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Sunday Tribune
15 March 1992

A No will serve to sharpen the people's anger

THE referendum is nothing more than a fight between slave drivers about who gets to wield the bull whip, believes the PAC.

Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, the PAC's national organiser, said the question on Tuesday was about who would "control the lives of the African people".

"It confirms to us that whites intend to entrench the existing power structures. There can be no other interpretation. It cannot be a genuine vehicle for change where four-fifths of the population is locked out of the process."

Mr Nemadzivhanani said the PAC therefore believed the result of the referendum was "inconsequential in terms of the struggle of the ordinary people".

As such, the organisation would continue to wage its struggle for the freedom of "oppressed Africans" in South Africa in all its current forms, including the armed campaign being waged by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

"The contending forces in the struggle in Azania are naturally the SAP and the SADF — which are private armies of the NP government — and Apla. MK (the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe) is out of the picture completely. Everybody knows that."

He said the Conservative Party's constant repetition of the threat of Apla during its referendum campaign meetings was proof that "they realise how strong we are".

"The PAC army is strong enough to challenge any section of the oppressor's forces, whether it is the armies of the nazis or the SADF and SAP themselves. We are not

In the eyes of the Pan Africanist Congress, the referendum is irrelevant. The movement concedes, however, that a win for the rightwing would strengthen the PAC's hand, reports
BRENDAN SEERY



MAXWELL NEMADZIVHANANI PAC national organiser

intimidated by anyone."

While saying that the PAC regarded the result as "irrelevant", Mr Nemadzivhanani added, however, that if there were a Yes vote, it would "tend to dampen the militancy of the people".

"De Klerk's reforms have already dampened the fighting capacity of the people, and he has succeeded in doing this through his deception, without any meaningful changes having been made."

He said that if there were a No vote, it would "sharpen the people's resistance and anger and make them more determined to seize their freedom".

The PAC would be planning no specific protest campaign against the referendum, but would simply continue with its current "anti-Codesa" drive.

Mr Nemadzivhanani said protest rallies held around the country to demonstrate against the Codesa "sell out" had been very well attended, and showed that the "ma-

jority of the oppressed people want no part in these negotiations".

He said Codesa was an unrepresentative body where none of the participants, bar the ANC and SACP, had "any liberation credentials at all".

However, by taking part in Codesa, the ANC was fast losing credibility among the people, "to the extent where it is now being perceived as a collaborator".

Even though the PAC was under pressure "both domestically and from the United States", and even though the organisation's members were subject to "harassment" by security forces, it would not capitulate and be drawn into Codesa.

Mr Nemadzivhanani said the PAC wanted a "forum" at an "outside venue, and with an outside, impartial convener". The forum would negotiate the "ground rules" for a one-person-one-vote election for a constituent assembly.

"Only then can this country's oppressed majority decide its future," he added.

Sun. Star 15/3/92

4 die as mourners rampage in Alex

**Sefako Nyaka and
Mark Stansfield**

A POLICE appeal to hostel-dwellers to abandon their weapons before marching to a funeral in Alexandra township yesterday failed to prevent the deaths of four people and many injuries as an incensed crowd rampaged through the streets.

Sapa reports that police fought a gun battle with snipers after trying to stop hundreds of Inkatha members from carrying weapons to a funeral.

As machinegun and rifle fire reverberated around a migrant workers' hostel, police and on-lookers fled for cover. A Sunday Star reporter saw four bodies in the township, but police could confirm only one death.

Pandemonium erupted as about 600 Zulus armed with spears, garden forks and knives charged out of the hostel where they had been penned by police.

As the mob poured out, snipers in the complex fired on police, who returned fire with automatic weapons. The funeral was postponed to next week.

The ANC's PWV region commended the police for the way in which they handled the tense situation, saying their behaviour added to the momentum of building a climate of peace.

When trouble subsided more than 20 people had been injured.

Police sharpshooters wounded hostel dweller Daniel Sokhela in the stomach and right arm, and several others suffered gunshot wounds. Alexandra Clinic staff confirmed one death.

Trouble broke out when IFP supporters refused to leave their weapons behind and accept police protection en route to the funeral of Thokozani Zaba.

Police spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said police had been negotiating with local IFP members since Monday on the weapons issue.

B. Day

18/3/92

Conservation pays for tribal authorities

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Three tribal authorities in northern KwaZulu have been given nearly R200 000 from the revenue earned by nature and game reserves in the area.

The recent handover of money earned by the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources is part of its policy of giving 25% of revenue to reserve neighbours. The bureau says the money is intended to help neighbours with community projects like building schools and clinics and so benefit from tourism and conservation.

Of the total amount, R78 126 was handed to the Mathenjwa tribe (revenue from Ndumo Game Reserve); R96 000 to the Tembe tribe (Kosi Bay revenue) and R25 200 to the Imbila tribe (Lake Sibaya revenue).

The bureau says it has been necessary to fence off the proclaimed reserves in KwaZulu to protect environmentally sensitive areas from overpopulation, overstocking and "slash-and-burn" farming methods.

However, a controlled management project allows neighbours to enter the reserves to harvest resources such as fish, bark, herbs and thatching material.

The Citizen

18/3/92

Hit-squad claims are false: Inquest

THE SAP has noted its satisfaction with the Pietermaritzburg Maphumulo inquest finding on Monday, which found that allegations of a security force hit-squad assassination were false.

Handing down judgment in the Supreme Court, Mr Justice NS Page said no reliance could be placed on the allegation by key witness Mr Sipho Madlala that he was part of a security forces hit-squad which had murdered the ANC-

aligned Chief Mhlabunzi Maphumulo.

It was clear, said Mr Justice Page, that Mr Maphumulo had a number of enemies who would not have wanted him dead. No evidence pointed to a particular group, however.

A statement from the SA Police yesterday said reports published on the strength of false allegations by Mr Madlala had caused great damage to the image of the SAP. — Sapa.

De Klerk stumps before referendum

An Associated Press Report

NYLSTROOM, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk made a final plea Saturday for support in a referendum on his apartheid-ending reforms, saying he was seeking the survival of whites, not their surrender.

Near Johannesburg, at least three people were reported killed and nine injured as police battled snipers and failed to halt hundreds of rampaging Zulus from carrying weapons to a funeral for a slain comrade.

Three weeks of black factional violence have claimed at least 200 lives, 26 of them on Friday, the worst day of political unrest this year.

A white policeman was shot and killed Saturday while patrolling in downtown Johannesburg. No further details were released.

In his address, de Klerk said a vote against his reforms would draw new in-



South African President F.W. de Klerk has promised to resign if he loses the apartheid referendum.

ternational sanctions and deal a crippling blow to an economy already staggering from a three-year recession.

"We are not surrendering, we are working toward a South African government that is truly representative of its people," de Klerk told hundreds of National Party loyalists in Nylstroom. "We are negotiating survival."

De Klerk is favored to win the ballot, which asks whites whether they support

his plans to end racially discriminatory apartheid laws and negotiate a constitution extending political rights to the 30 million blacks.

While de Klerk received an ovation from supporters inside Nylstroom's town hall, police scuffled outside with right-wing activists trying to force their way in.

In his address, de Klerk said a vote against his reforms would draw new international sanctions and deal a crippling blow to an economy already staggering from a 3-year-old recession.

However, many right-wing whites feel a black government would dominate the white minority and they are drawn to the Conservative Party's call for a white homeland.

If de Klerk loses the referendum, he has promised to resign and call a whites-only election in which the Conservatives would be favored.

The Tampa Tribune-Times, Sunday, March 15, 1992

First-round punches thrown in heated 'Battle of Britain'

San. Times

15/3/92

OPINION

Political killings

THE surge of violence in the past fortnight, closely correlated with a moment of critical choice in national politics, has followed a familiar pattern which suggests very strongly that the violence is orchestrated to serve political ends.

There is a good deal of evidence which shows that the SADF, the police, elements of Inkatha and the ANC have all been guilty of using violence in this fashion. The question to ask now is which of these organisations — or which others — are best served by unleashing the killing squads on the eve of the referendum.

The interests of Inkatha, the ANC and the government, coinciding for once, lie in a peaceful transition and a "yes" vote, but all three organisations have elements within them that rebel against negotiation and compromise. The "comrades" are out of control, and many — like the murderous "hero" whose story is told elsewhere in this issue — are simply depraved. Inkatha warlords have been convicted in the courts of operating autonomously, and heaven knows who controls or leads the impis in the hostels. Both SADF and the police have been guilty of unlawful conduct in the past, and in some cases of utterly depraved conduct, and both organisations still harbour guilty men.

Assuming the white electorate votes "yes" on Tuesday (since a "no" vote would unleash the killers on all sides to operate without restraint), it is time for the government and its partners in Co-

desa to recognise the corrosive effect on political life of this continuing slaughter, and to make it a priority to bring violence under control.

That would require more than support for the Peace Commission or additional policing, although intensive policing is necessary, and the Peace Commission does require better support. It requires special investigative units, special courts, quick trials, and deterrent sentences — sentences which should have the explicit support of the ANC and Inkatha, so that criminals may be disabused of the expectation that they will soon be released into the streets by a political amnesty.

It may be possible to make sociological excuses for the petty, and even the violent, crime that has overtaken our society. Economic depression is an obvious explanation, if not justification, for criminal behaviour, and it may be possible to take a relatively lenient view of the person who steals, or kills, to feed his family.

Political killing — the cold-blooded unleashing of professional murderers in order to achieve a particular political result — is an entirely different phenomenon. Quite apart from the depravity, it is an act of outright warfare against the democratic and peaceful people who constitute the majority of all South Africans, and it should be treated accordingly. No resources should be spared in tracking the killers, and their masters, and bringing them to trial.

B. Day

19/3/92

'No' vote alliance in despair

THE "no" vote alliance was plunged into despair by yesterday's referendum result, which put a question mark over the future of the CP and sparked renewed speculation about a CP pro-negotiations breakaway.

Despondency set in at CP headquarters in Pretoria yesterday as result after result indicated that most white South Africans were not prepared to check the pace of reform.

Party spokesmen blamed electoral irregularities, the short duration of the campaign and, finally, English voters for the poor referendum performance.

And a senior CP spokesman lashed out at unnamed party "traitors" who, he said, would now be given the opportunity to quit and join Codesa.

"The hour has come for the CP to offer the opportunity for those in the caucus to say: 'It has been nice knowing you — but we are going to Codesa'," acting Transvaal

PATRICK BULGER

secretary Paul Fouche said.

He said three MPs, whom he would not name, were keen to join Codesa.

"This is not a CP split — it will be those people who differ from the CP on Codesa," Fouche said. "The opportunity must be given to members of the caucus to sever their ties with the CP and to go to Codesa." Fouche said a pro-negotiation document written by Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe, who has been widely seen as favouring negotiations, did not reflect official CP policy. He said the CP had interpreted the document as being pro-Codesa.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday that President F.W. de Klerk would, like former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, be the victim of his own reforms.

"The 'yes' vote will now have to pay its

□ To Page 2

Despair

bill. They have voted for power-sharing. They will now find out what it means to lose power and to have no power of your own to protect your own freedom," Treurnicht said.

Afrikaner Freedom Foundation leader Carel Boshoff said his organisation would meet at the weekend to plan details of a "Volkstaat" at Orania in the northern Cape.

ANDREW KRUMM reports that an AWB spokesman said the "yes" win would not affect the AWB's outlook.

Ernest van der Westhuizen said "a greater right-wing unity" would result from the referendum. The unity pact between the CP, the AWB and the HNP at the start of the campaign three weeks ago was historic and would be maintained.

Van der Westhuizen said De Klerk could not ignore one-third of the white population who had voted "no" in the referendum.

□ From Page 1

He said at least 1-million "no" voters contributed a great deal to the SA revenue coffers and warned that De Klerk was going "to cause a revolution".

Van der Westhuizen said the present political situation was "intolerable", but added that the AWB's "breaking point" would be when "De Klerk hands over to an ANC and communist government".

□ Vote counting in the Roodepoort referendum area was held up until yesterday afternoon after being scheduled to start at 7am. CP MP for Losberg, Fanie Jacobs, delayed proceedings with objections regarding the authenticity of the officials counting votes. He insisted they first be properly identified, and it was reported that he claimed it was possible people were hiding under the tables, waiting to insert extra "yes" ballots.

Sapa reports he later disagreed with a ballot official about spoilt papers.

Vote for freedom

THERE is no question that we must vote "yes" in the coming referendum, but let us be clear what it is we vote "yes" for.

We vote "yes" for the end of secret government, social engineering and political, social, cultural and religious domination.

We vote, I hope, for freedom of the individual, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of the press, equality before the law, tolerance, accountability of public representatives and of the civil service and a future where people will have the integrity and courage to stand up and be counted wherever and whenever these are threatened. — ELIZABETH CLOGG, Johannesburg.

Look to army and Zulus

I TAKE issue with you on two of the articles which appeared in your editions of February 23 and March 1.

First, you write that the West in moments of "moral consensus" wants white rule in South Africa ended. Nonsense. All it is doing is looking to its black voters and to trade.

The second point is your contention that the blacks can overrun the whites. Have you forgotten the army, air force

and navy, and the Zulus? In a recent interview Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the Zulus would not accept the ANC as a unitary government. He pointed out there were 7,5-million Zulus and added: "We are warriors".

As for the SADF, a few years ago a military journal stated that the three most efficient armies in the world were the British, Israeli and South African. — MARGARET JOHNSON, Graaff-Reinet.

White sellout

^{S/TIMES}
15-03-92
I FAIL to follow Ken Owen's logic (Sunday Times, March 1). When the ANC was unbanned he predicted a new black government with communism at its core. Yet now he is promoting the very process which will enable such a government to take power.

He ignores the fact that the economic consequences of an ANC government will be exactly the same as his prediction if the CP wins. The only difference is that the ANC's economic fruits will occur in a few years. The CP's may not occur at all.

The ending of SA's isolation is the whites' reward for surrendering their political relevance to a black government. Our future as part of the free world is not — like Ken Owen's thinking — of any immediate concern. — P NAZTILL, Krugersdorp.

Battle for white souls

PERHAPS the most irksome thing about voting "yes" as a non-Nat is having to forgive the Nats for the monstrous nightmare of apartheid.

This referendum is not about supporting the NP, but about surviving as a democracy. We must be big enough to accept the Nats about-turn in good faith, and do the only rational and moral thing possible — vote "yes".

Some of our key emo-

tions at this time are: frustration, anger, humiliation, disillusionment, puzzlement, fear, hope, forgiveness and pride.

The first six negative feelings can be transcended by the constructive power of the latter three. They are a challenge to a crucial spiritual and moral triumph. As Nelson Mandela has put it: "The battle for the soul of white South Africans is on."

No explanations have

been given for how the villains of yesterday have become the heroes of today. This puzzles and humiliates us; we feel tricked, disillusionment sets in and, with crime and violence on the increase, fear grips our hearts.

Yet these need not be our only feelings. In the battle for our souls (and our vote) we need to open our hearts to hope for a new era of co-operation; forgiveness for what has burned out in moral bankruptcy, and a pride in being called on to approve the negotiations that will make the new era possible.

All who vote "yes" on March 17 have the privilege of assisting the government in doing the (moral) thing it has to do. — DR LJ MICHELL, King William's Town.

ANC calls off Ciskei

By PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noticeably absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at Codesa and to isolate Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Mhlaba had decided on a meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.

Rejection of Transvaal IFP peace pact is bad for Buthelezi — AWB

INKATHA Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was acting "to his own detriment" by distancing himself from the "peace pact" concluded between the AWB and the Transvaal IFP leadership, AWB secretary Ernst van der Westhuizen said yesterday.

Hinting at possible fissures within the IFP, Mr Van der Westhuizen said: "It is clear the majority of the Zulu population, and especially the Transvaal IFP leadership, rejects communism, rejects an ANC take-over and rejects the loss of their autonomy. In that respect there is common ground with the AWB."

Dr Buthelezi on Friday "emphatically" distanced himself from the non-aggression pact agreed on earlier in the day by the IFP's Transvaal leader Musa Myeni and the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche.

He said the agreement was "deeply disturbing and amounts to mischief-making in a referendum campaign in which the IFP wishes to have no part whatsoever".

Dr Buthelezi said he had no prior knowledge of the pact whatsoever, contradicting an earlier statement by Mr Myeni that he had discussed the matter with the IFP president.

A senior IFP source told the Tribune Myeni was "doing his own ego thing" without authorisation or consultation with the rest of the party: "It's a hell of an embarrassment," the source said.

Yesterday neither the IFP office in Johannesburg nor Mr Myeni could be contacted.

Inkatha spokeswoman Suzanne Vos said she had no knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the pact, nor of who else from the Transvaal IFP leadership may have been involved.

She said the issue would be discussed

Sam Sole

at a Central Committee executive meeting on Thursday.

National Party MP for Umhlathuzana Dr Johan Steenkamp said the CP and its AWB ally's attempts to woo Zulu nationalism would hurt Inkatha more than the NP.

"This is doing a lot of damage to the political reputation of the IFP in the black political sphere.

"It would be politically fatal for Inkatha to conclude a pact with an extreme right-wing, fascist, racist organisation like the AWB.

"Therefore I can understand why Dr Buthelezi should distance himself from this political faux pas.

"Dr Buthelezi has re-iterated his support for a Yes vote, but one has been getting mixed signals... The IFP will have to make its mind up one way or another."

On Friday Dr Buthelezi reaffirmed his support for a Yes vote in the referendum.

"I (have) clearly indicated that a Yes vote would be beneficial to both the politics of negotiation and the reconciliation process in this country. It is irresponsible of right-wing elements in South Africa to take my non-participation in what is an issue which only whites can settle as an endorsement for a No vote," he said.

He also released a memorandum prepared for a discussion he had with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht last weekend.

In it he said the IFP rejected the CP's partition policy and emphasized that blacks and whites could not be unscrambled economically, politically or socially.

Germany all set to boost SA's economy

Sunday Times 15 March 1992

GERMANY is preparing to lead the European Community in lending economic and political aid to South Africa — including the “quickest possible end to sanctions” — if the “yes” vote triumphs on Tuesday.

The European Parliament in Strasbourg made it clear on Thursday that “a positive vote on March 17 will open the possibility for the rapid removal of all further restrictions on normal relations, other than

By CHARLENE SMITH

the arms embargo”.

On the same day, a special debate in the German Bundestag backed the lifting of the oil embargo against South Africa — again only if the referendum has a positive result.

The total lifting of the 1985 embargo will need the backing of the European Community, and indications are strong that this will be given in return for a

strong pro-reform vote on Tuesday.

Just before the referendum was announced, Germany lifted remaining sanctions on SA gold coins, steel and iron.

Professor Karl-Heinz Hornhues, deputy chairman of the co-governing Christian Democrat parliamentary caucus, called on the German government and the European Community to help the reform process “so that the way to a democratic future becomes irreversible”.

That means not only the quickest possible end to all economic sanctions, but also incorporating SA in a fair and active partnership at all levels.

“The emergence of a regional economic centre in a democratic, socially stable and economically attractive South Africa is also of interest for the European Community and calls for a concrete European co-operation offer, especially in the transition-

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Germany set to boost SA

□ From Page 1

al phase,” he said.

In rare agreement on the South African issue, all German parties backed increased aid to SA if there is a “yes” vote on Tuesday.

Mr Ulrich Irmer, member of the Bundestag and Foreign Affairs spokesman of the co-governing liberal Free Democrat Party caucus, backed assistance to South Africa.

He said: “The unification of South African society is one of the achievements of the century and can be compared with the integration of the new German states. The difference,

however, in the case of South Africa is that a quarter of the society must integrate the remaining three quarters.”

Mr Irmer said Germany would render any “political and economic assistance... to the best of our ability” not only to SA, but to other democratising African nations.

Professor Hornhues said: “A ‘yes’ in the referendum will mean the chance of a unified and peaceful democratic future for all members of the population — a ‘no’ the temporary end to all hopes.”

He said the referendum

offered a “great historical chance for the ‘guardians of the grail of apartheid’ to be finally pushed back and for SA to take a big constitutional jump forward to open the door for a democratic future for all members of the population”.

A strong “yes” vote will also give impetus to a scheduled meeting in April in which the EC Industrial Council of Ministers will discuss ways to enhance SA’s entry to EC markets and promote industrial co-operation with southern Africa.

(News by Charlene Smith, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

The only way

Sunday Times
15 March 1992

ALL THE sound and fury of the referendum campaign cannot obscure the simple choice that faces white voters on Tuesday: they vote "yes" to negotiate for peace in a new, democratic South Africa, or they vote "no" to embark on an endless fight for survival as a small racial oligarchy on a black continent.

If they vote "no", they must expect events to move with terrible swiftness. The disintegration of South Africa will begin within days, if not within hours, and the struggle to defy the whole world will consume all their energies, and all their resources, for as long as they survive.

If they vote "yes", they must expect a long, hard struggle of a different kind — to overcome the obstacles to peace, to restore order to the lawless streets, to repair a damaged economy and to win prosperity for themselves and their children. It will be no easy walk to freedom, but there will be light at the end of the tunnel.

This, then, is the choice: a bitter war, or an uncertain peace.

DIFFERENT

The Conservative Party and its dreadful allies have spared no sly innuendo, no semantic trick, no half-truth to obscure the nature of the choice, but there is no need to go picking through that garbage. All white South Africans know, in their hearts and in their minds, that the days of the white oligarchy are over, that a separate homeland is a chimera, and that a retreat from negotiations would bring on their heads the wrath of the whole world.

They know, too, that in the end, no matter how hard they fight or how bravely they conduct themselves, they would be impoverished, exhausted, and then defeated by the immense forces ranged against them. In the end, if they vote "no", they will sue for terms of surrender, and they will do so on their knees. There is no chance of victory, and they know it.

The alternative is to vote "yes", and to seek to create a new, a different South Africa, in which every individual will be free to live his own life as he pleases, safe under the protection of law and justice, and prosperous as part of the democratic family of nations.

NEGOTIATIONS

That, too, will not be easily achieved, and it demands even greater fortitude. The divisions and injustices of apartheid will not easily be eradicated. The problems of backwardness and under-development are not quickly solved. The simmering violence on the right, and on the left, will call on great resources of time, money and courage.

But we have come a long way on this path in two years. Negotiations are under way, not only in Codesa but in every institution of civil society, between employers and unions, teachers and pupils, public servants and radical civic leaders, between churches and warriors. Many communities have integrated peacefully, and many white schools welcome black children. A new nation is in the making.

Two years ago, Mr Nelson Mandela talked obdurately of nationalisation; now he is trying to craft a new economic policy. Two years ago, socialism was rampant; today it is a dying creed, and the SACP is the anachronistic object of mockery and pity. Yesterday's threats are today's jokes.

Yes, the country is in a mess; yes, crime is terrifying; yes, unemployment is high and the recession is crushing; yes, the National Party is to blame. But, yes, the only way out of our troubles is to reform and to negotiate.

The only way is "yes".

THE EDITOR

Conflicting

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

versions of

15 MARCH 1992

fateful night

THIS week Sikhosana was given one of the Mossberg pump-action shotguns that was used in the attack, and asked to demonstrate against the courtroom wall how he had fired into the house.

Sikhosana knocked on the imaginary door, and simulated the firing of a gunshot.

He then leapt across the front of the imaginary doorway, pretending to fire another shot from his hip. He then stood frozen against the wall in the position he claimed he had been standing when he fired three more shots. The gun was held at an acute angle with the wall. Sikhosana said the door was slightly ajar and hinged on the opposite side he had been standing.

"I fired through the opening."

"That is a total impossibility," Mr Justice Wilson remarked. If Sikhosana's demonstration was correct, it means he fired directly into the door.

His demonstration was entirely different to what he had said in his evidence in chief, and was one of many differing versions the court has heard thus far about how the attack was carried out.

More clarity might emerge after Special Sergeant Roy Ndwalane and Special Constable David Khambule testify. On the other hand, the list of different versions of the massacre might get even longer.

None of the versions adequately explain how 11 people were murdered. They contradict the medical evidence that most victims were shot from a range of one to three metres, and immediately incapacitated. The testimonies of survivors cast a further shadow of doubt over the claims that the special constables only fired from outside the home.

How did the special policemen carry out the attack on the Sithole home? Who did what? Who walked through the house shooting at people from point-blank range, in the stomach and head, incapacitating them immediately? Who held a torch and shone it on victims before they were shot? These are questions which the court might find difficult to answer judging from the testimony of the special constables thus far. Many different versions have been put to the court, and under cross-examination this week Special Constable Thabo Sikhosana frequently contradicted his evidence in chief. What is the significance of such varying testimonies?

THE TRIAL

TRUST FEED MASSACRE



FRED
KOCKOTT
reports

PINK EYE PUTS PAID TO TRIAL

PINK EYE put the Trust Feed trial on hold this week. When it was heard that Special Sergeant Roy Ndwalane was suffering from conjunctivitis, fear was expressed that with all the documents being passed from hand to hand, the infection might spread to his counsel, Jessie Moodley, and then to other advocates, the judge and his assessors. Advocate Francois van Zyl stated that if they all got "pink eyes" they would have difficulty in reading through the voluminous court record, now more than 4 000 pages long. Mr Justice Wilson agreed to adjourn the case until Ndwalane's eyes have cleared. He ordered that arrangements be made for Ndwalane to be separated from his three colleagues in prison.

"Is not the true position that some of you went inside that house and fired shots at these people?" advocate Fran-

cois van Zyl, the defence counsel for Captain Jacobus van den Heever, asked Sikhosana.

"No, that did not happen," Sikhosana replied.

What is most significant, is that if the court finds that the special con-

the massacre by sending the special constables to Trust Feed and ferrying them out after the killings.

□ The special policemen Kehla Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, Roy Ndwalane and David Khambule are represented by advocates Selby Baqwa, Robin Palmer, Jessie Moodley and Rishi Seegobin. Appearing for Captain Brian Mitchell, Captain Jacobus van den Heever, and Sergeant Neville Rose, are Ettienne du Toit (SC), Francois van Zyl, and Gideon Scheltema.

stables have lied, and not given evidence honestly about how the attack was carried out, the court might also reject their evidence implicating Captain van den Heever and Sergeant Neville Rose, who have been prosecuted for directly associating themselves with

TRIBUNE

COMMENT

Sunday Tribune
The real

15 March 1992

danger

THE old "swart gevaar" bogey is being effectively used by the Conservative Party on the eve of the referendum. One CP poster urges a No vote to "stop Nat sell-out to ANC". The general message is that a vote for reform is a vote for ANC/black/communist tyranny.

Ironically, CP exploitation of white fears was given a boost this week by the ANC-allied Cosatu, which threatened mass action, including perhaps a national strike, to coerce the government into various measures, including an interim government.

Nobody responds well to threats, and the ill-timed Cosatu warning must have had a negative backlash among hesitant white voters.

Their reaction is understandable. In fact minority group fears are always understandable in any country, and especially here, bearing in mind the overwhelming population imbalance and the shadowy history of the ANC. But perhaps hesitant voters should consider other factors.

One is that only a week ago Cosatu was part of productive, orderly talks to sort out union differences with the government. Another is that an interim government is in the immediate offing anyway, with or without provocation from Cosatu, which has not been granted membership of Codesa. Perhaps being left out is a part reason for the Cosatu stand.

Another factor is the flexible attitude of Mr Mandela himself. The controversial nationalisation policy is being reviewed; farmers have been assured there is to be no Mugabe-type seizure of their farms; civil servants will not be summarily dismissed.

All are welcome, placatory moves that suggest responsible ANC participation in a future government. That participation is inevitable anyway. The real danger lies in not accepting that fact but trying to ignore it or change it.

Handle with care

MODERATION should be a key word in critical areas of Wednesday's Budget, despite State President FW de Klerk's warning that it will be tough.

The individual tax burden and the increasing resort to state borrowing are major issues which, handled insensitively, could impede the economy's growth prospects — upon which so many jobs depend.

In the present circumstances of recession and drought it appears the Minister of Finance again will look to the man-in-the-street for most of his extra revenue — probably through the "unseen" tax of fiscal drag, a higher fuel levy and increased excise duties on luxuries.

Finding enough revenue will be his major headache but Mr Du Plessis will have to be careful to avoid an "overkill" approach. This would abort the first glimmerings of an economic upturn.

The bottom line must be tighter control on spending. The Government simply will have to ensure that its five-year plan to limit state expenditure works.

AUBREY MOKOAPE, Azapo deputy president

FW's taking the wind out the sails of the revolution

Sunday Tribune 15 March 1992

WHETHER the knife is 30cm in your back or 20cm is a difference which makes no difference, says Dr Mokoape, referring caustically to the difference between the Conservative Party and the National Party.

"My instinct tells me the situation doesn't alter for us (blacks) whether De Klerk is in power or Treurnicht is in power: there is very little difference between the two devils!"

This sounds like rhetoric, but the 45-year-old Umlazi doctor — who cut his political teeth as a founder member of Steve Biko's Black Peoples Convention — offers a shrewd analysis of the negotiation process to back his claims.

"FW de Klerk offers no negotiated settlement — he holds all the cards and dictates what is going to happen.

"That fact is demonstrable throughout the whole process leading to and emerging from Codesa. Mr De Klerk has not dismantled his army and crawled into the enemy camp the way the ANC has.

"If you consider the amount of havoc his security forces (the so-called third force) have wrought ... This strategy is absolutely deliberate: to unleash a tide of violence in the black community which has the affect of bleeding people to fatigue and making them susceptible to any settlement dictated by war weariness.

"With the secret support of Western powers, De Klerk has successfully adopted a strategy to take the wind out of the sails of the revolution and entrench the protection of white privilege.

While the battle for the hearts and minds of the white nation on March 17 hots up, and despite the endorsement of a Yes vote by the ANC, many blacks watch from the sidelines with a mixture of trepidation and outrage. Some, however, like the deputy president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, feel the referendum is a giant non-event.
SAM SOLE reports.

Dr Mokoape said Azapo was not opposed to negotiation, but a situation where the "oppressor is able to dictate terms" was not acceptable.

Given a Yes vote, the outcome of Codesa would not be the unitary democracy that Azapo was fighting for, but a "coalition government between the ANC and De Klerk in a dismembered country, with the protection of minority rights and a capitalist economy".

"Such a government will not satisfy the aspirations of black people and will generate great frustration. The new coalition will also be forced into repression — it will become a jackboot regime.

"What we will end up with is not so dissimilar to the bantustan concept of Verwoerd, not dissimilar to Treurnicht's confederation of tribal/ethnic states.

"All the representatives at Codesa except the ANC are based on ethnic affiliation and they are not going to legislate themselves out of existence."

Dr Mokoape said the strong "regional" government that Codesa had agreed to, coupled with the ANC's proposal for a 'Xhosa region' was evidence that the new South Africa would look very much like the old blueprints for grand apartheid.



"This process of atomisation, which is taking place in Eastern Europe also, will leave the country at the mercy of the imperialist powers. In the long term this will not benefit whites."

Dr Mokoape said the ANC's participation in such a process was a

sign of battle fatigue.

"In effect, they have accepted that white society is crucial, they have accepted a white veto. They have lost faith in the capacity of the masses of people to prosecute their struggle and achieve their liberation with or without the

support of whites as a whole."

In terms of a referendum outcome, Dr Mokoape said he feared the "silent Afrikaner majority", but even if De Klerk won, it would be a Pyrrhic victory.

"If he gets a 60-40 win, there are still 40 percent of whites to

end with. And it would be a wing percentage.

De Klerk called the referendum now because he knew in 12 months' time he might not win. Those reformers looking for white consensus and support are facing a cold winter."

Chris McGreal in Johannesburg reports on the doubts that plague voters on the eve of the referendum

Independent on Sunday. 15/3/92 London.

There is only one element that can break the Afrikaner, and that is the Afrikaner himself. It is when the Afrikaner, like a baboon shot in the stomach, pulls out his own intestines. We must guard against that — P W Botha, 26 April 1984

CAPTAIN Thys du Plessis has seen all too many disembowelled black commuters on the platforms of Soweto's New Canada station. The train lines from the Inkatha hostels and pro-ANC areas converge just below his police compound, often meeting in carnage.

After 14 years in the township, the Afrikaner captain has long since recognised the responsibility of the state for the iniquities of Soweto life. But on Tuesday he will refuse to go along with President F W de Klerk's plea for Afrikaners to pull out their intestines and endorse his transition to majority rule. Mr du Plessis will not vote in the most important poll in South Africa's history.

He is, of course, horrified and saddened by the killings. On Friday four people were thrown to their deaths from trains close to his station, for political motives. He says it dawned on him long ago that white domination could not last, and he favours negotiation. But he sees the referendum as a choice between a "Yes" for a president in bed with the African National Congress, or a "No" in favour of Andries Treurnicht, the Conservative Party (CP) leader with a dream of a white homeland but no workable policy.

"I feel like a man asked in court to answer yes or no to the question: Do you still beat your wife? So what could this guy answer? Nothing, because none of the two suited him. And with this referendum, not one of the two suits me. It's a choice between two evils — how do you make a choice, because you know that not one of them is going to do you any good?" he says.

Ivor and Dora Grose live in the safer confines of white Johannesburg, elderly English-speakers caught off guard by the fruition of Afrikaner nationalism in 1948. They declined to support it, but are grappling with the consequences of its fall. They will vote, but with a heavy heart. "None of us happily says 'Yes'. If we say 'No' we're still not happy with a black government. We just don't have any choice. We've got to live with the change, we've got to support de Klerk. We're fighting it in our hearts but we've got to accept it," Mrs Grose says.

hard, taken a lot of risks. But at some point, he will lose control. I hope the fanatics don't get in: the one-seater, one-bullet lot, or the AWB [the far-right Afrikaner Resistance Movement]. The next year, 18 months are going to be a real trial. I hope he's an honest man because there are bad things going on. You hear things about the police, the army, the violence. I just hope he doesn't know about it."

Mr de Klerk has said that a win by one vote is sufficient endorsement to implement his reforms. He has been able to bludgeon some doubters on to his side by painting a portrait of doom should the conservatives win. Swastikas adorn Johannesburg in a poster campaign, likening the right to the Nazis. But once the referendum is over, and the focus is back on the government's

strategy, it will be increasingly difficult for Mr de Klerk to continue to carry the white majority.

The Groses are both in their mid-seventies. Their fathers arrived from Britain in the Boer War. Their children were raised fully aware of the dominant position of white English-speakers in South Africa. Mr Grose is immensely proud of his service to the crown in a South African bomber squadron fighting Hitler. But, within two years of his return, the complacent English elite were eased from power. They have taken a back seat ever since.

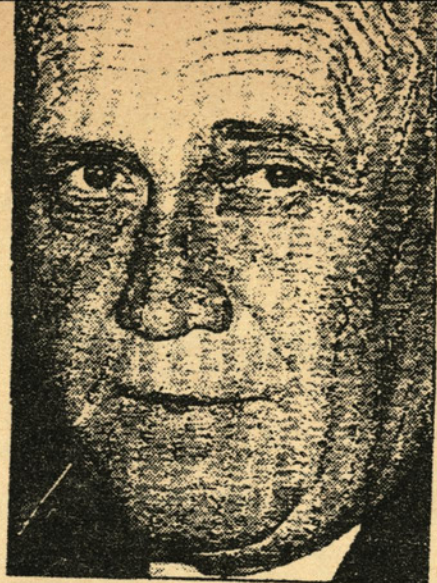
"At that stage we all thought it would be temporary and we'd be back in again. But it didn't turn out like that," Mr Grose says.

That election shifted the course of South African history. Yet no test of

Mr de Klerk, in an early campaign speech, said that the referendum was a calculated risk, and the calculations showed he would win. Opinion polls are banned in the run-up to the vote, but the consensus of political analysts is that the "Yes" vote will approach 60 per cent of the ballot — that is, if the experts have not misread the tea leaves, as they did in the 1948 election that unexpectedly brought the National Party (NP) to power.

Despite the government's confidence, there are many of those about to hand Mr de Klerk his victory will do not know where he is heading, with only that they must move on.

"He had to take the step. It's a very bold step," says Mrs Grose. "I've got a lot of respect for de Klerk. He's worked



Political spectrum: reformer F. W. de Klerk, moderate Zach de Beer, and Conservative Andries Treurnicht

Sunday
Telegraph
15/3/92
London

ZACH'S POLITICAL EVEREST

Fred Bridgland meets the discreet, honest broker who aims to guide his divided countrymen towards the summit of a new constitution

NELSON MANDELA last week appealed to the world not to be blinded by the fleeting light of Tuesday's referendum. "The future is really being decided at Codesa," said the veteran leader of the African National Congress.

Mr Mandela singled out Zach de Beer, rarely identified as one of South Africa's political giants, and praised him for his crucial role in the successful launching of the negotiating process for a new constitution at Codesa (the Convention for a Democratic South Africa).

The 63-year-old Mr de Beer, leader of the small liberal Democratic Party and a millionaire businessman, was asked by an overwhelming majority to take the chair when, at the beginning of last December, 60 disparate South Africans found themselves at the foot of the constitutional

Mount Everest with different ideas, many of them extremely hazy, of how to go about scaling it.

Never before — as at those preparatory constitutional talks — had people from the entire South African racial spectrum, and nearly the whole political range, gathered to discuss their joint future. Mr de Beer, whose politics are infused with extreme moderation and intense discretion, seemed to emerge almost by virgin birth as the honest broker who would give the negotiations a focus and a framework.

Having chaired the first directionless skirmish, Mr de Beer was subsequently appointed without opposition first as chairman of the nego-

tiations steering committee and later as chairman of the Codesa management committee, responsible for keeping everything on course.

Having been lauded by Mr Mandela and his Codesa colleagues of many racial and political hues, the canny and worldly wise Mr de Beer seemed the best person to consult on how fast Codesa is likely to move if President F. W. de Klerk wins support for his negotiating strategy in the whites-only referendum.

In an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph*, Mr de Beer predicted that Codesa would quickly agree on the creation of a multi-racial interim government to replace the National Party administration. He thought predictions

of an interim government being installed by late May or June were too optimistic.

"If you talk August-September I wouldn't quarrel," he said. "I'm an old man with a lot of experience of this sort of thing. I find that even when principles are reasonably well-agreed it's almost inevitable that someone digs his toes in over some comparatively unimportant aspect."

But Mr de Beer emphasised that the general principles of an interim government had been accepted at Codesa. It was only the nuts and bolts that remained to be worked out by the 19 delegations.

"The suggestion now is that Codesa would recommend the composition of an interim executive," he said.

"There would then have to be appropriate legislation through the present Parliament [three chambers which exclude blacks], and Codesa recognises that is the only legal way of doing it."

Mr de Beer said Codesa would then move on quickly to decide what kind of body would be appointed or elected to frame a new one-person, one-vote constitution. He saw neither the interim government nor the constitution-making processes being delayed by the threat of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, to walk out of Codesa if the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, was refused permission to bring a delegation. "An Inkatha walk-out would certainly be a very distressing matter," Mr de Beer said. "But if it were to happen it would not be fatal to Codesa."

Plea for peace as Alex battles rage

SUNDAY TIMES 15 MARCH 1992

THE National Peace Commission yesterday appealed for calm as running battles claimed three more lives in Alexandra.

Two people were killed when Inkatha members defied a police ban on a march to the township's cemetery during the funeral of an IFP member, Mr Thokozani Xaba. This was Inkatha's second attempt to bury Mr Xaba — snipers dispersed mourners at a service last week.

By SHARON CHETTY and DAWN BARRHUIZEN

Commission chairman John Hall made an urgent appeal for peace in the wake of a week's political violence that left more than 100 people dead.

He called on all political leaders — "whether they signed the National Peace Accord or not" — to urge their followers to refrain from violence in the countdown to Tuesday's referendum.

"Lest South Africa is to

slip irreversibly into a cycle of conflict, violence and civil war, this polarisation and fragmentation needs to be stopped."

Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, was declared an unrest area on Friday night, and reinforcements of police and troops were deployed in the township before yesterday's funeral.

The violence erupted when hundreds of Inkatha

supporters, heavily armed with traditional weapons, forced their way past armoured cars and Ratels blocking the gates of the Madala hostel at 1pm.

They had been contained within the grounds of the hostel while police negotiated for more than two hours with IFP leaders who objected to the ban on traditional weapons.

Mr Xaba's funeral procession was to have left from the hostel at 11am.

At least two people died in the bloody clash between ANC and IFP supporters following his abortive funeral last Saturday.

Yesterday, mourners refused to be disarmed and demanded the right to join the funeral march.

They rejected a police offer to escort the body and a group of IFP leaders to the cemetery.

Talks between the police and the IFP broke down shortly before lunch. IFP representative Humphrey Ndlovu told the SAP he could not control the crowd massed in the hostel grounds.

Mr Ndlovu drove to Braamfontein to consult the Kwazulu Minister of Justice, Mr CJ Mthetwa, and returned an hour later.

By then, hundreds of Inkatha supporters bussed in from hostels around Johannesburg had gathered at the hostel, where they were chanting and performing war dances.

Many of them had clearly been drinking.

Mr Ndlovu told the mourners Mr Mthetwa had agreed to the police offer, and that the funeral should proceed, but the angry mob rushed past the police vehicles through the gates and took to the streets.

A group of them entered a house in Second Avenue where they shot and stabbed Mr Chipper Osamarare, who was visiting the occupants.

Shooting

A fierce gun battle erupted when residents of the Madala Hostel opened fire on security forces surrounding the building. At least one hostel dweller was wounded in this clash.

Meanwhile, ANC supporters had erected barricades on the route to the cemetery and set them alight. Police fired teargas into a crowd gathered

around a pile of burning tyres which they said they had prepared "for the Inkatha coffin".

By late yesterday afternoon, ANC representatives had dispersed the crowds manning the barricades, but intermittent shooting could still be heard around the hostel.

At least seven people were treated for stab and bullet wounds at the Alexandra clinic.

Yesterday's clash brings the death toll in Alexandra since last Saturday to 22.

Since February 20, when President FW de Klerk called the referendum, at least 211 people have died in political violence.

Urgent

This weekend, the Natal-Kwazulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee made an urgent request to Judge Richard Goldstone to appoint an inquiry into violence at Umlazi in the past three months.

Local IFP and ANC leaders were asked to intervene and to maintain calm among their followers following a clash between their supporters which left 18 dead and 28 injured early on Friday.

Early yesterday, a policeman died in Johannesburg after being shot three times in the head.

It's off, say Willem and Erica

SUNDAY TIMES, March 15 1992

By NORMAN WEST

THE CONTROVERSIAL engagement between former coloured beauty queen Erica Adams and Willem de Klerk, the youngest son of the state president, is over.

"It's finished," Erica told the Sunday Times this week. She said they had broken up last month and that Willem had since gone abroad.

Erica would not comment further, but a close friend said the couple, both 25, ended their relationship mainly because of pressure from Mr FW de Klerk and his wife, Marike.

Appeals

Over their 30-month relationship, they had been subjected to regular appeals from Willem's parents to stop seeing each other, the friend said. Willem had often told Erica that his mother had said she "could

Stress and 'pressure' from FW and Marike' put paid to romance

almost not live with the idea of their affair", Erica disclosed to confidantes.

They also said that Willem and Erica, who met in 1989 while students at the Cape Technikon, loved one another and skin colour was never an issue. She still wears her engagement ring.

Erica, said one close friend, was summoned to the De Klerks' official residence Groote Schuur in December 1990 where, it is understood, Mr

De Klerk and his wife tried to persuade Erica to break up with Willem.

Willem was overseas and the friend said Mrs De Klerk, particularly, was unhappy because she felt the relationship "would not work".

She was also worried about "what people would say if they found out".

The president apparently told Erica, daughter of politician Deon Adams, the relationship could cause stress to his political career.

Willem had apparently been sent to study at the Cambridge Business School "to get him out of the way", because the De Klerks feared the press would find out about the relationship.

The De Klerks tried to extract an undertaking from Erica that she would stop seeing Willem and not contact him overseas, said friends.

Meeting

Erica refused to leave Willem or give an undertaking not to see him again.

Later she joined him in England, where they lived together.

In August last year, Erica and Willem were called to Mr De Klerk's office at Tuynhuys for a second meeting. This time Mrs De Klerk was not present.

Mr De Klerk again "advised" the couple it was not in anybody's interest that they continue their relationship. But to no avail.

Friends of Erica said this week that part of the couple's problems was also that Willem, an introvert, found it hard to cope with Erica's energy and strong personality.

Pressure

He often confessed to Erica he found it difficult to keep up with her, while he had to "work hard" at being respected by his peers and colleagues.

On Erica's return from a five-week visit to Italy on February 8, Willem apparently "cracked" and confessed he could no longer cope with the relationship because of the pressure from his parents.

He told Erica he was under too much stress at work and at home.

The next day they discussed their much-publicised affair and both felt that it should finally end.

It's off, say Willem and Erica.



ALL OVER ... Willem de Klerk and his girlfriend Erica Adams at the height of their romance in London last year

Sun Times 15/3/92

ANC calls off vote on Ciskei

By PETER MALHERBE

THE ANC has suspended plans to hold a symbolic vote for the removal of Ciskei's military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Voting was due to have taken place in the territory yesterday, but was put on hold after a meeting between a high-level national ANC delegation and regional ANC structures on Friday.

Controversial elements of the ANC campaign for an interim government in Ciskei were dropped after the meeting between the national and regional delegations.

Noticeably absent from the "reformulated" version of the campaign were the original intentions to weaken Ciskei's and South Africa's positions at Codesa and to isolate Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sources said ANC heavyweights Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Patrick Lekota, Steve Tshwete and Raymond Sahlwana last Thursday were meeting with the regional executive because "head office" was unhappy with the way the dispute with Ciskei had been handled.

Civil war is possible if it's 'Yes' — Treurnicht

Graham Spence

A "No" vote does not mean civil war, but Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht is not ruling out the possibility.

He says conflict could erupt "either way", but is far more likely under a "Yes" vote.

In his message to South Africa in the run-up to the referendum on Tuesday, Dr Treurnicht says a "No" vote is a "vote for freedom, not surrender".

"A 'No' is a vote to ensure a better deal and a second chance to replace the present government by another government with a better political philosophy for all peoples of South Africa."

"That philosophy is this: co-operative self-determination which means you have to work together with elected leaders of all the peoples, not the communists."

Disturbing

"That is where we differ from FW de Klerk. He plans for surrender, we plan for freedom."

In a referendum-eve interview Dr Treurnicht said the CP did not rule out the prospects that the country might be plunged into a civil war.

"It's not impossible. I do not deny that the scale of violence is disturbing. To solve this the CP wants to get leaders of all various ethnic communities together to find some solution to the basic realities of ethnic and racial differences. The ANC is different. It is not a political party, it is based on violence and terrorism. And we will resist the ANC."

Asked how the CP would control violence if it came to power, when Nat strongmen BJ Vorster and P.W. Botha with excessive police powers had failed, Dr Treurnicht said this would be in the hands of the police and SADF.

"This brings one to the most important

question of the country: how to find a political solution to the

satisfaction of various communities. The CP is talking to elected leaders such as Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangosuthu, the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Rev Isaac Moekena (head of the Reformed Independence Church Alli-



'NO' VOTE MEANS ...
a second chance, better deal, says Dr Treurnicht

Sat. Star

15/3/92

"The NP seems to think that if you say negotiation all problems will be solved, but FW de Klerk has deviated from that course by 180 degrees and disregards ethnic and racial realities."

"In our talks with black leaders it is clear that there are definite priorities: a sense of ethnic identity, land ownership and political power. But there is also a fear of being left out in the cold."

"When sanctions were imposed the country was better off than now. Sanctions are political propaganda within South Africa combined with outside pressure to surrender to a black majority government. The outside world thinks it could manipulate a black government easier than a white one, which may also be a mistake."

'Realistic'

Asked why leaders in the academic and business world were largely for "Yes", Dr Treurnicht said if that were true he would be surprised.

"I am surprised that people are not looking ahead and interpreting what awaits them with a new dispensation under a black majority or communist rule. To me it's quite clear that Mr de Klerk regards himself as a transitional figure. His solution is naive ... simply not realistic."

Asked what was "realistic" in the South African context, Dr Treurnicht replied that only a commonwealth of Southern African nations styled on the European Common Market could succeed.

(Report by Graham Spence, 12 Osborne Road, Greyville.)

San. Times 15/3/92

Violence takes its toll on kids

By KURT SWART

CHILDREN living in violent areas are increasingly nervous, anxious, unable to concentrate and have learning difficulties, new research shows.

In a project started in September last year, the South African Association of Learning and Educational Disabilities drew its findings from a survey of Cape Peninsula schools.

The survey, aimed at identifying difficulties children have in learning, reading, fluency and understanding, found a number of those diagnosed as learning disabled were troubled because of urban violence.

Of 97 responses to a questionnaire, 31 percent of the teachers said violence was a primary cause of learning problems.

Miss Maureen Archer, the association's president and a lecturer on learning disabilities at the University of Cape Town, said: "Teachers have noticed an escalation in anxiety in children who come from areas where violence is endemic."

This was especially the case in areas affected by the Western Cape's long-running taxi war between rival associations, which has killed about 30 people.

Schoolchildren at John Pama Lower Primary, in Nyanga, have learned to lie face down on the floor when shooting starts at the adjacent taxi rank.

Teachers at a creche which also borders the taxi rank have to cope with hysterical toddlers during gunbattles involving taxi

drivers and the police. One of the staff said: "There is no way we can soothe them. We can only wait until they calm down by themselves."

A teacher in another area said "many" children were exposed to violence.

"Their fathers and older brothers are taxi drivers involved in fights. This causes anxiety and fear in the children."

"Lack of concentration and nervousness in class promotes slow progress."

Miss Archer said the violence influenced the children to the extent that it

occupied their minds. "Some can be fluent at reading, but when questioned, they reveal they have not understood what they have read. Comprehension is impaired when the mind is elsewhere," she said.

"This is also the case in mathematics, where there is a need for speed, accuracy and sustained concentration."

"Children also exhibit anxious behaviour. In one case, a child would start to cry as soon as the teacher looked at him."

The violence also caused

absenteeism, with many children being kept from school for long periods by fearful parents.

Some children are being kept in hiding following a spate of abductions of schoolchildren. Children of taxi drivers are rumoured to have been kidnapped by rival taxi association members as a means of gaining leverage.

"Solutions to the learning problems lay with teachers and the community giving much-needed support and assistance to the children," Miss Archer said.

The Star 13/3/92

Fears of Alex violence after double necklacing

Staff Reporters

Fears of renewed violence in Alexandra township this weekend have been expressed following a chilling double necklacing murder only hours after the signing of a peace declaration in the township yesterday.

The ANC today warned of "massive plans" over the weekend to undermine the peace declaration.

Police spokesman Captain Ida van Zweel said the burnt bodies of a man and a woman were found outside the Old Man's Hostel.

"They had been necklaced. Three burnt-out tyres were found nearby," Captain van Zweel said.

The murders brought to at least 18 the number of people killed in political violence in Alexandra since Saturday, when

gunmen ambushed an IFP funeral procession.

ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepe called on the security forces to increase their presence in the township over the weekend — when both the ANC and the IFP hold funerals for their slain members.

Mr Mamoepe's warning comes after the ANC, Azapo, IFP, PAC and church and civic bodies signed a peace declara-

tion in the township yesterday.

At a press conference held in the township, the multiparty representatives condemned the latest wave of violence.

In a major breakthrough, the ANC agreed to postpone the funeral of slain member Dillon Mayiza until Sunday to avoid a potential clash with IFP funeral-goers. Mr Mayiza was to have been buried tomorrow — the same day that IFP member

Thokozani Xaba, whose funeral was disrupted by last Saturday's attack — will be buried.

The ANC and IFP undertook to urge their constituencies to act with restraint at the burials.

Any problems regarding the funerals should be reported to the Rev Phillip Shongwe (443-8397), Father Ronald Cairns (440-1744), the Rev Ngubane (443-6041) and Tony Rutherford (882-0051).

Sun Star 15/3/92

Federalism may be the key to our future

I THINK Dr Andries Treurnicht's move to a commonwealth of states, linked together by economic rather than political ties, is a move in the right direction and it is also a scheme which might interest blacks.

I remember that in initial speeches at Codesa, several black leaders advocated something like a federation of states — which operates as a unit but with individual states having rights and powers.

I am beginning to think that in a country like South Africa, with its different races, creeds and backgrounds, one does need something of that sort.

Partition might be too drastic and costly a solution but a federation might be more acceptable and feasible.

And I hardly think that such a plan can be said to be illiberal. The United States, our leading democracy, is a federation although it is not called that, and so is Australia, for that matter.

A dozen or so largely independent states, white and black, which are tied together in some respects, might well bring home the bacon.

I was an MP for many years in the Rhodesian Federation, which worked quite well until a surge of black nationalism, coupled with the weakness of the McMillan government allowed it to collapse.

I think it is worth re-examination!

President de Klerk's proposed system sounds good but the whole question of power-sharing sounds dubious to me. Can a revolutionary organisation like the ANC and an Afrikaner political movement such as the National Party really share power, and will it work?

People who criticise partition or, as I am advocating, federation, have to admit that power-sharing between disparate groupings is just as doubtful, if not more so.

We must have open minds and not get too fanatical about what the National Party is exhorting us to do.

The party may be right but its power sharing theories are dubious.

Guillaume van Eeden
P.O. Box 1002
Garsfontein
Pretoria

Buthelezi deals blow to CP hopes

SHAUN JOHNSON
and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ON the eve of the watershed reform referendum the Conservative Party has been dealt a severe blow by Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's clear rejection of the party's policy and his reiteration of support for a Yes vote.

The CP, which had been buoyant in the second week of the referendum campaign, moved yesterday to limit the damage done by the Inkatha Freedom Party leader's decision to release a confidential memorandum of his discussions with CP leaders in Ulundi last weekend.

The memorandum reveals that Chief Buthelezi rebuked CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht for "being somewhat too prone to see agreement between us on some issues we discussed in Durban on January 6".

Reinforcing his move away from the right wing, Chief Buthelezi yesterday also sharply slapped down senior Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Musa Myeni for entering into an extraordinary "non-aggression" pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact was signed yesterday in Johannesburg between AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and IFP Transvaal leader Mr Myeni, who claimed he had already discussed the pact with Chief Buthelezi and added he was confident the national IFP leadership would accept it.

But IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate told Weekend Argus after speaking to Chief Buthelezi that there was no truth in the statement that the pact had been approved by the IFP leader.

The IFP did not approve of the pact and Mr Myeni acted "out of mandate", said Mr Felgate. He added that Mr Myeni had no right to commit himself or the IFP to the non-aggression agreement.

The CP has been using alleged sympathy from Chief Buthelezi as a major selling-point in its referendum campaign by holding him up as a powerful black leader who might be prepared to negotiate with the right wing rather than Mr De Klerk.

But the document shows that Chief Buthelezi told the top-level CP delegation: "I would ... at the outset like

Turn to page 3

'Inkatha still backs Codesa'

From page 1

to clarify some points lest disputes in the future emerge from possible misinterpretations."

He said he believed that:

□ There must be one South Africa with a universal adult franchise, albeit with heavily devolved powers to second tier level.

□ Blacks and whites could not be "unscrambled" in economic, political and social life.

□ A confederation of racially divided states was "unthinkable".

□ Although Codesa was not "trustworthy" at present, the CP had to participate in order to "put it right".

□ The IFP's call for a Yes vote in the white referendum stood, because "white South Africans once and for all must show their ability to break away from the past".

In a statement issued yesterday Dr Treurnicht said: "The CP has taken note of the viewpoint of leaders of independent and self-governing black states against partition as they understand it."

"These views of the leaders involved are completely compatible with the policy of the CP, which does not prescribe to peoples how they should organise themselves constitutionally."

"The CP envisages a future South Africa which comprises one or more ethnically based states, alongside a multi-ethnic dispensation."

"However, nations which want to be free, may not under any circumstances be forced into an undivided South Africa," he said.

CP chief spokesman Dr Piefer Mulder said Dr Treurnicht's statement did not represent a shift in policy. But it could be interpreted as a "shift in emphasis".

Dr De Beer said he was "very pleased" that Chief Buthelezi had chosen to release the contents of his memorandum.

"It confirms everything that I have wanted to believe ... I personally have never been in doubt of his (Chief Buthelezi) advocacy of a Yes vote — nor of his rejection of the principle of racial partition in South Africa."

I admire your ability to put your stand in such fine wording.

"White voters should take note of Chief Minister Buthelezi's wish for them to vote Yes."

In his memorandum Chief Buthelezi said contact with the CP was important and that politically there was "much in common" between the CP and the IFP.

Sun. Times

15/3/92



Now a love-sick warrior seizes the high ground

EUGENE TERRE BLANCHE emerged from the sulphurous smoke of the referendum campaign this week as the dominant figure in the right-wing alliance, eclipsing both Dr Andries Treurnicht, the prim semanticist, and the club-footed Jaap Marais, a champion budgie breeder obsessed with bloodlines and genetics.

The alliance brought the AWB leader from the disreputable fringes of politics to centre stage, and he has grabbed the banner of Afrikaner nationalism from the feeble hands around him. "The volk is reunited," he thunders jubilantly, "and the traitors have been driven out."

Cometh the hour, cometh the man. Political causes are often defined in the character of their leaders, and Mr Terre Blanche, like Benito Mussolini, projects his cause by strutting about in his uniform, the warrior Boer girded for battle. Politics as buffoonery, but loaded with evil potential.

As I watched him strut, there came to mind another image, drawn by Jani Allan, of a lovesick Eugene Terre Blanche, snoring on the lady's doorstep at daybreak after a night of mandolin playing on the telephone.

It's all there, on the tape-recordings of her telephone calls: "Please, please, Jani, it's me, speak to me. Oh my God..."

Desperation turns to mawkishness: "You didn't come home all night; I know everything now. You have trampled the noblest, fairest love that ever existed. I'm alone."

So white South Africa has come down to this: its choice of leaders narrowed to President De Klerk on the one side, and on the other side the Hero of Ventersdorp, galloping his horse over cobblestones, clatter-clatter, and falling on his backside; the liberator, waving a kind of swastika, defiantly, like a small boy making rude noises in church; the great lover, trysting in the park with a leggy *Uitlander* blonde, and pleading in the night, please, please, Jani, it's me, speak to me, oh my God...

This is the man offered to us as a leader, as *vollksleier*, to guide us through the modern world of jet travel, and global television, and instant anni-

hilation, the world of the long-distance call and the bomb in the baby carriage. The first instinct is to laugh at the absurdity.

But the referendum will be close, too close for comfort. A million voters, probably more, will elect on Tuesday to follow Eugene Terre Blanche into the bunker of Aryan racism. What is the difference, after all, between an Austrian house-painter who can't find a job and a Ventersdorp farmer who falls off his horse? The most unlikely buffoonery can lead to greater things.

In style and method Mr Terre Blanche and his masked men have copied Yasser Arafat; in spirit, they reach back to the 30s. In Germany, Nazism was comprehensively crushed; in South Africa, the whip has merely lain dormant. Now it emerges, under a symbol closely resembling the Aryan broken cross, in red, black and white — the colours of the Nazi insignia — to take up the old Aryan themes of dis-possession.

They rail at the communists, but that's usually a code word for blacks, as everybody understands, and their real resentments are reserved for the capitalists. Among the many views they share with the ANC is the notion that they are poor because others are rich, and they smell conspiracy. Nor is it coincidence that, when Jaap Marais singles out a rich industrialist to attack, he chooses a Jew; he is tapping deep anti-Semitic undercurrents.

THE key to Mr Terre Blanche's success is that he speaks to, and for, the Afrikaner underclass, the dropouts of the apartheid era who failed, somehow, to prosper from the abundant patronage of that time, and who depend on the state to shelter them from competition.

Their living standards have been eroded for the past decade by inflation and taxes, while the mandarins and the generals lived high off the hog, and their anxieties have been sharpened, to the point of desperation, by the rising unemployment, by recession and by crime in the streets. Their taxes have soared with fiscal drag, and the privileges of a white skin — medical aid,

free schooling, job security, good pensions — are swiftly vanishing.

Mr Terre Blanche taps their resentments effortlessly because he shares those resentments, and the counter-propaganda has passed over their heads. They care nothing for sanctions — the government has told them times without number that sanctions have failed, and how are they to know that the government was lying?

They care nothing for the stock market, they own no shares, if a "no" vote were to wipe billions off the fortunes of the rich, they would rejoice. They care nothing for foreign opinion; xenophobia is their most distinguishing characteristic. They care nothing for investment, or for business confidence; the gouging shopkeeper is high on the list of their tormentors, and they hate "big business". They care nothing for cricket, a game they do not play.

ALL of this is understandable, and some of it evokes, compels sympathy. For more than four decades white South Africans have been fed lies by their government, their schoolteachers, their historians. They have been told they are strategically self-sufficient, that the world needs their minerals, that boycotts and sanctions don't matter, that our weapons are the best on earth, that we can make oil and nuclear weapons, and that all we need to do is harden our minds and our spirit, and fight.

So they cannot understand why, then, we don't fight. They don't know that the country is already ungovernable, that the army fought the wrong war in the wrong place, and lost, that the police are overwhelmed, and that the old, safe, comfortable world of apartheid has gone forever.

Only Eugene Terre Blanche, for all that he falls off his horse and whimpers for love in the night, and ends up snoring on an unmarried woman's doorstep, calls them to battle, holding out the illusory promise of catharsis in violence, and unless we stop him on Tuesday he will lead them to destruction.

KEN OWEN

SUNDAY TIMES 8/3/72

Single AK-47 burst kills six at burial

Sunday Times Reporters

BATTLES between Inkatha supporters and other factions in Alexandra and Sharpeville townships left up to 10 people dead during funerals for Inkatha members yesterday.

In one burst of AK-47 gunfire in Alexandra, six people died instantly and many were hurt, claimed civic association spokesman Obed Bapela.

Alexandra clinic spokesman Tim Wilson said he knew of only two certain deaths, one man killed by AK-47 gunfire near the cemetery and another beaten and hacked near the clinic gates.

The clinic treated 12 people for gunshot wounds and four for stabbings, he said.

In Sharpeville, four people were killed and a house was gutted at the closing stages of the funeral of an Inkatha member, township sources said.

Marched

The house where the funeral was held was petrol-bombed and set on fire. Police had comment only on the Sharpeville fighting, saying they knew of one death and one injury.

Trouble started in Alexandra when armed Inkatha members marched to the local cemetery to bury one of their number, the first Inkatha burial in the township.

Residents were furious, saying the cemetery was for Alexandra residents only.

"Inkatha members turned out in their hundreds, carrying an assortment of traditional weapons, as well as automatic rifles, and danced and taunted residents along the route," Mr Bapela said.

The gunfire broke out at the entrance to the cemetery, he said, but he was uncertain which faction the victims had supported.

Impi

Late yesterday afternoon sporadic shots were heard near the Alexandra men's hostel. Squads of riot police patrolled the area.

Sunday Times reporters were directed away from the hostel by pistol-wielding Inkatha supporters, while in the distance an impi was beating a victim.

At the new men's hostel nearby, a man with an automatic weapon was pacing a corridor.

Residents carrying sharpened pipes and sticks patrolled Alexandra's streets, many saying they feared renewed violence.

Bantu Steven Nyabawa, brandishing a sharpened metal rod, said Inkatha supporters "shouldn't enter our cemetery. That's for ANC. It's ours."

Inkatha heads to roll

City Press
15 March 1992

Buthelezi furious with Myeni over AWB peace pact

By SEKOLA SELLO,
SOPHIE TEMA and Sapa

HEADS in Inkatha's Transvaal leadership, including high-ranking central committee member Musa Myeni, may roll following their non-aggression pact with the racist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The pact, which sparked fears of a possible rise in Zulu-Afrikaner neo-fascism, was made on Friday by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Myeni in the presence of Conservative Party deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Myeni said the pact was between Inkatha's Transvaal region and the

AWB. The party's central committee, had not yet been informed about the pact.

However, soon after learning about the pact, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi immediately repudiated it and said the pact was "deeply disturbing and amounted to mischief-making in a referendum campaign in which the IFP wishes to have no part whatsoever".

Another senior-ranking Inkatha member, Walter Felgate, said there was no pact between his organisation and the AWB. "This was a one-man show. It was Musa acting alone."

Myeni disputed the claim that he acted unilaterally and that the Transvaal leadership was not informed about the pact.

"Anyone who saw us in our discussions with the AWB must have realised I was in the company of 20 or so

members of the Transvaal leadership."

Buthelezi, in a statement released from Ulundi, "emphatically" distanced himself and Inkatha from the pact which was signed on Friday.

In what is considered a rap on the knuckles for Myeni, Buthelezi went on to state: "The IFP could not enter into a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB because the IFP never is an aggressor."

"I state emphatically that I have never discussed a non-aggression pact between the IFP and the AWB with anybody."

This is the second time that Myeni's indiscretion has hugely embarrassed Inkatha. At the height of the Reef bloodletting a year ago, he threatened to deploy more than 100 000 IFP fighters in Soweto to quell the violence.

Buthelezi later defended Myeni, saying his statement was a "cry for help" and an anguished call to end the township bloodletting.

After Friday's signing of the pact, Buthelezi will be hard-pressed not to take action against Myeni and any other members of the Transvaal leadership who were signatories to it.

Myeni is adamant that the pact was for a good cause.

"This was prompted by reports from some of our members that blacks were being intimidated and harassed by the AWB in Ventersdorp."

He refused to comment on Buthelezi's repudiation, saying he had not seen the statement attributed to his leader.

Inkatha can ill afford to be associated with the AWB if it wishes to retain

its image among white supporters, local and foreign.

On the same day he repudiated the pact, Buthelezi further distanced himself from rightwing elements by releasing a memorandum regarding a recent discussion he had with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The memorandum was issued "to counteract the damage that was being done by irresponsible CP statements citing my position and the position of KwaZulu as supporting rightwing rejection of Codesa".

According to Buthelezi he has issued a press statement endorsing State President FW de Klerk's decision to call for a referendum.

"I clearly indicated that a 'yes' vote would be beneficial to both the politics of negotiation and to the reconciliation process in this country."

The IFP was committed to remaining a participant in Codesa, he said.

Terror stalks SA's own 'Beirut'

By PETA KROST

TERRIFIED people are deserting a Sandton business district which borders the volatile township of Alexandra.

This follows hundreds of break-ins, muggings, car hijackings and three murders in the district of Marlboro.

On Tuesday morning, the most recent murder took place on the premises of Springbok Scaffolding and Plant Hire, when foreman Roger Samson, 45, was shot in the head by a township resident.

Empty buildings are evident all over Marlboro. Some have already been occupied by squatters or destroyed and vandalised.

Their owners and occupants have left, unable to find anyone to buy or rent property in the crime-ridden area — nicknamed South Africa's own Beirut.

Those that remain do so under duress because their livelihoods — dampened by clients being afraid to enter the area — is at stake.

Nobody dares set foot off their premises, even to go to the corner café.

Vandalise

Even securely locked in their cars, Marlboro drivers no longer stop at stop signs in the area. All the

SUNDAY TIMES 15 MARCH 1992
Businessmen flee as murder and robbery spiral out of control



BASIL BROOMBERG
'Attackers lie in wait'



RONNIE FRAZENBURG
'Job's not worth dying for'

occupied buildings are surrounded by high walls topped with barbed wire or electrified fences.

"But even that doesn't help," said Marlboro management committee chairman Basil Broomberg.

"If the attackers can't get inside, they lie waiting outside because they know we have to come out sometime. If they don't get us or our cars, they break in, steal or simply vandalise the properties when the area is deserted at night or on weekends.

"There are some companies that have had more than 50 break-ins in the past few years," he said.

Their only hope, says Mr

Broomberg, is a high wall between Alexandra and Marlboro.

"There are between five and 10 crimes committed a day in this area and we are not prepared to sit here and wait to be killed."

Like most people working in Marlboro, he fears for his life — and holds the Sandton town council responsible for the crime in the area.

Eight months ago, a barricade was put up sealing off the township from Marlboro. Crime plummeted by 70 percent, said Mr Broomberg.

"But then they took the wall down and the attacks resumed with a vengeance.

"If they don't erect a wall, this area will turn into a ghost town and the residential areas of Marlboro Gardens and Wynberg will be the next plundering grounds."

At the moment, a metre-

high wall stretches along the middle of the road, one side of which is First Street, Marlboro, and the other Vasco da Gama Street, Alexandra. However, the wall has gaps to allow traffic to travel between Marlboro and Alexandra.

Mr Broomberg said the wall served as a hiding place for those waiting to attack.

Break-ins are nightly occurrences, more than 40

vehicles are stolen a month and there are more than 30 attacks on businessmen a month.

"Delivery vehicles won't come into this area and neither will our customers," he said.

"How are we expected to conduct business this way?"

The owner of VD Engineering in Marlboro, Mr Vincent Emmerich, 34, said: "I've been here since November last year and I would move out, but I can't afford to."

A manufacturer of gates and other engineering facilities, he said he locked himself and his workers behind a huge iron gate every day.

Stolen

"My customers will no longer come into this area, so I have to go to them. I used to work till midnight if I had a big job but now, no matter what, I close at 4.30pm during the week and don't come here on weekends."

The Sunday Times spoke

to a number of employees who had handed in their resignations because of the crime in the area.

Mr Ronnie Frazenburg, a Springbok Scaffolding and Plant Hire employee, said: "I'm leaving because my job isn't worth dying for."

Metgauge, a small Marlboro company has been broken into six times in the two years it has been in the area.

While Marlboro is under attack, the Sandton town council denies it has the authority to allow a continuous wall to be built be-

tween Vasco da Gama Street and First Street.

The town council says the Minister of Local Government and Housing has to confer this authority on the council. According to the council, the matter is due to be considered on March 23.

Terror stalks SA's own 'Beirut'



NO DETERRENT ... a metre-high wall down the centre of the road divides Alexandra and the business area of Marlboro

Pictures: JOE SEFALE

15 -03-92

15 March 1992

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

Calls for Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate massacre on

BLOODY FRIDAY

FRIDAY'S massacre in Umlazi of 18 people — including 15 women and a child — has led to calls for Mr Justice Goldstone to investigate the matter urgently.

Archbishop Denis Hurley and other members of the Regional Dispute Resolution Committee have asked the judge to convene a commission of inquiry into the war waged at Umlazi over the past three months.

Jeff Radebe, regional chairman of the ANC said they specifically wanted the commission to investigate the role of the KZP in the violence.

Kim Hodgson, of the Inkatha Institute, also wanted the judge to investigate, but denied collusion between KZP and Inkatha.

Police have stepped up their presence and have been urged "to do everything in their power to prevent further violence this weekend", while

the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC's Jeff Radebe have been requested to appeal for calm.

This week 26 people were killed in the squatter camps of Umlazi. The death toll in the area for the last month is reportedly 80.

The ANC has claimed that the KwaZulu police led Friday's dawn attack. This has been denied by the head of KZP, Colonel Moses Khanyile.

Residents of Uganda squatter camp who spoke to the Sunday Tribune claimed the attack was carried out by IFP-supporting Unit 17 hostel dwellers led by a 200-strong KwaZulu police force in full uniform.

Men interviewed at Uganda ascribed the high number of deaths among women and children to the fact that they were shot in their beds while the men were in the hills.

Thabo Thulo

The attack came from an unexpected direction and when the men rushed to the rescue of their women and children a high number had already been killed.

In a press statement the ANC further charged that the SAP, instead of calling for reinforcements, "ran away" and only returned 90 minutes later, claiming that there were too many KZP members who were also better armed.

The SAP denied the ANC claims and said the force had reacted promptly and managed to disperse a mob of about 500 people.

Squatters said the aim of the attacks was to chase all ANC supporters in the area away.

One of the squatter camps that have been flattened and cleared of its inhabitants is Ekuthuleni. After the people had fled, their shacks were looted and burned down.

Mr Monty Moodley, a lawyer representing many of the squatters, also called for the commission to investigate the KwaZulu Police.

His clients, who previously occupied Ekuthuleni, but are now refugees in a church, had wanted to interdict the KZP from attacking them, but reached an agreement out of court when the KZP gave an undertaking to protect them.

Mr Moodley said after the incident at Uganda this week, his clients would no longer have confidence in the KZP.

Mr Hodgson denied that the IFP was assisted by the KZP during the fighting but agreed that the incident

needed to be investigated by the Goldstone Commission because of the high number of people who had died.

Mr Hodgson said at about 3.30am on Thursday last week Unit 17 hostel was attacked from a section of Uganda. The invasion, about three hours later, of the squatter settlement by the hostel dwellers was in retaliation, he said.

Mr Hodgson said the death of Mr Winnington Sabelo, the IFP Central Committee member who was assassinated in his shop recently, had inflamed feelings in Umlazi.

The situation was still tense, he said.

Leaders of the ANC who had been arrested in possession of firearms or arms caches were criticised by Mr Hodgson, who said they were setting a bad example and their actions had the effect of condoning violence.

BLOODY FRIDAY.

MARCH 15, 1992



A mother and her child lie dead in their Umlazi, Durban, home, victims of the massacre on Friday.

15 103/92

YES
NO

DE KLERK OR TREURNICHT, IT'S ALL THE SAME - OR IS IT? THE

ARCH 15, 1992

TRIBUNE SPEAKS TO

We are voting for

freedom

A No vote does not automatically mean civil war, but Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht is not ruling out the possibility.

He says conflict could erupt "either way" — but it's far more likely to do so if there is a Yes vote.

In his message to South Africa in the run-up to the referendum on Tuesday, Dr Treurnicht said a No vote was a vote for "freedom — not surrender".

"A No vote is a vote to ensure a better deal and a second chance to replace the present government with another government with a better political philosophy for all peoples of South Africa. That philosophy is this: co-operative self determination which means you have to work together with elected leaders of all the peoples — not the communists.

"That is where we differ with FW de

Klerk. He plans for surrender, we plan for freedom."

In a referendum "eve" interview Dr Treurnicht said the CP did not rule out the prospect that the country might be plunged into a civil war.

ANDRIES TREURNICHT, CP leader

WHILE the international community, leaders in the business sector and industry, top sportsmen, the vast majority of churchmen and academics, as well as prominent figures in the entertainment industry are all urging voters to say Yes, the CP's Andries Treurnicht spells out why he says No.

GRAHAM SPENCE reports.

solve this the CP wants to get leaders of all various ethnic communities together to find some solution on the basic realities of ethnic and racial differences. The ANC are different. They are not a political party; they are based on violence and terrorism. And we will resist them."

Asked how the CP would control violence if they came to power — considering that Nat strongmen BJ Vorster and PW Botha with excessive police powers had failed — Dr Treurnicht said this would be in the hands of the police and SADF.

"This brings one to the most important question of the country: how to find a political solution to the satisfaction of various communities. The CP is right on the spot

with this by talking to properly elected leaders such as Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope, the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and the Rev Isaac Mokoena (head of the Reformed Independence Church Alliance).

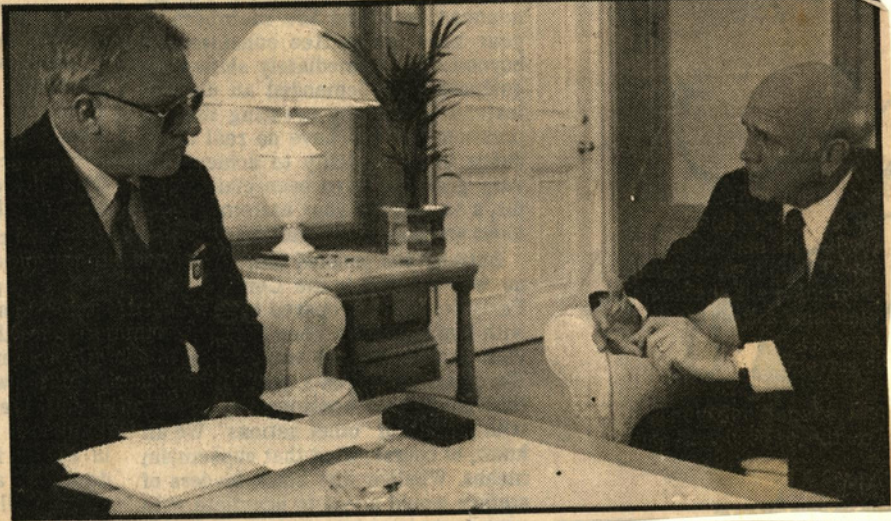
"Look at the other parties: The Democratic Party's view of a non-racial society is unrealistic — there is no such thing in the world. The NP seem to think that if you say negotiation all problems will be solved, but FW de Klerk has deviated from that course by 180 degrees and disregards ethnic and racial realities in trying to create a non-racial community.

"In our talks with black leaders it is clear that there are definite priorities: a

See Pg 2

"It's not impossible. But perhaps things are eventually not so bad as one anticipates when one thinks in the dark. The next day when the sun is there the problems are not quite so tremendous. But I do not deny that the scale of violence is disturbing. To

On Tuesday whites will face the country's most crucial test in history. Looking on will be 24 million fellow citizens of colour. A Yes will secure the go-ahead for reform. A No, according to some, will lead to civil war. Tribune Political Correspondent JOHN MacLENNAN interviewed the two leaders at the sharp end of reform, President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Their bottom line: There's no going back. This is the moment of truth.



From
Pg 1

FW de KLERK NP leader

Q: You have warned about voter complacency, and people voting No because of grievances unrelated to the referendum. How do these factors endanger prospects for a Yes vote?

A: Complacency is one of the greatest risks for a good Yes win, and we need that good win. This is because it will give me more than just a renewed and fresh mandate. It will have an electrifying effect on the negotiation process. It will bring immediate fervour and vast improvement in international relations. My appeal to the people is to come out and vote for what is right. The whole future depends on it.

Q: The right wing takes little note of the NP reform platform. They emphasise the so-called suicide plan, the SACP link and they are depending on white fears to swing the referendum. They are saying: "Vote No for survival." How successful do you think they will be?

A: Everywhere I go I meet enthusiastic and motivated people who want to vote Yes. This augurs well. We are succeeding in bringing home to the electorate that a No vote would be suicidal. It will scuttle all hopes of so-called white survival, because it would isolate whites. No matter how the right wing sugars the pill, their policy is partition and this is rejected by all people of colour. Vote No and 26 million people of colour will rightly decide that the white electorate has broken its word. In '87 and in '89 whites voted for negotiations for a new constitution based on power sharing among all South Africans in an undivided country.

Q: You have said a No vote would mean disaster in its effects here and abroad. What do you foresee will happen?

A: Internationally the doors will slam shut. I expect there would be a tremendous backlash. Dr Treurnicht's bland assurances hold no water. Nor does the assertion that

the world cannot get by without us. Fact is that in terms of its policy the CP will have to turn the clock back — perhaps not to achieve all the minor facets of apartheid — but they will have to take away the citizenship of millions if they want to establish a white state. They will tell those South Africans of colour who live in their so-called white states that they will be second-class citizens forever. The

message to them will be: "Go away to some corner of South Africa which is not economically viable and find your haven there. But please, some of you stay behind because we need you to work." They won't buy it. We will see mass black action like we have never seen it before.

Q: How would a strong Yes assist you, how will it damage the CP and what international reaction do you expect to your letter to leaders around the world?

A: A landslide win will finally settle the issue about whether this is an irreversible process. Once that sinks in, there are many good, Christian CP supporters — who for emotional and historical reasons have voted CP — who will forget about the promised right-wing fairyland and adapt to the new realities. I think it will bring about a shake-up in the right. It could take any form, even a split. Many CP supporters will realise that Codesa must succeed, that negotiations there will determine the future and that they have no choice but get involved.

About the letter. I didn't write a letter to 70 countries, as was reported. Nor did I ask for help or support or involvement. I did send a letter to 23 heads of government, most of whom I know personally, and its sole purpose was to prevent any misunderstanding about why the whites alone were taking part in the referendum. I wanted to prevent interpretations that this implied a white veto or that it was a racist move.

Q: How important is the English-speaking vote, and why do you think so many foreign nationals are at last applying for citizenship so they can have a say?

A: Every vote is important. I don't divide NP supporters into different categories. If you support the principles and the policies of the party then you are a Nationalist. I also don't support for one moment the claim that the CP is now the political voice of the Afrikaner. My white support comes from a cross section of all South Africans. From the boer on the farm to the executive in business and all the concerned people in between. Our support among Afrikaners is underestimated. In addition we have very strong support from English-speakers. Neither is more important. From both we will

get enough support for a sound victory.

Not only the English are taking out citizenship. So are a lot of people from other groups. I think it proves that they regard

this country as their country.

Q: How close do you feel to the people. What is your response to critics who say you have gone too far and too fast? Are you in danger of the same fate as Gorbachev?

A: There are some comparisons, but Gorbachev had to deal with an economy which was totally destroyed by communism. I don't have that. Gorbachev had a problem with states which never really wanted to be part of the Soviet Union. We don't have that. My problems are different, and easier. So I don't think a Gorbachev case study applies here.

I feel very near to the people. I know their worries. I realise, and I have done all along, that to say we are going to change the system through negotiation makes for uncertainty. Because until you have the agreed package on the table, people don't know for sure what will happen. That's why I believe it is in the best interests

of all that we move fast. Yes, you run a risk of increasing uncertainty, but that way you get to the point where you can remove it that much sooner.

When you go slowly you play into the hands of the radicals to the left and the right — and they are minorities — who don't want us to succeed. A long drawn out process gives them the opportunity to sabotage everything.

Many people are also worried that we will be a victim of a political mugging at Codesa and wind up with an ANC/SACP dominated government. We say no. We can and will prevent it. We are not going to sign a suicide plan for minorities. Nor will we place at risk the value system of true democracy, sound economic policy or private ownership of property.

Q: You've been accused of asking for a blank cheque. What is your message to voters who want reform, but don't necessarily want to commit themselves to the NP model?

A: We have not asked for a blank cheque. I have asked the voters to sign a fairly detailed cheque. It contains what we regard as the essentials which must be part of a new constitution. People who differ from the specifics because they support, for instance, the specifics of the DP, need not be concerned. And the question is

See Pg 3

A Date

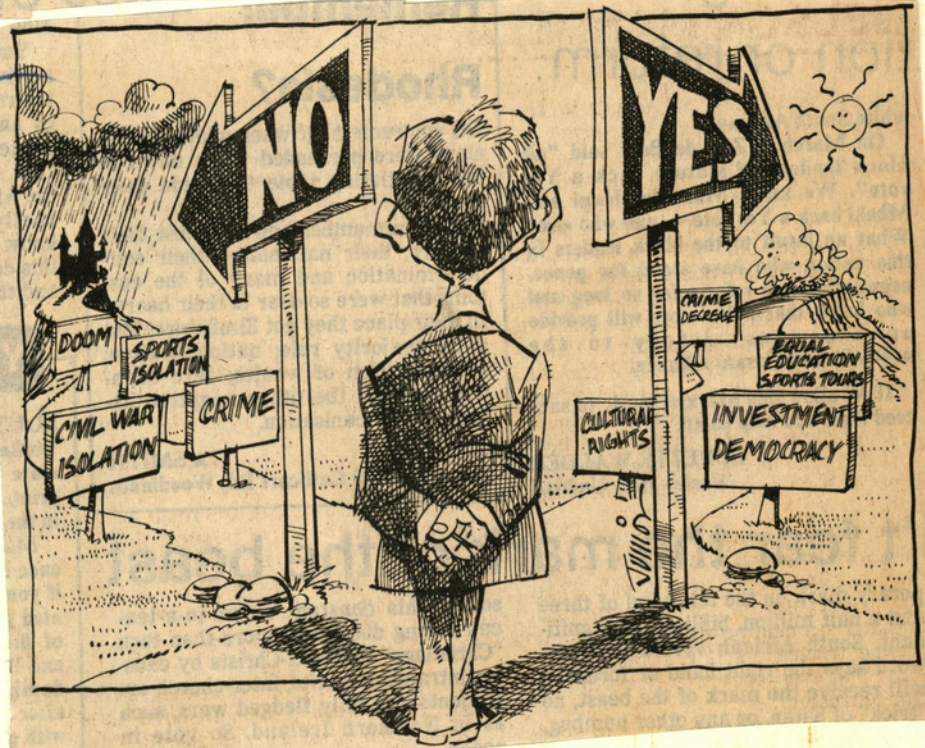
'We are not asking
for a blank cheque'

From Pg 2

framed so that the DP, after a Yes win, will also be able to proceed in Codesa with more confidence to promote their proposals. I am not asking for support of the NP, but for approval of a direction and a broadly-stated goal.

Q: Why was it necessary to opt for the American style roadshow, kissing babies and pressing flesh?

A: I opted for the new approach in order to personally communicate with as many people as possible at grassroots level. However, I am not only kissing babies. I have made more than 60 speeches during six days of campaigning and have thus reached many more people than I would have in terms of the old approach.



March 15 1992

MARCH 15, 1992

SUNDAY
TRIBUNE

THE MAIN PLAYERS AND SOME OF THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN SIDELINED BY THE GREAT

27

WHITE TUSSLE

YES
NO

...not for surrender

sense of ethnic identity, land-ownership, and political power. But there is also a fear of being left out in the cold and not involved where important decisions are being made." He said the CP would "accommodate" those fears.

Dr Treurnicht also denied a No vote would mean a crippled economy and sanctions.

"When sanctions were imposed the country was better off than now. Sanctions are political propaganda within South Africa combined with outside pressure to surrender to a black majority government. The outside world thinks that they can manipulate a black government easier than a white one — which may also be a mistake.

"But basically sanctions are a ploy by the American liberal establishment which

has made an idol of a one-man-one-vote ideology and wants to impose that on us. They want South Africa because of our mineral wealth and our strategic position between East and West."

When asked why leaders both in the academic and business world were largely voting Yes, Dr Treurnicht said if that were true, he would be "surprised".

"I am surprised that people are not looking ahead and interpreting what awaits them in a new dispensation under a black majority or communist rule. Because to me it's quite clear that Mr De Klerk regards himself as a transitional figure. His solution is very naive to think that you can simply surrender the white man's power in the country, disregarding his basic sense of identity. A unitary state of different peo-

ples is simply not realistic — it has not worked anywhere in the world."

Asked what was "realistic" in the South African context, Dr Treurnicht replied that only a commonwealth of southern African nations based on the European common market could succeed.

"All countries depend on labour and manpower, which is often imported. But if you look at our neighbours, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, they guard their political independence very jealously even though they realise how economically interdependent they are with South Africa. Issues such as trade, transport, even water use and locust control could be addressed in a commonwealth fashion.

"But unless there is political autonomy for whites, there will be trouble."



San. Times

15/3/92



Now a love-sick warrior seizes the high ground

EUGENE TERRE BLANCHE emerged from the sulphurous smoke of the referendum campaign this week as the dominant figure in the right-wing alliance, eclipsing both Dr Andries Treurnicht, the prim semanticist, and the club-footed Jaap Marais, a champion budgie breeder obsessed with bloodlines and genetics.

The alliance brought the AWB leader from the disreputable fringes of politics to centre stage, and he has grabbed the banner of Afrikaner nationalism from the feeble hands around him. "The volk is reunited," he thunders jubilantly, "and the traitors have been driven out."

Come the hour, come the man. Political causes are often defined in the character of their leaders, and Mr Terre Blanche, like Benito Mussolini, projects his cause by strutting about in his uniform, the warrior Boer girded for battle. Politics as buffoonery, but loaded with evil potential.

As I watched him strut, there came to mind another image, drawn by Jani Allan, of a lovesick Eugene Terre Blanche, snoring on the lady's doorstep at daybreak after a night of mandolin pleading on the telephone.

It's all there, on the tape-recordings of her telephone calls: "Please, please, Jani, it's me, speak to me. Oh my God."

Desperation turns to mawkishness: "You didn't come home all night; I know everything now. You have trampled the noblest, fairest love that ever existed. I'm alone."

So white South Africa has come down to this: its choice of leaders narrowed to President De Klerk on the one side, and on the other side the Hero of Ventersdorp, galloping his horse over cobblestones, clatter-clatter, and falling on his backside; the liberator, waving a kind of swastika, defiantly, like a small boy making rude noises in church; the great lover, trysting in the park with a leggy *Uitlander* blonde, and pleading in the night, please, please, Jani, it's me, speak to me, oh my God....

This is the man offered to us as a leader, as *volksleier*, to guide us through the modern world of jet travel, and global television, and instant anni-

hilation, the world of the long-distance call and the bomb in the baby carriage. The first instinct is to laugh at the absurdity.

But the referendum will be close, too close for comfort. A million voters, probably more, will elect on Tuesday to follow Eugene Terre Blanche into the bunker of Aryan racism. What is the difference, after all, between an Austrian house-painter who can't find a job and a Ventersdorp farmer who falls off his horse? The most unlikely buffoonery can lead to greater things.

In style and method Mr Terre Blanche and his masked men have copied Yasser Arafat; in spirit, they reach back to the 30s. In Germany, Nazism was comprehensively crushed; in South Africa, the whelp has merely lain dormant. Now it emerges, under a symbol closely resembling the Aryan broken cross, in red, black and white — the colours of the Nazi insignia — to take up the old Aryan themes of dis-possession.

They rail at the communists, but that's usually a code word for blacks, as everybody understands, and their real resentments are reserved for the capitalists. Among the many views they share with the ANC is the notion that they are poor because others are rich, and they smell conspiracy. Nor is it coincidence that, when Jaap Marais singles out a rich industrialist to attack, he chooses a Jew; he is tapping deep anti-Semitic undercurrents.

THE key to Mr Terre Blanche's success is that he speaks to, and for, the Afrikaner underclass, the dropouts of the apartheid era who failed, somehow, to prosper from the abundant patronage of that time, and who depend on the state to shelter them from competition.

Their living standards have been eroded for the past decade by inflation and taxes, while the mandarins and the generals lived high off the hog, and their anxieties have been sharpened, to the point of desperation, by the rising unemployment, by recession and by crime in the streets. Their taxes have soared with fiscal drag, and the privileges of a white skin — medical aid,

free schooling, job security, good pensions — are swiftly vanishing.

Mr Terre Blanche taps their resentments effortlessly because he shares those resentments, and the counter-propaganda has passed over their heads. They care nothing for sanctions — the government has told them times without number that sanctions have failed, and how are they to know that the government was lying?

They care nothing for the stock market, they own no shares; if a "no" vote were to wipe billions off the fortunes of the rich, they would rejoice. They care nothing for foreign opinion; xenophobia is their most distinguishing characteristic. They care nothing for investment, or for business confidence; the gouging shopkeeper is high on the list of their tormentors, and they hate "big business". They care nothing for cricket, a game they do not play.

ALL of this is understandable, and some of it evokes, compels sympathy. For more than four decades white South Africans have been fed lies by their government, their schoolteachers, their historians. They have been told they are strategically self-sufficient, that the world needs their minerals, that boycotts and sanctions don't matter, that our weapons are the best on earth, that we can make oil and nuclear weapons, and that all we need to do is harden our minds and our spirit, and fight.

So they cannot understand why, then, we don't fight. They don't know that the country is already ungovernable, that the army fought the wrong war in the wrong place, and lost, that the police are overwhelmed, and that the old, safe, comfortable world of apartheid has gone forever.

Only Eugene Terre Blanche, for all that he falls off his horse and whimpers for love in the night, and ends up snoring on an unmarried woman's doorstep, calls them to battle, holding out the illusory promise of catharsis in violence, and unless we stop him on Tuesday he will lead them to destruction.

KEN OWEN

San. Times

15/3/92

OPINION

Political killings

THE surge of violence in the past fortnight, closely correlated with a moment of critical choice in national politics, has followed a familiar pattern which suggests very strongly that the violence is orchestrated to serve political ends.

There is a good deal of evidence which shows that the SADF, the police, elements of Inkatha and the ANC have all been guilty of using violence in this fashion. The question to ask now is which of these organisations — or which others — are best served by unleashing the killing squads on the eve of the referendum.

The interests of Inkatha, the ANC and the government, coinciding for once, lie in a peaceful transition and a "yes" vote, but all three organisations have elements within them that rebel against negotiation and compromise. The "comrades" are out of control, and many — like the murderous "hero" whose story is told elsewhere in this issue — are simply depraved. Inkatha warlords have been convicted in the courts of operating autonomously, and heaven knows who controls or leads the impis in the hostels. Both SADF and the police have been guilty of unlawful conduct in the past, and in some case of utterly depraved conduct, and both organisations still harbour guilty men.

Assuming the white electorate votes "yes" on Tuesday (since a "no" vote would unleash the killers on all sides to operate without restraint), it is time for the government and its partners in Co-

desa to recognise the corrosive effect on political life of this continuing slaughter, and to make it a priority to bring violence under control.

That would require more than support for the Peace Commission or additional policing, although intensive policing is necessary, and the Peace Commission does require better support. It requires special investigative units, special courts, quick trials, and deterrent sentences — sentences which should have the explicit support of the ANC and Inkatha, so that criminals may be disabused of the expectation that they will soon be released into the streets by a political amnesty.

It may be possible to make sociological excuses for the petty, and even the violent, crime that has overtaken our society. Economic depression is an obvious explanation, if not justification, for criminal behaviour, and it may be possible to take a relatively lenient view of the person who steals, or kills, to feed his family.

Political killing — the cold-blooded unleashing of professional murderers in order to achieve a particular political result — is an entirely different phenomenon. Quite apart from the depravity, it is an act of outright warfare against the democratic and peaceful people who constitute the majority of all South Africans, and it should be treated accordingly. No resources should be spared in tracking the killers, and their masters, and bringing them to trial.

South Africa deeply divided over reform

By **BARRY RENFREW**
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Two years after apartheid began crumbling, South Africa remains a bitterly divided nation where growing numbers of whites are trying to stop reform.

Just as change in the former Soviet Union loosed forces that tore it apart, efforts to build a multiracial democracy have pushed South Africa toward chaos.

Political violence has claimed thousands of lives, and right-wing whites want to break up the country. Moderate black and white leaders are divided on plans for a new constitution, and the economy is in trouble.

Whites, many frightened by the pace of change, will vote Tuesday on whether to continue President F.W. de Klerk's plans for enfranchising the black majority. The referendum comes at a time when many whites are joining pro-apartheid groups.

De Klerk made a final plea Saturday for support, saying he was seeking the survival of whites, not their surrender.

"We are not surrendering, we are working toward a South African government that is truly representative of its people," de Klerk told hundreds of National Party loyalists in Nylstroom. "We are

negotiating survival."

He has promised to resign if the government loses, clearing the way for a general election that the pro-apartheid Conservative Party would likely win.

De Klerk announced the referendum after Conservatives captured two vacant parliament seats in by-elections, hoping to head off the right-wing threat to reform while he retains enough white support. He is expected to win.

Even a sweeping government victory would solve little. Ending apartheid is just a first step in a country that is a patchwork of ethnic and political factions.

While many whites want reform, few see blacks as equals. Society remains largely segregated and there is little racial mingling outside the workplace.

And right-wing whites say they will not abandon their fight for a white homeland if they lose.

South African blacks are split by violent ideological and tribal differences. The African National Congress and the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party are locked in a power struggle that has claimed 11,000 lives.

Hopes of building a stable democracy will depend on resolving explosive economic and social problems. No one is saying how that can be done.

Vote crucial to end apartheid

Some of the facts about Tuesday's referendum:

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

■ **At stake:** President F.W. de Klerk has abolished major apartheid laws and seeks a mandate to continue negotiating a nonracial constitution that would extend full political rights to the 30 million black South Africans. If he loses, de Klerk promises to resign and call a whites-only election.

■ **Arguments:** De Klerk says negotiating with black groups to end apartheid is the only road to domestic peace. The Conservatives, who want a white homeland, argue that blacks and whites can't live together.

■ **Who can vote:** Only whites are eligible. There are 3.27 million registered voters in a white population of roughly 5 million.

■ **Predictions:** Most analysts expect de Klerk to get 55% to 60% of the vote, but the Conservatives claim to be gaining strength in the final days.

If it's 'No' we'll fight again, says Mandela

John MacLennan

A WIN for the No's, according to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, would amount to a futile bid to veto the peace process, because a minority can no longer block the politics of negotiation.

He says such an attempt to stop it "would introduce the same crises and confrontations which have been taking place over the last 40 years..."

He adds: "Our message to white voters is clear. We want whites to vote, not for De Klerk but for the process. We want them to vote yes."

"I'm not pessimistic. I think the forces of peace and progress are too strong to be defeated by the forces of darkness. Nevertheless, if contrary to expectation there is a 'No' vote, then we will fight again as we have done in the past.

Fighting

"The NP was once in precisely the same position as the CP today. We have fought and turned them around. We will continue fighting against the CP if whites return a 'No' vote."

He holds that it is completely out of the question that a "No" can in any way be allowed to impede the work of Codesa.

"We cannot allow the CP to undo the achievements of the last two years. They will have to come and put their proposals to Codesa itself. We are not prepared to be dictated to either by the CP or the AWB.

"If they tried to stop the process then there would be a fight. If they wanted to restructure the process, then there would be resistance on the part of the majority of South Africans. We would insist that the CP should join Codesa and make their suggestions there.

"We would consider them on merit. If there are differences and they take a line which, in our view would threaten Codesa's achievements, then of course we would consider taking action. It is premature to say this would be a return to underground activities because the ANC is committed to the peaceful resolution of our problems. It has that track record.



NOT ELECTED... so would CP talk to ANC head Nelson Mandela?

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"But it is the lesson of history that a community which is oppressed resorts to the forms of struggle that are dictated by the actual conditions. We would regret that very much, but if anybody decided that it is for a particular minority to set the political agenda for the country, that we would never accept."

Mr Mandela believes a well of goodwill still exists and will assist Codesa. "Quite clearly a substantial section of the white people in this country welcome the peace process. You see this at the airports. People come forward — both English and Afrikaans-speaking — to congratulate you for what you are doing.

Fearful

"There are times on the plane when I can't do any work because I spend the whole trip from Johannesburg to Cape Town signing autographs."

He notes that both whites and blacks are fearful at present. "We are keen to allay the genuine fear of whites, but there is also the fear by blacks of the right wing if it comes to power. We must try to look at both aspects and that is why the success of Codesa is so crucial."

Part of the strategy here would be to explode the myth that civil servants would face retrenchment. It is essential, he says, that the civil service be made more representative, but those whites who do leave will not lose any benefits. It will not be a matter of colour, he assures, and "nobody will be pushed out".

(Report by John MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.)

ANC spells out plan for state spending

EQUAL pensions for all races, a drastic cut in the defence budget and the abolition of all duplicate apartheid structures are some of the proposals the ANC has for a national budget — should it take control of SA's coffers.

ANC economics department head Trevor Manuel spelt out the ANC's priorities for expenditure, cuts in the budget and proposed sources of revenue this week.

He was speaking ahead of Wednesday's budget that will be presented by Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis.

Taking a pragmatic approach to social expenditure, Mr Manuel said equalisation at present white levels in the areas of health, welfare, education and housing was untenable in the short term, but par-

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Reporter

ity at sustainable levels would be the ANC's objective.

He said the ANC would not necessarily introduce an increase in the percentage of the budget allocated to social spending. Rather there would be a redirection of available resources.

Expenditure on health, which the ANC would put at 10 percent to 11 percent of the budget, would be redirected to primary health care with less emphasis on tertiary institutions.

There would be a similar approach to education with a reorientation towards primary and secondary education in addition to redressing the imbalances of apartheid.

While equalisation at

present white levels was untenable, substantial resources would have to be redirected to black schools and an integrated strategy was crucial to solving the crisis in education.

Mr Manuel said priorities for immediate expenditure would be an increased allocation for poverty, food and drought relief, job creation and a comprehensive AIDS programme.

Pensions would be equalised on a par with white pensions immediately at a cost of over R2,5-billion, he said.

Abolition

Regarding sources of revenue, the ANC foresaw public expenditure at 35 percent of GDP which is slightly above current levels and put its deficit before borrowing at two percent to five percent of GDP.

A saving of about R3,7-billion a year would be made through abolition of all apartheid duplications, he said.

Defence expenditure would also be reduced from 4,3 percent to two percent of GDP and the ANC would take a serious look at a trimmer public-service wage bill.

It could also raise additional revenue by increasing user charges for certain facilities in appropriate areas at a tertiary level. A capital gains tax was being investigated, but it would be fair and reasonable in order to prevent tax avoidance, Mr Manuel said.

Other areas of revenue were possible taxes on certain luxury goods which would be dedicated to an area of social expenditure.

An increase in the fuel levy in the short term could also be considered — taking into account the effect on inflation.

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THE PAC SAYS: It's all inconsequential

THE referendum is no more than a fight between slave-drivers about who wields the bullwhip, believes the PAC. National organiser Maxwell Nmadzivanani says the question on March 17 is about who will "control the lives of the African people".

"It confirms that whites intend to entrench existing power structures. It cannot be a genuine vehicle for change when four-fifths of the population are locked out."

The PAC therefore believed the result of the referendum was "inconsequential". It would continue the struggle for freedom of "oppressed Africans" in all its current forms, including the armed campaign by the Azanian People's Liberation Army. The fact that the CP had constantly repeated the APLA threat in its referendum campaign was proof it "realises how strong we are".

Mr Nmadzivanani added that if there was a "Yes" vote, it would "tend to dampen the militancy of the people". If there was a "No" vote, it would "sharpen the people's resistance and anger and make them more determined to seize their freedom".

(Report by Brendan Seery, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

AZAPO SAYS: De Klerk the same as Treurnicht

DEPUTY president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Dr Aubrey Mokoape, feels the referendum is a giant non-event. "The situation doesn't alter for us whether De Klerk or Treurnicht is in power; there is very little difference between the two devils."

The 45-year-old Umlazi doctor — who cut his political teeth as a founder member of Steve Biko's Black People's Convention — offers this analysis of the negotiation process: "De Klerk offers no negotiated settlement — he holds all the cards and dictates what is going to happen. He has even managed to admit all his puppet states (the homelands) to the process."

Azapo was not opposed to negotiation, it was not acceptable that the "oppressor should be able to dictate terms". Given a "Yes" vote, Codesa would not provide a unitary democracy but a coalition between the ANC and NP in a dismembered country, protection of minority rights and a capitalist economy. "All the representatives at Codesa except the ANC are based on ethnic affiliation and they won't legislate themselves out of existence."

(Report by Sam Sole, 11 Osborne Road, Greyville.)

THE IFP SAYS: we must negotiate now

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has publicly rebuffed the "No" campaigners who tried to draw him into their side. Speaking at Umlazi, he called for the establishment of one sovereign parliament, opposite to the CP model which wants the country to be broken up into nation states. On February 20 he released a statement urging whites to support President F W de Klerk. This week he reaffirmed his view.

He reiterated his stand that a whites-only referendum before any constitutional changes were made was ill-conceived, but said that holding of a whites-only referendum at the commencement of negotiations was an entirely different matter.

The whole world was ready to receive South Africa back into the international community. Investors were looking at SA with new interests and international bankers were ready to support economic development. "We must continue with negotiations," he said.

Any attempt by white political parties "to determine their own future unilaterally" would fail.

(Report by Dean Dolport, 18 Osborne Road, Greyville.)

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(2)

De Klerk supporters fear referendum defeat

FROM GAVIN BELL IN JOHANNESBURG

HOPES of a landslide victory for South Africa's ruling National party in tomorrow's referendum were fading last night after canvass returns showed a surge of opposition to President de Klerk's reform initiatives. There were even fears that right-wingers campaigning for a return to apartheid could secure a "no" vote.

The returns suggested that all of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, excepting Johannesburg, would vote "no". National party officials are now pinning their hopes on a massive turnout of English-speaking liberals in Johannesburg, Natal and the

Cape to give Mr de Klerk a mandate to pursue negotiations with black leaders on the framework of a multiracial democracy.

Intensive doorstep canvassing by the opposition has undermined Nationalist efforts to win support. The Conservatives are exploiting racial fears, economic recession, soaring crime and political violence in black communities to discredit the government.

Just over three million whites, of whom 60 per cent are Afrikaans-speaking, will be entitled to vote tomorrow.

Close result, page 11

white opinion since 1948 has carried as much importance as Tuesday's ballot. The referendum promises to bring the Afrikaner nation full circle, from the Great Trek of 1835 when the Boers took control of their destiny.

The migration from the Cape arose partly out of a clash over Boer resentment at the British Empire's abolition of slavery. The eradication of the Boer republics, after the British provoked a war to seize the gold fields, did not extinguish the flame of Afrikaner liberation. The struggle continued until it delivered the NP government half a century ago. Yet "liberation" could not save Afrikanerdom from reality. Once more the issue of white abuse of blacks arose. The world again left the Boers behind, except there could be no more treks, there was nowhere else to go.

The dream of Afrikaner self-determination is alive only in the fantasy world of the conservatives. The English will prove crucial in sealing its fate, yet some suddenly find a sympathy with their Afrikaner compatriots. The Grosecos once laughed off the assertion of Afrikaner power, but later realised that discrimination within the white community in favour of Afrikaners after 1948 was simply a reversal of the system imposed by the British. They kept themselves separate. Mr Grose spent 50 years in the scouts, and nearly all his boys were English. The Afrikaner lads joined the Voortrekkers.

For decades the Grosecos voted for opposition parties, latterly the anti-apartheid Democratic Party (DP). They comforted themselves that they stood apart from racial repression.

day really gets me down," Mrs Grose says. Yet she is afraid of the government implementing the policies she unwarily supported by voting DP all those years. "We go to church. The church says we should vote 'Yes', it's the moral thing to do. And then you come out and see this terrible black-on-black violence, and how can you vote 'Yes'?"

While the elderly English-speakers watched their influence fade, a new generation of Afrikaners rose, with them Mr du Plessis. At 38, he was born after the NP came to power and followed the ritual of offering up his vote. No more. He believes the government is dragging the black population from apartheid to another dictatorship. "I've got nothing against negotiation, but if I vote 'Yes', they carry on with negotiation the way they do it now. Look at the negotiations, they are between the government and the ANC. They are pushing the Zulus aside, but there won't be any peace without them. The referendum is a choice between de Klerk and Treurnicht. Where's [the Zulu leader Mangosuthu] Buthelezi's name? If I had a choice between three I would have voted for him."

Though he will not vote, Mr du Plessis hopes Mr de Klerk wins. But he, like the Grosecos, has another fear. "If a 'Yes' vote wins, it will be better than if a 'No' vote wins, but still we're going to have a problem because you've got your right-wing people who hunger for war. A few weeks ago, some of these drunk, right-wing people were riding around on motorbikes. They get a black. They bugger him up - 'What are you doing in a white residential area?' So what happens? The blacks retaliate. A white guy stops. Bang, they hit him with a brick in the face. That's the thing, if they start violence there's going to be retaliation. Then who will look after my wife and children?"

The campaign has hinged on fear; there has been very little appeal to morality or idealism. Mr de Klerk says his policy is "not surrender but survival". There has been no entreaty to compensate for the abominable treatment of the majority of South Africans. Only in church does Mrs Grose hear such an appeal, and she still has a hard time accepting the underlying message.

"The first time I saw a white man sweeping the streets in England I was horrified," she says. But she pleads that there was nothing she could have done in the past because she did not know. "We've a lot to be ashamed of, I know that. After the war, the Germans said they didn't know what was happening. And it's the same for us. We didn't know about Biko. There were probably 20 Bikos. Now we know, but we didn't know then," she says.

Mr du Plessis sees it differently. "They didn't know because they didn't want to. It was there if they wanted to. The forced removals, everyone knew. They're still ignorant. When do you ever see a white in the townships? They know, but they don't know."

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