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The Argus, Thursday June 18 1992 Y â\200\2310L|'|'cs
v el " s st cain
Political Staff
PRESIDENT De Klerk is fac-
ing mounting criticism follow-
ing his decision to address the
Kwazulu Legislative Assem-
bly in Ulundi on Soweto Day
this week. \
In a statement issued from
I;\)/Iarlia\ment, Democrati¢â\200\235Party
P Mike Ellis yesterday accused
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President De Klerk of $a\200\234$ arro-' gance $a\200\235$ and partiality. Mr Ellis, chairman of the DP $a\200\231s$ Natal Coastal region, said it was $a\200\234$ unfortunate $a\200\235$ that President De Klerk had chosen to deliver his address in the Kwazulu capital

while the rest of South Africa was commemorating the 1976 up-;'_ising and engaging in mass acion.

 $a\200\234$ His decision may well give the

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Mr Justice Did-

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impression of two of the impor-
tant players at Codesa ganging
up against another at a time
when reconciliation between the
groups is required, â\200\235 Mr Ellis said.
Other opposition sources said
President De Klerk had abused
his position by speaking as State
President â\200\224 a supposedly neutral
office \hat{a}\200\224 and praising one of the
political parties competing for
support in South Africa.
a\200\234It would have been all right if
he was there as leader of the Na-
tional Party, \hat{a}200\235 said one, \hat{a}\200\234but not
as president.\hat{a}\200\235
Responding to the criticism
yesterday, Law and Order Minis-
ter Hernus Kriel insisted there
was no special significance in the
fact that President De Klerk had
gone to Ulundi on the day that
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FW faces rumpus over Ulundi speech

Soweto Day address $\hat{a}\200\230$ arrogant, partial $\hat{a}\200\231$

the ANC alliance $\ 200\ 231\ campaign of mass action began.$

President De Klerk had accepted the invitation to speak long before the mass action campaign was announced.

Mr Kriel was unable to explain how the date could have been set long ago when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had cut short an overseas trip to return to the country for the mass action campaign.

Mr Kriel also denied that the NP was $200\234$ ganging-up $200\235$ with the IFP. He said the two parties had a lot of fpolicy aims in common, such as federalism. .

It was obvious that there would be times when people with common aims would come together to discuss them.

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has also provi ice invesce officers ovided the gency Regu ty pol he judge an lephone. According to sources e incide t the SAP was reidcottâ\200\231 f Emer the securi ated t -5 his te of State o attack in 1987 on the house of Mr Hendric . Colonel Horak pr tions, tig nel Horak sponsible for a hand grena names of senior po involved in th SAP nt.. speaks in an litical convictions the concern in lon of the Colonel Horak interview about bt 1 far to the rig k refused to irm that his det had debriefed: Colo-1 Horak. â\200\234In 1990 I was

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A massive 90 percent work stayaway was reported yes—terday on the Reef, the area hardest hit by the launch of .the ANCâ\200\231s four—phase mass .action programme.

Thousands of â\200\230workers throughout the country heed—ed the ANCâ\200\231s call, with train capacities plumme; ing to 0,5 percent of capacity and 99 percent of Putco bus drivers failing to turn up for

1He Marne Mencury /8 -06~F4
Reef hardest hit as workers embark on stayaway

work in the PWV.

Putco director Dr Jack Visser said an almost total shutdown by bus drivers had extended from KwaNdebele to Orange Farm and from Boksburg to the western coloured townships.

Louise Burgers reports that the Johannesburg trans-. port department was forced to cut trips on bus routes and

In the Free State, buses

had to bring in 100 temporary drivers.

Despite the fact that 180 drivers were absent, a transport department spokesman said they were able to keep between 60 and 65 percent of services running.

Johannesburg refuse not collected yesterday will be taken either today or next week. :

90 percent Reef absentee

In Durban, Spoornet recorded a 50 percent occupan-Cy rate on trains travelling to and from the city, and municipal bus services were running at about 15 percent of their normal rate.

Pretoria was markedly quieter than usual and resj-dents estimated the stayaway at between 80 and 90 percent.

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president Stuart
was concerned that
ent of its member

between Thaba Nchu, Botshabelo and Bloemfontein were partially disrupted in the morning.

Mass action was least effective in Cape Town, where station officials reported the situation was normal.

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry (JCCI) stressed that the

rate included about 25 percent of employees who failed to turn up because of industrial agreements making June 16 a public holiday.

The JCCI said the real test of the ANCâ\200\231s ability to mount and maintain a Stayaway protest for a susfained period would be when a protest-was called on a day that

companies reported that em.ployees claimed some form of intimidation. !

Also significant was a hardening of attitudes by employers, all of whom applied the â\200\234no work, no payâ\200\235 rule and intended to apply strict disciplinary procedures for unauthorised absence.

| _ .-T!-â\200\224?E NAâ\200\230(&; ME»P\CMW [8â\200\224 06 â\200\224F2_ Troops idle as ANC mass action campaign gets under way

Itâ $200\231s$ a peaceful sta

b0 gear yeatesntany Peaceful start to mass action

Nationwide marches and mass rallies were overwhelm- m Page 1 cly peaceful as millions stayed home from work and school St 8 ov

1e ANCâ\200\231s campaign of mass action shifted vigorously

e memorandum told the ment: $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are voting

traditional observance of the June 16 1976 Soweto uprising.

By mid-afternoon none of > extra soldiers placed on ndby for the occasion had tually been deployed, said uth African Defence Force okesman Major Merle ayer. The police had not :zed for their assistance. ANC president Nelson andela, dubbed command- $- {\it in-chief}$ of the campaign mass action, launched the $C\hat{a}\200\231s$ plan to the resounding oroval of more than 35 000 .C supporters in Sowetoâ\200\231s :ando Stadium. $a\200\234$ Ie said the events of June were a dramatic illustraal that apartheid carried hin it the seeds of its deuction. \hat{a} 200\230We are not going to settle something less than de-.cracy, \hat{a} \200\235 Mr Mandela said. ae deadlock in Codesa is about percentages but nature of democracy it-£. What the National -ty offered was a system aere people could vote and result could be fixed bechand.â\200\235 ir Mandela said mass ac-. should be understood as ; eapon which voteless ih Africans could use to ce the Government to 2 way to a democratic \hat{a} \200\230ernment. ir Mandela warned ANC

More reports - Pages 16 and 17

supporters to resist attempts by $a\200\234$ agents provocateurs $200\235$ to

induce them to commit acts of violence during the campaign. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Killing in revenge doesn $\hat{a}\200\231$ t help the community and it will only discredit the struggle, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. $\hat{a}\200\234$ The people should observe absolute discipline and should resist pressure for the armed struggle to be reinstated. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Mr Mandela said the ANC had to deal with disturbing suggestions by some supporters that violence should be carried into white neighbourhoods. This would be an error of the â\200\234first magnitudeâ\200\235, the ANC president said. â\200\234One cannot stop the violence by killing innocent people.â\200\235

Earlier in the day, Mr
Mandela unveiled a memorial to Hector Peterson, the
first victim of the 1976 uprising. Thousands-of Soweto
residents converged at the
memorial near Uncle Tomâ\200\231s
Hall in Orlando West, after
marching from various
points in Soweto.

In Daveyton, where un-

® To Page 3

known gunmen had opened fire on train commuters the night before, killing at least five and injuring 18, a singing and slogan-chanting crowd of about 1000 ANC supporters gathered in the Sinaba Stadium. Speakers condemned the killings and argued that the gunmen could

have been arrested if police had

 ${\tt reacted\ immediately.}$

In the Pretoria area, rallies were held in Soshanguve and Atteridgeville.

Central Durban was alive with freedom songs at midday as an estimated 10 000 ANC supporters marched peacefully through the city, their procession strung out for five city blocks. Protesters sang, ululated and whistled wildly when two ANC flags were hoisted on flagpoles outside the City Hall.

The march began after a mass rally at Curries Fountain

and ended at C R Swart Square, where police operations commander Lieutenant-Colonel Johan van Wyk accepted a memorandum. He said there had been no violence and he was very happy with proceed-

ings.

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ith our feet for your immediate dismissal. $\hat{a}\200\235$

In East London thousands marched 10 km to Fort Glamorgan prison to demand the release of political prisoners, including Umkhonto we Sizwe member and life prisoner Mzondeleli Nondula. South African Communist Party generalsecretary Chris Hani presented a memorandum to the prison authorities.

In Port Elizabeth more than 15000 people packed the Dan Qeqe Stadium to capacity. Congress of South African Trade Unions representative Sipho Kobeta urged workers to demand that their employers cease deducting PAYE tax. A police spokesman said there were â\200\234no incidents at allâ\200\235.

More than 1000 township residents took to the streets in the Boland town of Paarl, bearing placards proclaiming â\200\234FW stop the violenceâ\200\235 and â\200\234To vote is:a right. Why do we have to fight?â\200\235 The noisy protest remained peaceful, as did a similar protest in Swellendam. â\200\224 Staff Reporters, Sapa and Ecna.

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>, Qge 11 lue Natar MeAtury 18-56-92 STEPHEN ROBINSON in Washington on possible US presidential election complications

Constitutional crisis looming

O WISE observer of the

American political scene

is prepared to make any firm predictions about the outcome of the 1992 election, one of the hardest to call in modern history. But even the most sober-minded of American constitutional experts are beginning to focus on one troubling thought. There is a good chance that on the morning after polling day on November 3, Americans will wake up to find they have absolutely no idea who is to be their next president.

It is also possible, though less likely, that the man who stands before the Chief Justice and swears to defend the US constitution on Inauguration Day on January 20, 1993, may not even have contested the election.

If this seems far-fetched, consider the following. Noone, even three months ago, could have predicted that Ross Perot, a prickly Texas businessman with no experience of national politics, could be leading in national opinion polls. Few people a year ago could have foreseen that President George Bush, then riding high in public esteem in the aftermath of the Gulf War, could have fallen so far that even his political allies now wonder if he has the stomach to fight for a second term. Nor was it known a year ago that the Democratic party would select, after a bruising primary season, a candidate named Bill Clinton who in any normal presidential race would be written off as unelectable. . Bush will probably recover his poise; Clinton can only improve his dismal standing in

the polls; Americans are likely to grow more sceptical of Ross Perot as they learn more about him. But perversely these developments would make it more, not less, likely that America could soon face

a major constitutional crisis, what the Los Angeles Times has described as the $a\200\234$ mother of all modern political messes. $a\200\235$

The root of the problem is the peculiar system the fram-

ers of the American constitu- -

tion adopted to select the nationâ\200\231s chief executives.

American presidents are not -

elected directly by popular vote, but via an electoral college. Under this system, each state has a certain number of members of the electoral college in proportion to its population. The presidential candidate who wins the largest share of the popular vote in any given state picks up all that stateâ\200\231s electoral college

" votes. To be elected president

a candidate needs an absolute majority in the college $\hat{a}\200\224$ 270 of the total 538 electoral votes.

This is how the mother of all modern political messes could come about when Americans vote on November 3: Ross Perotâ\200\231s independent campaign for the presidency fal-

_ters nationally, but as is

likely, he still does well enough to take his home state of Texas and, perhaps Arizona and New Mexico, thus securing 45 electoral college votes.

Clinton trails Bush in the popular vote, but Perot has

immed off much of the traditional Republican support, handing many of the larger states like California $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 224$ which has 54 electoral votes $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 224$ to

Clinton.

The electoral college meets to tally the votes on December 14. No candidate passes through the 270 vote threshold and the college is deadlocked. So it must, according to the constitution, disband and play no further part in the process.

The election of the president is then thrown into the House of Representatives for a formal vote on January 6, 1993. There the rules change dramatically, and partisan politics run wild.

The voting in the House is done on a state by state basis. The congressmen from each state gather separately to decide how to cast their stateâ\200\231s single vote â\200\224 however large the state it has only one vote. California, with its population of 30 million and 52 congressmen has the same weight as tiny Vermont, with just half a million people and one con-

~ gressman. For a presidential

candidate to win, he must secure at least 26 of the the 50 states.

This might be complicated enough, but it gets worse. The House of Representatives chooses the president, but the Senate \hat{a} 200\224 in the very best tradition of Americaâ\200\231s system of checks and balances â\200\224 elects the vice-president. There is no requirement that the vicepresident and the president be from the same party. Although both the Senate and the House are controlled by the Democratic party, they are not obliged to toe the party line.

So it would be perfectly constitutional for the House to elect Clinton as president, and

the Senate to vote Dan Quayle as vice-president, even if Bush had won the largest share of the vote in November. Equally, were Perot to have run second and forced Clinton into third place, Bush could grudgingly be awarded a second term by the House of Representatives, even as the Senate refuses to endorse Dan Quayle as his number two and opts instead for Ross Perotâ\200\231s running mate \hat{a} \200\224 the hottest tip at the moment for this role being Ronald Reaganâ\200\231s former UN ambassador, Mrs Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Such a split White House

would be awkward, but perfectly legal, and there is little the president could do about it. The House of Representatives might feel it is under some moral obligation to install as president the man who won the most popular votes, but the Democrats have not occupied the White House for 12 'years, so they could be tempted to defy the public will and vote on partisan lines.

A president, if necessary a temporary president, must be sworn in on Inauguration Day. The line of succession after the vice-president goes to the House Speaker, Tom Foley, then the acting Senate leader, before it passes to members of the cabinet, led by James Baker, Secretary of State, who has his own ambitions for the 1996 race. As there is no provision in the constitution to call a snap election, the presidency ¢ould, in theory, be locked up in partisan horsetrading for up to four years, while an unelected caretaker minds the shop. \hat{a} \200\224 The Daily Telegraph

True Naae Meg cury $\hat{a}200\2308\hat{a}200\224\%-9\hat{a}200\230\{$ ___. Heavily policed Reef townships fairly quiet <

'Staff Reporters

'A wave of mass action-related violence predicted by the Government did not occur in heavily policed Reef townships yesterday as Soweto Day was commemorated without major incidents.

By 6 pm yesterday four bodies were found in Soweto and at least two people were reportedly seriously injured, but police believe three of the killings took place on Monday.

At least 23 people died in a surge of violence on Monday on the eve of June 16.

While most East Rand townships remained quiet yesterday, a woman was necklaced in Zone 13, Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle. Police said sporadic incidents of unrest were reported in

townships in the Vaal throughout the day. The majority of cases involved the stoning of SAP vehicles in Sebokeng and Boipatong.

In most instances, police fired birdshot and rubber bullets to disperse their attackers.

No major outbreaks were reported in Evaton, where nine people were shot dead in two separate attacks on Monday.

Daveyton on the East Rand $\hat{a}\200\224$ the scene of an AK-47 attack at the local station on Monday night which left seven peopie dead at least 16 injured $\hat{a}\200\224$ was also quiet.

At Sinaba Stadium a crowd of about 1000 ANC supporters gathered to protest over the massacre.

In Alexandra, a group of ANC supporters gathered at the Alexan Resources Centre from about 10am to plan a protest aimed at forcing the Govern-

ment to demolish local hostels.

Police reported no violence in the township.

SAP spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said the body of a man who had been stabbed in Orlando East, Soweto, was found at 5.20 pm.

A man and a woman were found stabbed and burnt to death between Dube hostel and the railway line at 11 am. At 7 am, outside the Merafe hostel, police found the body of a man with a gunshot wound.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ That too could have taken place on Monday night and was not related to the mass action, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Captain Ngobeni.

At least three buses travelling to ANC and PAC commemorative rallies were reportedly fired at as they passed Nancefield hostel.

Peter Makgatholela, a PAC member from Pretoria, was injured in the eye in one of the

attacks, said PAC West Rand official Mudini Maivha.

It was announced at the Orlando rally that two buses carrying ANC members to the stadium yesterday were shot at outside the hostel.

Captain Ngobeni had not confirmed the attacks by 6.30 pm.

In another attack $\hat{a}\200\224$ also unconfirmed by police $\hat{a}\200\224$ a young girl was shot and seriously injured near Dube hostel as ANC supporters returned from the Orlando Stadium.

Tension ran high in the area late yesterday as security forces stood between hostel dwellers and crowds of people returning in large groups from the rally.

Earlier yesterday, police seized a homemade rifle, ammunition and a large number of other weapons in a routine search of a Soweto-bound train.

Pietermaritzburg Bureay

WORKERS streamed back to work in Pieter-maritzburg yesterday â\200\224 but the business sector said the action had â\200\234cost the city dearlyâ\200\235, Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce and Industries president Rowly Waller saig

In spite of about 759 of businesses having agreed to 'treat the day as a paid holi-

day for workers, the cost had

been $a\200\234$ enormous $a\200\235$ in terms of '

lost production.

He warned that industry was $\hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\230$ almost at breaking point $\hat{a}\200\235$ and companies would be forced to take firm action over future stayaways.

Kwazulu Transport area manager Mr FJ Scott said a a^2200^234 skeleton a^200^235 service had been offered in Pietermaritzburg and Durban on Tuesday. The day was treated as a paid hol: iday for staff, in line with the majority of businesses.

ANC Midlands regional deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe commended people for â\200\234making June 16 the success that it was in g disciplined and peaceful mannerâ\200\235,

â\200\2340bviously people heeded our call for restraint and, in spite of the ominous message by the prophets of doom, violence and intimidation diq not materialise,â\200\235 he said.

The $\hat{a}200\234$ disciplined behaviour $\hat{a}200\235$ during the stayaway as well as the week-long stayaway called by the ANC in Pietermaritzburg last month, $\hat{a}200\230\hat{a}200\230$ augurs well for the organisation $\hat{a}200\231$ s mass action programme $\hat{a}200\235\hat{a}200\231$,

Commerce and industry reported a 100% turn-out at work in the greater Durban area yesterday.

® Meanwhile, the South African Clothing and Textile

Workersâ\200\231 Union (Sactwu) has declared a wage dispute with the Natal Clothing Manufacturers Association,

The dispute involves more than 105 000 employees country-wide. In Natal, Sactwu $a\200\224$ a Cosatu affiliate $a\200\224$ has 40 000 members, making it the biggest in the region, 5

@ The expected meeting at' Durbanâ\200\231s Toyota SA plant yesterday did not materialise. A company spokesman said Toyota was in contact with Numsa in a bid to resolve a week-long wage dispute involving 6 000 employees and affecting three plants.

A® The SABC/Mwasa dispute remains unresolved and management has issued an open letter to all strikers to explain its perspective on the dispute. Kiriel like
Jimmy
Kruger,
says ANC~

By Chris Whitfield Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWNâ\200\224Soweto Dayâ\200\231s mass action has given rise to fierce exchanges between Mr Hernus Kriel and the ANC, with a spokesman for the organisation saying: \hat{a} \200\234He reminds me of Jimmy Kruger when Steve Biko died. \hat{a} \200\235

The astonishing exchanges came as secret ANC and Co-satu documents revealed that the mass action campaign would only begin in earnest, in the second half of July.

- $\hat{a}200\234Mr$ Kriel should wipe the smile off his face, $\hat{a}200\235$ said ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma yesterday. $\hat{a}200\234Maybe$ we $\hat{a}200\23111$ have to wipe the smile off his face. $\hat{a}200\235$

Mr Kruger, then Minister of Police, made a notorious statement that Mr Bikoâ\200\231s death â\200\234leaves me coldâ\200\235. Mr Macozoma said Mr Krielâ\200\231s â\200\234callous disregardâ\200\235 reminded him of Mr Kruger.

His outburst followed a press briefing yesterday in which Mr Kriel described mass action as a a^200^234 futile exercise in blackmail a^200^235 that could retard or derail negotiations.

He said the success of the

mass action campaign should not be judged on stayaway figures but on the low attendance at, and cancellation of, marches and rallies.

In another development yesterday it was revealed that the mass action campaign would begin in earnest in the second half of July and â\200\224 according to a secret internal

Cosatu document $a\200\224$ would culminate in a $a\200\234$ powerful national offensive $a\200\231a\200\235$ building up to a general strike.

A secret ANC document $\hat{a}200\224$ $\hat{a}200\234$ Alliance Programme of Action $\hat{a}200\235$ $\hat{a}200\224$ says among targets for mass action will be occu-

pation of $a\200\234$ all government buildings including Parliament, administrative buildings and the courts $a\200\235$.

The campaign would include simultaneous national strikes, factory occupations and street demonstrations,

TS < o

At the Codesa briefing, Mr
Kiriel said 35 people had died
in â\200\234mindless murderâ\200\235 on June
15 and 16. Mass action created a climate for actions like
these. This was accepted by
all except the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

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20A THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER ' Thursday, June 18, 1992 eees

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: A Pentagon report/after the C130 lim

Peruvian military base said the U.S. crew had used 1 a^200^234 internationally y clgmzed (radio) disttess fre-

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JOHANNESBURG, South Atick $\hat{a}\200\224$ n&idem.- F.W. de Klerk said Wednesday that parliament. would reconvene for a special session int $0\hat{A}$ ¢tober to haridle legislation arising from black-white talks' on.the creation of a multiracial governmefit, i

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The announcement indicated official optimlsm' $\hat{a}\200\230$ on the currently stalled talks, although & senior: official said there was no way an interim govern-'

,ment, could be formed by montha $\200\231s$ end, as. demanded by the African National Congress.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The ANC launched a nationwide campaign on Tuesday to_pressure the ovemment to ;meet its June 30 dead efora 1ltirs er

â\200\230UN peace
take s desâ\200\230 i

We blacks of South Africa prefer a United Nations Peace Force for the following reason: they won'â\200\231t take sides.

The government with its SADF and SAP is simply refusing to stop the violence. Imagine a government with the strongest, best-equipped army and large number of SAP and SADF failing to stop a handful of Inkatha thugs who have sim-

ply declared war on the com-

munity. :

Butheleziâ\200\231s impis attack people from their barracks (the hostels) and are always protected by the SADF/SAP alliance. His impis (IFP) did not support the six-day long train boycott on the Reef simply because they are the train attackers.

The SAP and SADF have promised to do all in their power to bring the culprits to justice but so far not a single Inkatha thug has been convicted.

. Weapons used .in the attacks were mainly sticks, kieries, pangas, knives, axes, handguns, AK-47s and hand grenades Who trains these thugs to use hand grenades?

The government with its SAP and SADF allowed Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons in public and in trains, they used dirty tricks, they called weapons cultural weapons from June 1990.

Peace-keeping forces In Namibla . . . tackle the Inkatha thugs in South Africa, says a reader.

There will be no new South Africa until the all-white police and army change their attitude towards black citizens. Why does Hernus Kriel blame ANC for violence by killing 184 activists of Inkatha? But Mr Law and Order does not blame Inkatha for killing innocent commuters or residents of the

townships, who are not all ANC -

supporters (as I am also not one).

 \hat{a} 200\230These people are being al- -

lowed to kill innocent people by SAP and SADF. That $200\231s$ why Mr Kriel doesn $200\231t$ blame Inkatha $200\224$ because SAP, SADF and Inkatha are alliance.

It looks like Hernus is the identical twin of Vlok. He

Wliy must we forgi yv e NP Kkillings?

To be fair, the idea of forget

.and forgive sounds nice but,

please, I must know who I forgive.

You know what, the Nationalist Party have been told from the onset that this apartheid policy is a mess. Our leaders, our people have been killed by this Nationalist regime, now we are told byâ\200\231 the same regime that yes, apartheid is a mess.

about those people who have been killed because of pass laws, like at Sharpeville? Did the regime ever apologise for all those massacres? So who must we forgive? Please, we need response from senior National Party members.

Johannes Boshielo

- Dennilton, Moutse

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claimed he deployed thousands of SAP and SADF members on PWV and in Natal, but violence is escalating in their presence,

because they do the job the

wrong way. We donâ $\200\231t$ want quantity of police, but we want quality. .

Inkatha (IFP) impis are not an army like Saddam Hussein of Iraq. Only 2 000 of United Nation Peace Force can stop this - violence, because Inkatha is not an army or soldiers but gangsters and thugs allowed by the government to take the innocent lives of township blacks. Are black lives that cheap?

S Mbuzeni Buthelezi KwaXuma

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