

TR, L Mbrer 1992a

!

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. L _

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. 4 "

- 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. i

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 govern-

- ment 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 save your country by voting yes or destroy it by voting no. I wish you wisdom and courage. | ; T

Very sincerely,

AR A

U g Å R W f
; ; ;

Dr Zach de Beer

Zach de Beer

The Star Monday March 16 1992 17

Dear Star reader,

Today we are truly at the crossroads. Despite the myriad advertisements, the media hype and the enormous

ig business and overseas â\200\234expertsâ\200\235 to

ting â\200\234yesâ\200\235, you and only you can

decide how tomorrowâ\200\231s vote will affect your future. :

- Man makes decisions about his future when he looks at/his past. His experiences are the building COIISC_WitiVe Party blocks for what lies .ahead, and in a political sense, a governmentâ\200\231s track-record should indicate where it is going. There is no doubt that the Government has deceived the electorate â\200\224 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 â\200\234yesâ\200\235. Their pre-1979 referendum campaign is a carbon copy of the National Partyâ\200\231s present crusade: say â\200\234yesâ\200\235 and sanctions will disappear, investment will pour in, there will be peace and a secure future. Guarantees, minority rights and solemn pledges were bandied about to coerce whites into surrendering their country, which they did. They were even told that a â\200\234â\200\230yesâ\200\235 vote would prevent a Marxist regime.

e must judge the future which a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote promises on the past which a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote has given us. There are few voters in SA today who have not been adversely affected by â\200\234reformâ\200\235. Even the IMF says in its â\200\234Economic Policies for a New SAâ\200\235 (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 â\200\234yesâ\200\235 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 â\200\234noâ\200\235 â\200\224 and opt for a second chance to vote. An election will give you the opportunity to examine each political partyâ\200\231s policy in detail, with time on your side. A rushed â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote is a blank cheque for a Government you know you can't trust. Donâ\200\231t waste your last chance, There is no going back from ANC rule. Vote â\200\234noâ\200\235 â\200\224 and keep your options open,

Yours sincerely,

Dr A P Treurnicht Dr Andries Treurnicht

| adls S politicians fire their

; last verbal shots in an

/ eleventh hour bid to
influence voters in tomor-
row'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 referen-
dum ally have an advantage:
they are actually engaged in
discussions at Codesa with
nearly all the main players in
the black arena. Black lead-
ers from the ANC, the In-
katha Freedom Party and the
Communist Party are there.
So, too, are representatives of
all 10 independent and par-
tially self-governing black
territories. i

Dr Treurnicht, however, is
seemingly by the im-
pressive line-up of black in-
terlocutors at Codesa. He has
told cheering audiences

Dr No'

misreads

Buthlezi script

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 Africaâ\200\231s different â\200\234na-tionsâ\200\235 and its vision of a â\200\234Commonwealth of Independent Nations,â\200\235 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 al-

ways named first. Next are

President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupaâ\200\231 Gqoza of Ciskei. Dr Treurnicht has even gone further. He has offered to help Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s IFP in its struggle against the ANC. The impression left in the minds of the many right-wing sympathisers is that an

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 grave concerned about developments elsewhere. His focus is primarily on two issues: his belief that there is a

collusion between Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s administration and :

Q. It is to impose it will on and his dismay at â\200\234Codesaâ\200\231s refusal so far to concede to a request that the Zulu monarch, Goodwill Zwelakhe, should accept a delegation to Buthelezi sees it,

and KwaZulu, the Zulu monarch is a un-

â\200\234â\200\234KwaZulu, through its refus-

throughout the country that an axis is being formed with the

al to accept independence

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heid or to enter into negotia-
tions with President P W Bo-
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still in jail, was â\200\224, as Chief
Buthelezi puts it â\200\224 â\200\234the

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u ief Butheleziâ\200\231s anxi-
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desa does not put in him
same camp as the CP, howev-
er much Treurnicht may
try to interpret his stance as

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Chief Buthelezi has reaf-
firmed his call for a â\200\234Yesâ\200\235 |

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Chief Buthelezi unequivocally |
rejects the CPâ\200\231s vision of a
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policy â\200\234unthinkableâ\200\235,
The IFP, he adds in the
mÃ©morandum, accepts the in-

evitability of â\200\234one govern-
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OpIeN -

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

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discrimination:

By Brian Stuart \ .~

CAPE TOWN. â\200\224
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. .
â\200\234Tomorrow is a day of
decision. For the White
voters of South Africa, it
means they must make

the most critical decision
â\200\234in the recent history ofâ\200\231

our country,â\200\235 said Mr De

Klerk.

â\200\234This is a decision that

can make or break South
Africa.

â\200\234Nobody will be able to
avoid the consequences.
Therefore, nobody can
afford to sit on the side-
lines, uninvolved.

â\200\234Tomorrowâ\200\231s referen-

" dum is not an election. It Â°

is not about political par-
ties or personalities. Also

" not about .complaints or

grievances. It concerns a
choice between progress,
or a return to the faults of
the past.

â\200\234The future of every-

â\200\234body who votes is at

stake. More than that, the
future of their children is
in their hands on March
17.

. â\200\234We, 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.

â\200\234For them a No vote

â\200\230means rejection and a slap in the face.

â\200\234There are others who have an interest in the outcome of March 17,

-and South Africa needs â\200\230them too. There are a

host of prospective investors who are waiting for a Yes.

â\200\234If it is No, they will not invest. Those who

FWOA

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.

â\200\234To every White South African, the moment of truth has dawned.

â\200\234A No vote cannot bring about justice. White security cannot be built on injustice, racism, discrimination or impracticable dreams of separation.

â\200\234The 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.

â\200\234This can

only be achieved by reform and

negotiation. It can only succeed if we say Yes to a just solution which can work.

â\200\234I do not ask anybody to say Yes for surrender, suicide or a â\200\234winner-takes-allâ\200\235â\200\235 constitution. I ask a Yes for survival. I ask a Yes for power sharing, and not for domination.

â\200\234I 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.â\200\235

Mr De Klerk added: â\200\234I ask a Yes for justice, a

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COMMENT -/
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Our business
L MNMsivog
tomorrow

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â\200\234Our main business is not to see what .
lies dimly at a distance, but to do what
lies clearly at hand.â\200\235 (Thomas Carlyle)

: U U HAT lies at hand for white vbï¬\201ers to-

morrow 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 fu-
ture of violence, isolation and penury.

It is tempting to argue â\200\224 as many are doing
â\200\224 that to vote â\200\234noâ\200\235 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 â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote is a protest against
violence, ' un-
employment, crime and the lack of policing in

- the suburbs; that â\200\234noâ\200\235 is a vote for a second
chance. But it would be wrong.

Such is the turmoil that a â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote would
unleash, that the holding of another whites-only
election would be unlikely in the extreme.

As industrialists, business leaders, econo-
mists, churchmen, sportsmen and others have

. warned, a â\200\234noâ\200\235 majority will have conse-
quences of un-
imagined severity. Violence will increase, in-
vestor confidence will vanish, savings and pen-
sions 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 pro-

gress made in the past two years. â\200\230

The â\200\234noâ\200\235 lobby makes great play of the fact that whites are suffering â\200\224 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 â\200\23160s, â\200\23170s and â\200\23180s â\200\224 not Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s reforms â\200\224 that have brought mat-pass. Whites are now having to meet the bills for the â\200\234goldenâ\200\235 decades of apartheid, to which the CP and its allies hark back so misguidedly and nostalgically. Verwoerd sowed the wind; today â\200\224 years later â\200\224 we reap the whirlwind.

For this reason, the CPâ\200\231s 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.

tion to majority rule. What whites
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" :a emont blacks later from a position of -

" Bunkum. No black leader of any consequence will treat seriously with him. As the more real-

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ajority, White rule cannot e much
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weakness. ! ;

" A â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote tomorrow will not bring peace and prosperity to this country overnight â\200\224 despite the optimistic claims of the Â esâ\200\235 cam-

' paigners. But it gives South Africa a better chance of achieving both these goals. It will

also send a powerful signal to black people and

| %o the international community that white
' South Africans are seriously committed to
~ chang

e. ;
A â\200\234noâ\200\235 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,
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 â\200\234yesâ\200\235.

| A substantial â\200\234yesâ\200\235 majority is needed if the
| dinosaurs and the doomsayers are to be denied

| their day. .

800 | â\200\224 THE EDITOR

â\200\224 STAR

LET

Choose not .

De Klerk's unnecessary calling
of a referendum is no more than
a diversion to slow â\200\230down and
obstruct the work of Codesa; ig-
nore it. .

Turn neither to the â\200\234leftâ\200\235 nor
the â\200\234rightâ\200\235, choose not between
the untrustworthy De Klerk and
the impractical Treurnicht;
avoid both Scylla and Charybi-
dis; fgrg on straight; by abstain-
ing from voting show your un-
questioned support for the dem-
ocratic activities of Codesa.

129 Nellie Road, Jack Curtis
Norwood,
Johannesburg

g 0.0

I am an SA citizen temporarily

working in Canada. But I am
unable to cast my vote and
therefore cannot partake in the
of my countryâ\200\231s future.
I contacted the consulate in To-
ronto several times and was in-
formed that the only way to
vote would be to do so in per-
_son, in Toronto (impracticable
as I live 3 000 km from there).

I am sure many compatriots
abroad are in the same situa-
tion. Surely the facilities for a
postal vote could have been ar-
ranged. I wonder which bureau-
crat/s is/are responsibe for this
shortfall?

~ (Dr) Mark Gravenor
8 Hiawatha St
Flin Flon
Manitoba
Canada

b Mager, \saa,

I watch the antics of the refer-
endum progagandists 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, West-

European-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 is 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 thumping their basic emotive fears and visceral longings. It is the very survival of the African nation at stake, they say the 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
â\200\234communismâ\200\235 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.

Itâ\200\231s pretty scary to have oneâ\200\231s
future so completely in the
hands of the same wonderful
PR team who scored such nota-
ble triumphs as the Potchef-

â\200\230Noâ\200\231 men/Ã@idestep logic

stroom campaign, as Info, as
Rubicon, as VAT and as Ze-

venfontein. . .
~ Alan J Cockle
6 Gibson Downs,
Gibson Drive, ;
Buccleuch e
= o W

In the Inside Track column
(Opinion, March 6), comments
were made about the â\200\234under-
whelmingâ\200\235 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 Na-
tional Partyâ\200\231s own inhouse in-
formation unit.

The impression was also
created that while the CP and
HNP are using â\200\234homegrown tal-
entsâ\200\235, the NP are not. I can as-
sure you that the people work-
ing on the campaign at Saatchi
& Sattchi Kerck & Barrett, in-

â\200\230cluding myself, are all home-

grown. This project is being
handled entirely at a local
level.

Gordon Muller
Director, Media &
Corporate Communications
70 Grayston Drive,
Sandown,

Sandton

16" The Star Monday March 16 1992

Ghe Star

Established 1887

~ South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

SN EAIEEEES

After action, |
satisfaction?

HE Budgetâ\200\231s proximity to the referendum, along with its relegation to secondary status, raises interest: ing 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 Pot-... chefstroom by-election, was set at the latest possible time before an unpopular Budget, thereby keeping the bad news from voters. ; R Perhaps, though, the unpalatable nature of the Budget is being deliberately emphasised as an illustration of Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s honesty. Heâ\200\231s not pulling the wool over the eyes of the voters; heâ\200\231s 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 Governmentâ\200\231s 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 mar-

~ ginal size only) and private fixed investment incentives, and the Budget might not

prove as indigestible as most expect â\200\224-
unless, of course, you happen to be a civil
- servant. : 4 v
One 'crucial question remains unans---
: wereq,ï¬\201%yvever. Mr de Klerk has indicat- -
ed he and his Government will resign if the .
â\200\234noâ\200\235 votes prevail tomorrow. Who or what -

will then be around to approve the Budget?

Sense prevgilsâ\200\231 o
(AT .

OR 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 Rightâ\200\231s referendum
claims that black leaders of substance â\200\230
ere actually in agreement with the CP;
nd disastrous because Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s
â\200\234presence is needed inside the national ne-
.gotiating chamber if we are to reach a set-
ks. Disastrous, too, be-

S

cloUSFOMORdesa 2 gry with President -
de Klerk:'But he has stuck to his principles,
telling Dr Treurnicht thdt a federation of
ethnically defined states is â\200\234unthinkableâ\200\235,
and repudiating the IFPâ\200\231s Transvaal lead-
ership for enterifng into a bizarre pact with

the AWB. .

Chief Buthelezi also tdld Dr Treurnicht:
that Codesa was the only negotiating
forum with the potential to succeed, and
that he stuck by hig call for a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 vote
from whites. - : :

We hope that Dr Tteurn_lcht + Or at .
least those who are considering voting for
his party tomorrdw â\200\224 took careful note.

P

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

In a last-ditch attempt to
sway undecided whites,
President de Klerk last
night issued an impas-

vote in tomorrowâ\200\231s refer-
endum â\200\224 while the Na-
tional Party expressed
confidence that the pro-
reform campaign had
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230peaked at the right
timeâ\200\235,

]

it 3â\200\231 â\200\230)"Er:\

Staff Reporters

Brutal slayings made for a
oody weekend on the Reef
:? tthe orgy of violence ahead
OmMorrowâ\200\231s ref
bl erendum

| In the worst re rted at-

tac!(v of the weel?gnd, titee
bodies of five men with their
hands tied behind their backs
were found in Katlehong
near Germiston, on Satur-
day.. & had been shot.
Spent - AK-47 cartridge cases
were found next to their

s, the SAP said.

In the same area, at th,
Masibuko hostel, the bodie:

9

sioned plea for a â\200\234yesâ\200\235..

ths toll rocke

of two men
wounds were found,

people â\200\224 ope 3 Mmunicipal
employer who was shot anq
set alight in his truck â\200\224
Wwere killed in a weekend of
Sporadic violence,

T
â\200\224

HiE

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 â\200\230â\200\230yesâ\200\235
campaign and coming back.
The Conservative Party-

Jed â\200\234noâ\200\235 campalgn was now

in disarray because of its
confused policies, he said,
and the publicity blitz pres-
enting the AWB as a neo-
Nazi organisation had been
effective.

Sources in both camps
conceded that the result was

with bullet

The countrywide death

oll from political unrest
since the announcement of.
the referendum three weeks
ago has risen to at least 218,

he Human Rights Com-

mission, Lawyers for Hur
Rights and el
they believed much. of the
tv101euce was be|
0 create chaos ang

white voters. =

the ANC said

ing provoked

In Soweto at least seven

ent o

-killed in Meadowlands â\2027s-
â\200\230 (tgrday gl??d Ofn third on Sa%urâ\200\224
y night. One of the victj
had been burnt. i vlctlms

1.15 pm and set alight.

shot dead at about 8.30 am
yesterday as he walked
the Old Manâ\200\231s hostel. o

Sapa reports that 241 have â\200\230tried

- dra Health Centre for in-

AR X ks

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 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

ts in bre-poll

" Shortly after 4 pM yesterday,

a man was shot and stabbed at Inhlazane station,

Police said two men were

On Saturday a municipal

employee was shot near the lziace id. A said.

saw four bodies in the town-

lsilup. fThe Steaths came as police fou runni

e g nning battles

fampaged through the

streets after the S.EP hac (ie

abulani hostel at about

In Alexandra, a man was

N treated at the Alexan-

f

jpries sustained since last Saturday. Of this number, 105 were

72 suffered stab wounds and four gunshot wounds and four lagnss. Seven of them 1 and 81 were tra

to hospitals, TP

katha members from carry-
Ing weapons to 3 funera,

Africans who also want to

be and are part of South

Africa, and are waiting anx-
iously for a yes no

For every white South
African, the moment of
truth had arrived. The only
hope for progress and securi-

ty lay in a new constitution,

which could be achieved only
through reform and negotia-
tions. He said: I ask a yes no
for justice a yes no for a
better South Africa.

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

violence

in violence
wounds, 62
Two people was killed and

wounded on Saturday, po-
Star reporter

snipers, and crowds

to stop hundreds of In-

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 con-

cerned that certain rightist
elements might attempt to

intimidate or obstruct yote

:i{:r a!ltiged irregulariti::
pecial voting b i

Jghannesburg. b o

4 Dï¬\201tr Leon called op the CP
to urgently give ap under-
taking that they wil] abide

Yy the provisions of the ref-
Ã©rendum reÃ©gulations apq
will not interfere with the
electorateâ\200\231s free expression

of opinionâ\200\235,

of the kind of inci:

dent Mr Leon described.

i b

truth for

â\200\234the time for unitary states

SA

The Commissioner of Po-

\lice, General Johan van der

Merwe, has assured voters
they need not fear for their
safety tomorrow:

National Peace Commit-
tee chairman John Hall at
the weekend called on politi-
cal leaders to urge their fol-
lowers to act peacefully.

â\200\234We appeal to all leaders
â\200\224 both those who are signa-
tories to the Peace Accord
and those who are not â\200\224 to
call on their followers to de-
sist from violence,â\200\235 he said.

(Report by P Fabricius and Â\$ Johnson, 47
Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Y s MBACH
. 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 - . President F W de Klerk

Two short years of A rushed yes vote reform have shown is a blank cheque that South Africans for a Government are able to live and you know you can

work together for trust. Don't waste a common good - your last chance. that it is possible to There's no going negotiate a constitu- back from ANC tion that is fair to rule. Vote no and all and acceptable to keep your options

the vast majority. â\200\231 open. ,

F W de Klerk Andries Treurnicht

The Star Monday March 16 1992

â\200\230Noâ\200\231 would reject
30-m S Africansâ\200\235â\204ç

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
itâ\200\231s 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 phys-
ical antagonism to black uth
Africans and their aspirations.

Voters must be clear: No will
bring ongoing black protests,
renewed sports, cultural and
diplomatic isolation, and eco-
nomic sanctions more severe
than in the past. You may laugh
off all the others, but the ex-
perience of 1984-1989 makes it
clear we canâ\200\231t 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 citi-
zens.

F Auerbach

92 Berea Towers,
Abel Road,
Berea,
Johannesburg

o oo _

If you enjoy sport, then please,
do not vote No â\200\224 or be satisfied

~ with watching kennetjie and

jukskei in our future Boere-
staat. .

D G Phillips
31 Avon Road, -
Riverlea,
Johannesburg

g-@Q o

Whites contemplating how to
vote have been given some food
for thought in the latest census
data on unemployment. The fig-
ure for white unemployment is
4 percent, or 83 000. This must

~ be compared with the figures

for black unemployment which
gre about 40 percent, or 6 mil-
on.

So what is all the fuss about
white unemployment? i
What kind of future can we
expect unless we address such -
issues?

Ben Turok
Director, Institute for
African Alternatives
Sable Centre, - T1
41 De Korte Street,
Braamfontein,
Johannesburg

Mines Cham

T z2=v

-pamphlet

CcP

CHAMBER of Mines
chief executive Mr Tom
Main yesterday ~ de-
nounced Conservative
Party efforts to use his
~.views on sanctions to per-
suade South Africans to
~ vote No in the forthcom-
ing referendum.
According to a
chamber statement yes-
terday, â\200\234Referendum
92â\200\235, a CP pamphlet â\200\224
wrongly identified Mr
Main as a former chair-
man of the chamber and
quoted him as saying: â\200\234It
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 alto-

- gether correct, and had
been used in the wrong
context.

â\200\234Presented as they are,
without placing them in
. the wider context in
which they were uttered,

the words appear to sug- -

gest that I, and by impli-
cation_the mining indus-

try, have scant regard for
the damaging effects of

_ sanctions. This is not
â\200\234true,â\200\235 Mr Main said.
. Sanctions, particularly

financial sanctions which
had done incalculable
harm to South Africaâ\200\231s
economy, had been vigor-
ously opposed by both
himself and the mining in-
dustry.

Jobs

â\200\234The mining industry too has been damaged by the international communityâ\200\231s adoption of a trade embargo against South - Africa. 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.

â\200\234The ban on the importation of Krugerrands by most countries around the world also had an inhibiting effect on South

_ Africaâ\200\231s ability to add value to gold exports.â\200\235 Strategic-

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

-

S

Some

r chiet:

wron

of strategic minerals which in the past â\200\224 in spite of sanctions â\200\224 the Western democracies had relied on South: Afx:ea 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 â\200\224 a move that would almost certainly include strategic minerals and prove to be far more destructive than the previous embargo. â\200\224 Sapa.

-

~ THE CITIZEN

Vâ\200\2311b 52,

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 â\200\224 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. ; o

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.

VT G) e â\200\224

e\ B\ AL

THE CITIZEN

Right-wing alliance

â\200\230to endure after
referendumâ\200\231

By Fred de Lange

A PERMANENT

Right-wing alliance
which would continue
after the referendum
tomorrow was formed
in Pretoria on Satur-
day.

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

Spokesman for the new -

alliance, Mr Jaap Marais
said the unity would be
maintained even in a gen-
eral 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 oper-
ate 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 en-
sure that they never be-
come enslaved to a Com-
munist government.

â\200\234A No vote on March

17 would be a vote for self
preservation and self re-
spect.â\200\235

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

â\200\234In fact, precisely the opposite would happen and is proved by the existing wave of lawlessness and crime,â\200\235â\200\231 the statement said.

The organisations involved are:

Afrikaner Studentefront, Afrikaner Vroue Kenkrag, Afrikaner

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

CP says violence is start of a civil war

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.

N

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 â\200\224 as one
of the political allies of
the NP â\200\224 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 oc-
casions and at this

stressful stage it again |

called on all to â\200\234control
themselvesâ\200\235.

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.

-

Weerstandsbeweging,

Blanke Bouwerkers Vak-
bond, Boere Bevry-
dingsbeweging, Boere
Krisisaksie, Boerekom-
mando, Boerestaat Party,
Boervrou Forum, Cam-
paign Against Disarma-
ment, Christelike Kul-
tuuraksie, Civic Action
League, Conservative Al-
liance, Dietse Federasie,
Die Reg Daarom Stig-
ting, Vierkleurkorps van
Suid-Afrika, Eastern
Cape Settlerâ\200\231s Memorial
Association, Genootskap
van Regte Afrikaners,
Groep van 25, Herstigte
Nasionale Party van Suid-
Afrika, HNP Jeugaksie,
Jong Afrikaners, Kloof
Geloftefees Komitee,

Kultuurraad Danie The- -
â\200\224â\200\224ron, Conservative Party

of South Africa, Magsak-

sie Afrikaner Nasionalisme, 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,

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

You are weak, PW
old his â\200\230CablgaetVL

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 â\200\234weakâ\200\235 and"

accused Mr F W de
Klerk, then Minister of
National Education, of
â\200\234trying to play Presi-
dentâ\200\235.

Mr Botha also told Mr

De Klerk that he felt sor-

ry for him, because â\200\234the
powers you have un-
leashed are wild horsesâ\204ç.

The bitter exchange at
the final Botha Cabinet
meeting in Tuynhuys on
Monday, August 14,

1989, ended with Mr Bo-
thaâ\200\231s agreement to resign

by way of a public state-
ment on television that
evening.

Details were published
yesterday by the Sunday
Times, saying that â\200\234â\200\230min-
utes of the meeting were
leakedâ\200\235
paper, but not saying by
whom they were leaked.

The leadership dispute
within the National Party
began after Mr Bothaâ\200\231s
mild stroke in January.
On February 2, 1989. he

to the news- .

resigned as NP leader. Mr
De Klerk was elected NP
leader, over Mr Barend
du Plessis, who was re-
portedly Mr Bothaâ\200\231s
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 and 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: â\200\234You are prepared to sacrifice me for the sake of your chat with Kaunda â\200\224 this Cabinet is prepared to do so.â\200\231

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 after the September election.

~stood in Vereeniging. A

President -

â\200\234I told you two weeks ago to stop letting the party down. Now Iâ\200\231m telling you again, you are weak. You should have

leader fights, or he goes under.

â\200\234You cannot play State President before you are State President. I grant you the chance to be that, but then you must fight.â\200\235

Continuing his attack, Mr Botha told the Cabinet: â\200\234To tell you the truth, I have the right to fire you. If I had enough enmity left in me, I would.â\200\235

There was a short adjournment, during which the Cabinet discussed Mr Bothaâ\200\231s 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, thatâ\200\231s

the cowardâ\200\231s way of doing_

_it. What you are implying
is that I canâ\200\231t think for

myself. Why donâ\200\231t you
say it?

Mr De Klerk: Thatâ\200\231s
not what I am saying.

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

The argument went
back and forth until Mr
Botha ended with the
words: â\200\234You can ad-
journ, but I warn you:
You are facing an ex-

tremely difficult time.â\200\235 1

THE CITIZEN

Monday 16 March 1992

- | Keep neo-Nazis

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 Storm-
troopers and the Mosley
Black shirts.

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

CP is

THE NP propaganda de-
picts the AWB members
as Nazis and unjustifiably
links them with the CP
because they both sup-
port a No vote. They may
be neo-Nazis, I â\200\234donâ\200\231t
know, but they are a
small group of extremists
who are in no way in-
volved with the CP, which
is a moderate party work-
ing for the partition of
South Africa into ethnic
or racial states.

The NPâ\200\231s connection

Changed her

THE focus of this refer-
endum 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 negotia-
tion, 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

pporter, and as the re-
turn to apartheid is un-
thinkable, and as the re-
ferendum is no longer
about negotiations but

wastika-type symbol is
surely enough to send |
u ' ivers down the back of

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

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.

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

moderate

decent folk, and this is what the CP is advocating. I

Clearly a Yes vote is the only way to keep out the neo-Nazis and Fascists. 28

REALIST
Meyerton

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 ex- |
posing the NP's connec-
tions with Joe Slovo,
Chris Hani, J Naidoo and
Cosatu, all of whom sup-
port a Yes vote!

GWEN BARAGWA-
NATH
Lydenburg

ind

hom have been disas-
us 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 Nat-
ionalist 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
Umblali

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
â\202asy 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 votersâ\200\231
roll. The Union of SA
constitution had .-
trenched 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

K

- â\200\234High Court of Parlig-- -

mentâ\204ç, which was thrown
out by all five judges in
the Appellate Division of
the Supreme Court.

Then they enlarged the
Senate with theiyr 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 visj-

ting here to speak on
democracy as contenders,
for the joke of the century.
A J CHAPPELL

Springs
â\200\231

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 POLOYRN; 1/

yudesnnsdol

RV EV

C\"â\200\230\ 2_â\202

I ASSUME | am one of
the few English speaking
South Africans temporar-
ily in London who went to
the South African Embas-
Sy on Wednesday or
Thursday and no doubt
cast a No vote in the re-
ferendum.

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 Afri-
cans were slowly begin-
ning to realise that a Yes
vote meant Yes to ANC
rule.

From abroad the fol-
lowing sincere pleas:

Guilt-riddled Afrika-
ners, pull yourselves to-
gether. 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 worldâ\200\231s most
incompetent rulers of a
modern State?

English-speaking South
Africans who also played
such a major role in buijld-
ing 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 'Treurniæht anq -
the AWBæ230(B!æ231"æ230HB:"*ag}.j .

Sandton, \orq TOTHTHOV 5

victory the ANC is today

* and smile and stil] be a

Klerk has in mind was

Against AN

C

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 agree-
ments. He lied to us. He
now hopes the uncertain-
ty caused by his intimi-
datory threat to resign
will swing things his way.

He now wants this
êpersonality contestë
which is nothing but pol-
itical opportunism
êboere - verneuk.ë Eyen
the question put is totally
misleading: it pits CP
policy against De Klerkçs
lack of policy.

FW wants a political

A

rule e

spoken to abroad envies
White South Africans the
Prospect of Black ryle.
All know that in Africa
today Blacks hate the
Black rule they have had
and are suffering the mis-
erable consequences,

Confronted by a strong
White government, the
ANC has major prob-
lems: Following ~ the
world-wide demjse of
Communism, it has lost

- the æmuscle of its staun--

chest allies. Neighbouring

states will not take them
back if a strong SA Gov-

ernment threatens with

sanctions.
N THO,MPSON
London

blank cheque so he can.]
Win more â\200\234peace prizesâ\200\235.
Given the prospect of

smiling. â\200\234One may smile

villainâ\200\235 wrote the Bard.
And indeed those ANC
villains (the recent bomb.-
â\202-rs, terrorists, inventors
of the horrors of â\200\234neckla-

) are bidding their

White man and moder-
ate Black man remember-:
The tendency to seek re-
venge is deeply ingrained
in the Black psyche!"

Interhationally discrim-
ination is rife. National-
ism and the quest for an
independent identity is a
world trend. That â\200\234melt-
ing pot of racesâ\200\235 De

abandoned by the inter-
national Community as 3

policy failure years ago.

Âfix

g

THE CITIZEN

16 Wese \A\Â\$ 2. Monday 1

SA is land for al

SOUTH Africa is a land
for all. Composed of dif-
ferent 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
ent 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.

Wouldnâ\200\231t 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 Conserva-
tive Party nor the ANC is
ready to rule our country
democratically. Let us en-

_ visage a nation united in
is why we are in the pres-

peace and "harmony â\200\224
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 com-
munistically inclined poli-
cy supported by the
ANC.

Yes is for democracy
and pefor separation. Let
yes be for a voice for the
people and let us not al-
low 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.
now have a unique oppor-

tunity to show the world -

what can be done. Let us
get involved in the run-
ning 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 to-
morrow. Every negative
situation is an opportu-

nity for positive and opti- |

mistic growth.

G VAN RIET
Lonehill

Christians should
think again

CHRISTIANS who have
been exhorted to vote for
justice, peace and re-
conciliation 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 be-
ing murdered by the bar-
baric necklace method.

To date, the ANC has
shown no remorse for
these actions. Recent tri-

-als of ANC members in-
dicted for criminal acts
have resulted in witnesses
being intimidated and

even kidnapped.

Peace? Here the ANC number among the false prophets who cry â\200\234peace, peaceâ\200\235 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 Mugabeâ\200\231s government of *â\200\230national reconciliationâ\200\235 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 areâ\200\231 indescribable. Some reconciliation!

Christians have a duty to help bring about true justice, true peace, and true reconciliation in our country. Being â\200\234as innocent as dovesâ\200\235 in this duty is not enough. Jesus calls for Christians to be â\200\234as wise as serpentsâ\200\231 as well.

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

NOT PIE-IN-THE-SKY
; Randburg

i

We | :
| how far the National Pz

Canâ\200\231t be
I FEEL I just have to
comment on Mr P W Bothaâ\200\231s statement that he
will vote No in the refer-

endum. i,
It shows clearly just

ty has strayed from the'
principles set out in its 1989 election manifesto.
Remember the posters
which said â\200\234Reform Yes,,
Surrender Noâ\200\235 and the
others which said â\200\234Own
group areasâ\200\235 and â\200\234Own
schoolsâ\200\235. What has be-

~ come of those promises?

Today we have open

| sascond

trusted
schools, mixed sub'

and total surrender.

In a country that has
been a bastion of the
struggle against Com-

munist for more than 40

years, I cannot believe
the voters could know
ly vote for a govern-
policy that will make
a Communist-controlled
country in the near fu-
ture. : i
Surely South Africans
know better? One tends
to forget that Mr De
Klerk was elected more
on P W Bothaâ\200\231s coat-tails
than on his own at the â\200\23189
election. The principles
outlined at that election
were those of the National Party, not the
De Klerk era. SR

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

}. Ligs, » themg &0, vote

inglyerw A ot
'S NORTHROP pretoria

- â\200\230SAâ\200\231s political

temperature

is dangerousâ\204ç

THE 100 deaths nation-
il in the past week
were a tragic indication

â\200\234hat South Africaâ\200\231s politi-

cal temperature had
eached a dangerous le-
vel, the National Peace
â\200\234ommittee (NPC) said
esterday.

The NPC yesterday ex-
pressed grave concern at
the sharp increase in viol-
â\200\230nce over the past two
weeks and urged the
ountryâ\200\231s leaders,
hether signatories of the
â\200\230eace Accord or not, to
all on their followers to
-esist from violence.

. The NPC was doing its
â\200\230est to curb the violence,
ut in the final analysis
eace depended on South

Africansâ\200\231 corporate will
and the countryâ\200\231s national
political leadership.

â\200\234At this -crucial time,
South Africa needs cool
heads, responsible politi-
cal leadership and deter-
mined action.

â\200\234For the sake of us all,
and especially our chil-
dren, the principles of
peace need to constantly

govern the minds and be
entrenched in the heart of
every individual and
every political leader,â\200\235
the NPC said.

larisation and frag-
mentation had to be stop-
ped in order that South
Africa not slip irrevers-
ibly into a cycle of con-
flict, violence and civil
war, it added.

C.\-Aâ\200\2301_{\,\}

\o MGâ\200\231A\Q\,\ \Q\Q\CL;

& â\200\230
d"Myeni denies pact with AWBâ\200\230}

' SENIOR Inkatha Free-
â\200\230dom Party central com-
mittee member, Mr M_lsa
Myeni, yesterday denied
having signed a non-ag-

gression pact with Afrika--

ner Weerstandsbeweging

leader, Mr Eugene Ter-

reâ\200\231Blanche.â\200\235 :
â\200\234Jt is . misrepresenta-

%

aking by certain agents
?:f theg media, claiming
that a-pact was signed,â\200\235

e

tion, deliberate mischief--

thing; there was nothing
to be signed.â\200\235 5

Despite Mr M,yems
claims, the AWBâ\200\231s ex-
ecutive council issued a

~ statement yesterday say-

ing it respected the agree-
l:lgnt. IFP leader, Chqu
Mangosuthu Buthelezi,

has repudiated the pact.

â\200\234The AWB and the
â\200\230Wenkommando ~ remain

by the undertaking and

ure -the Tnansvaalâ\200\231s 5
;;ssanasemnt@f Inkatha

non-aggression pact will
be honoured by }he
AWB,â\200\235 said the council.

Chief Buthelezi on Fri-

day immediately dis-
tax)xlced himself and his |
from the agreement

when news of it was an-
" nounced.

Chief Buthelezi later

said the signing of the -
- agreement was '

vous as Mr Myeni had not
had a mandate for m =

THE CITIZEN

Page 4 of 9

"FW: Interim govt
must be subject to
Parliament"

A TRANSITIONAL
or interim government
must be installed con-
stitutionally and be
subject to Parliamen-
tary 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 gov-
ernment which would
then rule by decree.

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

He said the new consti-
tution 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 referen-
dum 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 Parlia-
ment would amend and
implement the constitut-
ion: elections would then
be held in terms of the
country's new constitut-
ion.

If the NP did not suc-
ceed in negotiations, then
it would be bound to re-

turn to the White electorate to seek another mandate.

Mr De Klerk said he
ation 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 despite the

cause 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. despite

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 decentralisation
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.â\200\235

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

roups with regard to a -
werbase 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 Africaâ\200\231s current economic woes were a result of sanctions.

THE CITIZEN i We are not the only country that is in a bad-

~ recession. The United States, the one super-

' T ' i is i tate' as

- power left in the world, is in a bad st

| co M M E N "-â\200\230l'v?v?ell, and in England the recession is the

' . worst in 60 years. : i

i; The political violence is terrible, despite the

Y o â\200\230 \9â\200\230 \ 9% Peace Accord and all efforts to end lt,.bu.t it

â\200\230 , e can only get worse if there is a No majority,

; since Blacks will not be just at each otherâ\200\231s

v â\200\230 ' rs as well.

WE urge our readers to vote Yes tomorrow. "I':lhroc:ittsn:uvit! aa:eoil:'; ok ot gfeak etk i

Yes, because we have to continue the negotia- e:ch Sl 0505 lins g, but bountilis her: tion of a new South Africa. S e

Yes, because if there is a No majority the sea:l :Tne ;lzgp?:i~\201are oi har i

Blacks will lose faith in the reform process. _ ?;'ime fgr s ptsonly :

Yes, because we believe that the country has Tt peasbaRbatt:: Whitever yolic grievancei

to become a non-racial democracy. | 5 Bt s ik o & goiers

Yes, because we are coming out of isolation, :lgÃ@mc?if)tnthe governm :

Otut 0l; hhe i o(;f]ysanctnons et et It is a referendum on whetherdszt:oPcn::;(ii::;

strangled our economy. R

Yes, l;gccause' a No majority will plunge us glz Igâ\200\230f:(r)l:nslhg;;otiations o achie ve;la

b l is acceptable to reasonable

Yes, because the Conservative Party, with all Â»::t;ement that i P i

its smooth talk about not wanting a return to There.are dangersthat b Gountryisl teassition apartheid, is asking for the chance to take us Gl bane.

back into a past that made us the polecat of Thiere are changss that nilify canyiot abcept â\200\224

the world, that put every country against us, et they are inevitable: g :

that kept us from the cultural and scientific TÂ¥lere are: challesiges that are awesbie in their

contacts without which we were intellectually magnitude, challenges that will decide the

= el ot ol fategl:)f this country and its people into the

i e next century, but challenges which have to be

country would allow them to compete inter- fasad becau;e ey caanot be Escped: nil

nationally, that made us the outcasts of man- | | i o o

e b e Copegian is i i Yes, this wonderful country, this country of

Yes, because the Conservative Party is in alli- rave boauty and grandeur, blessed with rich es

_ in minerals and people, has reached a mo-

e 5 day in its history, Referendum Day

Â® See also leading article;, Saddened, on ;nen(t)::lgw ay. . :

- â\200\230 â\200\230 If (;g:l want.it to go forward to meet its destn:l)i

in Africa, to provide a peaceful future fc;;r

its people, including you and your children

THE C|T|ZEN and your childrenâ\200\231s children, you will vote

o Yes.

Yes for peace.

Yes for prosperity. !

Yes for hope of a better life for all.

suth Africaâ\200\230is in' your hands t'omorfgt\fx

:V "LaÃ@tml R.Vl n'â\200\234:lvï~\202'.lvi.Yl'l Vavivavamn 'AA S

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,

-dgâ\200\231nâ\200\231gocratically and in peace, citizens of a great land with the most remarkable potential of any on Godâ\200\231s 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 â\200\224 the poor state of the economy, the political violence, the crime wave, the insecurity, the fear.

ADVERTISEMENT = it | ADVERTISEMENT
THE CHRISTIANâ\200\231Sâ\200\230OCHOICE 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 in-
vestments, 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 aban-
doned the Christian Standards as they are expressly stated
in the Word of God. There exists â\200\224 Lawlessness; Corrup-
tion; the secularisation of the Lordâ\200\231s 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 confi-
dence in Jesus Christ and the Gospel. Satan who is forever
the â\200\234Accuser of the Brethrenâ\200\235 has caused many Christians
to feel extremely guilty of the past. It must give him great
satisfaction that Christians are in fact saying: â\200\234The 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 â\200\230Justâ\200\231
South Africa,â\200\235 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,â\200\230noted world Bi-
blical Scholars and world authorities on the Book of Rev-
elations, inform us that out of this sordid sea of evil, as we
now have in South Africa, will emerge a â\200\234beastâ\200\235. 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 es-
tablishing his Kingdom on earth. It is the same Kingdom
that he offered to Christ during the temptation in the wil-
derness, if Christ would only bow down and worship him.
It is still a great temptation because that One World Gov-
ernment 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. }

â\200\234THERE IS A WAY THAT SEEMETH RIGHT
UNTO A MAN, BUT THE END THEREOF ARE THE
WAYS OF DEATH.â\200\235 (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 â\200\234YESâ\200\235 side claims: Justice for All; Democracy; Tolerance for All; Giving Black People a Fair Chance; Compassion; Togetherness; Oneness.

The â\200\234NO?â\200\235 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 â\200\234NOâ\200\235 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: â\200\234Donâ\200\231t 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?â\200\235 (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 INSIGNIFI-
CANT ROLE, IF ANY, IN THE â\200\234NEWâ\200\235 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 â\200\234YESâ\200\235 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. Cope

Published in the interest of the Christian Faith by the Christian League of Southern Africa
â\200\224 a non-political initiative.

i P O BOX 2850; SUNNYSIDE 0132

Monday 16 March 1992

THE CITIZEN

Police, 1

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Alexandra ~

By Andrew Whitlock
and Sapa
POLICE and members
of the SADF main-
tained a strong pres-
ence in Alexandra
township north of Jo-
hannesburg yesterday
following Saturdayâ\200\231s
outbreak of violence in
which three people
were killed and 28 in-
jured.

The violence erupted
when IFP supporters arm-
ed with spears, pangas

and sticks went on the

rampage after they re-

fused to accede to police
demands that no armed
Inkatha members be al-
lowed to proceed to the
funeral of an IFP mem-
ber, Mr Thokozani Xaba.

The funeral was even-
tually postponed to next
Saturday.

Police spokesman,
Captain Eugene Oppen-

man, said more men were
deployed in the township
yesterday and the SAP

was determined to show

that the carrying of
weapons to public gather-
ings would not be toler-
ated.

The SADF checked all
vehicles entering the
township and police kept
a close watch on the hun-
dreds 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. 3

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

The ANC PWYV 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 Mammoepe, said the ANC supported the SAP and called for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

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ANC armed

struggle

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JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The
ANC had told the Govern-
ment its armed struggle
would not be abandoned
until a white veto â\200\224 like
this weekâ\200\231s referendum â\200\224
no longer presented a
threat to constitutional
change, senior ANC
sogrces said at the week-
end.

The sources indicated that
the armed stuggle would not
be abandoned until an inter-
im government was in place
and whites no longer had the
ability to veto constitutional
change. ;

A shift in ANC policy in th
military arena would only ac-
company an appropriate shift
in the political arena.

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

Should there be a Yes vote,
and should President de

! Klerk indicate his willingness
to introduce rapid reforms,
â\200\234this should be an indication
that we are going to move for-
ward and quicklyâ\200\235, a source

Mercury Correspondent

in the ANCâ\200\231s legal depart-
ment said.

ANC spokesman Gill Mar-
cus 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

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, and 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.

â\200\234With 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,â\200\235 Dr Buthelezi said.

â\200\234The IFPâ\200\231s proposals would not lead to a complicated sys-

By Patrick Leeman
Political Staff

tem of transitional government.

â\200\234Since there will be no â\200\234own affairs/general affairsâ\200\235 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.â\200\235

The parties â\200\234presently outside the systemâ\200\231â\200\231, said Dr Buthelezi, â\200\234would be required to live with an unrepresentative Parliament during the transitionâ\200\235.

However, â\200\234in view of the rubber-stamp nature of that Parliament, it should not be too high a price to payâ\200\235.

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.

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De Klerkâ\200\231s reforms
likely to survive vote

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â\200\234Support weakens with recent violence

By GREG MYRE
Associated Press
JOHANNESBURG, South Africa
â\200\224 President F.W. de Klerk should
get 55% of the white vote in
Tuesdayâ\200\231s apartheid referendum,
analysts say, but his support may
be slipping. i i

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.; .Â«

- *If we vote the one way, we'll .
have a civil war, and if we vote the -
other we'll have a black govern- - Party WOULD be favored." = .
want." said Marjorie Smythe, an BT GR wdF d Tg R
e old augh: | Split blamed on pressure '
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ter.of English Inmugralls, Lot " President F.W.'de Klerk's son |

PoliceÂ°n Sunday reportÂ° 413 and his mixed-race girlfriend have |
- people died in such unrest in the
previous 24 hours, including five
men - whose â\200\230hands were tied % St fis ;
â\200\234behind their backs and then shot Klerk, both 25, were living together |
to death. More than 200 blacks

have died in unrest since de Klerk : Times quoting friends of the cou-

- ple, â\200\230said the relationship ended

ment, and that's the last thing |
81-year-old widow and the daugh-

~ donâ\200\231t know what to do.â\200\235

announced the referendum. three
weeks ago. sRd

â\200\234What will happen if we send
~ the wrong message to blacks?" de

Klerk said as he wrapped up his *
. uted to this art{c[e. b

'campaignÂ»S_aturday. â\200\234It will be

chaos, it will be a disaster.â\200\235

The moderate Sunday Times,
the countryâ\200\231s â\200\230largest circulation
newspaper, quoted leaders of de
Klerkâ\200\231s National Party as saying

support has been slipping. If the

referendum fails, some fear inter-
national repercussions, possibly
including economic sanctions and

' the banning of South Africa from

cultural and sports events. - v

~ If de Klerk wins, he will push
ahead with his last major apartheid
reform â\200\224 negotiating a new con-

stitution 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

called off their engagement and |
broken up. Â£ S TU VL TEE
Erica Adams and Willem de |

in London and announced their
engagement last year. The Sunday

largely because of pressure from

F.W. de Klerk and his wife, Marike.
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long regarded as one of the bastons of
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- PATRICK BULGER
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=xt of the wordd and ar
therr fellow-South Afr-
cans, Dr Zach de Beer,

Dewocratic Party leader,

said mn zn appeal fora Yes

" vote tomomow.

Dr De Beer said: â\200\234Itis -
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Harry Oppenhemer

* On the other hand i¬\202n:
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where the fickle loyalties of English-speakers will be crucial. A Conservative party official said: "The crunch is

[THE REFERENDUM |

Flâ\200\230v'v'h .can vote, 3.20 million white citizens, aged 18

and over, 60 per cent Afrikaans-speaking, 40 per cent English speaking.

O 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?"\200\235

3 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.\200\235 While outspending the Conservatives five to one in publicity, the government has been undermined by intensive opposition door-to-door 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 stan-

dard.bearer of the main-
stream right wing, its leaders
lauded ac the hemes of the
struggle against black major-
ity.rule.

Officially, Mr de Klerk re-

mains optimistic that whites
will appreciaie that thereisno

- -viable -alternative to shdring

wer with the black major- i

City. *â\200\2341 am confident â\200\230and â\200\230Â¢

donâ\200\231t have nightmares,â\200\235 he
said at the weekend. â\200\234Every-

where | go | meet enthusiastic -

and motivated people who
want to vote â\200\230yes'. We are
hringing home to the elector
ate that a â\200\230noâ\200\231 votc would be
suicidal.â\200\235

He said he belicved voters
realised that the referendum
was a final turning-point in
South African history. â\200\234This

is the moment of truth. | have .

presenied whites with a cru-
cial chivice which should pre-
clude them from voting ac-
cording to their general griev-
ances or minor fancies. The
stakes are just wo nign.â\200\231

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â\200\230Whitesâ\200\231 wall fails
to shut out reality

By GAVIN BELL

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

â\200\234l don't believe what the

overnment says any more.

{ the last election in 1989, they said there would be mined 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.â\200\235

M Pieterse is one of the traditional National Party supporters who will vote "no"â\200\231â\200\235 in tomorrowâ\200\231s 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 2 residentsâ\200\231 petition, the municipality of Brakpan put a 6ft concrete wall around Mrs Pieterseâ\200\231s 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

zaps where the concrete slabs

have {all been removed.

A path has been worn
through the veld 10 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 boilermaker
aged 24 said he an-

cepted he had to work with
blacks, but he did not want to
live with them. "We must
have black people to work with
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."

"

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I they Are Bgh heaven help us all

FP central committee member Musa

Myehl secms {o belleve In the ancient

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Arabic aphorism that â\200\234the cnemy of
my caemy I8 my friend'â\200\231s

This Is the only way to explain a bizarre
â\200\234non-aggression pact' he signed ostensl-
bly on behalf of the IFP with the neo-Naz!
and flercely antl-A Aflrikaner
chrutundsbeweulns of Eugene

TerreBlanche,

lFP leader Chiet Mangosuthu Buthelezi

has acted with commendable gwiftness 10
repudiate Myeni and dispe! the notlon that
his party I8 filrting with the troglodytes on
the fur Right.

We slso welcome his rejection of the

Conservative Partyâ\200\231s policies snd his sup-
port fora â\200\234yes'â\200\231 votc in tomorrow's reler-
endum.

lt I5 nccessary, however, Lo Warn about
the foollshness of consorting with partices
whose alm Is not the â\200\234ul[-dctermlnntion"
of whites but the perpelunl subjugation of
blacks.

The danger I8 that if Treurt
TerreBlanche should selze power in Souln
Africa (heaven forbid!), the Myenls and
Bishop Mokoenas of this world will haveto

share culpability for the bloodshed that is
bound to follow.

Building the Nation

Readers are kindly
requested to call us if
they experience
problems in getting
their copies of the

SOWETAN.

phone STEVE
MAKRALEMELE at

EUTHELEZI
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Bloody weekend Kkills 40

Staff Reporters

Bratat slayings made for &
bloody weekend on the Reef
and the orgy of pre-referen-

dom violence continued

today.

At least ome person was
Eilled and severgl others in-
jured in sporadic shooting in
Alexzandra township fodas. A
spokegman for the Alezan-
dra Clinic szid the victm
died of gunshot wounds at
zhont 830 am.

An Alevandra resident
told The Star the shooting
started at ahont 9 am near
the Madala Hostel as people

were boarding taxiz. He a2id

shots were fired from the
windows of the hostal
â\200\234When the police arrived,
the people in the wirodows
shot af themâ\200\235â\204ç he slid. â\200\234T canp
still hesr gunfweâ\200\235
Residents io Mezdown-
lands, Soweto, awoke In &
v, With hostel-

Stabilizstion Unit, Constable
David Besfer, was shol while
patrolling near the Spuotnik

- Garage at =bout 730 2m. He

was Injured in the shoplder.
At least fwo hand grenade

attacks in Meadowlands

early today left eight peopie,

ineluding three jourmali
ke

Two people were shot and
wounded. Victoria Skhaidy
(32), from Zope 1, Meadow-
lands, 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 po-
lice and SADF personnel
in 25 armoured vehicles
stood between the hostel and
the township.

Fearings ran high as the

@@ToPage 01

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40 killed in weekend)
- 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 disrupt-
ed as youths from Mead-
owlands diverted taxis
- and private vehicles for
alternative routes, in-
cluding hostel dwellers
);: and the Meadow-
lands and neighbors
- Klllarney residents of Soweto
j: for the violence; accus-
ing youths of preventing
them from going to
work.

They threatened television
cameramen and photog-
raphers, and stopped
them taking pictures.

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

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
AT-A7 gunfireâ\200\231

The attack brought the
death toll from a week-
end of bloodshed to more
than 40.

T Yooihs from the hos-

S [3/â\200\230â\200\234"72,

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. Pretoria, Jo'burg
7> may be decisive

By Briap Simart

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T i L

Newsman hurt -
in explosion
By Jo-Anne Collinge

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

Two nnidentified- boys,
aged 11 and 16, were also
hart in the grenade attack
which cccorred in front of
bouse 64. They were taken to
Baragwanath Hospitai but
were pot badly hort, said a
hospital spokesman.

Silva said he and the

@ To Page3 iF

' 3 newsmen injured
in grenade attack

Â® From Page 1
others were attacked at
about 8.30 am at the
scene of an earlier shoot-
ing in which a policeman
was injured.

The atmosphere in
Meadowlands this morn-
ing was elecirie, with
throngs of residents
roaming the sireets and
watching for a sign of
attack from the Mzim-
hlope hostel ;

The day dawned to

fire in this frou-
bled area of Soweto.

Hostel dwellers and
residents alike claimed
they had been the vie-
tims of an early morning

attack. In Meadowiands
Zone 1 a house was al-
legedly bombed at about
3am.

Describing the grenade attack, Silva said:
â\200\234We 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 MEhize. Chiltern suffered a head wound,
while Mkhize was hurt in the back and on the back
of his legs. Silvaâ\200\231s arm
was injured. :

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By Jo-Auxe Covllinge

Monitors from Peace Actlon,
accompanied by a fact-finding
team from the International
Commission of Jurists, ap-

-peared on Sowoto station plat-

forms before dawn this morn-
ing, keeplog & watchiul eye for
any sign of weapons among

those boarding trains, ;
- About 30 members of the

monitoring group targeted four
stations â\200\224 New Canada, Mzim-
hiope, Phefenl and Mlamlan-

Ty e 'ch/zfqzâ\200\230
Monitors watch trains for signs of violence'

kunzi â\200\224 in o bid to find clues to
the persistent and deadly at-
tacks on commuters.

Whila Soweto secthed with
violence, the stations monitored
wara peaceful on the eve of the
referendum, ;

There wore army patrols at
all four â\200\224 and at New Canada

olicomen boarded {rains and
ravelled towards town,

Peace Actlon spokesman

. Venetin Govendor said only one
of the monitors caught sight of
a weapon, :

This happened as a train

drew into New Canada stathon;

a passenger already aboard was
seen to be carrying a panga.

Police and army searches of
commuters were not exhaus-
tive, monitors said.

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

N\

by climbing the fences and
walking along the tracks,

The International Commis-
sion of Jurists team, comprising
British barrister John McDon-
ald QC, Swedish attorney Chrles-

than Ahlund, former Zimbabwean

Chief Justice BEnoch Dumbut-
dzena (now an Appeal Court
judge in Namibia) and Ghana-
an lawyer Phillip Amoah, is
conducting a wide-ranging in-
vestigation of political violence
at the request of Lawyers for
Human Rights, -

-~

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T W 51 o e e U S

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P

Apartheidâ\200\231

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, Tuesdayâ\200\231s

referendum in South Africa is

~ stating the obvious: What alter-

natives are open to SouthÂ® Afri-

ca 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.

To main-
tain the pre- |
sent posi-
tion? This is |
equally im-

possible, as
the country
is in a state

By Harry Schwarz, Â¢ transition

South Africaâ\200\231s am-
bassador to the

United States. s "
Â\$ nitely in un-

certainty and flux is not an op- |
tion capable of implementa- |
. the terms of a new constitution

tion.

To change not by negotiation |
but by revolution or coup |

dâ\200\231etat? Surely, to achieve by
negotiation what is desirable,

and to re-
main indefi- |

necessary and unavoidable is |
better than to plunge a country |

into conflict and turn it into a |

wasteland to no oneâ\200\231s benefit.
The negotiation option is

therefore not only the obvious, |

. interfere with the continuation

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

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J S A ToDAY

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OPINION
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electorate, but the right-wing
Conservative Party not only
has disputed his mandate to ne-
. -gotiate but also has opposed.ev-
ery action on his part to repeal

Racial divisions in South Africa

apartheid laws. It has won a |

number of by-elections for par-
liamentary vacancies, defeat-
ing National Party candidates.
It has therefore challenged the
president's right to speak for or
negotiate on behalf of white
South Africans. 5

The referendum is design
to demonstrate that President
de Klerk has a mandate to con-
tinue the negotiations and to
demonstrate to the rest of
South Africa that whites sup-
port the establishment of a
non-racial democratic govern-
ment free of apartheid and in
which human rights for all are
protected. It also will demon-
strate this to the world.

The referendum is not about

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 ef-
fort to end uncertainty and not

of plenary negotiations sched-
uled for the near future. The
president does not want the ne-
gotiation process delayed.

Even while the campaign has :
been going on, committees of

Blacks
28.2 million

meet and very significant pro- |
gress has been made.

If the outcome of the refer-
endum is a majority for Presi- -
| dent de Klerk, then the process

will go full steam ahead and
with a reinforced mandate.

The reactionary white ele-

i e
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

By Julie Stacey, USA TODAY |
There is no way the country
would or could go back to

. apartheid. The kind of parti-

era. The president has stated
he will resign. A variety of al-

ternative possibilities will then

present themselves â\200\224 a pew |
state president from the- Na- |
tional Pany ranks, a new form
of coalition government, or a

white election, among others.

One thing is certain, howev-

er: The process toward a dem.

ocratic government is irrevers- |
ible. A â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote would be an
unfortunate obstacle.

tion of South Africa proposed
by the advocates of a â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote
is impractical. The process to-

. ward democracy could go on,
but with further difficulties
added to what is, in any event,
not an easy process.
I am optimistic that the pres-

" ident will obtain his mandate.

But it should be rememberedâ\200\231

that while the question to be | pi

answered by white voters is a
straightforward one, the issue
| is obscured by many factors.

The economic position is
poor, unemployment is high

â\200\230 ed to whites,
in his words, to usg their lggs 4
nity to vote by minority
&gsneiï\202nu <tiy reasonably and not 2
to do anything to interfere with -
the process of democratization.
' This referendum is .impor-
tant for white South Africans
not only to give a mandate for
negotiation to the president,
but also, if not more -

ng v
ingly into a process in which
they will come out no longer
privileged but secure, and as a
art of a democratic country
able to takeÃ© its place with other
democracies â\200\230and accepted as
such by the world. s

(429 of the workforce), infla-

_tion is at 16%, the country is in
the grip of a massive drought
â\200\234and 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 pro-
testing 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 â\200\234yesâ\200\235 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:

â\200\234However, we do not want to put Mr. de Klerk at a disadvantage. He faces a powerful party and we must not underesti-

USA TODAY - MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992 - 7a
Just a beginning |
for nation-building

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

racial categories,
Then we must begin the even harder
work of designing new government insti-
tutions that respond to the long-unmet :
needs of the black community. .
This new government will face im-
mensely difficult problems: How to pro-
vide adequate housing, health care and
education for those whom apartheid has
shortchanged. It will need to devise
By Nthato Motla- imaginative policies to create jobs and
na, a long-time g, wealth to be shared fairly rather than _
{ivâ\200\230"'i';pa'gzâ\200\231ef oty Teserved for a small, privileged group,
physician and None of this will be â\202¬asy. And people will
South African be impatient; they have waiteqd so long!
chairman of Under apartheid, blacks were denied
Medical Educa- access to the health â\200\230
tion for South Af- serves whites and
i X from training thej

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 frien
beside us throu â\200\230

Â» De Klerk has slim edge, 4A

T | =2 0
Diehard Progs

i)5 Men \\{"19\5)

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 Na-
tionalists are in power.'
The turnabout in NP
policy, ' however, has
meant even diehard lib-
erals will find them-
selves 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
come into it at all.'

views

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, for-

. merly an active sup-

porter of the UP, the
Progressive Party, and
now the DP, insists no-
body 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 Johannes-

burg Bar, said voting

yes in the referendum

urg)

Modise warning

. LUSAKA" The ANC wo,

d
Ve 10 resume its fight agaj

apartheid if there were agreed
Jority no vote in the referen-
dum, Umkontho we Sizwe com-
mandgr Joe Modise said at a
Frontline summit in Lusaka at
the weekend, Frontline leaders
reaffirmed their support for Sa !
liberation movements and ap-
pealed for patriotic-front unity
between the ANC and PAC.

4T = -

. De Klerk clarifies
presidency issue/ -
O Political Staff '

I e
~ 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 ANO
' leader became president. - -
" In" an interview on SA TV

1. TV1 programme Agenda, Mr

~ de Klerk said he had set a stirzg
"of preconditions, subject :to

which he would be required to
serve any person holding the
i, 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 founded.
) 'That such a presidency should
' reach decisions on the basis of
jeonsensus. i ' TR R Rl :
@ That no person within the
Presidency could hold as much
. power as he did at present. -
out 3 Collingn, 41 e b 4w .

Drivng for â\200\234yes" votes

CP sanctions. propaganilaâ\200\234blasted

Chamber of Mines chief execu- .

tive Tom Main yesterday de-
nounced Conservative Party ef-
forts to use his views on sanc-
tions to persuade South Afri-
cans to vote â\200\234noâ\200\235 in the referen-
dum.

According to a chamber
statement yesterday, Referen-
dum 92, a CP pamphlet, wrong-
ly identified Mr Main as a for-
mer chairman of the chamber
and quoted him as saying: â\200\234It is
not sanctions which'do us dam-
age, but the threat of sanctions."
We have the minerals the rest
of the world wants. Why should
we be sanctioned?â\200\235 Â¢ -

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

â\200\234Presented as they are, with-
out. placing them in the' wider

- self and the mining industry.

context in which they were ut-
tered, the words appear to sug-

- gest that I, and by implication

the mining industry, have scant
regard for the damaging effects
of sanctions. This is not true,â\200\235

. Mr Main said.

Sanctions, particularly finan-

â\200\234cial sanctions which had done
rincalculable harm to South

Africaâ\200\235s economy, had been vi-
gorously opposed by both him-

â\200\234The mining " industry, too.
â\200\230" has been damaged by the inter-
national communityâ\200\235s adoption
of a trade embargo against SA.
Some 10000 jobs were lost in
the coal mining industry as a di-

rect result of sanctions and that -

is why the industry worked so

—hard to have them lifted.

â\200\234The ban on the importation

. of Krugerrands by most coun-

- wre.

Hh

tries around the world also

an inhibiting effect on Sout
Africaâ\200\231s ability to add value to
gold exports.â\200\235 -

" Mr Main said developments

in the former Soviet Union
could now facilitate the avail-
ability of strategic â\200\230minerals
which in the past â\200\224 in spite of
sanctions â\200\224 the Western demo-
cracies had relied on South
. Africa to provrde

H ,ensure the country did not
backtrack into a political en-

2

— This made it even more vital

vironment that would prompt â\200\231

the rest of the world to reim-
pose sanctions â\200\224 a move that
would almost certainly include
strategic minerals and prove to
be far more destructive than
the previous embargo. â\200\224 Sapa.

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

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| L

Johannesburg munlclpal buses havÃ© entered into the splrlt pf the referendum

iy

â\200\230Scare tactlcS"COndemned

" that there would be freedom Â£

" Political Staff :

The use of communist scare
tactics by â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote cam-
paigners has been condemned

by South African Council of

Churches general secretary the
Rev Frank Chikane.

What these speakers are ac-
tually saying is that movement
away from apartheid and to-
ward a democratic South Africa
is an anti-God movement, Mr,
Chikane said. -

. from the truth, he argued.

- Movement toward a non racial
democratic South Africa is *

movement toward not away !

Picture: 'George Mashinin

: democratic governmenL

but

Nothing can be further

xn

religion in South Africa un

! But the SACC was not content*
to leave this in the hands of poli-
ticians. It was, participating
fully in an interfaith project co-

. ordained by the World Confer-

ence on Religion and Peace to
draw up a charter of religious
freedoms and responsibilities*
for the future. RESHEE
~ We are standing firmly not

+only for freedom of religion but*

': also against abuses pe! trated :
under the guise of a: hrlstlanf
nation, he said. 't - \aFalinsiug
: Whatever the outcome of the

" referendum, the; SACC would _

from where God wants us. A ' continue to call on all South!

just God calls us to move to-
wards justice and peace. -
Mr Chikane said the SACC

.} believed there were indications '

Africans to say no to, racism, misery and death and yes to a

- pemogder ghjusice sd pescer

e

wtere ntothe it the referencu,

Mashininity:

tidver

: By Brian Stuart
CAPE TOWN. â\200\224 A
huge â\200\234lie factorâ\200\235 or
stay-away may upset
all predictions of the
outcome of the refer-
endum, according to
the- pohucal parties
. Which for three weeks
have been wooing the
3,2 million Whites en-
titled to vote tomor-
row.

Organisers in all three
parties say the national
result is unpredictable.
All sum up their feelings
in a single word: â\200\234Closeâ\200\235,

The battle over
whether South African
Whites agree to a non-
-racial future or want a re-
â\200\230turn to qepardtloq may
~ well be decided in the two
largest regions â\200\224 Pretoria
and Joh annesburg, which
between them have more
than one million voters.

All three parties -in-

' servative

the National Party, Con-
Party and
Democratic Party, expect
a No.vote from the Pre-
toria region and a Yes
vote from Johannesburg.

The size of the majori-
ties, or any swing in alle-
giances here, could upset
the result.

According to Mr James

" 10 PAGE 2

Mo, â\202~

Pretorla, loâ\200\231burg

OSE

L knew the size of the po-
grievance vote â\200\224
those whose'V'tes
not. based on t

â\200\230dum issue, but
;:iplence, poverty, squat-
-ting, Model C schools or
other extraneous factors.
â\200\234You must remember
".too, that we are not used
to i-\201ghtmg three-week
campaigns,â\200\235 said Mr
Selfe. 5

Overall, he felt more

volved in the campaign,

| Ralalel PAGE â\200\230

Selfe national commum- :
cations director of the -

Democratic Party, there

IS no reliable â\200\234national

canvassing of voters on

~ which firm predictions of

| tomorrowâ\200\231s outcome m '
| be based. 5

â\200\234I would suggest that it

1 'tâ\200\230; going to be clcse, and

at some areas are gomg

;o prove to be the jokers

the pack â\200\224 upsetting

~ Also llpsettmg Nx fore-

@Sts was that nobody

" confidence now than he
did a week ago about a

Yes vote. â\200\234But if we g
ArÂ¢ . oaign. Dr Mulder said

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 5

~ Corne
cqxgmumcanons chief
| the CP and former P:@

Professor of Communications
at Potchefstroom University,
said his academic
background told him that
- a No campaign, backed
with little money and op-

posed by the SABC and

.Mulder, iz

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 op-

"posed to our No vote,
that is the supreme com- = ko |
- 60-40 result expected a |

| plement.

The CP, too, was more
confident now than at the

start of the short cam-

. there were so many fac-
tors at play in the referen-
" dum that predicting the
: result would be hazard-

I thmk what has hap- |
. pened is that, unexpect-
edly, people have been
compelled to make a
choice. A lot of them

may he do it

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

While the political par-
ties: Both become increas-
ingly nervous about the
result, most observers are
forecasting a Yes majori-
ty, but they differ as to
whether this will be a
knife-edge decision or the

mere three weeks ago.
Most forecasts give the
No vote a majority in
. Transvaal outside of Jo-
! " hannesburg. 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 re-
turn majority Yes votes,
and anything else would
be regarded as a major
political upset.

In the Cape, the CP
of Kuruman, which is in

the Karoo region,
and Uitenhage, in the
Port Elizabeth region.

The Kimberley region ; the

' may well swing to a No

;majority, but it holds a
mere 71 150 voters. The
- George . region,
| 63 741 voters, is expected
to return a Yes vote,

with

while there is some argu-
ment over the country's

smallest region, Beaufort
| West, with only 36 809

votes.

By province, the num-

' ber of eligible voters are:
' Transvaal

1 769 354,
Cape 882 796, Natal
382 373 and Free State

244 780, with a total of 5 5

3279 303.

However, a 76 percent
representing

poll,
2 492 270 voters, is wide-
ly seen as likely, given the
fact that in a referendum
there are no visible local
candidates and little
house-to-house canvass-

| ng.

_holds the constituencies

|

| just how vital the Trans-

A higher percentage
poll would according to |
aj Yes vote.
If is to be a higher
percentage poll, it would |
have o take place in the
ma;or urban areas of Pre-
toria (360 896 voters), Jo-
hannesburg (492 217),

Cape Town (471 705),
Germiston (310 233),
Roodepoort (307 100)
" and Durban (274 382).

These figures indicate

vaal urban result is to the |
outcome of the referen-
dum S
ria region in-
cludes 23 constituencies,
of which 13 are held by
the CP and 10 by the NP.
The CP seats are: Bar-
berton, Bethal, Brits,
Delmas, Ermelo, Her-
cules, Middelburg, Pre-
toria West Roodeplaat,

b1

4A - MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1992 - USA TODAY

WASHINGTON AND

AL DN A~

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 prej-

udices 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.

mh 4

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 Africaâ\200\231s 3.3-million white Afrikaners.

DeKlerk has asked whites to vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 on the question of whether he should continue anti-apartheid reforms and eventually negotiate a new constitution that shares power with majority blacks.

A â\200\234noâ\200\235 vote would bring a new parliamentary election, de Klerk has vowed.

THE WORLD

ELECTION 92 S. Africans agonize over

By Walter Dhladh1, Agence France-Presse
SUPPORT: South African President

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.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t want to be swamped by the blacks and I donâ\200\231t like whatâ\200\231s happened to this country, with all the crime and violence,â\200\235 said Burgh, 60, who'll vote â\200\234yesâ\200\235 on Tuesday.

Agence France-Presse

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

F.W. de Klerk holds his grandson at a rally organized by supporters of Tuesday's referendum.

â\200\234And I donâ\200\231t know whatâ\200\231s going to happen to us, to my - :{â\200\230y and r?lgegrandchildren and maybe thatâ\200\231s the worst feeling

1,â\200\235 Burgh said. ;

Oflâ\200\230%lor mg?tâ\200\230 Afrikaners, it S

ative Inkatha Free-

By Adil Bradlow, AP

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

seems, the whole idea of voting
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 in the referendum â\200\224 giv-
' ing reformist de Klerk the
~ green light he needs to negoti-
ate a new constitution with the
countryâ\200\231s 29 million blacks â\200\224
stands in sharp opposition to all
theyâ\200\231ve stood for. â\200\231

But many also realize the di-
saster that faces them should
Andries Treurnicht and his
pro-apartheid Conservative
Party obtain a â\200\234noâ\200\235 majorlty in
. the referendum.

Most likely, Conservatives
would go on to wrestle control
of the South African govern-
â\200\230ment from deKlerk and his
more moderate Nationalists.

And that would bring vio-
lence and international con-
demnation. .

Already the United Smta
-Britain and several European
governments have issued dire
warnings that a return to neo-

â\200\234apartheid policies as espoused
by the Conservatives would

trigger a wave of international
condemnation and sanctions.
â\200\234Actually, the truth is that
we still believe in the same
things we always did â\200\224 it's
deKlerk and the Nationalists
who have changed, not us,â\200\235
said third-year University of
Stellenbosch business student
Leon Lubbe, who will vote
â\200\234no.â\200\235 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.
â\200\234Personally 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 deKlerk seems to be going much too fast, giving everything away to (black leader Nelson) Mandela and his communist allies. It's very frighten-

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

thronged of casually dressed stu-

dents 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

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

the length and breadth of South Africa. The town was chosen by deKlerk 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,â\200\235 Mandela said. â\200\234If 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.â\200\235
Â» Opinion USA, 7A

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/5â\200\230;â\200\224

OPINION

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POLITICIANS fire their

last verbal shots in an

bid to influence

the vote tomorrow's bal-

lot, 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 tra-
ditions to swart gevaar election
eering to dissuade the elector-
ate from supporting the opponent.

leaders the CP's Andries Treur-
nicht, the HNP's Jaap Marais and
the AWB's Eugene TerreBlanche
have tried to convince voters

lead, inexorably, to a black dicta-
torship under Nelson Mandela.
Their propagandists have insi-
diously equated a yes vote with
a go-ahead to black dictatorship

Klerk to negotiate a settlement to
the protracted conflict which has
plagued South Africa in one form

- Thus the troika of right-wing .

-that an affirmative vote would,

rather than a nod to President de .

or another since blacks were ex-
cluded from Parliament in 1910.

Against that, however, the rul-
ing NP and Mr de Klerk himself
have warned voters, with more
than a little justification, that a
no vote would trigger unprece-
dented 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.

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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 â\200\234in- . dependentâ\200\234 and partially self-gov-

erning black territories.

Dr Treurnicht, however, is seemingly unfazed by the im-

pressive line-up of black interloc- -

utors 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 SAâ\200\231s different â\200\234nationsâ\200\235 and its vision of a â\200\234commonwealth of independent nationsâ\200\235 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 Buthe-lezi is nearly always named first,

Next in line are President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and

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Brigadier Oupa guzo 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 Butheleziâ\200\231s IFP in its struggle against the ANC.

The impression left in many right-wing sympathisersâ\200\231 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

â\200\230Buthelezi is gravely concerned

about developments at Codesa. His disquiet focuses primarily on two issues: his belief that there is collusion between Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s administration and the ANC to impose their will on Codesa; and his dismay at Codesaâ\200\231s 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 ANCâ\200\231s presence

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

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Transkeiâ\200\231s pro-ANC military council from Codesa, so the IFPâ\200\231s participation should not be ad-

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 apartheidâ\200\231s heyday or to enter into negotiations with President P W Botha while Mr Mandela was still

in jail, was â\200\224 as Chief Buthelezi

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has not been used to excludÃ©-i :

â\200\230vanced as a reason for keeping

puts it â\200\224 â\200\234the plough that broke -

the ground in which the seeds of
negotiation were plantedâ\200\235.

Yet, the Chief Minister adds,
â\200\234having nurtured negotiations
from the very beginning, we are
now being rejectedâ\200\235.

The chief has threatened to go
over Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s head to cam-
paign â\200\234in the very heart of Afri-
kanerdomâ\200\235 for the inclusion of
KwaZulu and King Goodwill in
Codesa (not, it should be stressed,
for the destruction of Codesa).

But Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s anxiety
over developments at Codesa does
not put him in the same camp as

- the CP, however much Dr Treur-

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last appeal ...
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campaign for a â\200\234yesâ\200\235 to
reform has come and
r now all but gone like the
. proverbial rollercoaster ride,
..}7 with sickening lurches from
|, confidence to fear, fear to confi-
| dence, and back again.
|, Today, only hours before the
3 folls open, neither fear nor con-
+| fidence clearly prevails: the
;| mood in both camps is one of
1 uncertainty.
7 Confidence brimmed in the
{|' â\200\234yesâ\200\235 camp in the aftermath of
- the announcement. The Conser-
i vative Party was in large part
_responsible for it â\200\224 fumbling,
|Â¢ stuttering and agonising as it

*{. did over the very issue of parti--

~ cipation. !
. The confidence was com-
: pounded as the National Party

machine â\200\224 whose engine had
clearly been ticking over for
some time in preparation â\200\224
roared into action, leaving its
opponents stationary andâ\200\235 co-
vered in dust.

This changed rapidly in the
first week of the campaign. Sub-
tly, the signals began to filter
through that, in spite of the
razzmatazz and sheer scale of
the â\200\234FW de Klerk roadshowâ\200\235,
the newly forged right-wing al-
liance was making gains.

The right wingâ\200\231s â\200\234noâ\200\235 cam-
paign was a shoestring opera-
tion compared to the nation-
wide presidential flyabout. It
lacked the glitz and glamour â\200\224
and, as a direct result, the satu-
ration media coverage â\200\224 of the
â\200\234yesâ\200\235 operation, but it had the

Â¢advantage of being earthy and

-

straightforward. As one â\200\234noâ\200\235
campaigner said at the time:
â\200\234Those who would be impressed

..by Mr de Klerkâ\200\231s expensive

roadshow are not likely to vote
with us anyway. We're talking
to our own people in our own

style â\200\224 which is their style.â\200\235

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 t â\200\224 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 experi-

â\200\234ence for all South Africans. The Star's Political Editor,

SHAUN JOHNSON, reviews the extraordinary political

Interlude whose climax is about to be reached, and in-

troduces 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 â\200\234yesâ\200\235 camp as the

. campaign entered its final

week, and in some cases there

was plain panic. To an extent, this was of course functional â\200\224 apathetic voters who might not have bothered to vote were galvanised by fear â\200\224 but the worry was genuine.

This led to a renewed assault from the â\200\234yesâ\200\235 campaign, and

- an attempt to shift the terrain

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