

AP1992-4-3-16

STAR - 16 MARCH 1992

Dear Star reader,

Tomorrow you will cast the most important vote of your life. South Africa's future will depend entirely on the result.

In the election of 1989, the white voters put the De Klerk government into office. Its platform was reform, but at that stage not everyone knew exactly what that meant. Since then, the policy of the Government has gradually unfolded. Not everyone likes it. Therefore we have been asked to vote once more, to put the issue beyond doubt.

Please, let me remove any doubts from your mind. What is at stake is whether we South Africans are going to work together in peace, or whether we are going to fight each other in racial conflict.

The Democratic Party has always taken the view that there can only be peace if the full and equal dignity of every South African is recognised, and if decisions are jointly taken by the representatives of all sections of our people. More recently, the National Party, under Mr de Klerk, has come to the same conclusion. The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) has been established as the organisation within which all South Africans together can negotiate their joint, just future.

Most political organisations have joined Codesa. Only the extremists have refused to take part. They are the PAC, Azapo, the Conservative Party, the AWB and the HNP.

The Conservatives refuse to share power with people of colour. They say that they will talk to black leaders only about the detailed application of the policy of racial partition of South Africa.

All black leaders of any consequence reject the CP policy completely. The whole of the outside world condemns it absolutely.

A "no" majority will result in the breaking up of Codesa and a return to "struggle" politics in which conflict and, I fear, violence will be the order of the day. Total world rejection and isolation in economics, diplomacy, sport and culture will follow. Poverty, unemployment and crime will be grossly aggravated.

A "yes" majority will enable Codesa to complete its task, a new constitution to be written, a new government representative of all South Africans to be formed and full membership of all international bodies to be regained. South Africa will return to sunshine and prosperity.

You can save your country by voting "yes" or destroy it by voting "no". I wish you wisdom and courage.

Very sincerely,


Zach de Beer



Democratic Party



Dr Zach de Beer

Dear Star reader,

Today we are truly at the crossroads. Despite the myriad advertisements, the media hype and the enormous pressure from big business and overseas "experts" to cajole you into voting "yes", you and only you can decide how tomorrow's vote will affect your future.

Man makes decisions about his future when he looks at his past. His experiences are the building blocks for what lies ahead, and in a political sense, a government's track record should indicate where it is going. There is no doubt that the Government has deceived the electorate — not on one occasion, but persistently: during the 1983 referendum campaign, through two subsequent elections, and by way of numerous assurances, promises and guarantees over the years.

There is no reason on earth why you should trust them again. To give a blank cheque to someone who has deceived you is doubly foolish. Rhodesia said "yes". Their pre-1979 referendum campaign is a carbon copy of the National Party's present crusade: say "yes" and sanctions will disappear, investment will pour in, there will be peace and a secure future. Guarantees, minority rights and solemn pledges were banded about to coerce whites into surrendering their country, which they did. They were even told that a "yes" vote would prevent a Marxist regime.

We must judge the future which a "yes" vote promises on the past which a "yes" vote has given us. There are few voters in SA today who have not been adversely affected by "reform". Even the IMF says in its "Economic Policies for a New SA" (January 1992) that foreign investment is likely to be lower in the new SA than it was under apartheid and sanctions. The simple fact is that nobody invests in a Marxist Third World country, and that is what we will become with a "yes" vote. Only a strong government can ensure the stability necessary to attract investment to our country.

The referendum is taking place a day before the Budget and there are clear indications that yet more will be asked of the white nation to pay for the new South Africa.

I urge the white nation to say "no" — and opt for a second chance to vote. An election will give you the opportunity to examine each political party's policy in detail, with time on your side. A rushed "yes" vote is a blank cheque for a Government you know you can't trust. Don't waste your last chance. There is no going back from ANC rule. Vote "no" — and keep your options open.

Yours sincerely,

A. J. Treurnicht

Dr A P Treurnicht

KP

Conservative Party



Dr Andries Treurnicht

AS politicians fire their last verbal shots in an eleventh hour bid to influence voters in tomorrow's ballot, it is clear that the referendum shares at least one central trait with previous whites-only polls: the disenfranchised blacks are never far from the often agitated minds of the voters.

Linked to the messages of swart gevaar have been claims by both sides that they are best suited to negotiate a deal with black leaders. Their claims have a corollary: the leaders with whom they will negotiate are credible men with whom a deal can be struck.

The NP and its DP referendum ally have an advantage: they are actually engaged in discussions at Codesa with nearly all the main players in the black arena. Black leaders from the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Communist Party are there. So, too, are representatives of all 10 "independent" and partially self-governing black territories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is seemingly unfazed by the impressive line-up of black interlocutors at Codesa. He has told cheering audiences throughout the country that a

Dr No misreads Buthelezi script

Argus 16-3-92

Dr Treurnicht has misread Chief Minister Buthelezi's misgivings over Codesa. PATRICK LAURENCE reports

CP government will not have any difficulty in finding black leaders of substance with whom to negotiate.

Insisting that the CP policy of self-determination for South Africa's different "nations" and its vision of a "Commonwealth of Independent Nations," appeals to blacks as well as whites, he reels off the names of black leaders who, he insinuates, are receptive to CP thinking.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is nearly always named first. Next are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqoza of Ciskei.

Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Chief Buthelezi's IFP in its struggle against the ANC. The impression left in the minds of the many right-wing sympathisers is that an axis is being formed with the

IFP and its tough-minded leader. The CP faithful envisage an alliance between themselves and the warrior Zulu people.

The truth is more mundane, and less hopeful to the CP and its rightist allies.

It is certainly true that Chief Buthelezi is gravely concerned about developments at Codesa. His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is a collusion between Mr de Klerk's administration and the ANC to impose their will on Codesa, and his dismay at Codesa's refusal so far to accede to a request that the Zulu monarch, Goodwill Zwelithini, be entitled to lead a full delegation to Codesa.

As Chief Buthelezi sees it, KwaZulu, the Zulu monarch and his people are being unfairly treated.

KwaZulu, through its refusal to accept independence

during the heyday of apartheid or to enter into negotiations with President P W Botha while Mr Mandela was still in jail, was — as Chief Buthelezi puts it — "the plough that broke the ground in which the seed of negotiation were planted".

Yet, the Chief Minister adds, "having nurtured negotiations from the beginning, we are now being rejected."

But Chief Buthelezi's anxiety over developments at Codesa does not put in him same camp as the CP, however much Dr Treurnicht may try to interpret his stance as pro-CP.

Chief Buthelezi has reaffirmed his call for a "Yes" vote in tomorrow's referendum that places him at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Dr Treurnicht.

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Chief Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CP's vision of a racially and/or ethnically based confederation of South African states. He labels the policy "unthinkable".

The IFP, he adds in the memorandum, accepts the inevitability of "one government in South Africa with one nation and one citizenship."

The Star 16/3/92

OPINION

Treurnicht has failed to understand Buthelezi's reservations over Codesa, writes Patrick Laurence

CP misreads the signals

AS POLITICIANS fire their last verbal shots in an 11th-hour bid to influence voters in tomorrow's ballot, it is clear the referendum shares at least one central trait with previous whites-only polls: the disenfranchised blacks are never far from the often agitated minds of the voters.

Looking back on the three-week campaign, it is striking how both sides have deployed the oldest of white South African political traditions — smart general electioneering — to dissuade the electorate from supporting the opponent.

Thus the troika of right-wing leaders — the CP's Andries Treurnicht, the BNP's Jaap Marais and the AWB's Eugene TerreBlanchie — have tried to convince voters that an affirmative vote would lead, inexorably, to a black dictatorship under Nelson Mandela.

Their propagandists have insistently equated a "yes" vote with a go-ahead to black dictatorship rather than a nod to President de Klerk to negotiate a settlement to the protracted conflict which has plagued South Africa in one form

or another since blacks were excluded from Parliament in 1910.

Against that, however, the ruling NP and Mr de Klerk himself have warned voters, with more than a little justification, that a "no" vote would trigger unprecedented "mass action" from the black majority. They do not have to spell it out: voters know viscerally that prolonged civil disobedience could easily turn nasty.

From the NP-DP perspective, the warning is not even scare-mongering. Rather, it presents voters with a sombre reality: the alternative to negotiation and settlement is escalating conflict and bloodshed, a scenario underlined by ANC warnings that a breakdown in negotiations would force it to revert to armed struggle.

Linked to the messages of smart general electioneering by both sides that they are best suited to negotiate a deal with black leaders. Their claims have a corollary: the leaders with whom they will negotiate are credible men with whom a deal can be struck.

The NP and its DP referendum

ally have an advantage: they are actually engaged in discussions at Codesa with nearly all the main players in the black arena. Black leaders from the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the SA Communist Party are there. So, too, are representatives of all 10 "independent" and partially self-governing black territories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is seemingly unfazed by the impressive line-up of black interlocutors at Codesa. He has told cheering audiences throughout the country that a CP government would not have any difficulty in finding black leaders of substance with whom to negotiate.

Insisting the CP policy of self-determination for SA's different "nations" and its vision of a "commonwealth of independent nations" appeals to blacks as well as whites, to recall the names of black leaders who, he insinuates, are receptive to CP thinking.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and DP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is nearly always named first. Next in line are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei. Bishop Isaac Mokoena of the Reformed Independent Churches Association is sometimes added.

Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Chief Buthelezi's IFP in its struggle against the ANC.

The impression left in many right-wing sympathisers' minds is that an axis is being formed with the IFP. It excites the CP faithful who envisage an alliance between themselves and the Zulu people.

The truth is more mundane, and less hopeful to the CP and its rightist allies.

It is certainly true that Chief Buthelezi is gravely concerned about developments at Codesa. His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is collusion between Mr de Klerk's administration and the ANC to impose their will on Codesa; and his dismay at Codesa's refusal so far to accede to a request that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be entitled to lead a full delegation to Codesa.

In the same way, the chief argues that the ANC's presence

has not been used to exclude Transkei's pro-ANC military council from Codesa, so the IFP's participation should not be advanced as a reason for keeping King Goodwill out.

As Chief Buthelezi sees it, KwaZulu, the Zulu monarch and his people are being treated unfairly.

KwaZulu, through its refusal to accept independence during apartheid's heyday or to enter late negotiations with President P W Botha while Mr Mandela was still in jail, was — as Chief Buthelezi puts it — "the plough that broke the ground in which the seeds of negotiation were planted".

Yet, the Chief Minister adds, "having nurtured negotiations from the very beginning, we are now being rejected".

The chief has threatened to go over Mr de Klerk's head to campaign "in the very heart of Afrikaansdom" for the inclusion of KwaZulu and King Goodwill in Codesa (not, it should be stressed, for the destruction of Codesa).

But Chief Buthelezi's anxiety over developments at Codesa does not put him in the same camp as the CP, however much Dr Treurnicht may try to interpret his stance as pro-CP.

Chief Buthelezi has reaffirmed his call for a "yes" vote in tomorrow's referendum; that places him at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Dr Treurnicht.

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Chief Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CP's vision of a racially and/or ethnically based confederation of South African states. He labels the policy "unthinkable".

The IFP, he adds in the memorandum, accepts the inevitability of "one government in South Africa with one nation and one citizenship", although it wants to see power devolved "massively" to regional governments and to have the devolved power entrenched in a rigid constitution.

Unlike Dr Treurnicht, he is not ther against Codesa in principle nor a favour of partition on racial or ethnic lines. His vision of a unified South Africa with strong regional governments is similar to President de Klerk's constitutional vision of the future. □

Patrick Laurence, 11 Four Street, JSA

Sense prevails

STAR - 16 March 1992

FOR a moment last week, it looked as if Chief Buthelezi might let his sense of embattlement lead him into a disastrous political fling with the Conservative Party.

Disastrous, because it would have given credence to the racist Right's referendum claims that black leaders of substance were actually in agreement with the CP, and disastrous because Chief Buthelezi's presence is needed inside the national negotiating chamber if we are to reach a settlement that sticks. Disastrous, too, because a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum is so vitally necessary.

The IFP leader is still embattled, suspicious of Codesa and angry with President de Klerk. But he has stuck to his principles, telling Dr Treurnicht that a federation of ethnically defined states is "unthinkable", and repudiating the IFP's Transvaal leadership for entering into a bizarre pact with the AWB.

Chief Buthelezi also told Dr Treurnicht that Codesa was the only negotiating forum with the potential to succeed, and that he stuck by his call for a "yes" vote from whites.

We hope that Dr Treurnicht — or at least those who are considering voting for his party tomorrow — took careful note.

Eve of poll calls

Security can't rest on

discrimination: FW

By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. — White security cannot rest on discrimination and racism, but only on justice achieved by negotiation, President De Klerk said in an eve-of-referendum message to voters.

"Tomorrow is a day of decision. For the White voters of South Africa, it means they must make the most critical decision in the recent history of our country," said Mr De Klerk.

"This is a decision that can make or break South Africa.

"Nobody will be able to avoid the consequences. Therefore, nobody can afford to sit on the sidelines, uninvolved.

"Tomorrow's referendum is not an election. It is not about political parties or personalities. Also not about complaints or grievances. It concerns a choice between progress, or a return to the faults of the past.

"The future of everybody who votes is at stake. More than that, the future of their children is in their hands on March 17.

"We, who will vote on March 17, must also know

that we alone do not hold the future in our hands. There are more than 20 million other South Africans who are also part and wish to be part of South Africa, who are anxiously waiting for a Yes.

"For them a No vote means rejection and a slap in the face.

"There are others who have an interest in the outcome of March 17, and South Africa needs them too. There are a host of prospective investors who are waiting for a Yes.

"If it is No, they will not invest. Those who

have already invested will withdraw. There are friendly governments world-wide who base their friendship on their confidence that reform will succeed. A No will destroy that friendship.

"To every White South African, the moment of truth has dawned.

"A No vote cannot bring about justice. White security cannot be built on injustice, racism, discrimination or impracticable dreams of separation.

"The truth and reality tells all of us: Your hope, your prosperity, your safety, your security, lies in your ability to make an agreement, to negotiate an accord, to reach an understanding about a new constitution, with all who are indissolubly part of South Africa.

"This can only be achieved by reform and negotiation. It can only succeed if we say Yes to a just solution which can work.

"I do not ask anybody to say Yes for surrender, suicide or a "winner-takes-all" constitution. I ask a Yes for survival. I ask a Yes for power sharing, and not for domination.

"I ask a Yes for the maintenance of values and standards, for long-term stability, for honest co-operation, for reconciliation and peaceful co-existence, for true democracy."

Mr De Klerk added: "I ask a Yes for justice, a Yes for a better South Africa."

COMMENT

Our business

16 March
tomorrow

1992

"Our main business is not to see what lies dimly at a distance, but to do what lies clearly at hand." (Thomas Carlyle)

WHAT lies at hand for white voters tomorrow is a stark choice: either they vote for a continuation of the process begun falteringly in the early 1980s and accelerated under President de Klerk, or they march backwards into a future of violence, isolation and penury.

It is tempting to argue — as many are doing — that to vote "no" tomorrow or to stay away from the polls is not necessarily a vote for the CP and its distasteful fellow-travellers, but a warning to Mr de Klerk that whites have had enough; that a "no" vote is a protest against violence, unemployment, crime and the lack of policing in the suburbs; that "no" is a vote for a second chance. But it would be wrong.

Such is the turmoil that a "no" vote would unleash, that the holding of another whites-only election would be unlikely in the extreme.

As industrialists, business leaders, economists, churchmen, sportsmen and others have warned, a "no" majority will have consequences of unimaginable severity. Violence will increase, investor confidence will vanish, savings and pensions will be devalued and many more people will be put out of work.

Hardline rightwingers will be encouraged into further excesses, and peacemakers in the black community will become militants. And the international community will not sit idly by; there will be immediate moves to re-isolate South Africa and nullify the substantial progress made in the past two years.

The "no" lobby makes great play of the fact that whites are suffering — from crime, rising costs and loss of jobs. And so they are, along with their black compatriots. But it is apartheid as practised in the '60s, '70s and '80s — not Mr de Klerk's reforms — that have brought matters to their present pass. Whites are now having to meet the bills for the "golden" decades of apartheid, to which the CP and its allies hark back so misguidedly and nostalgically. Verwoerd sowed the wind; today — years later — we reap the whirlwind.

For this reason, the CP's promise of a return to the false security of the past is both dishonest and disingenuous. The party vows in one breath not to reintroduce old-style apartheid; in the other it promises a return of the pass laws and group areas. Dr Treurnicht says he, too, will negotiate with black leaders, but on different terms.

Bunkum. No black leader of any consequence will treat seriously with him. As the more realistic members of the CP admit, the party has no alternative but to negotiate with the black majority. White rule cannot continue much longer; the issue now is the nature of the transition to majority rule. What whites have to decide tomorrow is whether they wish to negotiate now from a position of relative strength or to confront blacks later from a position of weakness.

A "yes" vote tomorrow will not bring peace and prosperity to this country overnight — despite the optimistic claims of the "yes" campaigners. But it gives South Africa a better chance of achieving both these goals. It will also send a powerful signal to black people and to the international community that white South Africans are seriously committed to change.

A "no" vote is more than an expression of fear at what the future might hold; it amounts to an endorsement of the bombast and brutality of the AWB and its allies, whose actions fill most decent people with revulsion. If that prospect, and the thought of placing the future of your children in the hands of the Treurnichts and TerreBlanches dismays you, you should go to the polls tomorrow and vote "yes".

A substantial "yes" majority is needed if the dinosaurs and the doomsayers are to be denied their day.

— THE EDITOR

Choose not . . .

De Klerk's unnecessary calling of a referendum is no more than a diversion to slow down and obstruct the work of Codesa; ignore it.

Turn neither to the "left" nor the "right", choose not between the untrustworthy De Klerk and the impractical Treurnicht; avoid both Scylla and Charybdis; go on straight; by abstaining from voting show your unquestioned support for the democratic activities of Codesa.

129 Nellie Road, Jack Curtis
Norwood,
Johannesburg

□ □ □

I am an SA citizen temporarily working in Canada. But I am unable to cast my vote and therefore cannot partake in the making of my country's future. I contacted the consulate in Toronto several times and was informed that the only way to vote would be to do so in person, in Toronto (impracticable as I live 3 000 km from there).

I am sure many compatriots abroad are in the same situation. Surely the facilities for a postal vote could have been arranged. I wonder which bureaucrat/s is/are responsible for this shortfall?

(Dr) Mark Gravenor

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'No' men sidestep logic

I watch the antics of the referendum propagandists with an uncomfortable sense of déjà vu. In 1979, the Rhodesian government handed over the election project to a high-profile advertising agency which promptly embarked upon a glossy, Western-style media campaign full of money and hype.

Nobody seemed to realise that the rural tribesmen — the principal target market — had no access to the newspapers which carried those lavish double-page spreads promoting Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa.

Those very few of us who had ever bothered to listen to grassroots African opinion were reviled as bringers of bad news when we suggested that it was Mugabe who actually had a stranglehold on votes.

What's the parallel in SA today? The Yes-Men have hired a glossy advertising agency which is busy pouring millions into the media. The copywriters have produced the strategy messages and every spokesman is sticking faithfully to the party line, reciting the undoubted logic of economic and social disaster should the vote go wrong.

But are they reaching our own "rural tribesmen"? The No-

Men are very clearly side-stepping logic completely and tub-thumping their basic emotive fears and visceral longings. It is the very survival of the Afrikaner nation at stake, they say — a cleverly woven tale of total onslaught against taal, volk, kinders and land. Their two propaganda lines are simple and basic — that a Yes vote equals communism, but that if one votes No this time, it will provide a chance to vote again — thus seeming to offer all the fence-sitters the third option of the status quo.

Judging the campaigns professionally, I'd say that the No-Men are winning hands down at this time, while the Yes-Men seem to be living up to their name and believing their own propaganda. Unless they can stop Dr No from continuing to make capital out of that word "communism" and offer some threat more meaningful to the rural Afrikaner voting majority than cricket sanctions, we can all look forward to joining Good Old Smithy and the Bish in oblivion.

It's pretty scary to have one's future so completely in the hands of the same wonderful PR team who scored such notable triumphs as the Potchef-

stroom campaign, as Info, as Rubicon, as VAT and as Zeevenfontein. . .

Alan J Cockle

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Gibson Drive,
Buccleuch

□ □ □

In the Inside Track column (Opinion, March 6), comments were made about the "underwhelming" nature of the posters for the NP Yes campaign. The conclusion was drawn that these posters were developed by Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett, but this is not correct.

This work is done by the National Party's own inhouse information unit.

The impression was also created that while the CP and HNP are using "homegrown talents", the NP are not. I can assure you that the people working on the campaign at Saatchi & Saatchi Kerck & Barrett, including myself, are all homegrown. This project is being handled entirely at a local level.

Gordon Muller

Director, Media &
Corporate Communications
70 Grayston Drive,
Sandown,
Sandton

The Star

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After action, satisfaction?

THE Budget's proximity to the referendum, along with its relegation to secondary status, raises interesting thoughts on strategy. Was the poll scheduled before Budget day to hide the bad news from voters? If so, why has President de Klerk warned that some tough medicine is in store on Wednesday?

Bewildering permutations confront analysts trying to make sense of the juxtaposition of these two most important events. One obvious conclusion is that the polling date, rushed through in haste after the Potchefstroom by-election, was set at the latest possible time before an unpopular Budget, thereby keeping the bad news from voters.

Perhaps, though, the unpalatable nature of the Budget is being deliberately emphasised as an illustration of Mr de Klerk's honesty. He's not pulling the wool over the eyes of the voters; he's showing his hand, even if his remarks run the risk of losing votes.

Ultimately, whether or not the ploy was pre-planned matters little. More important is the pointer it provides to a Budget which will almost certainly contain a petrol price increase as well as spending cuts that are bound to leave many civil servants unemployed. The petrol rise will be universally unpopular; the job losses only among those affected by the Government's new-found determination to contain past profligacy.

Looking beyond the near term, however, it is clear that a cutback in the bureaucracy (from outdated apartheid structures) can only improve prospects of a return to reasonable economic growth rates. Add in the likelihood of tax cuts (be they of marginal size only) and private fixed investment incentives, and the Budget might not prove as indigestible as most expect — unless, of course, you happen to be a civil servant.

One crucial question remains unanswered, however. Mr de Klerk has indicated he and his Government will resign if the "no" votes prevail tomorrow. Who or what will then be around to approve the Budget?

Sense prevails

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Disastrous, because it would have given credence to the racist Right's referendum claims that black leaders of substance were actually in agreement with the CP; and disastrous because Chief Buthelezi's presence is needed inside the national negotiating chamber if we are to reach a settlement that sticks. Disastrous, too, because a resounding "yes" vote in the referendum is so vitally necessary.

The IFP leader is still embattled, suspicious of Codesa and angry with President de Klerk. But he has stuck to his principles, telling Dr Treurnicht that a federation of ethnically defined states is "unthinkable", and repudiating the IFP's Transvaal leadership for entering into a bizarre pact with the AWB.

Chief Buthelezi also told Dr Treurnicht that Codesa was the only negotiating forum with the potential to succeed, and that he stuck by his call for a "yes" vote from whites.

We hope that Dr Treurnicht — or at least those who are considering voting for his party tomorrow — took careful note.

Moment of truth for

THE STAR 16 MARCH 1992

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

In a last-ditch attempt to sway undecided whites, President de Klerk last night issued an impassioned plea for a "yes" vote in tomorrow's referendum — while the National Party expressed confidence that the pro-reform campaign had "peaked at the right time".

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday he believed that, after a swing to the right wing last week, wavering voters were now responding to the messages of the "yes" campaign and coming back.

The Conservative Party-led "no" campaign was now in disarray because of its confused policies, he said, and the publicity blitz presenting the AWB as a neo-Nazi organisation had been effective.

Sources in both camps conceded that the result was

still anything but certain.

With only a day to go before polling begins in what Mr de Klerk called "the day of reckoning — the most critical decision to be taken by whites in South Africa's modern history" — tensions were heightened by allegations of right-wing "intimidation" at polling booths.

In his statement, Mr de Klerk said Wednesday's result could "make or break" South Africa.

He said a "no" would be a "slap in the face" for more than 20 million other South

Africans "who also want to be and are part of South Africa, and are waiting anxiously for a 'yes'".

For every white South African, the "moment of truth" had arrived. The only hope for progress and security lay in a new constitution, which could be achieved only through reform and negotiations. He said: "I ask a 'yes' for justice — a 'yes' for a better South Africa."

Wrapping up his campaign on Saturday night, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said

"the time for unitary states is over".

He said his party wanted whites to be able to decide their own lives and future while other peoples would have the same freedom to take decisions affecting their lives.

Meanwhile, fears have been expressed that there might be intimidation of voters at the polling booths.

Democratic Party MP Tony Leon said he was concerned that certain rightist elements might attempt to

SA

The Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, has assured voters they need not fear for their safety tomorrow.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall at the weekend called on political leaders to urge their followers to act peacefully.

"We appeal to all leaders — both those who are signatories to the Peace Accord and those who are not — to call on their followers to desist from violence," he said.

(Report by P Fabricius and S Johnson, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Deaths toll rockets in pre-poll violence

Staff Reporters

Brutal slayings made for a bloody weekend on the Reef as the orgy of violence ahead of tomorrow's referendum continued.

In the worst reported attack of the weekend, the bodies of five men with their hands tied behind their backs were found in Katlehong, near Germiston, on Saturday. They had been shot. Spent AK-47 cartridge cases were found next to their bodies, the SAP said.

In the same area, at the Masibuko hostel, the bodies

of two men with bullet wounds were found.

The countrywide death toll from political unrest since the announcement of the referendum three weeks ago has risen to at least 218.

The Human Rights Commission, Lawyers for Human Rights and the ANC said they believed much of the violence was being provoked to create chaos and scare white voters.

In Soweto at least seven people — one a municipal employer who was shot and set alight in his truck — were killed in a weekend of sporadic violence.

Shortly after 4 pm yesterday, a man was shot and stabbed at Inhlazane station.

Police said two men were killed in Meadowlands yesterday and a third on Saturday night. One of the victims had been burnt.

On Saturday a municipal employee was shot near the Jabulani hostel at about 1.15 pm and set alight.

In Alexandra, a man was shot dead at about 8.30 am yesterday as he walked past the Old Man's hostel.

Sapa reports that 241 have been treated at the Alexandra Health Centre for in-

juries sustained in violence since last Saturday. Of this number, 105 were assaulted, 72 suffered stab wounds, 62 gunshot wounds and four lacerations. Seven of them died and 81 were transferred to hospitals.

Two people were killed and 28 wounded on Saturday, police said. A Star reporter saw four bodies in the township. The deaths came as police fought running battles with snipers, and crowds rampaged through the streets after the SAP had tried to stop hundreds of Inkatha members from carrying weapons to a funeral.

intimidate or obstruct voters after alleged irregularities at special voting booths in Johannesburg.

Mr Leon called on the CP to "urgently give an undertaking that they will abide by the provisions of the referendum regulations and will not interfere with the electorate's free expression of opinion".

Chief electoral officer Piet Colyn last night told The Star he had received no complaints of the kind of incident Mr Leon described.

STAR

16 MARCH 1992

BRIEFING

Dear reader of The Star,

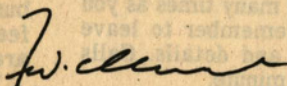
I am sure you appreciate that tomorrow's referendum is a date with destiny. Really at issue is the future of our country.

There is no uncertainty about a no-vote win. After decades of experience there is no doubt where that must lead us — to a dead-end of division and destruction. It will signify to everybody in South Africa and the world that the majority of white South Africans prefer to go it alone: that they wish to reject millions of their countrymen as fellow citizens and are prepared to face the consequences and to pay the price of total international isolation.

By contrast, a yes-vote win will strongly position us for negotiated solutions. Two short years of reform have shown us beyond doubt that South Africans are able to live and work together for the common good — that it is possible to negotiate a constitution that is fair to all and acceptable to the vast majority, white, black and brown. That is the only road to the security, stability and peace which we all desire. That is the only way to assure opportunity and progress for all South Africans. That road will lead us back to full re-acceptance in the international fold.

That, I believe, is our highway of hope. Let us take it and give South Africa and ourselves a chance by voting yes tomorrow.

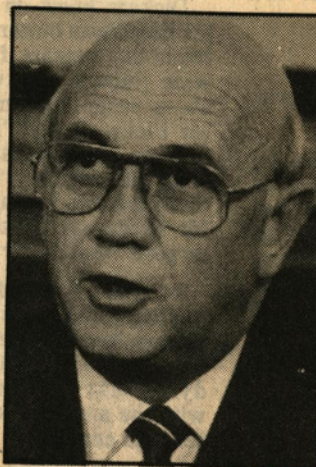
With best wishes,



F W de Klerk



The State President



President F W de Klerk

Two short years of reform have shown that South Africans are able to live and work together for a common good — that it is possible to negotiate a constitution that is fair to all and acceptable to the vast majority.

F W de Klerk

A rushed yes vote is a blank cheque for a Government you know you can't trust. Don't waste your last chance. There's no going back from ANC rule. Vote no and keep your options open.

Andries Treurnicht

'No' would reject 30-m S Africans

If we had a majority No vote, the message to the almost 30 million South Africans who are not voting would be one of rejection: they will know that it's unlikely that the minority of moderate voices in the No-coalition would dictate future policy.

A No vote will legitimise the AWB with its private-army agenda and its verbal and physical antagonism to black South Africans and their aspirations.

Voters must be clear: No will bring ongoing black protests, renewed sports, cultural and diplomatic isolation, and economic sanctions more severe than in the past. You may laugh off all the others, but the experience of 1984-1989 makes it clear we can't handle protests on the scale that would erupt if we turned the clock back to forced removals and killed the hope for equality for all citizens.

F Auerbach

92 Berea Towers,
Abel Road,
Berea,
Johannesburg

□ □ □

If you enjoy sport, then please, do not vote No — or be satisfied with watching kennetjie and jukskei in our future Boerestaat.

D G Phillips

31 Avon Road,
Riverlea,
Johannesburg

□ □ □

Whites contemplating how to vote have been given some food for thought in the latest census data on unemployment. The figure for white unemployment is 4 percent, or 83 000. This must be compared with the figures for black unemployment which are about 40 percent, or 6 million.

So what is all the fuss about white unemployment?

What kind of future can we expect unless we address such issues?

Ben Turok
Director, Institute for
African Alternatives

Sable Centre,
41 De Korte Street,
Braamfontein,
Johannesburg

Mines Chamber chief: CP pamphlet is wrong

CITIZEN 16/3/92

CHAMBER of Mines chief executive Mr Tom Main yesterday denounced Conservative Party efforts to use his views on sanctions to persuade South Africans to vote No in the forthcoming referendum.

According to a chamber statement yesterday, "Referendum 92", a CP pamphlet — wrongly identified Mr Main as a former chairman of the chamber and quoted him as saying: "It is not sanctions which do us damage, but the threat of sanctions. We have the minerals the rest of the world wants. Why should we be sanctioned?"

Context

Mr Main said the words attributed to him by the CP were not altogether correct, and had been used in the wrong context.

"Presented as they are, without placing them in the wider context in which they were uttered, the words appear to suggest that I, and by implication the mining indus-

try, have scant regard for the damaging effects of sanctions. This is not true," Mr Main said.

Sanctions, particularly financial sanctions which had done incalculable harm to South Africa's economy, had been vigorously opposed by both himself and the mining industry.

Jobs

"The mining industry too has been damaged by the international community's adoption of a trade embargo against South Africa. Some 10 000 jobs were lost in the coal mining industry as a direct result of sanctions, and that is why the industry worked so hard to have them lifted.

"The ban on the importation of Krugerrands by most countries around the world also had an inhibiting effect on South Africa's ability to add value to gold exports."

Strategic

Mr Main said developments in the former Soviet Union could now facilitate the availability

of strategic minerals which in the past — in spite of sanctions — the Western democracies had relied on South Africa to provide.

This made it even more important to ensure that the country did not back-track into a political environment that would prompt the rest of the world to re-impose sanctions — a move that would almost certainly include strategic minerals and prove to be far more destructive than the previous embargo. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

16-03-92

Saddened

WE are saddened by the fact that the referendum campaign has ended with Right-wing violence.

Besides being unbecoming and unnecessary, the violence shows how heated emotions have become and how divided the Whites are in the referendum.

We could shrug it off as typically South African, since we are a country where politics is traditionally a rough business.

But we see more to it than that — it reflects a polarisation of Whites that we cannot recall since the days of Smuts, especially the war years and the failed activities of the Ossewa Brandwag.

The anti-Smuts hatred brought the National Party to power and the Right hopes that anti-De Klerk hatred and the No vote in the referendum will bring the Conservative Party to power.

But we are not living in the 1940s, we are living in the 1990s.

And whereas the political battle in the war and post-war years was between Whites, the rise of Black nationalism has changed everything.

Whites can no longer rule this country on their own, as a kind of White preserve, since the vast majority of its people are Black.

State President De Klerk has accepted that there must be power sharing, and he is trying to create a new South Africa in which the Black majority cannot ride roughshod over the Whites, Coloureds Indians and even Blacks.

He wants a Bill of Rights, checks and balances, protection of minorities, a system that is not a winner takes all one.

He has already had successes in the negotiations, but there are no guarantees that he will achieve all that he wishes.

However, this does not invalidate the negotiations, it only makes a Yes vote all the more important, for if he wins the referendum handsomely, his hand in Codesa will be immeasurably strengthened.

If the Noes win the referendum, the CP will still have to fight an election and there is no certainty that it could win that.

Many Noes falsely believe they can have the luxury of voting No in the referendum and voting against the CP if there is an election.

They should realise that a No majority now will plunge the country into an upheaval such as we have not yet seen.

The ANC will renew the armed struggle, the Pan Africanist Congress will intensify its terrorism, and mass protests that include general strikes and stayaways will increase.

This country will be totally ungovernable.

How the CP will introduce its grand plans for a White State or Boerestaad, how it will reshape South Africa in so-called consultation with Black leaders who refuse to have anything to do with it, how it will bring the ANC to the negotiation table only the CP knows.

How the CP will deal with a hostile world

which reimposes even more stringent sanctions and tries to isolate South Africa with even greater vigour is beyond our comprehension.

In our view, the CP has hope neither of reshaping South Africa nor of keeping South Africa from being booted out of the family of man once more.

We will not be just in a laager; we will be in a box with the world sitting on its lid and from which there will be no escape.

The simple truth is there is no place for old-style White politics — with White opponents beating each other up or disrupting meetings. There is no White winner anymore.

The Black masses are demanding their freedom; their right to share in the political future of the country; the right to a share of the country's bounty; the right for a place in the sun for their children and their children's children.

The future thus no longer depends solely on what the White man says or does.

The Blacks have to be consulted, the Blacks have to be part of the negotiations, the Blacks have to help determine the future.

That is why we say there has to be a Yes for the continuation of the negotiations.

There must be a new dispensation, a new South Africa, because there has to be.

And there will be.

16/3/92

Right-wing alliance 'to endure after referendum'

By Fred de Lange

A PERMANENT Right-wing alliance which would continue after the referendum tomorrow was formed in Pretoria on Saturday.

Forty-six organisations which included the Conservative Party, HNP, AWB and a number of trade unions and cultural organisations, decided on forming a permanent front against the government.

Spokesman for the new alliance, Mr Jaap Marais said the unity would be maintained even in a general election.

If the No vote won in

the referendum and a general election would have to be fought, petty differences would be set aside to field the strongest possible candidate in each constituency.

All the organisations involved would still operate separately, but on a political level a unitary front would be presented.

After the meeting, the new alliance called on the public to vote No to ensure that they never become enslaved to a Communist government.

"A No vote on March

17 would be a vote for self preservation and self respect."

The alliance rejected what it called transparent scare stories that the country would fall into chaos if a No vote won.

"In fact, precisely the opposite would happen and is proved by the existing wave of lawlessness and crime," the statement said.

The organisations involved are:

Afrikaner Studentefront, Afrikaner Vroue Kenkrag, Afrikaner

Weerstandsbeweging, Blanke Bouwerkers Vakbond, Boere Bevrydingsbeweging, Boere Krisisaksie, Boerekommando, Boerestaat Party, Boervrou Forum, Campaign Against Disarmament, Christelike Kultuuraksie, Civic Action League, Conservative Alliance, Dietse Federasie, Die Reg Daarom Stigting, Vierkleurkorps van Suid-Afrika, Eastern Cape Settler's Memorial Association, Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners, Groep van 25, Herstigte Nasionale Party van Suid-Afrika, HNP Jeugaksie, Jong Afrikaners, Kloof Geloftefees Komitee, Kultuurraad Danie Theron, Conservative Party of South Africa, Magsaksie Afrikaner Nasiona-lisme, Oranje Werkers, Orde Boerevolk, Own Schools Association, Patriotic Forum, Postel Union of South Africa, South Africa First Campaign, South African Iron, Steel and Associated Industries Union, Senior Amptenare Vereniging, Stellard Foundation, Studente Organisasie vir Patriotiese Afrikaners, Support Police Action Group, Think Right, Transnet Union of South Africa, University Freedom of Speech Association, Vereniging vir Gereformeerde Volksskole, Veterans for Victory, Volksbystandfonds,

Wêreld Apartheidsbeweging, Wit Werkersunie van Suid-Afrika, Women for a Sovereign South Africa and Youth for Self-determination of Nations.

CP says violence is start of a civil war

Citizen Reporter

THE Conservative Party yesterday warned that the escalating violence in South Africa was not only destabilising South Africa, but was also the start of a full-scale civil war.

The CP spokesman on Law and Order, Mr Moolman Mentz, said in Pretoria the warning to Right-wing students by

President De Klerk was in contrast to his silence about the bloodbath which had cost the lives of more than 206 people since the referendum was announced.

This was a transparent attempt to divert attention by concentrating on a group of students who were in any case practising a form of politics.

Mr Mentz said the fact that such a large number of people had died because of politics since the referendum had been announced, proved that despite propaganda for a Yes vote, the ANC — as one of the political allies of the NP — was not able to stop the violence among Black people.

It would also not be able to do that in a new South Africa.

Mr Mentz said his party had condemned violence on several occasions and at this stressful stage it again called on all to "control themselves".

He warned that the escalating violence would not only destabilise South Africa, but that the violence also bore the germ of a full-scale civil war.

You are weak, PW told his Cabinet

CITIZEN

16 MARCH 1992

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — When members of his Cabinet told him one by one that he should resign, then President P W Botha lashed out at them as "weak" and accused Mr F W de Klerk, then Minister of National Education, of "trying to play President".

Mr Botha also told Mr De Klerk that he felt sorry for him, because "the powers you have unleashed are wild horses".

The bitter exchange at the final Botha Cabinet meeting in Tuynhuys on Monday, August 14, 1989, ended with Mr Botha's agreement to resign by way of a public statement on television that evening.

Details were published yesterday by the Sunday Times, saying that "minutes of the meeting were leaked" to the newspaper, but not saying by whom they were leaked.

The leadership dispute within the National Party began after Mr Botha's mild stroke in January. On February 2, 1989, he

resigned as NP leader. Mr De Klerk was elected NP leader, over Mr Barend du Plessis, who was reportedly Mr Botha's choice as successor.

There was a running battle between Mr Botha, Mr De Klerk (then NP leader) and the NP's Federal Council on the possible date for an election and the NP's insistence that the Head of State and NP leader should be the same person.

Finally, Mr Botha called the election in September, 1989 — he had wanted it postponed to 1990. Then came a row over a proposed visit by Mr De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. Mr Botha said he had not consented to the meeting, others said he had been consulted.

With the State President and Cabinet at loggerheads, Mr Botha called an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet at Tuynhuys on Monday morning, August 14.

Mr Botha waived his right to address the Cabinet first, and left the floor to the NP leader, Mr De

Klerk.

"We earnestly desire to ensure that your honour and your dignity are not impaired," said Mr De Klerk.

"We believe, therefore, that the least painful solution for you, for the National Party and for all of us would be that you move to the Wilderness and say you have decided to appoint an acting state president from now until the election."

Each of the other Cabinet Ministers in turn had their say. Each called on Mr Botha to resign.

Struck back

Mr Botha then struck back: "You are prepared to sacrifice me for the sake of your chat with Kaunda — this Cabinet is prepared to do so."

Mr Botha rounded on his Cabinet colleagues, saying they were performing badly on television in the election campaign.

He had special words for Mr De Klerk, who had decided against standing in his long-time Vereeniging constituency, since he would become State President after the September election.

"I told you two weeks ago to stop letting the party down. Now I'm telling you again, you are weak. You should have stood in Vereeniging. A leader fights, or he goes under."

"You cannot play State President before you are State President. I grant you the chance to be that, but then you must fight."

Continuing his attack, Mr Botha told the Cabinet: "To tell you the truth, I have the right to fire you. If I had enough enmity left in me, I would."

There was a short adjournment, during which the Cabinet discussed Mr Botha's demand to resign publicly on television. Mr De Klerk, as spokesman for the Cabinet, then told Mr Botha they accepted his decision.

Mr De Klerk: Our suggestion about the Wilderness stems from our concern over your health.

Mr Botha: Yes, that's the coward's way of doing it. What you are implying is that I can't think for myself. Why don't you say it?

Mr De Klerk: That's not what I am saying.

Mr Botha: Why not? Why do you insinuate it with a smile, while holding a dagger in your hand?

The argument went back and forth until Mr Botha ended with the words: "You can adjourn, but I warn you: You are facing an extremely difficult time."

Keep neo-Nazis out

THE Conservative Party alliance with the AWB will produce a monster which Treurnicht will not be able to control.

The teargas attack has all the signs of the tactics used by the Nazi Stormtroopers and the Mosley Black shirts.

A No vote, which could bring a Right-wing gov-

ernment, will also bring in the likelihood of the AWB Black shirts knocking on doors in the early hours of the morning as happened in Nazi Germany.

The mere use of the

Swastika-type symbol is surely enough to send shivers down the back of decent folk, and this is what the CP is advocating.

Clearly a Yes vote is the only way to keep out the neo-Nazis and Fascists.

REALIST

Meyerton

CP is moderate

THE NP propaganda depicts the AWB members as Nazis and unjustifiably links them with the CP because they both support a No vote. They may be neo-Nazis, I don't know, but they are a small group of extremists who are in no way involved with the CP, which is a moderate party working for the partition of South Africa into ethnic or racial states.

The NP's connection

with out-and-out radicals and Communists is an indisputable fact. Codesa proves it. Nazism is ruthless and cruel and similar to Communism in many respects, but nothing like as deceitful and subversive as Communism is.

The Communist record over the last 75 years shows Communism reduced one country after another to poverty and misery, using Lenin's drill book of infiltration.

torture, intimidation and revolution.

These are the people the NP associates with, and works together with, for the future of the New South Africa. The CP should concentrate on exposing the NP's connections with Joe Slovo, Chris Hani, J Naidoo and Cosatu, all of whom support a Yes vote!

GWEN BARAGWANATH

Lydenburg

Changed her mind

THE focus of this referendum has shifted. Whether I like it or not the ill-phrased question on negotiations, as posed for the referendum, is no longer the issue and the perception abroad is that if you vote Yes, you vote for peace and negotiation, and if you vote No you vote for the CP and a return to apartheid.

As I am not now and never have been a CP supporter, and as the return to apartheid is unthinkable, and as the referendum is no longer about negotiations but

about a return to apartheid, I have had to reassess my position.

In my letters to the papers I, personally, took a stand against the manner in which the Nationalist Party is negotiating the future of White people in South Africa with the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. In the light of prevailing perceptions, it would seem that there is now no option but to vote Yes tomorrow.

We must then hope and pray that the Nationalists and the international community, both of

whom have been disastrous for this country, will at last respect and honour the desire of all South Africans of good will to live in peace and harmony together.

To that end, the first commitment that the Nationalist Party must make, is to include Dr Buthelezi in Codesa with as many IFP/Inkatha members, in each and every branch of Codesa, as there are ANC/Cosatu/SACP members.

LOLLY MACKENZIE

Umtshali

Joke of century

WHEN speaking of entrenched guarantees in any new constitution, the State President must surely be counting on the fact that most voters are too young to recall that the NP taught us just how easy it is to circumvent any such provisions back in the 1950s.

Those of us who know remember their efforts at removing the Coloureds from the common voters' roll. The Union of SA constitution had entrenched clauses which required a two thirds majority of a joint sitting of the House and the Senate for amendment.

Failing to accomplish this, the NP legislated a "High Court of Parliament", which was thrown out by all five judges in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

Then they enlarged the Senate with their own people and obtained their goal. I believe the size of the Senate was later reduced.

Iron-clad guarantees in a constitution thus must rank with Dr Kaunda visiting here to speak on democracy as contenders for the joke of the century.

A J CHAPPELL

Spring

FW's guts

MR DE KLERK is an Afrikaner of the highest integrity and a man of principle. He can be trusted to negotiate our future in this country and ensure that we, indeed, do have a future in the New South Africa.

This man has guts, and I will follow his example by voting Yes.

JOHN POLOVIN

Sandton

Citizen

16 March 1992

Against ANC rule

I ASSUME I am one of the few English speaking South Africans temporarily in London who went to the South African Embassy on Wednesday or Thursday and no doubt cast a No vote in the referendum.

I had been pondering over the problem, but it was a British newspaper, The Daily Telegraph, that helped clarify issues for me recently when it wrote that White South Africans were slowly beginning to realise that a Yes vote meant Yes to ANC rule.

From abroad the following sincere pleas:

Guilt-riddled Afrikaners, pull yourselves together. You governed South Africa into the most prosperous and modern state in Africa. Blacks benefited, and from all over Africa streamed to South Africa in their millions for work and security.

Are you really now going to surrender and sacrifice all to African leaders who have shown time without number that they are the world's most incompetent rulers of a modern State?

English-speaking South Africans who also played such a major role in building up the economy of the country (for the benefit of Blacks as well) will vote in favour of the De Klerk circus of surrender at their peril.

Forget Treurnicht and the AWB at this stage.

Forget the wording of the referendum question. What must be registered now is a No vote against ANC rule! Attention can be given to the rest later.

De Klerk promised Whites a referendum after the Codesa agreements. He lied to us. He now hopes the uncertainty caused by his intimidatory threat to resign will swing things his way.

He now wants this "personality contest" which is nothing but political opportunism — "boere verneuk." Even the question put is totally misleading: it pits CP policy against De Klerk's lack of policy.

FW wants a political blank cheque so he can win more "peace prizes".

Given the prospect of victory the ANC is today smiling. "One may smile and smile and still be a villain" wrote the Bard. And indeed those ANC villains (the recent bombers, terrorists, inventors of the horrors of "necklacing") are biding their time.

White man and moderate Black man remember: The tendency to seek revenge is deeply ingrained in the Black psyche!

Internationally discrimination is rife. Nationalism and the quest for an independent identity is a world trend. That "melting pot of races" De Klerk has in mind was abandoned by the international community as a policy failure years ago.

No White I have spoken to abroad envies White South Africans the prospect of Black rule. All know that in Africa today Blacks hate the Black rule they have had and are suffering the miserable consequences.

Confronted by a strong White government, the ANC has major problems: Following the world-wide demise of Communism, it has lost the muscle of its staunch allies. Neighbouring states will not take them back if a strong SA Government threatens with sanctions.

N THOMPSON

London

SA is land for all

SOUTH Africa is a land for all. Composed of different cultures, each has a unique element to offer the whole. How can one group claim supremacy? It is time to learn from the past as well as from the rest of the world. Separation has not worked; this is why we are in the present situation.

It is a democratic right for everyone to have a vote, but in this country it cannot work. Let us think of a system in which each party has an equal say and results are drawn up in percentages.

Wouldn't that allow majorities and minority groups to each have a part in running our country

without one dominating the other? Let us get rid of this domination factor. Look what hunger for power has done to Iraq.

Neither the Conservative Party nor the ANC is ready to rule our country democratically. Let us envisage a nation united in peace and harmony — that each and every one of us is proud to be a South African.

Let us say yes to a peaceful and prosperous future and no to a communistically inclined policy supported by the ANC.

Yes is for democracy and no for separation. Let yes be for a voice for the people and let us not allow policies and opinions

to be forced upon us.

Let us realise that South Africa can be a blueprint to a much needed solution to the world's problems. We now have a unique opportunity to show the world what can be done. Let us get involved in the running of our magnificent country, putting forward constructive ideas and contributions.

After all, a government should be representative of the people. Let not the fears of yesterday ruin tomorrow. Every negative situation is an opportunity for positive and optimistic growth.

G VAN RIET

Lonehill

Christians should think again

CHRISTIANS who have been exhorted to vote for justice, peace and reconciliation in the coming referendum need to take stock of just what these words mean should an ANC government be ushered into power by their actions.

Jesus has exhorted his followers to measure people by their fruits rather than by their words, so just how do the ANC measure up?

Justice? The ANC were largely responsible for the proliferation of kangaroo courts which resulted in those "found guilty" being murdered by the barbaric necklace method.

To date, the ANC has shown no remorse for these actions. Recent trials of ANC members indicted for criminal acts have resulted in witnesses being intimidated and even kidnapped.

Peace? Here the ANC number among the false prophets who cry "peace, peace" when there is no peace. Since the so-called suspension of the armed struggle, the ANC has murdered nearly 200 political leaders of different persuasion to their own and the war in the townships has not ceased.

Reconciliation? The ANC have not been reconciled with their own dissidents who managed to survive the horrors of

their internment camps, never mind anybody else. At the moment the ANC is refusing the Red Cross entry into these camps. Reconciliation with political rivals is on paper only.

Those who think that the ANC leopard has changed its spots should ask themselves where is the hard evidence? Many thought that Robert Mugabe's government of "national reconciliation" would bring healing to the troubled land of Zimbabwe. How wrong they were.

Aided by foreign troops, Mugabe set about systematically wiping out his opposition. Some

have estimated the casualties to have been more than twice those experienced in the entire Rhodesian bush war. The atrocities committed are indescribable. Some reconciliation!

Christians have a duty to help bring about true justice, true peace, and true reconciliation in our country. Being "as innocent as doves" in this duty is not enough. Jesus calls for Christians to be "as wise as serpents" as well.

Think again, Christians, and earnestly pray for God-given wisdom.

NOT PIE-IN-THE-SKY

Randburg

Can't be trusted

I FEEL I just have to comment on Mr P W Botha's statement that he will vote No in the referendum.

It shows clearly just how far the National Party has strayed from the principles set out in its 1989 election manifesto. Remember the posters which said "Reform Yes, Surrender No" and the others which said "Own group areas" and "Own schools". What has become of those promises? Today we have open

schools, mixed suburbs and total surrender.

In a country that has been a bastion of the struggle against Communism for more than 40 years, I cannot believe the voters could knowingly vote for a government policy that will mean a Communist-controlled country in the near future.

Surely South Africans know better? One tends to forget that Mr De Klerk was elected more on P W Botha's coat-tails than on his own at the '89 election. The principles outlined at that election were those of the "old" National Party, not of the De Klerk era.

What should have happened at the time was that after P W Botha's resignation just two weeks before the election, Mr De Klerk should have postponed it so as to put his policies to the voters, instead of being elected and then proceeding to turn P W Botha's policies upside down, and then claiming to have a mandate for this about-face.

Now we read in the Sunday Press of F W de Klerk's bottom-line, but the bottom-line as put to the voters in 1989 was soon forgotten, so it is likely that these bottom-line principles now being expounded will also suddenly be dropped.

The bottom-line for the average White voter is that the government can no longer be trusted, and I urge them to vote accordingly. S NORTHROP Pretoria

'SA's political temperature is dangerous'

Citizen Reporter

THE 100 deaths nationwide in the past week were a tragic indication that South Africa's political temperature had reached a dangerous level, the National Peace Committee (NPC) said yesterday.

The NPC yesterday expressed grave concern at the sharp increase in violence over the past two weeks and urged the country's leaders, whether signatories of the Peace Accord or not, to all on their followers to resist from violence.

The NPC was doing its best to curb the violence, but in the final analysis peace depended on South

Africans' corporate will and the country's national political leadership.

"At this crucial time, South Africa needs cool heads, responsible political leadership and determined action.

"For the sake of us all, and especially our children, the principles of peace need to constantly govern the minds and be entrenched in the heart of every individual and every political leader," the NPC said.

Polarisation and fragmentation had to be stopped in order that South Africa not slip irreversibly into a cycle of conflict, violence and civil war, it added.

Citizen

16 March 1992

Myeni denies pact with AWB

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member, Mr Musa Myeni, yesterday denied having signed a non-aggression pact with Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

"It is misrepresentation, deliberate mischief-making by certain agents of the media, claiming that a pact was signed," he said.

"Nobody signed any

thing; there was nothing to be signed."

Despite Mr Myeni's claims, the AWB's executive council issued a statement yesterday saying it respected the agreement. IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has repudiated the pact.

"The AWB and the Wenkommando remain by the undertaking and assure the Transvaal's management of Inkatha and their generals that the

non-aggression pact will be honoured by the AWB," said the council.

Chief Buthelezi on Friday immediately distanced himself and his party from the agreement when news of it was announced.

Chief Buthelezi later said the signing of the agreement was mischievous as Mr Myeni had not had a mandate for it. — Sapa.

FW: Interim govt must be subject to Parliament ✓

A TRANSITIONAL or interim government must be installed constitutionally and be subject to Parliamentary and constitutional authority with checks and balances, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking on the SABC television programme, Agenda, Mr De Klerk said the government did not intend handing over power to an interim government which would then rule by decree.

Constitutional negotiations should not lead to a situation like Zimbabwe or Namibia, where there was a handing over of power.

He said the new constitution should have built-in guarantees protecting minority rights.

"I will not say yes to a new constitution that

hands over power."

Mr De Klerk said he was asking for a specific mandate in the referendum to negotiate a new constitution on the basis of the National Party's proposals.

If he succeeded, there would be no necessity to have elections as Parliament would amend and implement the constitution: elections would then be held in terms of the country's new constitution.

If the NP did not succeed in negotiations, then it would be bound to return to the White electorate to seek another mandate.

Mr De Klerk said he wanted attention and devolution of power.

There should be central

did not see any big change in South African residential patterns — despite the abolition of the Group Areas Act — because people of a common culture and language, and born in the same areas, tended to gather together in one area.

He said the country needed a strong economy to be able to supply housing to those in various income groups.

No legislation should prescribe education on a racial basis, as people in the same area would send their children to a school in that section, he said.

Mr De Klerk said the pattern of education throughout the world was one of the decentralised control of general stan-

dards, examinations and curricula so as to ensure that there was a single good and logical educational system, he added.

Change in the civil service had started a long time ago, and an analysis of statistics would show that in the public service people of colour had been upwardly mobile in the police and security forces.

Mr De Klerk said he was opposed to any form of reverse discrimination in the civil service, only merit should be taken into account.

"I believe that those who now serve South Africa should be effectively protected with regard to their job and pension security in legislation which cannot be changed (such as) in a Bill of Rights and in the constitution."

A new government would operate on the basis of consensus and would have to be subject to the constitution and the Bill of Rights. If they acted outside of these, independent courts would have to be able to declare those decisions null and void.

Mr De Klerk said reform had not caused recent violence, but changed its character. Initially, violence had been aimed at overthrowing the White minority government.

The start of reform had caused a repositioning among various Black groups with regard to a powerbase in the Black community.

Mr De Klerk denied that the reform process had sparked the current wave of crime, violence and economic problems.

The State President said South Africa's current economic woes were a result of sanctions.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

16 March 1992
Vote Yes

WE urge our readers to vote Yes tomorrow. Yes, because we have to continue the negotiation of a new South Africa.

Yes, because if there is a No majority the Blacks will lose faith in the reform process.

Yes, because we believe that the country has to become a non-racial democracy.

Yes, because we are coming out of isolation, out of the noose of sanctions that almost strangled our economy.

Yes, because a No majority will plunge us back into sanctions.

Yes, because the Conservative Party, with all its smooth talk about not wanting a return to apartheid, is asking for the chance to take us back into a past that made us the polecat of the world, that put every country against us, that kept us from the cultural and scientific contacts without which we were intellectually and scientifically impoverished, that kept our sportsmen and women at home because no country would allow them to compete internationally, that made us the outcasts of mankind.

Yes, because the Conservative Party is in alli-

TO PAGE 2

• See also leading article, **Saddened**, on Page Six.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Vote Yes

FROM PAGE 1

ance with the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and other Right-wing extremist organisations and we have a right to judge the CP as unacceptable because of the company it keeps.

Yes, because a CP victory of the Right will put the country back into a White versus Black confrontation which will be even worse than the conflict from which we have just escaped.

Above all, we say Yes, because we have the chance still to negotiate a future in which all the peoples of this country, whatever their colour, race or creed, can live together, democratically and in peace, citizens of a great land with the most remarkable potential of any on God's earth, a land whose racial torment must end now or it is doomed.

We do not ask you to ignore the causes of much unhappiness and grief — the poor state of the economy, the political violence, the crime wave, the insecurity, the fear.

We are not the only country that is in a bad recession. The United States, the one super-power left in the world, is in a bad state as well, and in England the recession is the worst in 60 years.

The political violence is terrible, despite the Peace Accord and all efforts to end it, but it can only get worse if there is a No majority, since Blacks will not be just at each other's throats but at ours as well.

The crime wave is a cause of great concern to each and every one of us, but countries overseas are also suffering crime waves because so many people are out of work and turn to crime for their existence.

But remember: Whatever your grievances against the government, this is not a general election.

It is a referendum on whether State President De Klerk should have a mandate to continue the reform negotiations until he achieves a settlement that is acceptable to reasonable men.

There are dangers that no country in transition can escape.

There are changes that many cannot accept — yet they are inevitable.

There are challenges that are awesome in their magnitude, challenges that will decide the fate of this country and its people into the next century, but challenges which have to be faced because they cannot be escaped, nor should they be.

Yes, this wonderful country, this country of rare beauty and grandeur, blessed with riches in minerals and people, has reached a momentous day in its history, Referendum Day tomorrow.

If you want it to go forward to meet its destiny in Africa, to provide a peaceful future for all its people, including you and your children and your children's children, you will vote Yes.

Yes for peace.

Yes for prosperity.

Yes for hope of a better life for all.

South Africa is in your hands tomorrow.

Do not fail it.

Vote Yes.

THE CHRISTIAN'S CHOICE ON THE 17th MARCH 1992

DOES HE VOTE YES OR NO OR NOT AT ALL?

This pamphlet is not politically motivated and is sent out in prayerful concern for Christians who sincerely desire to remain faithful to Jesus Christ

This referendum is not as simple a matter as it appears on the surface. No Christian can be satisfied with what is presently happening in our Land. To a Christian playing sport internationally, prospering materially through investments, receiving the praise of men and the glory of world acceptance are of little importance.

WHAT IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE TO THE CHRISTIAN IS THAT IN ALL THINGS HE SHOULD BE FAITHFUL TO JESUS CHRIST.

The Facts are that in many ways our country has abandoned the Christian Standards as they are expressly stated in the Word of God. There exists – Lawlessness; Corruption; the secularisation of the Lord's Day; Pornography flourishing in Films, Videos and Magazines; Sensuality by telephone; Homosexuality and Lesbianism being accepted as a normal life-style; Promiscuity promoted as a way of life on TV; Wholesale Prostitution; Criminals being freed; Suicides, murders and divorces are commonplace.

ALL THIS IS AN ABOMINATION UNTO THE LORD AND UNBECOMING A CHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

Subtly we are being persuaded to cast a vote of no confidence in Jesus Christ and the Gospel. Satan who is forever the "Accuser of the Brethren" has caused many Christians to feel extremely guilty of the past. It must give him great satisfaction that Christians are in fact saying: "The Gospel of Jesus Christ has failed over the last 350 years and now we need the co-operation of Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and the blatant Marxist atheism to bring about a 'Just' South Africa," and that is how History will record it and promote the need for a oneworld religion to serve the new world order.

Prof. Hoeksema and Dr. Walter Scott, noted world Biblical Scholars and world authorities on the Book of Revelations, inform us that out of this sordid sea of evil, as we now have in South Africa, will emerge a "beast". This beast is symbolically the ONE WORLD Government which is also the AntiChrist. This One World Government forces allegiance to itself by Sanctions and Boycotts. (Rev. 13, 17)

Unlike all attempts in history from the time of Nimrod and the Tower of Babel this One World Government comes about not by conquest, but by CONSENSUS and AGREEMENT. (Rev 17:13, 17) What is planned for the NEW South Africa is also planned for the NEW One World Order. This is, according to Revelations, Satan establishing his Kingdom on earth. It is the same Kingdom that he offered to Christ during the temptation in the wilderness, if Christ would only bow down and worship him. It is still a great temptation because that One World Government will be most attractive to man and bring peace and prosperity to the world. There will be unprecedented human achievement, Man will truly become like God in many of his abilities and in his efficiency. The number of the beast being 666 has also been clearly shown as man reaching his zenith in all things but short of GOD. The whole world will follow after the beast and many Christians will be deceived. Christians will be made to look foolish and will suffer worse persecution than ever before in history and many will deny the Lord and follow after the beast.

"THERE IS A WAY THAT SEEMETH RIGHT UNTO A MAN, BUT THE END THEREOF ARE THE WAYS OF DEATH." (Prov. 14:12)

There are many difficulties facing the Christian who sincerely seeks to obey the will of God whatever the costs. First that he has to cope with the influences and the arguments of the politicians and the media which is like a tree that tries to bring forth both good and evil fruit. Then there is the prevailing spirit of the age which the scriptures clearly warn us against. Sadly many church leaders and preachers merely echo what the world says or what their favourite politician or publication says.

Confusion is also a major problem because on both sides of those seeking the Christian vote there is a strong appeal to Christian values. **This is the crux of the matter.**

What then are the respective Christian values presented by both sides? The "YES" side claims: Justice for All; Democracy; Tolerance for All; Giving Black People a Fair Chance; Compassion; Togetherness; Oneness.

The "NO" side claims: Faithfulness unto God; Biblical Standards; Christian Education; Cultural and Ethnic Thinking; Strong resistance to a One-World Government; Sunday Observance; Family Life; High Moral Standards.

These are the emphases of the two groups but are not exclusive to either.

The problem is that Justice; Giving the Black People a Fair Chance; Equality; Compassion and Tolerance are values that will surely disappear or become meaningless if the values on the "NO" side are not upheld.

Democracy; Togetherness and Oneness are NOT in themselves Christian values having their origins and thrust in pagan and Godless societies. Religious Tolerance is also not Christian. Paul writes: **"Don't link up with unbelievers and try to work with them. What common interest can there be between Goodness and Evil? How can Light and darkness share life together? How can there be harmony between Christ and the devil? What can a believer have in common with an unbeliever?" (1 Cor. 6:14)**

Holiness not Togetherness is the Christian goal. While God loves justice, we must distinguish between justice and merely serving the lust for power and covetousness for the material things of the White Man. This shall never liberate the Black Man but merely drive him into the same bondage that holds so many White people captive to beggarly things of life.

LET US ALSO REMEMBER THAT MR. NELSON MANDELA AND THE ANC ARE NOT CHRISTIAN AND HAVE DECLARED THAT THE CHRISTIAN FAITH MUST BE REDUCED TO AN INSIGNIFICANT ROLE, IF ANY, IN THE "NEW" SOUTH AFRICA. THEY ALSO OWE A GREAT DEBT TO THE MASSES OF AFRICANS IN OUR NEIGHBOURING STATES WHO ARE ONLY WAITING TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS BY FLOODING INTO THIS COUNTRY AND ALSO BY PLUNDERING IT. THIS WILL LEAVE THE AVERAGE BLACK MAN IN THIS COUNTRY IN AN EVEN MORE IMPOVERISHED STATE.

THIS IS THE MOMENT FOR YOU TO DECIDE, BEYOND ANY DOUBT TO VOTE "YES" WOULD BE TO VOTE AGAINST GOD AND IN THE SAME DIRECTION AS THE ANTICHRIST THIS WILL BE UNFAITHFUL TO JESUS CHRIST AND LEAD TO ETERNAL DAMNATION.

Police, troops keep a close watch in Alexandra

By Andrew Whitlock
and Sapa

POLICE and members of the SADF maintained a strong presence in Alexandra township north of Johannesburg yesterday following Saturday's outbreak of violence in which three people were killed and 28 injured.

The violence erupted when IFP supporters armed with spears, pangas

and sticks went on the rampage after they refused to accede to police demands that no armed Inkatha members be allowed to proceed to the funeral of an IFP member, Mr Thokozani Xaba.

The funeral was eventually postponed to next Saturday.

Police spokesman, Captain Eugene Opperman,

said more men were deployed in the township yesterday and the SAP was determined to show that the carrying of weapons to public gatherings would not be tolerated.

The SADF checked all vehicles entering the township and police kept a close watch on the hundreds of mourners who

attended the funeral of an ANC member, Mr Dilon Mayisa.

Only one weapon, a stolen pistol, was found during the checks.

Capt Opperman praised the ANC for the "calm and well disciplined manner in which its members behaved yesterday afternoon".

The ANC had clearly accepted the ban on the carrying of weapons and its members had behaved in a peaceful manner, he said.

Asked about Saturday's violence which had led to a police battle with IFP supporters who were inside the Madala hostel, Capt Opperman said scuffles had broken out when IFP supporters tried to push their way through police barricades.

"IFP snipers fired at the police with AK-47 assault rifles from inside the hostel and police returned the fire."

"The gunfire exchange lasted for about 45 minutes," said Capt Opperman.

"We are determined to stop people from carrying weapons of any kind to these public gatherings."

The ANC PWV region commended the police for the way in which they handled the situation in Alexandra, saying that the behaviour of the police "adds to the momentum of building a climate of peace".

ANC spokesman, Mr Ronnie Mammoepa, said the ANC supported the SAP and called for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

ANC armed struggle linked to poll

Natal Mercury 16 Mar 1992

JOHANNESBURG—The ANC had told the Government its armed struggle would not be abandoned until a white veto — like this week's referendum — no longer presented a threat to constitutional change, senior ANC sources said at the weekend.

The sources indicated that the armed struggle would not be abandoned until an interim government was in place and whites no longer had the ability to veto constitutional change.

A shift in ANC policy in the military arena would only accompany an appropriate shift in the political arena.

ANC spokesmen have said black South Africans would mount an unprecedented offensive should the No vote prevail.

Should there be a Yes vote, and should President de Klerk indicate his willingness to introduce rapid reforms, "this should be an indication that we are going to move forward and quickly", a source

Mercury Correspondent

in the ANC's legal department said.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said at the weekend the ANC had been conducting discussions on "the whole question of the referendum".

She said the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multi-party control of the security forces.

ANC sources said the movement would have been in a difficult position had it abandoned armed struggle only to find a whites-only referendum vetoing the reform process.

However, a Yes vote would lead to rapid constitutional change and a possible end to the armed struggle.

A source said discussions on the future of Umkhonto were "a sensitive matter, especially with the referendum coming up".

(Report by P Bulger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

IFP plan for new constitution

By Patrick Leeman
Political Staff

ULUNDI—The Constitution should be transformed with "own affairs" provisions abolished rather than SA setting up additional transitional or interim political structures.

This is the view of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Spelling out his views on a transitional government in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Buthelezi said that the transitional stage would be confined to the life of the present Parliament, the end of 1994.

The distinction in the present Constitution between "own" and "general" affairs had become a burden, "if not an embarrassment" and this part could be repealed.

As "a very bold step", the relevant sections of the Constitution could be amended to provide that the three Houses of Parliament sit and vote together.

"With its strong majority in the House of Assembly, its substantial membership in the House of Representatives and the likely support of other parties on issues that matter, the possibility that the National Party will be outvoted in Parliament is remote," Dr Buthelezi said.

"The IFP's proposals would not lead to a complicated sys-

tem of transitional government.

"Since there will be no "own affairs/general affairs" distinction, the way is paved for constitutional equality in administering the country, in producing budgets and in rendering services such as health, education and welfare."

The parties "presently outside the system", said Dr Buthelezi, "would be required to live with an unrepresentative Parliament during the transition".

However, "in view of the rubber-stamp nature of that Parliament, it should not be too high a price to pay".

He said this transitional government of reconciliation would be in place until the constitution of the new State was approved by a national referendum, and thereafter elections held to elect its first government.

Dr Buthelezi expressed the willingness of the IFP to enter into a transitional government subject to certain conditions, chief of these being agreement on the seating of the Zulu king and his delegation at Codesa.

(Report by P Leeman, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville.)

B. Day

16/3/92

No tax hikes in ANC's budget

TIM COHEN

THE ANC was not calling for a significant increase in the overall tax rate, nor for an increase in the corporate tax rate, ANC department of economic planning members said at the weekend.

But they added that it did propose cutting public servants' salaries, halving the defence budget and fundamentally restructuring the scheme of tax incentives for business.

And tertiary education's share of the total education budget should be slashed from 28% to 10%.

The department members said the ANC also believed in food aid schemes, a drought relief scheme, equalisation of pensions, the zero-rating of basic foods and services and an investigation into public works programmes to improve the unemployment situation.

ANC department of economic planning head Trevor Manuel and budget specialist Viv McMenamin set out these proposals in an interview at the weekend in anticipation of the presentation of the Budget on Wednesday.

McMenamin said the ANC was not looking for an overall increase in the size of the health and education budgets, although the way the money was spent within these departments needed to be fundamentally restructured.

Manuel said the one department which needed significant increase in its allocation was housing, suggesting that current spending on housing — which amounts to about 2.6% of GDP — should be increased to about 3.5%.

The ANC was calling for the defence budget to be slashed from 4.3% of GDP to about 2%.

The ANC was critical of the "gross mismanagement" of public funds, and was investigating the establishment of a court of audit, as existed in Germany, to curb corruption.

While it was not possible to raise the overall tax burden significantly, SA's tax structure could and should be rearranged.

The ANC proposed a capital gains tax to be introduced at a "reasonable

level", which they said would produce about R500m in revenue.

The overall tax burden should be between 30% and 33% of GDP. With the current tax burden about 23% of GDP and the budget deficit estimated to be at about 4.5%, "we are within a very limited framework", McMenamin said.

"Raising revenues by increasing taxes would not be prudent and would probably be destructive in relation to growth," he said.

The budget deficit should be kept at a reasonable level, within the IMF's proposals of between 2% and 4% of GDP.

The ANC noted an increase in public servants' wages from about 7% of GDP in 1980 to about 12% now, with notable jumps in salaries before elections. McMenamin said President F W de Klerk should be commended for not doing the same thing before the referendum.

The income generated by the elimination of apartheid duplication of departments would amount to about R3.7bn. This saving would not require a decrease in the overall number of public servants.

The food aid campaign should be aimed at pre- and primary school children and mothers with newly born children. The ANC recognised the cost would be substantial.

The ANC was not proposing that more be spent on education, but there should be more emphasis on primary education, with expenditure on primary education being increased from 47% to 60% of the allocation, secondary decreasing from 33% to 30% and tertiary being slashed from 20% to 10%. This rearrangement ought to be coupled with a system of user charges.

Comparative figures with other countries showed that SA was not achieving the standards it should, given the expenditure in the fields of education and health. Consequently, there was a great deal of room for improvement.

FW on Cabinet disclosures

By Brian Stuart
and Sapa

CAPE TOWN.— No point was served in the current political debate by "raking up" events in the Cabinet surrounding the resignation of Mr P W Botha in 1989, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

Responding to The Citizen inquiries about publication of the Cabinet

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FW on Cabinet notes

FROM PAGE 1

minutes, Mr De Klerk said the Cabinet meeting was subject to strict secrecy.

"It is disturbing that secrecy was broken in this case. Against this background, I am not prepared to go into detail," said Mr De Klerk.

"It is, however, of importance that all officers involved were convinced it was in the best interest of the country, as well as of Mr Botha himself, that at that stage, and at least for a while, he should not continue with his official duties.

"Namely, in such a case, I and all my colleagues attempted to see the greatest possible compromise, and there was concern about his health.

"The decision to resign was his own, and no limitations were placed on his making known his decision or the motivation.

"I do not believe that raking up this whole sensitive issue is truly relevant to the present political climate and the chal-

lenges of the future," Mr De Klerk added.

Dr Pieter Mulder, CP communications chief, said the publication of the Cabinet Minutes might make "interesting reading."

However, the announcement a week ago by Mr Botha that he would vote No in the referendum had had a bigger impact than the CP had expected. The new revelations might, therefore, also help some people in making up their minds.

The publication of the minutes had put Mr De Klerk in a precarious fight, Herstighe Nasionale Party leader, Mr Jaap Marais, said.

This was especially so because Mr De Klerk had told Mr Botha that he would not start negotiating with the African National Congress. Within months of Mr Botha's departure, however, Mr De Klerk had started negotiating with the ANC.

This shocking example of political immorality could be ascribed to Mr

De Klerk's reckless disregard of his own undertakings, which undermined the ethical basis of society, and deserved the strongest censure.

Mr Marais also said Mr De Klerk was incapable of adhering to a standpoint when he was pressurised.

"It is a trait of personal weakness, which is a clear disqualification for a head of government," said Mr Marais.

The publication of the details of the meeting highlighted the fact that the government could not be trusted on these issues.

Mr De Klerk's conduct amounted to an abuse of power which bordered on a coup.

Such a government could not expect the loyalty and respect of society, and a government which did not recognise society's moral and political prescriptions created the conditions for the destruction of these values.

"Mr De Klerk should, therefore, not complain if he is paid back in his own coin," said Mr Marais.

De Klerk's reforms likely to survive vote

Support weakens with recent violence

By GREG MYRE
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk should get 55% of the white vote in Tuesday's apartheid referendum, analysts say, but his support may be slipping.

De Klerk's entire reform process is at stake in the whites-only poll that asks if voters want to abolish apartheid. A recent surge in black political violence may persuade some whites to vote in favor of the pro-apartheid Conservative Party, which contends that de Klerk has lost control of the country.

"If we vote the one way, we'll have a civil war, and if we vote the other we'll have a black government, and that's the last thing I want," said Marjorie Smythe, an 81-year-old widow and the daughter of English immigrants. "I just don't know what to do."

Police on Sunday reported 13 people died in such unrest in the previous 24 hours, including five men whose hands were tied behind their backs and then shot to death. More than 200 blacks have died in unrest since de Klerk announced the referendum three weeks ago.

"What will happen if we send the wrong message to blacks?" de Klerk said as he wrapped up his campaign Saturday. "It will be

chaos, it will be a disaster."

The moderate Sunday Times, the country's largest circulation newspaper, quoted leaders of de Klerk's National Party as saying support has been slipping. If the referendum fails, some fear international repercussions, possibly including economic sanctions and the banning of South Africa from cultural and sports events.

If de Klerk wins, he will push ahead with his last major apartheid reform — negotiating a new constitution that will give full political rights to the 30 million blacks.

But if defeated, de Klerk says he will resign and call a whites-only election in which the Conservative Party would be favored.

Split blamed on pressure

President F.W. de Klerk's son and his mixed-race girlfriend have called off their engagement and broken up.

Erica Adams and Willem de Klerk, both 25, were living together in London and announced their engagement last year. The Sunday Times, quoting friends of the couple, said the relationship ended largely because of pressure from F.W. de Klerk and his wife, Marike.

□□□

The Chicago Tribune contributed to this article.

B. Day 16/3/92

Killarney feels it has little choice

THE Jewish population of Killarney, long regarded as one of the bastions of "northern suburbs white liberalism", is no pushover for a "yes" vote. As in so much of SA, soaring crime rates and uncertainty about the future have made the transition from liberal theories to a liberated reality increasingly difficult.

Most of Killarney will be voting "yes" in the referendum again, like so many other whites, they feel they have no choice. But their "yes" vote will not be a vote for President F W de Klerk, nor one for ANC president Nelson Mandela: it will be a vote for a future that is hard to conceive, and against a past that is morally repulsive.

Many Jewish voters complain about a lack of choice, and some said they would have considered voting for the CP if Andries Treurnicht's party had not been associated with the AWB.

"I don't want to vote for De Klerk, because that would be voting for Nelson Mandela," said Eva, who works in a household appliance shop. "But we can't vote 'no' because it means voting for those..." — she paused — "those Nazis".

Eva's acquaintance, a shopper who did not want to be named, agreed. "I feel I have to vote 'yes' even with my serious reservations, because it says in the papers that not to vote at all would be a vote for the AWB."

The two had little doubt about the ideological orientation of the CP. "They've come out and aligned themselves with that bunch of thugs. What we need is a real conservative party; at the moment we just have a choice of six of one and half a dozen of the other."

Berold Kahanovitz, a jeweller in Killarney Mall, said he would be voting "yes" because it was the only way to go — but chastised the media for conveying negative images of SA, battering consumer confidence and lowering faith in the "New SA".

He said there would be a sizeable minor-

REFERENDUM

The voters' mood

In the run-up to SA's most crucial vote, Business Day is taking the pulse of white voters in towns and cities across the country.

DARIUS SANAI spoke to people in the Johannesburg suburb of Killarney.

ity voting "no" in Killarney — mainly white immigrants from other African countries.

Dominique, a naturalised SA citizen of Belgian origin, came to SA from Zaire with her husband in the early '60s. She says she will vote "no" because she does not want a repeat of what happened in Zaire.

But she says she feels she is in the minority, even among immigrants of her age: "most of them feel a 'no' vote is a step backwards. But with an ANC government, it will be the end of SA."

Isabelle, another Francophone Belgian who fled Zaire, disagrees strongly. "I like living in SA," she says, "and things might become more difficult for people like me if the ANC comes to power. But who are we, the Europeans, to come to Africa and take the land from Africans and tell them what to do? It's enough, and it's come to an end. How do you think these Europeans would react if a bunch of black Africans came to Europe and took our land?"

Isabelle says she will stay in SA whatever happens. "If I'm voting here as if it's my country, then I'm staying here." She smiles ruefully. "It will turn out all right."

Report by D. Sanai, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

B. Day 16/3/92

**ANC links its
armed war to
white 'veto'**

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has told government its armed struggle will not be abandoned until a white veto — like this week's referendum — no longer presents a threat to constitutional change, say senior ANC sources.

They indicated at the weekend the armed struggle would not be abandoned until an interim government was in place and whites no longer had the ability to veto constitutional change. A shift in ANC military policy would only accompany an appropriate shift in the political arena.

ANC spokesmen have said black South Africans would mount an unprecedented offensive should the "no" vote prevail.

If there was a "yes" vote, and President F W de Klerk indicated his willingness to introduce rapid reforms, "this should be an indication that we are going to move forward and quickly", said a source in the ANC's legal department.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said at the weekend the ANC had been discussing "the whole question of the referendum".

She said the issue of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could only be resolved within the context of political and constitutional changes leading to an interim government and multiparty control of the security forces.

Report by P. Bulger, TML, 11 O'Connell St, JHB.

B. Day 16/3/92

Brando to portray Pik in new series on SA

Own Correspondent

LONDON — The Godfather star Marlon Brando is to play SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a mini-series based on the life of ANC president Nelson Mandela.

But, as Mail on Sunday columnist Nigel Dempster points out: "He may not exactly be flattered to see himself be played on screen by a man who weighs 127kg."

The series, Apartheid, is due to be filmed in SA early next year and stars US actor Sidney Poitier in the lead role. The 60-year-old film veteran also acted in the film version of Alan Paton's Cry the Beloved Country and The Wobey Conspiracy,

written by former SA journalist Peter Driscoll.

The impressive casting includes recently married Jane Fonda, who features as an Afrikaans-speaking liberal doctor, working in Soweto. Five-a-half years of research have been ploughed into the Hollywood project — with director-producer Jon Avnet at the helm.

But The Mail on Sunday reported yesterday that Avnet was concerned about Fonda's commitment to the series since

her marriage to conservative CNN boss Ted Turner. Dempster quotes Avnet: "If she doesn't do it, it's between Meryl Streep, or Glenn Close."

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday his department would not comment on speculation, but he suggested that Brando go on crash diet if he wanted to portray Botha accurately. The Minister weighs about 95kg.

It could not be established yesterday who Avnet had in mind to play President F W de Klerk, his predecessor P W Botha, or leaders of the liberation movements.

The Citizen 16/3/92

Myeni denies pact with AWB

SENIOR Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member, Mr Musa Myeni, yesterday denied having signed a non-aggression pact with Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

"It is misrepresentation, deliberate mischief-making by certain agents of the media, claiming that a pact was signed," he said.

"Nobody signed any-

thing; there was nothing to be signed."

Despite Mr Myeni's claims, the AWB's executive council issued a statement yesterday saying it respected the agreement. IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has repudiated the pact.

"The AWB and the Wenkommando remain by the undertaking and assure the Transvaal's management of Inkatha and their generals that the

non-aggression pact will be honoured by the AWB," said the council.

Chief Buthelezi on Friday immediately distanced himself and his party from the agreement when news of it was announced.

Chief Buthelezi later said the signing of the agreement was mischievous as Mr Myeni had not had a mandate for it. — Sapa.

The Citizen 16/3/92

'Whites can't snarl defiance at world'

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — White South Africans cannot "snarl defiance" at the rest of the world and at their fellow-South Africans, Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party leader, said in an appeal for a Yes vote tomorrow.

Dr De Beer said: "It is necessary to remind voters that the decision taken tomorrow will have nothing directly to do with crime, or unemployment or economic hardship.

"It is solely concerned with the process of negotiation towards a demo-

cratic South Africa. Yes means you want it. No means you don't.

"Yes is for people with the confidence and the courage to share our beautiful country with our own fellow-South Africans.

"No is for the frightened verkramptes who, sooner than share, will kick the 30 million South Africans who are not White in the teeth, and will snarl defiance at a world certain to become hostile as never before.

"Take your pick. In the end, your children and

grandchildren will judge you."

Dr De Beer said it was significant that the Yes appeal had come from almost all business leaders, sports people, artists and actors, as well as such political figures as State President De Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Sir De Villiers Graaff and such leading people as Mr Harry Oppenheimer.

"On the other hand, the No vote was backed by Dr Treurnicht, Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche and Mr Jaap Marais.

The Citizen 16/3/92

Close result likely

FROM PAGE 1

Selle, national communications director of the Democratic Party, there is no reliable national canvassing of voters on which firm predictions of tomorrow's outcome may be based.

"I would suggest that it is going to be close, and that some areas are going to prove to be the jokers in the pack — upsetting the predictions."

Also upsetting forecasts was that nobody knew the size of the potential grievance vote — those whose votes were not based on the referendum issue, but on crime, violence, poverty, squinting, Model C schools or other extraneous factors.

"You must remember too, that we are not used to fighting three-week campaigns," said Mr Selle.

Overall, he felt more confidence now than he did a week ago about a Yes vote. "But if we are to win the referendum, we have to draw large numbers of urban voters, who have most to lose if the whole reform process is halted."

Dr Corne Mulder, communications chief for the CP and former Professor of Communications at Potchefstroom University, said his academic background told him that a No campaign, backed with little money and opposed by the SABC and every newspaper, should draw no more than 10 percent of the national vote.

"It is a miracle that our little voice has been heard. Yet even the Press are now saying we have been effective and our message is getting across. Coming from those opposed to our No vote, that is the supreme compliment."

The CP, too, was more confident now than at the start of the short campaign. Dr Mulder said there were so many factors at play in the referendum that predicting the result would be hazardous.

"I think what has happened is that, unexpectedly, people have been compelled to make a choice. A lot of them

have done so and decided in on our side. There might just be a surprise — either way."

While the political parties have become increasingly nervous about the result, most observers are forecasting a Yes majority, but they differ as to whether this will be a knife-edge decision or the 60-40 result expected a mere three weeks ago.

Most forecasts give the No vote a majority in Transvaal outside of Johannesburg. In the Free State, however, both the Yes and No campaigners are looking for victory. The NP and CP each hold seven of the province's 14 House of Assembly seats.

The two Natal regions are both expected to return majority Yes votes, and anything else would be regarded as a major political upset.

In the Cape, the CP holds the constituencies of Kuruman, which is in the Kimberley region, and Uitenhage, in the Port Elizabeth region.

The Kimberley region may well swing to a No majority, but it holds a mere 71 150 voters. The George region, with 65 741 voters, is expected to return a Yes vote, while there is some argument over the country's smallest region, Beaufort West, with only 36 809 voters.

By province, the number of eligible voters are: Transvaal 1 769 354, Cape 882 796, Natal 382 373 and Free State 244 780, with a total of 3 279 303.

However, a 76 percent poll, representing 2 492 270 voters, is widely seen as likely, given the fact that in a referendum there are no visible local candidates and little house-to-house canvassing.

A higher percentage poll should, according to political observers, favour a majority Yes vote.

If there is to be a higher percentage poll, it would have to take place in the major urban areas of Pretoria (560 896 voters), Johannesburg (492 217), Cape Town (471 705), Germiston (310 233), Roodepoort (307 100) and Durban (274 382).

These figures indicate just how vital the Transvaal urban result is to the outcome of the referendum.

Pretoria region includes 23 constituencies, of which 13 are held by the CP and 10 by the NP.

The CP seats are: Barberton, Bethal, Brits, Delmas, Ermelo, Hor-cules, Middelburg, Pretoria West, Roodepoort,

Rustenburg, Standerton, Witbank and Wonderboom.

The NP seats are: Gqeza, Innesdal, Koox-paort, Nelspruit, Pretoria Central, Pretoria East, Kinnik, Sunnyside, Verwoerdtburg and Waterkloof.

Johannesburg region comprises 21 constituencies, of which nine are held by the DP, 10 by the NP and two by the CP. So, should there be a pro-CP swing, it would show here.

The CP seats are those of Meyerod and Over-

vaal.

The NP seats are: Alberton, Jap-pa, Johannesburg West, Langlaagte, Randburg, Rosettenville, Tarrfontein, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging and Westdene.

The DP holds Benuldenhout, Bryanston, Hill-brow, Houghton, Johannesburg North, North Rand, Parktown, Sand-ton and Yeoville.

A National Party organizer, asked to make a forecast, quipped: "I cannot make a bet — I'm far too busy holding thumbs."

THE TIMES MONDAY MARCH 16 1992

—London

National party alarm bells ring

Fear of close result confronts de Klerk

FROM GAVIN BELL
IN JOHANNESBURG

EARLY optimism that white voters will endorse President de Klerk's reform initiatives by a substantial majority in tomorrow's referendum has been dissipated as polling day approaches, raising the prospect of a close result. There are even fears that those voting "no" will carry the day, giving victory to the Conservative party and its campaign for a return to apartheid.

Alarm bells began ringing for the National party at the weekend when canvass returns showed that all of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, excepting Johannesburg, are in the "no" camp. The surge of opposition leaves Mr de Klerk with barely an even chance of winning a mandate to pursue negotiations with black leaders on the framework of a multiracial democracy.

Party officials concede they are likely to lose the Pretoria region because of defections by civil servants and the security forces. They also expect the "no" vote in the Free State to be at least 60 per cent.

The Nationalists are relying on a massive turn-out of liberal voters in Johannesburg, Natal and the Cape, where the fickle loyalties of English-speakers will be crucial. A Conservative party official said: "The crunch is

THE REFERENDUM

□ Who can vote: 3.28 million white citizens, aged 18 and over, 60 per cent Afrikaans-speaking, 40 per cent English speaking.

□ The question: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the state president began on February 2, 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

□ What is at stake: de Klerk wants a "yes" majority to allow his government to continue reform talks with black opposition groups; creation of a non-racial democracy that would grant the black majority a vote for the first time; and strong constitutional protection for the white minority.

among English voters, and we are making big inroads." While outspending the Conservatives five to one in publicity, the government has been undermined by intensive opposition doorstep canvassing. Right-wing meetings advertised by word of mouth are easily the best attended.

Conservative speakers exploit racial fears by focusing on the *swart gevaar* (black peril), and the alliance between the African National Congress and the Communist party. Audiences are responding. Economic recession,

soaring crime, and political violence in black communities are all being used to discredit the government.

An unprecedented unity among disparate right-wing forces has brought to the fore neo-Nazi militants such as the Afrikaner Resistance Movement. The paramilitary group has emerged as a standard-bearer of the mainstream right wing, its leaders lauded as the heroes of the struggle against black majority rule.

Officially, Mr de Klerk remains optimistic that whites will appreciate that there is no viable alternative to sharing power with the black majority. "I am confident and I don't have nightmares," he said at the weekend. "Everywhere I go I meet enthusiastic and motivated people who want to vote 'yes'. We are bringing home to the electorate that a 'no' vote would be suicidal."

He said he believed voters realised that the referendum was a final turning-point in South African history. "This is the moment of truth. I have presented whites with a crucial choice which should preclude them from voting according to their general grievances or minor fancies. The stakes are just too high."

Whites' wall fails to shut out reality

By GAVIN BELL

FOR Nicolene Pieterse, the last straw was when a neighbouring municipality allowed thousands of blacks from an overcrowded township to set up a squatter camp on open ground near her home. The sprawl of makeshift zinc and plasterboard huts has spread to within 100 yards of her modern bungalow, with its trim lawn and rose-covered trellis, and she does not like it.

"I don't believe what the government says any more. At the last election in 1989, they said there would be mixed areas, but we could keep our own schools and residential areas if we wanted to. Now they tell us we must share everything with the blacks, but I tell you, it's not going to happen that way."

Mrs Pieterse is one of many traditional National party supporters who will vote "no" in tomorrow's referendum on constitutional reforms because she insists that whites should have the right to live, study and amuse themselves in areas from which blacks are excluded. In response to a residents' petition, the municipality of Brakpan put a 6ft concrete wall around Mrs Pieterse's suburb to shield it from the encroaching black settlement.

The grey wall, which snakes for several miles around Dalpark, is more of a statement than an effective barrier, since there are many

gaps where the concrete slabs have fallen or been removed. A path has been worn through the veld to one of the gaps by blacks walking to pick up minibus taxis to travel to work in the town.

"This used to be a quiet, peaceful area, and now my children aren't safe in the streets any more," she said. "I'm always afraid they will be killed by one of these taxis or abducted by a black."

Around the corner, the Dixon family is divided by the referendum. Leslie, a boiler-maker aged 24, said he accepted he had to work with blacks, but he did not want to live with them. "We must have black people to work for us, but they should live in their own areas. I will definitely vote 'no'," he said.

Maria, his mother, interrupted: "Black people have as much right to this country as we have. They were here first, remember. The government had a difficult choice to make, but it made the right one. We can't turn back now, we've got to look forward." Pointing to a neat bungalow across the road, she said: "There's a black family living there. They're good, decent people. What is the right wing going to do with them, throw them out? If the Conservatives win, what do you think will happen? The black people are going to hate us so much, we'll have a war."

The Times
16/3/92
London

travel the rest of this journey
If they are not, heaven help us all.

IFP central committee member Musa Myeni seems to believe in the ancient Arabic aphorism that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend".

This is the only way to explain a bizarre "non-aggression pact" he signed ostensibly on behalf of the IFP with the neo-Nazi and fiercely anti-ANC Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging of Eugene TerreBlanche.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has acted with commendable swiftness to repudiate Myeni and dispel the notion that his party is flirting with the troglodytes on the far Right.

We also welcome his rejection of the Conservative Party's policies and his support for a "yes" vote in tomorrow's referendum.

It is necessary, however, to warn about the foolishness of consorting with parties whose aim is not the "self-determination" of whites but the perpetual subjugation of blacks.

The danger is that if Treurnicht and TerreBlanche should seize power in South Africa (heaven forbid!), the Myenis and Bishop Mokoenas of this world will have to share culpability for the bloodshed that is bound to follow.

nav

TOMORROW'S white referendum tured the Imas: South Africans International o has drawn cauti responses from and an ambiva from the ANC.

Dr Andri Treu misgivings about mulated, as well as accorded to the ri paining.

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The Star 16/3/92

Bloody weekend kills 40_X

Staff Reporters

Brutal slayings made for a bloody weekend on the Reef and the orgy of pre-referendum violence continued today.

At least one person was killed and several others injured in sporadic shooting in Alexandra township today. A spokesman for the Alexandra Clinic said the victim died of gunshot wounds at about 9.30 am.

An Alexandra resident told The Star the shooting started at about 9 am near the Madala Hostel as people were boarding taxis. He said

shots were fired from the windows of the hostel.

"When the police arrived, the people in the windows shot at them," he said. "I can still hear gunfire."

Residents in Meadowlands, Soweto, awoke in a war zone today, with hostel-dwellers running amok, firing in all directions.

A member of the Internal Stabilisation Unit, Constable David Bester, was shot while patrolling near the Sputnik Garage at about 7.30 am. He was injured in the shoulder.

At least two hand grenade attacks in Meadowlands early today left eight people,

including three journalists, injured.

Two people were shot and wounded. Victoria Skhaidy (32), from Zone 1, Meadowlands, was shot in the back and taken to Baragwanath Hospital. Residents claimed she had been shot by police.

A child from Meadowlands Hostel is also believed to have been shot.

A large contingent of police and SADF personnel — in 25 armoured vehicles — stood between the hostel and the township.

Feelings ran high as the

● To Page 3 ■

40 killed in weekend_X of violent bloodshed

● From Page 1

warring factions each vowed to get the other. The situation remained tense as people stayed away from school and work.

Transport was disrupted as youths from Meadowlands diverted taxis and private vehicles to alternative routes.

Hostel dwellers blamed the Meadowlands and neighbouring Killarney area of Soweto for the violence, accusing youths of preventing them from going to work.

Youths from the hos-

tels threatened television cameramen and photographers, and stopped them taking pictures.

Last night, gunmen burst into a backyard shebeen in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, at about 9.15 pm, spraying patrons with gunfire.

Police said one man stood guard at the front gate of the property, while another five went to the backyard shebeen where, standing in the entrance, they sprayed AK-47 gunfire.

The attack brought the death toll from a weekend of bloodshed to more than 40.

① The Citizen 16/3/92

POLL RESULT MAY BE CLOSE

Pretoria, Jo'burg
may be decisive

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — A huge "lie factor" or stay-away may upset all predictions of the outcome of the referendum, according to the political parties which for three weeks have been wooing the 3.2 million Whites entitled to vote tomorrow.

Organisers in all three parties say the national result is unpredictable. All sum up their feelings in a single word: "Close".

The battle over whether South African Whites agree to a non-racial future or want a return to separation may well be decided in the two largest regions — Pretoria and Johannesburg, which between them have more than one million voters.

All three parties involved in the campaign, the National Party, Conservative Party and Democratic Party, expect a No vote from the Pretoria region and a Yes vote from Johannesburg.

The size of the majorities, or any swing in allegiances here, could upset the result.

According to Mr James

TO PAGE 2

The Star 16/3/92

Newsmen hurt in explosion

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Three newsmen, including photographer Joao Silva of The Star, were injured by shrapnel in Meadowlands, Soweto, this morning when a grenade was lobbed at their car.

Two unidentified boys, aged 11 and 16, were also hurt in the grenade attack which occurred in front of house 64. They were taken to Baragwanath Hospital but were not badly hurt, said a hospital spokesman.

Silva said he and the

● To Page 3

3 newsmen injured in grenade attack

● From Page 1

others were attacked at about 8.30 am at the scene of an earlier shooting in which a policeman was injured.

The atmosphere in Meadowlands this morning was electric, with throngs of residents roaming the streets and watching for a sign of attack from the Mzimhlope hostel.

The day dawned to gunshot fire in this troubled area of Soweto.

Hostel dwellers and residents alike claimed they had been the victims of an early morning

attack. In Meadowlands Zone 1 a house was allegedly bombed at about 3 am.

Describing the grenade attack, Silva said: "We were about to leave the place where the policeman had been shot when a grenade was lobbed at the car."

The other newsmen injured were members of a Visnews television crew, Geoff Chiltern and Dinkie Mkhize. Chiltern suffered a head wound, while Mkhize was hurt in the back and on the back of his legs. Silva's arm was injured.

The Star 16/3/92

Monitors watch trains for signs of violence

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Monitors from Peace Action, accompanied by a fact-finding team from the International Commission of Jurists, appeared on Soweto station platforms before dawn this morning, keeping a watchful eye for any sign of weapons among those boarding trains.

About 30 members of the monitoring group targeted four stations — New Canada, Mzimhlope, Phefeni and Mlamlan-

kunzi — in a bid to find clues to the persistent and deadly attacks on commuters.

While Soweto seethed with violence, the stations monitored were peaceful on the eve of the referendum.

There were army patrols at all four — and at New Canada policemen boarded trains and travelled towards town.

Peace Action spokesman Venetia Govender said only one of the monitors caught sight of a weapon.

This happened as a train drew into New Canada station; a passenger already aboard was seen to be carrying a panga.

Police and army searches of commuters were not exhaustive, monitors said.

But clearly anyone reaching the platform via the official route ran the risk of a search. At Phefeni it became clear that a small number of commuters avoided the formal entrance points and reached platforms

by climbing the fences and walking along the tracks.

The International Commission of Jurists team, comprising British barrister John McDonald QC, Swedish attorney Christian Ahlund, former Zimbabwean Chief Justice Enoch Dumbutshena (now an Appeal Court judge in Namibia) and Ghanaian lawyer Philip Amoah, is conducting a wide-ranging investigation of political violence at the request of Lawyers for Human Rights.

Apartheid's moment of truth arrives

South African whites will vote Tuesday to speed change. If not, the president will quit and the nation could slide toward revolution.

At first glance, Tuesday's referendum in South Africa is stating the obvious: What alternatives are open to South Africa as a whole, let alone the whites?

To go back to apartheid? This is not only unthinkable and unacceptable but, more importantly, impossible. The majority of the population would not accept it.



By Harry Schwarz, South Africa's ambassador to the United States.

To maintain the present position? This is equally impossible, as the country is in a state of transition and to remain indefinitely in uncertainty and flux is not an option capable of implementation.

To change not by negotiation but by revolution or coup d'etat? Surely, to achieve by negotiation what is desirable, necessary and unavoidable is better than to plunge a country into conflict and turn it into a wasteland to no one's benefit.

The negotiation option is therefore not only the obvious, but also in reality the only one. If this is so, why a referendum, and one of whites only?

President F.W. de Klerk was voted into office by a white

electorate, but the right-wing Conservative Party not only has disputed his mandate to negotiate but also has opposed every action on his part to repeal

apartheid laws. It has won a number of by-elections for parliamentary vacancies, defeating National Party candidates. It has therefore challenged the president's right to speak for or negotiate on behalf of white South Africans.

The referendum is designed to demonstrate that President de Klerk has a mandate to continue the negotiations and to demonstrate to the rest of South Africa that whites support the establishment of a non-racial democratic government free of apartheid and in which human rights for all are protected. It also will demonstrate this to the world.

The referendum is not about the terms of a new constitution or an interim or transitional government, nor is it a kind of white veto. It is to establish a mandate and demonstrate the intention of a section of the South African population. Nor is the referendum an election.

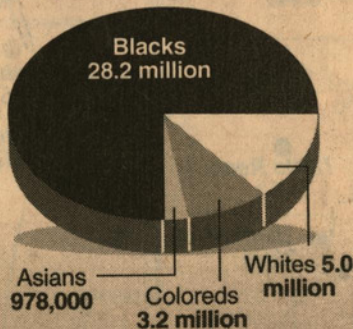
The referendum was called with very short notice in an effort to end uncertainty and not interfere with the continuation of plenary negotiations scheduled for the near future. The president does not want the negotiation process delayed. Even while the campaign has been going on, committees of

Racial divisions in South Africa



AP

Population



Annual per capita income



Source: Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc., South African Institute of Race Relations

negotiators have continued to meet and very significant progress has been made.

If the outcome of the referendum is a majority for President de Klerk, then the process will go full steam ahead and with a reinforced mandate. The reactionary white ele-

ments will find the ground cut away from under them and they will either have to join the negotiation process or become increasingly irrelevant.

If the vote is no, then South Africa will enter a different

era. The president has stated he will resign. A variety of alternative possibilities will then present themselves — a new state president from the National Party ranks, a new form of coalition government, or a white election, among others.

One thing is certain, however: The process toward a democratic government is irreversible. A "no" vote would be an unfortunate obstacle.

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY

There is no way the country would or could go back to apartheid. The kind of partition of South Africa proposed by the advocates of a "no" vote is impractical. The process toward democracy could go on, but with further difficulties added to what is, in any event, not an easy process.

I am optimistic that the president will obtain his mandate. But it should be remembered that while the question to be answered by white voters is a straightforward one, the issue is obscured by many factors.

The economic position is poor, unemployment is high (42% of the workforce), infla-

tion is at 16%, the country is in the grip of a massive drought and crime is at unprecedented and unacceptably high levels. Many whites will decide how they will vote not only because of fear of the unknown but protesting against these factors.

I have always argued and history has proved political change is easier in good rather than poor economic and social conditions. Despite this, I think the "yes" vote will succeed.

What do black South Africans think of the referendum in which they are bystanders?

Nelson Mandela says the African National Congress is opposed to an ethnic referendum and that no group, white or black, has the right to veto the decision of the majority of the people. But he adds:

"However, we do not want to put Mr. de Klerk at a disadvantage. He faces a powerful party and we must not underesti-

mate the Conservatives. Therefore, while we reject an ethnic referendum, we are not disinterested in what is happening in white politics."

He has appealed to whites, in his words, to use their last opportunity to vote by minority wisely and reasonably and not to do anything to interfere with the process of democratization.

This referendum is important for white South Africans not only to give a mandate for negotiation to the president, but also, if not more importantly, it is the opportunity for them to tell their fellow black citizens that they are going willingly into a process in which they will come out no longer privileged but secure, and as a part of a democratic country able to take its place with other democracies and accepted as such by the world.

①

Just a beginning for nation-building

**For blacks, the hardest work is ahead
and requires U.S. friendship and support.**

The white electorate of South Africa will decide Tuesday whether it wishes to join with us, the black majority, in building a democracy on the ashes of apartheid. We hope this referendum will be the last whites-only vote and that we who have been voiceless for so long will finally have a voice in determining who shall govern South Africa.

The referendum will clear the way for the hard work of dismantling the political and administrative structures of apartheid — like 16 separate departments of health to serve 16 individual racial categories.

Then we must begin the even harder work of designing new government institutions that respond to the long-unmet needs of the black community.

This new government will face immensely difficult problems: How to provide adequate housing, health care and education for those whom apartheid has shortchanged. It will need to devise imaginative policies to create jobs and for wealth to be shared fairly rather than reserved for a small, privileged group. None of this will be easy. And people will be impatient; they have waited so long!

Under apartheid, blacks were denied access to the health-care system which serves whites and essentially prevented from training their own health professionals. There are only 1,000 black doctors for 30 million blacks. Infant mortality is seven times that of whites; preventable diseases such as typhoid are widespread; 300 people a day become infected with AIDS.

There is fear that those who now rule South Africa believe they can give the trappings of political power to the black majority without actually giving anything away — that they will retain real power through control of the economy. There is great need, therefore, to work for authentic, far-reaching, fundamental change. Otherwise, many people may become so disenchanted that the violence now racking our country will spin totally out of control.

We blacks thank our American friends who have stood beside us through the long struggle. We hope you will remain steadfast in your friendship and support as we learn the skills of governing and of managing our own lives.



By Nthato Motlana, a long-time anti-apartheid activist, Soweto physician and South African chairman of Medical Education for South African Blacks.

► De Klerk has slim edge, 4A

92

16-03-92

STAR - 16 March 1992

Diehard Progs will back Nats

By Jacqueline Myburgh

Nobody is certain who coined the phrase, but these words were used to describe the liberals of Johannesburg's northern suburbs: "They talk Prog, they vote UP, but they thank God the Nationalists are in power."

The turnabout in NP policy, however, has meant even diehard liberals will find themselves voting in support of the party that used to be anathema to them.

Corinne Evans, a member of the PFP/DP since 1975 is working in the DP offices, helping co-ordinate voting.

"I hate working with the Nats," she said. "But the issue is too big to let

your personal views come into it at all."

She said years ago a Nat told her they would vote together one day.

"I said: 'Over my dead body'. Now if we don't vote together it will be over all of our dead bodies," she said.

Reuben Ashington, formerly an active supporter of the UP, the Progressive Party, and now the DP, insists nobody should think he is voting for the NP. "In this case, I am voting for my country," he said.

Jules Browde, Senior Counsel at the Johannesburg Bar, said voting "yes" in the referendum posed no dilemma.

(Report by J Myburgh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Modise warning

LUSAKA — The ANC would have to resume its fight against apartheid if there were a majority "no" vote in the referendum. Umkontho we Sizwe commander Joe Modise said at a Frontline summit in Lusaka at the weekend. Frontline leaders reaffirmed their support for SA liberation movements and appealed for patriotic-front unity between the ANC and PAC.

De Klerk clarifies presidency issue

Political Staff

President de Klerk last night protested that he had been "misrepresented" in newspaper headlines which declared he was prepared to serve under Nelson Mandela if the ANC leader became president.

In an interview on SABC's TV1 programme "Agenda", Mr de Klerk said he had set a string of preconditions, subject to which he would be prepared to serve any person holding the position of president:

- That the constitution should provide for power-sharing.
- That a presidency should be established in which the office of president would be rotated.
- That such a presidency should reach decisions on the basis of consensus.
- That no person within the presidency should hold as much power as he did at present.

(Report by J Collinge, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Driving for "yes" votes . . . Johannesburg municipal buses have entered into the spirit of the referendum.

CP sanctions propaganda blasted

Chamber of Mines chief executive Tom Main yesterday denounced Conservative Party efforts to use his views on sanctions to persuade South Africans to vote "no" in the referendum.

According to a chamber statement yesterday, Referendum 92, a CP pamphlet, wrongly identified Mr Main as a former chairman of the chamber and quoted him as saying: "It is not sanctions which do us damage, but the threat of sanctions. We have the minerals the rest of the world wants. Why should we be sanctioned?"

Mr Main said the words attributed to him by the CP were not altogether correct and had been used in the wrong context.

"Presented as they are, without placing them in the wider

context in which they were uttered, the words appear to suggest that I, and by implication the mining industry, have scant regard for the damaging effects of sanctions. This is not true," Mr Main said.

Sanctions, particularly financial sanctions which had done incalculable harm to South Africa's economy, had been vigorously opposed by both himself and the mining industry.

"The mining industry, too, has been damaged by the international community's adoption of a trade embargo against SA. Some 10 000 jobs were lost in the coal mining industry as a direct result of sanctions and that is why the industry worked so hard to have them lifted.

"The ban on the importation of Krugerrands by most coun-

tries around the world also had an inhibiting effect on South Africa's ability to add value to gold exports."

Mr Main said developments in the former Soviet Union could now facilitate the availability of strategic minerals which in the past — in spite of sanctions — the Western democracies had relied on South Africa to provide.

This made it even more vital to ensure the country did not backtrack into a political environment that would prompt the rest of the world to reimpose sanctions — a move that would almost certainly include strategic minerals and prove to be far more destructive than the previous embargo. — Sapa.

(Report by S Thomas, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

Scare tactics condemned

Political Staff

The use of communist scare tactics by "no" vote campaigners has been condemned by South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane.

"What these speakers are actually saying is that movement away from apartheid and toward a democratic South Africa is an 'anti-God' movement," Mr Chikane said.

"Nothing could be further from the truth," he argued. "Movement toward a non racial democratic South Africa is movement toward — not away from — where God wants us. A just God calls us to move towards justice and peace."

Mr Chikane said the SACC believed there were indications

Picture: George Mashinini

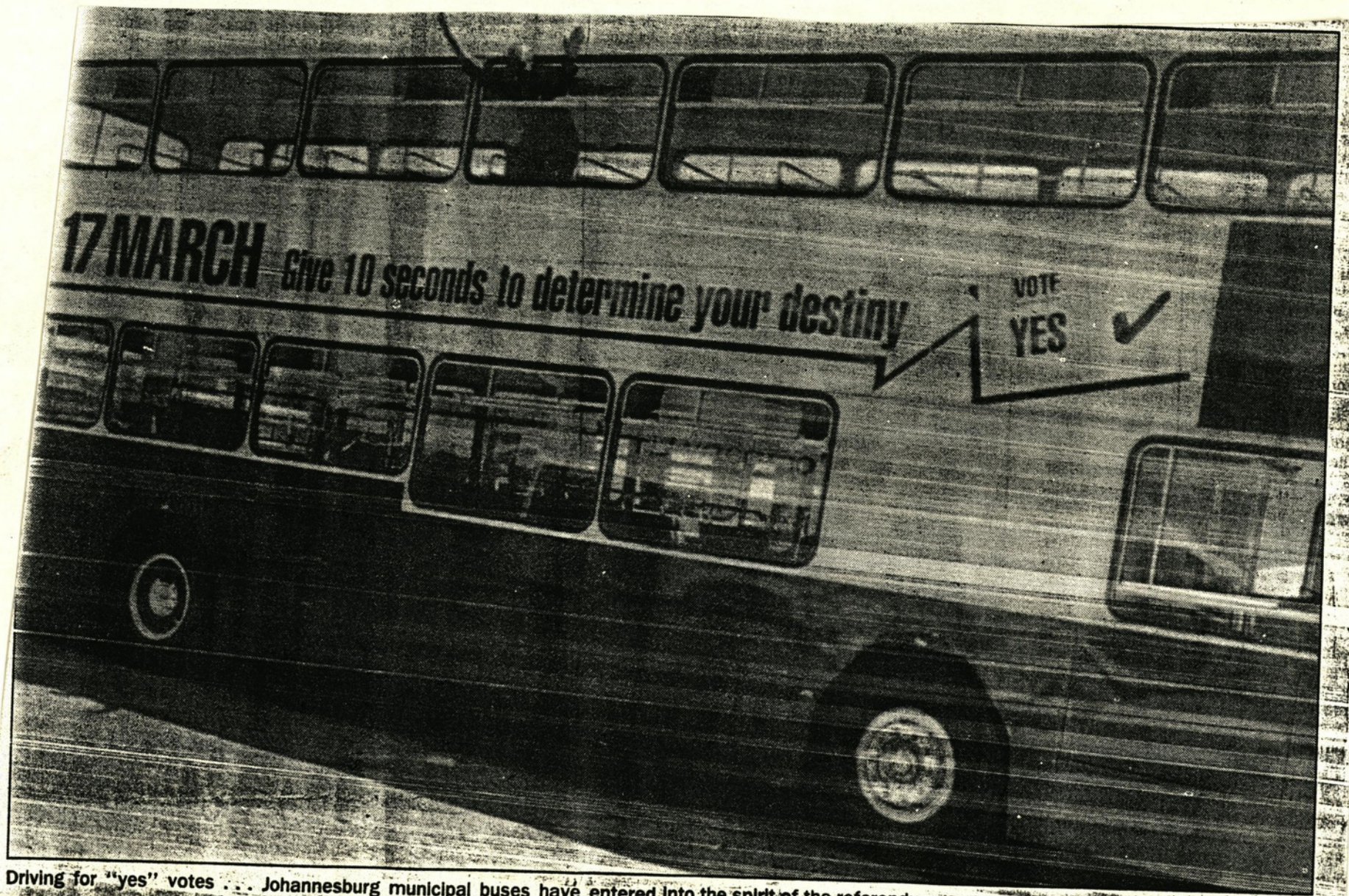
that there would be freedom of religion in South Africa under a democratic government.

But the SACC was not content to leave this in the hands of politicians. It was participating fully in an interfaith project co-ordinated by the World Conference on Religion and Peace "to draw up a charter of religious freedoms and responsibilities for the future".

"We are standing firmly not only for freedom of religion but also against abuses perpetrated under the guise of a 'Christian nation'," he said.

Whatever the outcome of the referendum, the SACC would continue to call on all South Africans "to say 'no' to racism, misery and death and 'yes' to a new order of justice and peace".

(Report by J Collinge, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)



Driving for "yes" votes . . . Johannesburg municipal buses have entered into the spirit of the referendum.

Picture: George Mashinini

16-03-92

POLL RESULT MAY BE CLOSE

Citizen 16 March 1992

Pretoria, Jo'burg may be decisive

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — A huge "lie factor" or stay-away may upset all predictions of the outcome of the referendum, according to the political parties which for three weeks have been wooing the 3.2 million Whites entitled to vote tomorrow.

Organisers in all three parties say the national result is unpredictable. All sum up their feelings in a single word: "Close".

The battle over whether South African Whites agree to a non-racial future or want a return to separation may well be decided in the two largest regions — Pretoria and Johannesburg, which between them have more than one million voters.

All three parties involved in the campaign,

the National Party, Conservative Party and Democratic Party, expect a No vote from the Pretoria region and a Yes vote from Johannesburg.

The size of the majorities, or any swing in allegiances here, could upset the result.

According to Mr James

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Selfe, national communications director of the Democratic Party, there is no reliable national canvassing of voters on which firm predictions of tomorrow's outcome may be based.

"I would suggest that it is going to be close, and that some areas are going to prove to be the jokers in the pack — upsetting the predictions."

Also upsetting forecasts was that nobody

knew the size of the potential grievance vote — those whose votes were not based on the referendum issue, but on crime, violence, poverty, squatting, Model C schools or other extraneous factors.

"You must remember too, that we are not used to fighting three-week campaigns," said Mr Selfe.

Overall, he felt more confidence now than he did a week ago about a Yes vote. "But if we are to win the referendum, we have to draw large numbers of urban voters, who have most to lose if the whole reform process is halted."

Dr Corne Mulder, communications chief for the CP and former Professor of Communications at Potchefstroom University, said his academic background told him that a No campaign, backed with little money and opposed by the SABC and

every newspaper, should draw no more than 10 percent of the national vote.

"It is a miracle that our little voice has been heard. Yet even the Press are now saying we have been effective and our message is getting across. Coming from those opposed to our No vote, that is the supreme complement."

The CP, too, was more confident now than at the start of the short campaign. Dr Mulder said there were so many factors at play in the referendum that predicting the result would be hazardous.

"I think what has happened is that, unexpectedly, people have been compelled to make a choice. A lot of them

have done so and decided in on our side. There might just be a surprise — either way."

While the political parties have become increasingly nervous about the result, most observers are forecasting a Yes majority, but they differ as to whether this will be a knife-edge decision or the 60-40 result expected a mere three weeks ago.

Most forecasts give the No vote a majority in Transvaal outside of Johannesburg. In the Free State, however, both the Yes and No campaigners are looking for victory. The NP and CP each hold seven of the province's 14 House of Assembly seats.

The two Natal regions are both expected to return majority Yes votes, and anything else would be regarded as a major political upset.

In the Cape, the CP holds the constituencies

of Kuruman, which is in the Kimberley region, and Uitenhage, in the Port Elizabeth region.

The Kimberley region may well swing to a No majority, but it holds a mere 71 150 voters. The George region, with 63 741 voters, is expected to return a Yes vote, while there is some argument over the country's smallest region, Beaufort West, with only 36 809 votes.

By province, the number of eligible voters are: Transvaal 1 769 354, Cape 882 796, Natal 382 373 and Free State 244 780, with a total of 3 279 303.

However, a 76 percent poll, representing 2 492 270 voters, is widely seen as likely, given the fact that in a referendum there are no visible local candidates and little house-to-house canvassing.

A higher percentage poll should, according to political observers, favour a majority Yes vote.

If there is to be a higher percentage poll, it would have to take place in the major urban areas of Pretoria (560 896 voters), Johannesburg (492 217), Cape Town (471 705), Germiston (310 233), Roodepoort (307 100) and Durban (274 382).

These figures indicate just how vital the Transvaal urban result is to the outcome of the referendum.

Pretoria region includes 23 constituencies, of which 13 are held by the CP and 10 by the NP.

The CP seats are: Barberton, Bethal, Brits, Delmas, Ermelo, Hercules, Middelburg, Pretoria West, Roodeplaat,

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Close result likely

Rustenburg, Standerton, Witbank and Wonderboom.

The NP seats are: Gezina, Innesdal, Koedoespoort, Nelspruit, Pretoria Central, Pretoria East, Rissik, Sunnyside, Verwoerdburg and Waterkloof.

Johannesburg region comprises 21 constituencies, of which nine are held by the DP, 10 by the NP and two by the CP. So, should there be a pro-CP swing, it would show here.

The CP seats are those of Meyerton and Over-

vaal.

The NP seats are Alberton, Jeppe, Johannesburg West, Langlaagte, Randburg, Rosettenville, Turffontein, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging and Westdene.

The DP holds Bezuidenhout, Bryanston, Hillbrow, Houghton, Johannesburg North, North Rand, Parktown, Sandton and Yeoville.

A National Party organiser, asked to make a forecast, quipped: "I cannot make a bet — I'm far too busy holding thumbs."

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

ELECTION '92 S. Africans agonize over

Nation's
future
at stake

By Chris Erasmus
Special for USA TODAY

STELLENBOSCH, South Africa — South Africa's 3.3 million voting whites go to the polls Tuesday, players in a political watershed that could shape the destiny of their nation for generations.

The referendum — it might be the last whites-only poll in this country's turbulent history — will tally the fundamental division between:

► Those who fear black rule and see themselves as racially superior to blacks.

► Those who seek peace between the races, based on recognition of equality.

Across this politically divided land, Afrikaners are examining their long-cherished prejudices and making a decision that will seal not only their fates, but those of their children and grandchildren.

It tears at the very heart of these people, the Afrikaans-speaking descendants of the first Dutch settlers, who are almost 60% of South Africa's 5-million white community.



Agence France-Presse

KEEPING GUARD: South African police drive supporters of the conservative Inkatha Freedom Party into a hostel in an attempt to prevent attacks after a funeral of a party member.

"My head tells me to support (President F.W.) de Klerk but my heart says 'no,'" said Sarah Burgh, who summed up the dilemma facing many of South Africa's 3.3-million white Afrikaners.

De Klerk has asked whites to vote "yes" on the question of whether he should continue anti-apartheid reforms and eventually negotiate a new constitution that shares power with majority blacks.

A "no" vote would bring a new parliamentary election, de Klerk has vowed.

That would likely usher in a Conservative Party majority and retain apartheid as an essential element of South African life.

Political analysts predict a narrow win for de Klerk: perhaps just two percentage points more than the 50% needed.

"I don't want to be swamped by the blacks and I don't like what's happened to this country, with all the crime and violence," said Burgh, 60, who'll vote "yes" on Tuesday.



By Walter Dhladhl, Agence France-Presse
SUPPORT: South African President F.W. de Klerk holds his grandson at a rally organized by supporters of Tuesday's referendum.

"And I don't know what's going to happen to us, to my family and my grandchildren and maybe that's the worst feeling of all," Burgh said.

For most Afrikaners, it

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By Adil Bradlow, AP

TEMPERS FLARE: Police and angry farmers confront each other in the conservative town of Nylstroom where President F.W. de Klerk was campaigning for his apartheid referendum.

seems, the whole idea of voting "yes" in the referendum — giving reformist de Klerk the green light he needs to negotiate a new constitution with the country's 29 million blacks — stands in sharp opposition to all they've stood for.

But many also realize the disaster that faces them should Andries Treurnicht and his pro-apartheid Conservative Party obtain a "no" majority in the referendum.

Most likely, Conservatives would go on to wrestle control of the South African government from de Klerk and his more moderate Nationalists.

And that would bring violence and international condemnation.

Already the United States, Britain and several European governments have issued dire warnings that a return to neo-apartheid policies as espoused by the Conservatives would

trigger a wave of international condemnation and sanctions.

"Actually, the truth is that we still believe in the same things we always did — it's de Klerk and the Nationalists who have changed, not us," said third-year University of Stellenbosch business student Leon Lubbe, who will vote "no." The 21-year-old from George, a rich farming district in the eastern Cape province, has never cast a vote for any party but the Conservatives.

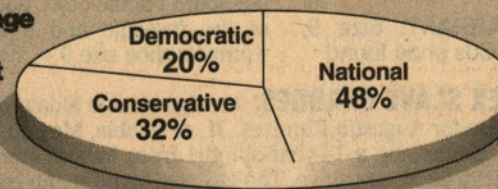
"Personally I understand the need to change, to negotiate with the blacks and to come to some settlement. I think a lot of Conservative-minded people also understand that, even if they don't like the idea much.

"The problem is that de Klerk seems to be going much too fast, giving everything away to (black leader Nelson) Mandela and his communist allies. It's very frighten-

Referendum on blacks

President F.W. deKlerk has called a Tuesday referendum on continuing his policy of reforms and talks with South Africa's black majority. The referendum, like elections for the country's ruling parliament, is for whites only.

Percentage of vote from last general election



How they stand on the referendum

| | |
|--------------------|-----|
| National Party | Yes |
| Conservative Party | No |
| Democratic Party | Yes |

Source: USA TODAY research; Congressional Research Service; Investor Responsibility Research Center Inc.

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

ing, especially to the older people who were told for decades that Mandela and the communists were their greatest enemy."

Stellenbosch is a picturesque university town about 30 miles east of Cape Town where throngs of casually dressed students and rows of huge, ancient oaks on almost every street create a serene image that belies the political turmoil among many Afrikaner residents.

It is symbolic of the Afrikaner heartland. It's the home of some of the greatest sons of this white tribe of Africa, of the founding fathers of the now-defeated apartheid ideology and of many of those who have lately come to the fore as reformers of this racist system.

It is considered the intellectual seat of Afrikanerdom. As such what happens in Stellenbosch is seen as of great significance for Afrikaners across

the length and breadth of South Africa. The town was chosen by de Klerk as the starting point for his whistle-stop tour to drum up a "yes" vote.

"I don't like (African National Congress President Nelson) Mandela and I don't trust him or his organization," said Burgh, "so I don't like President de Klerk negotiating away my future with him."

Mandela rejects the Conservatives' proposals to negotiate a white homeland.

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

► Opinion USA, 7A

Treurnicht has failed to understand Buthelezi's reservations over Codesa, writes Patrick Laurence

CP misreads the signals

STAR 16 March 1992

AS POLITICIANS fire their last verbal shots in an 11th-hour bid to influence voters in tomorrow's ballot, it is clear the referendum shares at least one central trait with previous whites-only polls: the disfranchised blacks are never far from the often agitated minds of the voters.

Looking back on the three-week campaign, it is striking how both sides have deployed the oldest of white South African political traditions — *swart gevaar* election eering — to dissuade the electorate from supporting the opponent.

Thus the troika of right-wing leaders — the CP's Andries Treurnicht, the HNP's Jaap Marais and the AWB's Eugene TerreBlanche — have tried to convince voters that an affirmative vote would lead, inexorably, to a black dictatorship under Nelson Mandela.

Their propagandists have insidiously equated a "yes" vote with a go-ahead to black dictatorship rather than a nod to President de Klerk to negotiate a settlement to the protracted conflict which has plagued South Africa in one form

or another since blacks were excluded from Parliament in 1910.

Against that, however, the ruling NP and Mr de Klerk himself have warned voters, with more than a little justification, that a "no" vote would trigger unprecedented "mass action" from the black majority. They do not have to spell it out: voters know viscerally that prolonged civil disobedience could easily turn nasty.

From the NP-DP perspective, the warning is not crass scare-mongering. Rather, it presents voters with a sombre reality: the alternative to negotiation and settlement is escalating conflict and bloodshed, a scenario underlined by ANC warnings that a breakdown in negotiations would force it to revert to armed struggle.

Linked to the messages of *swart gevaar* have been claims by both sides that they are best suited to negotiate a deal with black leaders. Their claims have a corollary: the leaders with whom they will negotiate are credible men with whom a deal can be struck.

The NP and its DP referendum

ally have an advantage: they are actually engaged in discussions at Codesa with nearly all the main players in the black arena. Black leaders from the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the SA Communist Party are there. So, too, are representatives of all 10 "independent" and partially self-governing black territories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is seemingly unfazed by the impressive line-up of black interlocutors at Codesa. He has told cheering audiences throughout the country that a CP government would not have any difficulty in finding black leaders of substance with whom to negotiate.

Insisting the CP policy of self-determination for SA's different "nations" and its vision of a "commonwealth of independent nations" appeals to blacks as well as whites, he reels off the names of black leaders who, he insinuates, are receptive to CP thinking.

KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is nearly always named first. Next in line are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and

Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei. Bishop Isaac Mokoena of the Reformed Independent Churches Association is sometimes added.

Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Chief Buthelezi's IFP in its struggle against the ANC.

The impression left in many right-wing sympathisers' minds is that an axis is being formed with the IFP. It excites the CP faithful who envisage an alliance between themselves and the Zulu people.

The truth is more mundane, and less hopeful to the CP and its rightist allies.

It is certainly true that Chief Buthelezi is gravely concerned about developments at Codesa. His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is collusion between Mr de Klerk's administration and the ANC to impose their will on Codesa; and his dismay at Codesa's refusal so far to accede to a request that the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, be entitled to lead a full delegation to Codesa.

In the same way, the chief argues that the ANC's presence

has not been used to exclude Transkei's pro-ANC military council from Codesa, so the IFP's participation should not be advanced as a reason for keeping King Goodwill out.

As Chief Buthelezi sees it, KwaZulu, the Zulu monarch and his people are being treated unfairly.

KwaZulu, through its refusal to accept independence during apartheid's heyday or to enter into negotiations with President P W Botha while Mr Mandela was still in jail, was — as Chief Buthelezi puts it — "the plough that broke the ground in which the seeds of negotiation were planted".

Yet, the Chief Minister adds, "having nurtured negotiations from the very beginning, we are now being rejected".

The chief has threatened to go over Mr de Klerk's head to campaign "in the very heart of Afrikanerdom" for the inclusion of KwaZulu and King Goodwill in Codesa (not, it should be stressed, for the destruction of Codesa).

But Chief Buthelezi's anxiety over developments at Codesa does not put him in the same camp as the CP, however much Dr Treurnicht

CP Misreads the Signals.

nicht may try to interpret his stance as pro-CP.

Chief Buthelezi has reaffirmed his call for a "yes" vote in tomorrow's referendum; that places him at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Dr Treurnicht.

In a confidential memorandum presented to Dr Treurnicht and his lieutenants, Chief Buthelezi unequivocally rejects the CP's vision of a racially and/or ethnically based confederation of South African states. He labels the policy "unthinkable".

The IFP, he adds in the memorandum, accepts the inevitability of "one government in South Africa with one nation and one citizenship", although it wants to see power devolved "massively" to regional governments and to have the devolved power entrenched in a rigid constitution.

Unlike Dr Treurnicht, he is neither against Codesa in principle nor in favour of partition on racial or ethnic lines. His vision of a unified South Africa with strong regional governments is similar to President de Klerk's constitutional vision of the future. □

(Report P Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Jhb)

I'll vote 'Yes' for one SA nation

I see that Dr Treurnicht envisages a Commonwealth of Independent States for South Africa. This means that the right of every nation to self-determination will be ensured.

Does this mean that the English-speaking white nation will also be entitled to this right? I for one certainly do not identify with the Afrikaner ethos and Afrikaner culture.

Dr Treurnicht seems to disregard the fact that the whites are not one nation. The CP represents only the Afrikaner nation and cannot speak unilaterally in terms of the "White nation".

South Africa is a New World country and it is about time the CP and Dr Treurnicht realise this. I will vote Yes on March 17 for one South African nation and a lot less complication.

Neil Pellegrini

23 Second Road,
Cloverdene,
Benoni

16-03-92

A last appeal ... *Yes* or No? *STAR - 16 MARCH 1992*

THE REFERENDUM campaign for a "yes" to reform has come and now all but gone like the proverbial rollercoaster ride, with sickening lurches from confidence to fear, fear to confidence, and back again.

Today, only hours before the polls open, neither fear nor confidence clearly prevails: the mood in both camps is one of uncertainty.

Confidence brimmed in the "yes" camp in the aftermath of the announcement. The Conservative Party was in large part responsible for it — fumbling, stuttering and agonising as it did over the very issue of participation.

The confidence was compounded as the National Party

machine — whose engine had clearly been ticking over for some time in preparation — roared into action, leaving its opponents stationary and covered in dust.

This changed rapidly in the first week of the campaign. Subtly, the signals began to filter through that, in spite of the razzmatazz and sheer scale of the "FW de Klerk roadshow", the newly forged right-wing alliance was making gains.

The right wing's "no" campaign was a shoestring operation compared to the nationwide presidential flyabout. It lacked the glitz and glamour — and, as a direct result, the saturation media coverage — of the "yes" operation, but it had the advantage of being earthy and

straightforward. As one "no" campaigner said at the time: "Those who would be impressed by Mr de Klerk's expensive roadshow are not likely to vote with us anyway. We're talking to our own people in our own style — which is their style."

Speakers opted for traditional constituency-type rallies, tirelessly pushing simple, visceral messages of fear and hatred. Methodically, the message was presented in town after town. It was made all the more effective by the fact that, with few exceptions, the right-wing campaign was clothed in its Sunday best — the widespread bully-boy tactics of Potchefstroom and elsewhere were absent.

Wavering voters were not frightened off; indeed, they

The referendum campaign has been a unique experience for all South Africans. The Star's Political Editor, SHAUN JOHNSON, reviews the extraordinary political interlude whose climax is about to be reached, and introduces a final appeal to Star readers from three of the most prominent politicians in the campaign.

were wooed by a simultaneous softening of policy, such as the promise not to return to grand apartheid.

Concern was clearly discernible in the "yes" camp as the campaign entered its final week, and in some cases there

was plain panic. To an extent, this was of course functional — apathetic voters who might not have bothered to vote were galvanised by fear — but the worry was genuine.

This led to a renewed assault from the "yes" campaign, and an attempt to shift the terrain

A last appeal...

away from that dictated by the right wing. Thus, while Mr de Klerk and others still had to face barrages of questions about issues such as communism, they took the fight to their opponents. The linking of a "no" vote to fascism and Nazism was effective, as was the tactic of painting a doomsday picture of the future in isolation.

Chief Buthelezi provided a fillip, too, by distancing himself from Dr Treurnicht. Only near the end of the campaign was the CP really on the defensive.

Now, on the day before the poll, the truth is that neither camp knows in its heart what will be announced at white South Africa's high noon on Wednesday, in the curiously appropriate venue of the HF Ver-

woerd building in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town.

What they and the voters do know, however, is that President de Klerk's referendum will be recorded as a unique event in SA politics.

It is unique, most obviously, in that it marks white South Africa's final confrontation with its own soul — a people is being called upon to pronounce upon its own destiny and will not get the chance to change its mind. Whites, as whites, will never again hold the future thus in their hands, alone.

It has been a very different experience for most whites in another sense, though — because although they have long practised a form of truncated

democracy, its outcome has never been so uncertain. In the past there have been countless energetic exercises — in general and by-elections and even in other referendums — but this one is not about the size of the Nat majority. This one is about whether the NP and its allies can win at all.

Below, The Star prints letters it requested from three of the most prominent leaders in the campaign, addressed to you, the reader. From each, it is a last attempt to persuade those of you who have the vote, to vote one way or another, and those who do not have the vote to support one or other cause from the sidelines. Tomorrow, your minds will have to be made up once and for all. □