party, the Herstigte Nasionale party and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement holding what they hoped would be a mass rally on Saturday in Pretoria. Although the organisers had apparently expected a crowd of 50,000, fewer than 5,000 turned up.

The "yes" vote campaign has attracted the backing of foreign governments and a £400,000 advertising campaign sponsored by local big business, yet there is shrewd awareness in government circles of the skilful campaigning of the Conservative party and its alliance partners in traditional areas of support, and concern that apathy among English-speaking voters will lead to Mr de Klerk securing a much lower majority than the sweeping victory he needs.

The Conservative party has also warned companies supporting a "yes" vote that they are facing the risk of consumer boycotts, a weapon perfected by voteless blacks, unless they shut up. Andries Beyers, the Conservatives' national secretary, said thousands of potential "no" voters were stock exchange investors, pension fund contributors and businessmen who could easily move their money.

Cabinet in Delhi tests its support

Delhi: Narasimha Rao, the Indian prime minister, has threatened to resign and hold fresh elections if his party fails to win a crucial parliamentary vote, Ghulam Nabi Azad, the parliamentary affairs minister, said.

Mandela appeals for white 'yes'

NELSON Mandela appealed yesterday to the white population to vote "yes" for democratic change in the 17 March referendum, urging them to reject "the Cloud-cuckoo-land" offered by the white separatists of the right and embrace "the new South Africa" with heads held high.

A "no" vote, he warned, would amount to a declaration of war against blacks and bring chaos on an unprecedented scale. "Our white compatriots have a chance to show they repudiate, once and for all, the cruel politics that have brought so much shame to our country and caused so much pain to its inhabitants," he wrote in the style of an open letter published in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*.

"We want our compatriots to walk boldly and with heads high into the new South Africa. We

From John Carlin in Johannesburg

wish them to accept their new destiny with pride, leaving behind only the arrogance, insensitivity and inhumanity with which they were associated."

"Painful and abhorrent" as it was that 15 per cent of the population should again be voting to determine the country's destiny, he urged white ANC supporters not to shun the opportunity to contribute towards the ending of minority domination.

"A 'yes' vote means we will sit around a table as South Africans and work out the best method of installing a democratic system in which all the country's inhabitants feel secure. A 'no' vote will be a declaration of war against the majority in this country..."

"There can be no return to the hated pass laws, the Group Areas Act and the obnoxious signs on buses, in parks and at swimming pools. If the hopes of the majority of South Africans for a decent and dignified life are once more thwarted, the stress and upheavals of the past will be like a game of marbles."

Mr Mandela's warning was mirrored in yesterday's newspapers by P W Botha, whom F W de Klerk pushed from the presidential chair in 1989. The difference was that Mr Botha, 76, breaking ranks once and for all with the party he served for half a century, urged whites to vote "No".

Interviewed at Wilderness, his retirement home, Mr Botha de-

clared that Mr de Klerk had fallen victim to a Communist plot. The Codesa negotiations on which the government had embarked with the African National Congress and 17 other parties - "this Tower of Babel" - were in the hands of the South African Communist Party.

"I cannot vote for a direction that leads to an ANC-SACP dominated government in South Africa and be part of something that will lead us into an abyss. I cannot support a spirit of gradual abdication... I cannot support a reform process that will lead to the suicide of my people."

The response of Mr de Klerk, who invited Mr Botha to breakfast on Friday and was turned down, was crisp and to the point. "I cannot but believe that he is motivated to a great extent by personal resentment."



Nelson Mandela, left, yesterday appealed to whites to continue reform. The former president, P W Botha, right, denounced change

The Independent
9/3/92 - London



Breakthrough . . . a policeman flees as rightwingers charge after a rally in Pretoria for a "no" vote in South Africa's referendum

PHOTOGRAPH: ADIL BRADLOW

Botha tries to scuttle De Klerk's reforms

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

SOUTH African reformers were yesterday anxiously assessing the impact of an intervention in the referendum campaign by P. W. Botha, the predecessor of the current president, F. W. de Klerk.

Antipathy between the two

erupted on Saturday, with Mr Botha denouncing the national negotiating forum, Codesa, as a "tower of Babel" controlled by communists, adding he would vote "no" in the March 17 whites-only referendum on the reform process. Mr De Klerk retorted that Mr Botha was acting out of personal malice.

The row blew up after Mr Botha — ousted by Mr De Klerk in

1989 — snubbed a breakfast invitation from Mr De Klerk for Friday morning. The president was campaigning near Mr Botha's retirement home in a coastal resort.

Mr Botha then ambushed Mr De Klerk, in appropriate style for a man who rejoiced in the nickname "old crocodile". Summoning reporters to his home, Mr Botha denounced his suc-

cessor's reforms as "suicidal". Mr Botha added he was "nauseated" by international attempts to coerce white South Africans into voting "yes".

The Conservative Party leader, Andries Treurnicht, reacted jubilantly to Mr Botha's intervention, while campaigners for a "yes" vote predicted it would have little impact because Mr Botha was largely dis-

credited by his attempts to hang on to power in the wake of his debilitating stroke in 1989.

● At least 18 blacks died in a series of factional fights over the weekend, including several shot dead at funeral services, police said yesterday. All the fighting occurred in black townships around Johannesburg and in the eastern province of Natal.

The Guardian
9/3/92 London

ANC leader reassures whites in face of CP claims

THE Star 9/3/92

Don't say no - Mandela

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

ANC president Nelson Mandela believes whites will vote "yes" in the referendum next week — but has warned that if there is a "no" vote and Codesa collapses, the ANC will "return to the struggle of the old days, with much regret".

Mr Mandela told The Star today he was optimistic that a majority of whites would vote for reform, and he moved to reassure those who believed the Conservative Party when it said a "yes" vote was tantamount to "white suicide".

"We are against an ethnic referendum, but it is important to ensure that the peace process proceeds. For this reason we would like whites to vote yes.

Forces

"I think the forces of peace and progress are too strong to be defeated by the forces of darkness."

In a major interview as the referendum campaign enters its last week, the ANC leader:

- Reassured whites who were being panicked by Conservative Party claims about the evils of a democratic future government which included the ANC.

- Said President Mugabe's plans to nationalise farm land in Zimbabwe had no bearing on the situation in South Africa.

- Dismissed former President P W Botha's call on whites to vote "no".

Mr Mandela said he would deeply regret it if whites voted against reform: "If there is a 'no' vote, then we will have to fight again, as we fought for the past 40 years. The NP was once in exactly the same position as the CP is today — we fought and turned them around, and

we will do so again."

Addressing white fears of nonracial government directly, the ANC leader said these were genuine and understandable. There were false perceptions which he would like to correct, however.

For example, whites feared falling standards and many in the civil service and security forces thought they would lose their jobs. "This is totally false," he said. "We have no such intention. I don't think a new government would last very long if it just dismissed people."

"Everybody will be secure under a democratic government. A process of democratisation would begin from the top — we would be failing in our duty if we did not democratise the services — but if some officials were to be retired, it would be on the most favourable and secure terms."

"Nobody should fear that they will lose out."

Reacting to fears that President Mugabe's intention to nationalise white farms would cause whites in South Africa to vote "no", Mr Mandela said: "We will be influenced by our own conditions, not those of Zimbabwe. For example, Zimbabwe believes in a one-party state. We believe in a multiparty state."

He said the whole policy of nationalisation was under review, and a major ANC conference on the subject was scheduled for May.

Mr Mandela said that while the views of a former state president should not be underestimated, P W Botha's intervention in the referendum would have only limited influence. "Some who still respect him will follow his lead. But I do not think this is going to swing the result."

"I was not disappointed or surprised (by his statement)."

(Report by S Johnson, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

- Mandela on interim rule — Page 2.