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THE CITIZEN

Friday 20 March 1992

Victory will help speed reform: FW

NEW YORK. — State President De Klerk said yesterday that he believed his victory in the referendum would help speed reforms and lift the last international sanctions on South Africa.

"I think the referendum will have a new impact on the international community," Mr De Klerk said in a live interview with television network CNN.

The interview was broadcast from Johannesburg.

"The leaders have been supportive of what's happening in South Africa," he explained, adding that he believed the entire world now recognise the reforms truly taking place.

"The impulse to turn the clock back, to revive apartheid, has lost," he said.

He said he now hoped to use the referendum results to step up the pace of negotiations between the Blacks and Whites.

"I would like to move to implementation of agreements as soon as is humanly possible. I believe the referendum will add impetus to the process . . . and will have positive and constructive effect on the process," he declared.

Seeking to calm fears of the White minority, he said his government would now pursue in earnest a new constitution that would support "checks and balances" designed to protect that minority.

"I'm sure we will be able to negotiate a constitution which will have the support of the majority of South Africans and the support of the various components of our society," he said.

He said that constitution would grant rights to all, without regard to race, and that he would proceed with negotiations as a result of the referendum outcome, which he

called a "knockout".

"There is no question about the mandate I asked for."

Speaking of that vote, he said, "These results show a clear commitment by those who have the power . . . to reform, a clear commitment to one undivided South Africa."

He dismissed claims that he had called the referendum only weeks before it was held.

"There was no disadvantage in as much as the short period disadvantaged everybody."

Asked about how to avert chaos during the next steps of the political reform process, Mr De Klerk pledged to apply justice to those radical Whites who do not accept the mandate he claimed.

"Yes, I expect a small radical core group will not just lie down and accept it and will be thinking of doing some wild things. But that is what the law is for, and we will apply the

law."

He also dismissed charges by Black leaders that White-led security and police forces may have had a hand in some of the worst Black faction fighting in townships outside Johannesburg.

"The ongoing violence between Black on Black is unacceptable." He called on anyone with real evidence of complicity by security forces in the township violence to step forward.

He said all leaders, including the ANC's Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, must take part in arresting the faction fighting.

"If supporters of Mr Mandela and supporters of the other leaders have a role to play, it is to discipline, to correctly motivate their supporters, while leaders are talking, while leaders are working toward agreements." — Sapa-AP.

Vote doesn't justify lifting of bans: Mandela

20-3-92
CITIZEN

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that white South Africans' overwhelming endorsement of the reform process did not justify the early lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Apartheid is still in place. That is why most of us here (Blacks) cannot vote," Mr Mandela, ANC president, told a news conference.

He warned against being "caught up in the euphoria" of the announce-

ment on Wednesday that 68 percent of Whites had voted Yes in the Whites-only referendum on reform.

Nordic countries, in particular, have begun moves to ease restrictions on Pretoria in the light of the referendum outcome, with Denmark's monarch, Crown Prince Frederik, leading the way by signing a royal order that ends sanctions with effect

from today.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, meanwhile, announced on Wednesday that he will visit South Africa from April 12 to 16.

"The process of normalising the political situation in South Africa is not yet irreversible," Mr Mandela said.

"The mere repeal of

the pillars of apartheid and the fact that Whites supported a Yes vote does not justify the lifting of sanctions," he said.

The ANC had called for the establishment of an interim government that would have control over such areas as security, economic policies, the electoral process and foreign affairs.

He said President De Klerk should do "everything possible to ensure there is speedy agreement on the introduction of an interim government".

Negotiations on the question are currently taking place at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Once an interim government was in place, the possibilities for South Africa would be "tremendous", Mr Mandela said.

"Not only shall we be able to lift all sanctions, apart from the oil and arms embargo, but South Africa will then return to organisations like the United Nations and other world bodies.

"We are keen for the political and economic system in the country to be normalised.

"This will be speedily achieved after the installation of an interim government," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

Why Codesa still needs the Conservatives

STAND by for a stately and complicated quadrille. The trick is to get the CP into Codesa without making it look like capitulation. It has to be willing and elegant. Kicking and screaming is definitely out when it comes to dancing the quadrille.

While Dr Treurnicht's pretensions to representing a majority of the white community were comprehensively crushed in the referendum, the fact remains that one in three people voted No, and will at this moment be angry, apprehensive and restive. They cannot be simply dismissed as a minority of a minority — the realities of South Africa are otherwise.

The conservative hard core (as opposed to lunatic fringe) has to be somehow accommodated or there could eventually be trouble.

The referendum has probably removed from the conservative agenda the idea of a volkstaat. When the polling results for Beaufort West, Kimberley, Kroonstad and Bloemfontein came in, they tore the heart out of any notional Afrikaner homeland centred on the Free State and reaching down to the coast via the Karoo.

But if the volkstaat is a non-starter, what other options are there? They seem to be: sulking in silence; rebellion; or participating in Codesa. There won't be a whites-only election, and the CP wouldn't win it if there were.

Sulking solves nothing and rebellion is not the resort of the CP's main support base. That leaves Codesa, where the CP's concern would be to entrench the rights and values of the people it represents, including the right to dissociation as a part of free association. These would be entrenchments mainly at local and regional levels.

The CP has a strong faction in favour of talking to the ANC and participating in Codesa along these lines. Its hand will be strengthened.

But if the CP were to join, it would have to be a subtle business. Dr Treurnicht has already declared Codesa anathema, with all the fervour of a mediaeval cleric. A turn of 180 degrees is not easy, whether or not Dr Treurnicht remains at the helm.

According to Pretoria risk analyst Wim Booysse, it is vitally important that Codesa be projected not as another Melrose House (where the Boer surrender was signed in 1902) but as a forum where the CP stands to gain as much as it will have to concede — in workshop jargon "a win-win situation".

He says it would be highly beneficial if the CP were to be part of the transitional government when it is formed. This would disarm much of the restiveness in right-wing circles. A transitional government minus the CP would encourage militancy by the AWB and other even more radical fragments.

Dr Booysse, whose consultancy Risk-Afrique is an authority on the extreme right-wing (as well as the extreme left), believes militancy will be held in abeyance over coming weeks. All attention will be focused on the CP, waiting for a lead.

Codesa participants have made no secret of their eagerness to attract the CP. The ANC has been particularly forthcoming. There are good reasons. An agreement with CP input has that much better a chance of sticking. A million or so disgruntled whites are a worrying factor, no matter how much a minority of a minority they may be.

But how can it be brought about? With a great deal of tact and care, it would seem, a minimum of crowing at the CP's discomfiture. A complicated dance, the quadrille.

Mandela threatens economy

CAPE TOWN—African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday threatened to "destroy the economy" with mass action, if necessary, to halt a planned tax on basic food.

Starting March 31, the Government plans to add a 10% VAT to many basic foods that have been exempt from taxation.

Mr Mandela, speaking to about 300, mainly black, pensioners, said it was the ANC's duty to protect the poor and it would use unprecedented protests to stop the tax, "even if we destroy the economy".

He said the protests would be more crushing than a nationwide two-day strike in November that virtually brought the country to a standstill. The strike was called to protest the replacement of GST with VAT.

The new tax applies to more items, including medical services, and critics say it hurts the impoverished black majority.

Problems

Mr Mandela gave his speech from the pulpit of Cape Town's Metropolitan Methodist Church, where an anti-tax rally was held.

Meanwhile, thousands of workers yesterday besieged central Durban and pledged to occupy factories and firms if demands for a restructured budget and amendments to VAT were not met by the Government.

The marches, organised by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, highlighted problems in the economy while many white South Africans were still gripped by the euphoria of a successful Yes vote in the referendum.

Useless

"This budget is a rich man's budget, and we are still hungry," declared the ANC's Dumisani Makhaye.

Concern was expressed by speakers from all three organisations about the high expenditure on defence, and "useless and duplicated apartheid structures".

A memorandum was handed to the Receiver of Revenue for distribution to the State President and the Minister of Finance.

The memorandum called for an end to privatisation and other economic restructuring which is done "without consultation". — (Sapa-AP and Political Reporter)

Giant step for whites, small step for

THE NATAL MERCURY 20/03/92

Leon Marshall

South Africa

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THE magnificence of the referendum result reminds one of the saying that there is nothing more unstoppable than an idea whose time has arrived. We've seen the same happen in the former Soviet Union.

Jonty Rhodes's spectacular dive at the stumps might have had something to do with it, as might Free State captain Hansie Cronje's match-winning swipe at the ball which sent South Africa into the World Cup semi-finals.

It is only the worst of spoilsports who would have wanted to deprive those youngsters of the chance to win themselves fame and their country honour on the international playing fields.

The long-missed roar of Formula One cars racing round Kyalami might have helped in Roodepoort and Germiston, as the prospect of seeing the All Blacks once more doing the haka on our playing fields might have helped in Pretoria and probably every other voting district.

The way big business, the Nats and the Democrats, the media, the ANC even, as well as the foreign world joined in a massive chorus which in turn bewailed the dire consequences for the country of a No vote and held out the new promise a Yes vote would bring, must have contributed enormously to the astonishing outcome.

At no point in South African history have such powerful forces of such diverse character united so singlemindedly behind a cause. Had their efforts failed it would have been a shattering blow to the notions we have about power and influence. Either that, or it would finally have confirmed the futility of trying to sway the white South African political mind by democratic persuasion.

Yet, for all the effect these factors might have had on the outcome, consideration needs also to be given to what might have gone on in the mind of many a voter as he or she stood behind the curtain, pencil in hand, about to draw that vital cross.

If one has to believe the euphoric view of President de Klerk and Nationalism's lesser luminaries, it was at that lonely moment that the new South Africa was given birth to. It probably has some truth to it.

It was quite touching on referendum day to watch the quiet, almost grim, faces of those waiting in the queue to vote, or to see couples striding purposefully to the polling booth, some tightly clutching hands.

This was not a coffee, rusk, biltong and koeksister election. It was a sombre affair, with the aspect about it almost of administering the last rites.

There was nothing of the boisterous laughter that used to ring out from the busy Nationalist tables, with those looking on from the less active Democratic Party and before that Progressive Federal and United Party tables knowing that they had once more failed to convince voters of apartheid's futility and the need to look at political sharing as the only peaceful alternative.

In the circumstances, it was gracious and certainly appropriate of President de Klerk after the referendum result specially to thank the Democrats for the help they had given in securing such a resounding victory.

Hopefully history will one day smile kindly on those opposition parties for the part they had played against such tremendous odds in keeping the ideas and values alive from which the new South Africa has now sprung.

Certainly Mr de Klerk, too, who in the minds of a passing breed of South Africans must increasingly be taking on the image of a Jan Smuts, deserves credit for his courage and his enormous accomplishment over the past two years in making his white compatriots face up so swiftly to reality.

There is no doubt, the referendum has seen white South Africa cross their Rubicon, and on a continent as deprived, struggling and in many ways as backward as ours, let nobody underestimate the mighty in-

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vestment of trust that entails. For many of those who voted Yes it would have been an act ultimately of faith, perhaps inspired less by conviction about the future than by their rude awakening to apartheid's grotesque failure.

The Conservatives talked about reviving apartheid in less vulgar form, and about continuing negotiations, not with party-political organisations but with "nations." Many who earlier liked to believe this nonsense must have realised this time it was all a pipe-dream.

It wasn't a new and better beginning of apartheid or true negotiations they were being offered. It was an invitation to whites once more to make a stand — against liberal sellouts, communist agitators, ANC terrorists, a decadent and scheming outside world...

The word struggle has always been synonymous with apartheid. It was built on the notion of whites, particularly Afrikaners, only being able to

maintain their identity by standing alone, against the rest of their countrymen and if necessary against the world. There was a feeling of romantic heroism in that.

Now with that syndrome cast on history's trash heap with apartheid, one wonders what is going to happen to the Right. Will the majority join the negotiations, even if they do so grudgingly, or will they keep to the sidelines, as Dr Andries Treurnicht so dejectedly intimated, waiting for Codesa and much else to go wrong? There is certainly much that can still go wrong. The danger of right-wing terror is one.

Suppressing the elation and looking at the task ahead, one is tempted to paraphrase and twist around some other immortal words, those used by Neil Armstrong at the first moon landing 23 years ago: the referendum might have been a giant leap for white South Africa. For South Africa it is but one small step.

20-03-92

The party's over, now for the hangover

Political Editor **SHAUN JOHNSON** says there'll be a hangover after the referendum party.

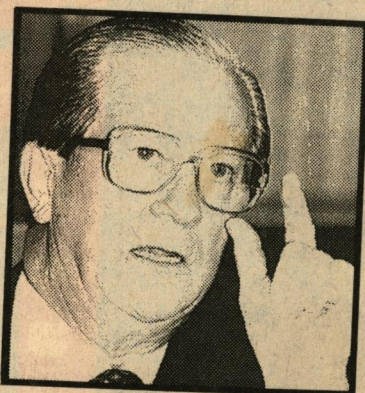
NOW that the shouting is over, the vital constitutional talks at Codesa can go ahead, with the spotlight falling on two vital actors in the unfolding drama. These are the defeated right wing and the temporarily marginalised ANC.

The resounding defeat of the right wing has prompted Dr Andries Treurnicht and his allies to reject the poll out of hand as being the result of foreign intervention amounting to blackmail, an unprecedented media assault and employer intimidation of employees.

It has been clear from the outset of the campaign that the CP has been setting down contingency markers — there have been constant "for the record" complaints about the form and nature of the referendum. These will be produced as evidence that the right wing was aware all along that the poll was somehow "fixed".

At this point an important battle of wills will ensue. It will be a test of strength to see whether the Government and its allies can persuade the white populace and the nation at large that the right wing has taken its democratic chances and is honour-bound to accept the result.

This has already brought tensions into play within the CP itself: those who forced the leadership into the fray will be arguing that the party had now proved the size of its constituency — and at 30 percent of the white vote, it is con-



Dr Treurnicht: rejects the massive Yes poll out of hand.

siderable — and should take that to Codesa, where it would become a significant player. Hardliners will be retorting that the constitutional road has been travelled, and that the only option lies in extra-parliamentary resistance.

So much for the right wing, an important factor but in reality only a small section of the electorate. What of the future majority?

It is generally agreed that the resounding — and historically visionary — Yes vote from the whites is going to lead to an acceleration of the already quick pace of all-in negotiations. This is obviously true to the extent that President de Klerk will be able to spend more time looking straight ahead than peering backwards over his right shoulder.

But, I suggest, there will be a hangover after the referendum party. The Yes vote will have been extracted at some cost to the all-important flexibility of major players at the negotiating table. Without making a judgment as to whether it was forced upon him by the pressures of the campaign or planned in advance, it is a fact that President de Klerk during the

campaign hardened the NP's so-called "bottom-lines" in its negotiations at Codesa.

Most notably towards the end of the campaign to defeat the No vote, Mr de Klerk took to repeating the following formulation: his party was going into the negotiations with a clear set of non-negotiables. It was not prepared to hand over South Africa to "chaos". The mandate that was being asked for was contingent upon these non-negotiables being accepted at Codesa.

The implications of this blunt message are worrying for those who support the speedy conclusion of Codesa's business. In effect, Mr de Klerk told whites that they needn't worry about negotiations on fundamental issues — for those were set in stone — and some interpreted this as meaning that Codesa would therefore be dealing with peripherals. He went so far as to intimate that if these fundamentals were not accepted, he might consult whites — as whites — again in the form of a referendum.

The ANC is not going to take kindly to such ultimatums. While saying that the NP had handled white fears "responsibly" during the referendum campaign, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa noted that the organisation's leadership was not happy with Mr de Klerk's repeated refrain about "bottom lines".

Open-ended negotiations and absolute non-negotiables are by definition incompatible. Nelson Mandela said so plainly immediately after he was released from prison. Therefore we can expect that while Codesa will get a boost ("it will go turbo", as one delegate put it) after the Yes vote, there will be problems emanating from the last fling of old-style white politics.

CALLS MOUNT TO END SANCTIONS

BRITAIN, Germany, Portugal and other countries yesterday called for lifting of trade sanctions against South Africa following the overwhelming vote by White South Africans in favour of the reform process.

The British Foreign Of

fice "warmly welcomed" the result, which it said would lead to a democratic constitution.

"Now is the time for the international community to give a sign of confidence in President De Klerk at this crucial moment in South Africa's history," it said.

The government had

long believed that South Africa's most urgent needs were for economic growth and jobs to underpin the political transformation.

"One of the steps which would help promote the right climate for economic growth would

be the lifting of the remaining economic sanctions against South Africa as soon as possible," the Foreign Office said.

London would be consulting other European Community and Commonwealth nations and would, for example, like to see early agreement on the EC oil embargo.

German Economics Minister Juergen Moellmann is to propose the lifting of sanctions to the German Cabinet next Wednesday.

He has already made a similar proposal to the European Community and expects the EC to lift the sanctions.

A German Economics

THE CITIZEN Ministry spokeswoman said the only EC sanctions still in force against South Africa were a ban on importing hunting weapons and ammunition from the republic and a ban on exports of oil to it.

Portugal has urged the European Community to lift more sanctions against South Africa and send Ministers to Pretoria to show support for democratic reform, according to Foreign Ministry sources in Lisbon.

Portugal, which holds the EC rotating presidency, put the proposals to its partners on Wednesday shortly after the two-to-one vote by South African Whites in favour

of continued negotiations on power-sharing with the Black majority was announced.

Lisbon is still awaiting a response from its 11 partners.

Portugal has also proposed that Foreign Ministers from the previous, present and future EC president countries — the Netherlands, Portugal and Britain — visit Pretoria to express support for Mr De Klerk's reformist policies.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen will visit South Africa at the head of a trade delegation from April 12 to 16.

It will be the first visit by a Danish Minister after the lifting of Denmark's trade sanctions, which takes effect today.

Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating added his voice to the flurry of congratulations for the

Yes victory.

He said in a statement issued in Pretoria that the result would lay the groundwork for the reviewing of sanctions against South Africa.

"I look forward to the further positive developments in negotiations. Further progress in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa... will enable countries such as Australia to review remaining sanctions against South Africa."

Pakistan said it was considering establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa in view of Pretoria's moves to end racial segregation.

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mohammad Siddique Khan Kanju told a news conference that Islamabad welcomed Mr De Klerk's victory.

The referendum result showed the White minority had decided to pursue the path of constitutional negotiations which would

lead to a sharing of power with the Black majority."

President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of the Ivory Coast raised the prospect of establishing diplomatic relations with South Africa.

In a letter to Mr De Klerk, the veteran leader said he proposed to send his Foreign Minister, Amara Essy, to South Africa early next week.

Mr Amara would be "the bearer of a special message in which I reaffirm my hope for the establishment of close relations between our two countries."

THE CITIZEN

20/03/92

Wants Zulu King at Codesa

I WOULD like to answer a few questions concerning the Zulus at Codesa.

I was born a Zulu, bred a Zulu, and even taught Zulu in all walks of life.

I feel left out at Codesa because of the exclusion of my king, the King of the Royalist Zulus, King Zwelithini Zulu.

I assure you, there are two million, if not three million Zulus, who do not

belong to any political organisation or have no interest in South African politics, and, mind you, that includes myself.

We feel we must be represented at Codesa, if it is to be a success.

This is not to say I am siding with Chief Buthelezi in his capacity as the President of IFP.

The party is a political organisation, to which I and two or three million Zulus don't belong.

We are royalists, we support the king. And His Majesty has to represent us.

We don't speak politics. We talk about the drought and the Zulu Royal Family.

And they've voted "Yes". I feel good.

ROYALIST

Johannesburg

CITIZEN 20/03/92

Zimbabweans, SA trade to be R2-bn in '92

HARARE. — South African Trade Mission Representative to Zimbabwe, Mr Nicol Nel, said yesterday he expected bilateral

trade between Zimbabwe and South Africa in 1992 to be around R2-billion.

"Bilateral trade between Zimbabwe and

South Africa has improved substantially over the past couple of years," Mr Nel said in an interview with Zimbabwe's Ziana news agency.

He said the South African market was highly competitive and that Zimbabwean manufacturers would only succeed if they improved the quality, price and speed of delivery of their products.

"South African trade barriers are guided by price and quality of products," he pointed out.

Mr Nel added that the positive outcome of the referendum would go a long way towards creating a certain degree of confidence in southern Africa on the part of foreign investors.

"I think the outcome of the referendum would indirectly create a climate that would be favourable to foreign investors. As you know, stability is the key to attracting foreign investment," said Mr Nel. — Sapa.

'PAC will continue to fight for change'

THE CITIZEN 20/03/92

LAGOS. — The president of South Africa's Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) says his radical Black group will continue to fight for fundamental changes as reform does not go far enough, the News Agency of Nigeria reported yesterday.

Dr Clarence Makwetu, speaking on Wednesday after South African Whites voted two to one in favour of talks on power-sharing with the Black majority, said the referendum had not changed the situation in the country.

"Our organisation is not for reforms but we are for fundamental changes," he told report-

ers at the end of a three-day visit to Nigeria.

"We are opposed to the so called mandate because it was a racist election," he said. "It will not bring back the land stolen from Africans."

The PAC, a militant group that wants total power for Blacks, has refused to join Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC) and other parties in talks with State President De Klerk's government on ending White minority rule.

Zimbabwe, regarded as one of the PAC's closest allies, said yesterday the group should join the Convention for a Demo-

cratic South Africa (Codesa) negotiating forum.

Dr Makwetu said the PAC, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party were not responsible for the Black violence in South Africa.

"I can confirm to you there are camps in our country where mercenaries are trained by the racist regime and used to foment trouble everywhere," he added.

Dr Makwetu said that during his talks in Abuja with the Chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, he asked him to set up a committee to investigate the violence in South Africa. — Sapa-Reuter.

Zambian Foreign Min, Pik discuss drought

Citizen Reporter

SOUTHERN Africa was facing its worst drought in 100 years and logistical measures for the importing and distributing of 12 million tons of grain were under discussion, Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

Mr Botha met his Zambian counterpart Mr Vernon Mawaanga at Jan Smuts Airport to discuss the effects of the worsening drought on the southern African region, and a number of other topics.

Mr Mawaanga was the first Zambian Foreign Affairs Minister to visit South Africa and was to meet with the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress before his return to Zambia on Monday.

Mr Botha said it was vital that countries in Africa worked out ways of reducing costs such as the transportation of the grain, by assisting each other wherever possible.

He added that its time for the rest of the world to show that Africa had not been forgotten and he trusted that countries which were selling maize would do so at reduced prices.

Mr Botha said the result of the referendum had pleased all of South Africa's neighbours and had signalled the death of apartheid and the emergence of a new major player in world affairs.

"Mr Mawaanga expressed his government's pleasure at the result of the referendum and we are looking forward to

forming closer ties with Zambia," said Mr Botha.

Mr Botha described the talk as "useful and interesting" and said South Africa would also work closely with other African countries in co-ordinating the transportation of grain.

Turning to other topics discussed, Mr Botha announced that South African businessmen and tourists could now visit Zambia for up to 30 days without visas.

He said this was a reciprocal arrangement between the two countries.

Mr Botha left for the Far East yesterday, where he is to visit his wife Helena who is undergoing acupuncture treatment at the Veterans' General Hospital in Taipei, after being partially paralysed after a fall in April last year.

Unrest flares up again as 12 more killed

Citizen Reporter and Sapa

A LULL in unrest was reported in most townships throughout the country late on Wednesday and early yesterday, following the announcement of the results of Tuesday's referendum.

Five more people were killed in Soweto, and one died in Daveyton on the East Rand, and the bodies of at least six people were found between the Johannesburg and Braamfontein stations.

This brings the death toll in the recent wave of township violence to more than 300.

Soweto police liaison officer, Captain Govind-samy Mariemuthoo, said six people were injured when a hand grenade was thrown at a Soweto taxi at about 6.15 am yesterday.

He said the explosion, in Soweto High School, killed five men — and a woman.

And in Daveyton, near Benoni, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

In Soweto, a man was killed and four others were wounded when a panga-wielding mob attacked them in Mzimhlope, and the body of a man who had apparently been burned to death was found in Meadowlands.

A man was shot and killed by an unknown gunman in Dobsonville, Soweto, and the body of a man who had been hacked to death was also found in the area.

In Zola, Soweto, police found the body of a man who had been shot.

Police said a man was injured when struck by a stone thrown at a vehicle in Galeshewe, Kimberley.

Police arrested 42 women and 55 men during an illegal demonstration in Wolmaransstad, and at the Marafe Station, Soweto, police arrested a man carrying an M-75 hand-grenade.

Violence in Alexandra last week left scores dead, and more than 200 people injured, and 200 families

R W Johnson on the implications of the decisiveness of the result in the

referendum

STAR 20/3/92

Waking up from the nightmare

THE real moment of truth in the declaration of the referendum results came with the announcement of the poll in the Kroonstad region. The Free State is by some margin the most conservative of the old provinces — the only one where the Conservative Party holds a majority of Parliamentary seats — and Kroonstad, where five of the seven seats are held by the CP, is its most conservative region. Yet the "yesses" had gained a narrow 51.5 percent majority there. Which meant the whole Free State would go "yes" (which it did by a 54.8 percent majority). Which surely implied the Transvaal would do the same; which meant, indeed, the "yes" majority would be both big and national.

With that receded the nightmare scenario, so hyped by the press in the previous week, of a narrow 52-48 or 53-47 "yes" majority. (Questions linger as to who was fooling whom in a media hype clearly designed to maximise the turnout of apathetic "yes" voters, an objective achieved with stunning success.) Such a result would have been a disaster for the cause of reform; with the white elector-

ate more or less equally split, President de Klerk would have lacked real authority in future negotiations and been reduced to virtual lame duck status.

But the nightmare went deeper than that. A narrow "yes" majority would have implied a political configuration in which both the Free State and Transvaal (minus Johannesburg) went "no" but were outweighed by the large "yes" majorities expected in Cape Town and Durban. Such a result would, of course, have simply replicated the old division of the Boer War, with the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, supported by the imperial loyalists of the Cape and Natal, ranged against the Boer republics. For 90 years on this is, not far beneath the surface, still the fundamental fault-line of white politics — and it would still be fatal for an Afrikaner politician like Mr de Klerk to find himself on the wrong side of that line. Moreover, the sight of the two old Boer republics voting not to join the new South Africa would have struck an echo reverberating all the way back to the Great Trek and would have provided an emotionally powerful territorial dimension to

CP demands for a Boerestaat. In the event, only the Pietersburg region of the far northern Transvaal voted "no", providing a most unlikely, parched and landlocked base for a new Orania.

But the referendum has brought to birth a new alignment, one that could conceivably dominate the next century of South African politics, just as the Boer War division has dominated the century now slipping away. Since 1948

South African life has been dominated by three great forces: the Afrikaner Nationalism, English-speaking big business and African nationalism. The struggle between Afrikaner nationalism and big capital took decades to achieve even an uneasy truce and in the meantime both these forces were ranged against the common enemy of African nationalism. The referendum, however, saw the formation of a quite unprecedented alliance between all three of these forces; Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk and Sir Harry Oppenheimer all called for a "yes" vote, as indeed did the SACP's Joe Slovo, while the business community financed probably the highest-spending political campaign

the country has ever seen.

The referendum thus saw the formation of an embryonic new ruling bloc. Indeed, the referendum may be best remembered in future not just for the historic defeat of the white Right but for the Disraeli-like way in which the old ruling groups smoothly incorporated their erstwhile enemies to the Left into a composite new ruling class. Certainly, if this new and immensely powerful coalition can stick together it is difficult to see how it can be challenged. This may prove a tall order — half of all Afrikaners have already jumped ship from the coalition and many African nationalists are going to want more than a one-third share of the spoils — but for the moment this is the new alignment dominating South African life and it is the elites representing those forces who are in clear command of the Codesa process.

How was this result achieved?

Essentially, the 10-15 percent of discontented white voters who had drifted to the CP in by-elections since 1989 were stamped back into the Government fold by an unprecedented and brutal media blitz. There were, indeed, ele-

ments of the "yes" campaign that do not augur well for the future of South African democracy. The press campaigned for the Government with but a single voice: even a State-owned press could hardly have done more and the bias within the broadcast media was blatant to the point of scandal. The financial disparity between the "yes" and "no" campaigns — the one with its page after full-length page of press advertising, the latter often relying on home-made posters — should be a deep cause for unease in a democratic culture. The way in which the national cricket team and its administrators were allowed to campaign for a "yes" vote night after night on prime time TV also left one somewhat uncomfortable. How happy would you be, a few years down the line, to see national sports teams campaigning for the PAC or SACP? Or to see a tamely unanimous press? Or a blatantly partisan TV and radio creating an atmosphere in which one side feels ashamed and defensive about owning up to its preferences?

For the moment, however, such reservations are inevitably

swamped by the euphoria at the greater triumph for democracy that the result entails. For the first time in the history of Africa, a white minority has voted overwhelmingly to have done with white supremacy. This is an event that most commentators, myself included, never expected to see and in this virtual miracle there are the seeds of great hope for the future. It remains true that 32 percent of whites voted "no" — perhaps, if one includes their dependents, this represents as many as 1.8 million people. These are, contrary to the images of the "yes" campaign, not all potential Nazis and hooded terrorists but mainly poor and rather frightened people anxious for their children and the future.

The first priority of the leaders of the "yes" campaign must be to show sympathy and understanding, not arrogance and triumph, towards those whom they have defeated, in an effort to recuperate such people back into the new and promising national consensus born on March 17. □

● R W Johnson is a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, currently visiting South Africa.

Right-wing coup unlikely

THE RIGHT-WING has been brought to an impasse by its defeat in the referendum: it can either retrace its steps and reverse its decision not to participate at Codesa or it can try — literally — to blast its way out of the cul-de-sac.

It may attempt to move in both directions, with one faction cutting its losses and presenting its case at Codesa and another trying the violent option.

The AWB, with its uniformed paramilitary wing, has openly boasted that its preparing to physically resist an ANC-SACP "take-over." Even allowing for an element of bravado, the AWB threat must be seriously considered.

The capabilities of AWB roughnecks, with their grandiose uniforms and Boer-style commandos, are essentially limited. They may be able to plant a few bombs and terrorise civilians but their ability to sustain a full-scale revolt — let alone seize power — is essentially limited.

Unless the AWB's brown- and black-shirted storm troopers can win the support of the security forces, or a significant section of them, the revolt will be

short, though perhaps ugly.

Until fairly recently the police rather than the military were seen as the most likely source of support for an AWB-led counter-revolution against an ANC government or one in which the ANC forms an important component. But that has changed in recent months.

The police have twice fired on AWB zealots or sympathisers in recent months: once last May when they shot and wounded two farmers who were part of a group of men threatening to evict blacks from disputed land at Goedgevonden; and then in August when AWB men allegedly tried to disrupt a meeting addressed by President de Klerk in Ventersdorp.

Two farmers were wounded on the first occasion and three men killed on the second.

Goedgevonden and Ventersdorp changed the political landscape: they showed that the assumption that the police would not fire on their kith and kin, that they were more likely to turn their guns on their commanders, was false.

But, according to Democratic Party researcher James Selfe, another development has sharply reduced the possibility of police support for an AWB revolt: with the appointment of Hernus Kriel as Minister of Law and

Order in place of Adriaan Vlok, civilian authority has been firmly reasserted over the police. The shots are called, metaphorically speaking, by the Minister rather than the generals.

The composition of the police force is inimical to police support for the right-wing. Of the 94 000 active policemen, 60 per cent are black, coloured and Indian. Their loyalties lie with Mr de Klerk or the ANC president Nelson Mandela. They are un-

likely to go along passively with a police-backed putsch.

Not even all the white policemen can be assumed to have right-wing sympathies. Those that do may incline more to the CP leaders who favour action within the law than to the AWB zealots flirting with violence.

The Defence Force, Mr Selfe argues, may be less firm in its loyalty to Mr de Klerk's reformism and to a future black government.

Some officers in the upper echelons of the Permanent

Force are disgruntled with the way in which the Defence Force has been downgraded recently: there have been cuts — in real terms — in defence spending; military service has been reduced from two years to one; and, critically, President PW Botha's national security management system, which in the military played a pivotal role, has been dismantled.

Colonel Jan Breytenbach, a former commander of South Africa's special forces in Angola and Namibia, including the

The political defeat of the Right raises the spectre of armed rebellion by the far-right. Security force support would be crucial for the revolt to succeed. It is unlikely to be forthcoming. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

formidable 32 Battalion, may have reflected the dissatisfaction in sections of the officer corps.

In a pre-referendum message to soldiers who fought in these wars, he said: "You did not lose in Angola... You did not lose in Namibia. You were betrayed by politicians under foreign pressure." In a clear reference to Mr de Klerk's reform policies, Colonel Breytenbach warned that the same politicians might again be preparing to submit to "foreign pressure".

Then, too, the new Minister of Defence, Roelf Meyer, who replaced Magnus Malan last September, has not succeeded in asserting civilian authority to the same degree as Mr Kriel, according to Mr Selfe.

But these factors should not be over-stressed. As Helmoed Roemer-Heitman, South Africa correspondent for Jane's Week-

ly, points out, the Defence Force took the lead breaking down segregation in its ranks. Men of different colours fought together and depended on one another for their very lives.

The SADF has traditionally been obedient to civilian authority: snide remarks about a new political boss by some senior officers do not translate into a willingness to seriously contemplate a coup d'etat against civilian authority; dis-

Force, news of a planned coup would almost certainly leak as national servicemen and Citizen Force soldiers were mustered to implement it.

The would-be coup leaders would in all probability find themselves the target to a pre-emptive counter-coup. □

satisfaction is a necessary but not sufficient cause for rebellion.

Like the police, the Defence Force's composition militates against rebellion. Of the estimated 35 000 men who are being trained as soldiers less than half are white conscripts; the remainder are volunteer soldiers from the black communities.

The loyalty of neither the

black volunteers nor the white conscripts — the majority of whom are likely to sympathise with Mr de Klerk or leaders to the left of him — can be assumed by officers planning a coup to prevent the installation of a "black communist government."

The Citizen Force and commandos constitute another vital component of the Defence Force: like conscripts they, too, reflect the political affinities of the white community as a whole, in which — as the referendum showed — the far-right is only a small element.

South Africa is a large and complex country with many nerve centres. Staging a coup d'etat would not be a simple matter of occupying one radio station, arresting the civilian leaders and announcing a military take-over.

Given the large non-permanent component of the Defence

FW, Mandela want speedy progress at Codesa

THE STAR 20-3-92

New impetus to reform

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela simultaneously stepped on the reform accelerator yesterday, raising expectations that a nonracial interim government may be installed before the end of this year.

Signs are that the resounding "yes" vote in the referendum has laid the basis for quicker-than-expected progress in Codesa negotiations

on the transition period.

Speaking in Cape Town at the start of a four-day tour yesterday, Mr Mandela said: "Our demand is that an interim government must be installed in 1992. We think this is possible. We sincerely hope, now that Mr de Klerk has got an overwhelming endorsement for his role in the negotiations, that he will be able to move with speed."

The ANC leader said the timing of elections for a fully fledged new government would depend on how soon the interim government could be put in place.

Mr de Klerk, speaking after a meeting with former Canadian premier Pierre Trudeau at Tuynhuys, said: "The good result in the referendum will give impetus to the negotiations process."

"We will now see some dynamic negotiation taking place and we should not waste time."

Observers believe that consensus between the Government and the ANC on arrangements for the first phase of the transition — an interim government to supervise eventual elections — has almost been achieved.

It is over phase two, the period during which a final constitution will be hammered out, that major differences still remain.

Mr Mandela said the political process to transform South Africa could be described as "irreversible" only once open, free and fair elections had been held in terms of a new constitution.

He lauded Mr de Klerk for the brave steps he had taken, but said he objected to the impression that had been created which gave full credit for the reform process to the Government. It was

started in July 1986, and was initiated by the ANC, he said.

Mr de Klerk refused to be drawn on exactly when he expected a transitional authority to be installed, saying that consensus had first to be achieved — it was the basis of successful negotiations.

But he added: "We all need a sense of urgency."

Mr Mandela said he was unhappy about the lifting of sanctions by some countries in the wake of the "yes" result, and expressed regret that the Government had not consulted the ANC about this

week's "rich man's Budget".

He said he was eager to see SA's political and economic system "normalised". This would be achieved quickly once an interim government was in place.

Mr Mandela urged Dr Treurnicht and his right-wing allies to join Codesa.

Mr Trudeau said the referendum result showed that white voters were "more than ready" for the negotiations process.

'Liberal' whites keep blacks from good jobs

Patrick Laurence highlights the overtly dramatic events manifesting "the racial hatred which still festers on either side of the colour line" (The Star, February 4).

He might give some of his time and talent to the more insidious "underground" process at work to maintain white predominance, specially in the skilled and professional fields. It seems,

that to maintain its monopolistic hold, the white group is closing ranks, ensuring for the foreseeable

future its continued exclusiveness in these areas.

The proposed drill appears to be to propel a few blacks (African) to positions of ready public exposure, to forestall adverse intervention, but ignore the Indian and Coloured who may well be eligible.

In this regard the worst offenders are the so-called white liberals in the medical and legal fields professing a commitment to a non-racial society, but very astute to withholding opportuni-

ties, which have been abundant in the past 10 years, for the development of blacks as experts in legal and medical areas. Their inaction has paid off handsomely.

They are now in the driving seat as advisers to the ANC and other black groups, particularly relating to the peace keeping and constitution making processes, there being no blacks of comparable experience or standing.

P Adam

London

Children can abuse phone services

I am writing to lodge a complaint about the numerous phone-calls which are advertised in all our newspapers and magazines — the ones which charge R6,60 per minute and R2,20 per minute.

I am one of the unfortunate who have been caught. I am a widower and pensioner, but my grandchildren who stay with me, unbeknown to me, have been phoning these numbers. They have always been allowed to phone their friends when they ask, but instead they were phoning these numbers.

Imagine my shock when I received a telephone account for R1 985,70 last month, and live in fear and trembling to see my account for this month. Too late in the day I keep the phone locked and no-one has access to it.

Ms P M Plant
Brakpan

Communist Hani is capitalist at heart

THE STAR 20-3-92
We are led to believe that Mr Chris Hani is a communist, but it seems that he is a capitalist at heart.

He has moved into a posh house in the white area of Boksburg. It seems that he does not want to stay with his own people.

Now he is sending his daughter to a private school and paying R10 000 a year. This is surely capitalism at its best.

There are thousands of black children who are going without schooling,

and there are hundreds of thousands who are receiving inferior education in dilapidated schools.

But our leaders stay in palatial homes, drive posh Mercs and send their children to private schools, yet they are unable to assist, even with a monthly grocery parcel, the thousands of exiles who are now returning home.

It would be interesting to know where they get their money from.

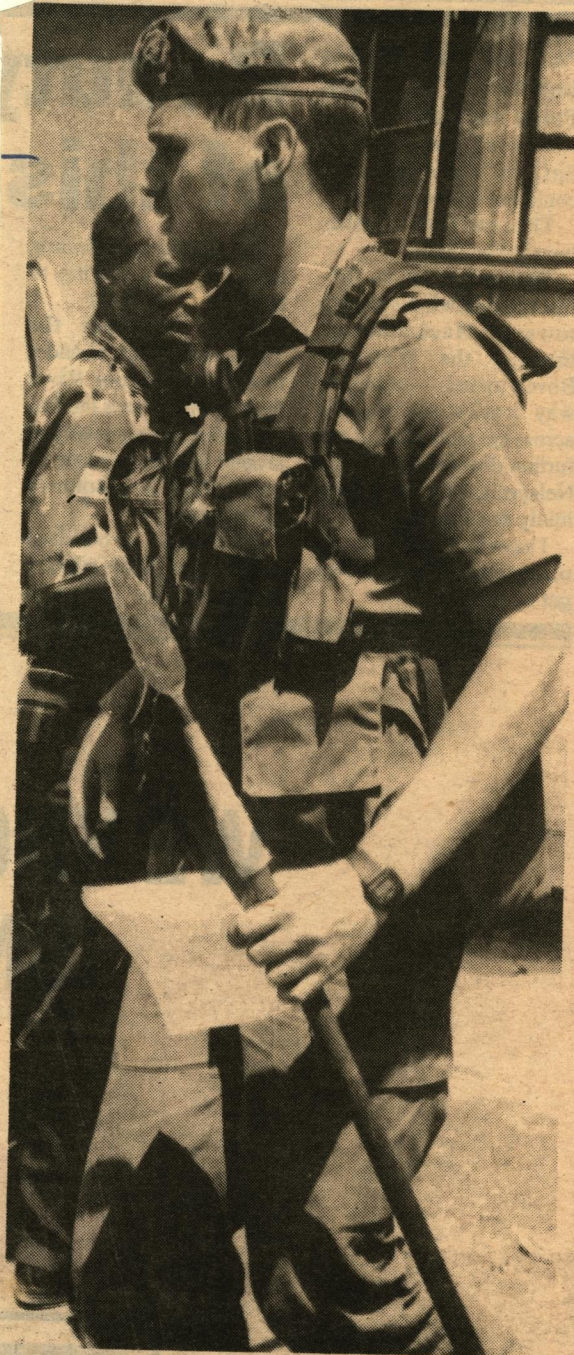
Abdullah Khumalo
Fordsburg

Letters to the editor should be sent to Box 61682, Marshalltown 2107 (fax 836-8398).

Letter writers are strongly urged to avoid the use of pseudonyms, which are usually unnecessary anyway. Preference is always given to letters written over the author's real name. (Letters must in any event be accompanied by full name and address to establish bona fides).

SOWETAN MARCH 20 - 1992

From: Pg 1



A policeman confiscates a spear during a raid on a hostel.

assailants who were traveling in two white kombis at Folweni near Umbumbulu. At the end of February, five ANC supporters were killed and three injured in violence that broke out after the launch of an ANC branch in the township.

One of the most successful peace initiatives in Natal, offering a ray of hope to the rest of the province, has been in Mpumulanga - not long ago dubbed as one of the killing fields of Natal. In February

members and supporters of both the IFP and the ANC sat side by side at a joint peace rally and heard their leaders urge an end to the conflict.

Despite the successful end to the conflict in Mpumulanga, several deaths have been recorded in the area since the beginning of the year.

Despite the six-month old National Peace Accord, there appears to be no end in sight to the killing in Natal.

Peace fails in the killing fields of Natal

NATAL boasts of being the first province to have established a Regional Dispute Resolution Committee as set down by the National Peace Accord and political, church and community leaders continue pursuing peace.

However, Natal silently dashes hopes of an end to the political violence that has claimed more than 10 000 lives in this country since 1988.

Since the beginning of the year, more than 200 people have died, countless homes razed, and even more people made homeless.

Natal newspapers document the tragedy of what is beginning to look like a hopeless situation with headlines reading "Four die in violent Midlands incidents", "Truce shattered", "Six family members slain", "Surge of weekend fighting kill 22" and "Violence is a way of life".

Statistics show that, compared with the rest of the Republic, Natal suffers the highest number of casualties as a result of political violence.

In one of the bloodiest weeks in the province, 20 people were killed the first week of February, bringing Natal once more on the edge of a fullscale bloodbath.

The week of fighting culminated in the slaying of Inkatha leader Mr Winnington Sabelo in Umlazi.

The co-chairman of Natal/KwaZulu Dispute Resolution Committee, Mr MC Pretorius, has said Sabelo's killing was a "blatant vio-

Sowetan Correspondent

lation of the letter and the spirit of the National Peace Accord". Pretorius warned that it could spark renewed fighting.

This proved true for in the weekend following Sabelo's death - several people, including high-ranking Natal Midlands negotiator, Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya, were killed. Ngwenya's death came barely 24 hours after Sabelo was gunned down.

The killings dashed hopes of peace, making a mockery of Natal's claims to be the first province to implement the National Peace Accord by setting up the country's first Regional

led by Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and businessman MC Pretorius, focused on several conflict areas in an attempt to initiate and implement local peace measures:

In Umlazi the LDRC was officially launched on January 7 with an independent facilitator. However, Umlazi became the most violent of the townships surrounding Durban with regular battles between residents of the Umlazi Unit 17 hostels - thought to be an Inkatha stronghold - and resident of the shack settlements of Zamani and Ekuthuleni.

In February, more than 600 destitute refugees fled from renewed fighting in the township and armed

dents by Inkatha supporting hostel dwellers in December.

This prompted the establishment of a 16-member interim peace committee which included Natal's Deputy Attorney-General, Mr Leslie Roberts. Justice Goldstone said the carrying of weapons by the Inkatha-supporting hostel dwellers was proving to be a deterrent to peace.

In Richmond, the scene of several battles between IFP and ANC members last year, there has been progress but the IFP has repeatedly cancelled or walked out of meetings.

The IFP claimed that it was not prepared to continue with the peace process while its members were

However Empangeni's surrounding townships have been racked by violence since the beginning of the year. In February the ANC claimed that IFP members being bused to a meeting in the Esikhaweni township started attacking ANC-supporting hostel dwellers. At least eight people were killed and 20 seriously injured in gun battles between the two sides.

The IFP refuted this, claiming that the IFP members retaliated when they were attacked by the hostel dwellers. Since then there has been visible tension in the township. Several residents have moved out and there has been an increased security force presence.

In Stanger a local dispute resolution committee was launched after three successful meetings since the beginning of the year.

In the Ozwathini/Maphumulo area initial meetings have taken place but no structure has been launched.

In Port Shepstone - another scene of killings and revenge attacks last year - a facilitator from the business community has been found to chair the process and there are hopes that an LDRC will be launched soon.

At Bulwer the regional structure is trying to set up meetings between the ANC and the local indunas and chiefs.

At Wembezi near Estcourt and at Umbumbulu tentative approaches to local activists have been made. However, both areas have seen repeated attacks on supporters of both the ANC and the IFP.

In February six ANC members were shot dead by

Statistics show that, compared with the rest of the Republic, Natal suffers the highest number of casualties as a result of political violence.

Dispute Resolution Committee.

The repeated killings in the province prompted a war of words between Inkatha and the ANC.

The ANC in particular said it was losing patience with Inkatha after the IFP representation to a recent RDRC committee walked out.

The IFP countered by claiming that the ANC was attempting to manipulate the process.

While the squabbling between the two organisations continued, the RDRC,

gangs staged lightning raids on Ekuthuleni. More than eight people were killed and 120 shacks destroyed in attacks and counter-attacks in the first week of February. This month at least nine people are known to have died in the township.

In Bruntville there has been an agreement by all parties in the peace process. In January the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence and Intimidation investigated an alleged attack on Bruntville township resi-

being killed. In February three were killed in a failed assassination attempt on a senior Inkatha official, Mr Abdul Awetha, in Imbali and fighting flared up in Upper Edendale and Phateni near Richmond.

At Empangeni moves were under way to build on the Lower Umfolozi Peace Accord - one of the earliest and most successful peace initiatives. One of the main aims of a peace committee in this Natal North Coast township was to bring local chiefs firmly into the process.

Inside the lion's mouth of the taxi war

SOWETAN 20-03-92

SQUATTERS in a camp near the Nyanga taxi rank, the scene of most of the violent confrontations between taxi drivers, have dubbed the rank the "lion's mouth".

Once you get in, you never come back.

Along with the hundreds of thousands who use taxis every day, residents of the KTC squatter camp have been at the receiving end of the war.

Elderly people face difficulties in collecting money from Zolani Centre on pension day, and pupils and teachers from a nearby primary school have to contend with conducting classes only a stone's throw away from the battlefield.

The Khayelitsha Business Association has predicted that if the war does not end by April, several businesses face closure and at least 500 jobs will be lost.

One grave feature of the senseless war is that it has claimed scores of innocent lives, while hundreds of thousands of commuters experience unprecedented inconvenience.

On the opposing ends are the Western Cape Black Taxis Association (Webta) and Lagunya. The war is simply over lucrative routes. Lagunya has about 3 000 members while Webta's membership is estimated at 1 000.

Formerly pirate taxis, Webta are intent on defending and expanding their empire, which they acquired after heavy struggles for recognition, mainly with the traffic police who harassed them for lack of licences.

The association was officially formed in 1987, amid a high profile publicity drive. They later joined the South African Black Taxi Association.

Webta's power-base is mainly in Khayelitsha, where many of their members live. Most of the members came to Cape Town as migrant labourers and occasionally visit the

Taxi ranks in Cape Town's townships are no longer a hive of activity and the taxi business is not a money-generating machine anymore - thanks to the never-ending clashes between rival taxi groups. Millions of rands, in profits and property, have been lost in the city's bloodiest taxi war. Sowetan Correspondent VUSI KAMA reports from Cape Town.



Transkei and Ciskei.

Lagunya (named after the townships of Langa, Gugulethu, Nyanga) is mainly based in the three townships and has won much of the support of the residents in times of trouble, as residents believe that Webta is in collusion with the police.

Both organisations claim to stand for peace, but history has taught township residents not to take them on the strength of their word.

Bloody clashes were sparked by failure of the taxi groups to agree on rescheduling routes, after Lagunya opened a new taxi rank in Khayelitsha last March.

Among the first casualties were commuters and there were clear indications that the war was not about to end, as daily reports pointed to an escalation in hostilities.

The police seemed unable to contain the increasing turmoil, amid calls from residents for an end to the war and the launch of an investigation into the war.

Suddenly buses and trains became the "in-thing", but it was evident that nothing could replace the minibuses.

A blanket boycott aimed at "disciplining" the warring factions was launched in April last year, but ended hostilities for a relatively

short period.

In an attempt to attain a lasting peace, an inter-organisational body called the Taxi Crisis Coordinating Committee called the factions to a meeting, where a 10-point plan was agreed on.

The plan was aimed at sealing all the holes that had previously led to clashes, and help the two organisations form a single body.

But rumours of war re-emerged when youth in Khayelitsha, believed to be under the leadership of an ANC group, refused to recognise the 10-point-plan because they had not "mandated" their representatives to take such a decision.

On the other hand, accusations were flying in the face of Webta. Some TCCC members accused Webta of breaching the terms of the plan, by refusing to reduce fares and to disband and help form a single body.

There were also concerns in the community that Webta had refused to register their taxis and identify the owners, in terms of the 10-point-plan, because the taxis were owned by faceless whites who had no interest in community affairs.

War erupted again in June after there were calls to boycott Webta for not sticking to the terms of the 10-point plan.

The TCCC distributed about 100 000 pamphlets calling for a

FOCUS

boycott of Webta taxis.

For their part, Webta accused the TCCC of siding with Lagunya, and rumours of a terror campaign against TCCC officials abound.

Following the assassination of civic leader Michael Mapongwana, who had advocated a boycott of Webta taxis, and ANC activist Mziwonke "Pro" Jack, residents anger welled up against Webta.

The association's taxis were constantly burnt and houses of members torched.

A Webta driver is facing charges of murder for the Mapongwana murder.

As the saga continued, prominent members of the Cape Town community also added their voices, but all in vain.

Not even that of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who, along with Mayor Frank Van Der Velde, advocated a plan to end the gruesome war.

There were also calls that South African Defence Force troops be deployed in the township to help end the violence, as the police had "clearly failed", and were perceived to be in favour of Webta.

In its latest attempt, the ANC has called on the community to boycott both taxi associations, until they unite. Since the call was made two weeks ago, there have been no signs of such a boycott being implemented.

The organisation also called on the police and the army to withdraw from the townships and allow residents to resolve the conflict on their own.

Ja-nee, will we ever know how Koos

WILL history ever discover which way the CP's Koos van der Merwe voted in the referendum?

There are some normally very serious-minded politicians in Parliament who are convinced he voted "yes" — so he could force the CP into Codesa.

He was certainly out on his own in Parliament after the result on Wednesday. Koos was the only Conservative MP to stroll into the House 10 minutes before the Budget speech, and he was greeted by Nats and Democrats as if he had won the referendum for them.

"Join us, Koos," shouted several MPs. The atmosphere of camaraderie was broken only when Ferdi Hartzenberg and other CP heavies slunk in.

□ □ □

THE "yes" alliance may have won handsomely, but in the heat of victory the English language took something of a beating.

Twice in rapid succession on Wednesday afternoon President de Klerk talked about being — besides victorious — "euphorious".

He said he wasn't euphorious, which was just as well even if the rhyme caught his fancy.

At that same press conference a tired but clearly euphoric FW talked of having achieved a majority of "round about at least 68 percent".

Later at an ANC media opportunity, Nelson Mandela was given the opportunity for a little wise-crack when someone asked him a question in French.

Perhaps the correspondent had hoped Pallo Jordan (who evident-

voted?

ly does speak the language) would translate.

But in the event the ANC leader raised a laugh by replying: "Me speak no French."

□ □ □

SOME memorable quotes emerged during and after the poll. On the CP side, a dejected Koos van der Merwe told a radio station, inter alia, "they have called our bluff".

While at Rosebank Primary School on Tuesday, where 5 000 people had voted in the first three hours, a gratified DP senior MP said: "It's thanks to the media — you've scared them shitless."

Beforehand that gloomiest of political analysts, Professor Willem Kleynhans, had covered all his options by predicting: "We are in for trouble in SA, whatever the outcome of the referendum."

□ □ □

IN Cape Town, meanwhile, a Nat MP called for March 17 to be

made a public holiday — New South Africa Day — and that well-known non-voter, Allan Boesak, continues to lead the charge of the limelight brigade.

In the tense wait on Wednesday for the first results, enterprising TV crews set up their cameras outside the HF Verwoerd Building at Parliament, hoping to grab passing MPs for comments.

Imagine their surprise, then, when the first face to appear before the cameras was none other than the Rev Allan.

What was he doing there? No one knew, but one seasoned hack remarked: "With Boesak, it's like Star Trek. He can hear the sound of a TV camera being set up from miles away. Then he just beams himself up."

□ □ □

TALKING of non-voters, a Cape Town middle-management yuppie did his good-citizen bit by giving his whole staff the Tuesday after-

noon off to vote.

This endeared him to the firm's coloured workers, but not to his own boss. A rocket from upstairs proved it doesn't always pay to be colour-blind in the New SA.

□ □ □

WELL, the "yes" win kept us in the Wor'd Cup etc and saved us from being reduced to tug-o-war as a national sport.

This being, of course, the only one where you win by going backwards and falling on your butt.

□ □ □

TWO nice little-old-lady stories emerged on Tuesday, both true. Outside an old-age home, one old dear being ferried off was asked whom she was voting for.

"The UP!" she cried, possibly unaware that the old United Party has been dead and gone nearly 20 years.

Another lady of Sauer's acquaintance was arguing with

some aged CP supporters as they stood in line to vote in Johannesburg. The "no" voters, all four couples of them, were very dour and unresponsive.

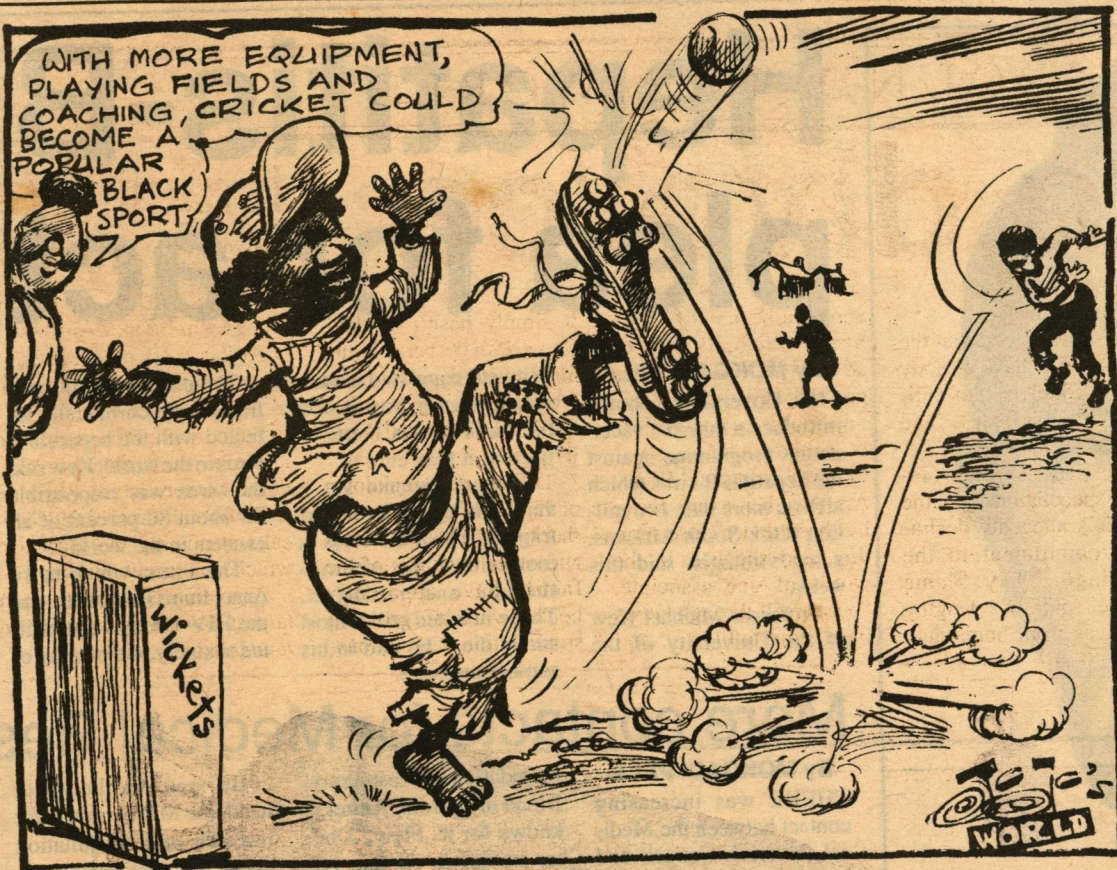
A little later, though, the wife of one CP patriarch confided privately: "Don't worry love," she said, "we tell our husbands we're voting 'no' to keep them happy. But we're actually voting 'yes'."

When you look at the size of the "yes" margin, one begins to wonder whether this wasn't a widespread phenomenon.

□ □ □

A POST-BUDGET thought. After the gambles he's taken — and still is taking — with the New SA and the referendum, has FW de Klerk any conceivable reason for not conceding to the clamour for a State lottery? □

Hector Sauer



'Destructive' report didn't help returnees

SIR - The article published in the Sowetan on March 3, 1992, under the caption, "Corruption in the NCCR, allege exiles" is disturbing and highly regrettable.

It is indeed not only misleading, but it constitutes an attempt to destroy the integrity of the NCCR and to divide it and its international partners.

Worth noting is that the caption stresses corruption, but the article throughout does not substantiate these allegations.

For instance, does the failure to pay grants to some exiles constitute corruption per se, as Joe Masombuka alleges?

Indeed, the failure to get grants in time is a great inconvenience to returning exiles.

However, to get to the root of the problem, and therefore to understand, is vital.

What caused the delay?

It will be remembered that two weeks ago, the NCCR had to announce via Radio Metro to all exiles in the PWV region that there is a delay in the issuing of grants due to administrative reasons.

Some of these administrative bottlenecks came about through a substantial restructuring process and changes in the working system, decided on jointly with the UNHCR.

These administrative changes were embarked on since December 1 1991 when the UNHCR and the NCCR started implementing their partnership amid arrivals of almost 200 exiles per week.

What did this process entail? Firstly, an increase of previous grants from R300 (initial grant) and R400 (settlement grant), which was issued by the

NCCR, up to R4250 spread over a six months period under the UNHCR programme. Secondly, employment of additional staff in the NCCR (PWV) regional office to cope with a backlog of thousands of returnees who had come prior to UNHCR involvement and who had now to be processed according to the new system.

Ten more people were employed in the last two months in the NCCR PWV region and are presently working all out to minimise and finally remove all inconvenience faced by the returnees.

The NCCR is aware of

the fact that exiles are facing tremendous pressures. Unemployment, lack of housing, need for education etc., thus the need to give maximum attention to their needs.

In the process of assisting to resolve these problems, difficulties are bound to occur, and can be solved by close co-operation between the returnees, the NCCR, the UNHCR and the international community rather than potentially destructive articles.

MOSS CHIKANE,
NCCR NATIONAL CO-
ORDINATOR, JO-
HANNESBURG

Insight

Kinnock not far off Major's line on SA

SOUTH Africa is likely to slip further down the list of Labour's preoccupations should Neil Kinnock and his Party win the next elections - presuming the South Africa peace-process stays on course.

If President F.W. de Klerk has achieved anything, it is to convince the world — South Africa's traditional Socialist enemies included — that the book on apartheid has truly been closed.

It is this deftness in shaping and colouring Western opinion that has given South Africa enough leeway to embark on the programme Mr de Klerk envisages and which has earned him the respect of politicians with widely differing points of view.

Indeed, over past months, Britain's Labour Party has been edging closer to the Conservative line — that the country needs the means, motive and opportunity to change, and the West has something of a moral obligation to help.

GARNER THOMSON of The Daily News Foreign Service reports from London

Its image-makers are also acutely aware that to continue knocking South Africa during these momentous times comes across not as politically alert and concerned, but as obstructionist and churlish, and certainly not in the best interests of change.

Brief and underplayed as it was, Glenys Kinnock's recent visit to the Republic was something of an indicator that dramatic moves were afoot inside Labour ranks.

Although she went as representative of a children's charity and not in any political capacity, it is unthinkable that the wife of the man who could be Britain's next Socialist Prime Minister would be permitted to visit a country which was still regarded as a political pariah.

Organisations such as the Anti-Apartheid Movement which are close to the Labour Party also offer some hint as to the direction Labour policy on South Africa is taking.

Although the AAM supports Nelson Mandela's insistence that sanctions should remain in place for the moment, the tone is less strident, the approach less hostile and more optimistic.

Southern Africa experts are also looking to Gerald Kaufman for hints as to what a Labour Government would have in store for the Republic.

Volatile and prone to exaggeration as Shadow Foreign Secretary, he is nevertheless regarded, off-stage, as an intelligent and considered politician — one who, should he inherit the role in government, is almost certain to bring a considerably more measured approach to the South African question.

This is not to say a Labour Government will not remain acutely vigilant as to what is happening inside South Africa's borders.

Ultimately, all speculation as to Labour's relations with South Africa depend on what kind of South Africa will emerge.

Already, the Right-wing foreign policy think-tank, the International Freedom Foundation, has suggested that Mr Kinnock is planning to form a special "kitchen cabinet" of unelected advisers and influential left-wingers.

Referring to Mrs Kinnock, the IFF comments: "Traditionally, prime ministerial spouses have been non-political to the point of invisibility. Glenys Kinnock, however, would prove a dramatic exception to this rule if her husband entered No.10.

"Mrs Kinnock has been politically active since her teens and, indeed, this helped bring the couple together when they were radical Left-wing students at Cardiff University in the 60s."

Mrs Kinnock, a schoolteacher, has in the past publicly aligned herself with Swapo in Namibia, supported the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign and has made no secret of her backing for the ANC.

Her experiences in South Africa — although her visit was officially politically neutral — will doubtless contribute to Labour's changing perceptions of the country.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, MARCH 20, 1992

Virginians of Zulu Descent Vote G.O.P.

To the Editor:

Stephen L. Carter ("Nativism and Its Discontents," Op-Ed March 8) criticizes Patrick J. Buchanan's assertion that Zulu immigrants to Virginia would be harder to assimilate than Englishmen. Mr. Carter notes, "many Zulus in multilingual South Africa speak better English than most of the Europeans of whom he is so enamored."

Mr. Buchanan should also have known that in Virginia there are descendants of Zulus who not only speak excellent English and actively participate in public life, but even become conservative Republicans.

The Rev. Maurice A. Dawkins, a former associate of Rev. Leon Sullivan, ran unsuccessfully in Virginia in 1988 as the Republican candidate for the Senate. He had a Zulu grandfather who came to this country at the end of the last century, returned to his native land to fight in the Boer War (1899-1902), then returned to his country of choice in time to fight as an American soldier in World War I. His grandson and his family are evidently so assimilated, and such good Virginians, that even the ethnicity-conscious Mr. Buchanan seems unaware of their ancestry.

Mr. Buchanan and other agents of divisiveness might learn something

from Zulu culture, particularly the concept of "Buntu," or "humanness." This concept holds that every person springs from, and is part of, the same life-giving force; all human beings are therefore brothers and sisters, and equally "children of God." The Buntu credo also holds that "I am human. . . I am a self-defining value. . . I can make of myself whatever I choose." Is this not in the best American tradition?

Yes, we need limits to immigration. But not to our receptivity to the constructive contributions to American life that can be made by all people, regardless — or perhaps, because — of their backgrounds. LORNA HAHN

Executive Director, Association
on Third World Affairs
Washington, March 9, 1992

ANC says Inkatha bid to disarm MK is 'ridiculous'

IDO LEKOTA

Daily News Reporter

THE Natal region of the African National Congress has dismissed the memorandum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, calling for the immediate disbanding of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, as a "ridiculous attempt" by the IFP "to salve their conscience after Inkathagate".

On Saturday more than 20 000 Inkatha supporters, brandishing their "cultural weapons", marched to John Vorster Square to present a copy of the memorandum.

Referring to the march, Natal ANC leader Regie Hadebe, said the IFP was "haunted by the fact that they received money and arms from the Government and the SADF".

On Umkhonto we Sizwe being disbanded, Mr Hadebe said the organisation was a liberation army and was not involved in the violence.

IFP members were not killed by MK operatives but were killed in incidents where ANC supporters had to defend themselves, Mr Hadebe said.

"It's well known that Inkatha is the perpetrator in the violence.

"Inkatha is part of the Government's plan to wage war against the people," he said.

Mr Hadebe dismissed claims that AK-47s were only in the possession of ANC members.

Inkatha, KwaZulu Police and the SAP had piles of AK-47 rifles, he said. Mr Hadebe said only two weeks ago, at Webenzi, he witnessed Inkatha supporters attacking a house in VQ section with AK-47 rifles.

Meanwhile IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi read a copy of the memorandum to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

According to the memorandum the IFP pledged its total commitment to peace. It said, however, in order to achieve peace the contents of the memorandum needed to be addressed immediately.

Prisoners in Umtata enter 14th day of their hunger strike

UMTATA: More than 300 inmates at Umtata's two prisons — Umtata and Central — have entered the 14th day of their hunger strike.

According to a spokesman for Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), Mawethu Bam, the inmates are demanding a one-third remission of their sentences as happens in South Africa, and also an improvement in jail conditions.

Mr Bam said according to information available to his office, there are 350 inmates who are on hunger strike but a note sent to his office on Saturday from Central Prison puts the figure as high as 1 200.

A number of strikers were admitted to the Umtata hospital and later discharged and some were put on drips.

Earlier last week, prison authorities said there were only 36 hunger strikers and twice refused LHR access to them.—Daily News Correspondent

The Star 23/3/92

IFP warned about weapons

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

The SA Police and Inkatha Freedom Party today said they had done all in their power to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons during the IFP march in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Several bystanders were stabbed and beaten by marchers carrying weapons in defiance of a Government proclamation prohibiting the practice.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said police had made it clear to IFP leaders that carrying weapons would not be allowed. However,

it would not have been possible for police to disarm the huge crowd, estimated at about 10 000.

"Trying to disarm such a big crowd would have led to a terrible confrontation. The average Inkatha supporter does not see why he must suddenly stop carrying a weapon," he said.

IFP West Rand leader Humphrey Ndlovu said he had appealed to members to leave dangerous weapons behind before leaving George Goch Stadium. He said people seen carrying sharpened iron rods, meat cleavers and other dangerous weapons had joined the march from elsewhere.

B. Day 20/3/92

10

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, March 20 1992

COMMENT**Soft options**

JUSTIFYING a Budget which lifts the state's planned deficit before borrowing to 4.5% — well above the IMF's 3% safe guideline — is not easy. It becomes particularly difficult when inflation shows few signs of closing in on single digits and when the bulk of the deficit spending will be on current expenditure — wages for public servants included — rather than on the capital projects needed to improve infrastructure.

New Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys argues with conventional correctness that curbs on government spending would hurt more than help the economy touching the bottom of its recessionary trough. And when the tax base is simply too small to permit greater state spending without a higher deficit, better the deficit than deeper recession.

This is the short-term soft option. It cannot be sustained without inflationary implications unless other stimuli are put in place to generate sustained economic growth and improved productivity. Those stimuli, if they exist, were well concealed in Barend du Plessis' Budget speech. Increased spending on housebuilding will push cash into the economy. To a lesser extent so, too, will the income tax concessions Du Plessis announced.

But these alone will be inadequate if the state's borrowing helps sustain high interest rates. And they will be doubly inadequate if deficit spending helps sustain inflation and dissuades the Reserve Bank from relaxing its strict monetary

policies.

The intention is to stimulate consumption spending and exports. Government has not been short of suggestions for the first — a troubled motor industry, for example, lobbied successfully for hire purchase regulations to be eased. But a change such as that alone represents little more than tinkering. South African households are still nursing the fingers they burned when soaring interest rates halted the last consumer spending boom.

Focusing exclusively on consumption spending by easing credit terms would be inadequate. More important will be strategies which encourage business to spend on capital projects. Lower interest rates, and the conviction that they would remain low, would make sense. So, too, would appropriate tax breaks which were notably absent from the Budget speech.

The Budget, laudably, included the incentives for exporters of benefited products. We still emphasise export industries which can compete internationally because of factors — cheap power, availability of raw materials and so on — which are essentially unique to South Africa. The extent to which these incentives will enhance our longer-term economic competitiveness is another matter. These days, success in export markets depends on being more productive than your competitors. That still demands incentives to persuade South Africans or foreigners to invest in technologically advanced manufacturing plants run by skilled operatives.

The Citizen 21/3/92

Mandela warns

FROM PAGE 1

press approval," Mr Mandela said.

He gave his speech from the pulpit of Cape Town's Metropolitan Methodist Church, where an anti-tax rally was held.

Even though the government was discussing reforms, it remained "insensitive" to the needs of Black people, Mr Mandela said. "They are thinking of the interests of Whites."

Speaking at Saldanha, Mr Mandela repeated his warning to the government and South African industry they would be hard-hit if the Minister of Finance carried out his threat to tax basic foodstuffs from March 31.

He told a cheering, toyi-toying crowd of 700 that if the government remained silent on this issue it would cause turmoil.

"We cannot fail to protect our people," he said.

Mr Mandela was introduced to a rally by the chairman of the ANC's Western Cape region, Dr Allan Boesak, who said he had brought Mr Mandela for them to see so they would recognise him as being their man when he sat in Tuynhuys, the State President's office.

Referring to the referendum he said "it is the last time Whites will say anything without us; next time we will all say it together".

"That White President sitting in Tuynhuys and that White government sitting in Parliament will be the last."

Turning again to the issue of VAT, Mr Mandela said the government decision to impose tax on basic foodstuffs had been discussed at length last year with the State Presi-

dent and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis. The problem of poverty and unemployment had been clearly spelt out.

"Now we have a serious drought and seven million of our people are out of employment — where are they going to get money for food?"

The drought was virtually doubling up the price of food in rand terms and insolvent farmers' labourers were joining the unemployed in large numbers.

"It is a serious situation. We say to Barend du Plessis that to tax food is looking for trouble."

"He is provoking our people. It is a situation we cannot allow."

"If the ruling party carries out the threat of taxing basic foodstuffs on March 31, we must let them know we will hit the regime and industry very hard."

"If they close their mouths, they will cause turmoil. We cannot fail to protect our people."

"When the moment arrives you will rally around the ANC and Cosatu."

Sapa-AP-Reuters

Weapons banned on trains and at stations

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has prohibited the carrying of "dangerous weapons" on trains and at railway stations.

The announcement came amid a spate of attacks on Reef trains and stations yesterday and on Wednesday, and after repeated calls from various organisations for such a ban.

Police spokesman Capt Burger van Rooyen said in a statement yesterday the prohibition would be published in the Government Gazette on Monday and be enforced immediately.

In terms of the prohibition it was an offence to "take any firearm or dangerous weapon on to the premises of the SA Rail Commuter Corporation, except when permission has been obtained", he said.

"The SAP will do everything within its power to enforce the prohibition... and an appeal is made to every person who makes use of the trains to co-operate with the police," he said.

Meanwhile yesterday, six people were injured when they were tossed from a train between Johannesburg and Braamfontein stations, police said.

In another incident, three men were seriously injured when they jumped out of a moving train to escape attackers.

At Jeppe Station, a man was attacked and thrown off a moving train. He sustained head injuries.

A body was found at Longdale Station near Soweto, and a man was injured on a train at George Goch Station by a group of people.

Police spokesman Lt-Col Tienie Halgryn said six people were injured — one seriously — when a handgrenade exploded at Meadowlands taxi rank, Soweto, early yesterday.

It could not be established whether the grenade was flung from a moving vehicle.

WILSON ZWANE

Halgryn said police were investigating the incident.

Sapa reports that a man was killed and four others were wounded when they were attacked yesterday at Mzimhlope by a group of men armed with pangas.

At Meadowlands, police found the body of a man who had apparently burned to death. The body of a man who was shot was found in Zola. A man was arrested at Mer-afe station after a handgrenade was found in his possession.

The body of a man who had been shot was found in Alexandra, police said. An ANC Alexandra official said the man was killed in the township's 5th Avenue.

Organisations in Alexandra, including the ANC, Azapo, PAC, church and civic bodies, have called for a stayaway and a march next week to protest against violence which has raged in the township since March 7.

The ANC official said the residents would march to the town council's offices and police station, where they would hand over a memorandum demanding closure of the Madala Hostel and increased policing in the township.

Alexandra residents were continuing to evacuate their homes and seek refuge at the council's offices and at the local community centre.

The ANC official said about 1 000 people had left their homes since the violence began. "The people are being forced out by Inkatha supporters at Madala Hostel," he said.

Inkatha Alexandra chairman Simon Nxumalo could not be reached for comment yesterday evening, but has said that although his organisation was committed to peace, unruly elements were looting residents' property.

Right groups threaten to resist changes

By Hugo Hagen
RIGHT-wing organisations have indicated that they are preparing to resist changes the

government's power sharing policy might bring.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader,

Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche, said yesterday that the AWB was preparing to give all its members, including women, commando training to prepare them for "revolution".

He said the AWB was closing ranks and was reorganising itself in preparation for the inevitable revolution which "must follow once disappointed South Africans realise the Codesa formula cannot live up to expectations".

He claimed the AWB was busy expanding. "We are experiencing an unprecedented influx of new members," he said.

He indicated that the elite Ystergarde (Iron Guards) division of the AWB would be enlarged

TO PAGE 2

Right threatens to resist

FROM PAGE 1

and the rest of the organisation's members mobilised in various commando units.

The hour of the the AWB has come thanks to the capitulation of the NP government to the ANC and its Communist allies under the myth of power sharing.

"The referendum did not change anything at

all. "It merely brings South Africa a step closer to the revolution for which the AWB has been preparing itself. We are actively preparing our own defence against the chaotic situation expected once disenchanted followers of the ANC discover Mr Nelson Mandela cannot fulfil promises he is making."

"We predict that everybody, except the AWB,

will be caught off guard."

The leader of the Boerestaart Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, said all Right-wing elements should consolidate after the referendum defeat, join forces and establish a "Volksraad" in Pretoria.

"The Right-wing need a very sober and realistic approach to their strategies in the fight for freedom of a White South Africa. To prevent itself

from becoming totally irrelevant in future, a major shift in tactics is necessary.

"The Boerestaart Party envisages that passive resistance would be the most effective display of contempt for the present government reform initiatives.

"Passive resistance proved to be the downfall of most governments in Eastern European countries.

Mr Van Tonder said a military stance with armed resistance is "not on the cards" right now and does not yet enjoy full support of everybody supporting Right-wing political parties.

"While the Boerestaart Party shares the same ideals as the AWB, our approach to the same problems differ considerably."

The Citizen 20/3/92

Vote doesn't justify lifting of bans: Mandela

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that white South Africans' overwhelming endorsement of the reform process did not justify the early lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Apartheid is still in place. That is why most of us here (Blacks) cannot vote," Mr Mandela, ANC president, told a news conference.

He warned against being "caught up in the euphoria" of the announcement on Wednesday that 68 percent of Whites had voted Yes in the Whites-only referendum on reform.

Nordic countries, in particular, have begun moves to ease restrictions on Pretoria in the light of the referendum outcome, with Denmark's monarch, Crown Prince Frederik, leading the way by signing a royal order that ends sanctions with effect from today.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, meanwhile, announced on Wednesday that he will visit South Africa from April 12 to 16.

"The process of normalising the political situation in South Africa is not yet irreversible," Mr Mandela said.

"The mere repeal of the pillars of apartheid and the fact that Whites

supported a Yes vote does not justify the lifting of sanctions," he said.

The ANC had called for the establishment of an interim government that would have control over such areas as security, economic policies, the electoral process and foreign affairs.

He said President De Klerk should do "everything possible to ensure there is speedy agreement on the introduction of an interim government".

Negotiations on the question are currently taking place at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Once an interim government was in place, the possibilities for South Africa would be "tremendous", Mr Mandela said.

"Not only shall we be able to lift all sanctions, apart from the oil and arms embargo, but South Africa will then return to organisations like the United Nations and other world bodies.

"We are keen for the political and economic system in the country to be normalised.

"This will be speedily achieved after the installation of an interim government," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

B. Day 20/3/92

THE Budget for 1992/93 can be described as expansionary — measured in terms of the increase of 16.5% in total government spending and the deficit before borrowing amounting to 4.5% of GDP.

This Budget in many ways resembles the Budget for 1991/92. It unfortunately continues the process of dissaving, which for 1992/93 amounts to 2.8% of GDP. This is an aspect that needs to be redressed in future budgets if we want to increase SA's savings ratio which may be as low as 17% for 1992 — compared with only 10% of GDP in 1991.

The Budget is hardly likely to satisfy the monetary and fiscal purists. However, it has to be judged against the background of the prevailing recessionary conditions, the resultant stagnating tax base on the one hand and the demands for socio-economic services for the underprivileged on the other.

The Budget is nonetheless not confined to addressing SA's pressing socio-economic needs, to which more than 40% of government expenditure is allocated, but also to reviving sound long-term economic growth.

There is adequate spare capacity available in the economy to accommodate the increase in domestic spending, and a rise in capacity utilisation may in fact pave the way for an upsurge in fixed investment.

Government continues to subscribe to the policy of restructuring the economy, but the stagnant tax base and pressing socio-economic needs have limited its options to continue with the implementation of its programme of tax reform.

Total government expenditure as a percentage of GDP rises to 28.7% (28.1% in 1991/92). Indirect taxes continue to contribute 41% to total tax revenue, which is fairly low for a developing country like SA.

Equity considerations, both on the taxation and expenditure side of the Budget, weighed heavily with the authorities in its compilation. I reject the accusation that incentives to promote economic growth favour the so-called capitalists and that SA would have been far better off had

this revenue been used to redress socio-economic imbalances.

The point is made furthermore that fixed investment, in view of the prevailing uncertainties, is unlikely to respond to these tax incentives and that tax resources are consequently squandered.

Tax incentives, like tax credits for VAT in respect of investments and accelerated depreciation make inroads on tax revenues only if companies perform well. It rewards companies for their performance and it must consequently be clear that if investment does not materialise, the exchequer does not forfeit any revenue.

Tax revenue is estimated to rise during 1992/93 by 16.8%, which may be a surprise to many observers.

Some relief, totalling R1,2bn, to reduce the effects of fiscal drag have been granted to middle income groups, but it has not been possible in this Budget to continue with the process of fiscal reform started two years ago, which forms an integral part of the policy of restructuring the economy. Available resources did not allow enough scope to eliminate fully the effects of fiscal drag on income tax paid by individuals.

It was likewise not possible to continue with the programme of phasing out the surcharge on imports as well

as stamp duties and marketable securities tax, and to reduce further the tax rate of companies — which may disappoint the private sector.

Dividends received by the taxable fund of insurers continue to be taxed, and the maximum marginal tax rate which applies to income accruing to these funds remains unchanged.

We are expecting an upturn in the economy in the second half of the year, in which respect the concluding "yes" vote, the progress at Colosa and the prospect of mounting an economic forum should contribute materially. Business confidence will no doubt be boosted by these events and foreign interests in SA are likely to rise.

In judging the estimated rise in tax revenue for 1992/93, cognisance must be taken of the fact that this rise is based on a low base. The deficit before borrowing for 1992/93 of R16,0bn is fairly high and in any event involves a substantial amount of dissaving. It would therefore have been imprudent in those circumstances, or during, as others might describe it, to have considered any meaningful tax concessions.

Budget tailored to revive growth in our changing times

JAPIE JACOBS

more sound long-term industrial development of an export-oriented nature have also been announced. The corporate sector, through rights issues, has made use of the high equity prices on the JSE to raise new capital estimated at R16bn. The private sector is fairly liquid at the moment, and I feel confident we can expect to see some investment action from this front.

Some of the recommendations of the Jacobs committee are reflected in the Budget Review, of which the main elements are:

□ The introduction of a low rate final withholding tax on interest is not feasible;

□ The free fund approach for long-term investors is proposed, in which respect the corporate fund is to be taxed at the company rate and the income accruing to the taxable fund (the policyholders' fund) should be taxed at the average marginal rate of policyholders. Dividends accruing to this latter fund must be exempted from tax; and

□ Deposit-taking institutions should be permitted to establish subsidiaries to market products similar to the investment products offered by insurers.

As we were struggling in compiling the Budget, we could not resist the temptation to reflect on what the position could have been but for the conflict which erupted around 1984/85 and gave rise to the subsequent state of violence, displacement, sackings and the outflow of capital. The growth rate since 1986 has averaged about 1%, but in normal circumstances would have been higher by between 2%-3% a year. This is the price we have paid for not resolving the conflict, and it therefore behoves all people to use their energies to move towards a new dispensation.

The unemployed and the people suffering from hunger are paying the price for our past follies. We cannot afford to prolong them any further.

□ Jacobs in special economic adviser to the Finance Minister. This address was delivered to a Budget seminar presented by Penkul, Man Pollack, Vladimir in Johannesburg on Wednesday night.

Gross domestic saving for 1992, after provision for dissaving by the public sector, is estimated at R50bn, which amounts to only 17% of GDP. Net saving (on this basis, that is, after dissaving by the public sector) is estimated at only R3,2bn.

The Public Investment Commission with contributions R10bn in the year ahead to the Treasury's net borrowing requirements, a further R1,6bn will be raised by reducing the stockpile of strategic commodities and R1,1bn of the loan surplus of 1991/92 will be transferred to meet the loan requirements for 1992/93.

It leaves an amount of R3,2bn in the form of new funds which need to be raised in the capital market, of which a portion has already been raised by forward sales. The rest of the public sector borrowings is looking towards raising a total of R10bn from the capital markets.

If one takes into account that contractual savings for 1992 are estimated at R32bn, it becomes clear that the public sector will not exert any upward pressure on capital market rates during 1992. Interest rates in general are, in fact, in the process of softening.

Apart from the fact that various employment creating programmes also figure in the Budget, notably in respect of housing, measures to pro-

Argus, Thursday 12. March 1992

A very negative 'No' effect

Argus, Thursday March 12, 1992

SOUTH Africa's neighbouring states are hoping for a "yes" vote in the referendum next week. They have a lot to lose if the vote goes the other way.

Both in these countries and elsewhere in Africa a negative vote would, according to knowledgeable analysts, result in the immediate suspension of South Africa's reacceptance in the continent.

The National Party's reforms have been popular in neighbouring countries not only for moral reasons but because they have opened up desperately-needed opportunities for trade and other exchanges. The general expectation is that a "no" vote would at least stall the reform process and threaten to

A 'NO' vote next week will stall the normalisation of relations in southern Africa. GERALD L'ANGE, of the Argus Africa News Service, reports

squeeze off these opportunities.

Even before the reform process began, the southern African countries gave only token observance to economic sanctions against South Africa; they simply could not afford the damage that full compliance with sanctions would do to their economies. They did, however, apply sporting, cultural and any other boycotts they felt they could afford.

While trade with South Africa continued and even expanded, the neighbouring countries had to forego the economic and technical aid which South Africa is now beginning to offer, even though on a limited scale.

Perhaps the biggest benefit of reform as far as the neighbouring states are concerned is the opportunity it offers for the formation of a regional trading bloc revolving around South Africa. Such a bloc is regarded as essential to help the region emerge from its present economic doldrums and compete internationally in a world whose politics as well as economics are increasingly determined by trade blocs.

"A 'no' vote would be seen

in other countries in the region as something of a disaster," a diplomat from a southern African country said this week. "It would have a very negative impact."

Observers believe a negative vote would immediately cause other countries which have been opening up to South Africa to suspend these moves. It would be seen as slap in the face for black Africans, just as apartheid was. And it would be expected that the militant struggle against white domination might be resumed, again drawing in the neighbouring states.

Governments such as Angola, Botswana and Zambia, which are about to open reciprocal trade or diplomatic offices, would probably stop these proceedings, at least for the time being. Similarly, countries contemplating opening air links with the Republic would postpone their decisions.

Possibly taking their cue from the ANC, neighbouring countries initially condemned the referendum as an unnecessary, racist exercise offering whites an opportunity to veto reform. Information now coming in from these countries suggests they have come

to accept the inevitability of a white referendum and to hope the majority will vote positively in it.

No neighbouring government initially came out openly in support of a 'yes' vote but several are understood to have privately expressed the hope that the vote would go that way. Zambian foreign minister Vernon Mwaanga said a negative vote would be "an absolute tragedy for South Africa and the whole region".

"It would turn the clock many years back. A 'no' vote would certainly be a vote for armed conflict, and that is the last thing we would like to see in this region in 1992."

A knowledgeable analyst said southern African leaders "realise reform is inevitable and cannot be stopped".

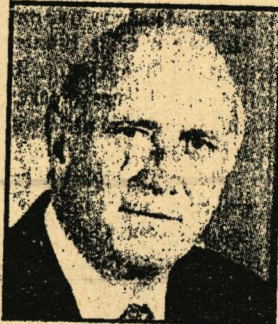
"They know a negative vote would only delay the process, not stop it. But they are concerned about anything that might destabilise the region and they would see a negative vote in that light."

Like South Africans themselves, African governments are expected initially to adopt a wait-and-see attitude in the event of a negative vote, waiting to see what effect it would have on Codesa and on the National Party's ability to govern.

Residents of the trouble-torn Alexandra Township fleeing their homes in fear of violent attacks yesterday.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

SOWETO 20-03-92



“THE foundation for peace has been laid. To make peace work should remain our top priority. We must all join hands and bring violence to an end — now.”

— FW de Klerk, State President.



“We appeal to all our people: Do not allow yourselves to be used by forces that want to keep us in bondage! For the sake of our country and our future, stop this violence!”

— Nelson Mandela, ANC



“Now that we have sorted out the racist referendum, our No 1 priority is peace. This unnatural violence cannot be allowed to continue.”

— Archbishop Desmond Tutu.



“We need to give peace our total commitment and support at all levels. We cannot allow our nation to be destroyed in this irrational and despicable way.”

— Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP.



“The PAC's motto is: Peace among the Africans. The violence must be stopped.”

— Barney Desai, PAC.



“We must fight relentlessly for peace. This is no way in which to build a nation.”

— Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, Azapo.

What a week that was . . .

SOWETAN 20/03/91

PHEW! Now that was a week worth remembering.

The referendum was a real victory, and while everyone involved can take a couple of minutes off, one must remember that every second counts.

What lies ahead represents the last chance for South Africans to manage the process of change in a relatively amicable and ordered manner.

But I do not want to pontificate on issues which have been so widely exposed this week in the press — otherwise I am quite sure you will turn the page.

There are a few things which are political in nature which I do want to say here.

The referendum was a nice break from the reality of the problems facing Natal and South Africa.

Last weekend bang in the middle of referendum fever, 19 people were killed in Umlazi township, but because of the referendum and

other reasons, the story in the newspaper only just made page two.

Can you imagine if 19 white people were killed in one fell swoop in Westville? You think it would be on page two? No chance.

The reason for this is that most newspapers catering for our market are afraid that you will be bored by yet another story of blacks killing blacks in some township somewhere in Natal.

That's why there is a tendency to put stories about township violence in a place where only those who are very concerned about the issue will find them and read them.

The challenge I am putting to readers here is: get off your chair whether it is the office, the breakfast table or elsewhere at home, and get concerned about violence.

I can just see the thoughts in the minds of some cynics — here goes another Bleeding Heart Liberal With An-

other Appeal.

Well, I assure you that unless every single citizen of Natal becomes directly concerned with ending the violence now, someone you know will be killed as a result of it — in spite of the successful Yes vote.

The conflict here in Natal between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party has got the potential to derail the entire Codesa process, plunging South Africa into darkness and war.

So every Natalian must put their shoulder to the wheel, of course making sure the right person is holding the reins — sometimes when you push hard you find the wagon heading in the wrong direction.

Political success in Natal will require people to stand aside from time to time and just make sure that those who you are sympathetic towards are worth the effort.

Do the leaders you admire

**By
the
Way**



Dominic Mitchell

talk about peace and the free market on one hand and then kill a score of people at the weekend?.

Natal must be very careful — it is a province uniquely placed to act as a brake or an accelerator to the process of political change.

Anyway, I must take this opportunity to say farewell to readers as I have decided to enter the political and economic fray on a full-time basis — but in a neutral capacity. I will miss the opportunity of being able to say things and be guaranteed that no-one will answer back.

Good luck and good fishing.

B. Day

20/3/92

ANC to ban criminal 'comrades'

THE ANC eastern Transvaal region said yesterday it would disband the ANC Ogies branch next week and would impose a life-long membership ban on ANC members implicated in criminal activities in the Phola township near the town.

The measures follow the forced closure of shops in Phola by what the ANC called criminal elements and thugs who purported to be "comrades".

ANC publicity secretary for the region, Jackson Mthembu, said in a statement the conduct of the criminals at a meeting

called by the ANC eastern Transvaal region "left no doubt that the motive for closing the shops was mainly to force the local business community into giving money to the thugs".

There had been petrol-bomb attacks on the homes of business people in Phola after they had reopened their shops following the intervention of the ANC and police, Mthembu said.

"The ANC eastern Transvaal region strongly condemns the actions of the criminals in forcing shop owners to close their shops and in forcing the community not to buy from local shops."

The branch and the ANC Youth League would take "drastic constitutional measures to deal with both the ANC and the ANC Youth League branches in Ogies" and "members who have been implicated in this matter will be stripped of their ANC Youth League membership for life".

The ANC would also co-operate with police to ensure the safety and security of the business community and all other Ogies residents. It would not allow any community anywhere in SA to be subjected to criminal rule, Mthembu said. — Sapa.

The Citizen 20/3/92

Budget is mean and misleading: Cosatu

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday described the 1992 Budget as "mean and misleading".

Cosatu said in a statement on behalf of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance that in his Budget speech Finance Minister Barend du Plessis had often referred to the need for discussion and consensus, but he had repeatedly refused to discuss any part of his Budget or his social programmes with "representatives of the people".

"He said that there is growing consensus on how to handle the 'gap

between wants and means', but he won't discuss it. He talked about the direction of investment towards newly-urbanised people being determined by the market and by democratic political processes, but he more than any other Minister has refused to participate in any democratic process of discussion of socio-economic issues."

Cosatu said. Mr Du Plessis had initiated investigations into food prices and into the effects of VAT, but had refused to discuss either of these issues with the Co-ordinating Committee on VAT.

He said the SA Housing Advisory Board was finalising a National Housing Policy and Strategy, yet at the same time the government had pulled out of the National Housing Forum.

"We will very strongly oppose this housing policy and it will be unworkable."

The Minister had allocated amounts to social services, housing and education, but he had not specified how the money would be used.

"On his past record we believe that these allocations will not be spent effectively or in a way

which removes discrimination or addresses critical issues. We are afraid that in absence of negotiations these programmes will only feed the bureaucracy.

"The Budget is mean and misleading. The allocation to the SADF is as large as the Health Budget."

"We call for a drastic cut. Who are we at war with? The Budget does nothing to relieve more than two million people who are starving in this country. It does not control or lower food prices." — Sapa.

The Citizen 20/3/92

'Protest action for peace' plan by IFP

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday announced "a programme of protest action for peace" which will start tomorrow with a march in Johannesburg.

IFP Youth Brigade Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said at a news conference in Johannesburg the protest action had become an "absolute necessity as our communities are being ravaged by proponents of death and destruction."

"Past efforts to achieve lasting peace have not proved adequate and thus more pro-active measures

are needed to provide the necessary impetus to the achievement of our peaceful goals," he said.

According to Mr Khoza the march was not called for tomorrow — Sharpeville day — in an attempt to upstage an African National Congress commemoration rally due to be held in Sharpeville tomorrow.

"Politically speaking we obviously have an interest in Sharpeville Day as this was the day people were killed for pursuing the cause we are also fighting for."

"But our march is not for strategic reasons. We are in harmony with Sharpeville commemoration rallies," he said.

Mr Khoza said the IFP march would start at the George Goch stadium at 10am and then proceed to the John Vorster Square

police headquarters.

A memorandum would be handed to the station commander by march leaders.

The memorandum would contain "certain issues of protest which must be addressed immediately for the sake of peace and stability".

These issues concerned the assassination of IFP members, the increasing use of AK-47 assault rifles by members of the ANC in "armed robberies, killing of policemen and farmers and political deaths".

The ANC leadership's "involvement" at local and national level regarding "acts of violence" on IFP members, and the role of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, would also be protested. — Sapa.

The Citizen 20/3/92

Vote doesn't justify lifting of bans: Mandela

CAPE TOWN. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that white South Africans' overwhelming endorsement of the reform process did not justify the early lifting of economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Apartheid is still in place. That is why most of us here (Blacks) cannot vote," Mr Mandela, ANC president, told a news conference.

He warned against being "caught up in the euphoria" of the announcement on Wednesday that 68 percent of Whites had voted Yes in the Whites-only referendum on reform.

Nordic countries, in particular, have begun moves to ease restrictions on Pretoria in the light of the referendum outcome, with Denmark's monarch, Crown Prince Frederik, leading the way by signing a royal order that ends sanctions with effect from today.

Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, meanwhile, announced on Wednesday that he will visit South Africa from April 12 to 16.

"The process of normalising the political situation in South Africa is not yet irreversible," Mr Mandela said.

"The mere repeal of the pillars of apartheid and the fact that Whites

supported a Yes vote does not justify the lifting of sanctions," he said.

The ANC had called for the establishment of an interim government that would have control over such areas as security, economic policies, the electoral process and foreign affairs.

He said President De Klerk should do "everything possible to ensure there is speedy agreement on the introduction of an interim government".

Negotiations on the question are currently taking place at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

Once an interim government was in place, the possibilities for South Africa would be "tremendous", Mr Mandela said.

"Not only shall we be able to lift all sanctions, apart from the oil and arms embargo, but South Africa will then return to organisations like the United Nations and other world bodies.

"We are keen for the political and economic system in the country to be normalised.

"This will be speedily achieved after the installation of an interim government," he said. — Sapa-AFP.

The Citizen 20/3/92

4 die in Reef unrest

By Sapa and
Citizen Reporter

TRAIN and taxi commuters were the main victims of violence in townships around the Reef, in which four people were killed yesterday.

Police found the body of a suspected train violence victim with back wounds near the Longdale railway station, and the body of a man with gunshot wounds was found in Alexandra township.

Two men were shot dead when unknown gunmen sprayed a taxi with an estimated 78 AK-47 and R-4 rifle bullets at Tugela Ferry north of Greytown in Natal. Police

recovered 68 AK-47 and 10 R-4 spent cartridges.

A 24-year-old man was stabbed and set alight outside the Meadowlands Hostel in Soweto, last night. The man had not yet been identified, was admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital. His condition is serious.

In another taxi attack in Soweto, a handgrenade was tossed at a taxi rank, injuring six people — one of them seriously — yesterday morning.

A further six people were seriously injured when they were thrown off trains between Braamfontein and Johannesburg railway stations.

Police said two groups of people boarded a train

at Longdale station outside Johannesburg when a scuffle broke out and a gunman sprayed commuters with gunfire.

Other people were injured when they jumped out of the moving train in the ensuing mayhem.

Alexandra African National Congress spokesman Obed Bapela said more than 350 families had been displaced since a new wave of violence hit the township two weeks ago.

The Alexandra Town Council's offices were crammed with furniture and other possessions while children and women sought refuge at the offices from the war-torn attacks on residents living near the Madala

Hostel.

In more train violence three people suffered head injuries when they were attacked by men wielding pangas and knobkerries.

Two other people were maimed in the trains at George Goch and Jeppe railway stations yesterday morning.

Police found a man with back wounds at the George Goch Station. He told the police that he was attacked by a group on the train.

Another man suffered head injuries when he was thrown out of a moving train near the Jeppe railway station.

Police reported at least eight people killed in countrywide overnight violence on Wednesday. — Sapa.

The Citizen 20/3/92

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The Citizen 20/3/92

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— Sapa

Ban on all weapons in trains

By Rika van Graan

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has prohibited the carrying of all firearms and dangerous weapons on trains and at railway stations, the Public Relations Division of the SAP in Pretoria announced yesterday.

"The South African Police is going to do everything within its power to enforce this prohibition, and an ap-

peal is made to every person who makes use of the trains to co-oper-

TO PAGE 2

Weapons ban

FROM PAGE 1

are with the police," the statement said.

The prohibition will be published in the Government Gazette on Monday and will come into effect from that day.

"Any person in possession of a firearm or a dangerous weapon as defined in the Government Gazette will not be allowed to board a train.

"Commuters themselves must become involved and assist the security forces in their task of protection.

"It is, however, in giving evidence that commuters can make their greatest contribution.

"The commuters' help in bringing the criminals to justice is, therefore, urgently necessary. By reporting suspected persons or cases large cash rewards — even as much as R25 000 — can be gained."

A toll-free telephone number has been made available to the public to report crime or anything else. These toll-free numbers are on stickers which are on all Metro stations.

"The toll-free numbers at which you can report crime are: Johannesburg 0801-110141; Durban 0801-310149; East London 0801-410144; Cape Town 0800-210081; Port Elizabeth 0801-414144.

NEW YORK TIMES

A Mandate 20 MARCH 1992 For Change



Tim Ziegenbach for The New York Times

Nelson Mandela

For South Africa, Pace Is Now Issue

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

CAPE TOWN, March 19 — Despite the overwhelming mandate that whites gave President F. W. de Klerk to end their monopoly on political power, South Africa has a distance to travel before blacks inherit the vote and other basic rights flowing from it.

News Analysis

The ringing approval of 68.7 percent of the whites who voted in Tuesday's referendum left little doubt that Mr. de Klerk has their support to negotiate power sharing with blacks.

"The referendum result is close to being unique in the annals of politics," Hermann Giliomee, a political scientist at the University of Cape Town, wrote in The Cape Times newspaper today. "Here the South African whites, who have become a byword in the world for myopic bigotry, endorse a process which is most likely to reduce their political representation in a year or two to a minority in an elected legislature."

"To make it even more exceptional," Professor Giliomee said, "whites have done this from a position of relative strength and in the absence of any sense of imminent defeat."

Timetable for Change

Mr. de Klerk, who repealed the basic laws underpinning apartheid last year, has insisted that basic change must be negotiated and enshrined in a new constitution that will replace the present racially biased one. The time that he expects this to take is more than his foremost opponent, the African National Congress, is prepared to spend.

"When you get to the fundamentals, there's no quick fix," President de Klerk told a news conference in Cape Town yesterday afternoon.

Mr. de Klerk proposed interim measures like the inclusion of blacks in the current Cabinet, which Nelson Mandela and other black leaders have rejected as tokenism. In turn, Mr. Mandela's recent suggestion that some seats be set aside for whites in the new

Continued on Page A7, Column 1

w mail 20/3/92

'No go' swings to 'yea stay'

By RAY NXUMALO

THE director of international operations for a major international removal company expects an inflow of returning emigrants in the wake of this week's overwhelming yes majority.

Last week, Stuttards Van Lines' Louis le Roux reported a 35 percent increase in inquiries from people considering emigrating in the event of President FW de Klerk's reforms not getting a mandate.

But yesterday, he said although it was still too early for predictions, he expected a rise in business — in the opposite direction.

"Multi-nationals may consider re-investing and they will have to move personnel and equipment," he said.

He noted there might be less emphasis on the brain-drain that has plagued the country in the past few years. "People who are likely to move will be those who want to retire overseas," he said.

The telephones were also a bit quiet yesterday at Pickfords removals company, which reported an upsurge in emigration inquiries prior to referendum day.

Pickfords export manager Susan Carstensen said there had been no inquiries after the results were announced, but "it's too early to tell anything distinct".

For the time being, removal companies will deal with the usual volume of business: "People are always on the move," said Le Roux, "referendum or no referendum."

w. mail 20/3/92

Police say 'no' to the Budget protesters X

By DREW FORREST

AFTER the euphoria of the referendum, it was back to the real South Africa we know and love — of poverty and social division, of teargas, armoured vehicles and mass arrests.

Countrywide marches and pickets mounted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party to coincide with Budget Day — styled "the people's budget" — were met by a police crackdown in at least three centres.

In the Wilbank town centre, according to Cosatu spokesman Bangumzi Khumalo, 60 picketers were arrested under municipal by-laws. An unknown number of demonstrators were also held in King William's Town.

Western Transvaal Cosatu organiser Solly Rasmien told *The Weekly Mail* local police had teargassed people

marching from Jouberton township to Klerksdorp, offering no explanation for their action.

He added that police had seized placards from town centre picketers, as well as ordering the company contracted to supply sound equipment for a rally in Jouberton "to go back to Pretoria". As a result the rally, for which several thousand workers and residents had already gathered, was cancelled.

Klerksdorp police were approached for comment, but said they would respond later on what they described as "an accident".

A largely orderly march to parliament in Cape Town, led by ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa, Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and SACP secretary general Chris Hanl, was marred by a youthful break-away group which surged ahead of the procession in defiance of marshals,

according to Sapa.

Large marches appear to have passed off without incident in Johannesburg, Pretoria, Vereeniging and Bloemfontein, while Cosatu says industrial and town centre pickets were mounted in Parys, Sasolburg, Potchefstroom, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Leichtenburg and QwaQwa.

Loaves of bread supplemented banners during an SACP-spearheaded march by 9 000 people in East London.

Part of the party's "bread campaign", the march aimed to highlight demands for housing, health and food.

For Cosatu, the protests were the first step in a phased action programme aimed at winning a 10-point set of economic and constitutional demands, including interim government by June and constituent assembly elections this year. A key aim was to counterpose

mass economic distress, and Cosatu's economic platform, with the "poverty" budget.

At police stations and offices of the Receiver of Revenue, marchers presented memoranda directed at President FW de Klerk and Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, calling for a Budget which introduced racial parity in pensions and cut spending on defence, "secret projects such as the CCB" and "useless and duplicated apartheid structures".

Other demands were for an end to privatisation and one-sided economic restructuring; state participation in negotiating forums on the economy, education, housing and health; the lifting of VAT on essential foods and services; a negotiated poverty-relief programme and food price control "at least until March 1993".

Who's fomenting the violence this time?

VIOLENCE in the three weeks leading up to the referendum has left more than 300 people dead and an estimated 600 injured, lending some support to the theory that attacks are being orchestrated to coincide with major political events.

"We were appalled but not at all surprised," commented a Lawyers for Human Rights spokesman, who said the increase had been inevitable because of the organised manner in which attacks often took place.

The violence flared up after President FW de Klerk's announcement of the referendum on February 20, with a greater number of the incidents taking place in the Transvaal and Natal.

The incidents included clashes between rival groups, train killings, grenade attacks, bombings, sniper killings, gun battles between police and hostel members, train killings, stabbings, shootings and hackings.

In the northern Johannesburg township of Alexandra—the flash-point of much of the Transvaal violence—10 bodies were reported to have been found by police last Sunday.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew imposed on Alexandra and Sharpeville failed to halt the killings.

In one of the worst reported incidents of last weekend, the bodies of five men with their hands tied behind their backs were found in Katlehong, near Germiston. They had been shot and spent AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene.

In Durban's Umlazi township fighting also continued unabated. This was despite an increased security force presence since the massacre of 18 people—15 women and two children—allegedly by Inkatha supporters and kwaZulu police at the nearby Uganda settlement two weeks ago.

While allegations from organisations such as the African National Congress, Lawyers for Human Rights and the Human Rights Commission abounded that the violence had been provoked to scare whites into a no vote, voting instead went in favour of De Klerk's reforms.

At the weekend ANC president

In keeping with trends over the past two years, violence surged in the run-up to the referendum, reports

LINDA RULASHE

Nelson Mandela again blamed the government for the carnage, threatening to withdraw his organisation from negotiations in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

On voting day itself, unrest in black townships seemed to take a backseat while the whites-only referendum took centre stage.

Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman described the situation in the townships as "all nice and quiet" by 7.30pm on Tuesday while a duty officer at the Pretoria police station confirmed that no reports of incidents had been received from the

various regions by late Tuesday.

Accusing De Klerk of "blithely" attributing the violence to political rivalry between black organisations, South African Communist Party political bureau member Jeremy Cronin asked: "Why should there be a dramatic upsurge in 'black' political rivalry in a whites-only electoral campaign in which all major black leaders agree there must be a yes vote?"

"Will De Klerk only take our warnings about a third force seriously when 100 whites are killed on a weekly basis?"

Referring to De Klerk's concluding campaign speech in which he said there were no longer bombs in supermarkets and no longer attacks on soft targets, Cronin retorted: "What is a passenger train, or a mini-bus, or a township house?"

"By 'soft' De Klerk can only mean 'white'."

Cronin said the "horrific upsurge" in violence in the course of the referendum campaign had been of no benefit to the ANC and its allies, nor to Inkatha.

The only beneficiary, he said, had been the white right-wing no vote campaign. All the evidence had pointed to sinister third force elements who were prepared to win

white no votes with the blood of blacks.

The Inkatha Freedom Party differed regarding the third force theory. Inkatha's secretary for the West Rand, Humphrey Ndhlovu, said his organisation abhorred acts of violence and intimidation but queried how one could talk about a third force "if we did not know what the first and second force was".

Meanwhile, in response to continuing attacks on black train commuters, South African Rail Commuter Corporation managing director Kobus Nel said his organisation had stepped up security measures on trains and stations considerably since the attacks began.

A security project costing more than R250-million had been launched by the corporation, which manages all Metro train services country-wide. In other moves, the corporation was also considering the introduction of audio-visual monitoring of trains and was offering up to R25 000 for information on culprits.

Nel added that 250 stations throughout the country—where Metro business was being conducted—were policed on a 24-hour basis by the South African Police to maintain law and order. "The remaining 150 stations or halts are presently subjected to intensive and extensive SAP patrolling but arrangements are underway for these also to be fully policed."

The Azanian People's Organisation has said it is going to seriously consider embarking on radical moves to bring a halt to the violence on the trains.

Azapo media liaison officer Khangale Makhodo said: "Azapo is contemplating a train boycott especially on the Reef and will discuss the matter with other organisations before taking a final decision."

However, SARCC stations operator Coen Van Niekerk said there was no point in creating misery for the millions of passengers travelling by train.

Nel said: "Although the corporation, its contractor (Spoornet) and the security forces have thus far—because of legal limitations—been hampered in their actions in certain circumstances, measures will soon be implemented to give the corporation wider powers to act effectively."



w.m.a. 20/3/92

No more racial local elections

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE
RACIALLY-BASED municipal elections have been formally abandoned by the government in one of its first significant post-referendum announcements.

Minister of Local Government and National Housing Leon Wessels yesterday announced that all municipal elections would be postponed pending the establishment of an interim government.

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) saw local government as a priority and would start discussions to hammer out a policy as soon as possible.

Wessels also committed the government to a policy of "one city, one tax base", saying the referendum result had given the government a clear mandate to do so.

Sounding uncannily like the government's opponents of yesteryear, Wessels said ratepayers could no longer afford the luxury of duplicated services.

The minister's announcement was acknowledged guardedly by Moses Mayekiso, the president of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) and president-elect of the new national civic association.

He said the government should go further than just to suspend racial elections; it should dissolve all black local authorities. In the interim, white local authorities should take over the administration of black townships. "We don't want a vacuum in administration," said Mayekiso.

He added that national developments should be mirrored locally and a national interim local administration should be put in place when an interim government was established.

W. Mail 20/3/92

Arrest ends six-year manhunt

THE six-year manhunt for Vela Mchunu, alleged Inkatha hit-man and product of South African Defence Force military training in Namibia, is finally at an end.

On the South African Police wanted list since 1986, Mchunu was arrested in Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale, two weeks ago. With another kwaZulu policeman and alleged hit-man, Sibongiseni Nzama, he appeared in the Camperdown Magistrate's Court last week in connection with the murder of Hammarsdale taximen Sipho Mkhize and Richard Duma. They were not asked to plead and the case was postponed.

According to reports in the Natal

press, the kwaZulu Police hierarchy is "extremely worried" by his arrest and the possibility that his trial will lay bare the mechanics of KZP-sponsored hit-squad activities.

Tight security was enforced during the two men's court appearance — members of the public were body-searched and Mchunu wore a bullet-proof vest under his shirt. Asked to explain the measures, Captain J Blencke, in charge of SAP special investigations, said he wanted to ensure "nothing untoward took place".

On his arrest, Mchunu allegedly produced a KZP appointment card

An alleged Inkatha hit-squad member has finally been arrested after being on the police wanted list for six years. By DREW FORREST

identifying him as "Alfred Masango", and he appeared under this alias in court. Blencke declined to comment on "Masango's" true identity.

A notorious figure in Natal, Mchunu is also a suspect in the unsolved murders of three BTR-Sarmcol workers at

Mpophomeni, Howick, during the marathon strike by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union at the British-owned company.

He is almost certainly the "Vela" named in the 1990 murder trial of kwaZulu minister Chief Samuel Jamile. According to the court record, Jamile instructed "Vela" to kill Clermont businessman Zazi Khuzwayo. Described as a kwaZulu policeman, he also accompanied Jamile in the attack in which Joseph Khumalo was killed on the night of April 5 1987.

Mchunu appears on the list of

SADF military trainees supplied by Inkatha Freedom Party high-up MZ Khumalo to the Goldstone Commission, which is currently investigating *Weekly Mail* disclosures of SADF links with political violence. Two hundred Inkatha men were trained at the SADF's Hippo camp in the Caprivi in 1986, later being absorbed into the KZP.

In an affidavit by another Caprivi trainee, inspected by *The Weekly Mail*, Mchunu is also mentioned as a member of an "offensive unit" set up in the wake of the Namibian training.

Interestingly, the name "Alfred Masango" also appears on MZ Khumalo's list, along with that of Mchunu.

w. mail 20/3/92

A POWERFUL team of lawyers sits in Johannesburg next week to consider evidence that young men and women were beaten and abused by African National Congress officials while being held at detention centres run by the organisation outside South Africa.

The creation of the commission—which gives wide powers to advocates Lewis Skweyiya, Gilbert Marcus and Bridget Mabandla so that they can probe reports of torture in camps run by the ANC's security department—places ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk in a peculiarly similar position.

While the government is being confronted with evidence at the Goldstone commission of incursion into public violence that its security forces have instigated internecine feuding in black townships, the ANC's investigation is likely to come up with similarly damning evidence about members of its security department.

And while the workings of the Goldstone commission has heightened tensions between De Klerk's cabinet and "securocrat" officials in his army and police, there are strong indications that the ANC probe is likely to arouse the ire of some ANC security department officials.

Mandela and his colleagues in the civilian structures of the ANC are known to be determined that the truth finally come out about the happenings in ANC detention camps.

ANC probe asks: Did we torture detainees?

Like the government's Goldstone commission, the ANC has ordered an investigation into its security wing.

But that's where similarities end,

reports EDDIE KOCH

Like the Goldstone probe, the ANC commission will have full access to witnesses, camps, reports of previous inquiries into the abuse of detainees and all internal records, documents, files and other materials relevant to the investigation.

But that's where the similarities end. Unlike the Goldstone commission, which allows the media and the public to attend its hearings, the ANC will conduct its proceedings in camera.

This has aroused criticism in some human rights quarters. "The ANC should do as the government has done and subject the behaviour of its security officials to public scrutiny. Otherwise its inquiry runs the risk of being seen as less rigorous

and impartial than that of the Goldstone commission," said a lawyer involved in collecting evidence about SADF involvement in violence.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa disagrees, saying there was no way the probe would amount to the "ANC investigating itself". Explaining the commission's powers at a press conference, Ramaphosa pointed out advocate Elina Revelas had been appointed to track down evidence of detainees being abused and that she had broad powers to do this independently of the ANC and its commissioners.

He added the commissioners were entitled to call public hearings if they chose to and that they would issue interim reports that will be made public. The commission's final report will also be a public document.

The organisation's decision to set up an independent commission of inquiry into persistent complaints by former inmates of its disciplinary camps comes in the wake of reports that the International Red Cross has recently been denied access to ANC detainees still being held outside

the country.

ANC representative Gill Marcus this week said the movement's security wing was in full support of the new commission and made it clear that any ANC member implicated in abuse of detainees, including security officials, would be "dealt with".

It is known that many hundreds of young South African were detained and held, sometimes under appalling conditions, in detention centres located in Angola, Uganda and Tanzania on suspicion of spying for Pretoria after fleeing the country.

"We are looking at the way in which detainees were treated by ANC officials regardless of the reasons for their being held. This is not to determine the culpability of the detainees but to determine whether there were breaches of the ANC's standards and ethics," said Marcus.

The commission's brief is to probe all complaints relating to detainees' conditions while they were held, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about the loss or destruction of property.

The first sittings take place in Johannesburg from Monday to Wednesday this week with subsequent hearings taking place every month until June.

Former detainees are entitled to lodge a complaint with the secretary for the commission and can contact him care of Mashilo, Nthloro Attorneys, Box 621, Johannesburg 2000.

W. Mail 20/3/92

Budget, the country and you

'Apartheid' Budget condemned

CRITICISM of the new Budget from the tripartite alliance of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the African National Congress and South African Communist Party focused not so much on specific deficiencies as on the wrongness of the government in continuing to re-shape the economy without consultation.

Tito Mboweni, of the ANC's economic planning department, decried the Budget for being "riddled with inconsistencies and waste", for affording no mechanisms to ensure government accountability in its spending and for even refusing parity to pensioners condemned to live on less because of the colour of their skins.

"This Budget remains an apartheid budget," he said, giving notice that it would also be the last "minority" budget.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo threatened that if Finance Minister Barend du Plessis continued to refuse to enter into bona fide negotiations on economic issues, a current programme of mass action would be turned up to "unprecedented levels".

The 'minority' Budget has been strongly criticised and unprecedented mass action threatened by Cosatu.

By **GAYE DAVIS**

Warned Naidoo: "We will begin mobilising for a general strike."

While amounts had been allocated for social services, housing and education, the minister had not specified how the money would be used. "On his past record we believe these allocations will not be spent effectively or in a way which removes discrimination or addresses critical issues. We are afraid that in the absence of negotiations these programmes will only feed the bureaucracy," a joint statement said.

The budget was "mean and misleading" and did nothing to relieve the plight of the "more than two million people who are starving in this country". The decision to remove the zero VAT rating on basic foodstuffs had been taken in the face of "massive opposition". The increase in the petrol price would increase all

other prices and aggravate poverty.

"He has done nothing to reduce the cost of medicines and medical services. The completely inadequate amounts for nutrition and poverty relief will do nothing for the 30 percent of our children who suffer from malnutrition or the 16-million people who live below the breadline.

"The absence of an effective drought relief programme means the plight of farm workers and rural people will get worse and worse.

"The minister has not even equalised pensions — a simple but extremely effective measure to relieve poverty and remove racism.

"The demands we have made are still squarely on the agenda. Our programme of mass action will proceed unless our demands are met. By June or July we expect to have had a clear response."

Naidoo said the alliance had demanded that the government "meet us immediately to set up an economics negotiating forum". In the short-term, however, it could start negotiating with the VAT Co-ordinating Committee, chaired by Bernie Panaroff.

w. mail 20/3/92

Coming, ready or not

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DUTCH Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, whose second attempt to visit South Africa has been vetoed by Nelson Mandela, has decided to ignore the ANC and come anyway. Lubbers, whose country has a long association with the ANC, said the organisation had initially agreed that he could come in August, so come he would.

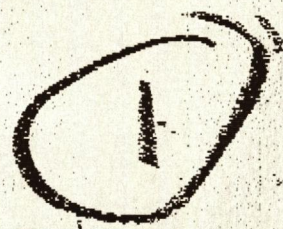
W. mail 20/3/92

Signed in invisible ink
THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging announced a major pre-referendum coup: it had signed a "non-aggression" treaty with the Transvaal leaders of Inkatha "and their generals". Their delight was short-lived; Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi moved swiftly to repudiate the pact, saying it had not been authorised. Asked to explain, Inkatha's Musa Myeni denied signing anything, accusing "certain agents in the media" of sowing mischief.

FW's gamble ends in a fine white season

w.mai

20/3/92



PINCH yourself South Africa: democracy is coming within months. The overwhelming mandate white voters gave to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) on Tuesday has removed the last major obstacle to the dismantling of white minority rule.

A hard-fought election campaign ended with a yes majority in every district of the country except the northern Transvaal bushveld and an overwhelming 68,7 percent national yes vote.

Next week the focus moves back to Codesa, which has reached an exciting stage in its deliberations. Though tough bargaining lies ahead, the potential exists for a breakthrough within weeks.

For President FW de Klerk the referendum was a gamble which paid off handsomely, elevating his stature among whites and blacks, strengthening his hand at the negotiating table and pulverising the extreme rightwing.

But nagging doubts remain. The perpetrators of the clearly orchestrated violence in black communities that accompanied the referendum campaign are still at large. What will be the price in terms of human lives for the one person, one vote elections that could be held before the end of the

year?

With the ghost of apartheid well and truly laid to rest, South Africa's biggest challenge is counter-revolutionary violence from past or present members of the security forces and their black allies and proxies who are hell-bent on disrupting democracy and the prospect of an African National Congress government.

And the big question at Codesa now will be whether De Klerk interprets his mandate as a narrow endorsement of National Party principles, or in a broader spirit of helping usher in true democracy. He certainly seems to be going back in with renewed vigour.

De Klerk's immediate response to the referendum result is disturbing on several points. He seems to believe the referendum is a mandate for negotiating "power sharing" into the constitu-

tion into perpetuity. And he swiftly reiterated his complete confidence in the security forces.

The fact that he is saying these things now without the albatross of the white electorate around his neck could be cause for alarm.

The referendum result is like a vitamin boost for the NP, which had been struggling to overcome the battering it took during the Inkathagate scandal, had been tactically outmatched by a highly competent ANC negotiating team, and was concerned at its collapsing support base.

The worst result would be if it inspires a renewed arrogance in the ruling party. If it does, De Klerk could squander the goodwill of a South African community of all races impatient now for real democratic reform and not interested in convoluted constitutions.

Now that the crisis has eased, De

Referendum

92

*Now the right bogey is
smashed FW de Klerk can
move ahead swiftly with
reform, argues*

PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

Klerk says he has a "clear mandate to act within a particular framework."

"We don't have a hidden agenda. We don't want to weaken or undermine the majority. We just say that if you have 51 percent of the vote, you shouldn't have 100 percent of the power."

The stark contrast between the ANC's Westminster-style winner-takes-all model and De Klerk's model of power sharing or forced coalition in government has, in fact, been overplayed.

The ANC has offered a transitional phase of up to five years after the final constitution is implemented, during which the NP and the ANC could continue to share power. Proportional representation in the legislature is already

written in stone into the declaration of intent.

The danger lies in whether De Klerk is prepared to pursue rigidly the implementation of the NP's largely discredited constitutional proposals.

If he does, he will be ignoring the fact that thousands of voters supported him precisely because he said it was a non-partisan election. I, for one, would not have voted or placed my cross next to a yes if I thought I was endorsing either De Klerk or his "bottom line principles."

De Klerk's major and unequivocal victory, though, has been to smash the rightwing and expose its boasts of representing the majority of white voters as hollow. A bitter Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, who was totally outmanoeuvred into fighting and losing the referendum, has responded with unsurprising inflexibility.

Yet the CP has few options if it wants to catch up with reality. It has to join Codesa and fight the constituent assembly elections, where its support



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from six percent of the population will earn it some representation — or sail into oblivion.

The last white election has been and gone, and within months the CP may even lose its seats in parliament. It is the party's responsibility to see that the 30 percent of whites who voted no on Tuesday are part of the "new" South Africa.

The alternative that Treurnicht hinted at again on Wednesday — of some kind of violent struggle if the constitutional road is blocked — has been undermined by the overwhelming yes vote. Any legitimacy such a "freedom struggle" might have had — that the rights of the *Boerevolk* were negotiated away without a mandate — has been removed.

De Klerk has every right to change the constitution, if he proceeds according to the rules. Former president PW Botha did so in 1984, and Treurnicht had no difficulty in continuing to participate in that new constitution. An objection to the substance of the constitution is not a denial of its

legitimacy, which would be the only grounds for launching a violent "freedom struggle".

Perhaps a greater threat than the politically marginalised khaki-clad crazies is the potential for violence on an unprecedented scale from less theatrical and more camouflaged rightists, particularly in the context of an election campaign that will include black voters next time. To stop this, there has to be a more thorough scrutiny of the security forces than De Klerk thus far seems prepared to accept.

His attitude to long-standing claims that the perpetrators of violence have links with the state has consistently reflected an ignorance which in the circumstances is unacceptable.

He admitted recently that he had never used his position as head of state to inquire from those members of the special forces who refused to give evidence to the Harms Commission, on the grounds that they would incriminate themselves, what it was they were hiding. This attitude persists. At Wednesday's media conference, De

Klerk blandly denied that he was about to take any action against the security forces.

"I did not need a mandate to do anything with the security forces," he said. "There's a good relationship between me and the top echelons of the security forces. This notion that there is to be a purge of the security forces has no basis in truth whatsoever."

Another nagging area of worry is the role of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was at first masterfully ambiguous during the referendum campaign. Though he stopped short of endorsing a no vote, his complaint against De Klerk — that he was in bed with the ANC and the South African Communist Party — echoed the CP's central campaign cry.

Then Transvaal IFP leader Musa Myeni rushed in last weekend with a brash and somewhat frightening announcement of a non-aggression pact with the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging*, forcing Buthelezi into taking an unequivocal stand against the CP that at least restored some of his credit with De Klerk.

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By EDDIE KOCH

THE greatest challenge facing the Convention for a Democratic South Africa in the wake of President FW de Klerk's referendum triumph this week is a fascist movement in the classic sense — a group of ultranationalists with powerful support in the police and army — that will use "bombs and bullets to impose its will on the country".

And all participants in Codesa have yet to come up with a thorough understanding of how this movement operates and a strategy for curtailing its violent activities.

This is the view of political analyst Dr Rob Davies, who said that a major revelation during the referendum had been the existence of a growing fascist movement capable of allying itself with conservative black organisations like Inkatha and the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Davies pointed to increasing evidence that above-board conservative organisations had extensive links with covert and rightwing elements in the army's Department of Military Intelligence (DMI) as well as sections of the police.

He predicted a rise in violence if the rightwing parties lost the referendum. "We have already seen how this movement has shown it is prepared to use bombs and bullets to

Fascists a threat to a 'new' SA

force its political programme — especially its demand for partition — if constitutional methods do not achieve this."

The links between the security forces were highlighted in the case of Lood van Schalkwyk, who was sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday for a series of violent acts committed in 1990.

Van Schalkwyk, a member of the neo-fascist Orde Boerevolk (OB), is said by two of his colleagues to have worked in tandem with security policemen when he planted a bomb that ripped through Pretoria's Bloed Street taxi rank and blew up a Durban-based computer consultant.

Lood's co-accused, Henry Martin and Adrian Maritz, fled to London after jumping bail and claimed they were part of a rightwing cell that conducted operations upon instructions from elements in the security police and DMI.

The pair also claim many mem-

bers of the army's Civil Co-operation Bureau were members of rightwing groups such as the OB and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

"Another aspect of the neo-fascists is their ability to develop alliances with black organisations and leaders," said Davies. He was referring to Inkatha's non-aggression pact with the AWB on the eve of the referendum as well as support by conservative Bishop Isaac Mokoena for a no vote.

"Codesa will have to come up first with an understanding of how this rightwing movement works and then with a strategy for dealing with it," said Davies. "This is one of the major threats to the negotiation process."

He said a large yes vote would give De Klerk enough backing to remove some of the fifth-columnists in his security forces but that a much wider programme was needed to deal with violent campaigns that are now likely to be waged by the emerging group of neo-fascists.

Members of Codesa will have to look at those social groups that support fascist ideas — white farmers, underprivileged whites and ruling elites in the homelands — because of the way the negotiation process poses a threat to their security and interests, he said.

WORM'S EYE

Steven Friedman's fortnightly
review of political events



Poll raises expectations

WHITE South Africa has voted to talk, not fight. But, ironically, the vote may make talking more difficult for a while.

The poll has ended all-white politics for good. There will be no more white polls and the Conservative Party will have no new chance to stop change through the ballot.

The CP is left with two options: to join negotiations or to resist change through protest, civil disobedience or force. It will probably split as part of it moves to join the talks.

Another part may be tempted to try resistance. The right could try to organise a general strike of white workers or other protest; fringe rightwing violence may increase. This will obviously make life tougher for the negotiators.

But there is little chance of sustained rightwing rebellion: most no voters are unlikely to choose a last-ditch fight for white privilege. The white strike, if it is tried, will fail.

The important rightwing threat is still resistance to change within the security establishment and civil service. The poll suggests that this can be contained; but it will not disappear. But a greater threat to negotiations, at least in the short term, is the effect which the referendum may have on the negotiators.

The result will raise very different expectations on the two sides of the table.

The African National Congress and its allies will interpret the vote as a sign that De Klerk has a free hand to make concessions and to move swiftly to majority government. If he doesn't, they may have to step up the pressure.

But most white voters will expect the poll to deliver stability, growth and a settlement which meets white concerns. Whites did not vote for majority rule for redistribution or for many of the other goals of the "liberation camp".

For many voters, the choice was between their hearts and their heads; their hearts fear change, but their heads tell them that only negotiations can reduce its risks and costs. They chose their heads, but this does not alter the fact that they hope for a settlement which will preserve their interests and their influence over politics. Nor that they will be threatened if a rush of mass action or continued sanctions follows the poll.

For their part, the Nats will interpret the result as a "yes", not to any old settlement, but to one which protects those concerns.

So the weeks and months ahead could see ANC demands for quicker, more far-reaching change — and Nat resistance to it. That could lead to mass action — and to a hardening of white attitudes as many insist that their vote for talks has been met simply with more resistance.

This turbulence may last only for a time.

Well before the referendum, the ANC was making concessions which reflect the country's balance of power. After a time, it will again realise that a settlement is impossible unless it meets the Nats and their voters part of the way.

And the Nats — with most white voters — know that there is no alternative to a negotiated settlement.

Nevertheless, post-referendum euphoria could threaten negotiations unless both sides remember that their expectations can't be met in full.

The referendum hasn't changed the realities. Whites still fear change and are strong enough to ensure that their core concerns are met; if a settlement is to work, blacks still need more substantial changes than most whites would like.

If the politicians on both sides ignore these realities, the poll may throw negotiations off course for a while.

This includes politicians in foreign governments. If they interpret the result as a signal that either side can deliver more than it can, negotiations face a difficult time. If they act in ways which increase both sides' incentive to compromise, talks remain firmly on track.

The poll has opened the way for a compromise which will meet some of both sides' expectations. But, if the negotiators read too much into it, its promises may not be realised.

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THE WEEKLY MAIL

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Now to spike the real guns

WHATEVER the motives of voters who gave President FW de Klerk his decisive victory, the referendum result will delight all South Africans of goodwill.

Once again disposing of the fate of the voteless majority was for many liberals and leftists a thoroughly distasteful exercise. But it has helped ensure constitutional talks remain on track, while De Klerk's overwhelming mandate should put new pressure on the government to accelerate the transition to democratic rule.

Yesterday's announcement that municipal elections will in future be colour-blind gives added hope that the referendum will prove South Africa's last racially exclusive poll. De Klerk has no further need to test white opinion on any issue.

The result on its own, however, solves none of South Africa's daunting political and economic problems — indeed, it holds significant dangers for democrats. It may encourage greater flexibility on the part of National Party negotiators, but they may just as well argue that their referendum platform leaves them no room to manoeuvre on a cast-iron mandate from their white constituents.

Pledges during the referendum campaign to maintain standards, uphold cultural and language rights, prevent group domination and devolve power to the regions may be used to bolster unacceptable constitutional proposals and hold out for residual race segregation, notably in schools.

For the far right, the referendum landslide is similarly double-edged. On the one hand, it has swept the Conservative Party and its allies from the field of political contestation, highlighting its profound internal divisions and failure, after 10 years, to devise a coherent set of policies. Early predictions that "moderates" will hive off and enter Codesa as independent conservatives now look spot on.

But this is not the end of the story: given the insuperable demographic obstacles, Codesa will almost certainly prove unable to satisfy demands for white "self-determination". Indirectly, the hand of the extra-parliamentary right has been strengthened, and with it the prospect of mounting right-wing terror and violent incitement in black communities.

The police have consistently denied the existence of a "third force" in township conflict, but the crescendo of violence before the referendum — a pattern repeated at other landmarks in the negotiations process — puts the matter beyond doubt. There could be only one purpose to the pre-referendum upsurge, to stampede nervous whites into the no vote camp.

The sophistication of the township killers, their access to weaponry and to intelligence, and the failure of police special investigators to crack the network strongly point to rogue elements within the security forces, or with security force links.

De Klerk's record on this issue is not impressive and his post-referendum comments give cause for real alarm. "There's a good relationship between me and the top echelons of the security forces," he told Wednesday's press conference. "This notion that there is to be a purge of the security forces has no basis in truth whatsoever."

It may be that fears of a security force backlash, perhaps even a coup attempt, have prompted the government to stay its hand — but the time for pussyfooting and mealy-mouthed equivocation is long past. If De Klerk is sincere in his claims to want peace, justice and democratic participation, he must act decisively, and act now, against the far-right spoilers.

He was willing to gamble to spike the guns of the CP. Let him show similar resolve in tackling the men of violence.